



The Post Hole

The student-run archaeology journal

**The Temple of Isis
in Pompeii**



**Yadlee Stone
Circle Project**

**Django Unchained
and 12 Years
a Slave**



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Front cover: *Statue of Isis* (117-138BC Roman Empire), location: Capitoline Museums, *Photograph 2006* (Image Copyright: Marie-Lan Nguyen / Wikimedia Commons)

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Editorial: ‘Digging through the Profession of Archaeology’ – a sneaky peek

I would like to start off by thanking everyone who completed a questionnaire titled ‘The Future of Museums’ for my dissertation. We have reached that time of year again when the dissertation deadline is slowly drawing nearer, and those coming towards the end of University, whether undergraduate or postgraduate, have to decide where they plan to go or which road to take for the future. I am extremely grateful to those who completed the questionnaire and sharing the ‘#callforhelp’ by **Facebook** or **Twitter**. I am still in a state of shock, as I did not expect to receive 281 responses within two days of creating the questionnaire. It is extremely beneficial for my dissertation, and it was lovely to hear from people who have the same interests as me, or alternatively disagree that museums face an unstable future.

On the topic of dissertations, the team and I have decided that our last issue, July’s Issue 39, will be a collaboration of articles from the third years that are currently present on the team. This special *The Post Hole* issue will contain short articles from each of them summing up their experiences as undergraduates, how the ‘dreaded’ dissertations went, the conclusions that were drawn, and what they have planned for after graduation. We hope it will be an interesting issue, but also a wonderful way to say goodbye to this year’s team and welcome the new one. If you would like to become part of the team next year, or become a PR Coordinator at another University, please get in touch. Send your details to editor@theposthole.org.

This issue, as you will see, is slightly longer than usual. Due to dissertation deadlines looming, the team have decided to produce a larger issue now, combining March and April’s issues together. With the dissertation deadlines so soon, it would not be feasible to create two individual issues, therefore we hope this seven article issue will suffice. *The Post Hole* still relies upon your submissions, and the team are already collating them for the May Issue (Issue 37). As always, please send your submissions to Taryn Bell at submissions@theposthole.org.

Each of my recent editorials has mentioned the ‘Digging through the Profession of Archaeology’ interview series. As you can see from the title of this editorial, I have decided to refer directly to the interview series for once. This editorial is like no other. Within this issue’s editorial, there is a sneak preview into the next few ‘Digging through the Profession’ interviews we have lined up. This month, we are releasing the interview conducted with Dr. Sarah Walshaw, a historical archaeologist specialising in archaeobotany. Below are a selection of questions we asked our interviewees. Following Dr. Sarah Walshaw, other interviews lined up to be released are conducted with Marilee Wood – bead specialist from Washington State; Jeffrey Fleisher – who works in the Anthropology department at Rice University, Texas; and Amy

Downes – a Portable Antiquities Scheme, Finds Liaison Officer for Yorkshire. These brief snippets we hope will give you a flavour of what is lined up for *The Post Hole*, and how excited we are to be releasing interviews with such a wide selection of people from a variety of professions.

How do you use ethnobotany as a part of your archaeological interpretation? What can it tell us about past societies?

“Ethnobotany, the study of current or recent historic human-plant relationships, can help us understand earlier societies in a few ways. First, collaborations with local peoples can provide information about plant uses, ecologies, and local taxonomies that can help us identify and interpret ancient plant remains. Second, ethnoarchaeological research – particularly concerning agriculture – can connect material patterns to human behaviours; this can provide models for interpreting botanicals in the archaeological record. Third, collecting modern plant specimens helps build a comparative collection with which to aid archaeobotanical identification.” – Dr Sarah Walshaw.

You analyse beads using LA-ICP-MS. What does this mean exactly, and what process do you follow when conducting this analysis?

“I don’t actually do the analysis myself – I send it off to Laure Dussubieux at the Field Museum in Chicago who specializes in this work and has the necessary (and very expensive) equipment. I do need to carefully choose the samples for analysis since it is difficult to get decent results from glass that is corroded. I also need to try to select samples that will provide a good cross-section of the assemblage in question. When the results come in (we get up to 52 oxide, element and trace element values for each sample) I need to work with Laure to figure out how the beads fit into glass types and time frames, and how they compare to other assemblages both nearby and on other continents.” – Marilee Wood.

Your area of interest is African archaeology. How did you become interested in this area?

“Until 1993, I considered myself a historical archaeologist and planned to continue working in the US on colonial period sites. This changed when I, by chance, met Adria LaViolette and she invited me to work on one of her projects in 1993 on Pemba. That season was transformative for me, and I became intrigued by the Swahili coast, a place of cultural contact and rapid social transformation, and the global linkages evident in what were considered remote places. I returned to graduate school in 1995 in Virginia, focusing on rural-urban relationships on first and second millennium Pemba Island, Tanzania.” – Jeffrey Fleisher.

What area of archaeology do you work in?

“I am a small finds specialist working for the Portable Antiquities Scheme (PAS). I specialise in metal artefacts. It is my role to liaise with the public, especially metal detectorists, identify their finds, and record them onto the online PAS database (available at www.finds.org.uk). We will soon have 1 million objects recorded!” – Amy Downes.

The articles within this issue are an eclectic mix, covering a wide range of topics. A number of these articles were submissions to the 2013 ASA conference that was held last year at King's Manor, York. We thank the authors for being so patient whilst we edited the articles, and are pleased to be able to publish them within this issue. This year, the ASA conference will be held at The University of Reading. If you are interested in presenting a paper or want to become involved, more information can be found at www.asaconference.org.uk.

Imogen Burrell opens this issue with her interesting article on 'What are non-intrusive archaeological survey techniques, and how are they used to archaeological advantages during excavation'. Burrell also submitted a piece in our previous issue, Issue 35, reflecting on whether the Pitt Rivers Museum is a 'real' museum or not. Both of her articles are extremely well written and definitely worth a read.

The Post Hole is excited to announce we have a special and unique article referring to two recent films released, and drawing from Isaak Wilson's Issue 27 *The Post Hole* article. **Joel Goodchild's** 'Django Unchained and 12 years a Slave: Discourses on the Transatlantic Slave Trade and the Implications of British Colonialism' is an excellent article and he provides a unique insight into both films, relating them to history and archaeology.

Alex Westra discusses the importance of the discussion group, 'The Childe Collective'. The group provides a platform for discussion and dissemination of research and ideas in Edinburgh. This exclusive article reflects on the group's activities and reveals how it can expand and improve.

'A well-oiled future: Recreating Babylonian oil divination' written by **Alex Loktionov** is a thought provoking piece, exploring the most ancient documented form of fortune-telling: Old Babylonian oil divination. Loktionov argues the importance of practical work, and how it provides insight into a psychological framework that is not clear in archaeology.

'The Temple of Isis in Pompeii: The Promise of Navigable Seas in a Seafaring Economy' is an exciting and original article. Through a well written article, **Kelly Guerrieri** emphasises the relationship between the trading economy, the sea and Pompeian life, and how the success of the sea impacted on the traders and the city's survival.

One of *The Post Hole* team editors, **Faye Morrissey**, gives an interesting take on the archaeology in North-West England, and how it should not be neglected. This article is extremely fascinating and stimulating, and I hope it will generate a lot of responses from our readers.

Finally, **Ben Wajdner**, a Cultural Heritage Management Masters student completes this issue with an article that is not only attention-grabbing, but provocative and challenging. 'Cultural Heritage Theory and Practice: raising awareness to a problem facing our generation' is a topic relevant to today, and like Faye Morrissey's article, I hope will generate responses and provide *The Post Hole* with some interesting debates.

We hope you enjoy this issue and if you have any questions or queries, feel free to email me.

Best wishes,

Emily Taylor
(Editor-in-Chief of *The Post Hole* - editor@theposthole.org)

What are non-intrusive archaeological survey techniques, and how are they used to archaeological advantages during excavation

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There are a variety of non-intrusive archaeological survey techniques available to archaeologists which can assist excavations before they have begun, during the excavation – bringing clarity to uncovered features, and after – to tie everything together and create a detailed excavation report. Non-intrusive techniques include field walking, sampling, aerial photography, geophysical and geochemical surveys (resistivity and magnetometer surveys) GPR, metal detecting, GIS, and LiDAR (radar acting as its underwater equivalent). The value of each method depends on different variables including the environment, climate, light, time, aim and type of excavation and budget.

Non-intrusive techniques have developed over time, and while some remain fairly simple, others increase in their complexity. Field walking is normally identified as the most simplistic of non-intrusive methods to carry out. In comparison to conducting optical aerial photography, it is very straight-forward.

Aerial reconnaissance requires thorough planning and must be timed precisely in order to coordinate with favourable conditions where features can be identified with ease (Balme and Paterson 2006). In addition, the equipment and materials must be used by an expert in the field of photography. Although cameras and film-types used by the masses are very adaptable, optimum equipment and materials need to be selected, as a number of colour emulsions are sensitive to colour ranges. Colour and contrast can be enhanced by computer scanning, filtering, special developing and printing processes; infrared photography or other types of non-photographic digital images may generate clearer results (Green and Moore 2010, 65). When aerial reconnaissance is conducted competently, buried sites which may not be visible at ground-level can be brought to light. The sites are captured through discolorations in the overlying soil or crops, thus creating an invaluable guide for fieldwork and mapping landscape types from certain periods over large areas (Balme and Paterson 2006). It is therefore most helpful in the initial planning process of excavation.

Geophysical surveys are relatively easy to conduct as the equipment is simple to operate and, similarly to field-walking, the process requires little expertise. The simplicity of conducting a geophysical survey varies depending on which form of instrument you are using. For example, magnetic surveying does not require the insertion of probes in the ground; the instrument can be carried along a grid or linear system,

whereas a resistivity survey requires multiple probes to be forced into the ground at regular intervals (Green and Moore 2010). As a result, magnetic surveys are substantially quicker and easier to use as there is a lower chance of configurations getting mixed-up. On further inspection, there are also variations amongst magnetometers with regards to the speed of their performance; proton gradiometers are easier than proton magnetometers; however, the fluxgate gradiometer has been termed the 'racehorse' of archaeological prospecting and can speedily record data continuously with no stops needed (Green and Moore 2010, 76).

