



# The Post Hole

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**Reconstructing the Lenaia**  
**The Balkan Cave Archaeology Project**

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## Editorial: The value of volunteering

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Did you know that an estimated 15.2 million people volunteer at least once a month in the UK<sup>1</sup> alone? A huge 22,500 organisations across the UK are dedicated to culture, heritage, art and recreational sectors<sup>2</sup>. This is not taking into account the ample opportunities to get involved in excavation and post excavation analysis. Most archaeology enthusiasts will have volunteered on digs, however in these colder months I wanted to talk about different ways of engaging with archaeology and heritage as a volunteer, whilst keeping warm at the same time! The demography for volunteering is incredibly varied as figure 1 indicates, using age as an example. Studies such as this one, undertaken by *Community Life Survey* for 2012-2013, show that volunteering is something all sorts of people can get involved with, and with such a large amount of different institutions relying more and more on the voluntary workforce, particularly in the heritage and culture sector, there is no excuse to not get involved!

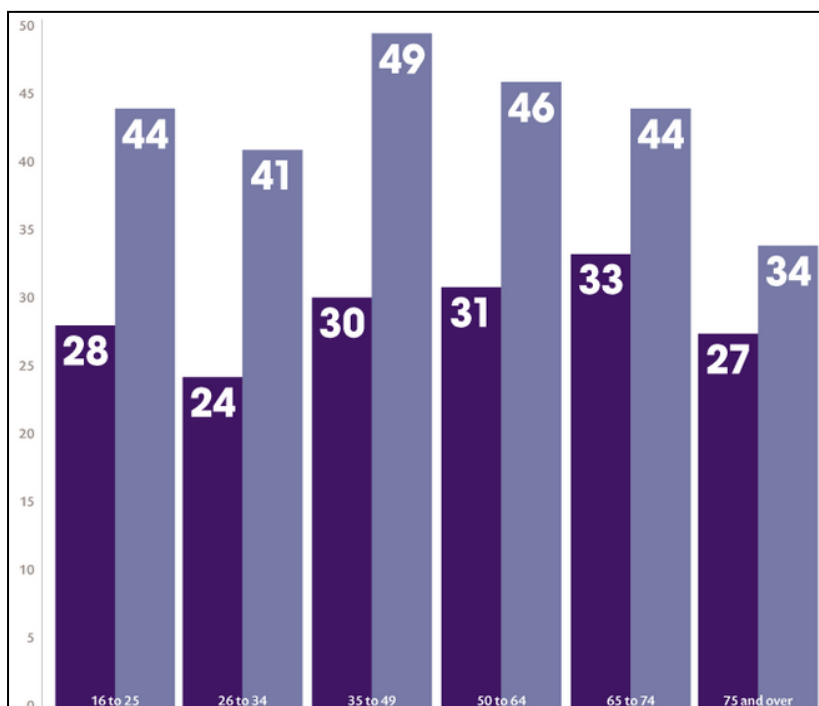


Figure 1. The dark purple shows the percentage of participants who volunteer at least once a month. The light purple shows the percentage of participants volunteering at least once per year.

Source:

<http://data.ncvo.org.uk/a/almanac14/who-volunteers-in-the-uk-3/>

I would like to begin by reflecting on some of my own experiences as a volunteer, which have genuinely changed the shape of my academic path and personal enthusiasms. I am lucky enough to live just a few miles away from the Palaeolithic site of Creswell Crags. I grew up regularly walking around the gorge and exploring the caves here, often playing games with my friends where we would pretend we were residents of the caves ourselves! It was at Creswell

<sup>1</sup> Stats from: <http://data.ncvo.org.uk/a/almanac14/how-many-people-regularly-volunteer-in-the-uk-3/>

<sup>2</sup> <http://data.ncvo.org.uk/a/almanac14/what-activities-does-the-voluntary-sector-undertake-3/>

Crags where I was privileged enough to experience my first archaeological excavation, as I joined Paul Pettitt and a team from Sheffield University. The experience of lifting my first fauna bone from the trench is one that I will not forget; here I also experienced dry and wet sieving, as well as finds analysis work and artefact cleaning. The most valuable lessons I personally learnt from this volunteering experience was confirmation of my passion for archaeology, and a firm enthusiasm for the Palaeolithic. I was particularly keen to learn about ways in which we could relate to those ancient humans who once resided in the caves at Creswell Crags as I had done, without realising, in my childhood whilst playing around the limestone gorge.

From here I chose to volunteer in the Creswell Crags museum, and I have continued this type of volunteering and am currently part of the team at Castle Museum, York. I find this type of work particularly engaging as it gives me the opportunity to meet and talk to many different types of people. This is something that I will definitely carry on in the future, and would urge others with similar interests to also get involved with projects working with people. Volunteering in cultural museums is an easy way to share your passion with members of the public, many of which have visited the museum to learn and hear something new. For instance, I run sessions in the Castle Kitchen on bread making. People are interested in the history of the Mills and the production of flour, but when told archaeological evidence for bread making dates to around 30,000 years ago (Ravedin *et al.* 2010) they show genuine surprise that we have such connections with the humans that lived all those years ago, and quickly engage with the topic. For me this sharing of knowledge and passion is the unsurpassable reason for volunteering in this sector.

The main personal values for volunteering are gaining expertise, experiencing new situations, learning new skills, but most importantly just having a go. By getting involved in various projects you can widen your skill set, not only finding projects you love, but also ruling out those experiences you have not enjoyed. It is in these ways that my volunteering experiences have shaped my interests and future pursuits.

I would like to draw your attention to two of the best websites to keep an eye on for voluntary experience opportunities. For volunteering experiences in the UK you can search here: [archaeology.co.uk/digs](http://archaeology.co.uk/digs) for opportunities by areas, so make sure you never miss a chance in your location. For those of you with an adventurous side, opportunities available further afield can be searched for here: [projects-abroad.co.uk/volunteer-projects/archaeology/](http://projects-abroad.co.uk/volunteer-projects/archaeology/) where opportunities outside the UK are advertised.

*TPHExtra* is engaging in lots of new features! As well as 'TPH meets York Seminars', keep your eye out for the 'Article of the Issue' feature which will be coming soon. This piece will include a personal profile of the author of the crowned paper, and a review from a specialist in the topic area. *The Post Hole* image competition is still open with the theme of 'excavation'. The competition will close on the 25<sup>th</sup> January 2015, and the winning image will feature as the cover art for Issue 44.

Following that the contents of Issue 42; the first article to feature this month comes from **Konstantinos Trimmis**. The author discusses the Balkan Cave Archaeology project and discusses the newly launched database and forum available at: [www.balkancavearcho.org](http://www.balkancavearcho.org), Trimmis is hoping to encourage other researchers to contribute to the database and get involved in discussion.

The second article is another contribution from **Joanne Harrison**. This time Harrison is discussing the changing analyses of interpreting medieval urban housing. Harrison discusses various methods utilised by archaeologists over the years and employs relevant case studies to develop the chronology.

**Emily Taylor**, my predecessor as Editor-in-Chief, has written an interesting article on the relationship between the Council of British Archaeology and You. Taylor explains the values of CBA membership and calls upon personal experience to demonstrate the advantages.

The fourth article concerns the Lenaia festival of ancient Greece. **Peter Swallow** investigates the role of women in these affairs, which is exactly what Alicyn Murphy has based this Issue's cover on. Swallow aims to build up a larger picture of what we know about the festival's history in this investigative piece.

Finally, **Luca Ottonello** has written an interesting review on the stages that investigation archaeologists are obliged to complete before excavation. Ottonello defines and critiques these stages, ultimately questioning the viability of such strict guidelines.

After reading the incredible articles featured in this month's Issue, I hope you will be inspired to write yourself. We always welcome archaeologically related submissions and these should be sent to Jess Hand via [submissions@theposthole.org](mailto:submissions@theposthole.org), you can find all the information you will need (including a guide to bibliographies and references) online at: [theposthole.org/authors](http://theposthole.org/authors). Alternatively, perhaps you have something to say concerning a topic of one of this month's articles, or more information to share on a subject. If this is the case a 'Letter to the Editor' ([theposthole.org/letters](http://theposthole.org/letters)) is the perfect way to share your ideas and opinions.

Finally I would like to wish all our readers a Merry Christmas and a Happy New Year!

All the best,

Eleanor Green.

Editor-in-Chief

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## The Balkan Cave Archaeology project: Exploring the lifeways in Neolithic Balkan Caves



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A shift in the interest of archaeological interpretations from socio-economic aspects of life, to concerns about social and ideological spheres has substantially elevated the natural environment from a passive recipient of human activities to an active part of human-environment interactions (Ingold 1993, Tilley 1994). From the early 1990s onwards, phenomenological approaches started to affect archaeological interpretations and made the landscape a key factor in our understanding of human affairs in a given landscape setting; the landscape seems to "embrace" any human action (Ingold 1993; 2000). Man is no longer the centre of archaeological interpretation. The world in total forms the human and is being formed by him. The landscape becomes part of a social dimension of humans (Ingold 1993; 2000, David and Thomas 2008, Tilley 1994). These ideas have begun to find ground among archaeologists dealing with the uses and users of caves too (e.g. Bergvisk 2012, Heydari 2007, Mlekuz 2011).

Aside from being a part of the landscape and the natural environment, the cave is a closed space with specific limits, which have distinct characteristics and are governed by specific rules (Bogli 1978). The interior of the cave is another form of enclosed landscape, with which humans interact with in an attempt to exploit it. The absolute, or almost absolute darkness, that prevails inside caves, the intense humidity, the stable temperature, the drop flow, the speleo-themes and the unusual flora and fauna seem to affect how a person perceives the space of the cave (Trimmis 2013). The cave acquires a transcendent meaning as something outside and beyond the ordinary world that surrounds us (Ustinova 2009).

This research project aims to be a valuable addition to the current debate concerning the lifeways and the landscape exploitation during the Neolithic period in the Balkans (e.g. Boric 2005, Budja 2011, Kotsakis 2006, Porčić 2012, Souvatzi 2008). Over the last decade or so, there have been significant discussions in Balkan archaeology regarding the complexity of identity construction of the individuals and groups in the Neolithic (e.g. Bailey 2000, Boric 2005, Chapman 2000, Chapman & Gaydarska 2011). However, there have only been a few attempts (e.g. Forenbaier et al. 2010, Mlekuž 2011, Trantalidou 2012) to investigate the lifeways of Neolithic people who used caves. The reasons for this silence on Neolithic cave users may lie in the fact that Neolithic archaeologists do not focus on caves, instead favouring the abundant open-air sites. Also, activities inside caves are not considered significantly different from human activities at open-air



sites (Bergvisk 2012). Nevertheless, when the social role of caves has been studied, not only is there a difference concerning the range of activities that unfold in these different loci, but also that the same activities differed between caves and open-air settlements (Bonsall 1997, Sampson 2007). Trantalidou (2012) investigated these differences in the context of the Neolithic Balkans; connecting pastoral practices with the use of caves and separating those practices with the manipulation of the livestock in the open-air settlements. Having analysed finds from thirty five caves in Greece, Albania and Bulgaria it has been observed that the majority of the caves had been used by pastoral groups who seemed to have visited the cave every time from the same open air settlements. Mlekuz (2009) connected caves with herding practices and discussed the difference of the livestock manipulation in a cave environment. Mlekuz seems to agree with Trantalidou on the pastoral use of caves. However, he believes that caves have been used on the Adriatic coast as permanent barns as well. On the other hand, researchers such as Forenbaher (2010) and Tomkins (2009) highlight the ritual use of caves on the Adriatic and the Aegean, and support that caves played a significant role for the people's ideological expressions. This project builds on these research strengths, and aims to investigate in more detail caves as part of the landscape on an equal footing with open-air sites, in order to reach a more holistic comprehension of the Neolithic way of being.

