



The Post Hole

The student-run archaeology journal



Highly
Commended
by the
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January 2015



Knapped Glass: a practice of all cultures

**An Interview
with Professor Charles Thomas**

Stonebow House, York

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



Cover image credit: 'Knapped from glass bottle'. Photo taken June 2008.
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Editorial: Ancient cheese and modern photography

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To begin with, I would like to apologise for the delayed release of Issue 43; summative deadlines quickly crept up over the Christmas break and university work has to be the priority – we are students after all!

Having recently bid farewell to 2014, I have been thinking about the many archaeological discoveries of the year, and thought it might be quite apt to discuss one of my favourites. A discovery that really caught my eye was the unearthing of what is presumed to be the world's oldest cheese, found in the Taklamakan Desert in north-west China. Hundreds of mummies were discovered here in large wooden coffins, sealed by cowhide covers. The dry and salty conditions meant the remains were immaculately preserved



Figure 1. Photograph of a female mummy from tomb M11 (Yang *et al.* 2014, 180).

(Fig. 1), and on several of the mummies' chests and necks, yellow clumps were visible. Bioarchaeological proteomic studies revealed the mystery clumps were in fact 3,800 year old cheese. Little is known about ancient dairy farming and food production, so this unique case was an opportunity to combine bioarchaeology, domestication, herd management and cultural studies in order to better our understanding of the dairying practices in Xinjiang, China. The study identified that the cheeses were products of kefir fermentation, a process carried out using microbes including *Lactobacillus* and *Saccharomycetaceae* yeasts. The research team made their own batch of kefir and remarkably the bacterial and chemical compositions exactly matched the ancient cheese samples found with the mummies. The strong evidence for the processing of milk using this method helps us to understand why dairy herds were spread widely over Eastern Eurasia, despite the local population's general intolerances to digesting products containing lactose. Milk consumed in processed forms reduces the lactose intake of an individual, meaning it can be ingested even by those who are lactose intolerant. The original paper was published in *The Journal of Archaeological Science* and can be found here: sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S0305440314000466.

The Post Hole's Image Competition will be closing at midnight on the **26th January**. The winning entry will be used as the cover art for Issue 44 and the winner will also receive a free hard copy of the journal. The theme for this competition is simply 'excavation'; we'd love you to share some images of what you have been doing on site. We want to see postholes (of course!), stone walls, flints, spoil heaps, sieves, boots, trowels and even the thermal flasks! For some inspiration I have included two examples (Figs. 2 and 3) of entries to the Image Competition held last year. It could not be easier to enter your photographs, reconstructions or drawings, simply visit theposthole.org/photo-competition and upload your image, with your name and a description. Good luck to all, and do not forget you can always increase your chances by submitting more than one image! I am really looking forward to seeing all of the entries, with this week the last



chance to submit your images, make sure you share the competition with your friends and colleagues.

Figure 2 (Left). Photo credit: Alistair Galt

Figure 3 (Below). Photo credit: Rianca Vogels



The first submission featured in Issue 43 comes from **Luca Ottonello** and concerns the labelled eyesore, Stonebow House, York. Ottonello puts forward the case for the listing of Stonebow as a Grade II building. He argues that the preservation of a decade and the sentimental value of the building outdoes the desire for beauty and recommends these traits are considered with equal importance.

Freya Lawson-Jones has taken the time to visit Professor Charles Thomas at his home in Cornwall and interviewed him on his academic memoirs. The transcript conversation includes famous faces, terrific travels and enthralling excavations!

The third author this month investigates the practice of glass knapping and the difficulty archaeologists have in identifying a truly knapped piece. **Joshua Wackett** uses examples spanning two continents to demonstrate that glass knapping is a practice undertaken by many distinct societies for both cultural and practical reasons.

Yvonne O'Dell examines the implications and problems of imposing modern concepts onto past societies. Within this examination, O'Dell concentrates on the body and the person using anthropological and ontological studies to demonstrate the dangers of applying modern perceptions to studies of the past.

The focus of this issue's final paper concerns the portrayal of women on Attic Painted Pottery. **Kathryn Thompson** visually analyses several fragments of such pots during the Athenian democracy. Thompson assesses the extent to which the art represents the empowerment of women, or alternatively enforces the message of male authority and dominance during the period.

I hope the articles featured in this month's issue are received well; that hopefully some of you will be inspired to do the same and submit your work to *The Post Hole*. If you have a piece of work that you would like to have published, please do not hesitate to send it to Jess Hand via submissions@theposthole.org. We do ask that all images are sent as JPEG attachments as well as being embedded in the text.

Finally, I would like to highlight that the first two filmed episodes of "TPH meets..." are available online via *TPHExtra*. The next episode will be released shortly and features Jane Grenville speaking about historic buildings and conservation, to make sure you are one of the first to see the exclusive interview keep up to date via Facebook, Twitter and Google+. There are many more new features accessible via *TPHExtra* so please do explore the tab: theposthole.org/tphextra.

All the best for 2015!

Eleanor Green.

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The case for listing The Stonebow House, York, YO1 8ZQ, as a Grade II building

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The history of Stonebow House has been filled with ups and downs. On the one hand, the aesthetics of the building seem to have displeased many architects and tourists alike, whilst those who work in the building, or who grew up in the area, perceive it as a focal point for local stories and as a physical, recognisable landmark. There are businesses currently operating in the building, such as the popular night clubs Fibbers and The Duchess, which host several live music events every week. Furthermore, it houses York's Job Centre, considered to be a vital line of support for those in need of work. Importantly, we must not forget that this building is a legacy of the 60s, a decade which may have heralded some of the worst concrete eyesores of the last century, but it is still a period of history that needs to be remembered (Wright 2014).

This paper aims to enumerate all the reasons why Stonebow House, due to the tangible and intangible heritage value of the building, should be listed before it ends up in the catalogue of buildings to be demolished, purely due to its controversial appearance. The paper will be divided into the following sections which are drawn from the principles for the selection of listed buildings: historical and descriptive information, evaluation of significance constituting the main part, and risks which may be faced if the building is not listed (DCMS 2010). It will then conclude with a short statement of significance.

Description and History

Stonebow House, The Stonebow, York (Fig. 1), was designed by Wells, Hickman and Partners and completed in 1965. It is a good example of 1960's architecture, with offices placed above a concrete platform semi-detached from the lower part of the building (Fig. 2). It also hosts a car park on the lower roof. The designers made the strategic choice to connect the pedestrian walkways to the streets around the building, creating a double walkway effect that makes the building look like there are two different parallel paths instead of just a typical single terrace at the top. This makes it barely perceptible that the pedestrian is actually changing altitude.

The quality of the concrete which was used to build Stonebow House is excellent, according to architect J. Wright. "Just like stone, concrete comes in many forms and qualities and that used at Stonebow is both well considered and expensive with a sandy aggregate stone finish used throughout" (Wright 2014), highlighting that the building is in good structural condition.



Figure 1. Map of the area surrounding Stonebow House



Figure 2. Photograph of Stonebow House (Stead 2014).

Evaluation of Significance**Identifying and recording the Historic Environment**

As people will popularly agree, York is a deeply historical town, with vast archaeological collections from numerous periods; Prehistoric, Roman, Anglo-Saxon, Viking, Norman, Medieval, Tudor/Stuart, Georgian and Victorian. Evidence of which can be seen both above and below the ground all over the city (York Museum Trust 2014). Looking at this long list of historical periods, one question comes to mind: why do the 60s not feature? Do not recent periods still count as history? After all, the Department for Culture Media and Sport's (DCMS) general principles for listing criteria, declares that over 30 years constitutes a reasonable claim for a building to be classified as a historical building (DCMS 2010). Regardless of time periods, the Faro Convention clearly explains that heritage is the interaction of people with the building itself, demonstrating it is not just historical value that is of importance, but the intrinsic cultural value associated to a building through years of contact (Council of Europe 2009).

There is a very diverse landscape in England allowing the inclusion of many types of structures in the index of possible listed buildings (DCMS 2010). Therefore, the fact that this particular building is a 60s office block does not mean that it cannot be considered a historical structure in need of listed recognition. The fact that the building is not very attractive, or even "hideous" as described in The Press, to such an extent that it became a symbol of horrible constructions of the 60s and a representation of the "modern" building in an ancient town (Stead 2014). This only serves to make the building more worth preserving. It has attracted more interest and public attention than many older buildings around the ancient town, which arguably go unnoticed by the general public.