Dissimilar to field walking and geophysical surveys, LiDAR and geographical information systems (GIS) require both technical experience and archaeological knowledge in order to identify features and trends.

The identification of a particular type of site or feature indicative of a particular time-period can be evident in air-photographs, with the use of morphology and knowledge of archaeological characteristics (Wilson 1982). For example, the Stonehenge Avenue in Wiltshire was the first feature to be identified by crop-marks in Britain, a discovery which later prompted excavation (Wilson 1982, 80). Aerial photography can also highlight several structural periods; an example of this can be seen at Burncastle Hillfort in Berwickshire (Wilson 1982, 98), and particular structures, for example the Roman town of Silchester in Hampshire was archaeologically identifiable due to its systematic street patterns and cluster of central public buildings (Wilson 1982, 106-7). This information can be very influential and inform an archaeological team where to concentrate their trenches, depending on their hypothesis or research question.

With archaeological work becoming increasingly expensive, cheap and efficient methods have become more favourable. Not only is field-walking simple, it is also very cost effective, as it requires only a small amount of inexpensive equipment compared to geophysical surveys which require, for instance, a magnetometer, which is very expensive to hire, let alone purchase. Methods which require electronic equipment are significantly more expensive than those which do not, and labour expenses must also be taken into account (Gaffney and Gater 2003). A simple method to carry out reduces the need for specialists, which can acquire high costs. It is also beneficial to commercial and rescue excavations which lack financial support, especially in today's economic climate in which Heritage Management has suffered cuts.

The simplicity of a method does not necessarily assure speed. While field walking may be a simple procedure which provides experience for amateurs, it can be very time-consuming and cumbersome on a large-scale (Grant *et al.* 2008). Due to lack of time, only a small percentage of sites are covered during field surveys, which does not include the surrounding landscape. Field-walking is normally only thought of as a tool for locating sites, which is accurate to an extent (Drewett 2011). For example, a group of amateurs called the 'Car Dyke Research Group' investigated over 5,000 fields between the years of 1968 and 1975 and thereby added 27 Iron Age, nearly 150 Roman and 15 early Saxon sites to the Sites and

Monuments record, thus creating potential for new avenues of excavation which were not present previously (Brown 1987, 23). However, field-walking can also expand the excavation, and allow the site to be understood within its natural context by investigating relationships and the ways in which the surrounding landscapes were exploited (Drewett 2011). For example, a thin scatter of Roman pottery could suggest the use of animal manure and determine the extent of arable land.

Sites such as the Roman Villa Plumton in Sussex were identified because of the flint and chalk concentrations in the plough soil; flue, tesserae and painted wall plaster suggested a higher standard of living (Brown 1987). Inter-site analysis is also achievable with the use of field-walking results; clusters of material cultural can determine different house-hold room functions and its activity areas within an archaeological settlement (Drewett 2011). Some activities leave obvious archaeological traces – for example, surface concentrations of flint can be evidenced as an area of manufacturing: flint knapping. As result of this, archaeologists have a loose-idea of the type and function of the site prior to excavation.

LiDAR is arguably the fastest prospection tool and offers little comparison to manual topographical surveys, especially detailed surveys which require a combination of equipment and can be very extensive (Chapman 2006, 58). The Savernake Forest National Mapping programme demonstrates how using LiDAR as a primary method can create a highly detailed and accurate model of the landscape, and recognise and record sites which would have been hard to detect by other means due to canopies of woodland (English Heritage n.d.a.). Speed is essential during rescue excavations and watching briefs, due to the small time-frame in which archaeologists have to record archaeological evidence in a well-represented and accurate manner. English Heritage's record of The Mendip Hills AONB NMP is just one project that demonstrates the benefits of using multiple methods together; LiDAR can penetrate the plantation where aerial photography cannot (English Heritage n.d.b.).

The productivity of non-intrusive methods is not fixed. Some equipment can thrive in urban environments while others can be disturbed by the effects of wire fences, electrical storms, and transport networks (Green and Moore 2010, 76). For instance, field-walking is only productive in specific conditions – in ploughed fields. Sites that exist in an industrial environment or in a landscape which has not been subjected to arable farming are unsuitable. Field-walking is ideal for the collection of surface artefacts and recognising sites. Sites can be recognised through ground variation: form, colouration and characteristics of the ground. However, it is not as successful as aerial photography for uncovering new sites (Green and Moore 2010).

A prehistoric site in Rugby, Warwickshire shows that there is a measurement of effectiveness with every non-intrusive technique, as in this case, the error is most likely due to movement of field boundaries. The geophysical results differed greatly from the aerial photographic record of the site revealing a miscalculation of the location of site features and considerable difference in the shape of some of the enclosures. Therefore, geophysical data is not necessarily superior to photographic evidence from the air,

but can check the accuracy of aerial photographic rectification on crop mark sites which are under investigation. This produces a more refined picture of the site which can help archaeologists produce a more meaningful interpretation before and during excavation (Gaffney and Gater 2003, 124). Another way geophysics can help excavation is in estimating the depth of deposits which lie on top of bedrock. This can be crucial at sites such as Cooper's Hole, a cave site in Cheddar, due to the low cave height and the clay deposits. Both conditions prevented the use of coring and GPR as possible solutions. However, using an EDM system provided the information as to how much material would have to be removed before layers of archaeological interest were uncovered (Gaffney and Gater 2003, 121).

The productivity of geophysical techniques is dependent on the weather and climate. Resistivity surveying falls short on sites where the moisture content is low, therefore it is favourable to seasons when sites are well drained but still moist (Greene and Moore 2010, 77). Harsh weather conditions such as frost and rainfall can reduce the productivity of measuring resistance and create inaccurate results. As a result, fixed features such as walls, ditches and roads are the easiest features to detect through resistivity. Similarly, magnetometers are well suited to particular features; the alignment of magnetic particles of heating at 7000°C or above, solid features and refilled ditches create suitable anomalies that are easily detectable (Greene and Moore 2010).

The Wroxeter Hinterland Project shows how magnetometers can compliment archaeological excavation after it has taken place. Recent excavations of the site have only uncovered a small percentage, 'certainly less than 1 percent of the total', consequently leaving large parts of the city unknown (Renfrew and Bahn 2012). The results of numerous types of geophysical survey, some of which included a gradiometer survey, a resistance survey, and a ground penetrating radar, created an extensive plan which revealed a hierarchal system with elite buildings prominently in the centre and artisan quarters to the southwest. In addition, the geophysical results provided archaeological information regarding the earlier phases of the site, which allowed the regression of the site to be evaluated (Renfrew and Bahn 2012).

Some methodologies can be understood by non-specialists. However a wealth of information can become confusing, especially when different types of data are combined. In the past, archaeologists have found the range of data from non-intrusive methods of archaeological practice "bewildering" to cross-compare (Grant *et al.* 2008). However, modern adaptations of Geographical Information Systems (GIS) now allow archaeologists to create a more precise collection of data in a shorter time-frame than before (Wheatley and Gillings 2002). A Geographic Information System (GIS) allows academic members of society to reconstruct a virtual picture of the past by combining multiple results. These include geographical surveys, desktop research, photographic records and geophysical and geochemical results which can highlight patterns, relationships and trends which were not evident on a single piece of data, for instance an oblique photograph which only reveals the initial site itself (Chapman 2006). The Giza Plateau Mapping Project shows how using digitalised software can bring together multiple types of data, including

excavation, to create a platform where it can be understood as a collective (Renfrew and Bahn 2012). When comparing the difficulty of interpretation, aerial photography is slightly less demanding than geophysical surveys and LiDAR. Awareness of the limitations of aerial photography, especially with regards to crop-marks, need to be taken into consideration.

In conclusion, there is no single non-intrusive method which out performs all the other methods. Each method's contribution to excavation depends on the amount of contemporary records available concerning the site, the condition and location of the site, the type of excavation being carried out, and the extent of achievement desired. There are stages of archaeological investigation where some methods come into their own; desktop surveys, aerial reconnaissance and LiDAR (in areas of forestry) are useful for the identification of sites and the ideal method to use before the start of an excavation. During the planning process, they can map the surrounding environmental landscape, adding context to the site, identify the type of site, create a relevant date in time and pinpoint functions and suitable areas of activity. Depending on the budget or the nature of the excavation, be they commercial, research or rescue, different techniques are more complimentary. Quicker technicality and less laborious procedures such as magnetometers, complement rescue excavations more than cumbersome techniques such as resistivity, as the most concise archaeological record needs to be made in a short-period-of-time. Ideally a combination of all the non-intrusive methods, some of which are used prior to and after the excavation has begun, is the most favourable approach to excavation.

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Django Unchained and 12 Years a Slave: Discourses on the Transatlantic Slave Trade and the Implications of British Colonialism

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Django Unchained was released in the UK on the 18th January 2013, around the same time I began my third year module 'Archaeology of the Modern World'. It offered the chance to further my understanding of the transatlantic slave trade – a subject which I was particularly interested in, having worked at Harewood House since the age of sixteen, and learnt little from secondary education. After completing third year, I sat down to watch *Django Unchained*, fully expecting to enjoy the film which came highly recommended. However, I got so angry at aspects of the film that I had turned it off within an hour. I then chanced upon Izaak Wilson's (2013) article 'Can Django Speak? New archaeologies of slavery' which asked to what extent archaeology could give a voice to those subjected to slavery and offered a theoretical basis by which this might best be achieved. The author praised the film, calling it an intervention (Wilson 2013, 27, 35). "In some ways the film was more interesting than the most intense documentaries, the artistic license allowing the makers to go beyond the strictures of the Just-So story and play about with the idea that a black slave might actually have done something extraordinary. We saw a vision of freedom that [...] went beyond the norm of a slave merely observing their lot in life." (Wilson 2013, 35). By Just-So story, I presume the author is referring to the strictures of non-fictional historical narrative, rather than the Just-So stories of authors such as Rudyard Kipling. This leaves the implication that historical narratives rarely, if ever, portray an enslaved African doing anything extraordinary, an assertion that is also implicit in Tarantino's interview with Krishnan Guru-Murphy on Channel 4 News (2013).