To-date, the social role of caves has been investigated in the context of Maya societies in Central America (Brady 2012). This work combines environmental data from various caves with the spatial organization and artefact densities, in order to investigate the practices that Mayan societies followed to allow them to exploit the cave environment. In the European context, some authors in Scandinavia (Bergvisk 2012) and in the Karstic region of Slovenia on the North-eastern coast of Adriatic (Mlekuz 2011) have provided more insightful discussions about the specificity of cave users. Thus, they believe that caves were used for certain reasons, either to host economical activities (such as herding) or for ritual-cult places. These researchers have attempted to study caves within a landscape perspective and in correlation to the wider social context. However, neither of these case studies took into account the importance of cave's micro-environmental characteristics.

The current research in the Balkans seems to suggest that caves had a special role in Neolithic societies (Mlekuz 2011, Sampson 2008, Trantalidou 2012) and they do not explicitly research the caves in relation to this role (Mihevc 2013; Sampson 2007; Tomkins 2009). As far as the social sketch of people who used and exploited the caves is concerned, so far only sporadic and small-scale attempts have been made (Mlekuz 2011, Trantalidou 2012).

### **The Balkan Cave Archaeology Project**

a) Exploring the Neolithic cave use strategies in Western Balkans.

The current research project adopts a pioneering methodology in the field of spatial analysis in the cave environment. The intention is to move from a classic geographical interpretation of the spatial data to a geospatial approach, which encapsulates the geographical information in a more phenomenological way of thinking (Gillings 2011; 2012, Rennell 2012). In order to undertake the transition from a quantitative approach, which correlates the geographical data with artefact clusters, to a qualitative methodology, we are taking into account the environmental values, the sounds and people's active perspectives. In order to achieve this goal, the project is collecting data not only on the spatial data of artefacts found in these caves, but also the spatial data about caves' micro-environmental characteristics. These characteristics include; light zones, humidity and temperature areas, the caves' speleothem decoration, soundscapes, including cave fauna and water-dripping and even smells. In order to measure the light quality, SAMPO photometers are used and for humidity and temperature hygrometers and thermometers suitable for cave environments are used. As far as sounds are concerned, a high sensitivity Digital Audio Workstation is used. Moreover, regarding the data of the deposits' smells a pioneering pilot method that requires the use of Medeleine Camera, a unique device for smell recording, will be used. All the sampling spots, the locations of the archaeological finds and the 3D cave model will be recorded with the Heeb's paperless mapping method (<http://paperless.bheeb.ch>) (Trimmis 2013). Through the micro-spatial analysis and spatial distribution of these parameters in a particular intra-site area (vertical and horizontal), we will be able to outline which areas inside caves share common characteristics. Furthermore, it will be possible to investigate if the areas with the same characteristics are the areas where specific clusters of artefacts present high densities.



The research was divided into three main stages. In the first stage, data was collected (archaeological, geological and spatial) from 64 excavated caves in the wider area of the Dinaric Alps and Northern Pindos and was then added to a geo-referenced database, using ArcGIS and SpeleoBase software, in order to answer the following research questions: (i) which areas of caves were used and for what purpose (ii) what micro-environmental zone in each case shows a greater intensity of use (light zone at the entrance, twilight zone, dark zone). In the second phase, the ecological data from six already excavated caves were investigated and correlated with the archaeological data. The main aim was to investigate if the artefacts' densities and clusters correlate with specifically defined areas of the cave environments. Data from the caves of Sarakeinos and Koromilia in Greece, Tren and Konipsol in Albania, Grapceva and Pupicina in Croatia were used (Fig. 1). The vertical correlation between the artefacts and ecofacts data distribution was achieved by using raster map algebra as an analytic tool in the ArcGIS software.

In the third phase, the cave site of Spila near the town Perast in the Kotor Bay of southern Montenegro, will be excavated in order to collect high resolution data about the Neolithic use of this cave. The cave is almost located in an area between other sites in the eastern Adriatic to the north, and the Pindus range and then the Ionian Sea to the south. This particular region has not provided any recently excavated sites with high quality detail. From the 1968 excavations of Spila we know that several Neolithic layers are well represented in the site's stratigraphy (Markovic 1985). Spila has the total length of 62m and has the maximal width of 15 m. The cave's entrance is on a slope at 600 m alt. facing the gulf of Kotor and it presents all three micro-environmental zones (light, twilight and dark zone). During the 1968 excavation, two trenches were opened, one near the entrance and the second in the middle of the cave near to the south-western wall. On the basis of pottery typology, the stratigraphic sequence spans the Middle to the Late Neolithic, from around the mid-sixth to the end of the fifth millennium. There are no radiocarbon dates from this cave. Pottery shards and animal bones were collected during the first excavations. The importance of Spila's location above the Kotor gulf, observing a natural harbour on the crossroads of the western Balkans creates a very important case study in order to study the role of caves in the Neolithic Balkans.

#### b) The online Cave Archaeology database

The research project aims to study the use of caves in the Neolithic Balkans as well as gather information about the use of caves in the wider area. For this purpose a webpage has been created where information on the archaeology of the caves in the Balkans is collated ([www.balkancavearcho.org](http://www.balkancavearcho.org)). Primarily the webpage includes information regarding the first scale of the project. Gradually however, an attempt will be made to include data concerning other caves with Neolithic deposits or even caves which have occupation dates in other periods. As this webpage aspires to be a communication forum where researchers can study the archaeology of the Balkan caves, anyone who holds information about a certain cave can include it on the site

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through a special form that is available to download. Additional information on caves, which has already been published, can be introduced.

This online database serves three main purposes. Firstly it aims to provide researchers with information, bibliographic sources and data. Secondly it intends to promote the research whilst constituting a publication forum for results and bibliographies. Finally it aspires to be a means of communication where researchers will be able to find posts advertising meetings and conferences, research announcements and field working reports through the online blog. The success of this endeavour depends on the acceptance of the researchers. However, we hope that a communication and participation forum will be created and as a result the role of the caves in the societies of each era will be better and further understood.

### **Preliminary results and final thoughts**

The Balkan Cave Archaeology project will have completed a year of action by the end of 2014 during which the informative data from 11 caves have been added to the webpage. Preliminary results (drawn mainly by the study of data from the caves of Koromilia, Kastoria, Greece, Saracenos Boetia, Greece and Spil Himare in Albania) showcase that two theories on the financial dimension of the cave in the Neolithic seem to apply. More specifically Sampson's theory (2007) that people used the caves based on the characteristics of their environment seems to be confirmed. Thus the dark, humid cold caves or parts of a cave were mainly used for storage whereas, the more spacious caves with better lighting and ventilation were used to house animals, craft production or temporarily shelter for pastorals, farmers, hunters and fishermen. Trantalidou's (2010) theory about the space organisation in the interior of the cave also appears to be confirmed. As such the interior of the caves presents additional constructions including postholes, dry-stone walls, cobblestones or clay floors, which form spaces of particular activities.

These theories are still being examined and tested in other cave sites. Nonetheless, the new findings from the study concerning the distribution of the findings in the interior of the caves and their correlation with the micro-environmental characteristics indicate that people did not regard the caves as just one enclosed space but as a space presenting a variety of characteristics, each of them being appropriate for a different use.

However, the continuation of the research leads to new questions that need to be examined. Do the users of the caves form a distinct group of people among the wider society of open-air settlements? Are there common or different practices in the exploitation of the caves during the Neolithic in the Balkans? Finally, what is the role of the caves in the development and formation of the European Neolithic? Despite the scope for further research, what is easily understood is that the caves play a significant and particular role in the societies of that time. This role needs to be taken into account by the researchers when studying the complicated dynamic societies of the Neolithic in the Balkans and beyond.

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# Changing approaches to the analysis and interpretation of medieval urban houses



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Until the middle of the fourteenth century, most houses in towns contained a shop fronting the street (Clarke 2000, 59; Rees Jones 2008, 68). The approaches used in the analysis and interpretation of these have changed over time with historians and archaeologists drawing on an increasing range of analytical methods from a number of disciplines in order to interpret and understand the form and meaning of buildings. The findings however, are equivocal. This paper will discuss the changing approaches to the analysis and interpretation of medieval urban housing occupied by those at the lower to middle end of the social scale, in order to show the complex considerations that influence our understanding.

## Plan form typologies

The first seminal work concerning medieval town houses was that of Pantin (1962-3), in which he used documentary evidence and archaeological surveys to classify two sub-groups of town houses by their plan form. Concentrating on middle sized houses of the late 13<sup>th</sup> to early 16<sup>th</sup> centuries with a hall open to the roof, he produced a classification based on whether the hall was parallel to or at right angles to the street. Pantin's interpretation of the origin of these house types

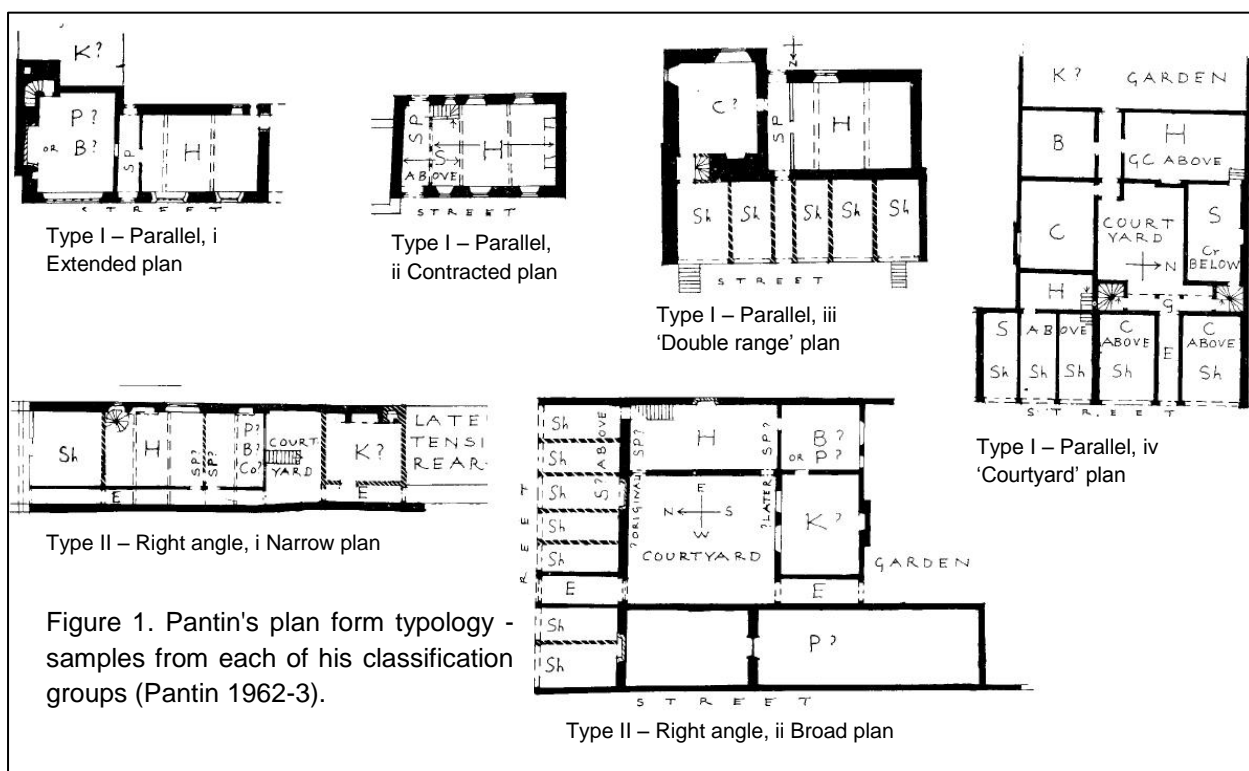


Figure 1. Pantin's plan form typology - samples from each of his classification groups (Pantin 1962-3).

was that they were adapted from country house types to meet urban conditions (Pantin 1962-3, 202), but his failure to include non-hall houses may have either biased this conclusion or been a strategy for proving his hypothesis.