Listing Buildings of Special Architectural and Historic Interest

In order to be listed by the Secretary of State, the building in question has to have some outstanding architectural or historical interest that will enable the building to enter into one of three grades: Grade I, Grade II* or Grade II (DCMS 2010). I believe that both of these criteria are fully present in the building, and if we put aside the stigma of the building referred to as the ugliest building in York, we may see the preservation of an age where most buildings were "hideous" in looks and construction. The 60s were a time where concrete was taking precedence over any other material, where tacky furniture and brightly coloured adornments were replacing ancient, beautiful objects, often thrown away to make place for these new adornments. Meanwhile brutalist architecture was taking over, university towns especially were embracing concrete as the new fashion (Meades 2014). Regardless of being horrible in appearance and considered, even by the experts, as an eye sore, buildings like Stonebow House were considered the architectural style of an era and many have been listed. Therefore, the building in question has a very strong architectural value despite the views of the building being negative, it is still of archaeological interest.

The view that Stonebow House should be demolished comes mostly from people that do not live and work within its walls, people who have no emotional connection to the building. For them it is an ugly building that disrupts the view of a beautiful town, although they have little idea of what would replace the building, should it be demolished. But, who decided that only beautiful buildings should be preserved and the ugly ones should not? These decisions should not be made without speaking to locals and understanding emotional attachments to the building itself. One interesting quote comes from a meeting held during 2014, in regards to the removal of Stonebow House:

“You could be right. I have hated it but I’ve grown up with it. Fond memories of Fibbers beneath. It would be like losing your three legged pet Ha ha!... Let’s keep it and let our children make the decision if it’s awful (from York Past and Present debate, 10th July)” (Wright 2014).

This is a clear example of passing heritage on: the father wants to leave the fate of the building to his children, who in time will feel an emotional connection to the building as he does. Who would disagree with the passage of knowledge and heritage to a future generation? How can English Heritage, based around the archaeological mission to preserve history for future generations, go against its own principles? English Heritage should be the one of the first organisations moving to preserve such a building, as Stonebow House is under threat of being demolished both by the regional government, supported by large numbers of the public (Stead 2014). If English Heritage has set a rule that buildings with significant historical importance need to be preserved and saved from the immediate threat of such a thing happening (English Heritage 2014), they should themselves bring forward a petition to stop the debate which may ultimately end in the demolition of Stonebow House (Wright 2014).

Statutory criteria

The criteria for deciding to list a building in statute are very clear on the two basic interest areas of architecture and history.

“To be of special architectural interest a building must be of importance in its architectural design, decoration or craftsmanship; special interest may also apply to nationally important examples of particular building types and techniques” (DCMS 2010).

As previously mentioned, Stonebow House represents the brutalist architectural movement of the 60s, and as much as Victorian, Roman or Greek architecture, it needs to be preserved. This would safeguard an example of an architectural style that, due to its perceived ugliness, is vanishing all over the world. It is arguably comparable to dismissing a Picasso painting because the general public find it unsightly. It may be ugly, but it is a rare example of a dead style, that is gradually getting lost in time.

The second area of interest is defined as follows:

“To be of special historic interest a building must illustrate important aspects of the nation’s social, economic, cultural, or military history and/or have close historical associations with nationally important people. There should normally be some quality of interest in the physical fabric of the building itself to justify the statutory protection afforded by listing” (DCMS 2010).

Stonebow House represents 60s architecture, it represents the economic state of the country during that decade and it represents the culture of York’s population in the 60s, in spite of modern perceptions of ugliness.

General Principles

Lastly we must analyse the general principles of having the building considered for a listing criteria:

- Age and rarity: Stonebow House was built in the mid-1960s by Wells, Hickman and Partners (Stead 2014); it is more than 40 years old. As buildings must be older than 30 years before being considered for listing, Stonebow House passes this first hurdle. Furthermore, it is the only building of its kind in the centre of the city, excluding the University of York buildings which, until recently, were not even in the same county jurisdiction, hence Stonebow House is unique in the area.
- Aesthetic merits: one may think that because of its unappealing exterior the building may have failed to meet this specification, but the guidelines state: a *“special interest of a building will not always be reflected in obvious external visual quality. Buildings that are important for reasons of technological innovation, or as illustrating particular aspects of social or economic history, may have little external visual quality”* (DCMS 2010) meaning the building falls perfectly within this category. Stonebow House represents the socio-economic history of the 60s and beauty is not a requirement.
- Selectivity: the criteria is very flexible, but in essence the building must be of a rare kind or in a particular style of diminishing numbers. Based on the fact that no other building in the area looks similar to the Stonebow House, it should meet this specification. Due to the tendency all over the world to demolish 60s buildings because of their ugliness, there are a limited number of these “brutal” buildings left (Meades 2014).
- National interest: the building needs to be unique in the region, but when put together with other buildings of the same type from around the nation, it must create a distinct national stock representing a particular time and style, whilst clearly making a major contribution.

From the literature regarding Stonebow House, it can be seen that most people who visit York or live in the region consider it a unique eyesore (York Stories 2013). Its difference from all other buildings in the area, arguably makes it a major contribution to the architectural eyesores of the UK.

- For the criteria regarding the state of repair, the architectural expert Wright described it as one of the few post war buildings that is still in a good state of repair and therefore worth saving. This gives Stonebow House a priority over buildings that are similar but with structural problems (Wright 2014).

Risks for the future

If Stonebow House was to be demolished or replaced, there would be an open conflict between generations of people living in the town, classes and business owners as described by Thomas (2011) in his paper dealing with cultural conflicts over the enjoyment of national parks in Australia. The elite are the aesthetically driven population (Thomas 2011, the Australians), in this case represented by the council and population that only value the beauty of a place, will come into open cultural conflict with the culturally entangled population (Thomas 2011, the Macedonians), including shop owners, the clubbers or job seekers.

To elaborate on this concept, there is a popular night club, Fibbers, in the lower level of the Stonebow building (Fibbers 2014). The younger generation which visit the club regularly will begrudge the clubs removal subsequently, blaming whoever made the decision to demolish the building and in turn their cultural heritage, represented by memories in and around the old building. There would be an outcry from historians and heritage enthusiasts who may be at odds with the argument that an ugly building needs to be demolished. A good example is the response that Wright's articles receive from people with conflicting views (Wright 2014). Business owners which currently inhabit the building will have no comparable relocation site. Meaning, Fibbers, the Job Centre, and The Duchess which hosts regular live concerts (Duchess 2014) will lose their premises, which that several generations have made part of their everyday lives.

Conclusion

The building itself has become an integral part of the heritage of York, architecturally, socially and historically for the reasons mentioned above. I would ask is that these different opinions, along with the evidence, are justly considered before destroying a building that, despite being ugly and unappreciated by many, is a part of history from the 60s that will not come back once removed. The repercussions of such an act will have a devastating effect on a town famous for the preservation of historical sites and appreciation of heritage throughout the ages.

Statement of Significance

The listing of Stonebow House would be an addition from the 60s meaning that all time periods would be well represented in this York. This building in particular represents the 60s movement in architecture and is a testament to the culture of the time. The establishments inside Stonebow House symbolise the new era which began during the 60s encompassing modern buildings, rock music and new jobs. Aptly all are still represented in Stonebow House today.

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The academic memoirs of Professor Charles Thomas

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Professor Charles Thomas is a noted and well-known academic, field archaeologist, author and military historian. His published work covers many of his archaeological interests and personal research, including Mesolithic, Roman, early Christian and Bronze Age archaeology. He also has an extensive knowledge and passion for the West Country, especially Cornwall and the Isles of Scilly.

This interview with Professor Charles Thomas was conducted at his fascinating home in Cornwall in an impressive library at the front of the building, which looked out onto some extraordinarily thick and knotted yew trees dating back to the 15th century. The house, he later informed me, was originally a Queen Anne house. Opposite us hanging above another doorway was half of a large wooden propeller, a gift from Charles's Uncle which had originally been part of a World War 1 aircraft. This is a transcript of an interview conducted with Professor Charles Thomas at Lambessow, Truro in September 2014.

