THE POST HOLE

Archaeologists, propaganda and the military

Can Django speak? New archaeologies of slavery

Misconceptions of Neanderthals

Acknowledgements

Front cover: *The Mausoleum of Bes, Az Zawiyah, Libya* (Image Copyright: Artur Bergman)

Arch of Roman emperor Lucius Septimius Severus in Leptis Magna, Libya (Image Copyright: Luca Galuzzi)

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Editorial: An archaeology of choice

The need to make choices occurs frequently within the field of archaeology, especially when deciding what archaeological information can tell you about the past and how it should be treated in the present.

Gemma Smith critiques the involvement that archaeologists have had in the recent political conflicts across Libya. Smith suggests that the field of archaeology in this country has been rather too involved with the conflicts, to the detriment of preserving vulnerable sites of archaeological importance. Smith raises a complex question of whether archaeologists should maintain their impartiality to events such as those in the Arab Spring. It is a complex question, as she correctly explains, because it highlights the struggle between whether archaeologists are stewards of material heritage or people with their own opinions on the heritage of a country which many protesters seem to be equally trying to preserve, albeit in different ways. Whatever people's opinions are on this question, I hope, as the author suggests, that the discipline reviews it before potentially similar situations occur in the future.

Arnaud Lambert provides us with another excellent re-interpretation of the meaning of particular Mesoamerican cave art, this time whether art in Oxtotitlán Cave (Guerrero, Mexico) is a place-sign for the nearby archaeological site of Cerro Quiotepec. I like Lambert's use of comparison with possibly contextually associated mobiliary art - Middle Formative period greenstone objects - as it seems to aid his re-interpretation of the cave art of Oxtotitlán Cave. I hope Lambert's work will encourage further interpretations from people of the possible meanings behind these features.

Izaak Wilson poses a similarly difficult question of whether narratives of slavery in archaeology and popular culture, such as in the new film *Django Unchained*, justly account the agendas and life histories of slaves as much as other more socio-politically advantaged people in pre-revolution America. I think most people will now agree that archaeology cannot offer us a complete and accurate account of the past encompassing all people's agendas and ideologies. Rather, the question which Wilson asks is whether our perspective on the past can be altered to consider different elements of pre-revolution slavery in turn. Wilson is perhaps correct to suggest that how slavery is portrayed to people today should be considered in more variable and nuanced ways than simply a question of the balance between traditional slave and non-slave perspectives.

Jennifer Borrett gives us an overview of some of the key changes in the ways that Neanderthals have been studied and interpreted by archaeologists and people in related (and not so related) academic disciplines over the last 150 years. Borrett justifies how the study of Neanderthals has moved on a long way since its origins in the mid-19th century, though it is now swinging between alternative areas of theory. I would agree with Borrett that this current swinging between different theories might not matter too much as it is probably a sign or a cause of the study of Neanderthals continuing to progress and refine. We must

however remain cautious that constantly changing paradigms may be making our understanding of Neanderthals more complex than necessary, even today.

Julian Richards provides us with an overview of the research which the University of York is currently undertaking on the well-known Viking camp site of Torksey (Lincolnshire, England). Torksey is believed to have been an important burh in the Early Medieval period, with a series of fundamental changes to its character over a long period. Consequently, the diverse range of material culture at the site has offered an ideal opportunity for undergraduate archaeology students from the university to learn fieldwalking skills. One student, **Daria Wiercigroch**, explains the value of this experience on her own knowledge and appreciation of the past.

We hope you enjoy reading this eclectic issue of *The Post Hole*. The next issue is due for release in less than a month. If you like what you read here and would like to contribute your own archaeological research or ideas, please contact **Alison Tuffnell** at submissions@theposthole.org. For the latest news about *The Post Hole*, including Issue 28, follow us on **Facebook** and **Twitter** (see back cover).

Best wishes,

David Altoft

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Editorial: *University of York students becoming familiar with artefacts* (Image Copyright: Julian D. Richards)

Archaeologists, propaganda and the military: Libya's cultural heritage and the role of archaeologists in a political crisis

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The political uprisings of the Arab Spring from 2010 through to the present have seen the involvement of archaeologists and academics within the role of heritage management during political crises. However, with the pressure applied from Western nations and organisations, these academics have become embedded in a military-archaeology complex which needs serious critique in order to retain the integrity and neutrality of the discipline. Using Libya as the central case study, this article aims to highlight the issues surrounding the work of archaeologists in military situations, including the compiling of no-strike lists and the potential use of archaeological sites in military operations and political propaganda. Furthermore, the role of archaeologists in supporting potentially illegal and immoral military interventions is examined.

Western economic and political ideologies have continued to remain dominant globally without the direct colonial presence of the 19th century (Hamilakis 2009). The last decade has seen the West apply increasing pressure and assert its hegemony across the globe; particularly in the Middle East for its economic and political potential. Whilst the roles of archaeologists in this neo-colonist world have been more frequently critiqued recently (c.f. Hamilakis 2009), the role of the embedded archaeologist involved within the military-archaeology complex remains to be seriously evaluated. This has been demonstrated recently by the involvement of heritage specialists and archaeologists working with the military in the recent conflict in Libya.

Archaeologists believe they remain neutral and have the best intentions of fulfilling their roles as stewards of material culture and heritage; many believe some action is better than none in the face of war, demonstrated in previous conflicts such as that in Iraq (Stone 2005). However, by maintaining this belief, archaeologists are ignoring the wider political and ethical issues surrounding conflict and the militarisation of archaeology. To avoid critiquing their position would be to ignore the humanitarian issues which are part of conflict and military intervention and would jeopardise their roles as academics and the discipline's integrity.

First, we must consider the evidence for a neo-colonialist and imperialist ideology as a result of the impact of globalisation and the political and economic hegemony imposed by the West (particularly the USA). Several studies in recent years have focussed on this as a result of the rise of "indigenous archaeologies",

claims for cultural restitution and the repatriation of human remains (see for examples, Bahn 1984; Greenfield 1986; Gareth Jones & Harris 1998; Bauer et. al. 2007). There is evidently an increasing concern with the way in which archaeology is used and carried out under neo-colonialist ideologies and to support the indirect claims for superiority by Western nations (cf. Gosden 2001; Pollock 2003, 2005; Hamilakis 2003, 2004, 2009, 2012a; Given, 2004, 4).

What is fascinating, however, is that whilst there has been increasing concern for the protection of cultural heritage in military conflicts, there have been a very small number of archaeologists who have begun to critique the role of heritage specialists and the discipline in military situations. This is particularly of concern when one considers the continuing political unrest in the Middle East, and Western pressure placed upon countries as a result; a combination which has, in turn, accounted for the appearance of the military-archaeology complex (Hamilakis 2009).

In this particular case, the conflict in Libya will provide the key demonstration of the role archaeology plays within the military in terms of propaganda, rhetoric, heritage management and the press. However, other cases such as Iraq and Afghanistan should be kept in mind as all provide shocking similarities between the ways in which archaeologists deal with these situations.

The ethical implications of archaeological practice are more regularly discussed today. However, often our perception of the role of archaeologists as 'stewards of material culture' and the archaeological record itself obscures the way in which archaeologists view the political situations in which they work. In the case of imminent or possible military interventions, the immediate priority of heritage specialists and archaeologists has become the compilation of a no-strike list. The first of its kind was seen in Iraq (Stone 2005; Emberling 2008, 449). These involve an assessment of archaeological sites, and prioritising those which are the most important and require protection in the event of air strikes or military operations. They are then passed on to the military and are intended to be used in strategic and operations planning in order to preserve the sites on that list.

Whilst on the surface no-strike lists seem like the best option for archaeologists, as they ensure the protection of at least some important cultural heritage, often the ethical implications and underlying connotations are overlooked. The prioritisation of particular sites implies that archaeological deposits, and therefore cultural heritage, can be placed into a hierarchy.

By producing such a hierarchy, specific cultures or histories may be either promoted or discarded, and implies the dominance of certain cultures at the expense of others. These no-strike lists are often compiled to protect sites of importance to 'humanity'- but what we perceive as 'humanity's' cultural heritage is often a Western ideal, not that of other cultures (and particularly those of indigenous populations). By imposing these ideals as superior to other cultures, those in the Western world get to decide which archaeological sites are of importance.

The International Committee of the Blue Shield, a non-governmental organisation which aims to protect cultural property (Cole 2008; ANCBS n.d), sent a team to Libya to assess the potential damage as a result of UN intervention to cultural sites. This was in association with the International Military Cultural Resources Work Group (IMCRG). The team was comprised of individuals from other countries and the leading expert was Karl von Habsburg (an Austrian). Only one member was Libyan, and he had a specific interest in Classical archaeology - thus, in combination with an entirely Western team, the prioritising of Classical World Heritage sites was prominent; even the prehistoric rock art at Tadrart Acacus is not mentioned in the reports, despite it being a World Heritage Site (ANCBS and IMCRG 2011a; ANCBS and IMCRG 2011b; UNESCO 2012). Other archaeological sites, such as Zuwarah, Germa, and Mesak Settafet are also ignored in the reports.