Faulkner's (1967) research of 13<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> century town houses was concerned with buildings that had split level shops on the lower two levels and domestic accommodation above, and could be considered as an extension of Pantin's work. In his examples the undercroft formed the lowest level of the building, and the 'ground' floor of the building was above street level and accessed by a stair (Faulkner 1967, 122). Contractual evidence and consideration of access strategies indicated it was usual for the undercroft to be separately tenanted to the shop above, and sometimes the shop was also separately tenanted to the domestic accommodation (Faulkner 1967, 122-123; 127).

Schofield's typology (1987) is also a development of Pantin's plan types. Using the Treswell surveys of London from 1607-14, he presented four types, Types 2 and 3 being closely based on Pantin's Types I and II. He added the types Pantin omitted however, thereby broadening the range of size and social status: Type 1, one room per floor with domestic accommodation above a shop, and Type 4, multiple warehouses and shops arranged around a courtyard, each with

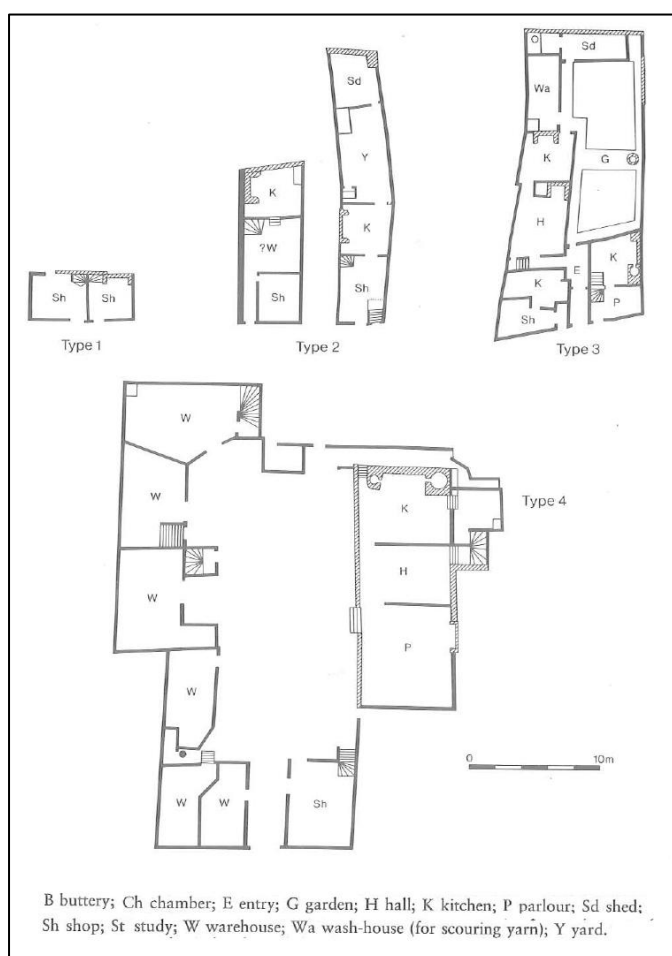


Figure 2. Schofield's Type 1-4 house plans, based on Ralph Treswell's surveys of London houses (Schofield and Vince 1994, 73).

domestic accommodation above, but with a larger purely domestic property forming part of the complex (Schofield and Vince 1994, 73; Grenville 1997, 169). A notable omission from this work was the provision of upper floor plans, which severely limits our understanding of the buildings. The 17<sup>th</sup> century survey date also makes comparison with earlier typologies less reliable.

More recently, Clarke (2000, 75-79) proposed a typology for medieval shops with three basic types further subdivided by context, features, relationship to other rooms and access connections: (A) single shop units independent of other rooms on the same level; (B) shops connected to rooms behind; and (C) shops connected to rooms at the side. He described type A as being found in high status buildings, occupied by tenants who lived elsewhere,



and likened types B and C to Pantin's right angle type and parallel type respectively. His research suggested that pressure on space in towns prior to the mid-14<sup>th</sup> century led to the development of two level shops and undercrofts (Clarke 2000, 81). His interpretation is broadly in agreement with those of Pantin and Faulkner, but he drew on a wider range of analytical methods.

### **Tackley's Inn**

Tackley's Inn Oxford is a split level shop which has been interpreted a number of times. In his typology, Pantin (1962-63, 219) classified the building as being parallel to the street and having a 'double-range' plan. His research indicated that it was built around 1300, and was typical of its type in Oxford (Pantin 1942, 80; 89; 1962-63, 217). It was divided into two parts; the north containing five shops, each with a solar above, and the south containing a hall and chambers for university scholars, accessed by a screened passage between the shops. There was a cellar beneath the north range, and he identified two entrances from the street to the shops and one to the cellar (Pantin 1942, 87). In his work of 1942, Pantin (87) disputed Salter's earlier suggestion that each of the shops had use of one bay of the cellar, because no evidence had been found to support this. Subsequently, however, he left open this possibility of the cellar being originally divided, confirming only that by 1363 it was being let as a single unit (Pantin 1962-63, 217).

Faulkner argued that archaeological evidence from the standing building indicated the shops were set back from the line of the cellar below, thereby creating a gallery. He also stated that there was only one entrance to street level, that the cellar was not connected to the shops above, and that the domestic accommodation was arranged differently (Faulkner 1967, 127-128).

Munby's interpretation was based on Buckler's archaeological recording, undertaken during the demolition of adjacent buildings in 1872-73 (Munby 1979, 123). He concluded that plan evidence from 1814, and the fact the shop range had been rebuilt in the post-medieval period excluded the possibility of a galleried walkway between the shop and street. He also cited the absence of documentary evidence for galleries in Oxford, on the assumption that the building type was typical (Munby 1979, 137). Harris subsequently supported this interpretation (Grenville 1997, 183).

Munby's and Harris's work is convincing yet not often cited, and no further interpretations have been made, highlighting the complexity of understanding medieval structures when little fabric or documentary evidence survives. It is possible that the 'answer' lies somewhere between Pantin's and Faulkner's interpretations – the cellar and access locations as Faulkner's interpretation and the ground floor arrangement as Pantin's.

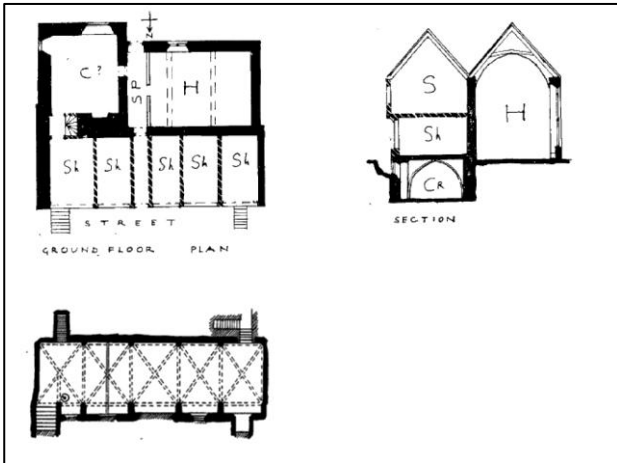


Figure 3. Pantin's interpretation of Tackley's inn showing the hall and chamber behind the cellar/shop/solar range facing the street (Pantin 1962-63, 219).

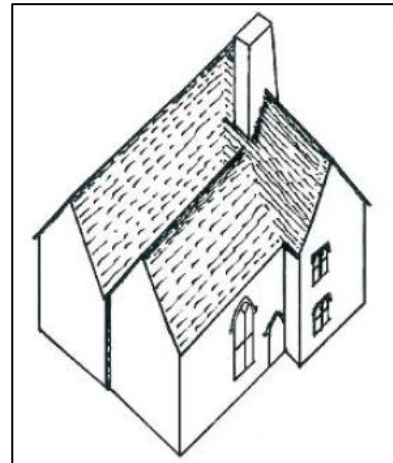


Figure 4. Perspective sketch of how the building may have looked, which resembles Buckler's sketch (Fig. 7) (Quiney 2003, 249).

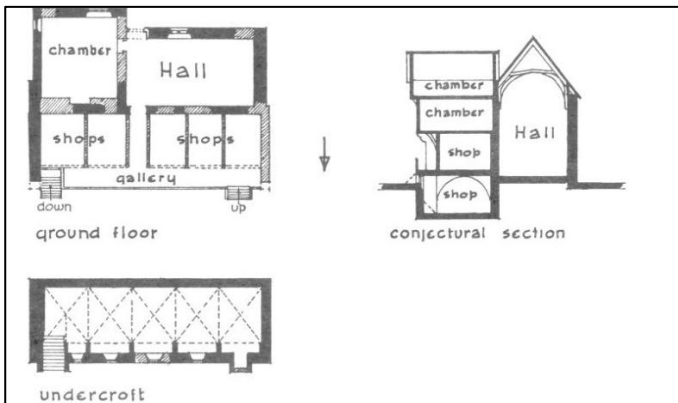


Figure 5. Faulkner's interpretation of Tackley's Inn shows the raised gallery to the shops, and the inclusion of two levels of chambers above, rather than the solar as proposed by Pantin (Faulkner 1967, 126).

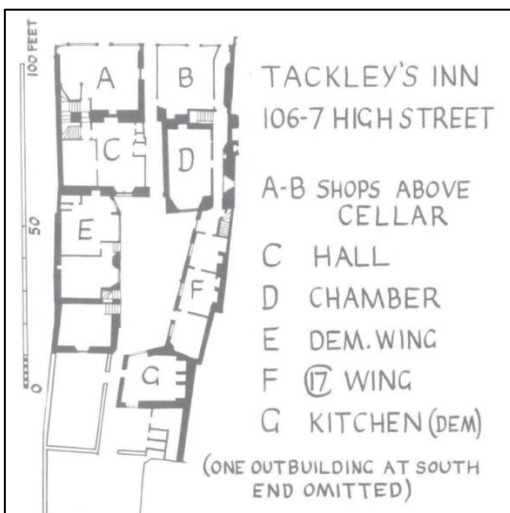


Figure 6. Buckler's plan prior to demolition of the post-medieval wings (Munby 1979, 130).