What first triggered your initial interest in archaeology?

When I look back, I have found that it was not any particular single event which first got me interested in archaeology. It was more of a long, sideways approach which led to it. I first discovered my interest in heritage though when I was eight years old. I had been attending a preparatory school in Devon when my brother contracted measles. Because this was the time before immediate vaccinations to prevent this kind of thing, I was put under quarantine at my grandfather's house, where I spent some time in his library. It was here that I alighted upon my grandfather's book collection, and began to read and become interested. In particular, I remember a volume on Cornish linguistics and local history, which I found to be fascinating.

At the end of World War II you served in the British army in Egypt. Did you find that this affected your archaeological interests?

Yes, I joined the British army in 1945 when I was 17 and served in Egypt for two years. It was a wonderful place and very hot! During our spare time from training, I used to pick up flint from places like Luxor and Aswan, which also heightened my interest in archaeology.

It was here that I learned to speak colloquial Arabic too, through learning essential phrases such as asking for the prices of things.

So how did you begin studying archaeology?

Well, I actually read law at Oxford University in 1948, as I came from a family of solicitors, like my father and grandfather and so continued in their footsteps. Near to my university however, was a book shop called Blackwell's – I hope very much that it's still there; it was a fantastic place with tall leaning towers of books that you had to sort through to find what you wanted to read. It was here that I alighted upon copies of some of Gordon Childe's and Richard Atkinson's work, and became very interested. In 1950, I joined excavations on two sites: the hut circles at Carwynnen and Godrevy barrow, both in West Cornwall. It was here that I became an editor for the West Cornwall Field Club, where I met some real archaeologists for the first time. In 1951 I had a second attempt at my third degree (law was not a favourite area of mine!). After completing my degree as my family wanted me to do, I then wrote to Professor Gordon Childe who was tutoring at the Institute of Archaeology, who accepted my request and I became a student of his. Other students of his included Paul Ashby and Nicholas Thomas. I later moved to Cornwall and became a tutor myself.

During your archaeological career, you met many well-known archaeologists like Mortimer Wheeler and Gordon Childe. Did you find that they influenced you?

Yes, I knew both of these men! They were both such characters, but in different ways.

It was excellent to be Gordon Childe's pupil – we all loved him! He was a quiet, nice, shy, eccentric man; a little strange and very kind. It was also because of him that I became proficient in several languages such as French, German, Italian and Spanish, as well as being able to read Portuguese, as he would set us reading that had not yet been translated into English, and would ask us to translate papers that we were reading for him, such as papers covering folklore from Spain, etc. Aside from being my tutor for a while, Professor Gordon Childe was also an acquaintance of my Australian grandmother.

Mortimer Wheeler was also a brilliant archaeologist, but a completely different kettle of fish – he was quite the womaniser! He was also quite vain, and wore a male corset!

I also knew Glyn Daniel, the charismatic presenter of the Animal, Vegetable, or Mineral television series in the 1950s¹. I did actually feature in one of these programmes. He was also a lovely man, very nice and extremely funny! I was also good friends with Philip Rahtz and Leslie Alcott. I knew Sir Barry Cunliffe and John Coles too.

You have done work with Stuart Piggott in Edinburgh – what was this like?

Yes, in 1958. He was a close friend of mine – we both shared a house with another friend of ours – Richard Atkinson (who later went on to excavate Silbury Hill and Stonehenge). We were all extremely short on funds at this time!

How did your career develop from that point onwards?

Well in 1967 I gained a Professorship at the University of Leicester, and moved there with my wife and 3 children who had been born in Scotland. In 1971-72 I became president of the Council of British Archaeology. I was then the first Professor of Cornish studies. I also spent 14 years as acting chairman of the Royal Commission on the Historic and Ancient Monuments of England (RCHME).

Out of all your archaeological projects, of which ones are you the most proud?

It would definitely be my excavations done at Gwithian on the West coast of Cornwall, where we discovered the first ever traces of Bronze Age ploughmarks, something that had never before really been considered. I am also very proud of our work on the Mesolithic coastal sites from all around the Cornish Coast – I was actually inspired by, Cambridge Professor, Grahame Clark's work on the Mesolithic which got me interested, particularly the Cornish coastal sites, especially at Gwithian.

I am also proud of our work at Tintagel, where we looked at post-Roman imports of amphorae from the Mediterranean. The site was visited by C. A. Raleigh Radford in the '90s after his work here in the 1930s.

What do you think of the popular interest in archaeology? Do you think there should be more public awareness of the past?

Ha! The English Heretics! And Time Team is often very unrealistic. The representation of archaeology to the masses is, unfortunately quite often fantastical, and not very well

¹ A link to the Animal, Vegetable or Mineral series: <http://www.bbc.co.uk/iplayer/group/p018818x>

researched. It is very important that archaeology in the media is well explained without being commercialised.

What do you consider to be the most important development in archaeology in the last 50 years or so?

That definitely has to be radiocarbon dating, and other forms of acquiring accurate dates for things too, especially with Chris Stringer's work on Palaeolithic dating.

Of all the time periods which you have worked in, which have grabbed your interest the most?

My answer is split between the Mesolithic period around the coastlines, and the Early Christian time of 5-8th century AD, especially in relation to maritime contacts between Cornwall and the Mediterranean.

After the interview was completed, we chatted for a while about some of the many interesting features of his house. I would like to thank Charles for welcoming me into his beautiful home, telling me about some of the history of the house and its fascinating decor, and agreeing to take part in this interview.



Professor Charles Thomas (The Hypatia Trust 2015).

Image available at: <http://hypatia-trust.org.uk/2002/11/28/the-opening-of-trevelyan-house/#!prettyPhoto>

Knapped Glass: a practice of all cultures

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Knapped glass, also known as lithic glass, worked glass, or flaked glass, can serve as an invaluable link between prehistoric and historic archaeology. The carrying over of the practice of making stone tools with a new medium was widely practiced, but has been sparsely reported on for multiple reasons. Perhaps the most obvious of these reasons is the trouble of identifying whether glass is truly modified by humans, or if it is just a result of fortuitous circumstances. Another problem that has plagued the study of knapped glass is the question of who used it, and for what purpose. Studies have been conducted in attempt to answer these questions, but more still need to take place. Knapped glass has been used by many cultural groups, including those in the Southwest United States as an expedient tool material, but it is also very commonly noted in more formal tools too, such as projectile points.

Use of glass as a medium, instead of the more traditional stone for making tools, was a way for indigenous groups to maintain a cultural identity whilst adapting to their new environment. In the post-Contact era, European goods became much more accessible with passing time. By the mid to late 1800's, Euro-Americans had populated the United States from coast to coast and were forcing their lifestyles upon the indigenous population.

Introduction

Post Contact in the Americas, many ideas, customs, and goods were exchanged between the newly arrived Europeans and the indigenous populations. Once these interactions began, the two groups began to utilise these new customs and goods, quite often in a different way from the original population's intended use. One such example of this change in use of customs and goods was the use of manmade glass by indigenous populations to make tools.

These historic tools provide many problems for analysts today. Distinguishing between accidental breaks and purposeful tools can be nearly impossible in some cases. But several studies have been carried out with varying success in attempt to more accurately identify these artifacts.

Perhaps the most important aspect of these tools though is not the identification of them today, but what these tools meant to those who made them. Knapped glass tools have been found in connection with Native American, African, and Euro-American contexts, but without an understanding of the use of these tools, identification is meaningless.

Identification

Identifying culturally flaked glass as distinct from accidentally flaked glass is an issue that many analysts come across. Without careful excavation, even the slightest trowel scrapping can produce flakes on a shard of glass that can be mistaken for being worked (Blume 2000, Clark 1981). But even if the utmost care is taken during excavation, forces outside of archaeologists' control can produce accidental flakes.

Blume conducted an experiment with only two bottles in an attempt to see if they could produce shards of glass that appear as if they were culturally flaked (1981). Their attempts at damaging, and then retrieving, the glass involved the simulation of the "effects of plowing, disking, and later excavation by placing pieces of two broken beer bottles – one Irish and one Danish – in a soil bed from which all other artifacts had been removed by sifting the soil. The bed was then shoveled, hoed, and raked repeatedly over the course of several hours. Finally, the broken glass was removed by sifting" (Blume 1981, 254).