It is also worth noting that some members of the team have military backgrounds – highlighting explicitly the military-archaeology complex. Clearly, the ethical implications of no-strike lists are overlooked during the compilation of such hierarchies; their production implies the insignificance of certain cultures for the history of humanity. It can also allow the appropriation of material culture by the West; not only implying that culture can be "owned", but there are also connotations of superiority and racism underlying these claims. A similar case to Libya can be seen with the appropriation of Mesopotamian material during the Iraq conflict (see Pollock 2005). In Libya, however, Classical archaeological sites such as Leptis Magna are appropriated as representative of 'humanities' heritage.

Another ethical dilemma for archaeologists, highlighted by the Libyan conflict, is the use of culture for propaganda purposes by the military. The UN, NATO and the rebel forces have particularly been the primary organisations using archaeological heritage in order to appear heroic and benevolent (Butler 2011a; Enserink 2011; Harding 2011). Furthermore, archaeologists themselves have been known to take a similar viewpoint, whether intentionally or not, and often those involved in the military-archaeology complex adopt the rhetoric of the regime (Hamilakis 2004). This portrayal of the military to the public uses archaeological material and sites, often depicting them as neglected or targeted by the opposing regime. Butler's (2011b) article offers just one of many examples of this, claiming:

> "Research into and conservation of the country's rich cultural heritage could expand in the wake of this year's revolution, after *decades of neglect by the Gaddafi regime*" (Butler 2011b, emphasis added).

NATO (2012) has also used rhetoric specifically for this purpose:

> "During the conflict in Libya there were allegations that pro-[G]adhafi troops and missiles were being hidden in the ancient city of Leptis Magna and that *Gaddafi was using it as an archaeological shield*" (NATO 2012, emphasis added).

Others have taken the stance of portraying the intervening forces as 'rescuing' the archaeology from conflict and saving it from destruction, or by posing as the forces which enabled the revival in archaeological

research. Indeed, many reports including those by the Archaeological Institute of America (2011), NATO (2012), and D'Emilio (2011) portray the UN and NATO forces in this way, using phrases such as:

> "Libya's famed ancient Roman sites, including the sprawling seaside ruins of Leptis Magna, were *spared damage by NATO* during the recent airstrikes, says a London-based Libyan archaeologist" (D'Emilio 2011, emphasis added).

Such propaganda has not only been found in press releases or newspaper articles. Imagery has been shown in recent studies to be extremely powerful for the construction of knowledge and identity, particularly of past cultures (Moser 2001; Smiles and Moser 2004). Images have been used to portray such organisations as benevolent and peaceful, rather than as an aggressive military force which intervenes for the political agendas of member nations. For example, amidst a news report entitled 'Protecting Libya's Heritage' on NATO's website is a slideshow which has as its main photo an "Aerial view of Leptis Magna as children run through it" (NATO 2012).

In its most blunt form archaeology is being explicitly used to demilitarise NATO's campaign in Libya, and makes it appear innocent and as the saviour of archaeological heritage (Hamilakis 2012b); after all, Leptis Magna is a World Heritage Site 'belonging' to 'humanity'. Again, Classical sites are focussed upon, this time being used in propaganda where the political agenda of military organisations and its members are using archaeology to further their own cause and supplement the neo-colonialist connotations discussed earlier.

The use of archaeology as propaganda is not unusual. However, in the case of conflict and in particular those occurring in the Middle East in recent years, the ethical and political implications of this have been largely ignored and need urgently addressing. By complying with organisations which use archaeological sites in this manner, archaeologists are inadvertently supporting a regime which is neo-colonialist in nature and imposes Western superiority over other regimes which do not suit their own economic or political agendas. It has also been shown that archaeologists do not only just comply with such organisations, but can adopt the rhetoric of the regime within their own academic work (Hamilakis 2004).

It is widely accepted that the invasion of Iraq was illegal, and motivations for military action were to gain strategic access and control over oil resources (Burkeman and Borger 2003; BBC 2010; Bignell 2011). There is much speculation that this is almost certainly the reason behind intervention in Libya against Gaddafi's regime and that intervention was illegal as it was not backed by Congress (Dreyfuss 2011; International Fellowship of Reconciliation 2011; Kucinich 2011; Macalister 2011). By providing information through working as heritage specialists for the military, and by inadvertently supporting the regime or openly adopting their rhetoric, archaeologists are aiding the cover-up of issues which should be addressed both by the discipline and the general public.

The use of propaganda in the media and through imagery is especially powerful in altering perceptions and the views of the public towards military organisations and conflicts (for examples see Hernan and Chomsky 1988; Kellner 1995 - both summarised in Pollock 2005). The use of media ensures that the government's ideology is portrayed to the mass public, and thus ensures that the majority of people believe in or agree with their policies, in this case with regards to the intervention in Libya. The mounting evidence suggests that invading or intervening forces were not acting out of moral compassion, ethical reasoning or to install democracy, but in order to further their economic and political gains in the Middle East and thus retain and expand their hegemonic hold over the globe.

As such, it is unlikely that archaeologists would be used by organisations such as NATO in order to solely protect cultural heritage for the sake of conservation alone; instead, their role in this situation is to provide some legitimacy and support for the regime. It is not enough to claim that these archaeologists are "just doing their job" by saving as much heritage as they can whilst remaining impartial to the wider political and ethical implications of their work, as is the feeling one gets when reading Stone's (2005) article. They are surely aware of the role they play as the embedded archaeologist and that their work is likely to be biased (c.f. Teijgeler 2008). By remaining ignorant to the ethical crises around them and the political implications of their work, these archaeologists passively supported a potentially illegal regime which sought to dominate resources such as oil and ensure political power, no matter what the human cost is in lives or psychological damage following the systematic or accidental destruction of culture and heritage. And it is not just the archaeologist; academics as a whole have been known to ignore these issues, or in some cases suppress opposition to the conflicts if it directly impacts their work or day-to-day lives (c.f. Bernbeck 2003).

The problem, then, appears to be where the line should be drawn between the roles of the archaeologist as an academic and the 'steward of material culture', a civilian, and a member of the military force. This is not easy. Whilst the archaeological record and the notion of stewardship have been shown to be concepts as opposed to reality (Patrik 1985), they nonetheless dominate Western archaeological thought and practise today, and the way archaeologists carry out their work surrounds this, as was the case in Libya.

The problem arises when we need to step back and examine the consequences of their roles in military organisation as heritage specialists. An academic should "belong to an intellectually autonomous field, one independent of religious, political, economic, or other power" (Bourdieu 1989, 99 - cited in Hamilakis 1999). This is a role where they are involved in military operations which are supported by the political and economic agendas of Western governments and organisations, and where civilian lives and humanitarian issues are often ignored because the preservation of material culture is the most pressing issue (one only has to look at reports such as those by Allsopp (2011), Butler (2011a), and Harding (2011)).

In addition, when an archaeologist becomes embedded in a regime which imposes its will onto others for its own economic benefit and political gain they automatically forfeit their role as a civilian and become a

combatant (Mourad 2007). Particularly, the reliance on the military in situations of warfare or political unrest for safety and the donning of military uniforms automatically signifies their role as part of the military machine in this regime, and was the case when considering the operations by the Blue Shield (Teijgeler 2008; ANCBS 2011a).

I am not suggesting that archaeologists do nothing in the face of the potential destruction of archaeological sites, deposits and cultural heritage as a result of military conflicts. But it is imperative that the way in which archaeologists seek to protect them is questioned, examined and addressed if those archaeologists and the discipline wish to remain autonomous; the ethical and political implications of their work must be recognised and considered, and as much as possible done to prevent the potential misuse of this work in military situations.

By questioning the wider implications of these actions, and instead of becoming the embedded archaeologist, working with a range of people including those of the 'country to be occupied' will ensure that the culture which they believe to be important is preserved, as well as those of importance to Western cultures. This would lessen the ability of the military forces on both sides to use cultural heritage as propaganda in their regimes. A similar suggestion is made by Mourad (2007, 166). The archaeologist would also remain more politically neutral and unbiased towards the military force which protects them.

Furthermore, involving archaeologists from the country of conflict prior to the invasion or intervention would have profound effects on preserving all aspects of culture and heritage, not just those that are important to the West and which can be manipulated to serve as propaganda. Their involvement would diminish the neo-colonialist connotations surrounding the work of archaeologists in these military situations at present.

Work of the embedded archaeologist and heritage specialist should also be made public to the wider academic community to allow others to critique the position of their colleagues, the military, and the work of heritage specialists in these situations. This would ensure closer monitoring of the situation and hopefully limit the extent to which archaeological work is used to further support for the rhetoric of the neo-imperialist regime and within the military strategies. To do so would ensure that the role of archaeologists in the military machine and its agenda would not continue without any opposition to the ethical and political dilemmas surrounding these conflicts.

Clearly, the militarisation of archaeology in the last decade has provided new ethical and political dimensions to the discipline which have, it would seem, been largely unaddressed by the embedded archaeologist and the wider academic community. Archaeologists who chose to become involved need to remember that they are not just the 'stewards of material culture', but they too are humans with a voice who could, if they chose to, become more politically neutral by conducting their work with more emphasis on the people who will be affected by the conflict as opposed to embedding themselves within the military.

In addition, creating an archaeological hierarchy which ultimately ensures sites which are seen to be important to the Western world are favoured whilst others are targeted and sacrificed is ethically unsound and needs serious reconsideration when conducting future pre-conflict surveys. The conflict in Libya and archaeologists' involvement there have shown that the archaeologist's work, although intentionally to save as much heritage as possible, has been used for propaganda and by the media to assert the idea that the military's polices are not aggressive and dominating, but heroic.