Figure 7. Buckler's sketch of the South West aspect following demolition of the post-medieval wings (Munby 1979, 135).

**Geographical Approaches**

In the medieval period, patterns of land ownership set out the primary property units in towns, which were often subdivided into smaller burgage plots. These were often subdivided by the tenants into smaller plots (Rees Jones 2008, 73-74) and the buildings themselves might also be in multiple occupation (King 2009, 472).

Pearson agreed with Pantin that there are identifiable distribution patterns for his classifications both between and within towns (Pearson 2009, 2). It is accepted that houses near the centre of larger towns had more pressure on space (Pearson 2009, 16; 18; Morrison 2003, 21), so were more likely to have buildings with narrow street frontages and to rise to three or more storeys – the Chester Rows are an example of this. It is thought that jetties originated in towns, being a feature of most shops from 1250 (Clarke 2000, 67; 73; Schofield 1994, 190), and Pearson (2009, 47-48) believes them to be an indication of the pressure on urban space, citing 58 French Street, Southampton as an example which extends considerably over the street. By contrast, houses in smaller towns such as Lavenham were spread out horizontally, with a plan form and construction comparable to rural tripartite houses (Pearson 2009, 20).

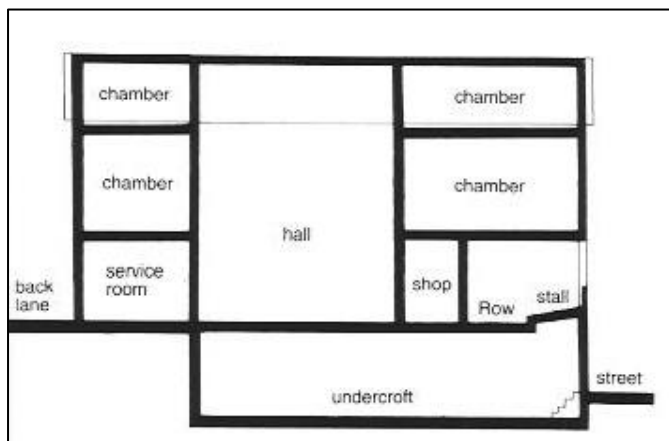
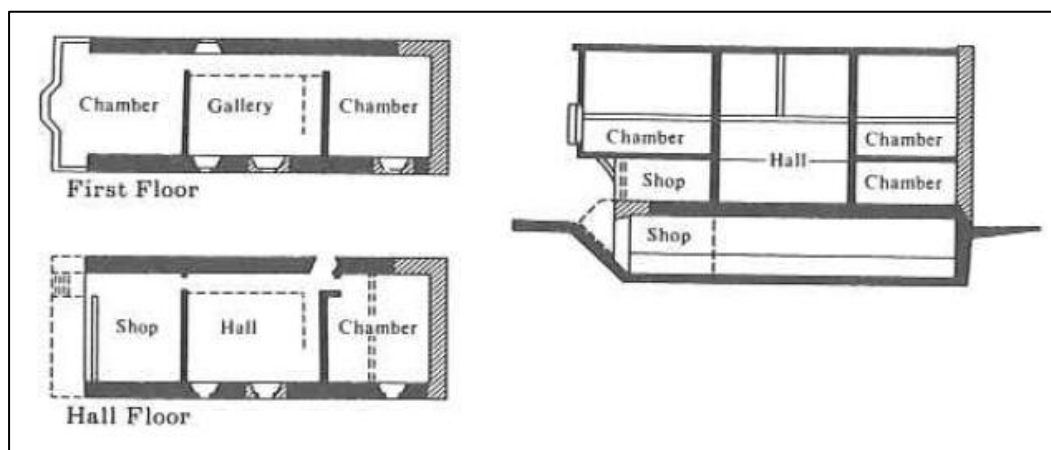


Figure 8 (left). Chester was a provincial city which grew to be a place of national importance. This typical Chester Rows building with a narrow but deep plan and multiple floors, as interpreted by Grenville, fits the expected form for its locational characteristics (Brown 1999, 3).

Figure 9 (below). 58 French Street, Southampton has a narrow, deep space, and uses jetties to create the extra space at first floor level, indicating there was pressure on commercial space in the town. The plot did however accommodate a side passage, giving independent access to the residential quarters (Platt 1976, 60-61).



Pearson (2009, 1-2) challenged Pantin's interpretation of the origin of urban house types, claiming it is more likely that the form developed in towns and migrated to rural areas thereafter. She stated that Pantin's double range plan was a common type of timber framed house in the early 14<sup>th</sup> century, but significantly only found in large towns (Pearson 2009, 2 & 4), the implication being that it was not an adaptation of a rural type.

### **Sociological and Historical Approaches**

The similarity in housing needs of rural and urban dwellers is another area of debate and Pearson (2004, 43) implied that Pantin had incorrectly assumed they had the same requirements. She stated that urban houses were built without halls from the early 14<sup>th</sup> century, eventually being omitted from lower to middle class housing by the early 16<sup>th</sup> century (Pearson 2009, 7). Questioning Pantin's restricted typology, she suggested that to omit non-hall types and buildings pre-dating 1300, while failing to clarify the impact of the town's history, its settlement pattern, plot size and the type of people who lived there, on the built form, limited the study's usefulness in our understanding of the reasons for the various types (Pearson 2004, 43; 2009, 20). Leech also recognized the importance of including both hall and non-hall types in his research as he made a distinction by referring to 'hallhouses' as those which had a hall and may or may not have included a shop, and 'shophouses' as those without a hall, but which included domestic accommodation over a ground floor shop (Leech 2000, 1).

Quiney (2003, 186) believes that from the 15<sup>th</sup> century, the favoured form for urban housing was a timber building with an open hall, and that despite not being an efficient use of urban space, it was accepted on the grounds of status. By contrast, Grenville (2008, 122) questioned whether Church ownership of urban properties influenced the form of town houses, such that the desire to increase rental income may have led to omission of the hall. This disparity may reflect differences in ownership or tenancy. Perhaps there was a direct link to the decline of the hall where secular or religious institutions owned speculatively built properties, but the inclusion of a hall persisted where properties were built for occupation by the landlord or higher status tenants (Kermode 1998; Kowaleski 1995 cited in Britnell 2006, 117).

Grenville's analysis also drew on studies of the social use of space within households, and, possibly in conflict with her comments on ownership, presented a middle ground between the views of Pantin and Pearson. She argued that the identity of urban dwellings was deliberately constructed to be recognisable by rural dwellers, and that this was done because of the migration of rural dwellers to an urban environment (Grenville 2008, 95-104). She proposed that the hall was the mechanism by which social behaviours and family values would be understood, based on evidence that children and young people migrated to towns to work while living in a family home (Grenville 2008, 111-115). In other words, the hall had symbolic meaning that was perhaps more important than its functional use, in both town and country. Goldberg (2008, 136) elaborated further on the impact of young people from the country coming to live and work in

urban houses. He suggested that a greater variety and quantity of living accommodation, particularly chambers, was required in order to provide appropriate levels of privacy and separation between family and non-family, male and female. Pearson and Richardson agreed that the pressure on commercial space in the 15<sup>th</sup> century may have encouraged the use of multi-functional domestic spaces (Richardson 2003, 439), and it is Pearson's view that the inclusion of private rooms was limited (Pearson 2003, 431).

As regards the non-domestic space, Alston (2004, 40) and Clarke (2000, 59; 63) understand a shop to have been primarily a workshop, based on documentary sources showing that retail activity was not the primary purpose of most medieval shops (Alston 2004, 40-41). Keene (1984, 29) and Schofield (1990, 25) however, believe that there were high street retail shops, side street workshops, and also units where the two uses occurred in one space.

Alston's study of late medieval workshops in East Anglia used documentary evidence dating to the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> centuries to give an indication of the uses of the 'shop' space in domestic properties. This indicated that weaving and finishing took place in small workshops, numerous shops contained one or two weaving looms, and weavers worked in their own homes. Alston's interpretation was that the majority of shops in East Anglian towns were used as cloth workshops (Alston 2004, 39), although a more robust interpretation could be achieved if this was combined with archaeological methods to identify a location within the property. In common with Pearson (2003, 430), who rather bravely suggested that if buildings retain their original fittings that the precise use of the rooms can be determined (Pearson 2003, 430), Alston acknowledges that without full evidence, it is not possible to make a distinction between retail shop and workshop (Alston 2004, 38). It is arguable whether this certainty of use and function would ever be possible, as they relate only to a point in time.

### **Archaeological Interpretations**

Stylistic evidence of architectural features can also be used to inform our understanding of use. Stenning (1985, 35) claimed that the characteristic feature to be used in determining the presence of a shop is the wide, arched top windows, often accompanied by a narrow door with internal shutters. He believes that the narrow door was for the transfer of goods and that there was an intimate relationship between the domestic and commercial parts of the property, with the occupier only entering the shop when a customer was present (Stenning 1985, 35). Clarke (2000, 64) elaborated further on the form of the apertures, stating that this provided a retail shop front for enticing customers as well as lighting the work area, while the narrow door acted as a security measure. He speculated that some trade would be carried out through the window, and that only where increased security was required for the sale of high value goods would the customer enter the shop. Alston (2004, 40-41) conceded that the large windows were a retail advantage, but, on the assumption that the shop was primarily a workshop, interpreted the purpose as lighting. She also believes the narrow doors to be a solution for maximizing space within the shop. Morrison

(2003, 24) interpreted the height of the window sill as an indicator of whether customers were served through the window or in the shop.

## 26 Market Place, Lavenham

Dating to the early sixteenth century (Alston 2004, 40), 26 Market Place, Lavenham allows us to consider a number of issues raised in this paper. It has a broad plan similar to the rural tripartite form, and the wide plot, most easily compared to Pantin's parallel extended plan, is probably a result of there being less competition for street frontage compared to the larger cities (Alston 2004, 43; Pearson 2009, 4). It is two storeys high, with a jettied first floor, displaying the characteristic features of a medieval shop that Stenning (1985, 35) described, and includes evidence for shutters, hinged for use as a counter according to English Heritage (2014) and hinged to the ceiling according to Alston (2004, 40).

From the plan, it is possible to interpret that the shop was run by the occupant of the house because of the direct access between the shop and hall. The presence of a separate door to the hall however, indicates that customers entered the shop space via the narrow door, while seemingly contradictory architectural evidence of low window sills and counters suggests customers were served from the street. Alston (2004, 42) however, interpreted this as a flexible design, allowing the shop to be used by the occupant of the house, or to be let separately as a lock up. The relationship between service area and house is also unclear as its access off the hall indicates it may be domestic but Alston (2004, 42) reported that it was used for storage. Evidence from sketches, wills and inventories generally, confirmed that shops contained shelves, cupboards, benches and storage chests (Morrison 2003, 28) and Alston interpreted the solid panel to the left of the shop windows as possibly concealing the end of internal shelving (Alston 2004, 40).

Questions remain to be answered concerning the function and meaning of the spaces, and it may be that further analysis from sociological or spatial perspectives can aid future interpretations.