There are issues with Blume's experiment. Perhaps the most obvious is the sample size. Using only two bottles does not provide a large sample to examine. The second problem is the analysis of the bottles. The statement of the two bottles being "one Irish and one Danish" is more than likely a description of the alcohol they originally held, and not the origin of the actual glass bottles.

As expected, glass that is simply damaged accidentally can appear to have been culturally flaked. With this potential problem, Blume also suggests a solution. The presence, or absence, of patina can be a vital indicator as to the age of the flakes on the glass. But this indicator is not absolute. It is very likely that old damage could have occurred and produced accidental flakes.

Quantitative approach and its problems

Perhaps the best method of identification, though, is not something quantitative. As Cooper and Bowdler said of flaked glass artifacts, "acceptance of these specimens appears to be entirely subjective" (1998, 75). A quantitative approach to flakes, retouching and tool shape simply cannot replace the knowledge of what a traditional glass tool from the respective region would appear to be.

Despite these problems, many have attempted to set a standard on how knapped glass appears (Boot 1987, Clark 1981, Niemoeller and Guse 1999). These attempts range from how the worked edge appears after use-wear, to how long the flake scars are on glass when it has been culturally knapped, as opposed to accidental damage.

Perhaps one study is not satisfactory for the determination of whether or not a shard of glass is actually deliberately flaked. There are many factors to consider, the most basic being colour. A preference towards dark green to black coloured bottles for example (Allen & Jones 1980, Kimura 2006, Whitehead 2009). Also, the portion of the bottle can potentially be important. It has been

noted in several studies that a preference towards the thick parts, particularly the base or heel (Fig. 1), of the bottle is common (Allen & Jones 1980, Blume 2000, Cooper & Bowdler 1998, Flexner & Morgan 2013, Ulm et al 1999, Wilkie 1996).

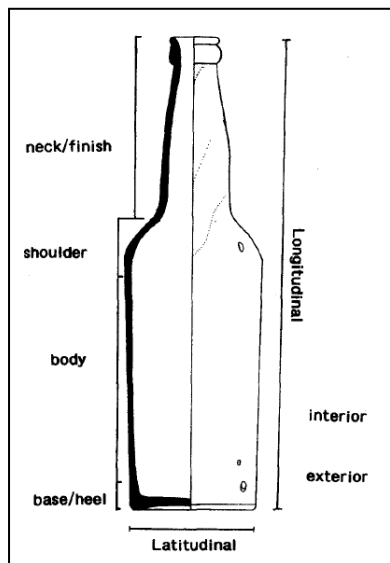


Figure 1. Portions of a bottle (Wilkie 1996, 40).

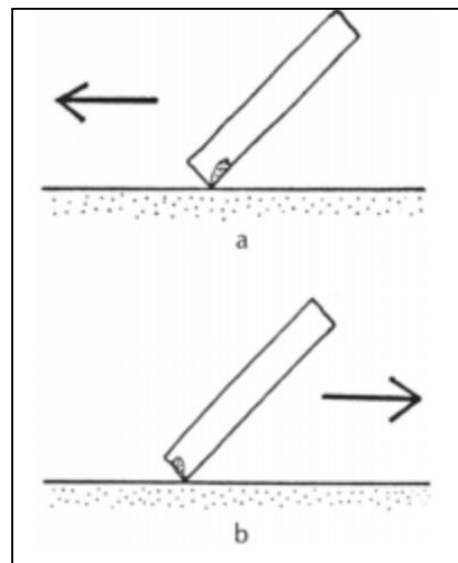


Figure 2. Use-wear damage on face opposite direction of the force being applied (Clark 1981, 33).

More advanced analysis of the glass artifacts can also reveal whether it has been culturally flaked or if it is accidental. Assessment of glass flakes “patterning consisted of a cluster of overlapping, shallow, scalar scars along one edge of a side” (Clark 1981, 32). The angle of the flakes has also been noted as possibly being significant to glass flakes, particularly 60 to 90 degrees (Cooper & Bowdler 1998, Whitehead 2009). The length of the flake scars also potentially serve as signifiers of culturally flaked glass. Niemoeller and Guse (1999) suggest a mean flake scar was 3.8mm, a median of 2mm and mode of 2mm.

The angle of the glass flakes could also signify potential uses for the glass tool. Wilkie states “... whittling activities are usually associated with acute angles, whereas planing is usually more associated with more obtuse edge angles” (1996, 42). Approaching analysis from this direction could give a much deeper understanding of what the tool was truly used for.

Directionality of the use wear has also been examined in previous studies (Clark 1981). Clark observed that use-wear on glass tools occur on the side opposing the force (Fig. 2). With this observation in mind, it may aid in further examination of Wilkie’s assessment of different angles of glass tools being used for cutting or planing.

Knapped glass in Europe

Flaking glass was not a tradition practiced only by indigenous populations of the Americas. There is evidence of tools being made in England as early as ca. 1700 CE (Whitehead 2009, 28-30). A

worked flake of glass from an onion bottle made of black glass was found in south-central England in what appears to have been a hunting camp. Whitehead speculates that the use of glass as a tool may have been a sign of marginalised people, meaning people on the outside, looking in on mainstream society, possibly due to financial, spatial or social factors.

As further evidence for tools made of glass in Europe, Whitehead discusses a piece of window glass potentially dating to ca. 200 CE (Whitehead 2009, 28-30). This glass would have been used as a tool during the Early Romano-British period. Perhaps the largest indicator of this fragment actually having been used as a tool, and not simply accidentally broken by some unknown forces over the past eighteen hundred years, is the presence of grinding on the edge of the glass directly opposite of the flaking. This grinding dulled the edges of the glass and facilitated the placing of a finger on this portion of the tool.

When Europeans began migrating to the United States, they brought this knowledge of knapping with them as discussed above. The colonisers “were making and repairing gunflints and fire flints into the 19th century, and [they] would have had the knowledge to create an expedient scraper or cutting edge on a piece of chert or glass” (Beaudoin 2013, 76). Having knowledge such as this would prove helpful when in need of a quick tool. This knowledge was a tool the Euro-Americans had in their belt for when it was necessary, but is widely overlooked due to lithic/glass knapping being examined primarily as an indigenous technology.

Knapped glass in Arizona and U.S.

Arizona has been a home to many Native American tribes throughout prehistory, history and into the present. The occurrence of knapped glass is a certainty at many sites. Despite this fact though, the presence of knapped glass in literature of the region is sparse at best (Ayers *et al.* 1994, Flexner & Morgan 2013).

Glass working is present at the Indian School in Phoenix, Arizona (Flexner & Morgan 2013, Lindauer 1998). It is possible that the use of glass, and also ceramics at this particular site, was an attempt at maintaining a cultural identity while being forced to assimilate to a Euro-American culture. A similar case has been noted at the colonial Native American boarding school set up in Williamsburg, Virginia, which also had flaked glass tools found in connection with the students (Seurattan 2011). This small resistance is proof that while appearing to be absorbed into the schools systems set up by the United States government for Native Americans, the students were still practicing and maintaining their culture in a more subtle way.

Also found at the Indian School in Phoenix, Arizona are pot sherds (Lindauer 1998), but pot-making is not a taught practice at the school. This serves as further proof that the Native American students are actively resisting Euro-American culture being forced upon them whilst studying and living at the boarding schools.

Knapped glass has been identified in archaeological contexts in other regions of the United States. For example, Wilkie's (1996) examination of flaked glass in African-American communities of Louisiana is well known. The primary use noted in the article is woodworking, with glass being used as an expedient tool and not curated. Wilkie states that knapped glass tools "may, in fact, represent tools of convenience rather than forethought" (1996, 44). This is similar to the utilitarian use of worked glass by the Euro-American settlers as mentioned previously in the article.

Wilkie also states that glass knapping may have been a "specialized skill note shared by the entire [African American] tenant population" (1996, 45) at her examined site of Oakley Plantation in Louisiana. This sheds new light on the practice, possibly for all cultures and not just the African Americans living in antebellum and postbellum Oakley Plantation. Despite this specialisation's usefulness, as Wilkie surmises, it was soon to die out with the advent of a more widely available blade, which could serve as both a tool for cutting and scrapping.