The role of the archaeologist in conflict needs to be defined and revised – should archaeologists be explicitly involved in a regime which ensures economic and political strategic objectives are placed over the importance of civilian life and morality? This new dimension to archaeology poses many challenges and issues which need to be urgently addressed, before they are repeated again.

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A possible place-sign (toponym) from Oxtotitlán Cave, Guerrero, Mexico

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This paper re-evaluates a rock painting from Oxtotitlán Cave in Guerrero, Mexico as a toponym (place-sign). The resulting analysis finds a close correspondence between this composition and toponyms from Middle Formative period greenstone objects. It also suggests that one possible interpretation of the toponym is as a reference to the nearby archaeological site of Cerro Quiotepec.

This report touches on an area of considerable interest in the study of ancient Mesoamerican writing systems: the development of emblems or graphic images, which join distinct elements into meaningful arrangements but do not directly codify any specific set of sounds, in Olmec-style art and writing. While the degree of phoneticism present in Olmec iconography is a fascinating question that remains unresolved (see Pohl *et al.* 2002; Rodríguez Martínez *et al*. 2006), several recent papers have discussed the ideographic nature of these signs, using numerals (Justeson 1986; Sedat 1992), various icons and synecdochic signs (Houston 2004; Justeson 1986, 1990) and toponyms or place-signs (Brotherston 1999; Houston 2004). This paper draws attention to the existence of another possible example of a Middle Formative period (900-500 BC) toponym from Oxtotitlán Cave in the state of Guerrero in Mexico (Figure 1).

Figure 1: *Oxtotitlán Cave, Guerrero, Mexico* (Image Copyright: Arnaud F. Lambert)

Oxtotitlán is a limestone cavern located approximately half-way up a hillside situated to the east of Cerro Quiotepec and about 1 km from the town of Acatlán, to the north of the city of Chilapa. It consists of two large grottoes. To date, over a dozen black paintings have been found in the Oxtotitlán's north grotto; two polychromatic murals have been documented on the cliff face between and above the two grottoes, and three panels of red paintings are known to exist in the cave's south grotto (Grove 1968, 1969, 1970a, 1970b; Lambert 2012) (Figure 2).
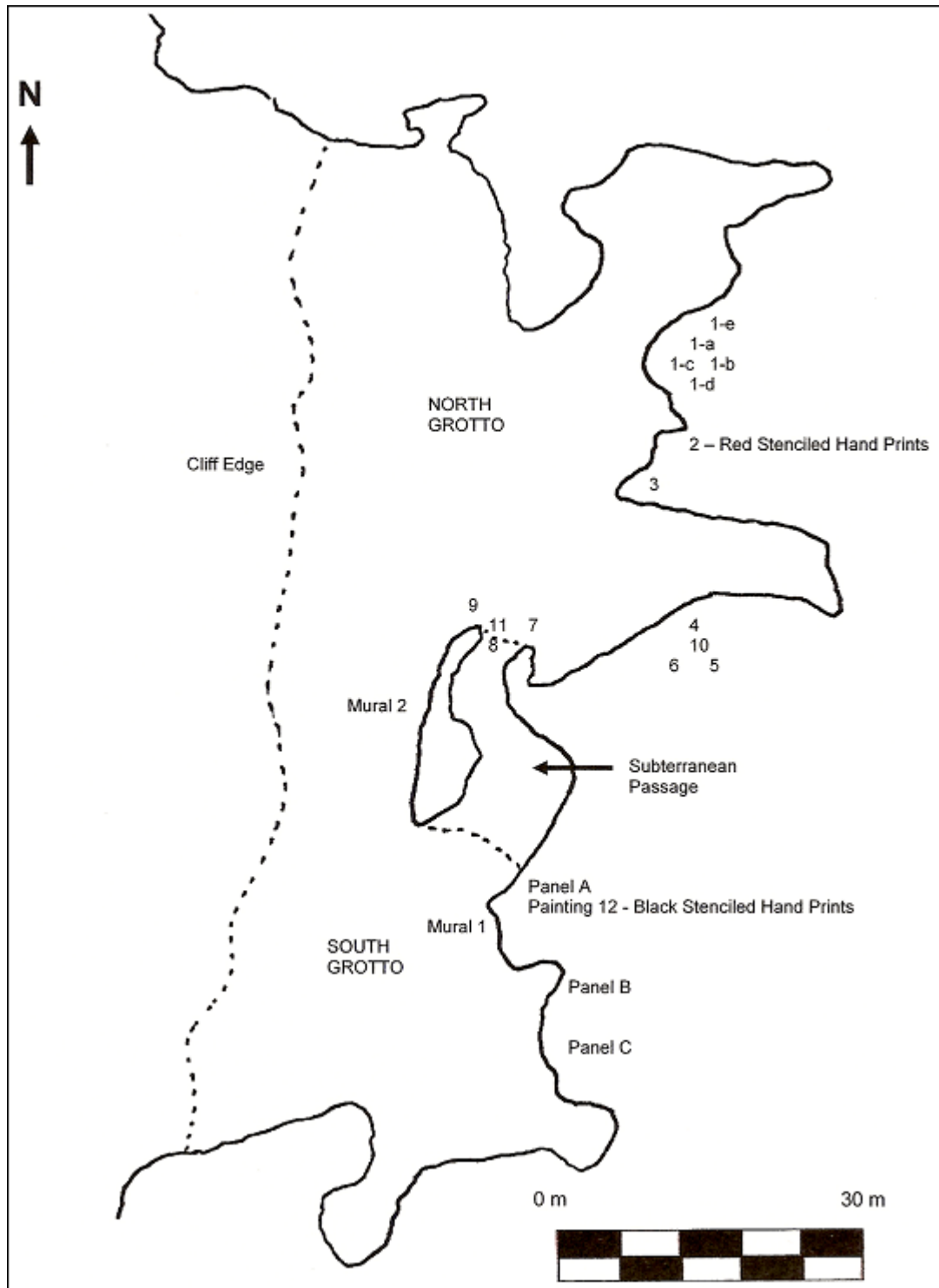

Figure 2: *Map of Oxtotitlán Cave, showing grotto locations* (Image Copyright: Arnaud F. Lambert)
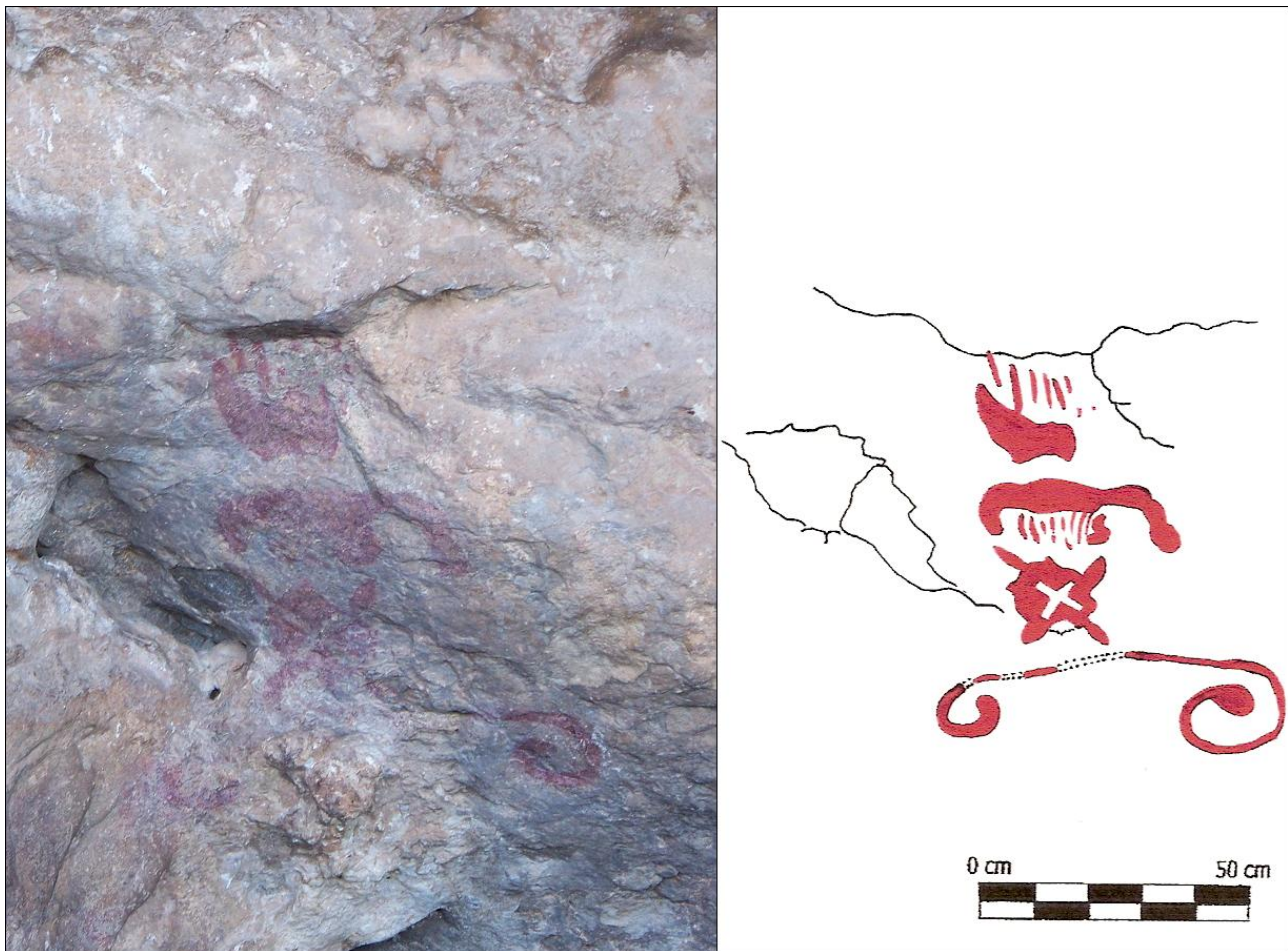
Both the murals and the black rock paintings appear to depict images of rulers, felines and serpents using the iconography of Olmec-style art (Grove 1970a; Grove 1970b). Although some of the red paintings, such as Painting A-3, are reminiscent of Classic and Postclassic period depictions of rain gods (Grove 1970b, 26), the majority of the rock paintings in the south grotto form geometric designs. Only a few of the red rock paintings appear to have iconographic features frequently found in Olmec-style art, including the possible toponym, Painting A-1.