I recently watched Steve McQueen's (2013) film '12 Years a Slave', an adaptation of the historical narrative written by Solomon Northup in 1853. The release of the film provided the opportunity to revisit *Django Unchained* (which I have now watched in its entirety) and to attempt to articulate what is wrong with the film and Tarantino's own marketing of it – he himself describes the film as an intervention (Channel 4 News, 2013). The following discussion of the films *Django Unchained* and *12 Years a Slave* raises pertinent questions about the UK's failure to confront its own significant role in transatlantic slavery and its colonial past. It also argues that this failure has resulted in many of the tensions which exist within, and between, communities in the UK today.

Like *Inglorious Basterds* (2009), *Django Unchained* is a remake, based on Sergio Corbucci's (1966) Italian take on the Spaghetti Western, *Django*. In the 1966 film, the eponymous hero is a former Union soldier who exacts vengeance for the murder of his wife by a gang of racist Confederates who have taken over

his hometown. The film can be attributed to the exploitation genre – low budget films which rely on the exploitation of lurid subject matter, often action, sex and/or violence to gain financial success (Wikipedia). *Django Unchained* is also heavily influenced by *Mandingo* (1975), a film which exploits sex and violence in the form of Mandingo fighting, whereby enslaved Africans are forced to fight each other to the death. Mandingo fighting is central to the story of *Django Unchained*; in one memorable scene an enslaved African is handed a hammer by Calvin Candie (Leonardo DiCaprio), a slave-owner and Mandingo fight enthusiast, with which to ‘finish-off’ his opponent. It is important to note that Mandingo fighting only exists in the popular imagination: there is no evidence for such a practice in the historical record beyond rumours of isolated incidents, and particularly not on the scale shown in *Django Unchained* and *Mandingo*, in which it is depicted as sport (Harris 2012).

There is no doubt that Tarantino is heavily influenced by the exploitation genre into which *Django Unchained* does fit. Like most of Tarantino’s films, it exploits violence, which is visually quite subdued by Tarantino’s standards when depicting atrocities against the enslaved, but which reverts to the ‘cathartic’ hyper-violence with which the director has become synonymous when depicting violence against whites (and horses). The film could even be said to exploit history itself, which, as in *Inglorious Basterds*, provides the stage on which these tales of comic-book style revenge are carried out. So, as an exploitation film which bears more in common with a cartoon or comic than any historical reality, the film can be accepted, though it has been convincingly argued by Jean Celestin in the Haitian Times (2012) that the film is disrespectful because, unlike *Inglorious Basterds*, it deals with a subject that has yet to be portrayed sensibly by mainstream Hollywood (i.e. *Schindlers List*, *The Pianist* etc.). A problem does, however, arise when Tarantino states “I am responsible for people talking about slavery in a way that they have not for 30 years...there is actually a dialogue going on about slavery right now that has not been happening, at all. It’s a subject that people are afraid to talk about, and now because of this movie, people aren’t afraid to talk about it, people are talking about it...there is brutality to the slaves that hasn’t been dealt with in America to the extent that I deal with it and I’m showing you that there were two holocausts in America, this is one of them, we’ve dealt with the Indian holocaust.” (Channel 4 News 2013).

Tarantino’s assertion that the film is an exploration of slavery (i.e. the *realities* of slavery) blurs the line between fact and fiction as represented within the film, thereby presenting Mandingo fighting as historical fact. Popular misconceptions about slavery in the US are reinforced by scenes such as the one in which Dr. King Schultz (Christoph Waltz) tells the enslaved Africans freed with Django: “Or...you could unshackle yourselves. Take a rifle. Put a bullet in his head. Bury him deep and make your way to a more enlightened area of this country. Choice is yours. Oh, and on the off chance there are any astronomy aficionados amongst you, the North Star is that one.” (*Django Unchained* 2012). The southern states have long been scapegoated within American popular culture for the atrocity of chattel slavery in the US. However, slavery was highly significant in the northern states too, a fact subverted by every film in which the racists all have southern accents, including *Django Unchained* where the only northerner represented

in the film is wholly untouched by the dominant racist ideologies of the period, or even abolitionist discourses which portrayed the enslaved as unsophisticated, persecuted victims wholly reliant on Christian goodwill in order to gain public support (Chater 2009, 165). Tarantino states that the film's *raison d'être* was to provide black American males with an empowering "Western hero" (Channel 4 News 2013). It has to be questioned just how empowering the film is, when throughout Django is reliant on the jarring paternalism of Dr. Schultz. Celestin (2012) describes this relationship as follows: "There's nothing self-determining or redeeming about Django becoming who he becomes as a result of this white saviour phenomenon." This film simply cannot be described as an 'exploration of slavery' because it is reliant on elements which taken individually are implausible, but combine to make a story that says more about white popular culture than the horrors of chattel slavery.

The transatlantic slave trade is a subject that has yet to be properly addressed in either the US or UK. This is highlighted by a comment made by Simon Mayo at the end of Mark Kermode's Radio 5 Live review of *Django Unchained*: "There was a point after about ninety minutes where I found myself thinking, I really, really hope that Quentin Tarantino never feels as though he has to make a film about Northern Ireland, or Syria, or something that, you know, that matters or has some contemporary relevance" (BBC Radio 5 Live 2013). From discussions with friends, family, workmates etc. (the majority of whom are white), it has become clear to me that the view that the transatlantic slave trade has no contemporary relevance is widely held. The reason that transatlantic slavery, and by extension, the implications of British colonialism, are thought to have no contemporary relevance in the UK, is because certain links are not being made by those with the responsibility of educating people about them (i.e. the BBC, the Department for Education, Harewood House Trust etc.).

These links are well illustrated by the history of the Lascelles, the aristocratic family who reside at Harewood House, Yorkshire. The Lascelles were instrumental in shaping Britain as a colonial power. The family owned more than 27,000 acres of land in Jamaica, Tobago, Barbados and Granada, as well as having interests in ships that traded enslaved Africans between Africa and Barbados (Lascelles Slavery Archive). The Lascelles family received compensation of £26,309, equivalent to over £20 million in today's terms, from the British Treasury for the release of approximately eight hundred enslaved Africans they owned (calculated from figures in The Independent 2013). Henry Lascelles (1690-1753) was also director of the East India Company between 1737 and 1745 (Wikipedia), a private company which would go on to colonise and exploit the Indian sub-continent up until the Indian Rebellion of 1857, and has been described as the progenitor of the modern multi-national (Robins 2012). The profits derived from slave-trading, ownership, and colonial expansion allowed Henry Lascelles to purchase the manor of Gawthorpe in 1739, thereby buying into the English aristocracy (Smith 2006). A cluster of streets in Harehills, a neighbourhood in north Leeds, take their names from the Lascelles family who owned the surrounding land prior to development. That these streets, and indeed the entire neighbourhood, are now inhabited in a large part by families from India, Pakistan and Bangladesh, highlights a forgotten link between the

histories of these families and that of the Lascelles. The Lascelles' fortune, which is still very much in existence, was founded on the exploitation of the ancestors of people who now live just a few miles down Harrogate Road from Harewood (i.e. Chapeltown and Harehills). These communities are still economically poor whilst the Lascelles, and other members of the white British establishment who profited directly from the transatlantic slave trade and other forms of British colonialism, are rich. The Lascelles only sold their final plantation in the Caribbean in 1975 (Webb 2007).

The transatlantic slave trade provided the surpluses of capital and export markets which drove eighteenth-century colonial expansion, and provided the foundation for the expansion of the British Empire (Inikori 2002). Georgie Wemyss' (2009) book *The Invisible Empire: White Discourse, Tolerance and Belonging* demonstrates how dominant liberal discourse in the UK manipulates historical narratives to avoid confronting the implications of Britain's colonial past. This past provides an explanation as to why Britain is now home to people from Britain's former colonial possessions (i.e. Jamaica, Kenya, Bangladesh, India), but it is a past which people in Britain are largely ignorant of. Wemyss' (2009) book includes a quote from a young Bangladeshi male living in Tower Hamlets, east London, condemning the BNP's deportation policy. He contextualised his argument as follows: "They are ignoring the fact that what Britain is today, is a lot of blood and sweat from the people of Bangladesh, India, Africa, and other countries, not only in this country, but in colonial times, in India and Africa. All the wealth was coming from all over the world...and then after the Second World War there was a crisis of labour and people were invited to rebuild this country and produce goods to sell to the Third World again...so they are making a double profit...Britain, what it is today, is due to hundreds of years of colonialism." (Wemyss 2009, 138). The profit derived from the British Empire was concentrated in the pockets of a very small number of people, the majority of Britons enduring low wages, dangerous working conditions, and the loss of ancient common rights to land through Parliamentary Acts of Enclosure (for the latter see Neeson 1993). Slavery did not go uncontested in Britain. In 1788, two-thirds of the adult male population of Manchester signed a petition demanding the abolition of the slave trade (Colley 1996, cited in Wemyss 2009).

Steve McQueen's film *12 Years a Slave* (2013) tells the story of Solomon Northup, a free African-American who is kidnapped and sold into the southern slave economy. The film and the performances within it are incredible, moving a person sat behind me in the cinema to tears by the end of it. The film is a success because it is nuanced, offering an insight into the contradictions inherent within the chattel slavery. For example, *Edwin Epps* (Michael Fassbender) is a slave owner whose love for Patsy, an enslaved African, clashes against the racist ideology embedded within him and the society as a whole, driving the character to acts of horrible violence. Further, it is a success because it is a black director's depiction of the experience of an African-American who experienced chattel slavery first hand, who then went on to publish a best-selling book about his experiences, and who subsequently became active in the Underground Railroad and abolitionist movements. All of this featured in a Culture Show Special *Steve*

McQueen: Are you sitting comfortably?, which was dedicated to the film, its background, and to the artist-turned-director, Steve McQueen.

Both *Django Unchained* (2012) and *12 years a Slave* (2013) deal with subject matter that is seen by many in the UK to have little contemporary relevance, with the wider implication being that our colonial past has little contemporary relevance. Both Chiwitel Ejiofor, the film's lead actor, and McQueen have recently been leading calls for Northrup's (1853) book to be included in the school curriculum and for Britain to properly confront its colonial past (The Bath Chronicle 2014). The current Secretary of State for Education, Michael Gove MP, was formerly chair of the right-wing think tank 'Policy Exchange', which has argued that history lessons should focus on the positive aspects of colonialism, rather than "focusing attention on the racism and violence of Empire," (Mirza et al. 2006, 92) in order to promote a more coherent 'British identity' (Wemyss 2009, 175). Michael Gove MP serves under Prime Minister David Cameron, whose family, like the Lascelles, were compensated for the loss of their enslaved African property (The Independent 2013). Since teaching of the transatlantic slave trade only became a compulsory part of the secondary school curriculum in 2008, it should be questioned in whose interests the dominant discourse acts by failing to teach about Britain's colonial past.