The early American frontier has also shown evidence of knapped glass. Several sites in Colorado also had knapped glass artifacts present (Nelson *et al.* 2008). But these particular artifacts may be different from the utilitarian, or cultural ways previously discussed. The contexts that the artifacts were found in may suggest that some of these tools were made for religious purposes. A "[r]eligious sect active in New Mexico and Colorado", known as the Penitentes, was known to use lithics and flaked glass as an integral part of some of their ceremonies. Despite this being a possibility, the artifacts are still classified as "Native American/Hispanic", due to the lack of conclusive evidence. This all being said, Hispanics in Colorado did also use glass tools in an expedient fashion as well.

Conclusions

The identification of glass tools is no easy task. There are many different attributes to consider when determining if a piece of glass has been culturally flaked, or whether it merely reflects the result of fortuitous circumstances.

Glass knapping can be simply a tool, as seen in Europe and with Euro-American colonisers. This is also seen in African-American communities. Glass is an abundant and easily workable material, so this activity would only take a small amount of training and practice to gain a working understanding of how the tools are made.

However, knapped glass can have a much deeper cultural or religious meaning. The Native American students at the Indian School in Phoenix, Arizona practiced glass flaking as a way of maintaining culture in a Euro-American structured setting. Penitentes also used knapped glass as part of their religious ceremonies in the Southwest.

Perhaps the state of the studies of knapped glass is best summarized in this statement about the studies presently being undertaken in Canada:

“The issue here is determining how these varied dispositions differentially engage with the material world and become expressed in the archaeological record. For example, chipped glass could be indicative of Aboriginal dispositions, but framing it as such without deconstructing why this association is made frames the discourse in a manner that minimizes other possibilities. Could chipped glass also be a disposition of a poor European man, or even a woman or child? Alternatively, could chipped glass be the simple result of the functional necessity of the time that may be divorced from any broader dispositions? Why should our preconceptions limit our interpretations without a reflexive evaluation?” (Beaudoin 2013, 36).

Flaked glass is an uncommon artifact to encounter, but can be more easily identified with some research and knowledge of the traditions underpinning the local area. But without the knowledge of who was using the tool, and what the knapped glass meant to them, the tool is useless to archaeologists today.

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The implications of imposing modern concepts of the body and the person onto the past

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In the past several decades, influenced by anthropology, feminism, and phenomenology, personhood and the body have been under scrutiny in archaeology. While it appears inconceivable that an archaeologist could unquestioningly impose their own concepts of the body and the person onto people of the past, doing so still needs to be challenged. Cartesian dualisms and the nature-culture divide, although recently criticised, persist in archaeological methods. The biological, natural body is considered a constant throughout time and geography, a notion supported by the success of Western science. It is the cultural body that is perceived as fluid. It is undeniable that humans have a shared experience through their bodies: there are limits to the extent by which the physical body may be altered and bodies both in the past and the present operate under certain confines. However, conceptions of the body and the person vary geographically, culturally, and temporally. Within this paper I intend to consider how archaeology has responded to recent interest in conceptions of the body and the person. By focusing on anthropology and ontology, I aim to demonstrate that it is inadvisable to prescribe our current Western understandings onto the past, as it creates myopic and even culturally insensitive understandings. Similarities between concepts may help to understand difference, but they should not be essentialised. There is no universal concept of the body and the person in the present, so it would be inadvisable to consider there to be one mirroring our own in the past.

Traditional archaeology of the twentieth century paid little attention to conceptions of the body and the person (Thomas 2005, 186). Culture historic archaeology reduced factors of identity, such as gender and class, to mere ethnographic variables that could be overlooked (Thomas 2004, 120) and paid little attention to the individual (Fowler 2004, 4). The reactionary movement that followed in Britain and America, namely Processual Archaeology, pursued universal laws of human culture which failed to recognise contextual identities. People were seen to take on set social roles or personae, which were separate from their social interactions (Fowler 2004, 4). From the late 1970s, influenced by feminist and Marxist approaches, there was a reaction against this totalisation (Thomas 2004, 123). Post-processual Archaeology changed the understanding of culture as something that is socially influenced and diverse, but the concept of the person was bounded in Western individualism (Fowler 2004, 5). The diversity of personhood has only been relatively recently explored in social anthropology (Thomas 2004, 123) and archaeological discussion of embodiment only diversified in the 1990s (Joyce 2005, 140). Phenomenology brought bodily experience to the foreground of archaeology (Tilley 2005, 203). Currently, the

body presents a battleground for archaeological theories, with the relationship between experience, the individual, the body, and personhood dominating much of the debate (Fowler 2000, 109).

While it is good that concepts of identity are now being considered, using archaeology to decipher concepts of the body and the person in the past has limitations. It rests upon the assumption that there is a direct relationship between material remains and social identity (Casella and Fowler 2004, 1). According to Casella and Fowler, archaeologists should be cautious about imposing a single identity upon discovered remains as identities are temporal and relational (2004, 8). As feminism highlighted in the 1970s, an inadequate study of the past can naturalise present social conditions (Geller 2009, 67). From the 1950s to 1980s, many articles advocated a sexual division of labour during the Palaeolithic that implied a singular view of either sex; enterprising males and passive females (Stoczkowski 2002, 113-114). Although the theories could not be proved in the archaeological data, they served to naturalise contemporary Western gender inequalities. To prevent a similar imposition of modern conditions on the past, archaeologists should be open-minded in their approach to ideas surrounding the body and the person.

Our own history of understanding the body demonstrates historical specificity. During the medieval period, the Western body was understood as a microcosm, but by the 18th century the influence of the scientific revolution and industrialisation led to its comparison to a machine, a functional vessel for the soul (Harris and Robb 2013a, 4). Yet Western science reveals a shared truth. Medicines are seen to work effectively on people who do not understand or believe in them. Bodies all function under certain confines, like the need to eat, sleep, and the irreversible nature of death. Working from this evidence, people often assume that though there are different ways of understanding the body, the actual body remains the same (Harris and Robb 2013b, 15-16). This is the basis of the nature-culture dichotomy, a remnant of the Cartesian dualisms that hinder much of archaeological understanding. Western Cartesian dualisms evolved from the work of Descartes, a seventeenth century French philosopher, who elevated mind over the body. His historically situated ideas maintain a false dichotomy between mind and matter, which, according to Meskell, has serious implications for our interpretations of persons in the archaeological past (2000, 14-15).

The Cartesian nature-culture divide is reflected in archaeological methodology (Harris and Robb 2013b, 16). The body is often studied in two contrasting ways; the science-based osteological approaches that focus on skeletal remains, often seen as fixed, universal, and transhistorical; and the recently developed constructivist approach, which regards the body as fluid and culturally specific. A focus on the creation of identity and experiences removes study from physical reality (Sofaer 2006, 25). In contrast, if the physical body is considered the true body, then Western science is promoted as the only culture to know body truth (Harris and Robb 2013b, 16). In

archaeology, the biological body has become synonymous with nature (Sofaer 2006, 51). Western modes of thought hold that there is multiculturalism and mononaturalism (Harris and Robb 2013b, 13). In other words, Western science views many ways of understanding the world but only one reality, often the reality constructed through empirical science. Such concepts leave little room for cultures who understand the body differently to Western science.

Despite the breach between the two modes of studying the body, Sofaer reveals how osteoarchaeology and interpretative archaeology should function symbiotically (2006, 59). Interpretative archaeologists rely on patterns which are hooked onto fixed points, such as age and sex. Therefore, the cultural body is not entirely fluid. The biological body does not conform to ideas of permanence. It is transformable depending on life experiences. Bone modifies depending on various stresses, either through exercise or repeated activities; and changes in the endocrine system can lead to morphological changes in the skeleton (Sofaer 2006, 57). Both cultural and physical bodies change over time, and one cannot separate the physical body from how people understand and live in it (Harris and Robb 2013b, 22). In this respect, the body and the concepts surrounding it cannot be considered transhistorical. The nature-culture divide, complimented by oppositions of stability and fluidity, is overturned. Bodies may have a shared history in their form and constraints, but it is impossible to separate this from their cultural and historical contexts.