Known locally as "El Diablo", Oxtotitlán Painting A-1 was first described by David Grove (1970a, 5; 1970b, 25). Based on his own observations and a later reconstruction painted by Felipe Dávalos (Grove 1970a, 68, Figure 20; 1970b, 25, Figure 25), Grove noted that this rock painting combined four distinct images or signs.

At the top, he observed a hand-like element followed by a series of curvilinear lines and a small X-shaped motif underneath. Below these elements, he found a larger circular design with four petaloid extensions and a negative X-shaped motif. Finally, at the bottom of the painting, Grove detailed a double-scroll motif. Interestingly, Grove was the first to perceive a connection between this aspect of Painting A-1 and the Late Postclassic "tepetl" (mountain) glyphs from codices of the Central Highlands of Mexico but did not pursue this line of inquiry. This is unfortunate since the number of Early-to-Middle Formative period ideographic signs and images attributable to an early or proto-writing system related to Olmec iconography are few and the recognition of a new example of a toponym from such an early date would be a welcome addition to the epigraphic work of Mesoamerican scholars.

My own examination of Painting A-1 began in January 2010 with a visit to Oxtotitlán Cave. My analysis entailed a re-evaluation of the elements that made-up the rock painting since all currently used representations of Painting A-1 rely on the idealised reconstruction created by Dávalos and Grove (e.g. Joralemon 1971, 66, Figure 190). Several colour photographs were taken of the rock painting (Figure 3) using only the optical lens of a Kodak Z712 IS digital camera and a full-colour tracing was made from these photographs (Figure 4) to more accurately display the details of the composition.

Even with these efforts, the rock painting proved to be too badly eroded to get a clear sense of all of its elements. Nevertheless, enough details were revealed to permit a thorough comparison between Oxtotitlán Painting A-1 and other known Formative period toponyms to demonstrate how this rock painting functioned as a place-sign. Based on recent breakthroughs in the study of Mesoamerican place-signs (Brotherston 1999; Byland and Pohl 1994; Marcus 1983; Whittaker 1993), further comparisons with the Postclassic period and historical place-signs and place names from Guerrero will also be attempted in an effort to offer a plausible reading for this toponym. I will begin with a new description of Painting A-1 based on my photographic re-examination of the rock painting.

Figures 3-4 (L-R): *Photograph and scale drawing of Oxtotitlán Painting A-1* (Image Copyright: Arnaud F. Lambert)

Oxtotitlán Painting A-1 as an Early Toponym

Painting A-1 consists of at least three, possibly four, different images painted in red pigment and organised in a vertical manner (see Figure 4). At the top of the rock painting, there are two badly eroded elements. The first is a triangular motif with six linear projections extending upwards. Directly underneath this element there is a large comb-like design which is broadly shaped like an upside-down "U". Beneath this U-shaped element, there are at least eight linear projections pointing downwards next to a small curvilinear S-shaped element. This comb-like design is followed by the floral image consisting of a rounded design with four points and an additional four petaloid projections. Within this design, there is a negative X-shaped element. At the bottom of the rock painting, there is a scroll-like element. It consists of a straight line ending in two inward-facing curls on each side.

By themselves, each of these elements may have correspondences to motifs found elsewhere in Olmec-style art (Joralemon 1971, 14-15). For example, the triangular element may be an example of motif #97 in Joralemon's classification system, or miscellaneous vegetation; while the X-shape is suggestive of motif #99, or the crossed band; and the scroll-like element is reminiscent of motif #136, or a bar with curled ends. However, when compared to the two known examples of Formative period Olmec-style place-signs

from Guerrero (Houston 2004, 285, Figures 10.4a and 10.4b), an incised greenstone celt from an unknown provenience (Figure 5a) and an incised tablet from Ahuelican (Figure 5b), the structural and iconographic similarities are striking.
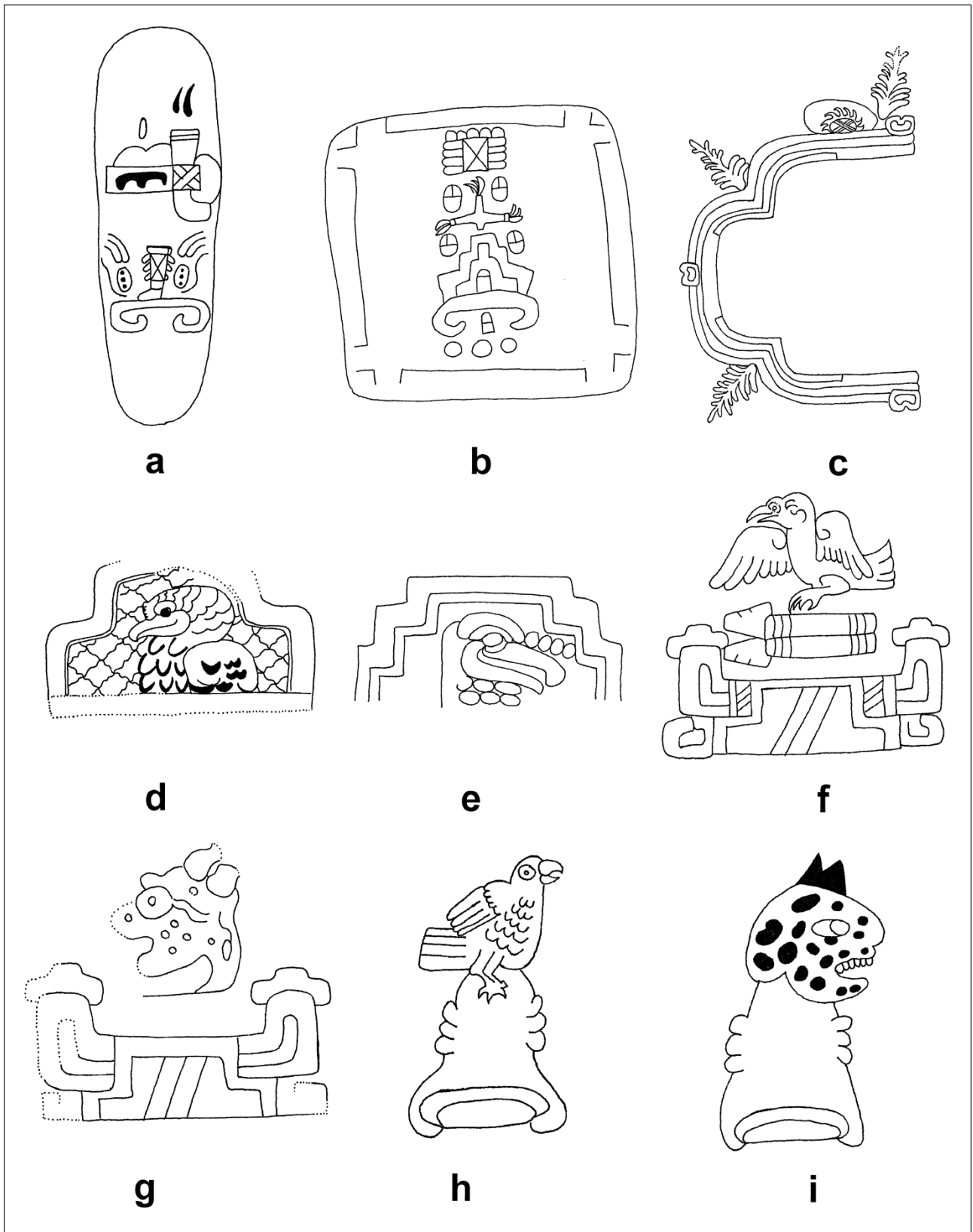

Figure 5: *Tepetl (mountain) place-signs from Mesoamerica, see Notes for further information*

(Image Copyright: Arnaud F. Lambert)

All three examples contain a scroll motif at the bottom of each design. Although sometimes referred to as a representation of the surface of the earth (Reilly 1995, 35), I believe it is more likely that, like its Postclassic counterparts from the *Codex Mendoza* (see Figures 5h and 5i), the scroll-like motif may have served to symbolise the base of the mountain as a cave opening. The intimate relationship between the scroll-like motif and the mountain theme is best demonstrated in the tablet from Ahuelican where a stepped design similar to the mountain signs of Monte Albán (Figure 5f), Cacaxtla (Figure 5d) and Xochicalco (Figure 5e) is directly attached to the scroll. A similar relationship is made quite explicit in Chalcatzingo Monument 1 albeit from a slightly different angle (Figure 5c). Here, a zoomorphic mountain (covered with plants) opens its giant maw thereby creating a large cave.