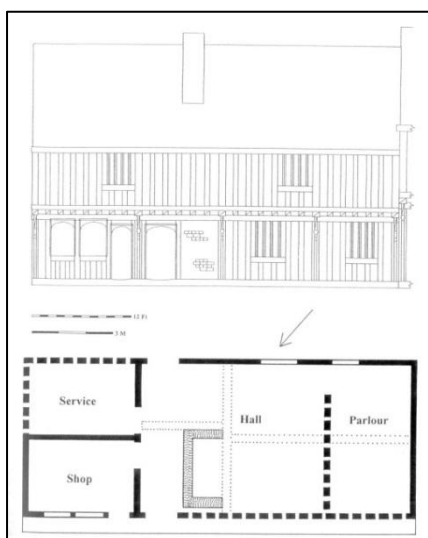
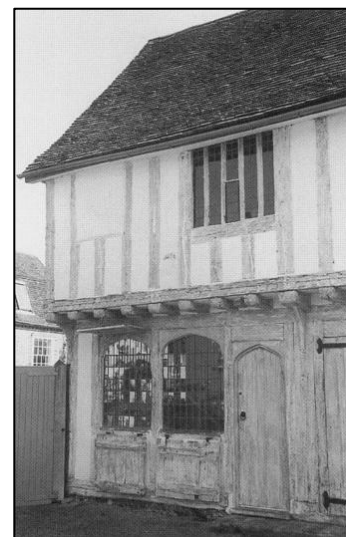


Figure 10 (left). The early 16<sup>th</sup> century 26 Market Place in Lavenham, occupies a wide plot, probably because there was less competition for street frontage compared to the larger towns, and has a recognisable tripartite plan (Alston 2004, 41).

Figure 11 (right). The jettied upper floor, arched ground floor windows and narrow door are typical features of medieval shops (Alston 2004, 40).



**Spatial Analysis**

Spatial, feature and access analyses were mentioned briefly in relation to Faulkner’s and Clark’s typologies, Grenville’s research and the Lavenham case study. These methods are concerned with the access to rooms, their interconnections, spatial arrangement, function, status and privacy (Fairclough 1992). They are particularly valuable when used in conjunction with other, perhaps more ‘traditional’ methods as Faulkner did in his research of high status medieval buildings (Fairclough 1992, 352). Schofield applied an access diagram to some of the buildings in his typology of London houses from which may be drawn conclusions about privacy and use, and he also demonstrated how a diagram combining use with access can highlight zonal divisions of the space (Schofield 1994). Other methods of analysis include comparison of binary opposites such as public/ private or clean/ dirty to understand the social or cultural associations with a particular type of space (Schofield 1994, 202-203) but this could also be used in reverse, taking accepted associations to determine use, similar to that used in castle studies by Matthieu (1999).

It appears that these methods are not fully explored with enough frequency to be considered mainstream, and it is perhaps through these methods that further understanding will be achieved.

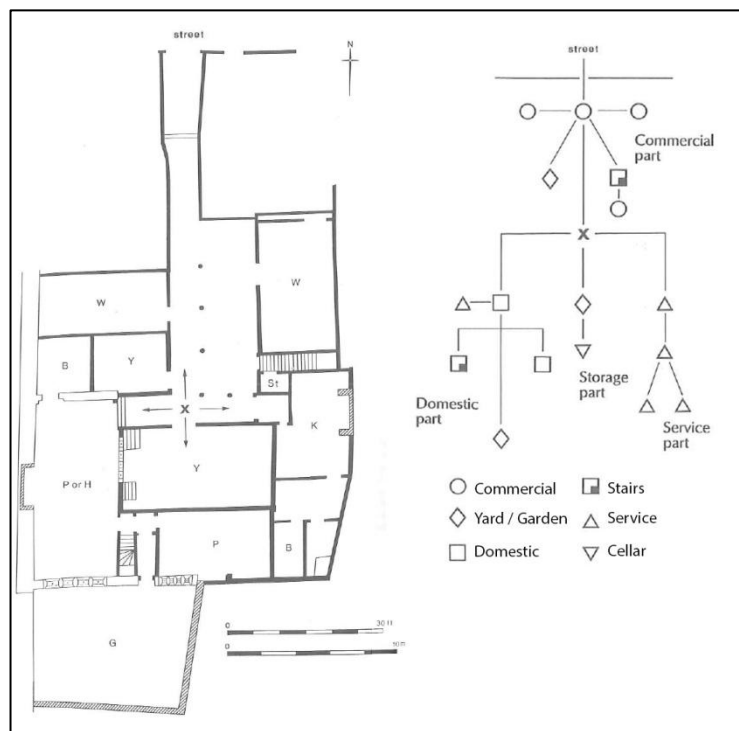
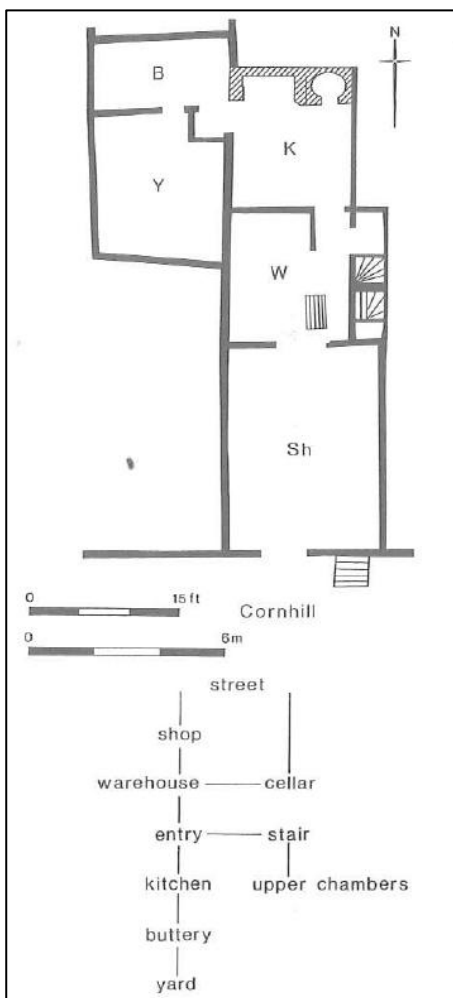


Figure 12 (left). The plan and access diagram for The Wildman, Cornhill, show the shop to be the most public space, while the upper chambers are the most private (Schofield 1994,197).

Figure 13 (above). The plan and function diagram for Pancras Lane highlight the zonal nature of the adjacencies and connections (Schofield 1994, 198 & 201).

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**Conclusion**

One difficulty with the analysis and interpretation of this building type is that in general, the current research by any scholar is restricted to a specific geographical location, a limited range within the overall type, or a particular period of time; sometimes, all three. This means it is difficult to compare findings and interpretations with great certainty, as what is true of one place at a given time may not hold true of another, or not at the same time.

None of the interpretations have been completely discredited, although there is disagreement on some issues, most notably, the origin of the urban form and the use of commercial space and the hall. The trend has been for scholars to build on the work of those who came before them, and they have demonstrated an increased awareness of the importance of including a wider variation of types. As further research is undertaken, there has been a tendency to draw on a wider range of sources, for example using documentary, stylistic and archaeological methods together, and also incorporating knowledge and methods from other disciplines such as history, geography and sociology. This has contributed to the improved reliability of interpretations, but has also increased the debate. Importantly, it demonstrates how much research is still required not only into the variety of types and forms, but of their uses.



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## The Council for British Archaeology (CBA) and You

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The Council for British Archaeology is one of the most renowned archaeological institutions within the UK. I am sure that almost every reader is aware of the council or its successful bi-monthly magazine; *British Archaeology*. The CBA's aims coincide with something I am extremely passionate about, to 'involve people in archaeology and to promote the appreciation and care of the historic environment for the benefit of present and future generations'.



Figure 1. *Stonehenge Dig* (Image Credit: A. Stanford).

The Council for British Archaeology was founded in 1944 aiming to be 'safeguarding of all kinds of archaeological material and the strengthening of existing measures for the care of ancient and historic buildings, monuments, and antiquities' by improving public education about archaeology. The CBA is now a registered charity in England, Wales and Scotland, and has a membership of over 5,000. If I was to list here all the activities and roles the CBA undertakes, it would be never ending.

When faced with the daunting prospect of finding a career, we are constantly reminded that experience is vital, whether it be through paid work, voluntary positions or fieldwork experiences.

As students, we are reminded to make the most of our degrees and for those wishing to pursue a career within this sector finding sources of information on topics we are passionate about – archaeological groups, work experience and events – is fundamental. The CBA offers us, as a collective society and organisation active across the whole archaeology sector, an invaluable opportunity that I urge each and every one of you to grasp with both hands. Where else can you expand your historical and archaeological understanding through such a vast collection of research and experiences, meet such influential people who can impact upon your life, or be educated and inspired as an individual within a larger community?

Aside from producing *British Archaeology*, the CBA offers a vast array of information and opportunities to become involved with archaeology. The CBA's programmes actively seek to involve the public in archaeology and a myriad of associated activities.

### **The CBA and me**

Over the course of my three years as an undergraduate, I tried to take as many opportunities as I could. In my third and final year, I was part of this inspiring journal, and whilst volunteering at the Yorkshire Museum within the Historic Library, I represented the department as an Undergraduate Careers Representative. At the same time I was completing my studies in the hope of gaining the grades necessary for a Masters in Cultural Heritage Management. I have experienced at first-hand how enthusiastic and approachable the CBA team is. I was privileged to work with former CBA policy expert Dr Gill Chitty at the CBA's York office, located on Bootham Lane. Having approached the organisation for some experience, I obtained a voluntary internship for six months, maintaining the Challenge Funding Scheme which in turn provided the opportunity to write for the April 2012 edition of *British Archaeology*. Aside from organising voluntary work experience and internships, the CBA offers voluntary opportunities and the chance to attain further skills, training and bursaries for those looking to initiate research or archaeological projects. You can join the CBA campaigns to voice your opinions or help to raise the profile of archaeology within local groups and societies for the enjoyment of future generations. Locally you are able to join a CBA group. CBA groups also encourage students to join their committees that include representatives from across the archaeology sector. Get some practical work experience on your CV through helping to organise events, write newsletters and help with social media, and get out into the community at [new.archaeologyuk.org/join-a-cba-group](http://new.archaeologyuk.org/join-a-cba-group).