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The Childe Collective

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In Edinburgh, we started a discussion group. I say we, for neither have I invented discussion groups, nor was I alone in wanting to put one in place, and I did not come up with the name for it: *The Childe Collective*. This group's success, if I may be so bold, was also forged with the support and blessing of Edinburgh University's Archaeology Society (AKA: ArchSoc), whose help promoting it on the internet was invaluable. *The Childe Collective* discussion group is constituted of many components, compounded into creating an intimate, informal and honest platform for discussion and dissemination of research and ideas.

My friends Joe Thompson, Tom Gardner, and I, found ourselves in a dilemma by third year, wanting more debate concerning archaeological theory. We often debated theoretical questions, usually on the walks home. We quickly came to the realisation that what we needed in order to engage with theory in archaeology in greater depth, was a dedicated discussion group, consisting of those who have an interest in archaeology. Although the courses in Edinburgh are excellent, I wanted to ponder these theoretical issues a bit more, and share these musings with my peers for them to contemplate and argue with. And so, for our first meeting, we discussed *Vere Gordon Childe* and the culture-history paradigm with which he is often associated. This was in honour of the person whom our archaeology department holds in great reverence, esteem and dare I say, love. I give credit to Tom Gardner for the name *The Childe Collective*.

Sessions

I believe an important aspect of the discussion group is the fact that we actually physically get together. Although virtual discussions are far from worthless, they are in truth, quite different from an actual conversation, perhaps not in function or structure, but in experience at least. I believe that the fact that questions and arguments can be kept as a record can be intimidating, as with any public comment, we place ourselves in a position to be judged. In my experience, the quality of conversation on online forums can vary greatly. The ability to converse with individuals across the globe is phenomenal, however, the aptitude and comfort in teaching and discussing things in the presence of others is an invaluable skill. From giving lectures to an audience, to presenting a proposal to a board or a committee, confidence in one's academic skill and knowledge tends to help get ideas across positively. Additionally, and importantly so, one gets to be proven wrong, contended with, and shown different perspectives on an issue. Having one's ideas assessed and evaluated in the presence of others in an informal manner, is an important part of the learning and thinking process. This does not discourage innovation and ideas, but rather helps reinforce them, and allows the student to establish his thesis on stronger, better-constructed premises

and arguments. Like a house, a sturdy argument's foundations will survive and be built upon, rather than that which was built on frail and flimsy premises. I realise that all of this can be applied to online forums as well. Arguably, they are even better, since you can express yourself from the safety of your computer. Yet, I feel that there is more spontaneity in a live conversation and perhaps a little more humility. We gain a lot more as individuals if we are able to honestly discuss archaeological questions in each other's presence.

Use of internet

I am hoping to venture out with *The Childe Collective* on the internet. The creation of a forum, or blog, which would hopefully coordinate and communicate with other groups of dedicated students across the UK and perhaps beyond, is something we are actively concerned with. I do not know what form, organisation and dynamics of such an enterprise would take. However, I feel it may be a platform for creating wider links between the archaeology schools, societies and students across the UK. Perhaps the shift from the familiar, to the global web, would to some extent chip away at the essence of what *The Childe Collective* is at heart: discussions between enthusiastic archaeology students. There is a certain transience about the internet that may not fit well with this type of group.

Regular sessions

Another important aspect of the discussion group has been the regularity of it, and a good attendance throughout. I think it inspired many students to speak up and express their thoughts in a comfortable environment. The Dutch word 'Gezellig', characterises these evenings quite well. It means something along the lines of convivial, comfortable or familiar. I believe this encouraged people to take part in the debates. In other words, people eventually felt comfortable and confident enough, after some discussion sessions, to take part and even present and lead a discussion on a topic of their choice. Moreover, I believe that people learned to reason a little more. By being tackled and refuted intellectually, you can learn the various fallacies or logical errors you can make when maintaining a particular perspective. For example: some of you may go to the gym, or play a sport regularly, or play an instrument, thus, you may be aware that the more you practice at a sport or an instrument, the better you get. Well, the same applies to intellectual dialogue; the more you train, the better you become at it. In this case, people got better at reasoning with logic and sense. You would be mistaken to think that you are not intellectually endowed with the mental faculties to analyse or rationalize or think logically. It is within everyone's abilities. But like most things, it requires practice.

Impact

So what is *The Childe Collective*? At its core, it is a discussion group, but it has grown to have different and particular importance to its members.

- (4th Year Undergraduate): *I think it is a great forum for people to learn about others' specialities or to bring to the table what areas of archaeology that some people find interesting.*
- (1st Year Undergraduate): *A place where people can present their work, ideas, interests and have them discussed and challenged.*
- (3rd Year Undergraduate): *It enables for a comfortable, relaxed atmosphere in which you can debate and question matters and topics and gain other perspective and angles on course-discussed topics in addition to general interests proposed.*
- (3rd Year Undergraduate): *At The Childe Collective, conversation comes easily; we are all comfortable in sharing our views on diverse topics and learning from each other. It keeps me thinking and there is a little competitive element too, which encourages me to work harder and learn more in class.*

But why have a discussion group at all? Very simply, to engage with the material beyond lectures and research and by doing so, learn about other fields and disciplines and experiences which will allow any individual to go in depth in a particular topic, and also broaden one's horizons on a range of topics regarding archaeology and thus bolster one's interest and embolden one in discourse.

- (4th Year Undergraduate): *Personally, it enabled me for the first time to feel confident in discussing intellectual issues with my peers; this is something I have struggled with hugely in the past due to lack of confidence in my own academic ability.*
- (2nd Year exchange student): *Much of what was discussed, I had never learned before and it was especially helpful to hear what a variety of people had to say. The debates often became slightly heated which provided a great learning environment.*

A simple thing was done. We set up a time and a place, and invited all the students to come and join a discussion of an archaeological nature. Yet, as you can see by some of these testimonies, it meant a lot more to many.

The fluid and flexible nature of these discussion evenings is that they eventually encompassed more than just purely theoretical questions. Originally covering topics such as culture-history, Marxism and archaeology, Annales and Braudelian thought, ethics in burial, and cultural ownership and gender in archaeology, it branched out. Additionally we led a workshop on stratigraphy and the use and creation of the Harris Matrix. We also were introduced to the work of the 'Yadlee Stone Circle' project, and it

functioned as a great platform for raising awareness and rallying support for the 'Archaeology in Schools Project' run by Hannah McGlynn.

What happened essentially is that students came to the discussion group and some presented ideas, thoughts and aspects on their dissertations, essays, projects and personal interests. From 1st year undergraduate to PhD students, people were here to discuss and learn from each other.

Room for Improvement

- *(4th Year): We had a range of ages and academic levels at our discussion groups this year, from first year to PhD; however, I would love to see more members perhaps from pre-honours years. This could be done through advertising and I believe it would be successful.*
- *(4th Year): Expanding of the collective to other Universities/archaeology groups etc.*
- *(3rd Year): A way of organising who speaks so that it's not a free-for-all and so even the quieter people get to air their opinions.*

A question that you may be wondering is why, and how, is a discussion group such as *The Childe Collective* significant? Unfortunately, I cannot alone answer that. I hope to have shown you some of the aspects I consider noteworthy, but more importantly, what those who participated thought of *The Childe Collective*. However, it needs constant revision and adaptation. As well as learning about old ideas, we must engage with the new challenges. While we discuss theory, we must also engage with the practical aspects of archaeology, and while we are scholars and researchers, we must also be the emissaries for archaeology.

So what has the Childe Collective done?

I know that it has been significant in providing a forum for enthusiastic students to come and talk about their interests, projects and ideas. As such, individuals have been able to disseminate findings and get support from others at the discussion group, like the 'Yadlee Stone Circle' project or the 'Archaeology in Schools' project. It has also provided a great deal of insight for the students in many aspects of archaeology they may never have had the chance to engage with just yet. By extent, they have been able to learn a great deal from others on a range of topics, and learn by teaching and explaining to others their ideas and thoughts in archaeology. We have examined a wide variety of themes in our discussions from theoretical to practical, to current, to educational and ethical. Finally, if anything, I believe all those who came to the discussion group, gained a little modesty.

A well-oiled future: Recreating Babylonian oil divination

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This paper looks at arguably the most ancient documented form of fortune-telling: Old Babylonian oil divination. The principle aim is to raise awareness of a much under-studied element in the ancient Mesopotamian textual record, giving some suggestions regarding its social function along the way. Additionally, the investigation provides a short case study demonstrating how practical work can be used to provide an insight into a psychological framework which neither archaeology, nor textual records, can adequately reveal. This in turn has important applications for outreach activities, designed to raise wider awareness of the ancient world among the modern public, as the reconstructive methodologies in question can extend their appeal far beyond conventional academic circles.

Oil divination in ancient Mesopotamia was already well established by the Old Babylonian period in the early 2nd millennium BCE, but the great complexity of the ‘omen corpora’ relating to it at this time, strongly implies that it had already been developing over many years. An origin in the 3rd millennium BCE is therefore not improbable, which would coincide with the rapid development of urbanism, social stratification and non-utilitarian ritualistic occupations which are characteristic of Mesopotamia in this period (van de Mieroop 2007).

In particular, the development of the ‘cuneiform’ writing system allowed for the recording of complicated procedures alongside purely administrative records, and this is evident in the oil omens. An emerging scribal class, best documented at sites like Ur and Nippur, but present throughout Mesopotamia (Black *et al.* 2006), was therefore likely to be intrinsically connected with the spread of oil divination as a methodical and academic pursuit.

Limitations in the textual descriptions available mean that the exact procedure of oil divination is impossible to reconstruct, but it was most likely a two-stage process (Pettinato 1966). First, a bowl of water had oil poured onto it, producing an initial oil pattern visible on the water surface. Next, more water was added, creating a new pattern. Both the primary and secondary patterns were significant, with one compendium of omens dealing with “pouring oil on water” and another concerned with “pouring water on oil” (Pettinato 1966).