In addition, all of the Formative period place-signs under consideration organise their component images or signs in the same manner. Interestingly, this structural sequence is repeated in many later toponyms. The scroll motif or mountain sign is located at the bottom of the place-sign and serves as a general locative. Based on a standardised image of a mountain in profile, the mountain sign (glossed as "tepetl" in Nahuatl and "yucu" in Mixtec) typically features a triangular shape, often stepped, with either a flat or curvilinear scroll-like base (Brotherston 1999; Pohl 2004). Its exact identification is then specified by other images or signs representing relevant geographic information specific to the locale being portrayed by the toponym, such as rivers, flora, or fauna. Depending on the place-sign, these can be situated above the mountain sign, inside it, or both (compare Figures 5d and 5h). In the case of Painting A-1, the elements are arranged vertically, one on top of the other. This is not the situation with the incised tablet from Ahuelican. Here, there appears to be a salient image inside of the mountain sign.

Clearly, "reading order" can have an effect on the meaning of the individual signs in Formative period toponyms. However, it is also important to note that these images or signs may, in turn, represent truncated versions of larger entities. Take the greenstone celt from Guerrero as an example (Figure 5a). This place-sign contains a mountain sign along with representations of part of a leg and a headdress. Using the principle of synecdoche (*pars pro toto*), it is probable that these images represented a larger concept such as "lord" or "royalty". To help decipher these synecdochic signs, it is crucial to consider the overall context of each element in a place-sign. For instance, in both Painting A-1 and the greenstone celt, the scroll-like motif appears without the rest of the mountain sign, but its structural position in the overall composition of the toponym suggests that it stood for the entire mountain sign.

Putting all three of these observations together, it is now possible to identify Oxtotitlán Painting A-1 as a compound toponym or place-sign which consisted of at least three distinct images, each a common motif in Olmec iconography. The scroll-like design at the bottom of the rock painting is a synecdochic representation of a generic mountain sign. On top of this sign is located a floral design decorated with a crossed band. This sign is surmounted by a badly eroded set of triangular and comb-like designs which may also have had some vegetal connotations (Joralemon 1971, 66). Given the structural similarities between

Painting A-1 and other recognised Formative period toponyms from Guerrero, it appears that these signs may have served to specify the location based on geographically relevant features. The question remains, however, which location is being identified by the toponym in Painting A-1?

When examining possible readings of Painting A-1 as a place-sign, two different methodologies may be used. The first and most commonly used method to identify the place referenced by a toponym is to compare it to place-signs from the same region whose names have been transcribed and to compare their constituent signs. Most often the Aztec and Mixtec codices of the Late Postclassic period and Early Colonial period present the best sources of information for establishing and cross-checking possible readings.

Although there is some potential for disjunction or variances in the meaning or construction of a place-sign over time and between cultures (Whittaker 1993, 14-20), several scholars have noted that Mesoamerican toponyms have been incorporated into a variety of phonetic scripts since the Formative period without significant changes in their constituent parts (Brotherston 1999, 53-57; Marcus 1983, 107) (compare Figures 5f and 5g with Figures 5h and 5i).

In a case where historically-known toponyms are not available for comparison, a second method may be used to relate place-signs to a specific location. Pioneered by Bruce Byland and John Pohl in the Nochixtlan Valley of northern Oaxaca (Byland and Pohl 1994; Pohl and Byland 1990; Pohl 2004), this approach relies on matching archaeologically-known ruins discovered through site surveys and locally-known place names with the imagery of unidentified toponyms. To narrow down the parameters of such a search, this methodology presumes that unidentified toponyms juxtaposed next to known toponyms in a codex, or other source, may refer to sites found in close proximity to those associated with known toponyms (Pohl 2004, 226-232).

Although Late Postclassic and Early Colonial period codices such as the *Matrícula de Tributos* offer a plethora of place signs for Guerrero (see for example Barlow 1949), from Tlapa to Tlaxco and from Quiyahteopan to Cihuatlan, only one, Tepecoacuilco, has a mountain sign, but does not have any other signs that correspond to those found on Painting A-1. Given the lack of comparable place-signs from nearby regions of Guerrero, I believe that it may be worthwhile to examine local place names as a possible source for the toponym in Painting A-1. One option that readily comes to mind is Cerro Quiotepec (Figure 6).

Located a few hundred metres to the east of Oxtotitlán Cave, Cerro Quiotepec contains a large number of surface sites with Middle and Late Formative period ceramics, some with an estimated population of 300-500 people (Schmidt 2005). It has also been noted that surface ceramics dating from the Formative period through the Postclassic period are present throughout the valley between Oxtotitlán and the sites on Cerro Quiotepec, suggesting that these two locales formed part of a single community over several millennia. If this is the case, it is possible that the place names used today may be similar to those that were employed by local inhabitants over 2500 years ago, and that these may have been reflected in the Middle Formative period place-sign depicted in Painting A-1.

Figure 6: *Cerro Quiotepec from Oxtotitlán Cave* (Image Copyright: Arnaud F. Lambert)

Originally identified as "Cerro Quiatepec" and transcribed as the "the hill or mountain of rain" from the Nahuatl words QUIAHUITL ("rain") and TEPETL ("mountain") (see Grove 1970b, 31), the correct toponym "Cerro Quiotepec" (see Schmidt 2003, 2005) means something quite different in Nahuatl. It is can be transcribed as QUIOTL or QUIYOTL ("the flowering stem or stalk of the maguey plant") (Gates 2000, xxxiv; Siméon 1977, 430) and TEPETL ("mountain") or "the mountain where the flower of the maguey plant grows." Following this description, the key to attributing the toponym in Painting A-1 to Cerro Quiotepec would be the presence of secondary signs within that place-sign which pertain specifically to maguey, flowers or stems.

A significant degree of resemblance between the place name and the place-sign can be seen in the floral design which serves to qualify the scroll or mountain sign in Painting A-1. The identification of the badly eroded elements on top of the rock painting is much more difficult and must be regarded as extremely tentative. Nonetheless, it is possible to view these designs as references to a maguey by cross-checking them with depictions of these plants in transcribed toponyms from historical sources.

One probable cognate occurs both in the Early Colonial period *Mapa de Cuauhtinchan, Núm. 2* (Yoneda 2005, 44-45) and on page nine of the *Codex Mendoza* (Berdan and Anawalt 1992) in reference to a town in the state of Mexico known as "Metepec" or "the mountain of maguey". In these examples, the maguey plant is realistically shown with its fleshy leaves and marginal spines pointed upwards (Figure 7a), recalling the triangular design with its upward-projecting elements in Painting A-1.

Similar depictions of maguey are also found in portrayals of Mayahuel, the Aztec goddess of maguey, in some of the Late Postclassic codices of central Mexico. For instance, on page 28 of the *Codex Fejéváry-Mayer* (1971) (Figure 7b) and on page six of the *Codex Borbonicus* (1974) (Figure 7c), Mayahuel is pictured in the midst of a maguey plant which has features comparable to the eroded design in Painting A-1. It is

characterised by fleshy leaves, sometimes with marginal spines, pointed upright and has a series of roots emanating from an opening with inward curled ends which is reminiscent of the comb-like motif in the rock painting. Moreover, in both images, the maguey is depicted with quiotes or flowering stems while the illustration of Mayahuel in the *Codex Fejéváry-Mayer* (Figure 7b) clearly shows an X-shaped flower similar in overall form to the floral design from Painting A-1.

