



The Post Hole

The student-run archaeology journal



Highly
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BAA

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Investigations of Post-processualism

The Temple of Roma and Augustus

Interpreting Historic Buildings



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THE UNIVERSITY *of York*
Department of Archaeology



The Post Hole was shortlisted for 'The Best Public Presentation of Archaeology' and the journal's efforts and growth over the past 6 years were 'Highly Commended' by the British Archaeological Awards in July 2014.



Cover photo credit: Amy Wright

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Editorial: Every end is a new beginning

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The annual academic overhaul has arrived and *The Post Hole* team is awash with new characters, big ideas and even higher ambitions. Exciting as these attributes are, I first feel as though I should congratulate the 2013-14 team of archaeologists, headed by Emily Taylor. The last academic year saw the introduction of the 'Digging Through the Profession' interview series, which was both successful and helpful for those just starting out in archaeology or perhaps ready to take a different path. The series so far features interviews with various specialists, ranging from a bead specialist (Marilee Wood) through to a landscape surveyor (David Roberts). All of these interviews, including other 'Special Feature Interviews', are available to read online at theposthole.org/read/interviews. We hope to continue this feature over the next academic year, so if you would like to be involved and share the secrets of your profession email editor@theposthole.org to get more information.

The previous team also launched the first ever Image Competition run by *The Post Hole*. The competition was tight, with an incredible 46 entries. I hope to continue engaging our readers with this healthy competition, and with that in mind we have launched a new image competition, this time on the theme of EXCAVATION. We would love to receive your images from the last summer season and the winning photograph, drawing or reconstruction will feature as a front cover of an upcoming issue. The winner will also receive a complimentary A3 poster for *The Post Hole* featuring their image. To be in with a chance email your images to design@theposthole.org or upload via our website.

One of the big successes this summer is the redesign of *The Post Hole's* website. We are immensely grateful to Pat Gibbs, who has spent a great deal of his time perfecting the redesign, making the site more accessible and visually engaging for our readers. This reworking has meant that the unique interview series and *The Post Hole's* image gallery can now be found under the new *TPHExtra* tab. Some additional features can also be found on this page, including 'Letters to the Editor' and 'TPH meets York Seminars'. *TPHExtra* provides various ways for you, our readers, to get involved and get to know prestigious archaeologists via exclusive interviews. I urge you to make the most of these features, share your images with a global audience and email your letters concerning archaeological news and views to editor@theposthole.org, to be published under this new tab.

'TPH meets York Seminars' was mentioned briefly above, but I wish to expand on this further. Throughout the academic year, the York Seminars team invites well known and influential archaeologists to visit Kings Manor and speak about their current research. These events continue to be incredibly successful and popular with staff, students and members of the general public. We are collaborating with the York Seminars team in order to disperse this information further, and reach out to those unable to attend the York Seminars in person. This feature will include a synopsis of the talk and an exclusive interview with the speaker. I can proudly announce that the first interview for 'TPH meets York Seminars' will be with prehistorian Paul Pettitt and shall be released shortly.

With that, the 6th editorial team of *The Post Hole* can now introduce the articles featured in our first Issue (40). **Callum Scott** has conducted an investigation into postprocessualism, which features as our first article of Issue 40. Here he considers the scientific nature of this archaeological theory, whilst also examining the Hermeneutic spiral.

The second entry comes from **David Altoft**, who has conducted an interview with Richard Bradley (a recently retired Professor from the University of Reading). Bradley talks about the beginnings of his career in archaeology and how it has changed over the past 30 years.

Freya Lawson-Jones is the author of our third entry, which gives an insightful summary of the recent excavations at Hendraburnick 'quoit'. The article also incorporates some thought-provoking interpretations stemming from discussion with other participants and site directors.

The next article comes from **Samuel Marsh**, who has used three case studies to outline interesting and useful ways of analysing and interpreting historic buildings. Marsh is well-read and presents balanced paper for Issue 40.

Nefeli Piree Iliou has written an article about the Temple of Roma and Augustus. Iliou investigates the architecture and the topographical context of the temple to assess the symbolic Roman power present.

Don't forget to send your opinions or related comments concerning these five articles as a 'Letter to the Editor', simply email editor@theposthole.org. We always love reading your submissions here at *The Post Hole*, so continue sending your work to submissions@theposthole.org. Any queries should also be directed to this email address. So, with this issue we bid a fond farewell to the previous team and wish them all the best for the future, whilst positively looking forward to the next stimulating academic year.

All the best,
Eleanor Green.
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An investigation into the scientific nature of postprocessualism and the hermeneutic spiral

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The majority of postprocessual archaeology is compatible with science. To justify this statement the demarcations of science must be studied to show that the structure of the theoretical school fits with the scientist's template of study (Geuss 1981, 2, Green and Moore 2010, 253, Johnson 2010, 102-110, Preucel 1995, 158, Shanks and Tilley 1992, 31-43, Thagard 1978 and VanPool and VanPool 1999). Therefore, the concepts of the Baconian inductivist approach and Popper's falsification method, together with how they are used, must be investigated to ascertain the extent of the postprocessualist's scientific character (Shanks and Tilley 1992, 41, Thagard 1978 and VanPool and VanPool 1999). We must also investigate how the principals of the fourfold Hermeneutic spiral can be seen as a self-aware progressive science superseding hypotheses in its structure (Hodder and Hudson 2003, 195-203, Johnson 2010, 106, Preucel 1995, 158, Shanks and Tilley 1992, 103-107 and VanPool and VanPool 1999). Principals of critical theory must be explored in order to show why postprocessual practice is more closely affiliated with science (Geuss 1981, 1-23). The misconstrued definition of objectivity must also be addressed (VanPool and VanPool 1999).

Objectivity is commonly viewed as the separation of self from the object of study; this definition was abandoned in the early 1950s and replaced with the definition that it should be testable across other social sciences and produce similar results (VanPool and VanPool 1999). Postprocessualism has viewed that objectivity (former definition) could not be reached because all hypotheses and data are theory-laden either through strong or weak social constructivism (Johnson 2010, 105 and Green 2002, 253). Even Popper himself is an acknowledged weak social constructivist with the view that observational statements are partially formed through theory (Shanks and Tilley 1992, 41). Therefore, it can be said that this view is scientific. However, the unwillingness of many processualists to accept that their data is comprised through a cloud of theory obstructs progression – which is unscientific. Postprocessualists have constructed the fourfold hermeneutic circle to aid in identifying subjective characteristics, understanding them, and using them to ensure that the present affects the view of the past as little as possible (Hodder and Hutson 2003, 195-203, Shanks and Tilley 1992, 103-107).

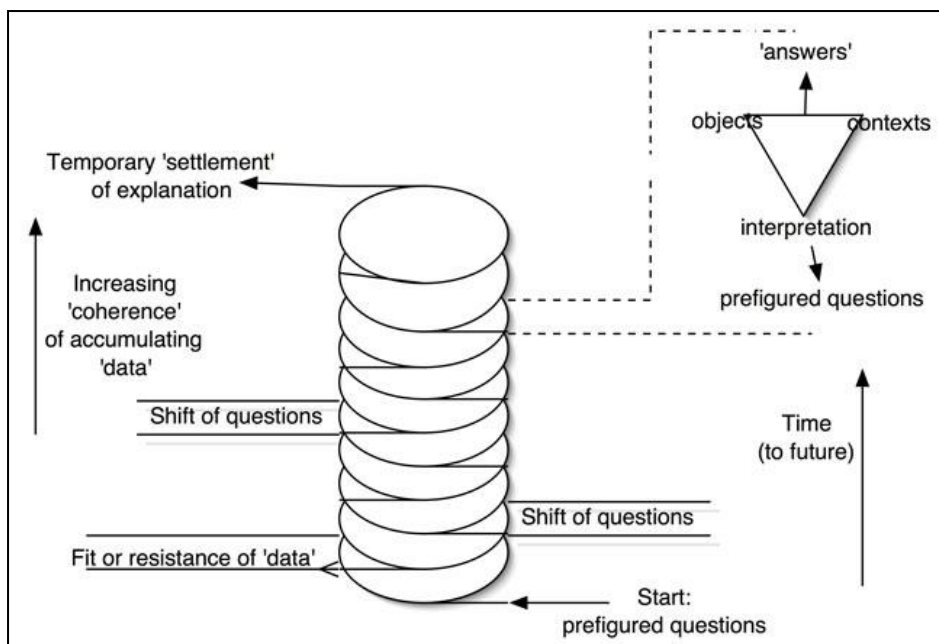


Figure 1: Hodder's hermeneutic spiral (Reconfiguring the Archaeological Sensibility 2009)

Progression is a key demarcation of science therefore, hermeneutics can be seen in a scientific light. Figure 1 clearly shows how there is a shift between theory and data to determine a temporary explanation which is supported by the data; this is then followed by a shift of question to determine new features of the object or characteristic being studied (Hodder and Hutson 2003, 195-203, Johnson 2010, 106, Shanks and Tilley 1992, 103-107). The spirals of hermeneutics clearly depict progress in the interpretations being developed through falsification. Older interpretations are abandoned for newer interpretations which better fit the data – therefore it is the use of scientific methodology to give an explanation of the artefact, both as a particular and in context, which is ultimately what processualists aim to accomplish. Therefore, this aspect of hermeneutics cannot be claimed as unscientific. However, to progress to fourfold hermeneutics we must understand the item in both the particular and the general, in both past and present; this separation will eventually merge together as more is understood about the item (Hodder and Hutson 2003, 196-197 and Preucel 1995, 158). This also involves understanding the influences of the interpreter, both theoretical and social, in order to determine any biases present (Hodder 1997, Hodder and Hutson 2003, 197 and Preucel 1995, 158). This is clearly an example of 'critical self-consciousness' (see. Clarke 1973). They are attempting to understand the structure of archaeological study in order to limit extraneous variables, clearly a scientific objective. However, due to the hyper-relativist's phenomenological use of hermeneutics, which attempts to use the concept of understanding the object in both past and present to emulate past experience in the present to gain understanding, the whole concept of hermeneutics has been viewed as unscientific (see Hodder 1999, 132-133). Therefore, due to the scientific nature of the majority of postprocessual work perhaps the hyper-relativist methods should not be put under the same title. However, it must be recognized that most postprocessualists do not believe that anything can be argued for using hermeneutics (Hodder 1997).