Each omen followed a rigid structure, which was a result clause consisting of a protasis and apodosis, the former stating the characteristics of the visible pattern and the latter explaining what this heralded. Key elements in the oil-water patterns apparently included the number of bubbles, their size, colour, location

in the bowl and any movements in relation to cardinal compass points. Thus, a typical example might be “(if) one throws water onto oil and it disperses evenly (protasis), the house of the man will be scattered (apodosis)” (text 1 in Pettinato 1966, 33).

Needless to say, on what basis protases and apodoses were consequentially matched up is deeply unclear, especially as a number of crucial variables such as bowl size, light intensity and type of oil used, cannot be determined with any confidence. Nonetheless, the information which the textual corpus *did* provide, proved sufficient to at least construct a rough outline of the process, in the hope that practical work could supply some additional answers.

The experiments were carried out in two stages, as stipulated by the omens themselves. First oil was added to water, and then more water was poured over this oil. Although the method certainly cannot claim to accurately represent the original technique, it was a highly useful way of engaging with the materiality of rapidly changing liquid patterns in a limited space. Notably, the importance of the size, number and colour of bubbles, alongside their positions and movements, were all confirmed. Similarly, the experiments highlighted the importance of light intensity, as patterns appeared very different in light and dark conditions (Figure 1).

However, perhaps the most important inference was the great degree of subjectivity inherent in the method, there always being multiple ways of describing any oil pattern and therefore ample scope for fitting a single result to several omens. This would suggest that individual judgement and arbitrary interpretation would have been crucial, with the judgement of the diviner determining the outcome of the divination far more than the oil pattern itself.



Figure 1. Comparisons of water-oil surface patterns in light and dark conditions; the differences can clearly be seen (Image copyright: A. Loktionov).

This last conclusion has especially interesting implications. With oil divination results ultimately being seen as divine verdicts, a particular divinatory outcome could therefore justify a specific course of action. In the highly charged political climate of ancient Mesopotamia, this could have crucial significance as rulers or other decision-makers could transfer responsibility for their own actions onto culturally postulated superhuman agents (Koch 2010). This would essentially mean that they were just carrying out the wishes of gods in accordance with omen outcomes, and had no agency of their own. This has been shown to be the case in liver extispicies carried out in the Neo-Assyrian period of the early 1st millennium BCE (Radner 2009, 2011), but the ambiguous nature of many oil omens suggests that this early 2nd millennium BCE method could have had a similar function.

It is certainly easy to envisage unclear oil patterns being interpreted in a way which matched the preferred political decisions of rulers. With a highly exclusive literate class of diviners seen to possess esoteric knowledge, their interpretation would be seen as the will of the gods, rather than just the arbitrary will of the ruler, which merely happened to coincide with the decision of divine authority. If this ‘theory of mind mechanism’ works for agency transfers in Neo-Assyria (Koch 2010), there is little reason to suggest that the Old Babylonian period was any different.

However, there is still one further unanswered question: even though one can suggest a compelling socio-political function for the divinations, as shown earlier, it is far more difficult to understand the basis of linkage between protases and apodoses. Why does an even dispersal of water on the oil surface mean that the house of a man will be scattered, as in the earlier example? On the basis of the experiments, it may be productive to employ a scaled-down phenomenological approach, studying the omens through an analysis of the direct sensory experience, and the power of subconscious mental triggers.

Thus, it may be that the interaction between oil and water was sometimes seen as a complex metaphor for the relationship between man and his life. For example, in “*(if) the oil develops horns when one pours water, the wife of the man will go away*” (text 1 in Pettinato 1966, 16), the concept of a ‘horned husband’ quite possibly existing in Mesopotamia makes it tempting to assume that this omen may therefore be down to more than just coincidence. Likewise, in “*(if) the oil sinks and rises up when one pours water, the man will come forth from difficulty*” (text 1 in Pettinato 1966, 36), there is perhaps a reflection of the man sinking under the burden of life but then regaining control, and this is supported by a contrasting omen saying that “*(if) the oil sinks and stays at the bottom when one pours water, the man will die*” (text 1 in Pettinato 1966, 35).

Such metaphorical linkages, perhaps connected to phenomenological interpretations of the oil-water ‘landscape’ (Tilley 1994), are therefore on the whole, likely to be present, but they cannot explain everything. Indeed, the majority of omens remain entirely mysterious – a case in point may be “*if one throws oil onto water and it forms three bubbles, the sun god will desire an offering*” (text 1 in Pettinato 1966, 6); here, establishing a metaphorical or phenomenological connection between three bubbles and

the sun god is very problematic indeed. This analysis thus goes to show that there is still much to clarify, providing ample scope for further research.

Away from the purely academic side, the project's important public outreach dimension deserves mention. The reconstructive element at the heart of the research provides a strong initial platform for archaeology-based events for the general public, and the project was instrumental in the highly successful bid to host an 'Assyriology Awareness Day' at the 2013 Cambridge Festival of Ideas.

With funding running ever-tighter and university projects increasingly needing to prove their worth to public and politicians alike, the appeal of the reconstructive element certainly cannot be underestimated in efforts to prove that Assyriology deserves to retain a place in the world. At a time when the often violent events of the Arab Spring have incapacitated many other projects associated with Ancient Near Eastern history, this certainly comes as a welcome boost.

To conclude, the task of understanding and recreating Old Babylonian oil divination is far from complete, but valuable steps in the right direction have been made. By making comparisons with later divinatory techniques such as Neo-Assyrian extispicy, it has proved possible to suggest a prominent socio-political function for this older method, based on the transfer of agency from genuine rulers to culturally postulated deities. Furthermore, the experimental side has sparked interesting questions regarding possible metaphorical and micro-phenomenological undertones influencing the protasis-apodosis linkage chains occurring throughout the corpus.

The fact that this valuable research has been undertaken whilst simultaneously yielding a viable public outreach project, is another formidable asset. Undoubtedly, many questions remain unsolved and gaps in the textual record mean that this is likely to remain the case, but at least the foundations for a more detailed investigation into oil divination and its wider place in Mesopotamian culture have been laid.

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The Temple of Isis in Pompeii: The Promise of Navigable Seas in a Seafaring Economy

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An inscription upon Pompeii's Temple of Isis, built in the second century B.C. and rebuilt following the 62 A.D. earthquake, reads (translated), "Numerius Popidius Celsinus, son of Numerius, rebuilt at his own expense from its foundations, the Temple of Isis, which had collapsed in an earthquake; because of his generosity, although he was only six years old, the town councilors nominated him into their number free of charge" (ILS 6367 2004). Pompeians valued this civil project so greatly that they rewarded the supposedly-donating six-year-old boy, with council membership. Because this temple served the Isis cult and was not a public civil space, the Temple of Isis, or Iseum, and Isis herself must have held special meaning and value for the city of Pompeii. Pompeii's seafaring economy and the rise of personal religion in the Roman world may explain this high value. Since Pompeii relied on commercial seafaring to support its economy, Isis's emphasis on stable and life-giving water defeating the often treacherous, unpredictable, and sometimes-deadly water of the sea, strengthened the local cult. The confluence of architecture, art, and rituals implies why the Pompeians so highly valued a cult sanctuary – gentle Isis, offering resurrection and regulated water, provided a comforting counterbalance to unpredictable Neptune.

Pompeii's vital location for maritime trade established the sea's importance in the city (Strabo 5.4.8). To the Pompeians, a navigable sea ensured economic prosperity and the city's survival. Its status as a port gave Pompeii economic stability and power in its surrounding area, and thus both a reliance on, and fear of, the sea naturally followed (Ling 2005, 19). They would therefore have welcomed anything controlling the sea's power. Coupled with the rise of personal religion and mystery cults (Small 2007, 200), this combination of respect for, and fear of the sea, may have led the Pompeians to an increased appreciation of the cult of Isis and its rituals. The publicity of its popular festivals, especially that of the *Navigium Isidis*, must have kept Pompeians consistently aware of the cult and of its protective goddess. Living under the fear of Neptune, the powerful and unpredictable god of the sea, many Pompeians turned to the gentle Isis, who offered protection in sailing, navigable seas, and an abundant life and afterlife in exchange for personal devotion (Donalson 2003, 19).

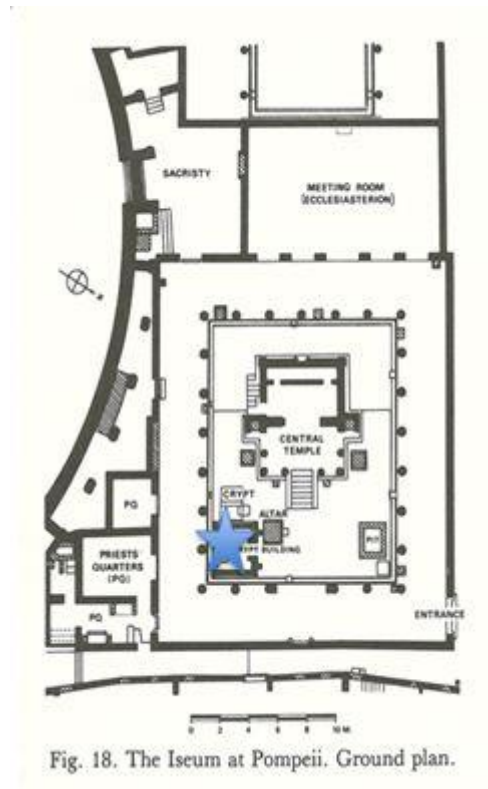


Figure 1. *The Iseum at Pompeii, ground plan.* Star is author's to mark location of Nilometer building and crypt (after Wild 1981, 45).

The *Navigium Isidis* ritually marked the opening of the sailing season (Arney 2011, 46). Apuleius in his *Metamorphosis* describes a showy public processional, which, although set in Egypt, illustrates important elements of the cultic ritual and suggests how it may have appeared in Pompeii (Griffiths 1975, 5). The parade opened with comedic, theatrical-like characters followed by cult adherents and priests, the most important in the rear holding the sacred pitcher (Apuleius 1975, 79, 81, 83, 85). A trade ship, staffed with a carefully selected crew and loaded with trade goods, formed the central part of the ritual procession (Apuleius 1975, 89, 91). Despite not being the most important part of the festival, the procession was heavily attended (Griffiths 1975, 32). To the Pompeians, the trade ship's safety promised their annual prosperity and survival (Donalson 2003, 69). Non-initiate observers noticed the portrayal of Isis as a guide and protectress of sailors, and the safe sailing of the sacred ship and its crew ensured their confidence in the sea's navigability. The ship, built to sail, trade, and return, offered not a ritual sacrifice to the sea, but a powerful assurance of the trade routes' safety (Griffiths 1975, 46–47). Gentle Isis, guardian of sailors and navigable seas, bestowed continued life to the Pompeians through safe seafaring, an assurance the state-cult Neptune, associated with sometimes stormy and unpredictable oceans, could not provide.