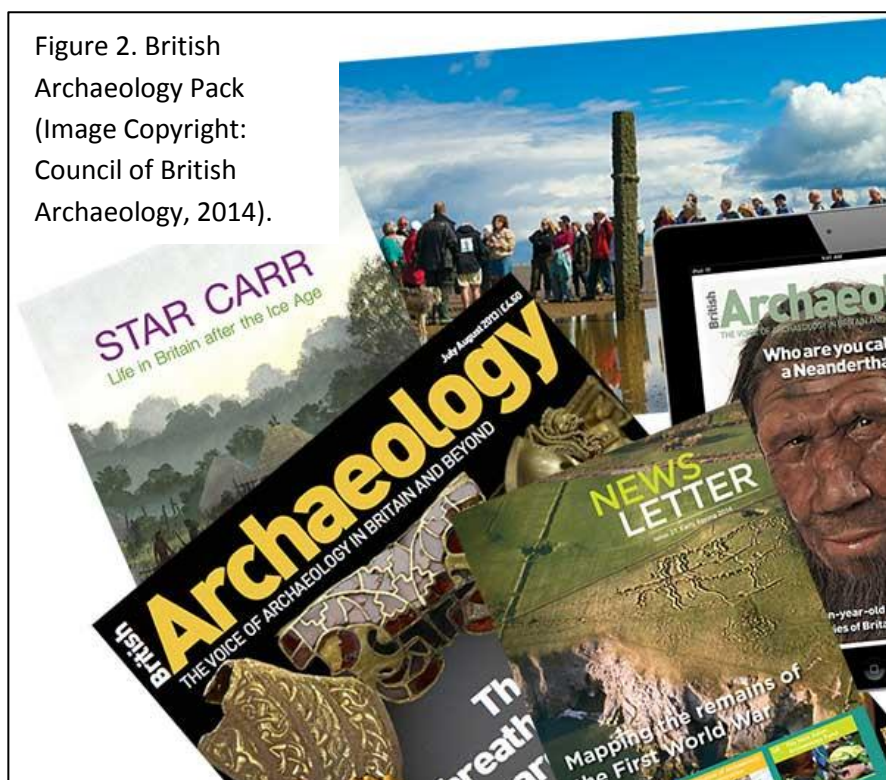
The CBA also offers opportunities to become involved within events pivotal to educating the public about archaeology. The Festival of Archaeology took place between the 12<sup>th</sup> and 27<sup>th</sup> of July this year; it pioneered archaeology and involved educating and inspiring the public through events organized by museums, heritage organisations, national and countryside parks, universities, local societies, and community archaeologists. Over 1,200 events hosted a quarter of a million visitors across the UK, if you were not able to attend any you certainly missed a

wonderful experience! More information on this annual event is available at [new.archaeologyuk.org/festival-of-archaeology](http://new.archaeologyuk.org/festival-of-archaeology).

If you have not already become a member, what are you waiting for? The CBA offers a student membership rate at £21 (£1.75 a month) which results in a digital package of 21+ hours a week of archaeological material. The CBA offers discounts on outdoor and archaeology gear and has collaborated with leading publishers – so you get your reading list for less! Or even better yet, perhaps you are also considering joining the IfA (Institute for Archaeologists). The CBA offers a membership to both organisations for £30.75 (£2.56 a month) and highlights the package's benefits as 'Get a head start with your studies and future career with the complete package for student archaeologists'. Why not even introduce your friends to the CBA? The digital magazine, with searchable back library, covers all topics historical, archaeological, scientific etc. and it can be an interesting read especially for someone not necessarily undertaking a subject that relates to archaeology. With membership you will receive monthly eNews including special offers and project news. The CBA Introductory Membership costs £15.75 (£1.31 a month) and there are many other offers available, for more information visit [shop.britarch.ac.uk/CBA-Membership/CBA-Student-Membership-Special-Offer/](http://shop.britarch.ac.uk/CBA-Membership/CBA-Student-Membership-Special-Offer/).

As some of *The Post Hole's* readers are still in school or college – do not be deterred! The CBA offers an exciting club for you to be part of. The 'Young Archaeologists' Club is aimed at those aged up to 17 years old and administers with 65 local branches across the UK. To find the nearest one to you for hands-on archaeology, follow [www.yac-uk.org/branches](http://www.yac-uk.org/branches). Previously only available within the UK, come spring 2015 more content will be available online.

Figure 2. British Archaeology Pack (Image Copyright: Council of British Archaeology, 2014).



Aside from this, the CBA offers invaluable advice on progressing into a career within archaeology and associated disciplines. A priceless addition to the website, an information resource encompasses material on 'what do archaeologists do?' and 'where do archaeologists work?', 'how to become an archaeologist' and downloadable PDF factsheets. The website offers links to relevant companies and sites with job opportunities. Check out this page [new.archaeologyuk.org/become-an-archaeologist](http://new.archaeologyuk.org/become-an-archaeologist), it contains a beneficial supply of information, which will remain invaluable throughout future years.

The aim of this article was to reinforce the importance of the relationship between the Council for British Archaeology and you! An organisation held in high esteem, they offer the public exceptional opportunities to become involved. As we are all passionate about archaeology and related disciplines, the website offers various prospects to cater for everyone's interests and pursuits. Executed well, the website is easy to navigate and is constantly updated - check out the news page to keep up with the latest in British archaeology. The organisation remains at the forefront of this sector and hopefully, this article has demonstrated why (if you have not already) you should reconsider the role that the CBA plays in your life today.

## Reconstructing the Lenaia

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The best-known of the Athenian dramatic festivals is the City Dionysia; a huge civic festival which took place in the Greek month of Elaphebolion, which equates to our late March (Csapo and Williams 1998, 105) and attracted audiences from all over Greece. However, Greek drama was not confined to the City Dionysia (or even to Athens). A number of smaller festivals included dramatic performances, many of which took place on a smaller scale amid rural Attic demes (Haigh 1907, 29)<sup>1</sup>. Meanwhile, the *polis*-wide Lenaia was celebrated in the Athenian month of Gamelion, which is approximate to our January. Details on the festival are scant, but with careful investigation we can begin to build up a bigger picture.

Two poets presented a pair of tragedies at the Lenaia (compared to three poets with trilogies at the City Dionysia), but later the number of pairs was increased to three (Csapo and Slater 1998, 136f, III.74-III.75). There is no evidence to suggest that any satyr plays were performed. During Aristophanes' career, three comedies were performed (Pickard-Cambridge 1973, 25), but a list of Lenaian comedies performed in 285/4 indicates that there were five (Csapo and Slater 1998, 137, III.77). Csapo and Slater (1998, 124) reiterate "the usual handbook dogma that five comedies were regularly produced at the Lenaea except during the Peloponnesian War" but equally, we might hypothesise that the number started out as three regardless of the war, and was later increased to five. Dithyrambos were also added in the third century (Csapo and Slater 1998). At any rate, this would suggest a festival of three or five days, with one comedy being performed per day, as well as two (and later three) days which included tragic performances; it is possible that the tragedies filled the timeslot allocated to the procession on the first day. If the festival was indeed expanded, this suggests it must have been popular. Comic plays took precedence at the Lenaia, as compared to the City Dionysia where tragedy reigned (Csapo and Slater 1998, 43, I.102). But the Lenaia was probably considered the lesser dramatic arena for both genres; so that when Plato Comicus did poorly at the City Dionysia, his comedies were apparently relegated to the Lenaia once more (Csapo and Slater 1998, 135, III.71). There was probably less money to spend on performances at the festival. Unlike at the City Dionysia, metics were allowed as *choregoi* and foreigners could be chorus-members (Csapo and Slater 1998, 135, III.72).

<sup>1</sup> Although some demes were large and well-populated. The Rural Dionysia in Piraeus was popular, state-funded and distinguished enough to attract poets as great as Euripides.

Pickard-Cambridge (1973, 29) notes that the Lenaia might derive its name “from a connexion with the winepress, ληνός” but dismisses the theory because “the special reference to the winepress and its god in January or February was not obviously appropriate”. An alternative explanation is that the name stems from “λήναι, known to be an appellation of bacchanals or maenads” (Pickard-Cambridge 1973, 29). Equally possible linguistically, this interpretation perhaps is made more likely because it is unaffected by the festival’s date. Of course, it is entirely possible that an early form of the Lenaia took place at a different time of year and was then moved – Greek festivals “were in a state of perpetual temporal movement” (Slater 2011, 30) – but even if it was a festival originally associated with wine production, its date change would indicate a move away from that focus to become a more general Dionysian festival. At any rate, the explanation of a festival to Dionysus as god of bacchants prevents no such difficulties, and therefore must hold the benefit of doubt.

There was also a procession, overseen by the *archōn basileus* along with the dramatic performances (Csapo and Slater 1998, 132, III.61). The procession seems to have involved “revellers on the wagons [who] mock and insult everyone they meet” (Csapo and Slater 1998, 132, III.62B) but accounts of this aspect are late, and tend to generalise about all Dionysian festivals. There is no reason to doubt that the practice took place, but there is a small possibility that it has been wrongly assigned to the Lenaia (unless it took place at various festivals). Regardless, such a procession would fit our understanding of the Greek practice of *aischrology*, the use of insult within the practices of some religious rites, as a form of worship through laughter.

It is not fully certain when comic competition started at the Lenaia, but it seems to have been at some point in the 430s (Csapo and Slater 1998, 133f, III.68). Comic performances may well have pre-dated this however – indeed, Haigh (1907, 27) argues that they started “as early as 487”. But if comedy had long been associated with the festival, it is hard to see why nobody would have thought to make the performances competitive (as with other dramatic festivals) until the 430s. Given their humorous nature, it seems far more likely that they were a later addition into a festival which had previously placed emphasis on gelastic and *aischrological* rituals such as the procession. Halliwell (2008, 206) has suggested that the performance of Old Comedy itself may also be “classed as a case of ‘ritual laughter’” because of its origins, content, and affiliation with Dionysus, and because “Old Comedy displays an inclination to incorporate echoes and adaptations of ritual laughter into its own performances”. Whilst his conclusion is ultimately cautious, such an interpretation would help to explain the irreverent tone of Old Comedy within the larger context of Greek ritual as something fundamentally tied up with the concept of religious practice, another facet of a gelastic tradition which used laughter as a form of worship. Within the specific context of the Lenaia, this might indicate why a festival which incorporated ritualistic laughter into its worship of Dionysus would later add comic performances. Old Comedy can therefore be seen as just one specific form of a general and varied framework of gelastic ritual,



which fulfilled an important role in Dionysiac worship at the Lenaia, and Greek worship in general. Tragedy was shortly added too, as a natural counterbalance to the comic performances – a list of victors indicates that this was in place at least by 420 (Csapo and Slater 1998, 136, III.74). There were also prizes for the best tragic and comic lead actors.

Originally, the City Dionysia and the Lenaia were celebrated in two separate locations. Pickard-Cambridge (1973, 37f) tentatively suggests that the Lenaia was first situated in the market-place and, in absence of archaeology denoting a clear *Lenaion* district, this seems at least plausible. But when comic performances were introduced, they were surely performed in the Theatre of Dionysus on the Acropolis. Any theatre set up in the *Lenaion* would have amounted to simple wooden benches set up in front of an open performance space without a stage or *skene*; the same sort of inadequate venue the Theatre was built to surmount. Indeed, it is hard to believe that the Lenaia's dramatic performances would be put on in a make-shift fashion when a perfectly suitable theatre already existed within the city. This theatre was still semi-temporary but nevertheless offered performances more options because of the *skene* and stage. Around 329, Lycurgus built a permanent stone theatre (Goette 2011, 116). Russo (1994, 3f) attempts to refute that the Lenaian plays were performed in the Theatre of Dionysus by arguing that plays at each festival use the theatre space in fundamentally different ways. But his conclusions rely on shaky evidence. There is nothing to prevent plays at the City Dionysia using the theatre's side corridors as regular exits for instance, and they had probably been used as such since at least Aeschylus<sup>2</sup>. The remaining rituals of the Lenaia did not presumably move with the dramatic performances. But we cannot be certain, given that the Theatre was indeed used for aspects of the City Dionysia's non-dramatic rituals.