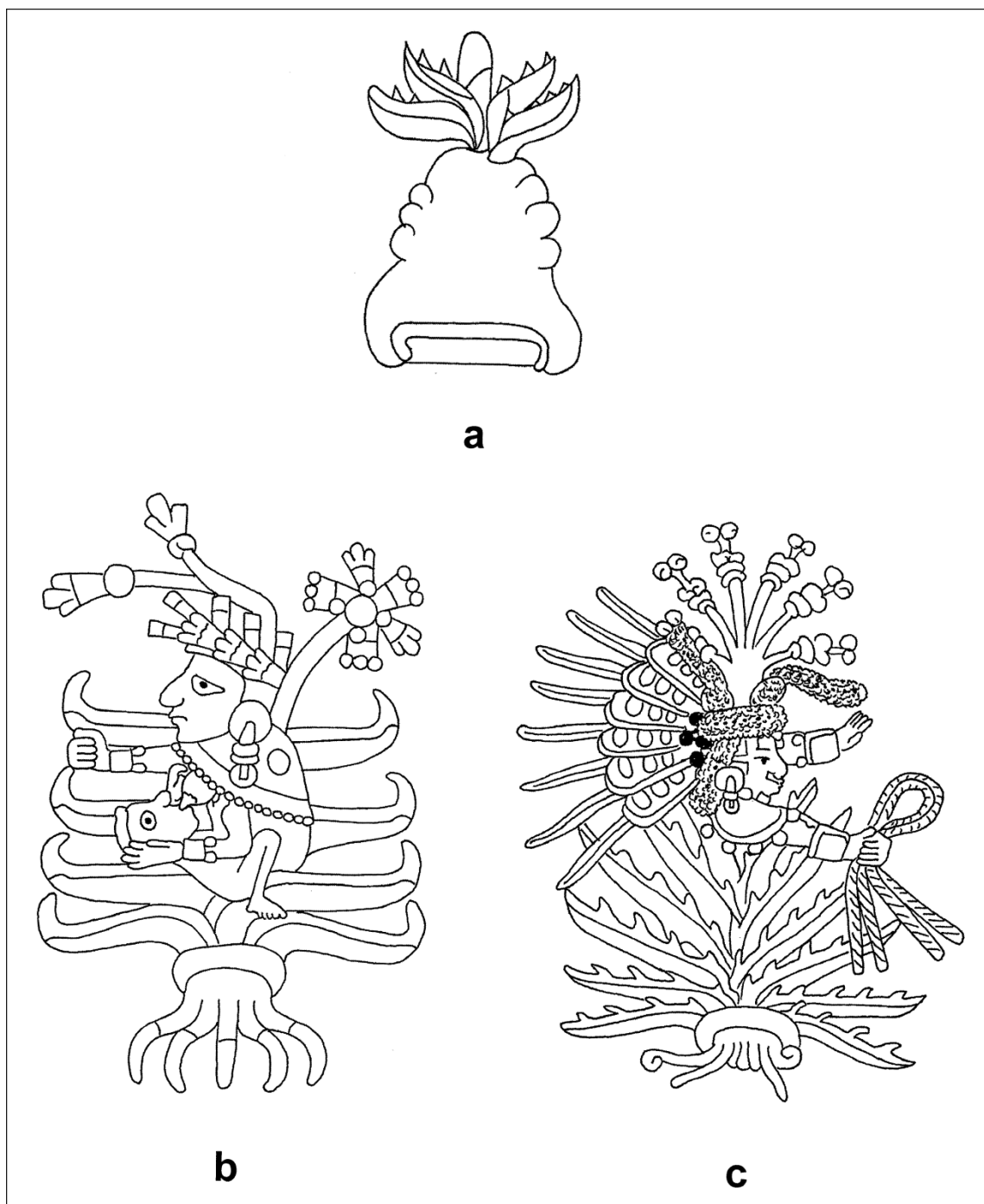Figure 7: *Postclassic representations of maguey, see Notes for further information* (Image Copyright: Arnaud F. Lambert)

Although far from conclusive, when taken together these various strands of evidence offer strong circumstantial support for the interpretation of Painting A-1 as a place-sign for Cerro Quiotepec whose components signify the following concepts (in order from top to bottom): maguey – flower – mountain.

Conclusions

The recognition of a toponym from Oxtotitilán Cave adds to the corpus of known place-signs from the Middle Formative period (900-500 BC) in Guerrero, Mexico. At the same time, it suggests that this cave was more than just a ritual centre associated with agricultural fertility and rainfall (Grove 1970b, 31). Indeed, the presence of a toponym at Oxtotitlán opens up the possibility that there may have been a historical component to the rituals enacted in the cave. These ritual practices may have involved the recitation of dynastic histories, origin myths, stories of migration, or other narratives requiring a perception of place that persisted over long periods of time.

Although the reading of the place-sign in Painting A-1 as referencing Cerro Quiotepec is somewhat tenuous given the poor preservation of parts of the rock painting, the iconographic correspondences, comparisons with Nahuatl place names, and archaeological associations are quite suggestive; thereby making a strong case for the importance of clarifying the archaeological context of all early examples of writing in Mesoamerica whenever possible.

Notes

1. Figure 5 - (a) an incised greenstone celt from Guerrero (redrawn after Coe *et al*. 1995, 231); (b) the incised tablet from Ahuelican, Guerrero (redrawn after Coe *et al*. 1995, 234); (c) Chalcatzingo Monument 1 (Morelos, Mexico); (d) Cacaxtla mountain glyph (Tlaxcala, Mexico) (redrawn after Piña Chan 1998, 44, Figure III.2.d); (e) Xochicalco Stela 2, Structure A (Morelos, Mexico) (redrawn after López Luján 2001, 132); (f) Monte Albán II Tototepec place-sign from Building J (Oaxaca, Mexico) (redrawn after Marcus 1983, 108, Figure 4.15); (g) Monte Albán II Ocelotepec place-sign from Building J (Oaxaca, Mexico) (redrawn after Marcus 1983, 108, Figure 4.15); (h) Tototepec place-sign from the Codex Mendoza (redrawn after Marcus 1983, 108, Figure 4.15); and (i) Ocelotepec place-sign from the Codex Mendoza (redrawn after Marcus 1983, 108, Figure 4.15).

2. Figure 7 - (a) the tepetl place-sign for Metepec from the Codex Mendoza (Berdan and Anawalt 1992); (b) Mayahuel, the Aztec goddess of maguey, from the Codex Fejéváry-Mayer (1971); and (c) Mayahuel from the Codex Borbonicus (1974).

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Can Django speak? New archaeologies of slavery

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Django Unchained has been nominated for five Oscars. However, the significance of the film goes beyond its technical and visual triumphs. It was a powerful intervention in what is probably the most resilient anxiety of slavery discourse: what is the appropriate way to represent the people and events involved in the era?

This representational malaise is unsurprising. Danielle Allen, in a thought-provoking analysis of the dynamics of American racism since the 1950s, discusses the 'fossilized boundaries of difference' that create interracial distrust in the United States today (Allen 2004, XIII). These boundaries are of the dead hand of history, the 'solidification of the ideas of majority and minority' that continue to put ethnic groups into a position of permanent 'reduced political power' (Allen 2004, 162). This has created levels of interracial distrust that hinders the functioning of American democracy.

Such arguments are now quite common among academics and it is precisely this disquiet that makes the question of the relationship between the representation of slavery and contemporary thinking so important.

The Haitian Revolution

Django Unchained is set in 1858, just before the US Civil War, a fact that the film reminds viewers of in the opening credits. In fact, the impending war between North and South seems to take on its own character in the film. The German dentist-assassin repeatedly advises Django that he would be better off getting to the North as soon as he can as opposed to, say, Mexico, which is geographically closer to Mississippi (where most of the film is based). Mexico had been free of slavery since 1829 (Agorsah 2010, 340) and Django would have been in no danger of legal harassment. A powerful counter-study to this providentialism is the case of the Haitian Revolution and its subsequent treatment by imperial powers.

In 1791 a slave insurrection began a conflict that lasted until the proclamation of independence in 1804 (Trouillot 1995, 89). This conflict was intertwined with the long war in Europe that ended at Waterloo; and yet, the Haitian Revolution was not a periphery struggle: Napoleon lost nineteen generals, including his brother-in-law, and both France and England lost more men in the fight for imperial control of the island than they did at Waterloo (Trouillot 1995, 99). Moreover, the Haitian Revolution ended French hopes for an American empire, forcing them to sell Louisiana to the United States in 1803 (Trouillot 1995, 100).

Despite this, the treatment of the revolution has been marginalising and trivialising. Even Eric Hobsbawm, a historian notable for his politically-informed studies, was able to write a book 'entitled *The Age of Revolutions: 1789-1843*, in which the Haitian Revolution scarcely appears' (Trouillot 1995, 99). Trouillot explains this as a consequence of the limited reach of Enlightenment categories, suggesting that this highly progressive revolution which made concrete steps towards the liberty of even Africans (who made possible the prosperity of white elites) was 'the ultimate test to the universalist pretensions of both the French and the American revolutions' (Trouillot 1995, 88). Trouillot's close interrogation of contemporary literature exposes how the notion of a right to a modern black state was almost unthinkable. The slave uprising must be the consequence of 'Royalist, British, mulatto, or Republican conspirators' (delete to preference) and, of course, if black leadership was imposed temporarily it would lead only to chaos (Trouillot 1995, 93).

It would be offensively romantic to assume that a perfect order was created in Haiti, but the degree to which even a modest space of freedom was mentally disavowed and physically attacked is vital to understand the representation of slavery and liberty. This is best encapsulated by the fact that fifty years after independence Haiti was only able to gain international recognition by agreeing to pay France a very substantial indemnity. This was a debt paid to France so that the latter could acknowledge its own military defeat, itself a powerful testimony to the extent that imperial powers were able to de-legitimise 'free states' through the traumatic legal system of international recognition (a theme taken up by legal anthropologist Mieville in his thorough 2005 book *Between Equal Rights*).

This ideological context is similar to the one excavated in Leone's (1984) paradigmatic account of the William Paca Garden. Paca was a notable American revolutionary whose name can be found on the Declaration of Independence (Leone 1984, 33). However, Paca's wealth derived from slaves (of which he 'owned' over one hundred). The tension between the republican philosophy of independence and the actual treatment of non-white people was a recurring force in early American politics (see Guyatt 2009).

Leone posits that the geometry of the Paca garden served to naturalise the 'arbitrariness of the social order' by creating an illusion of fluidity and free movement while in reality controlling movement through carefully calculated pathways and sight-ways (Leone 1984, 33-34). In Leone's study, if you find yourself walking through the Paca Garden then you will internalise the assumptions behind the design; that there is a natural order, a mathematical hierarchy, to the world of man.