The cultic association of Isis with water is firmly entrenched in the Pompeian Temple of Isis itself. Perhaps the most prominent example of water associations with the cult is the Nilometer. This simple structure housed the ritual re-creation of the Nile flood (Wild 1981, 28). Rainwater, sacred to both Pompeians and

Egyptians for its rarity (Wild 1981, 64), replaced Nile water in Iseums outside of Egypt (Wild 1981, 65). Just as the Nile flood assured Egypt's agricultural survival, the ritual "flood" in the Nilometer symbolized the abundant life-giving waters for agriculture in the Bay of Naples (Arney 2011, 56). In addition to the ceremonial flood recreation, the collected rainwater was used in other ritual practices. Priests manually removed this water, collected in a drainless basin (Wild 1981, 47). They then carried it in a sacred cultic pitcher, an important image in the later cult and in paintings on the temple's walls (Wild 1981, 44, 101), and used it for libation rituals, including the morning unveiling of the cultic image (Apuleius 1975, 93). At its core, the Isis cult at Pompeii celebrated its deity of life-giving waters through their collection in the Nilometer and use in sacred rituals.



Figure 2. *The Pompeiian Nilometer* (after Wild 1981, Plate V.2).

The Nilometer's design, decoration, and location convey information about its function and symbolic importance. It is in the southeastern part of the courtyard, with its entrance to the lower crypt, containing the water basin, in the southeastern corner of the structure (Figures 1 and 2) (Wild 1981, 44, 46). Since the Nile is southeast of Pompeii, this orientation connects the structure to the Nile itself, enhancing its symbolic importance. The crypt's interior was simple yet functional. A wooden door led into a mini-vestibule, from which the entrant descended a narrow staircase. The vaulted entrance to the lower room, containing the rainwater collection basin, had a small platform structure to the right of the doorway. From here, the entrant viewed the room containing the 0.85 x 1.5 m basin that could hold 0.83 m³ water (Wild 1981, 46). This contained space conveyed mystique, a sense reoccurring throughout the architecture and rituals of the mystery cult (Arney 2011, 76). With life-giving waters at its core, the Nilometer formed a crucial center to the ritual practices of the Temple of Isis. Yet, despite its clear importance, any functions beyond the flood recreation are uncertain (Wild 1981, 51). Robert Wild has noted that ablution basins were found above ground, so the ritual occurring in the Nilometer, if any, must have been a special purification, possibly for initiates (Wild 1981, 51). During his initiation, Apuleius describes first being ritually cleansed with water and later experiencing "the boundary of death," from which the resurrection powers of Isis save him (Apuleius 1975, 99). Regina Salditt-Trappmann, according

to Wild, suggests that this may have been a ritual “drowning” in the Nilometer, an interpretation she supports by noting that the water poured in from above the basin (Wild 1981, 52).

The Iseum’s decoration also emphasises water and the sea. Prominent ornamentation above the Nilometer entrance honours the sacred pitcher, figures surrounding it, and drawing attention to the important symbol (Figure 3). The sacred pitcher later replaced the Nilometer as a symbol of sacred water; at Pompeii, their juxtaposition provides insights into this transition (Wild 1981, 156). Other figures, Egyptian gods and adoring humans, interact with symbols of bountiful nature and sacred instruments of the Isis cult (Moorman 2005, 151–153). Their location in the Nilometer illustrates the connection between Isis, water, and abundance of life (Arney 2011, 66; Wild 1981, 125-126). Amongst the Egyptian symbols and decoration however, are Roman myths, such as Perseus and Andromeda (Figure 4). The inclusion of these myths suggests Pompeiian influences upon the local Isis cult. Symbolically, in the myth of Perseus and Andromeda, “when Perseus undertakes his fight against the monster, he is in actuality attacking the fundamental ruling forces of the sea,” the forces that would have been represented by the Roman cult god Neptune (Wild 1981, 81). Commemorating Perseus’s victory, in conjunction with the rising life-waters of the basin, conveyed to cult initiates that “[o]nce again the sea had been conquered, once again the forces of life had triumphed over the powers of evil and death” (Wild 1981, 83). It also exemplifies some confluence of Roman ideology and state religion with this mystery cult. Further examples appear throughout the cult, specifically in the *Navigium Isidis* ritual, where the processional prayers resembled state *vota*, prayers for the empire (Donalson 2003, 69). A contrast between Isis and Neptune would naturally have followed from an identification of the Isis mystery cult with the Roman state religion.

Artwork elsewhere in the temple complex similarly illustrates connections between Isis and the sea. The portico contained elaborate images of sea monsters and naval battles, contrasted with the pious decoration of the sacred pitcher and white-dressed cult members, alluding to both the initiates and outsiders of the cult, and the power of Isis over the sea (Moorman 2005, 143; Arney 2011, 59–60). Images of boats in the portico may relate to Isis’s patronage of, and worship by, sea merchants (Moorman 2005, 150). This decoration conveys that worship of Isis grants naval traders and warriors success (Donalson 2003, 19).

Frescos in the *ekklesiasterion*, which both the general populace and the cult used, further unite Roman mythology to the Isis cult (Arney 2011, 61). They depict scenes from the myths of Io and Jupiter, alongside traditional Egyptian paintings of Osiris’s resurrection through Isis’s devotion and magic (Moorman 2005, 146; Arney 2011, 66). Together with the portico and Nilometer paintings, they illustrate “salvation through the powers of Isis and the life-giving properties of the waters of the Nile” for the initiate (Arney 2011, 66).



Figure 3. Detail of the Pompeiian Nilometer's exterior: the sacred pitcher (Wild 1981, Plate VI.1)

The connections made between Egyptian and Roman mythology suggest an intentional link between the two cultures and their mythology, which provides a foundation for the comparison between Isis and Neptune.



Figure 4. Drawing of Perseus and Andromeda, based on the painting found on the Pompeiian Nilometer (Wild 1981, Plate VI.1)

The cult of Isis in Pompeii provided the Pompeiians with something the state religion could not: a personal protectress who offered life through water. With its trading economy, the sea was a foundation of Pompeiian life, and the assured success of the sea traders allowed the city to survive. As the Roman world shifted from public, imperial religion to private, personal cults, the focus of the Isis cult on controlled water, providing abundant life and navigable seas, appealed to the Pompeiian people. Public displays of the goddess's power, such as the *Navigidium Isidis* festival, aided the Pompeiians' formation of a strong connection between successful sailing and the worship of this mysterious, life-giving Egyptian goddess. The Iseum's wall decorations likewise illustrate this relationship. This firmly entrenched correlation in the Pompeiian perception between this particular cult and the success of their sea-based economy may help explain the eagerness of the council to reward a six-year-old boy for the rebuilding of a mystery cult's temple.

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'Don't forget about us' – Why the archaeology of North-West England should not be neglected

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Introduction

As a country, England has a wealth of archaeological sites and important historic monuments and artefacts, for example the princely cemetery of Sutton Hoo in Suffolk, Ice Age rock art at Creswell Crags in Nottinghamshire, and the largest find of Anglo-Saxon gold and silver metalwork ever found, the Staffordshire Hoard. However, when the location and significance of archaeological sites in England are considered, a huge majority appear to be from the south and east of the country. Very little research has been undertaken into remains from North-West England, particularly that of Lancashire.

Consequently, this article will aim to inform the reader on three of the most important, yet neglected, finds from North-West England that have perhaps been cast under the shadow of other more recent discoveries. It will indicate future areas of improvement and investigation, therefore highlighting that this region is just as archaeologically noteworthy as the rest of the country.

Lindow Man

In 1984, the preserved remains of a man's body was found amongst the layers of peat on Lindow Moss in Cheshire (Brothwell 1986, 9, 14) (Figure 1). This sparked large scale media coverage and archaeological reports, such as that by Connolly (1985) just a year later. Radiocarbon dating reported the body as being over 1,000 years old at the time of discovery (Brothwell 1986, 16), making it not only a significant find for the north-west, but nationally and internationally as well. Comparisons were immediately made with those of Tollund Man and Grauballe Man from Denmark, in order to analyse differences in decay, cause of death, and diet (Brothwell 1986, 20). Scientific investigations quickly deduced the man's height, age and predicted facial features (Connolly 1985). Other questions, though, were not so easy to answer, such as what he was doing on Lindow Common and how he had died. These questions have contributed to debate over the years. One interpretation has been that he was killed as part of a ritual sacrifice, due to analysis of stomach remains showing that a good meal was eaten not long before death, as well as an intricate method of killing – two blows to the head, garrotting and neck slitting (Brothwell 1986, 25-29). Subsequently, Lindow Man had placed the north-west on the map. However, he is still perhaps not as well-known as he should be.



Figure 1. *The remains of Lindow Man* (Image copyright: The British Museum).

Even though in recent years, Lindow Man has made an appearance back in the North at Manchester Museum (Kirby 2007) and has been displayed at the British Museum for ten years, it was only briefly that he “came home”.

The lack of research into the Iron Age in the North-West is preventing further interpretation of the archaeological context and environment of the area, thus prohibiting the overall knowledge of the period. Excavation of hill-top settlements is extremely rare, and only a few Iron Age sites are known in Merseyside and Greater Manchester (Haselgrove 1996, 66). It would seem that there is a gap in the archaeological record which needs to be filled. This is also true for earlier prehistory in the north-west of England. Evidence for Palaeolithic activity in Lancashire is limited to that of a few blades and barbed points from Lindale Low and Poulton-le-Fylde (Cowell 1996, 21), and only a handful more Mesolithic and Neolithic sites have been found. One such example is near Chorley on Anglezarke Moor, where two long barrows are sited – one has been named as the Pikestones (Middleton 1996, 41). Unfortunately, the monument has been badly damaged, which highlights other issues with conservation and management in the region.