We may also be able to assign an additional ritual to the Lenaia, a ritual which, interestingly, seems to have been solely for women. The evidence for this is dependent on a series of vases indicating Dionysian worship; aptly named the Lenaian Vases. These vases are adorned with a myriad of different, if not dissimilar images variously portraying women dancing and making music, women drinking and pouring wine from a *stamnós*, women holding *thyrsos*, and images of satyrs. There seems to be two distinct types: black-figure lekythoi from 490-80, which show women in an ecstatic state, and red-figure stamnoi from 460-50, focused on the pouring of wine; many of this type were found in Etruria (Hamilton 2003, 49). Other divisions have been made. However, the unifying feature of all of them (or at least those we can be sure fit into this group) is the inclusion of a pillar adorned with a mask of Dionysus, around which the portrayed ritual is focused. According to Hamilton (2003, 50), these idols and herms "are the only type of divine statues found in non-mythological scenes on Athenian vases" - a significant enough reason to group them together. It is also rare for women to appear in a group without men in Athenian

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<sup>2</sup> In *Persai*, the queen first enters by a side corridor on a chariot, and so must surely leave on the chariot by the same exit (unless stage-hands remove the chariot) (Hall 2007, 607-9). In Sophocles' *Ajax*, a scene ends with Tecmessa entering into the *skene* and Ajax leaving by a different exit that must have been an *eisodos* (Garvie 1998, 654-63; 684-6).

pottery (Hamilton 2003, 53), and so we might consider this an additional unifying factor. The ritual depicted is one focused on women becoming maenads through the replication of traditional maenadic acts; dancing, singing, drinking wine. This would explain the presence of satyrs and *thyrsos* in some of the vases; they are there to indicate the transformation process. The process would function as a means of worshipping Dionysus in his role as god of the maenads. Such a ritual would fit in with our knowledge of other Greek festivals, which involved transformative rites intended to convert the initiates into the characters of a mythic story (Dowden 2002, 102-104). The justification to assign this particular ritual to the Lenaia as opposed to another festival is that, in the absence of knowledge of a more appropriate festival, the Lenaia seems the most likely option given the probability of its name deriving from an alternative name for the maenads. Obviously, this is tentative, and it is surprising that no textual evidence for the practice survives, not least in our corpus of Lenaian comedy. But the balance of probability still favours the Lenaia. There is also no way to say for certain where the ritual took place, but there seems to be two possibilities; it was either performed at women's houses in small groups as a semi-private ritual, or at the aforementioned *Lenaion*. The variations in portraying the masked column suggest that it was a temporary structure, implying the former setting. The participants seem to be of no specific age, so we are surely not dealing with a ritual designed for maidens; we cannot be certain if unmarried women were included, however.

We can say with certainty that the Lenaia was not a festival specifically designed to attract overseas visitors. This is because the sailing season did not start until the time of the Dionysia, so most foreigners from outside of Athens could not get to the city in order to attend. This is also made clear by a passage of Aristophanes;

“For we are by ourselves; it's the Lenaeian competition, and no foreigners are here yet; neither tribute nor troops have arrived from the allied Cities. This time we are by ourselves, clean-hulled – for I count the resident foreigners as the bran of our populace” (Henderson 1998, 504-8).

But as the passage also indicates, there was no restriction on non-citizen residents or metics attending the performances; we might therefore assume they were present at the procession too.

Disagreements about whether women attended the Athenian theatre have “run longer than *The Mousetrap*” (Hughes 2012, 207), but the balance of probability suggests a small number did. The fact that the plays never directly acknowledge or address a female segment of the audience certainly does not rule out their presence; in such a male-centric society, it is easy to believe that the poets rarely even thought about their female audience, especially if the number was slight. Plato clearly indicates that, by the fourth century, women were present at least at some dramatic performances, which may well lead us to suggest they probably attended *all* performances both by that time and throughout the fifth century as well (Bury 1926, II.658a-d; Lamb 1991, 502c-d). Now let us consider the following passage from Aristophanes' *Peace*;

**“Slave:** Of all these spectators there isn’t one who hasn’t got some seed.

**Trygaeus:** The women haven’t had any.

**Slave:** Well, the men will give it to them tonight!”

(Sommerstein 1985, 964-7).

This could admittedly be used to argue that women were not present (and thus did not get any of the slave’s seed). But alternatively, it may merely suggest that women sat at the back of the theatre (so that the seed would not reach them). This segregation would also help to explain why poets do not address women amongst the rest of the audience. Or possibly the actor may have avoided throwing any seed at women sat throughout the theatre so that the sexual pun could be made. Again, *Peace* was produced at the City Dionysia, so it is conceivable that women were only barred from attending the largest festival (although it is unclear why some performances would be deemed suitable and not all). Ultimately, the issue must remain contentious, but we certainly must not rule out the strong possibility that they were in the audience for the Lenaian dramatic performances. At any rate, their numbers would have been small – after all, as Pomeroy notes, “women who did not have slaves to tend their babies were probably not able to attend a full day’s performance, or even to see one play” (1994, 80).

There is no specific evidence to confirm women’s involvement in the procession, but it certainly is not possible to say they could not have been there; they took a central role in other processions, including the Panathenaia (Pomeroy 1994, 75). Even though the ritual probably involved aischrological elements, it is wrong to suggest women would not have partaken in such rites because it was inappropriate, since the mythic origin of insult-rites stems from the interaction between two women (West 2003, 197-205). And in the Lenaia-performed *Lysistrata*, a scene portraying the public humiliation of citizens by the two half-choruses involves both men and women and in fact works to unify the two gender-split half-choruses into one (Sommerstein 2007, 1073-96) – this scene was conceivably intended to recall the aischrology at the heart of the festival’s procession. Of course, if we are to assume women were present at both the plays and religious drinking rituals, and that the Lenaia was at least originally a festival connected to the female worship of Dionysus, it seems impossible to deny that they must also have taken part in the procession.

Another contentious issue is the size of the audience who could fit into the pre-Lycurgan Theatre of Dionysus. A confusing passage of Plato cites an audience of 30,000 at a festival in 416 which seems to have been the Lenaia (Csapo and Slater 1998, 135, III.70A, III.70B). However, archaeology suggests this cannot have been the case; ignoring the fact that Plato even overshoots the capacity of the later construction, the first theatre must have been much smaller than that (Goette 2011, 120). Given this, an estimate in the range of 5,000 is more suitable. That capacity is still twice as large as that of the Sydney Opera House, but nowhere close to being able to seat every Athenian citizen, before children, women, slaves and metics are even

considered. It is quite possible that many people only watched a single day's performance, although given the contest element, it is conceivable that there was interest in attending every day. Tickets must have gone to those who firstly both had the time and money to spare, and secondly were first in line to buy them. At least until the construction of a stone theatre, tickets for the City Dionysia were two obols a day, paid to those who had constructed the semi-permanent Theatre of Dionysus for the festival (Wilson 2008, 92); given that the same construction would need to take place for the Lenaia, we can guess that the entrance fee was the same.

Many scholars are tempted to seek out distinctions between the comedies at each festival. McLeish states that "the two main festivals... were markedly different in style" (1980, 27); Russo argues for a great difference in the tone of the plays to correspond to what he sees as two very distinct "theatre seasons" (1994, 1). Simply put, this formula would indicate lavish, uncomplicated spectacle for the City Dionysia and witty, political and Athenocentric material for the Lenaia. Does this distinction stand up to scrutiny? Aristophanes was apparently attacked for denigrating Athens at the City Dionysia in front of the allies (Henderson 1998, 502f), and this perhaps suggests that the Lenaia was the preferred festival for harsh criticism of domestic politics. Despite being about the Peloponnesian War, *Lysistrata*, which surely must have been performed at the Lenaia<sup>3</sup>, is not as Panhellenic as it may seem; for all its inclusion of quips at different nationalities (Sommerstein 2007, 78-92), actors only play Athenians and Spartans. Thus, the very Panhellenic war is essentially boiled down to a conflict between two big players. Whether this proves that the Lenaia specialised in Athenocentric comedy or not remains debatable, but we must at least conclude that *Lysistrata* makes no pains to extensively represent a multicultural cast, presumably because the audience was not as multicultural as it would have been at the City Dionysia. Conversely however, *Clouds* was performed at the City Dionysia and yet talks about the seemingly Athenian subject of Socrates. The Lenaian *Wasps* is not by any means a cheap performance, relying as it does on an elaborate set and costumes. So whilst the evidence seems to suggest a preference for a particular style at each festival, presumably dictated in large part by finances and audience, we would be wrong to suggest that poets were rigidly bound by two distinct and immutable styles.

The festival was almost certainly more complex than the basic picture we have drawn gives credit for, and may well have involved various other rituals and customs. But the ultimate picture we have been able to piece together, if tentative, suggests a winter festival to Dionysus as god of the maenads. The rituals seem to have highlighted Dionysus' transgressive nature, with a procession involving aischrology and a female-only drinking rite involving wine and a symbolic transformation into maenads. Originally, the Lenaia was probably not a dramatic festival, with comedy added because of its natural affinity with aischrological rites and connection to Dionysus, and later tragedy and dithyramb because of their connection to comedy. The number of performances grew over time, suggesting the expansion of a popular festival. Whilst it is important not to

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<sup>3</sup> "It is very, very hard to credit [Aristophanes] with the suicidal recklessness that it would have taken to put on a play like *Lys.* at the City Dionysia of 411" (Sommerstein 1977, 120).

overemphasise the point, there does seem to be some small differentiation between those comedies performed at the Lenaia and those at the City Dionysia. The Lenaian performances almost certainly took place in the Theatre of Dionysus on the Acropolis, but the *Lenaion*, the original home of the festival, no doubt continued to be used for the remaining rites (although not the drinking party, which seems to have been a semi-private ritual). The *Lenaion* may have been in the agora. Because of the season in which it was put on, the festival was a domestic affair, but metics and women probably took part in every aspect; women could attend the theatre. Tickets to performances were presumably at the same two-obol rate as at the City Dionysia, and a small capacity in the original theatre would have meant competition for tickets. It is a shame we cannot say any more with confidence; like so many aspects of the classical world, the truth may forever be veiled from us by sheer lack of evidence.

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## Is the distinction between reconnaissance, evaluation and full excavation useful, or even viable, in archaeological fieldwork?



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There is a clear separation of the different stages of the archaeological work conducted in the field. Questioning these reasons and the necessity of those reasons can only be addressed by looking in detail at what all these different stages do in practice and assessing the justifications, if any, to the separations from one to another.

This short essay aims to address the question of whether the separation of three different stages of archaeological work is needed, or if these stages are even viable. Firstly, the focus will be on an overview of archaeological fieldwork, then on several definitions and explanations of each stage to distinguish between them. Secondly, I will go on to discuss the advantages and disadvantages of the complete separation of these stages. Followed by alternative solutions to the problems faced as a result of this separation of stages during excavation, finally coming to a balanced and considered conclusion on the topic.

### Overview

Field archaeology has developed exponentially over many years for different reasons, resulting in the appearance of the alleged division. The initial ideology of field archaeology classified four different types of archaeologists, each one having a different technique, aim and agenda;

The rescue archaeologist: the practitioner that gathers all the data that they can salvage, hoping that archaeologists in the future might be able to understand what they did not have time to look at (Roskams 2011). This is basically excavation as the only means of investigation; no preliminary work is undertaken as time is short and artefacts are in danger of being destroyed therefore, a comprehensive excavation method is required.