Understanding the person is, according to Smith, something that the social sciences are inadequate at doing (2010, 1). Chris Fowler defines the person as “any entity, human or otherwise, which may be conceptualised and treated as a person” (2004, 7). Colloquially, there is little difference between a person and a human being, yet many philosophers would argue that being a person is more than just being a *Homo Sapien*; personhood is not simply biological (Kadlac 2010, 421-422). Human beings are said to be topped up with an unknown additional factor that cannot be found through empirical observation but through the “knowledge we have of ourselves” (Ingold 2000, 89). Western narratives tell of the body’s civilisation, its rise from its state of nature. These ideas rest on the notion of a fixed natural body that exists prior to culture, and the notion of a person separate from it (Harris and Robb 2013a, 2). Again we return to the nature-culture divide that dominates study of the body. It is problematic because there is no pre-culture body, just as there is not pre-nature culture. The two cannot exist in isolation. Modern Western science’s attitude to the person is therefore paradoxical.

For a long time in archaeology, the person was perceived as a bounded individual, a concept which is still often projected across time (Fowler 2000, 115). In agency theory in particular, individuals were considered an important part of studying political economies and social change (Gillespie 2001, 73). Gillespie acknowledges archaeology’s focus on individual actions, often with society and structure featuring as mere backdrops, as reflective of the Western fascination with the individual (2001, 74-75). Personal bedrooms, ownership of consumer goods and birth and

death certificates exemplify how the concept of a bounded individual is constructed within and reinforced by society. But the assumption that the person and body are universally understood as bounded individuals is incorrect, as many ethnographic and anthropological studies have revealed (Fowler 2000, 113-114). Today, social science theories of personhood are centred on dichotomies of holism and the individual (Gillespie 2001, 73). However, Brittain and Harris believe this sliding scale between oppositions to be unhelpful (2010, 585); all societies have aspects of dividual and individual personhood. As Thomas rightly identifies, one cannot be human at all without others (2004, 147). Many aspects of Western identity are relational and dependent on other people. Age, class, and kinship structures are dependent on relationships to make them aspects of identity. One cannot be a parent without a child, a sister or brother without a sibling. The boundaries of individualism can also be seen to be blurred in shared bedrooms between partners, or double grave plots.

In Strathern's study of Highland New Guinea society, *The Gender of the Gift*, Melanesian personhood is proven to be different to that of the Western individual (Fowler 2004, 25). Persons are alterable through relationships which are condensed through networks of gift exchange (Strathern 1988, 221). A person is multiply-authored, and contains components from the whole community (Fowler 2004, 26). This is a type of dividual personhood. Yet there is not merely an opposition between dividual and individual personhood, but many different manifestations of these forms. In the late twentieth century, Busby studied the Marianad fishing community of southern India, arguing that dividuals were more permeable than partible (Fowler 2004, 31). Flows of substance, such as food or money, could generate relations and alter the composition of a person. However, unlike in Melanesia, where one part of a person could be replaced with another; permeable personhood never sees a removal of parts, just an alteration in size and ratio (Fowler 2004, 32). In our current time, there is great variation in modes of personhood that extend beyond the opposition of dividual and individual. Western concepts of the person are insufficient in representing these forms in the present, so how could they represent all forms in the past?

Strathern's study of Melanesian gift exchange and dividuality became incredibly influential in archaeology and the connections made between prehistoric people, objects, and places. In *Fragmentation in Archaeology*, Chapman drew from detailed evidence from the Balkans, identifying the breakages of pots and figurines in Neolithic Europe as a deliberate strategy that symbolised tokens of relationships. He formed an analogy with Melanesia to better understand dividual modes of personhood, identifying the breakages in Neolithic Europe as forming similar concepts of enchainment (Chapman 2000). Most criticism for Chapman's work is centred on the query of deliberate breakages in assemblages. However, Brittain and Harris question the link between fragmentation and enchainment, which is often taken for granted by archaeologists. They reveal that in anthropology the fragmentation of objects is not immediately associated with enchainment. Kula objects, for example, that objects grow in size as they acquire biographies,

rather than fragmenting (Harris and Robb 2010, 585). While this reveals the problems in assuming similarities between past and present concepts, anthropological works have evidently opened new avenues of interpretation.

In the West, non-humans are steadfastly understood as being different to people, despite the fact that being a person is considered to be something more than being a human (Ingold 2000, 90). The Cartesian dualism of mind opposed to nature places animals in the nature category. Although animals can be seen as possessing characteristics of a person, considering the naming and treatment of pets, it is clear that they are something different. Humanity is seen to have rubbed off on them, and they are locked in a state of perpetual childhood (Ingold 2000, 91). However, not all societies share the concept of a nature culture divide, and being a person is not limited to *Homo Sapiens*. There are many ethnographic accounts of animistic practices which challenge Western essentialist approaches to concepts of the body and the person (Harris and Robb 2012, 668). In the Ojibwa community, a Native American First Nations group, there is no physical barrier between mind and nature (Ingold 2000, 103). People come in a variety of forms, including animals and meteorological events. The animals that are persons are not mimicking humanity, but people in their own right (Ingold 2000, 91-92). Western concepts of the person does not allow for this form of personhood. For many years, the Ojibwa concept of the person would have been understood as a belief or an untruth (Harris and Robb 2012, 668). However, a respect for alterity demands that the other is allowed to be itself (Thomas 2004, 147) and from the 1990s, a move was made that translated other accounts of the true body as due to ontological difference (Harris and Robb 2012, 668). Western concepts of the body and the person are part of a different ontology. Enforcing our beliefs onto the Ojibwa community undermines their concepts of the person.

Harris and Robb express how accepting ontological differences creates the danger of dichotomising the gap between Western and non-Western modes of thought (2012, 668), and one may question how either category could communicate with each other. By prioritising perspective, the material world is side-lined (Harris and Robb 2012, 676). Everyone, bodies and persons, exist in a shared world (Alberti *et al.* 2011, 907). The body and the person are multimodal in every society, and multiple perspectives should be acknowledged and engaged with (Harris and Robb 2012, 669, 676). Nonetheless, to a certain extent similarities between understanding the body should be considered to facilitate comprehension between different groups, in both the present and the past. Despite the limitations of Chapman's work, the development of new approaches to the European Neolithic was prompted by anthropological studies of contemporary personhood in Melanesia. The Jesuit missionaries of the 17th century and Ojibwa tribe, while possessing different ontologies of personhood, had a shared knowledge of the body as a centre for display. As the Ojibwa donned the bear suit, the inner beariness was accessed. The Jesuit's general attire conveyed and established his social position of authority (Harris and Robb 2012, 673). Similarities should be recognised, but not assumed.

To allocate contemporary Western concepts as a universal, transhistorical understanding of the body and the person is an inherently obtuse reading of the past, blinkered to difference. While there is no denying that people in the present and the past have a degree of shared experience through physical bodies and the material world, concepts of the person and the body manifest themselves in hugely different ways. The acceptance of ontologies is crucial to working towards accepting different body worlds, provided that the accentuation of difference does not hinder comprehension. Interdisciplinary approaches, such as the use of anthropological study, allow archaeologists to comprehend people in the past and in the present. Within the same society there may be different ways of knowing and understanding ourselves, as seen in the contradictions of Western notions of individualism. That being said, this essay has shown how acknowledging similarities may provide new avenues of understanding. To a certain extent therefore, it is necessary to acknowledge parallels within notions of the body and the person. Nevertheless, essentialist views should be avoided. They undermine different cultures and naturalise current social conditions. We cannot possibly assume that our ideas about the body and the person are the same as those of people in the past. However, we can use our concepts, and the concepts of our contemporaries, to provide a better way of comprehending past ideas about the body and the person.