On the whole, prehistoric activity in the North-West was clearly occurring as has been shown via the presence of Lindow Man. To some extent, it remains a topic of debate today, with Hutton (2011) reviewing the situation, and whether the interpretations of the late 20th century can still be upheld with new theoretical perspectives. On the other hand, there is a worry that if not enough research is invested into the area, it will become neglected, and therefore focus will remain on other parts of the country.

Bremetenacum – Ribchester Roman Fort

Another archaeologically significant site in the North-West that is perhaps not as well-known, is that of the Roman fort and settlement at Ribchester, Lancashire. There has long been interest in the archaeology of Ribchester by antiquarians, but only since the 19th and into the 20th century have excavations been carried out systematically to gain sufficient records (Ribchester Roman Museum N/A). Some of the features found at the site include the bath house (Figure 2), which was discovered in 1837 in the garden of Dr. Patchett, the main fort complex dated to AD70s, and an extramural settlement (Buxton and Howard-Davis 2000, 7).



Figure 2. *Ribchester Roman Bath house* (Image copyright: F. Morrissey).

Some extraordinary artefacts have also been found from the Roman fort, including the Ribchester Helmet (Figure 3), pottery, metalwork and leather remains. These, together with the structural evidence, have provided archaeologists with the material to establish a detailed chronology for the site (Buxton and Howard-Davis 2000, 4).



Figure 3. *Ribchester Roman Parade Helmet found in 1796 as part of a hoard* (Image copyright: Ribchester Roman Museum).

Consequently, 'Bremetenacum' has been identified as being a strategically important location that would have been part of trade and military routes between Manchester and Chester to the south, and Hadrian's Wall in the north (Buxton and Howard-Davis 2000, 3). The most recent investigations in 1980 and 1989-90 were carried out by the then Cumbria and Lancashire Archaeological Unit, which aimed to discover the

nature, function and status of the fort, along with attempting to understand the relationship between the Roman soldiers and the indigenous population (Buxton and Howard-Davis 2000, 9-10). It found that there was a certain degree of industrial activity on the site from the metalworking debris and the leather remains, which suggests primary production for the fort, but the increase in metalwork around AD120-25 indicates the possible manufacture and transport of goods for military purposes (Buxton and Howard-Davis 2000, 419). Many metal objects were associated with equestrian activity, thus indicating that Ribchester must have supported elite cavalry troops during its period of occupation (Buxton and Howard-Davis 2000, 247). These were thought to have been Sarmatians, and the site became very important in the governance and administration of the area (Ribchester Roman Museum, N/A).

Clearly, this archaeological site should be marked as an important location beyond the region of the North-West. It had a significant role to play in communication links for the Roman Empire in England and in learning to understand the relationships between civilians and soldiers.

Although many investigations have taken place, the earlier work is plagued with loss of information and lack of adequate recording, making it difficult to understand what has been studied before, and how it relates to later work. In addition, there have been no large full scale excavations and it has been limited to areas to the north and east of the site due to development (Buxton and Howard-Davis 2000, 4). There is still much that 'Bremetenacum' has to offer, particularly on the native-army socio-cultural divide, and this aspect remains illusive across the whole of the county (Buxton and Shotter 1996, 89).

Overall, evidence from Ribchester shows the extent to which important activities were taking place on the site, and how it was instrumental in transport and communication routes for military purposes. The interpretation of elite occupation further enhances the status and prominence of the fort within the regional landscape. Plans are currently in place for further investigations at 'Bremetenacum', consisting of excavation and geophysics (per comm. Noon 2013). This site therefore, should indicate the North-West as a significant part of Roman England, and Ribchester could be acknowledged more within a national context.

Silverdale Hoard

In September 2011, a hoard of over 200 pieces of Viking silver was discovered in a field near Silverdale. This was an amazing discovery and the finder reported it straight to the Finds Liaison Officer for Lancashire and Cumbria. Inside the container in which the metalwork was deposited, was a variety of different pieces of material, including arm-rings, coins, ingots and other jewellery fragments (Figure 4) (Boughton 2011). Due to the quality of the silver, it was declared as 'Treasure' and offered for museums to purchase, with the finder and landowner paid an equal sum for the value of the hoard. Analysis of the artefacts was conducted and the record can be found on the Portable Antiquities Scheme database. The 'hacksilver' shows Viking contacts from Ireland in the west, to Russia and the Islamic world in the east, indicating a vast network of trade and exchange (Ager and Williams 2011). It has also been compared with

the other substantial hoard from the North-West, the Cuerdale Hoard. Many of the Silverdale pieces are similar, and both hoards have been given a comparable date of burial c. 900-910 (Ager and Williams 2011). Consequently, one interpretation for the collection of metalwork is that it may have either been a treasure chest from Dublin after the Scandinavians were ousted from the city, or it could equally have been intended as a payment to re-gain and conquer Dublin at a later date (per comm. Noon 2013). Either way, this finding is especially exciting for the history of Viking activity in the North-West.

More recently, the Silverdale hoard has been receiving increased public interest and media attention due to being displayed at Lancaster City Museum, and as of February 2014, is now on show at the Museum of Lancashire in Preston. It is also scheduled to be conserved at the end of the year to ensure no additional damage or deterioration of the metal occurs (per comm. Steels 2013). Hopefully, this will create more awareness on archaeology in the area and that people will visit the museum in order to learn about the hoard and its history.

Again, this archaeological discovery is not as familiar to the wider community as perhaps the Cuerdale Hoard is, and it lacks the acknowledgement it deserves in regards to the early medieval history of Lancashire. It supports the theory of wealthy Scandinavian migrants, likely arriving from across the Irish Sea, establishing settlements in the North-West around the Wirral, Chester and the Isle of Man (Philpott and Graham-Campbell 1990, 26-7). However, research on Viking activity here, appears to be to a lesser degree than in the east, which means important information has the potential to be neglected when it could be assisting in overall understanding of regional Scandinavian occupation and identity.



Figure 4. *Silverdale Hoard as displayed at Lancaster City Museum (Image copyright: F. Morrissey).*

As a result, the Silverdale Hoard is an exceptional find that has the possibility of teaching us about wealth, economy and identity in early medieval Lancashire. The relationship with the Cuerdale Hoard further

increases the significance of the metalwork, and the fact that the silver has origins from across Europe into the East shows how mobile and influential the Vikings were. With the current exhibition at the Museum of Lancashire, this discovery should become better known among not only the academic profession, but also the general public too.

Conclusion

These three notable archaeological case studies should demonstrate the variety of material available for investigation in North-West England. They each date to differing time periods, and have their own reasons for being significant. The north-west should not be seen as an area of the country with few remains, and that the landscape prohibits investigations to take place, or even that it is only useful to understand industrial archaeology. There is much more that can be gained from in-depth research, and improved field surveying and excavation procedures. These will then provide the area with more up-to-date publications, rather than pieces that are now almost 20-30 years old.

Neglecting a piece of archaeology holds the risk of forming inadequate and unreliable conclusions, so should be sought to be avoided. It also has the potential for being at risk if the correct preservation and conservation procedures are not implemented. Subsequently, this article has aimed to highlight how important finds in the North-West can be, and hopefully will have persuaded some that it is not a region to shy away from, but should be embraced in order to reveal how archaeologically rich it can be.

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Cultural Heritage Theory and Practice: raising awareness to a problem facing our generation

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Last year, as an archaeology undergraduate at the University of York, I was fortunate enough to give a presentation at the first ever ASA Conference, held within my department. I had just completed my dissertation and had given my final assessed lecture on the same subject (Wajdner 2013). The conference was a great opportunity to articulate my research in a more open and informal manner, but it also afforded a great platform for sharing my ideas directly to my contemporaries in the wider field. Today, as I once again begin that journey of thesis research for my postgraduate degree, I am buoyed by the prospect of the next ASA conference. My research this year will continue themes from the last, and will also aim to provide insight into larger theoretical ideas, which I feel are important to be understood via student conferences and journals. I strongly feel that there is something very special with this platform of dissemination, to be able to speak openly and frankly about research with others who are at the starting point, like myself, in their careers. Excited not only as all budding academics are when talking about intellectual matters close to their hearts, but also because I feel it can often give insight in an accessible, unrefined academic language to others grappling with big ideas and issues. This is why I have reproduced my presentation from last year to both re-engage the tone of discussion for my own research, and to hopefully prepare the ground for this debate prior to this year's conference.

In my undergraduate thesis, I was interested in the theory transfer within the heritage sector in England, with the aims of examining the effectiveness of the bridge between the two and to assess whether its construct is effective or lacking. Throughout my research, I came to the observation that the current bridge within the heritage management framework in England is unable to act effectively according to modern critical perspectives of cultural heritage, and that to remain relevant to society, these shortcomings must be addressed and acted upon at all levels to provide meaningful future frameworks for cultural heritage. I realise that this is, in reality, nothing revolutionary. However, I do feel it is important, especially for those of us entering the heritage sector who will soon be tackling these very real issues head on. So I hope to simply equip us with this knowledge in advance.

But first let's consider some definitions of what I will be talking about. The *Faro Convention* defines cultural heritage as follows: 'a group of resources inherited from the past which people identify, independently of ownership, as a reflection and expression of their constantly evolving values, beliefs, knowledge and traditions' (Council for Europe 2005) (Fig 1). We might think that this is reasonably simple, and possibly universally acceptable, and in one sense that is correct. Those interested in the critical study

of heritage matters would agree with this definition, and be motivated by the idea that people have a right to participate in cultural life. This continues in that they believe every single person should have a meaningful way of expressing that; expressing it for, and in, society. In addition, they would argue that people's value should be at the centre. This definition of cultural heritage is quite broad, and potentially very useful, but it is also a little idealist. Enter then, the other side of heritage discussion: those more involved and concerned with the practice of heritage. Whilst they would arguably like to have this definition, ultimately it is quite detached from the real complexities faced in their professional role.

Research Background

2005 'Faro' convention on the values of cultural heritage for society:

"Cultural heritage is a group of resources inherited from the past which people identify, independently of ownership, as a reflection and expression of their constantly evolving values, beliefs, knowledge and traditions."