The final point on hermeneutics is its relation to hypotheses. Hypotheses are predictions of what may or may not happen in a scenario which are then either integrated into knowledge or falsified (VanPool and VanPool 1999). However, this method may stunt scientific progress if it is used exclusively, particularly in archaeology. Archaeologists who have used this method have had an issue with equifinality, particularly those who use systems theory (Johnson 2010, 102). Therefore, an inductivist approach would not be successful due to multiple theories for the same phenomenon being viewed as credible. Similarly, a rigid falsification method is not suited for archaeological study either. This is due to the fact that young theories may be falsified due to our inability to collect the evidence (VanPool and Vanpool 1999). For example, the concept of early humans eating vegetation may have been falsified due to the evidence being unobtainable; however, due to examination of C12 and C13 analysis it is now possible and verifiable (Renfrew and Bahn 2000, 307-308 and Richards and Trinkaus 2009). If this interpretation had been falsified it would have led to a false construction of the past world, therefore these rigid methods are ineffective. Whereas, the more complex constructed interpretations produced by using the hermeneutic spiral would assess the specifics of the data regarding diet and put it in the context of where the hominids lived and the environment, therefore constructing a more realistic view. This raises a third issue: is it logical to construct a hypothesis based on a specific feature or activity? The idea of a hypothesis is to enable one thing to be tested specifically out of context to see whether the activity occurred. However, as seen above, taking archaeological data out of context is ineffective, therefore the hermeneutic method is more effective logically as well as in scientific respects.

Many would argue that postprocessualism is unscientific due to its inability to create universal laws (VanPool and VanPool 1999, Trigger 2006, 446). However, even though processualists began by constructing laws, this was shown to lack progression. Therefore, most processualists have focused on the production of generalized statements; there has been no specification of how generalized a statement must be to be considered scientific (Shanks and Tilley 1992, 32-34). Due to this lack of specification, even though the generalization of a statement may only be directed towards a single site, it cannot be considered unscientific. Processualism has also been considered unscientific due to its shift from the production of laws to the production of generalizations; however, it has been argued that there are two types of sciences: space-like sciences, such as physics which are more suited to the production of laws because the studied object is constant through time; and time-like sciences, which are less suited because through time the observed object changes (VanPool and VanPool 1999). It is clear that archaeology falls into the latter category which is less suited to the production of laws; this is due not only to evolutionary change, but also social change which may lead to different uses of objects – this can be furthered by stating that not only does the object change through a longevity, but also through the unpredictable and inventive nature of the human brain, which may cause objects to be used for secondary (or more) purposes which were not predesigned and are therefore less obvious.

Subsequently, it is clear that archaeology must abandon the productions of laws because it is not progressive.

To ensure that the postprocessual method fits with scientific principals we must study the demarcations themselves. The most accepted view of science in archaeology is the 'legendary view', which dictates that it must be logical and objective, with meticulous recording, rational hypotheses, evaluating all possibilities and falsifying theory when a better interpretation is developed, without influence (VanPool and VanPool 1999). As we have seen above, hypotheses are not an effective way to conduct archaeology; however the demarcation of rationality may allow for this. The meticulous recording of data is clearly demonstrated in moderate postprocessualism due to the need for theories to withstand scrutiny. However, we do come to two key issues when using the 'legendary view'. Firstly, postprocessualists believe that all interpretation is influenced by the present; however, as stated above, their acceptance of this has led to the production of fourfold hermeneutics as a scientific solution. The second issue is that postprocessualists do not have to falsify their theory if a more compatible theory is produced, or even if the data does not necessarily fit (VanPool and VanPool 1999). Yet, if this is the case then it makes the theory unlikely to withstand scrutiny and it is not accepted by the whole community. Therefore, it is still progressive. Instances of this have been seen in the recognized scientific community; for example, the principals of natural selection are not falsified even though evidence of communal activity goes against the theory (VanPool and VanPool 1999). Another reason these interpretations are not falsified may be due to the complex nature of humanity which leads to a hierarchy of meanings (VanPool and VanPool 1995). Subsequently, multiple interpretations may in fact be valid. Thagard's (1978) view of science may be more appropriate. He viewed that something became unscientific if it was less progressive than other theories over a long span of time, made little attempt to solve problems, held no concern to evaluate the theory and was selective in the data they used; the example he used was astrology, which does not produce theories which if falsified disprove the core theory and has struggled against all of these demarcations. Moderate postprocessualism, when analysed using these categories, clearly is scientific. However, hyper-relativism is not (another reason to split the two groups under different headings). Postprocessualism has faced no issues in, 'community, theory or historical context' which would, in Thagard's analysis, suggest it being a pseudoscience. Even though the 'legendary view' has a few demarcations which are not met, these are abandoned for rational reasons (which is a demarcation in itself) and postprocessualism is fully supported by Thagard's principals of science – therefore, it would be counterproductive to name it unscientific.

The question we must address is why postprocessualism should not be considered as a critical theory? The main issue is that critical theory is supposed to study human behavior in order to enlighten and free agents from self-imposed constraint (Geuss 1981, 2). I would argue that in this sense postprocessualists use critical theory but would not be accepted by the Frankfurt school as a solely critical study. The use of fourfold hermeneutics is clearly a form of critical theory in the

sense that it educates the practitioners (or agents) in what may be influencing their work so that they may restructure their studies to limit the effects of these influences. This is a clear use of ideology in the positive sense (Geuss 1981, 22-23). However, it may be argued that this is one of the few instances of critical theory being used in postprocessual study. There has been a shift in postprocessual archaeology to being more reflective than objective, which could be argued to originate in their study of meaning. However, the meaning of objects influences the interpretation of other objects therefore, it is vital. It could also be argued that processual archaeologists were searching for explanations which originate in many cases from meaning. Therefore, to progress descriptive sense to a pejorative sense, meaning must be understood, otherwise archaeology may be “overwhelmed by impossible theories or a welter of flint chips” (Murray 1961, 13). For that reason the reflective study has grown from a scientific origin. Postprocessual study is clearly more closely linked with scientific study than critical theory and merely uses it to limit extraneous variables in their work to increase internal validity.

Finally, to truly claim that postprocessualism is a science, we must assess how it is a progression over processualism. We must recognize that, despite their wishes to be explanatory, it is strictly descriptive. This is seen from the beginnings of processualism (Hawkes 1954). It has also been criticized that it has limited itself so much so that it is only able to study certain aspects of the archaeological record, in particular those at the base of Hawkes’s ladder of inference such as production and subsistence techniques (Lucas 2012, 136, Taylor 1948 cited in Hawkes 1954). In defense it has been claimed that archaeology is merely the study of material remains and that aspects such as sociological, religious and mental issues are anthropological (MacIver 1933). However, this is clearly untrue as presented by Kintigh (2014) which includes communal and cognitive issues in its twenty-five challenges for archaeology. The final issue is that processualism regards human behaviour as determined by natural change in a formulaic manner (Dornan 2002, Green 2002, 253, Hodder 1999, Hodder 2007, 2, Shanks and Hodder et al. 1995, 4 and Trigger 1989, 445). The postprocessual view is that there are multiple effectors which lead to social change; that range from societal and individual to environmental stimulators, therefore creating a less reductionist and deterministic formula for change, which is a clear progression (Dornan 2002, Hodder 1999, 129-132). Secondly, instead of limiting study to lower rungs of Hawkes’s ladder of inference, postprocessualism is using scientific method in order to gain a better understanding of the higher rungs of the ladder of inference. For example, Hodder (2007) found a cache of bear claws and used the religious context of the site (the already established Bull cult discovered by Mellart (1961)) to suggest that there had already been a bear cult at the site. However, another success of postprocessualism is the constant reinterpretation in order to search for better fitting theories meaning the theory will constantly be re-tested, therefore showing the scientific characteristics similar to those in processual analysis of flint-knapping but in relation to culture. This shows that postprocessualism is a scientific progression to study the aspects of society which are not covered by the limited sphere of processualism.

In conclusion, the demarcations of science support the claim that the majority of postprocessual study is scientific. However, there is a minority of hyper-relativists which are not scientific and therefore should be regarded as a second theoretical group. The criticisms of postprocessual study are founded on outdated definitions and criticisms based on extreme hyper-relativist study and therefore do not apply to the majority of practitioners. The use of the hermeneutic spiral can also be seen in a scientific light as a more logical approach which avoids many faults which may be incurred when studying human behavior using hypotheses, such as a lack of context and issues with equifinality. Therefore, postprocessualism is a scientific method which uses the hermeneutic spiral in a scientific way in order to progress further and faster in creating a view of the past world which relates to all aspects of the ladder of inference, with more reliability due to fourfold hermeneutics than other scientific methods.