New archaeologies

Yet, there is something about Leone's study that jars; it feels very jaundiced and one-sided. If ideology were truly so efficient there would be no social unrest and no political shifts. Archaeologist Mary Beaudry (1990,

118) has produced a critique of Leone's work in a review of a co-edited book on historical archaeology, criticising his reliance on a 'Dominant Ideology' narrative which displaces other approaches to the past. This criticism chimes with the work of postcolonial theorist Gayatri Spivak, author of the pivotal paper 'Can the subaltern speak?' from which this article quite crudely takes its title.

Spivak, broadly speaking, argues that intellectual production is 'complicit with Western international economic interests' (Spivak 1988, 271). Particularly interesting is her analysis of the tendency towards what she calls 'catachresis', here meaning an inappropriate usage of master categories such as 'worker' or 'woman' (Spivak 1988, 271). These tend to be derived from Eurocentric analytical models, and usually end up internalising 'Asia' or 'Africa' into a singular broad sweep path of development that mirrors that of Europe. Hence, even while the 'benevolent intellectuals' seek to use Marxist tools of analysis to liberate the subaltern they act to silence them.

This analysis of imperialist intellectual discourse is also present in a less developed form in Trigger's (1984) perceptive article which refers to the practice of archaeology directly. Most importantly, what results from both of these analyses is that the subconscious concern for the preservation of the Western subject is a symptom of a global hierarchy, as opposed to personal inadequacy on the part of intellectuals. Consider Spivak's (1988, 308) final passage:

> 'There is no virtue in global laundry lists with "woman" as a pious item… The female intellectual as intellectual has a circumscribed task which she must not disown with a flourish.'

What special role can archaeology as a discipline play in this circumscribed task, the difficult process of teasing out better and better representations of the subaltern? One answer is exemplified by Ann Stahl (2008) in her work on taste in the Banda area of Ghana. She looks towards the 'embodied forms of practical knowledge', evident in shifts in style and context of material culture to understand how taste shapes and is shaped by economic and political factors (Stahl 2008, 827). The empirical focus here is on objects as opposed to structures, the theoretical focus on process rather than abstract 'meaning' as such. This critique of meaning relates to Spivak's (1988) critique of intellectual catachresis, it is a criticism of logocentrism – a 'scholastic fallacy' which Bourdieu unpacks:

> 'Projecting his theoretical thinking into the heads of acting agents, the researcher presents the world as he thinks it… as if it were the world as it presents itself to those who do not have the leisure (or the desire) to withdraw from it in order to think it' (Bourdieu cited in Stahl 2008, 829).

A knowledge that is practical and patched together through changing social habits and practices is prioritised over a less mobile sense of meaning. The focus on practice theory seems to demand the following of archaeology:

1) A re-appreciation of the 'small things forgotten' that might be situated in the ongoing Material Turn.

2) A rejection of logocentric accounts that privilege has a singular and catachretic 'meaning' (for example, "this coat symbolises Christian values" is logocentric as opposed to "this coat is handed by Christians to the colonised to instil a sense of morality in them, where it is re-contextualised as embodying warrior prowess by the colonised who wear them in place of their original garments when marching to war").

3) An appreciation of the construction of context-specific knowledge as a locus of study.

Maroons forgotten, a fragmented freescape

I would be tempted to suggest that these new theoretical focuses are an attempt by archaeologists to personalise theory, to make it adapt to the characteristics of the subject rather than the other way around. Even with the advent of contemporary archaeology, which is able to utilise the thoughts of observers, it is clear that our expertise lies in materiality. Practice theory strikes me as being a quite conscious re-orientation towards this. One area where we can play to our strengths is with the everyday lives of the constituents of slavery.

From the early days of Hispaniola until after the Civil War the New World economy was structured around the slave trade and its offspring. This is a well known fact, one that most commentators are willing to decry and judge, and yet the surprising facts of uprising and resistance are not much discussed. Kofi Agorsah (2010, 333) has provided an overview of these 'partnership-in-arms for freedom' which range from the United States to Brazil, Jamaica to Mexico.

The first, obvious point to make is that there was no archetype maroon. Perhaps a typology of sorts might be fleshed out, but like all typologies of dynamic societies it is likely to prove to be a conservative force when new evidence and new thinking challenges previous conceptions. Instead, writers like Charles Orser (1994, 5) have rightly emphasised their position in the global political economy, a level of connectedness to 'other' societies which has been brought out by the evidence (and see Figure 1 below).

These were not merely groups of runaways that became isolated, and so a culture-by-culture typology would be too blunt. On this point the documentary evidence is quite interesting. Although many of the contemporary accounts were indeed trivialising or just generally incorrect about the motives and actions of the Marooners – for example, lying about the size of settlements and claiming to have destroyed them (Orser 1994) – there is evidence of a number of treaties between the free communities and European powers (see Agorsah 2010, 337-342).
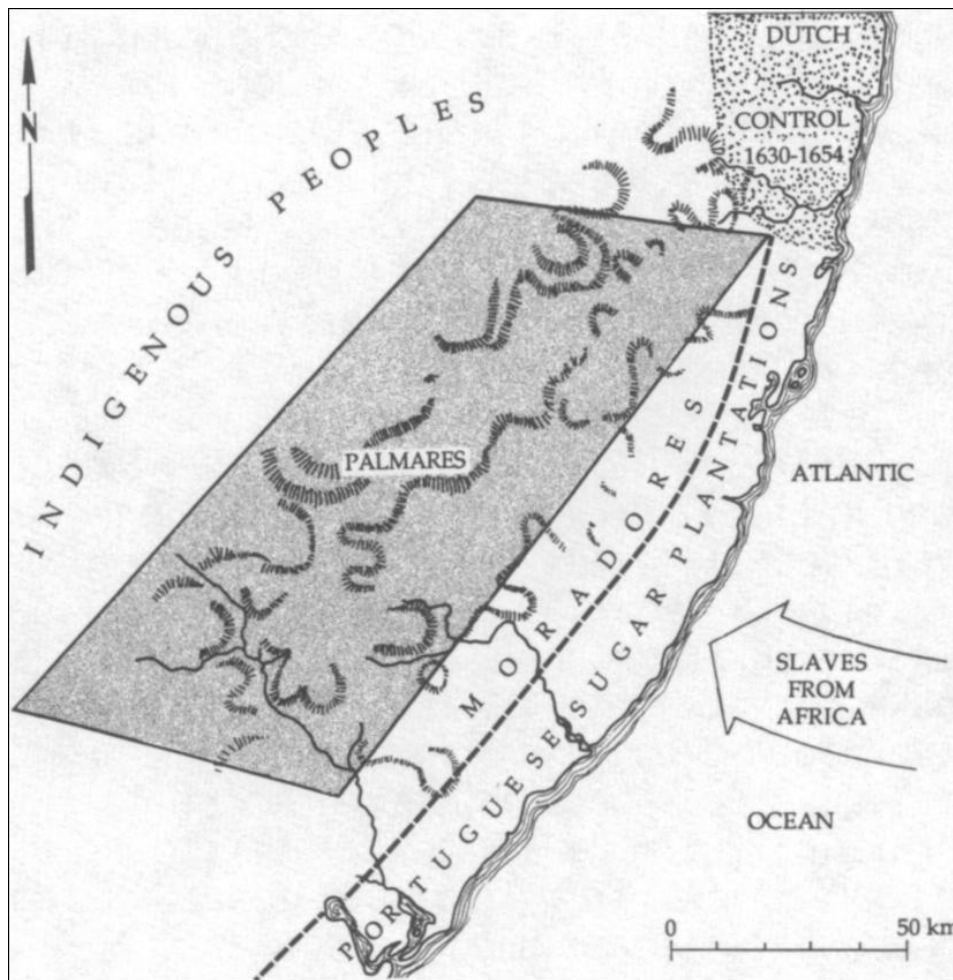
Figure 1: *The connections between Palmares and other layers of political development* (After Orser 1994, 17)

Beyond treaties and trivialisation, the archaeological evidence has started to splash down a portrait of a general organisational form quite unique to maroons. Many of these maroons were in fact significant polities. Palmares in northern Brazil is the most excavated, with the evidence suggesting a population of around 20,000 in the late 17th century, a population that rivalled the greatest settlements of the region and included around a third of the slaves in the colony (Funari 2010, 367).

To add more to this landscape perspective, excavations show that where they were not 'guerrilla' forces (which are more problematic to study, see the challenges faced at St. Croix in Norton 2007) the Maroon people militarised the landscape, making it a defensive cultural artefact, as with stone fortifications at Nanny Town in Jamaica (Agorsah 2010, 341).

The numerous villages that made up Palmares are all consciously oriented towards the River Mundau, which colonial troops would have sailed upon to launch attacks on the capital (Funari 2010, 366). Still, Maroons were not merely survivalist camps. The choice of location would have been influenced by a number of factors, for example the stratigraphy of the Nanny Town site previously mentioned suggests that it was located on a more ancient native settlement, with the post-Indian phases dated by the presence of Spanish pieces of eight in the relevant contexts (Funari 2010, 348).