*Considers the value of heritage, based on the idea that knowledge and use of heritage form part of **every citizen's right to participate in cultural life** as defined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights*

*"...convinced of the need to involve **everyone in society** in the ongoing process of defining and managing cultural heritage."*

*"Recognising the need to put **people and human values at the centre of an enlarged and cross-disciplinary concept of cultural heritage.**"*

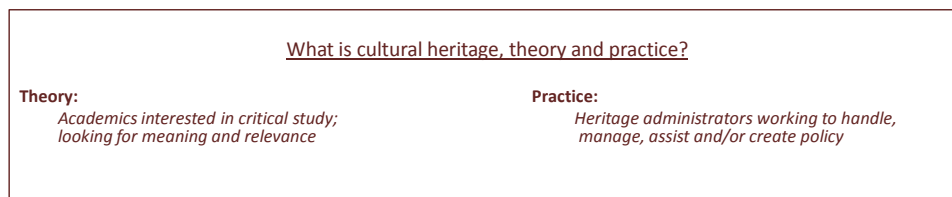



Figure 1. 2005 Faro Convention definition (Wajdner 2013b, slide 3).

I argue then that there is a problem. There is, and always has been, a problem with definition for those in theory and those in practice to agree what cultural heritage is. However, I would like to take this a step further and say there is a problem with the current construct of heritage management in the UK. And, of course, if there is a problem, there needs to be a solution. If there is to be a solution, this requires people, and we are the people (those of us setting off on our careers into the heritage sector). Therefore this problem requires our attention.

But, why is this important? Cultural heritage is relevant because it expresses our identity and our values (Fig 2). However, what if we are only seeing the forms which are elite – the celebrated, higher-end of heritage; the dictated, authorised forms of heritage? If this is the case, then this would not provide a very reflective demonstration of cultural heritage. Often we receive the idea that cultural heritage in the UK – what is perceived by practice – is the comfortable form of heritage, the corporate form which seems commonsensical. *What about other forms of heritage; perhaps the more humble expressions of value and*

identity? I subscribe to the school of thought that heritage is a *process*, and its 'management' should be the directing of people to connect with their heritage, rather than merely being concerned with heritage as *product* (Smith 2006, 44-45). Our mission as professionals then should be to promote these meaningful connections; helping communities to understand themselves and listening to how they identify and what they value, regardless of where this takes us, which is why it is often an uncomfortable understanding of what cultural heritage is.



Argument

There is a problem with the current construct of cultural heritage management in the UK, which requires our attention and action

Why is cultural heritage relevant?

Cultural heritage **expresses** our identity and our values; corporately & individually

Cultural heritage as such can be **used** as a platform for enriching and critiquing society; *engaging and giving voice to all in society*




Image (in order): English-Heritage.com 2013; Allposters.co.uk 2013; and HomesitesHeritage.wordpress.com 2013

Figure 2. *Argument and relevance* (Wajdner 2013b, slide 4).

Now we must move on to the consideration of theory transfer. At an international level, there are organisations like the *Council for Europe* and *UNESCO* which are quite detached from the practical management of heritage. It is quite easy to see the transfer between theory and practice at this level, but what about at a national level? Things are more selective here as, for example, the UK government does not have to sign up to their charters – as is the case currently with the *Faro Convention*. They can disregard these if they find the proposed definition does not fit with their own perceptions of what heritage is, or methods for the management of cultural heritage. Immediately, a possible blockade for theory transfer can be recognised; it is very dependent on the existing policy framework. Because of this, at a local level there are problems, as the definition of cultural heritage for local practitioners is predominantly dictated by the government.

Local councils and communities utilise *English Heritage* frameworks. *English Heritage* helps councils such as at the City of York, deal with their cultural heritage which has many advantages. For example, they help to assist in conservation, funding, and professional support for York practitioners dealing with the many cultural heritage assets used within the city and its tourist industry. There is also the 'Historical Landscape

Characterisation' programme, working to pinpoint significances and understanding of heritage values, and compiling these onto a GIS system showing various types of heritage, what it is, how it relates to others, and in what way it is important. This is important and useful, however it is interesting that the interpretation of heritage definition in this regard is slightly skewed. This is seen clearly when comparing the *Faro* definition of cultural heritage up against the *English Heritage* definition, in which two vital differences include: *mere utility* and *heritage assets* (English Heritage 2013a; English Heritage 2013b) (Fig 3). These terms invoke the idea of physical forms of heritage only; distinct, subtle differences whereby in order for heritage to be engaged with within the *English Heritage* framework of management, it must be something tangible, something that can be physically protected. As a result, any other form of intangible cultural heritage is essentially ignored as it cannot be officially acknowledged given the remit of *English Heritage* as practical protector. In reality, this makes complete sense as, given the above remit, heritage must be in some way controllable in order to be protectable.

The Heritage System

Looking at the City of York



English Heritage involved:

Good bits:

- Funding
- HLC programme
- Professional
- Official
- Supportive

Bad bits:

- Definition Restricted
- Control Practical
- Perception Limited and Dictated
- Articulated Vague and Disguised

2005 Faro Convention:

"Cultural heritage is a group of resources inherited from the past which people identify, independently of ownership, as a reflection and expression of their constantly evolving values, beliefs, knowledge and traditions."

2008 Conservation Principles:

"All inherited resources which people value for reasons beyond mere utility."

Inherited assets which people identify and value as a reflection and expression of their evolving knowledge, beliefs and traditions, and of their understanding of the beliefs and tradition of others."

Image: ywt.org.uk 2013

Figure 3. Differences in definition (Wajdner 2013b, slide 6).

It is not all good though as, due to the above, the definition is restricted. Perception of cultural heritage is given through the definition and therefore the form that the authorised heritage framework recognises. An example from York can be seen when considering the views of the city. In York, there are some amazing views. Whilst these views themselves are worth protecting, they are intangible. Their values cannot be expressed within the authorised discourse, so groups like the *York Civic Trust*, who have an interest in protecting these aspects of York, have to engage with debate revolving around the heritage management framework. Unfortunately, as promoters of something outside of the authorised definition, they must borrow terminology, ultimately compromising their message for protection due to the fundamental need to penetrate this authorised discourse, resulting in them masking their argument

(Wajdner 2013a, 25-27). This leaves communities at grass root level floundering a little bit, as they are largely unsupported due to this language barrier.

I hope you will agree that there is a problem. This problem exists with *English Heritage*. The problem lies at a deep rooted, philosophical level of what *English Heritage* is for, i.e. to protect controllable, physical objects. It cannot deal with more fluid, conceptual ideas of what cultural heritage could be. It has to be a controlling framework, but this is at odds with the theoretical call for cultural heritage to be a democratic process of understanding, where everyone should have equal voices. If there must be a management framework, there cannot be complete freedom to express multiple forms.

I've brought you then to the point where traditionally the solution is suggested. Unfortunately, there isn't really one to offer. But to be honest, this isn't the take away message I want to share. The main point I hope to get across is the need to *recognise* this problem. I hope that, if anything, we take away the knowledge that, as we enter the heritage sector in our careers, there is an issue deeper than just difference of nature between theory and practice. We need to shift the intellectual landscape; this is the only way we are going to be able to provide a long-term solution. So let's go through some options.

When a bridge doesn't work, what do we do? We could dismantle it. However, the current bridge in place, *English Heritage*, does do something quite well – the protection of tangible cultural heritage. If we dismantle it completely, we end up throwing the baby out with the bathwater. But we have to do something as there are clear issues. What should we do?

There is an evolutionary change happening right now within the heritage sector, and this is something we can get on board with. However, just as it takes a great distance for a large, heavy laden ship to change direction, so too does it take time for the intellectual landscape to see significant change. In the very first instance for many of us, there are cultural heritage management training programmes: masters, general archaeology degrees, etc. We could be engaging with schools and local communities. Just getting involved and spreading this understanding and drive for new models of heritage awareness is vital. We need to be equipping ourselves with the correct tools, which is why this argument itself fits into raising awareness in the long term. In the short term, there is the need for academics to be employed by places such as *English Heritage*. An example of this is seen by Dr. Joe Flatman from UCL who was appointed to a position within *English Heritage* in 2012. This is a significant step as he has a wide range of research interests, but more importantly, a critical understanding of modern perspectives of theory.

So where have I led you? I've concluded that there is a problem with the system; it's complicated, but it is worth us knowing at this stage in our careers that it is there and we need to appreciate that it is deeply rooted. Also, very importantly, we must have a cultural heritage that is effective. We cannot just sit hoping that someone comes around and makes a difference. Cultural heritage is our method of expression, but not everyone has the same opportunity to get involved and express themselves with this

megaphone to the political arena. A useful way to think about it is like this: the political system works to represent us, but it is not on an individualistic basis. It is instead through community identities and ways in which we are represented in society. So it is okay for most of us, as we have a clear identity which can be heard and understood. But what about periphery groups such as homeless communities? They don't have access to that voice. So we need to have cultural heritage that is relevant, effective and really connected.*

What can we do then? We have to firstly recognise this issue. We can also further educate ourselves, getting on board to equip ourselves with the tools necessary to be effective in our careers. It is not all doom and gloom, and I have not meant to discredit *English Heritage* because, in reality, they are doing a great job. There is set up within *English Heritage*, the 'Heritage Intelligence Team', which works quietly in the background, often snubbed by perhaps the old school heritage professionals in the wider sector, as they actively seek to move this debate forward. A part of their role is to develop links between heritage organisations and research groups, and they are truly doing a fantastic job. They are essentially sharing intelligence and influencing policy, a clear sign that change is happening at all levels.

Finally, I would like to make an additional suggestion. I myself have benefited greatly by having two incredibly strong mentors. These are individuals who play important roles, one as a key scholar within the theoretical and academic sphere, and the other who is a key player in the practice of heritage. Both have given me great insight, which leads me to advise that, as you seek to grow and be effective in your own career as the next generation of heritage professionals, do try and gain supervisors or mentors on either side of this bridge to guide and direct your learning, giving a vital dual perspective on real world issues.

*(*I recommend reading about Rachel Kiddey's work with homeless communities, demonstrating the powerful tool that archaeology can be in giving voice to periphery groups, and how their cultural heritage can inform and direct understanding across community groups: <http://homelessheritage.wordpress.com>)*

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Photographs, graphs, plans and other images are also welcome as they usually help illustrate the content of submissions. All images should be submitted separately to any documents (i.e. not embedded in text, but sent to *The Post Hole* as attachments.

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