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An interview with Professor Richard Bradley

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Professor Richard Bradley is undoubtedly one of the most eminent prehistorians in Britain. All academics, students and other practitioners of archaeology will have seen his name on at least one of his brilliant books on landscape, monumentality and rock art in Neolithic and Bronze Age Britain published over the last thirty or so years, or had the pleasure of listening to his lectures at conferences.

Normally I would start an interview by asking the interviewee what it was that inspired them to study archaeology. Richard, you in fact studied law at university, so what or who was it that inspired you to pursue a career in archaeology?

I was interested in archaeology from the age of seven, but couldn't see any way of practicing it as a career. I decided to study law, as a career as a solicitor – so I imagined – would give me the time and resources to continue my archaeology as an amateur. There were fewer professional archaeologists in those days – the late 1960s. Then two things changed. One was meeting people with similar interests at university and taking encouragement from their determination to work in archaeology. The other was gaining access to a good archaeology library and teaching myself the subject in my spare time.

How has your background shaped the way you think about access to the discipline by young people and enthusiasts today? Do you think it is getting easier or more difficult to have a career in academic or commercial archaeology without a degree in the subject?

It is still possible to get into commercial archaeology through participating in fieldwork, but today academic posts seem to be restricted to those with academic qualifications. I think this is a pity. On the other hand, many more courses are available than there were 40 years ago and the discipline is much more open to newcomers than it was in the late 1960s. Academic archaeology is more interesting now than it was when I began to teach it.

You presented a guest lecture on 'The use and reuse of stone circles: 20 years of fieldwork in Scotland' for the 2nd Annual Student Archaeology conference at the University of Reading in June. How, if at all, do you think your career has changed in the last 20 or more years?

I have been able to spend more time on research and writing, and I have supervised and examined more postgraduates. I have become much more involved in public archaeology through my contacts with commercial units, and I have conducted excavations on a smaller scale than before. As a result, these projects have become increasingly focused. They have drawn on the enthusiasm and skills of local communities to an increasing extent. I have also placed more emphasis on research in Iberia, Scandinavia and Scotland.



Professor Bradley giving a guest lecture at the 2nd Annual Student Archaeology conference at the University of Reading in June 2014 (Reproduced with kind permission of Heidi Babos)

One of my favourite quotes from you is “in the literature as a whole, successful farmers have social relations with one another, while hunter-gatherers have ecological relations with hazelnuts” (Bradley 1984, 11). This refers very succinctly to the contrasting ways the lifeways and successes of Mesolithic and Neolithic people have been viewed by most archaeologists. Do you think preconceptions of the Mesolithic and Neolithic have changed in the last 30 years? If there has been a change, is it for the better? If there has not been a change, what do you think are the challenges that need to be overcome by archaeologists?

The quote was an off the cuff remark that has come to haunt me. There have been real improvements in our knowledge of both periods, and these are largely due to improved field methods, the expansion of commercial archaeology and the development of more accurate dating methods. As we learn more about the Continental background to the Neolithic period, the magnitude of the change has become even clearer. But it's a pity that there are still too many period specialists.

In another book in 2000 you addressed *An Archaeology of Natural Places*. Even at that point such an analysis was arguably quite unusual because archaeology relies on altered places, anthropogenic features or material culture to locate and interpret people in prehistory (Bradley 2000). Do you think it would be beneficial for the Mesolithic to be interpreted as more Neolithic and the Neolithic as more Mesolithic (Bradley 2007, 29)? Does a monument have to be made of stone to be a monument (Bradley 1998, 14); is a farmer actually a hunter-gatherer if he/she hunts game and gathers crops (Bradley 1997, 196-203)? Also, you have mentioned the environmental relations Neolithic people exhibit through their ornamentation of pottery, so can your 1984 social/ecological relations quote now be changed?

The simple answer to all these questions is to be wary of received categories and to put more faith in the results of the best archaeological fieldwork. It is too easy to be inhibited by the fear of making a mistake. In the long run the received wisdom is very rarely wise. Archaeologists should allow themselves to be taken by surprise.

In the preface to your 1997 book *Rock Art and the Prehistory of Atlantic Europe* you mention that you were asked, ten years previously, what you expected to be the important growth areas of prehistoric archaeology. You responded with three fields of study: the deposition of artefacts, the role of monumental architecture and the analysis of ancient art (Bradley 1997, xiii). How do you think prehistoric archaeology will change in the next ten years?

I've no idea, because if I did know I'd be doing it myself!

You have recently retired as Professor at the University of Reading. What does the future hold for you? Will you be undertaking further research, continuing any teaching, or will you be enjoying new pursuits?

I'll carry on writing and doing fieldwork, but I have a backlog of existing projects to clear before I can contemplate any new ones.

Thank you very much for taking the time to participate in this interview Richard, your support for ASA2 and, of course, your outstanding career to date.

For those interested in the Annual Student Archaeology conference series, applications are open until 14 October for students (undergraduate or postgraduate) at any UK university other than the Universities of York and Reading (hosts of ASA1 and ASA2, respectively) to organise the third Annual Student Archaeology conference! The first two conferences have attracted papers and posters on a diverse range of archaeological research by students internationally, and been an important yet fun experience for the first two organising committees. Information and the application form are available at www.asaconference.org.uk.

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Hendraburnick 'quoit': experiences and revelations of excavation

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***Disclaimer:* As the author of this article, I would like to make it known to readers that although much of the material in this piece is a product of my own thoughts, several conceptions are the result of sharing thoughts and ideas with people working and directing the site excavation at Hendraburnick 'quoit', all my knowledge of the site has been gained through participating in excavation of this site.**

Hendraburnick 'quoit' is a misnomer. It is in fact not a quoit at all, but a particularly striking and scenic propped stone, lying upon a gently rolling valley-side in Cornwall. It is a fascinating site, and aside from being a testament to the power of prehistoric people to shift these enormous stones, it also exhibits several ancient engravings known as cup-marks, which involve the hollowing out of rounded dimples in the rock.

It was these cup-marks which had sparked an initial interest in the site, as unlike other rock art sites of this type in the south, there was reason to believe that it could provide the first tangible dating for them. This was because it was in situ and had the potential for datable material to be recovered. Thus, it perfectly fitted the agenda of an ongoing project into rock art in the south west of England, to form a corpus (Andy M. Jones pers comm) of information about these little known sites. This is why Hendraburnick was the focus of much excitement in the summer of 2013, during some small-scale excavations run by the Cornwall Archaeological Society. It was only after a week of digging and investigations that the more prolific nature of Hendraburnick was fully appreciated.

However, I should begin by describing its momentous form and placement in the landscape. Hendraburnick (which is actually the local name for the surrounding down land) is a long, rounded and flattened epidiorite stone, propped up and laid to rest upon a platform of smaller slate stones at one end, and naturally occurring slate bedrock on the other. This bedrock also showed a few cup-marks. It is thought that the source of the epidiorite came from the river valley below, before it had been lugged up the hill. It was perhaps selected for use in the site because of its aesthetically pleasing natural shape like a stone axe. Next to it was a smaller stone, which is thought likely to have originally been a fallen standing stone of a later date, which also had a

few cup-marks. This later instalment of a standing stone may have been a way to mark the older site as a place of religious significance.

Once excavation was underway, artefacts very quickly began to spring up around the stones. These included a small segmented faience bead, arrowheads and other flint implements, a large amount of smashed quartz and a broken greenstone mace-head. My own test pit had been in a fortunate place, as it was not long before a small but perfectly formed barbed and tanged arrowhead emerged, relatively dated to be within the Early Bronze Age and appearing as though it could have been made yesterday. Was this unused, pristine condition arrowhead dropped by a hunter as he roamed the river valley sides in search of deer? Or was it carefully made and deliberately placed by the propped stone to pay respect? If so, then this could be a sign of longevity of belief, or at least recognition of a special place, lingering from centuries earlier in the Neolithic.

When we started work on the site, we had few significant dates for the stones except for relative dating based on the nature of the artefacts and the form of the site. However, subsequent radiocarbon dating of charcoal remains found at the site around the larger stone and the base of the smaller one have provided several interesting dates. The smaller of the two stones has given an Early Bronze Age date, while the larger cup-marked stone gives an earlier date from the Late Neolithic, serving to illustrate the longevity of ideology surrounding this impressive hillside monument.

Hendraburnick was placed on the side of the hill, rather than the top, to face out across the River Camel Valley. This special placement could be considered to relate to ideologies which perhaps involved worship or, reverence of a landscape from a certain view point. They may even have placed it there to deliberately avoid 'dominating' the valley through putting it on the hill's summit. Or maybe the idea was for the monument to be in a secret or hidden location, where it could not be viewed by just anyone: perhaps the rock art was 'special' information for just a few special members of the community.

It was during the latter half of the days spent working at Hendraburnick though that the largest revelation was to occur. It was discovered that what had previously been thought to be only a few cup-marks, were actually just part of the whole design, and far more numerous. Once this had been noticed at ground level, a camera was elevated using a long pole to achieve an aerial shot of the rock art designs. After this had been highlighted, an afternoon sat atop the stone, meticulously peeling off lichen from the designs, revealed the extent of the art in subsequent photos. It was shown to cover most of the entire surface of the stone in long grooved lines radiating out and running down the stone from hollowed out cup-marks.