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An Index for Masculinity: The Role of the Female Figure on Attic Painted Pottery

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The analysis of decorated pottery is an inherently problematic field: the scenes on Attic figured ware regularly incorporate allegory and symbolism, and thus their imagery can rarely be considered a direct reflection of 'real' life. Such an investigation arguably grows even more difficult when we focus in particular on the representation of women and the figurative roles they assume in vase decoration. We are constantly reminded that vase imagery was constructed by a male artist and most often for the male gaze – the principal use of figured vase ware during the Late Archaic and Classical periods was in the symposium, a fundamentally male affair. Thus the predominance of the male citizen underpins many of the ways in which the female figure was both portrayed and used on painted pottery. However, it is possible to harness these in-built distortions and use the decoration on Attic vases as a reflection of male citizenship during the era of Athenian democracy. If the vase, as a medium of social exchange and the reinforcement of cultural identity, can be considered to transmit the ideas and agendas of Athenian society to its viewer – a viewer who is predominantly male – then the inclusion of women in vase painting must contribute something to how the male citizen identified himself. Indeed the female figure operates, as will be illustrated, as a marker of sorts by which the various messages on vases are constructed, measured or reinforced. This concept is validated by the fact that women did not have full citizenship in Athenian society: the prevailing sense of indeterminacy surrounding the status of women is not only reflected in contemporary vase painting but comprises an intrinsic part of its visual dialogue. This investigation will demonstrate how the female figure came to be an abstraction, its depictions varying depending on context and style but ultimately signposting the same mechanism at work: the communication of what it is to be a male member of Athenian society and the issues in which this membership is steeped.



Figure 1. Underside of a drinking cup showing women with disembodied phalli (possibly *olisboi*). (Kilmer 1993 241; Keuls 1993 83, 443).

In many instances, erotic imagery on symposiac vases highlights an underlying anxiety surrounding male sexuality and the resultant socio-political authority of the male in Athenian society. A fragment (Fig.1) depicts three nude women amusing themselves in various ways with *olisboi* (leather dildos) (Kilmer 1993, 241). Kilmer concludes that this scene of companionable masturbation must obviously be lesbian in theme (Kilmer 1993, 30). However, he points out the exaggerated size and graphic anatomy of the phalli – features which are almost entirely

without any human counterpart in Attic vase decoration (Kilmer 1993, 30). Therefore the *olisboi* represent the male form having been reduced to its essence and hyper-realised. Their indiscreet visuality conveys an ideal, but one that is hyperbolic, animalistic and primitive. The women act independently and collectively, indicating that this scene represents an inversion of contemporary social expectations. Altogether, the scene is one of women functioning without men; or at least, satisfying fundamental needs and desires without the contribution of a male citizen himself. In this way, the scene does not have to be interpreted as lesbian nor indeed are the phalli necessarily *olisboi*; here, the vital part of man that is required to perpetuate society has been isolated and the women put in an active role. Thus anxieties surrounding male sexuality, 'wild' female desire (Stansbury-O'Donnell 2011, 181), and the need for man to retain dominance are encapsulated in this scene. The picture can almost be considered an inversion of the symposium, in that it is exclusively female, sociable, and that, having been objectified and enslaved, the opposite sex provides sexual gratification. The stark erroneousness of this scene provided an imperative for the subjugation of women and, in doing so, served to strengthen contemporary social conventions surrounding male citizenship.

The perpetual Athenian struggle to reconcile a fundamental mistrust of women, evident on vases such as this, with the undeniable fact that society depended upon them was enshrined in their culture. In Euripides' *Medea*, the character Jason expresses an outright desire for masculine independence of women: "Mortal men ought to produce children from somewhere else, and there ought not to be a female race; then there would be no misfortune for men..." (Euripides *Medea* 573-75; trans. Mossman 2011, 133). Jason's words, together with the potent abnormality conveyed in the tableau on the *olisboi* pot, recall a myth central to Athenian society and the Athenian construction of the female. This was the Athenian myth of autochthony, in which Erichthonios, the legendary King of Athens, was born after the sperm of Hephaistos was spilled on the ground when Athena rejected the advances of the blacksmith god. This myth of the founding of Athens essentially disavows women, as a race, of the biological role of motherhood and powerfully illustrates that women were perpetually considered an entity external to the *polis*. However, the fact of the matter was that men could not – indeed, cannot - reproduce without women. Thus it was the tension between this persistent and seemingly innate desire to undermine female citizenship and the necessity to include women in Athenian culture that gave rise to the sorts of imagery discussed on the *olisboi* pot. Therefore, pottery painted for the male viewer purveyed a 'call to arms' and a duty to assert dominance in the sexual arena; an arena which was inherently tied to the socio-political ideals of contemporary Athenian society. In this way, the female figure not only symbolised a source of tension within the political parameters of Athens, but provided a measure by which the consequences of social disruption were illustrated and the criteria for social and political harmony cemented.

The depiction of violence against women is another way in which the female figure transcended 'realistic' portrayal to become an abstraction by which social tensions were communicated. On a red figure cup from 490 BC (Fig. 2), a series of women are subjected to the forceful desires of a group of men. One woman appears particularly pitiable, forced to her knees as a man, wielding a flute as if to threaten punishment, looms over her and insinuates his desire for fellation (Kilmer 1993, 252). Keuls finds this scene categorically violent (1993, 182). Kilmer by contrast argues that it is not violent at all but merely playful (1993,



Figure 2. Red figure drinking cup, 490 BC, showing a group of men demanding sexual services from women (probably prostitutes) (Keuls 1993, 185, 445). Overlapping feet are circled in red.

118). However, we should not fixate solely upon debates of objectification or the moral treatment of women, especially given that we should always hesitate before superimposing our own modern - and largely irrelevant - values upon ancient society. Besides, such scenes should not be analysed as if they are 'real' reflections of daily life, given the evident tendency for Attic vase ware to deploy its decoration in a highly schematised and allegorical way. In fact, the overly directive and almost excessively masculine behaviour of the men on this cup not only indicates its artificiality, but alludes to the contemplation of broader contemporary affairs.

The continuity of the scene is confirmed by the overlapping feet of the figures (Fig. 2), thus informing us that this depicts a single group activity rather than several individual frames. Therefore the symposium is instantly brought to mind, in turn identifying the men involved as belonging to the upper class. The exaggerated athleticism of the men and their manifest authority - in stark contrast to the rather unflattering, 'flabby' portrayal of the women - render them as hyperbolic archetypes of elite values; in other words, a visual embodiment of how the *kaloikagathoi* identified themselves. It would be too bold to see these men as a mockery of the *kaloikagathoi* (and this would seem illogical since they were the target audience of such a cup) but the scene is certainly a provocative portrayal of their ideals and behaviour. The imagery perhaps serves as a warning, personifying concerns regarding the power and behaviour of the elite in era of fledgling democracy. Tension between oligarchs and democrats was a fundamental feature of the Athenian politics of this era. Plato even went as far as saying "some call it a democracy...but it is in reality government by the elite with the approval of the crowd" (Plato, *Menexenus* 238d1-2; trans. Ryan 1997, 954). This underlying sense of duplicity correlates strongly with the symbolism and violence in this image. In this way, the female figure is perhaps being used to represent the body politic and to conjure fears and warnings surrounding its abuse. On the fragment discussed earlier, the imperative for the subjugation of women indeed became a metaphor for the preservation of social order; where this subjugation fails, the socio-political status quo is also disrupted. Keuls discusses the popular combat between Greeks and Amazons and its exemplification of the Athenian "obsessive fear of women": the Amazons posed a threat to

Greek manhood, justifying male supremacy for the survival of social order (Keuls 1993, 3-4). When discussing instances on vase ware in which Greeks have the upper hand when portrayed fighting Amazons, Keuls notes that the Greek warrior is often shown stabbing the Amazon in the nipple (Figs. 3 and 4). She ascribes this detail to an underlying fear of women and a subsequent need to visually heighten the assault on the feminine (Keuls 1993, 4). Perhaps, if this pot is also designed to stress the need for female suppression, its overt violence could be interpreted in a similar way: as a dramatised illustration of male supremacy and male social reality.



Figure 3. Above. Attic red figure *kantharos* depicting Heracles stabbing an amazon in the breast as she falls – notice the awkwardness of the movement and the unnatural angle created (Von Bothmer 1957, Pl. LXX.4a).

Figure 4. Right. Attic red figure cup showing Achilles stabbing Penthesilea in the breast as she tries to seduce him. The noticeably awkward angle created illustrates the fact that this movement cannot simply be attributed to the melee of battle, supporting Keuls' assertion that such gestures were incorporated into the scheme to make a visual statement (Keuls 1993, 49).