The next type is a second type of rescuer, those who destroy the more recent layers of archaeology to get to the one that is more important to them (Roskams 2011). This is the pure type of full excavation, destroying all that they do not need and therefore future generations will not have the chance of studying the lost history. In practice this contradicts the reason of archaeological study, as it destroys evidence, and therefore heritage, that should have been kept and preserved by the archaeologist in question (Hamilakis et al. 2010).

The third type of archaeologist is the researcher, who records every detail by the letter to the point that each layer might need four generations to be documented fully (Roskams 2011). The advantages and disadvantages of such a method may be apparent in that it is detailed, but extremely slow and it does not rapidly consider the big picture. Layers may be interconnected and full excavation report could be needed for a complete understanding.

The last type of archaeologist is the selfish researcher, who ignores what is not their field and chooses to study topics or artefacts which could gain them money and fame, in turn destroying whatever is not of their specific interests (Roskams 2011). This method has more detailed analysis than the rescuer, but it has a deliberate disregard for any area that is not related to the researcher's project.

Pioneering archaeologists like Pitt-Rivers, Wheeler and many others established the scientific approach to excavation through trial and error. Each utilised one or more of the above techniques (Johnson 2014), bringing the archaeological society towards adopting a set standard on which to base its research. With the aims to control the pace at which excavations took place and the level of destruction involved.

As archaeology developed, societies were formed in both the U.S. and the U.K. These institutions created set standards that archaeologists had to follow in order to inflict minimal damage on the archaeology, also making sure excavators were as informed as possible before undertaking a dig. The Society of Professional Archaeologists (SOPA) in the United States ruled, in its Standards of Research Performance:

“The research archaeologist has a responsibility to attempt to design and conduct projects that will add to our understanding of past cultures and/or that will develop better theories, methods, or techniques for interpreting the archaeological record, while causing minimal attrition of the archaeological resource base. In the conduct of a research project, the following minimum standards should be followed:

The archaeologist has a responsibility to prepare adequately for any research project, whether or not in the field.” (Davis 1982).

Meaning archaeologists went through a reconnaissance and evaluation, requiring them to gather as much information as possible before any excavation started.

In the United Kingdom, on the other hand, Planning Policy Guidance 16 (PPG 16) was written with clear rules on how archaeologists should perform their work and to what standard. It stated that:

“• The historic environment is a fundamental aspect of the Government's commitment to environmental stewardship



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- Remains should be seen as finite and non- renewable resource
  - Care must be taken to ensure that archaeological remains are not needlessly or thoughtlessly destroyed
  - Preservation of archaeological and historic remains is therefore ‘a material consideration’ in the planning process” (Builder & Engineer 2014).

PPG 16 created another standard of how field excavation should be carried out in order to avoid unnecessary damage to the archaeology. Due to the detailed procedures needed, which are carefully explained in the document, the archaeological community has had to adapt to a very controlled and bureaucratic structure, resulting in a system of completely separate procedures which, due to regulations, cannot be combined.

### **Stages of archaeological fieldwork**

The three stages of field archaeology, as distinguished below (reconnaissance, evaluation and excavation), all have particular applications, but this does not mean they should be separate. A greater understanding of each stage may prove this.

#### Reconnaissance:

Despite the misleading name, this is one of the most time consuming types of archaeological fieldwork techniques, and involves analysing without intruding or damaging the surface of the area that the archaeologist is interested in.

This technique makes use of many tools; it starts with a desktop study of the area, which involves looking at archaeological documents, legal documents, tax records, economic records, pictorial records, written accounts, oral accounts, and maps (Carver 2010). This is a very long, painstaking task that may take longer than the excavation itself; not to mention that this is just the first of two stages that happen before the proper excavation actually begins.

Furthermore, the line can become blurred between evaluation and reconnaissance stages, particularly when gathering photographic evidence from the field and the identification of existing structures starts, as this involves physical presence and possible disturbance of the area.

#### Evaluation:

After the reconnaissance has been completed, or in some cases whilst it is happening, the archaeological expedition will have to run trial tests on the field to make sure that the site is worth investigating. This is ultimately a step between investigating and excavating.

The archaeologists will conduct geophysical surveys, analysing the terrain for remains of archaeology underground. Then they will have to conduct field-walking surveys, trying to find

surface traces of archaeology. Next, they will excavate test pits to sample the depth of possible archaeology in a geo-archaeological survey. Finally they may need to excavate trial trenches as a preliminary small excavation to see if the archaeology is easily accessible from a particular point (Gaffney 2009).

Full excavation:

Archaeologists dig underground using excavation techniques which vary in type and result; some may be heavy, large trench digs. Others may be delicate excavations where small areas are dug in tiny increments to record the stratigraphic changes without destroying any archaeological evidence (Ohio State University 2014).

Excavation techniques have developed through time. The first standardised techniques were developed by Pitt-Rivers and later improved on by other archaeologists, varying from large, potentially destructive excavations, to smaller, more tightly controlled trenching (Johnson 2014).

The word “full” in the phrase “full excavation” is misleading, as argued by Roskams (2001). There is no real possibility of full excavation, as this would take an extremely long time, time that archaeologists rarely have and no matter how much detail is considered, it will never be “full” (Roskams 2001). Therefore, I will refer to it as simply “excavation”.

This development in the connection between the three stages, as explained above, takes us to the analysis of whether this is a useful or even viable approach.

### **Strengths, weaknesses and opportunities**

I decided to analyse the advantages and disadvantages of these stages of field excavation, connecting them directly to the possible solutions, in order to draw an informed conclusion. This was because I believe that when the good and bad of a technique is understood one is presented with the opportunity to use both, in order to create a hybrid solution which does not upset the balance but creates a reasonable compromise.

In order to aid the task at hand, I decided to use a very popular analytical tool, commonly used in the fields of economics and business, which seemed to be suitable for this type of analysis. The SWOT analysis (Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities and Threats) is a method invented to analyse the market and to determine opportunities and threats from this analysis (Dealtry 1992).

One may start with the list of strengths that are seen in the system in place now, with the division into three stages. The main advantage, from what is noted in the paragraphs above, is that there is a clear separation between processes: first you research, then you research again, but more intricately, then you test and analyse the physical clues on the surface and finally you excavate – if all the signs indicate an archaeological dig would be worthwhile (Roskams 2001).

The second strength is that by abiding to the structure, following the PPG 16 regulations, the archaeologists and the investors involved (willingly or unwillingly) will have to abide to set regulations (Builder & Engineer 2014). There is a greater chance that the archaeological record may be preserved, instead of being accidentally or purposefully destroyed by people working in the rescuer or researcher style who choose to ignore evidence they do not need.

Another strength that comes out of the application of strict regulations of excavation applied to separate stages, is the check and balance system that is put into place by having the surveyors, the analysts and the field archaeologists working one after the other. This makes sure that the work of the previous surveyor was done in an appropriate way and that each step produced all the results necessary to proceed to the next.

Although many may disagree with the “expert” hierarchical division and difference between members of an archaeological team (Roskams 2001), one may also agree that such division maintains a level of standards that may be overlooked if it was not in place. Having a division between stages means more specialisation between archaeologists, enabling different archaeologists to do specific tasks more appropriately and efficiently.

The last strength is the possibility, due to this complete division, that more people may be able to work in archaeology. As it is well known among the academic environment, that archaeology, due to being “vocational”, lacks the necessary funding. This is eloquently put by Chadwick (2000), who states that archaeologists are finding themselves without a job and without finances for excavations, in a business world where if you are an expert you get a minimum credit, but if you are not an expert you are ignored.

It may come as a surprise that the weaknesses concerning the division of stages are directly related to the strengths. For example, the clear cut stages can be an advantage for reasons of clarity and tidiness of the research work, but it also creates a lack of interdisciplinary involvement. Also, due to the investigation having been completed before the trial trenching and the excavation itself, there is no actual questioning of the theories themselves.

What if, for example, whilst investigating and studying the area and its history, one concludes that there is no archaeology present because there is no record of anything ever having been there? The archaeologist should, in theory, not dig and avoid wasting money on a dead end. But, what if they had gone a step further with a trial trench and found something that was completely unrecorded? If they had done these two steps together, they would not have missed the unrecorded history. Contrastingly, what if they had found historical evidence that there was something in the ground, but then stopped at the trial trenches because the archaeology was much deeper, or hidden, and they could not identify it during the trial? If they had completed the evaluation together with the excavation, then such a problem could have been avoided, again meaning no archaeology would be lost.

The fact that there have been large cuts in the funding and time for archaeological research and excavation (Ford 2010) means that this problem is, and will continue to be, manifesting itself constantly and needs to be resolved.

The involvement of PPG 16 into archaeological matters during commercial work is also a double edged blade. On one hand, the landowner or developer is obliged to support and finance the possible excavation. On the other hand, because of the structure and division of stages, the archaeologists are under huge pressure to obtain results faster and more efficiently because finances get contested or cut off by unwilling financiers. If the process was more compact with one stage, it would allow the archaeologists to have the time to possibly rescue even more archaeology that would otherwise be lost in the hurry to get through all three stages separately (Builder & Engineer 2014).

The expert argument can also work both ways. For example, such a system may alienate archaeologists that want to know more, share tasks and work in a less hierarchical system. Alternatively, the project manager may spend days researching the area while the excavators are eagerly waiting to start work, but cannot because the first stage has not been completed yet. The system can create a division of class and methods that will only end up in conflict and a lack of collaboration (Roskams 2001).

The final hurdle that the division of stages puts the archaeologist through is the incompatibility of the method with modern technologies. These technologies have been developed and implemented in order to make the archaeologist's life easier, and at the same time to produce faster results on a larger scale. They can only be implemented when all the stages are working together, joining the historical data with the GIS data and the finds from excavation recorded in three dimensions. As things stand at the moment, the data is only put together once the dig is over. Causing a loss of precision and accurate interpretation that it could have had, had these been made in the field, whilst the work was undertaken in one single stage (Hodder 1997).

### **Possible solutions and conclusion**

Due to the overly bureaucratic system in place, the lack of finances and the rejection of technology by mostly traditional archaeologists, the situation has come to a standstill. On the one side there are three set stages that are clear cut, where bureaucracy can work easily and the investments are clearly followed by a set division in expertise on each stage. On the other hand, there are problems deriving from limited time being made even more limited by this division, conflict between differently skilled archaeologists who justly want to do their job properly as they are the experts, but who ultimately could have worked better together. And finally, the incompatibility of technology with the three stage division in the archaeological excavation process. This process results in new technologies recreating the interpretation of an interpretation

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after the job has been done, instead of being integrated in a single process giving detailed results with the cancellation of stages, and simply resulting in a harmonised work environment.

There should be a joining of the two unbalanced ideas, creating a 'tidy mess' where the chaotic archaeological process is controlled by rules but, where the rules are limited and flexible enough to allow the archaeology to blur the lines between reconnaissance, evaluation and "full" excavation. To conclude, the system in place has its advantages, but we need to concentrate on the archaeology more than the system. After all, if we see that the three stage system in some cases disturbs the archaeological process, then the system should be relaxed to allow archaeologists to better accomplish their work.

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