After this revelation, we could, and still can, only guess about the purpose and significance of the radial dots and lines. As you can imagine, there were many speculations on site about the purpose of the art, including the plotting of solar movements and shooting stars, symbolic maps, representation of sun rays and other abstract ideas, or even conveying narratives. It was also suggested in conversation that it could have been a sloped platform upon which liquids were pooled into the dots and allowed to run down the face of the stone via the grooves: a 4000 year old altar, if you will.

To me, this begs the question of whether other propped stones of its kind in Cornwall also exhibit ancient artwork. This example of such artwork has only recently been discovered. The uncertainty concerning ancient artistic expression may be due to the erosion of stones or negligence because it was erroneously assumed to be non-existent in this part of the country. Whatever the purpose of the symbolism on the stone, it cannot be doubted that this proud and scenic monolith, overlooking the valley of the River Camel, complete with an array of fascinating artefacts, is anything but extraordinary.

Interesting approaches for the analysis and interpretation of historic buildings



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The study of vernacular buildings has long since drawn the attention of academics, though best practice is a contention which continues to plague the discourse. While indebted to his heavily descriptive, functionalist antecedents, Matthew Johnson challenges the lack of explicit theoretical frameworks hitherto applied to the study of traditional architecture (see Gilchrist 2009). Johnson's emphasis on human action and interaction sets the stage for an interpretation that moves beyond the purely functionalist, typological and economic paradigms used to read traditional buildings (Gerrard 2003, 173). He proposes that "material things are more important than simply tools for coping with the environment. Artefacts are social products...they are produced and have meanings assigned to them in a social milieu" (Johnson 1993a, 12). Johnson convincingly demonstrates that as these social meanings change, so too do the houses in which they are embedded. His explicitly termed 'closure' expresses the closing of the open-hall hearth area in Suffolk houses, and more subtly, the reciprocal structured and structuring nature it had on day-to-day communications. Johnson's (1993a) contextual approach attempts a 'case study' in the post-processualist style advocated by Hodder (1986, 118–45), and has been heavily influenced by American vernacular discourse.

This essay seeks to evaluate Johnson's theoretical approach, firstly, by focussing on the legacy of the 'Great Rebuilding' (Hoskins 1953, 44), and why Hoskins' thesis still endures. In doing so, we may judge the extent to which it has influenced both current vernacular discourse, and Johnson's subsequent work. Secondly, we will shed light on Matthew Johnson's (1990, 245-259; 1993; 1997, 13-19; 2010, 1-20) theoretical approach to the study of traditional architecture. Simplistic economic explanations (Johnson 1990, 248-250) are rejected and proximal answers are sought in the changing social and cultural meanings of the 'open', 'transitional' and 'closed' houses of Western Suffolk. By appraising his structuralist intention we may be thrust into a position to assess whether his theory of 'closure' presents a profitable perspective on traditional architecture and the wider landscape (1996, 44-70). Finally, in looking to the work of Nat Alcock (1993) we may move beyond Johnson's ideas, developing the approach to domestic architecture through changes to material possessions. Roberta Gilchrist (2012) achieves the same approach, though more theoretically informed than Alcock. By considering Alcock (1993) and Gilchrist's (2012) work alongside Johnson's (1993a), we may therefore assert both a highly important and persuasive approach to interpret vernacular architecture.

In 1953 W. G. Hoskins published "The Rebuilding of rural England, 1570-1640". Hoskins used both archaeological and documentary evidence to argue for a substantial rebuilding of houses at a socially 'middling' level (King 2010, 54). Hoskin's thesis, expressed in a typically flamboyant style, proposed that 'between the accession of Elizabeth I and the outbreak of the Civil War, there occurred a revolution in the housing of a considerable part of the population...There was, first the physical rebuilding and substantial modernisation of medieval houses...and there was almost simultaneously a remarkable increase in household furnishings" (Hoskins 1953, 44). He focussed his attention to the rural landscape of Suffolk, where he believed this transformation was "inescapable" (Hoskins 1953, 34). Hoskins ascribed his building "revolution" (1953, 44) to the rising demand for privacy, and ultimately the economic influence of the Renaissance. He sought this economic impetus from "the bigger husbandmen, the yeomen and the lesser gentry" (Hoskins 1953, 50; Dyer 2006, 26), identifying the means for the "Great Rebuilding" (Johnson 1993b, 118), in the wider economic context, and the effect it had on population increase.

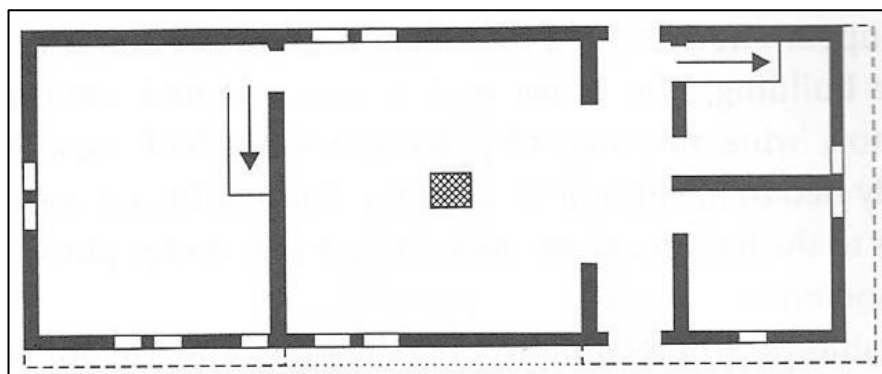
Despite criticisms (Alcock 1983; Ryan 2000, 20-1), Hoskins' thesis (1953) became an orthodoxy in vernacular architectural studies. The "Great Rebuilding" was often used as an analogy for contemporary shifts in other spheres of social and economic history (Spufford 1984). The argument, however, was not assessed on a national, rigorously quantified basis until later reassessment by Robert Machin (1977, 33-40), and Chris Currie (1988). Hoskins acknowledges that his suggested population rise is an unprovable phenomenon, noting "the historian should not [ignore a convincing argument] because he sees little chance of proving his case statistically" (Hoskins 1953, 45, 46, 47 & 55; Johnson 1993a, 121). Despite more recent developments in this field, this attitude has survived in vernacular architecture discourse to the present day. Peter Smith's *Houses of the Welsh Countryside* (1988) was based on selective recording with no discussion of the biases this might involve. Additionally, Colum Giles in *Rural houses of West Yorkshire* (1985, xix) uses the phrase 'fairly random' to describe his sampling methods. In any case, pointing these out is not to vilify Hoskins' achievement, but rather emphasise the historical pervasiveness of his work. As a result, the 'Great Rebuilding' has remained one of the few broader concepts of historical significance of the 'vernacular threshold' (Johnson 1997, 17). A stronger reason for its acceptance was that it fitted the contemporary fashions in social and economic history, as well as Hoskins' new 'landscape history' (Dyer 2006, 24). Hoskins himself identified the changing values of the Renaissance as the primary cause of the 'Great Rebuilding' (1953), though he failed to question the underlying reasons for the consequent rise in privacy (Johnson 2002, 176-183). According to Johnson the 'Great Rebuilding' was accepted on the grounds of its excellent coherence (Johnson 1993a, 121). However, it is often assumed that past cultural meanings are only accessible via documents, and that therefore the study of traditional buildings remains dry and technical; 'the production of an inert form into which only texts can breathe life' (Johnson 1993a, 124). In the words of Hoskins "the students of vernacular

buildings...remain woefully ignorant of the documentary side of their field of study" (1967, 94).

Behind the text and the artefact lie human thoughts, something that Hoskins fully appreciated.

Johnson's theory of closure emerged from this legacy, and the recognition that American vernacular discourse was, at that time, well ahead of its British counterpart. The "loss of innocence", as Johnson termed it, in British vernacular discourse (1997, 13) was symptomatic of a lack of explicit historical interpretation (1997, 14). Johnson consequently turned to the structural and post-structural linguistics of Saussure (1983) and ultimately to historical archaeology arguing for a contextual approach to vernacular houses. For Johnson, the grammatical approaches put forward by Henry Glassie (1975), and James Deetz (1996), were important because they helped "make explicit the often implicit and unspoken process in the mind of the maker" (Johnson 1993a, 33). In this case, it models the way the final form of the building is thought out in implicit stages, a process referred to as a "competence" (Figure 2) (Johnson 1993a, 33). Johnson acknowledges that this was the first step towards understanding the meaning of an object, but criticised Glassie for failing to account for change over time (1993a, 181). This perceived shortcoming provided a practical outline for what Johnson contributed to the study of vernacular architecture. He proposed a grammatical approach of his own, based on the work of Chomsky (1965, 4) and influenced by Hodder (1986) to elucidate this 'competence' or 'rules of composition' that make up the 'specialised body of practical knowledge' behind western Suffolk's timber framed houses (Johnson 1993a, 39). Johnson designated his competence the "craft tradition" (1993a, 38), and claimed that "in what follows only the most basic rules of layout will be given. The resolution will be less fine than that given by Glassie, but will cope with minor variations more easily" (1993a, 42). The grammar he subsequently offers provides a useful framework for investigating questions of meaning and subsequently employs this grammatical framework to the 'open', 'transitional' and 'closed' houses of Western Suffolk (Johnson 1993a, 44-89; 2010, 90).

Open houses were characterised by a central hall consisting of two or more hierarchically arranged bays, which opened to the roof. According to Johnson, social intercourse within these late medieval houses was "governed by established rules of medieval patriarchy" (1993a, 55). He asserts that relationships between master, wife and servants were decidedly unequal, which is expressed through asymmetrical features, segregated functional spaces and proscribed patterns of circulation in the open house. The carefully composed interior of Bayleaf (Figure 1)



demonstrates the asymmetrical segregation in three distinct bays.