Stewart's analysis of the 'erotic pursuit' – another motif which frequently appeared on Attic vases – provides further evidence for the notion that the female figure was employed on pottery for socio-political and didactic purposes. He argues that such scenes explored rites of passage – that of marriage, in particular (Stewart 1995, 83). The 'erotic pursuit', if we accept Stewart's interpretation, is highly relatable therefore to the Athenian *polis* context and the social expectations that comprised one's citizenship. On an Attic red figure *oinochoe* (Figs. 5a and 5b) from 450-400BC, a young man, clutching spears and pointing, runs after a young woman. She looks over her shoulder at him, her arms raised. As is characteristic of these scenes, the victim is dressed and there is no evidence of arousal on the part of the pursuer (Stewart 1995, 74). It is difficult to tell whether or not these snapshots are violent or playful; does the girl raise her arms in fear, or to tease? The eye-contact of the two protagonists and the fact that we simply do not know what, exactly, the end result of this scene is going to be (rape, marriage or consensual intercourse) altogether marks the image as one of tension. Stewart interprets this inherent tension as an articulation of the anxiety surrounding marriage from the perspective of young men. In reality, a young girl would have been married off to a much older man, but the fact that it is always a young boy pursuing the girl in these scenes actually validates Stewart's idea: for it would indeed have been a young man, on the cusp of adulthood, who would have had concerns

about what society expected from him once he himself became a husband, and thus a young man who would have been able to identify with the youth on this vase.



Figure 5a. Left. Red figure *oinochoe* depicting an 'erotic pursuit', 450-400 BC (The Beazley Online Pottery Database, No. 215979).

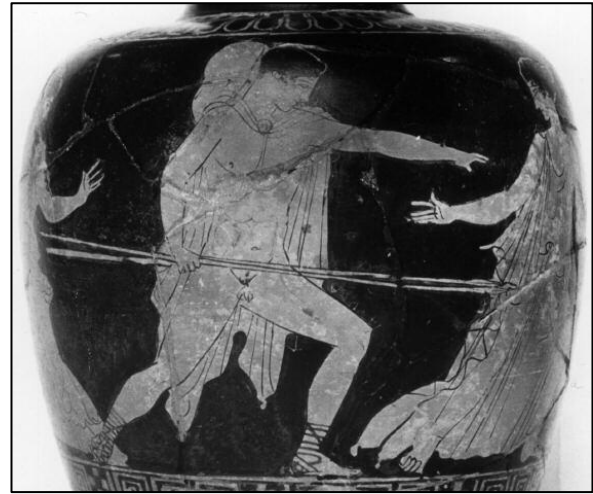


Figure 5b. Right. Red figure *oinochoe* depicting an 'erotic pursuit', 450-400 BC (The Beazley Online Pottery Database, No. 215979).

The fleeing female on the *oinochoe* allies with the idea that women need to be tamed by men: the spears wielded by the youth connote the phallus and the sexual dominance expected of a male citizen; the young man's chasing of the girl reflects the need to assert this dominance over her and in his household. The scene's withholding of its end result also supports Stewart's reading, as it discloses a preoccupation with the process of the events displayed on the vase, and thus in the rites of passage themselves, rather than with the outcome (which should perhaps be considered inevitable, if the male has indeed fulfilled his social duty). As we have already seen elsewhere, vase decoration regularly provided an imperative for male social participation and it achieved this through the presentation of exaggerated and fictitious scenarios in which the social norm has been transposed; the 'erotic pursuit', in which the male has to both literally and metaphorically gain control of the female, certainly fits in with the wider scheme of this visual dialogue. Depicting the rite of passage as it unfolds leaves room for the threat of what would happen if social expectations were not fulfilled: the man, undermined by the woman, would become *achreios*, worthless.

Stewart points out that these ephebic pursuits were most popular between 450-425BC (the heroic and the divine types pervaded 500-475 and 475-450BC respectively) and, critically, were the final subset of pursuit before the scene went out of fashion (Stewart 1995, 74). In this way, we can see that the erotic pursuit developed from something occupied with mythology during the Archaic period to culminate in something more socio-politically oriented in the Classical period. The use of an *ephebe*, as opposed to Theseus or Apollo, situated an actual citizen in the scene, making it

more relatable to the Athenian viewer. This adds credibility to the above notion that, as society became more politicised, so did the use of imagery on vases. The scene discussed above (Figs. 5a and 5b) was found on an *oinochoe*, one of many vessels used in connection with wine. *Oinochoai* were probably used in Athens during the *Anthesteria*, one of the four Athenian festivals held in honour of Dionysus (The Beazley Archive, 2012). The distinctively Athenian character of this ritual context, as well as its scope for public display and the reinforcement of Athenian social identity, bestows further significance on the decision to paint such a scene upon this vase. The dissemination of this imagery in such a highly socio-political context ratifies the fundamentally Athenian cultural archaeology of the 'erotic pursuit' and the messages it is likely to have transmitted.

Overall, the symposium was emblematic of the ideals of the elite male viewer and the nature of the society in which he existed. The symposium must be regarded as a homo-social environment, itself reinforcing the expectations and relationships of upper class men in Archaic and Classical society. Thus vases used in this context were instruments in its ideological aims. But one wonders how their dialogue was meant to be received by the female viewer. These images, so profoundly suggestive of male citizenship, were perhaps intended to speak to women too: scenes of submission and courtship must surely have reinforced what was expected of wives and daughters. However, any woman who viewed these images on account of her being present at a symposium was most likely to have been of lower class, and only there to satisfy the needs of the male participants; respectable wives and daughters were kept largely isolated in the *gynaikeion*, and probably rarely exposed to such imagery (Blundell 1995, 139). But even imagery which must have been constructed with a female viewer in mind only serves to reiterate the inevitability of the male perspective. A *pyxis*, which would have held perfume or oils, frequently featured scenes of abduction (Fig.6) (Stansbury-O'Donnell 2011, 189). They were often given as wedding gifts (Stansbury-O'Donnell 2011, 189) and thus a woman's receipt of a *pyxis* which conveyed marriage as abduction only anticipated her ensuing subjugation by her husband. Even *epinetra*, unlikely to have been both purchased and used by men (Stansbury-O'Donnell 2011, 189), would have been painted by male artists and regularly featured symposiac scenes similar to those already discussed as well as amazons – mythological figures which were threateningly emblematic of the consequences of allowing the female free rein – being killed by Greeks (The Beazley Archive, 2012).

Therefore the female figure, as a motif of painted pottery, facilitated the exploration and validation of Athenian civic values. These civic values themselves were inherently configured according to the male perspective and male socio-political

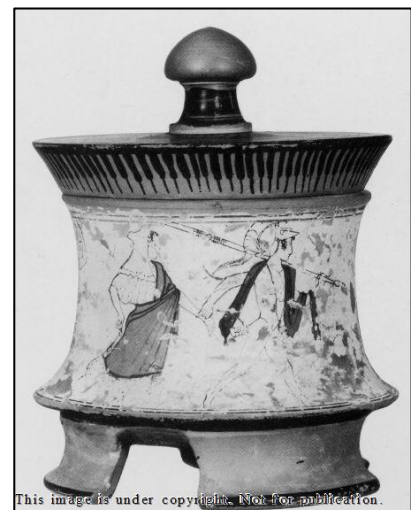


Figure 6. A *pyxis* decorated with a scene of a woman being abducted by a man – probably as a 'precursor' to marriage (The Beazley Online Pottery Database, No. 30434).

dominance in Athenian culture. The ambiguity surrounding the female figure and her role in society was both reflected and exploited in art, and the 'unruly' woman was frequently a byword for the necessity of male authority. Her problematic nature and unresolved incorporation into the *polis* enabled her to assume the qualities of an abstraction, through which an artist could allude to contemporary affairs and ideology. By her antithetic nature, the female figure performed the very principles of citizenship, most commonly through a language of negation. Ultimately, however, whether she illustrated good citizenship through passive subjugation or actively denoted bad citizenship by being out of control, the female figure was a tool in the Athenian artistic discourse emblazoned upon contemporary pottery – pottery which was in turn primarily used by the male participants of the fundamentally male symposium. She was a paradigm for male social education and an index according to which the expectations and criteria of Athenian male identity were reinforced.

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