Figure 1: Plan of Bayleaf illustrating the asymmetrical nature of early open hall houses, with the 'upper' solar to the left, open hall in the

middle and 'lower' service area to the right. According to Johnson the open hall carried meaning at three levels. "At the physical level, it directly moulded circulation patterns within the house around its centrality. At the level of formal symbolic code, it acted as an explicit structuring of space along socially hierarchical, patriarchal lines. At the level of spatial text, it signified several different things: it asserted comimmality and community, but also denoted inequality and segregation at the same time" (Johnson 1993a, 59; 2010, 67; Harris 1993, 66).

The social meaning of the open hall is found at all levels of society (Mercer 1975, 22; Thompson 1995). The hall carried the meaning of a social structure that has been variously labelled, 'Gemeinschaft', or "peasant tradition" by Dobrolowski (1971, 277) and "patriarchal order" by Johnson (1993a, 54). It consisted of a structure based around the unit of the household (Gilchrist 2012, 114), and what Mertes calls (1988) "good governance and public rule" within which the members of the household were bound together by asymmetrical ties of kinship and dependence (Johnson 1993a, 54).

What followed, according to Johnson (1993a, 33) was a period of "renegotiation" resulting in a range from "extreme conservatism in their similarity to open-hall plans" to "early examples of the distinct form in the closed period" (Johnson 1993a, 64; Coleman 1979a; 1979b). Elaborate decorative details and unusual plans were typical (Alcock & Laithwaite 1973; Harris 1978, 67), and as a result Johnson labels these 'transitional' houses (1993a, 64). Consisting of the open house plan with the addition of an inserted chimney-stack, fully ceiled hall and lobby-entry (2010, 92), the multi-phased forms of 'transitional' houses vary from 'conservative' to 'radical' plans (1993a, 72; Walker 2003, 79-83).

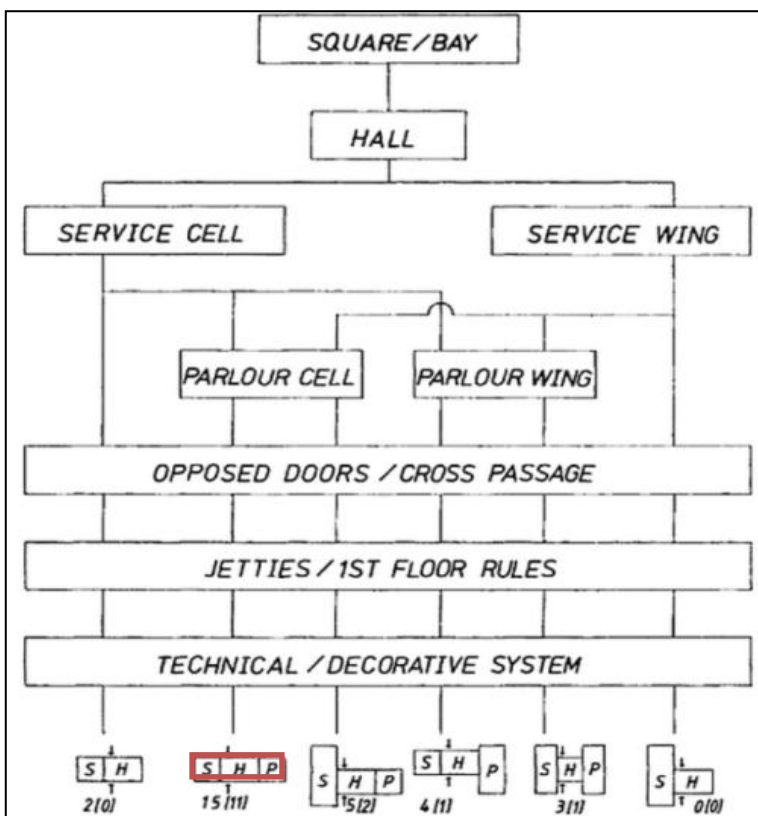


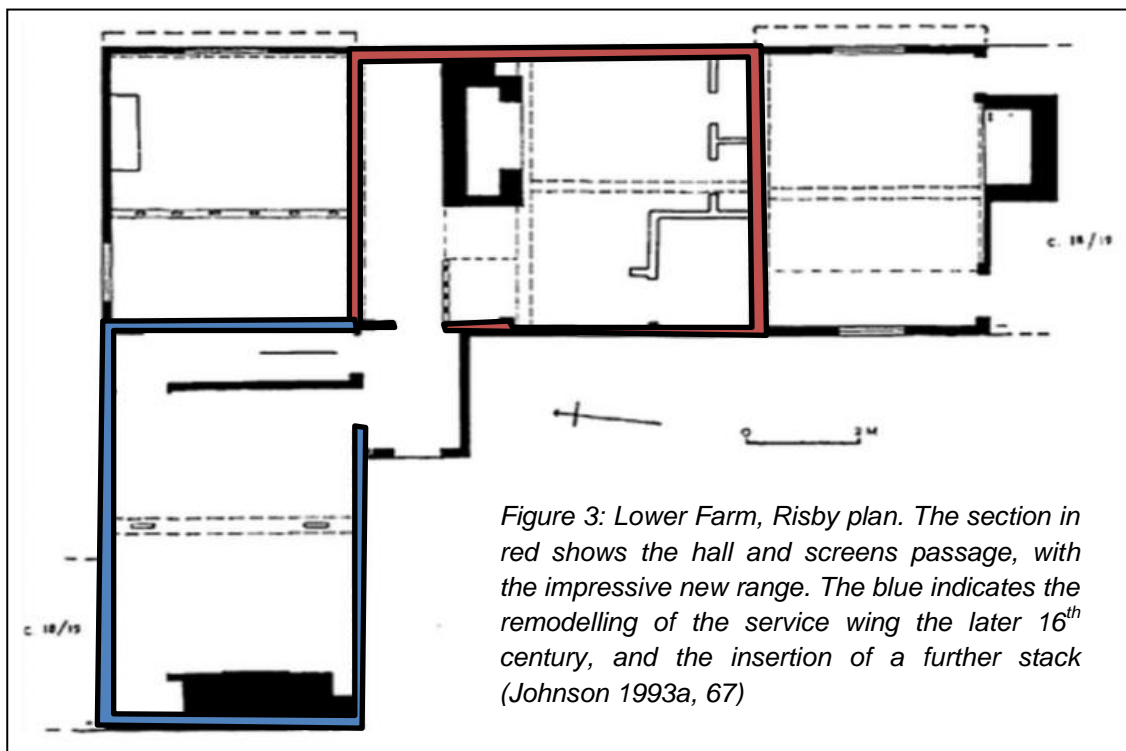
Figure 2: This is a sketch of the competence for the open-hall house. The highlighted red plan, corresponds to the plan of Bayleaf (Johnson 1993a, 52).

Case Study: Lower Farm Risby

Lower Farm, though complex and originally of open-hall plan, illustrates the 'transitional' form, and shows as much variation in the way these changes were carried out as the newly built transitional houses themselves (Johnson 1993a, 64). The cross-wing was retained at

Lower Farm, but the old hall was completely demolished and replaced with a fine new main range (Figure 2). The roof over the hall was rebuilt, but only a few blackened rafters survive. A parlour wing was added in the 16th century (Figure 3), with a jetty and gable to the north with stud-braces, three-window ranges and an external stack. Also at this point the service wing was remodelled, with a rail introduced into the cross-passage. The front was then rebuilt, and jettied above the cross-rail, with studding and windows similar to the parlour wing. The whole roof was rebuilt in clasped-purlin form and a chimney-stack was added at the west end.

These changes are reflected at Church Farm, Brettenham, and Clockhouse Farm, Shimplin (Johnson 1993a, 66, 68). Such alterations meant changes in circulation patterns on the ground floor and provided a substantial amount of added space to the upper storey. Johnson (1993a, 64) convincingly argues that the abandonment of the open hall in Suffolk must relate to the abandonment or modification of those social meanings and changes in the underlying social form to which they referred. The reordering of physical space reflects, therefore, a “renegotiation” (Johnson 1993a, 33-35; 2010, 92) of social relations and changes to the long-standing patriarchal order within the household (Johnson 1993a, 54), whilst also suggesting modest innovations within the craft tradition in western Suffolk. Thomas Hubka has suggested that innovation within the craft tradition does not generally involve entirely new ideas. Rather, builders “accomplish change by reordering the hierarchy of ideas...contained within the known grammar” (1986, 430; Smith 1989). This observation on the general process of vernacular design appears to be accurate at Lower Farm, given the close similarity of date and style to other ‘transitional houses’ referred to by Johnson (1993a, 66, 68).



The closed house by contrast was “uniform and plain in both plan and detail” (Johnson 1993a, 89), and generally consisted of three bays, with lobby entry backing onto a newly inserted axial chimney-stack, and back-to-back fireplaces (1993a, 89). This type became far more prevalent as house building in general increased in the 17th century (Machin 1977, 40), with numerous regional variants on a single national theme (Roberts, 2010, 165-173; Mercer 1975; Harrison & Hutton 1984, 74; Pearson 1985, 69).

Case study: Tudor Cottage, Brent Eleigh

Of Johnson’s ‘closed’ type, Tudor Cottage represents a clear phasing of these changes in Suffolk. Its origins remain in the late medieval open-hall style; however, it was modified first of all with a smoke bay inserted into the open hall (Figure 4). A timber stack was then inserted into the smoke bay and a brick stack was inserted in the position of the largely destroyed timber stack, of which part of the frame survives (Johnson 2010, 91-2). A lobby entry was placed in this bay, certainly by the time of the insertion of the brick stack and possibly as part of the smoke bay, as is the pattern elsewhere (Harris 1978, 8; Alcock 1998, 82-4).

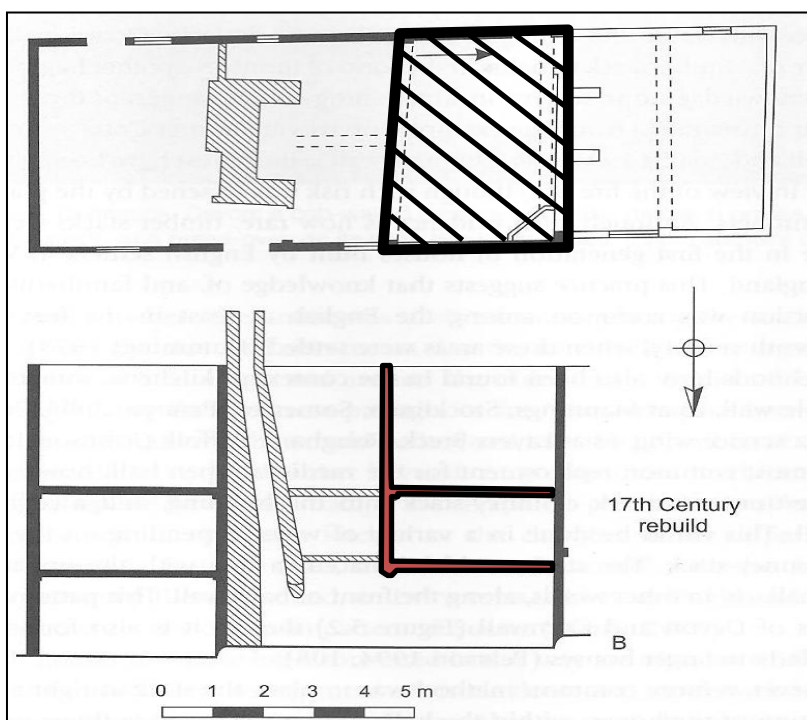


Figure 4: Plan and section of Tudor cottage, Brent Eleigh. The medieval house is shown in black and the smoke-bay inserted into the open bay in red (Johnson 2010, 91).

The ceiling-over of the hall gave the first floor the potential to be developed as a sphere of interaction in its own right (Barley 1991, 20-3). Such alterations saw centralization of both the circulation pattern and social meanings of the enclosed house (Johnson 1993a, 103). Activities within the closed house were drawn in, rationalized and divided according to function. This is of special interest to American scholars of the discourse, because the East Anglians of Johnson’s (1993a) *‘Housing Culture’* (1993a) played a central role in the early colonial settlement in America

(Neiman 1986). Abbot Lowell Cummings (1979, 95) documents the earliest English structures erected in New England and demonstrates that East Anglian immigrants built lobby-entry houses with the same back-to-back fireplaces of Johnson's 'closed' type found ubiquitously in Suffolk.

Johnson uses the key distinctions between 'open' and 'closed' houses as evidence of changing social relations and cultural mantalité. The expressive quality of the timber framed system of the open house with its visible and often noted posts and braces as at 1-2 Ufton, Warwickshire (Alcock & Miles 2012, 19-27), is completely hidden in the later 'closed' house (Johnson 1993a, 111).



Figure 5: 1-2 Ufton north side of one of the trusses, still exposed to this day. This is a clear expression in the earlier open phase of the house, which in many other houses was later purposefully hidden (Alcock & Miles 2012, 21).

Instead, a profusion of rooms and an increase in the amount and types of moveable furnishings became the expressive features in the increasingly private closed house (Johnson 1993a, 150; Hoskins 1953, 44). Johnson argues that the closed plan both reflected and reinforced a social distance between people formerly engaged in face-to-face relations (Johnson 1993a, 107; Longcroft 2002, 43). Put simply, gender and status relationships within households changed permanently during the 16th and 17th centuries and the design of houses reflected these changes by effectively reconciling the need for segregation and centralisation. He places this within the wider context of weakening traditional notions of authority and status and the effects of a less personal set of capitalist relations (Johnson 1996, 77-78). He contends that the transition from open to closed houses was part of a

larger gradual process of enclosure, referencing new religious ideas of the Puritans concurrent with changing economic and social relations, world view, and an increasing desire for privacy (Johnson 1996, 188).

Johnson uses probate inventories to demonstrate the qualitative and quantitative difference of the older form from this new closed house, (1993a, 188), lending a tangible means by which to assess these changing meanings beyond that of the architecture of Suffolk Houses. He, like Gilchrist (2012, 114) interrogates the 'spatial locale' of the household, in which people lived, and the daily practices that gave meaning to their 'life course' (1993, 107; Gilchrist 2012, 1).

According to Johnson (2010, 138, 152), these furnishings expressed and reinforced the ideas mentioned above, gave material form to a world view and demonstrated how different groups – men and women, masters and servants – took up varying positions within this cultural milieu. Johnson (2010, 135-6) applies this to the inventory of Thomas Downton of Chetnole Farm, Dorset, but provides little beyond description of the inventory in question. In this respect, the use of probate inventories in Johnson's work (1993a; 2010) remains, as Currie asserted of documentary use in vernacular architectural studies overall, largely unfulfilled (2004).

Nat Alcock's (1993) *People at Home: Living in a Warwickshire village, 1500-1800* expounded the use of these valuable records for the village of Stoneleigh, Warwickshire. Beyond the individual buildings and documents, Alcock reveals "how a community of English villagers organised their lives and how, within the same timber-frame as their parents, they could rearrange the rooms...to suit changing lifestyles" (1993a, 4). Inventories, therefore, appear to be the ideal tool and are often used to elucidate the social use of space (Johnson 1993a, 84, 95; Machin 1978, 160-1, Alcock & Currie 1989, 21-23). However, the house we see in an inventory is one dimensional, and located in what Alcock terms 'a temporal vacuum' (1993, 5). As a result, we have only a vague idea of how household goods reflect changing fashions, and meanings. For Stoneleigh, fashion and innovation have been followed through impressions, rather than statistical analysis. In the following chapters of Alcock's book, he expands his gaze to the "building and rebuilding" (1993, 61) of many of the Stoneleigh houses, ultimately arriving at a "new style" (1993, 62) of comfortable living in Johnson's 'closed' house (1993a, 89).

Case Study: The Probate Inventories of Stoneleigh, Warwickshire

Nowhere is this better illustrated than at 11-12 Coventry Road, Stoneleigh (Figure 6). The first inventory for this holding is that of Thomas Rowley (1551). The first four rooms of the inventory describe the three-bay house, complete with central hall, parlour, chamber, and nether chamber. The inclusion of apparel, silver and wool here suggests a separation between these first rooms and the last two, something noted by Alcock (1993, 69) as highly rare for inventories as early as this. The kitchen and bolting house were located in a detached service block. In 1610 the inventory of Robert Baker lists only one extra room, though records a notable number of farm buildings.

The changes since 1551 were small, but characteristic, and included the insertion of a second upper chamber and the conversion of a ground floor chamber to a buttery. By the time Thomas Hill inherited, the house certainly included an easterly extension. His inventory in 1631 shows great improvements, most prominent of which was the glazing of the hall windows. The house now had three more rooms, a dairy and two more chambers, typical improvements for this period (Longcroft 2002, 45). The bolting house and the kitchen were again listed last, presumably remaining separate from the house. The latter contained the cheese press and brewing 'fatt'; however cooking now took place within the buttery. In 1699, the inventory of Henry Phillips only

lists six rooms, though the omission of some rooms in the main block means that we cannot be sure that the detached kitchen and bolting house were removed.

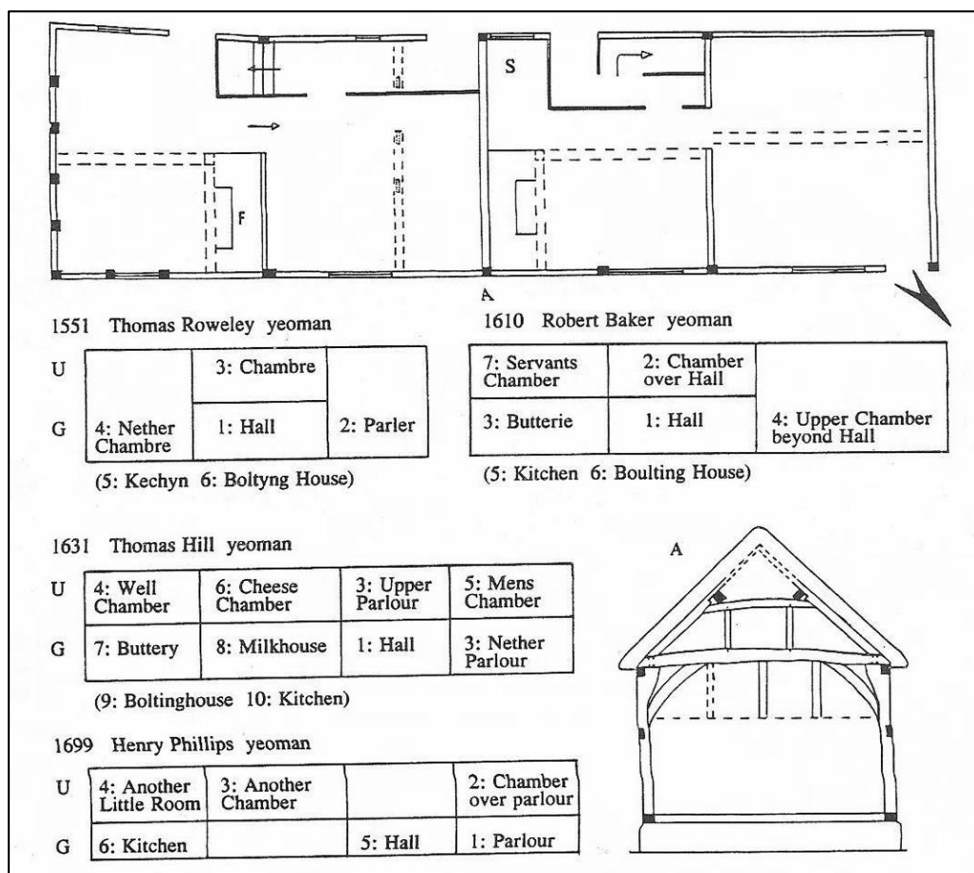


Figure 6: Plan and section of 11-12 Coventry Road, and suspected layouts based on inventory evidence. The sequencing for the 1610 inventory, however, was confusing: ‘hall, chamber over hall, buttery, upper chamber beyond hall, kitchen, bolting house, farm building and servant’s chamber’ (Alcock 1993, 67). If we assume that the ‘upper chamber beyond hall’ was on the ground floor, though ‘upper’ in status, then a tentative assignment is possible (Alcock 1993, 67).

Though the detail Alcock provides of his Warwickshire inventories is good, it is approached functionally and largely in terms of architecture; lacking the theoretical edge Johnson (1993a) delivers. Little is made of the socio-cultural meanings behind the groups of objects themselves, and that which does so, is disjointed from the inventories he presents (Alcock 1993, 172-194). In any case, highlighting these minor shortcomings is not to denigrate Alcock’s triumph, but merely to suggest an approach characterised by both a detailed use of probate inventories — Johnson’s highly theoretical, structuralist perspective — and Roberta Gilchrist’s “materiality and domesticity” (2012, 114).

There can be no doubt that the legacy of W. G. Hoskins played an integral role, not only in the historical and archaeological legwork of Johnson’s work; but also the ultimate methodology of the discourse (Dyer 2006; Alcock 1993; Machin 1977). The ‘Great Rebuilding’ still endures as an idea, because W. G. Hoskins approached his Suffolk houses from a documentary perspective as

human products. He acknowledged what Johnson did fifty years hence, that the social meanings embedded in vernacular architecture can elucidate the diverse transitional period in which closure of the open hall occurred. However, Hoskins was corseted by the frameworks of his time, and it was not until the advent of post-processualism that the theoretical approaches now used by Johnson became available. In looking to American vernacular discourse (Deetz 1977, Glassie 1975), Johnson was able to successfully apply structuralist and post-structuralist linguistics (Saussure 1983) to the meanings Hoskins attempted to tease out of the vernacular houses of Suffolk. From the highly theoretical, contextualised practice of a generative grammar and the underlying competence of buildings, Johnson presents a compelling interpretation of how and, most importantly, why these meanings changed and were manifested in the architecture from 1300 to 1800 (2010, 187). Johnson's assessment of the form, fabric, and expressive quality of 'open', 'transitional' and 'closed' houses challenges the hitherto 'commonsensical' (1990, 253; Gerrard 2003, 173) explanations about architectural change based on the rise of privacy and comfort in the modern age. Instead, cultural change was postulated to be at the core of the underlying changes in domestic space. The attempts to extend this context into the landscape are, at this stage, fairly unconvincing, and require application elsewhere to determine how fruitful an endeavour this is. It is true to say also that Johnson's examination of probate inventories lacks the rigor and detail of Alcock's, though conversely, the absence of theoretical interpretation in Alcock's work is stark. Roberta Gilchrist (2012), by contrast, offers a highly profitable approach to the objects in space Johnson was presumably attempting to achieve, whilst also theoretically informed. Nonetheless, Johnson's highly reflexive, socially influenced theory of 'closure' can only be strengthened by such works, all of which in conjunction (Johnson 1997, 18) constitute the most useful approach to vernacular architecture.

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The temple of Roma and Augustus on the Athenian Acropolis: A Symbol of Roman power?



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The temple of Roma and Augustus (dated to the late 1st century BC) was the sole major architectural supplement to the 5th and 4th century building complex on the Athenian Acropolis (Spawforth 2006, 144). Despite this, the temple has rarely been discussed in scholarly writings in contrast to the vast literature dedicated to other structures on the Athenian citadel, such as the Parthenon or the Erechtheion. Those who have granted it attention have often, but not exclusively, seen it as a symbol of Romanization, a concept which likely needs further rethinking (Spawforth 1997, 183, 192; Mattingly 2006, 17; Webster 2003). While the building has largely been viewed as either a monument to Roman power or a skillful Athenian subornation of Augustus' victory into Athenian past glory, it was arguably both: not simply an indication of Romanness but a negotiation of mixed Athenian feelings (Keen 2004; Hurwit 1999, 279-280). This brief paper will investigate the extent to which the temple of Roma and Augustus on the Acropolis can be seen as a symbol of Roman power by examining its architecture and topographical context.

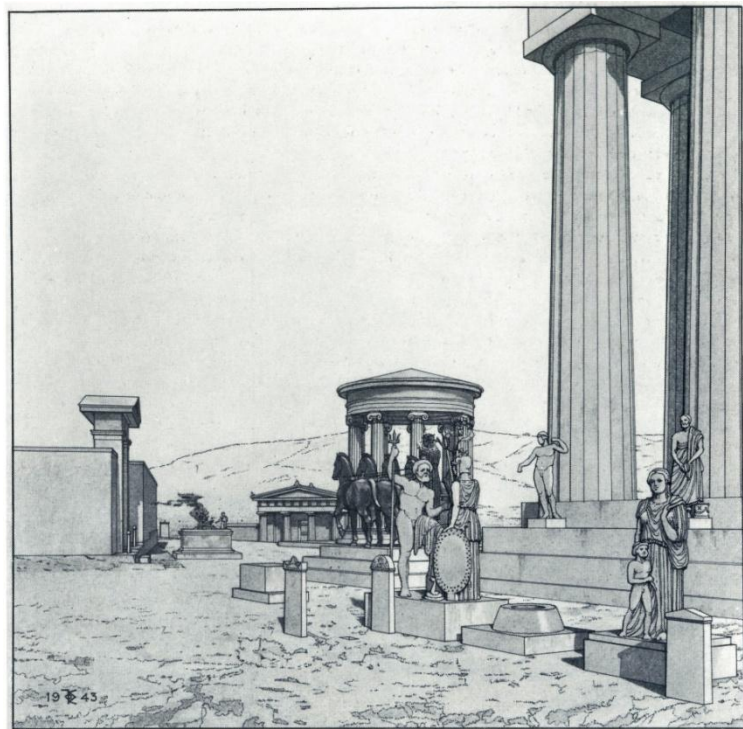


Figure 1. The NE corner of the Parthenon with the temple of Roma and Augustus, late 1st century BC. Restored by G. P. Stevens. Image courtesy of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens. (Stevens 1946, Fig. 1).

The temple of Roma and Augustus was a circular, Ionic, marble structure (Figures 1,2,3) (Travlos 1971, 494). The inscription tells us that: "The people [Athenians, dedicated the temple] to the goddess Roma and Caesar Augustus..." (*IG II² 3173* in Camp 2001, 187). Although the building does not fully survive, making architectural inferences rather conjectural, its diameter and height



Figure 2. The temple of Roma and Augustus on the Athenian Acropolis, from the NW. Photo by R. J. Sweetman.

likely measured 7.36m, indicating a sizeable structure (Hoff 1996, 188). There is much debate over the temple's precise date, the most likely being around 20/19 BC (Hoff 1996, 189-194).¹

The temple was constructed in the context of a troubled Augustan-Athenian relationship. Dio says that in the winter of 22/21 BC Augustus visited Athens, at which time the statue of Athena in the Parthenon, which usually faced eastward, turned west, and spat blood in Rome's direction (Dio 54.7.3). His story (obviously fictional) suggests Athenian opposition to Rome or Augustus personally. In the same visit, Augustus,

who stayed in Aegina rather than Athens, confiscated Athenian territories (i.e. Aegina and Eretria), in addition to withholding Athens' previous right to sell Athenian citizenship (Huber 2011, 211; Hoff 1989, 4). Hoff has interpreted these actions as repercussions, albeit moderate, fueled by Augustus' dissatisfaction (possibly also due to past Athenian support of Anthony) with anti-Roman feeling (Hoff 1989, 4; Spawforth 2006, 144). In 19 BC, Augustus returned to Athens after his diplomatic victory over Parthia, at which time he participated in the Eleusianian Mysteries, indicating his anger had diminished (Hoff 1989, 4; Schmalz 2009, 80). The temple of Roma and Augustus likely coincides with this second visit (Hoff 1996, 193-194). Scholars have suggested its construction, honoring the emperor by instituting the imperial cult on the Acropolis, was a sign of Athenian loyalty aimed at softening Augustus' anger (Spawforth 2012, 83; Schmalz in Spawforth 1997, 193).

The surviving architectural features echo Greek architecture. The Ionic columns with their ornately chiseled floral elements are clear, and rather poor, imitations of the columns from the eastern porch of the Erechtheion, making this one of the earliest examples of "classicizing" at Athens (Spawforth 2006, 144; Camp 2001, 187). The inscription, the only indicator of the temple's existence, is incised in pseudo-stoichedon style,

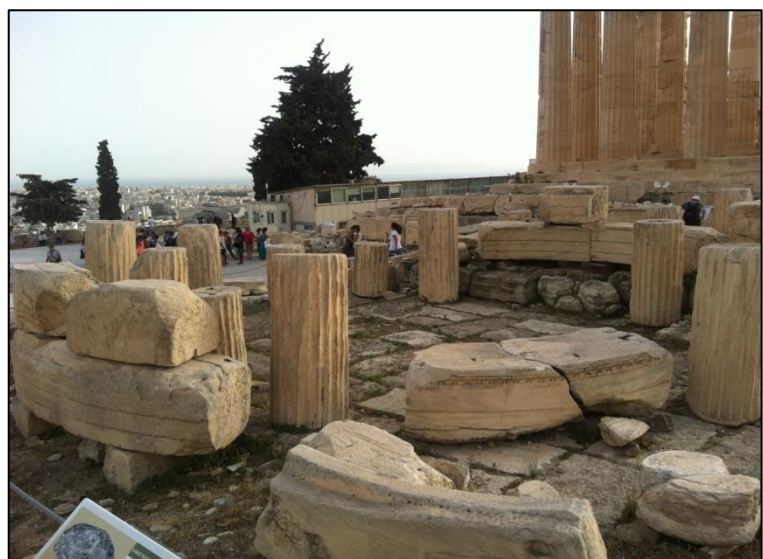


Figure 3. Surviving architectural fragments and foundation of the temple of Roma and Augustus, from the North East. Author's own.

¹ For a full summary of the date debate see Whittaker, 2002.

imitating archaic script (Bowersock in Arafat 1996, 29). Additionally the temple was constructed of Pentelic marble, acquired from the quarries of nearby Mount Pentele and used widely in Classical Athens (Hurwit 1999, 317; Sturgeon 2006, 119-120). For instance, the major structures of the 5th century Periclean building program on the Acropolis were erected out of primarily Pentelic marble (e.g. the Parthenon, the Erechtheion, and the Temple of Athena Nike) (Sturgeon 2006, 127, 139, 142).



Figure 4. The Parthenon and the temple of Roma and Augustus, from the East. Author's own.

The temple's location is extremely significant in deciphering its meaning. Firstly, the location links the imperial cult with that of Athena (Whittaker 2002, 26). The structure was axially aligned with the eastern entrance of the Parthenon, placed 23m eastward (Figures 4) (Hurwit 1999, 279).² This link connected imperial cult to the center of Athenian political and religious life and to Athens itself: the *polis* and its patron goddess were intimately tied, as the worship of the latter reinforced the former's identity (Whittaker 2002, 26). Scholars have

acknowledged that the construction of a temple, in the center civic space, was a representation of the city's collective identity (Spawforth 2006, 12, 27, 48; also Osborne 2009). The Parthenon, with its layers of meanings, was above all the ultimate expression of Athenianness. Therefore a link between the imperial cult, the cult of Athena, and the Parthenon, was a link to the city of Athens, its constituents, and its past (Whittaker 2002, 26).

The temple's location also assimilates it into the Acropolis' "field of victory" (Hurwit 1999, 281). The Parthenon east end metopes showcase the Gigantomachy, portraying the rebellious giants – likely representing disorder equated with the uncivilized – whose hubris led them to challenge the gods i.e. order (equated with the civilized) and be defeated (Camp 2001, 78; Watrous 1982, 160; Fullerton 2000, 55). In conjunction with its other metopes³ and the glorification of the patron deity, Athena, on both pediments, the Parthenon can be read as a victory monument of the civilized – or in this case the Athenian – over the eastern 'barbarians' (i.e. the Persians) (Camp 2001, 77-79). This theme, while only alluded to in the 5th century, was further enhanced by later dedications on the Acropolis such as the shields of the Persians fixed to the Parthenon's architrave after Alexander had defeated them at Granikos, or the Attalos I's dedications of bronze groups of Athenians against Persians, Gods against Giants, and Greeks against Amazons (Rose 2005, 50-

² The inscription strengthens this connection by also mentioning the current priestess of Athena, Polias, on the Acropolis.

³ The other metopes of the Parthenon are the Centaureomachy, or Greeks fighting centaurs (on the western side), the Amazonomachy, or Greeks fighting Amazons (on the southern side), and Greeks fighting Trojans (on the northern side) (Camp 2001, 78).

51; Robertson 1985, 179-180). Such future dedications both strengthened the Parthenon's theme of triumph over the east, and created a field of monuments on the southeastern corner of the citadel, framed by a view of Salamis in the background which, as a major battle setting against the Persians, would add to this theme (*Ibid*). The temple of Roma and Augustus was established at the time of Augustus' return from his diplomatic victory over Parthia (see above). Hurwit argues that the Parthians were just another loser in the theme of victory against the eastern barbarians and that the temple can be seen as a victory monument of Rome (and Augustus) against the east, making it a part of the "field of Nike" created over the ages (1999, 280; Hoff 1996, 194).

The meaning of the location of the temple through (a) its incorporation into the theme of victory and (b) its connection to Athena on the Acropolis, can be dually read. Keen suggests that the temple's distinctive round form (contrasting with the non-circular buildings nearby) and its primary location directly in front of the Parthenon, which added to its attraction, would, "suborn Athenian civic space to the purposes of Rome." (2004, 4; Pedley 2005, 217). Contrastingly, Hurwit suggests that the Athenians, while "sincerely honoring" Augustus and Rome, were also suborning his victory into the Parthenon's and the Acropolis' age-old symbolism of victory over the east (199, 280). Augustus' triumph was hence simply the latest demonstration of Athens' (*Ibid*).

Compared to the Parthenon the Augustan temple appears inferior in execution, as is suggested by the arguably sloppy copies of the Erectheion columns, and rather small (Figure 5) (Kajava 2001, 82; Hurwit 1999, 279). It is possible the temple was small simply because of the limited space available on the Acropolis (Keen 2004, 3-4). Whether this is true or not, it does not change the fact that the round temple would in comparison to the dominating Parthenon behind it, appear less

grand and hence less significant. Its circular structure would indeed draw the eye, as Keen has suggested, but it could also draw the visitor to the comparative greatness of the Parthenon (*Ibid*). It would then emphasize, by relation, the glorious architecture of Athens' past and therefore Athens' past power. The Parthenon after all was a manifestation of all that Athens used to be. The temple of Roma and Augustus, constructed by Athenians, could then appear as a manifestation of Rome's lesser power in comparison to the past power of Athens itself.

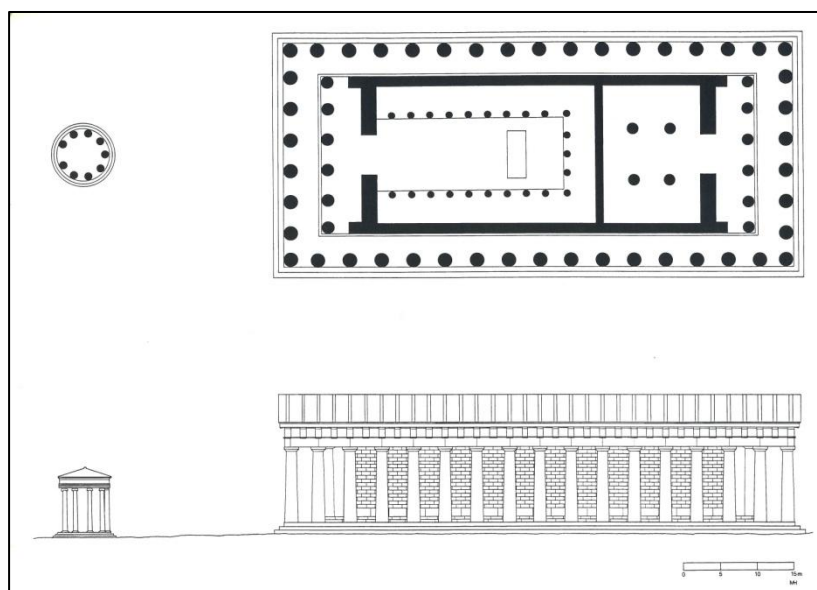


Figure 5. Plan and North elevation of the temple of Roma and Augustus and the Parthenon. Drawing by M. C. Hoff. Reproduced with permission from the *Journal of Roman Archaeology* (Hoff 1996, 187).

The construction of the temple of Roma and Augustus, with its possible multiple interpretations, could reflect the conflicting feelings of the Athenians to both respect and acknowledge the power of Augustus (and Rome) but simultaneously not diminish their culture and history, thus maintaining their identity. In light of a strained Athenian-Augustan relationship, the Athenians, in part to soften Augustus' dissatisfaction with past Athenian actions, constructed a temple in their own architectural language, and instituted the imperial cult on the Acropolis. By doing so they honored Augustus and Rome and acknowledged Rome's current power and their current subjugation to it. Beneath this servility, the Athenians managed to once more manifest, by comparison, their own significance. The temple of Roma and Augustus can be seen as both a symbol of Roman power and an indirect reminder of Athens' great past.

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