One recurring feature of these excavations is on the level of material culture, the level of everyday practice. The Palmares excavation yielded an assemblage largely made up of ceramics. These included coarse earthenware of different varieties, similar to the wares used by the Dutch and Portuguese (Funari 2010, 364). The fact that these European-style artefacts were coarse is significant, indicating that they were utilitarian and therefore that their presence can be attributed to exchange with non-elite colonists.

As such, a class component must be factored into the Maroon/coloniser relations. Furthermore, a very large amount of Aratu ware was discovered as well as some similar to the Tupinamba red slipped ware of local native Brazilians (Funari 2010). The relation is made more complex by the fact that the Tupinamba ware was adapted to be similar to the Ovimbundu African pottery, 'probably indicating a convergence of African and native traditions' of a type that has not been identified elsewhere (Funari 2010).

This example suggests a remaking of culture at Palmares; a more hybrid form of living where perhaps the conjunctures of history (class differences amongst the Europeans, contingent groupings with local 'natives') helped form a new workable knowledge and a flourishing of social (not just military) activity. In fact, these Creole manifestations are also evident at other sites (see Agorsah 2010, 333; Funari 2010, 370).

Conclusions

The discourse on slavery often seems to ignore the idea of a slave voice, even one only approximated at through layers of dirt and representation. Trouillot (1995) provided a thorough analysis of both the Haitian Revolution and how it has been silenced by intellectuals and imperialists alike. But the revolution was not merely an Event, a counterpoint to the depoliticised non-event. It was born of a long history of resistance and survival.

Gerard Vizenor brings these terms together to create his notion of survivance: a survival that is also resistance, based on an idea of succession and a flourishing vision of sovereignty even in the face of extreme violence or oppression (Kroeber 2008, 25). The point of this is not to overplay some notion of squeezing the best out of the worst situations. Vizenor is writing of new hybrid forms of organisation made by the hammer of colonialism against the anvil of colonised communities. I feel that the practice-focused approaches to archaeology can be useful here, emphasising the essential mobility of the processes of production and ideology.

Theoretically, in the way of Spivak (1988), Django cannot speak. The enormous condescension of posterity is part and parcel of a hierarchical academic discourse, and is written into the fabric of the international law (Mieville 2005, 236) which even today traps Haiti in poverty. But it is always possible to improve the histories of the subaltern, to make them more holistic and less one-dimensional, and the material focus of archaeology is most appropriate to this.

I found *Django Unchained* exhilarating. I also think it is interesting to think of the production as an intervention. In some ways the film was more truthful than the most intense documentaries, the artistic license allowing the makers to go outside the strictures of the Just So story and play about with the idea that a black slave might actually have done something extraordinary. We saw a vision of freedom, perhaps not the most realistic vision but certainly one that went beyond the norm of the slave merely observing their lot in life. What is the appropriate way to represent slavery? It must surely be one that does this in some way, which attempts to do justice both to the horrors of history and to the humanity of those oppressed.

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The turning of the tides: the history of Neanderthal research

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As part of my Evolving Minds MSc Masters module at the University of York, I decided to have a look at key academic literature on Neanderthals from 1865 to the present day. In doing so, I detected patterns of change in opinion that were steered heavily by external factors, and by key research. The Piltdown hoax and Social Darwinism strongly mediated understanding for a long time prior to the 1950s. Racism has hopefully left the arena, but one problem remains: we are still an archaeology of comparison and exclusion; not with races, but with extinct hominins.

In addition, I noted that literature would be published along a certain line of ideas for a decade or so supporting the evidence of the last key research. Then, a key paper would change opinion followed by literature supporting the new avenue. Rather than enhancing our understanding of Neanderthals, this in fact seemed to be a limiting factor; especially considering that such key pieces of research could later prove to be erroneous.

The chronology of papers starts with British scientist C. Carter Blake (1865) who published a synthesis of the different views on the Feldhofer Neanderthal fossil, the first recognised Neanderthal specimen. The paper was published 9 years after the Feldhover discovery, and aside from some contemplation on whether the fossil was an ape or a human, the majority consensus was that the explanation was racial: that this was a primitive human ancestor with links to Australian aborigines (also deemed primitive in those times) (Blake 1865).

Social Darwinism abounds through the article with Celtic skulls deemed the most advanced, in line with the European race, while other races were deemed less evolved and at various primitive stages (Blake 1865). Cages of 'Neanderthaloid apes' were promised from Africa which is particularly disturbing, while geologist Prof. William King was reported to be especially concerned about whether the Feldhover Neanderthal was God-fearing (Blake 1865). It is obvious that the paper is very much a product of its time.

The next key Neanderthal paper was written by Boule and Anthony (1911), from which we see their perspective on a very primitive being discovered at La Chappelle aux Saints, from their analysis of endocasts. Boule and Anthony (1911) see evidence of a brutish being, noting that its brain may be the size of a modern human's, but that it was more primitively arranged.

This brutish image continues with American Henry Fairfield Osbourne's (1927) article, where he sees the Neanderthal as a genetically distant and incompetent being. This article is strongly swayed by Piltdown Man (the famous hoax), because Osbourne had long held the view that humans were an ancient being, 'full-brained' as far back as the Miocene period, referring to them as 'Dawn Men' (Osbourne 1927).

Therefore, he delighted in the Piltdown fossil, which showed what he thought to be a modern cranium (as it was!) from the Miocene (Osbourne 1927). Osbourne called for a dismissal of there being an evolutionary link between modern humans and apes completely. This he gave humanity a white European origin (stating that only the hardship of icy northern Europe could cause the evolution of the human mind); in his eyes, Neanderthals were violent animalistic creatures overthrown by superior *Homo sapiens* (Osbourne 1927).

However, the tide had changed by 1940, with no more mention of Piltdown Man due to the new discovery of 'transitional' Neanderthals or *Homo sapiens* (Galilee Man) in the Levant. The anthropologist, Franz Weidenreich (1940) sees an evolutionary link with a more human Neanderthal that evolved into modern Arabian peoples (though not Europeans, he hastily states). He does warn against 'inveterate prejudice against Neanderthal man', revealing that the academic image of the Neanderthal had shifted since Boule's representation, following the discovery of possibly mosaic Levant fossils (Weidenreich 1940). However, it is clear that racist ideas still played a part in interpretations.

We see a difference in the early 1950s though, with Howell's (1951) post-war article, where racial interpretations are avoided, and in fact, are replaced by objective, clinical science. Howell carefully examined Neanderthal fossils to deduce whether they evolved into *Homo sapiens* or were replaced; his research fuelled by the Levant specimens and the possible admixing that occurred. He warns against archaeologists 'making sport' with Neanderthal morphology to find abstract interpretations such as them using their teeth as tools (Howell 1951).

The subject of race may have started to be avoided, as in Howell (1951) due to self-consciousness in the wake of the Holocaust. Howell concluded that the early Swanscombe fossil craniums were more like *Homo sapiens* than later classic Neanderthals and suggests that Neanderthals evolved themselves into a cul-de-sac of extreme morphology (Howell 1951).

This detached functionalism continues in Jelinek's (1969) seminal article, which looked with strict objective control at the European fossil base. His conclusions are interesting: no longer is the Neanderthal a separate species. Acknowledging the amount of skull features Neanderthals have in common with *Homo sapiens*, Jelinek (1969) creates a new classification for them: *Homo sapien neanderthalensis*. He also finds that their culture, like ours, is variable and that their dates cross over in Europe, so we now have co-existence (1969).

Looking back at the conclusions of same species status that came from this very clinical approach, some very recent findings still seem to agree with this (Green *et al*. 2010), which will be explained later. However, the theory of *Homo sapiens* evolving from Neanderthals in the Levant is still present in the article (Jelinek 1969).

The 1970s saw a change in views of Neanderthals, with the highly influential Neanderthal 'Shanidar flower burial' (Solecki, 1975), and Trinkhaus' (1978) observations at Shanidar of care given to a greatly debilitated individual. Neanderthals now have a human spirit, and research a more human, less coldly clinical, edge to it. Bräuer (1981) finds a Neanderthal hybrid at Hanofersand (now known to be Holocene in date). Neanderthals have now become close cousins and fellow humans within research.

This recent theme appears to be somewhat changing with the adoption of mitochondrial DNA analyses in archaeology. Cann *et al*. (1987) seem to have found a mitochondrial Eve in Africa, related closely to modern humans, who lived around 200,000 years ago (Cann *et al*. 1987). This results in a newly perceived gulf between us and the Neanderthals, if our genetic origin was in Africa. We are seen as something different, possibly better, that outcompeted the Neanderthals on our arrival in Europe and West Asia. There is now a new research focus: what was inadequate about the Neanderthals and what was superior about us?

Wynn and Coolidge (2004) believe Neanderthals cannot think properly, with an inflexible mind that cannot make connections between animals and tools, or people and plants; and who cannot invent new ways to knapp flint. Mithen (2005) agrees and states that they could not even speak, and presumably lolloped around mindlessly chasing mammoths on tundras (Richards and Trinkhaus 2003) with one kind of axe and thrusting spear (Wynn and Coolidge 2004) for 300,000 years, unable to think of anything else to do, until we arrived with our words, our projectiles, our flexible ideas, our necklaces and the unique all-empowering concept that you can catch fish and eat plants. Can you tell that I do not agree? The key research question had become 'just what was wrong with those human-shaped failures?'

Then we have a genome. The Max Planck Institute began publishing results of its reconstruction of the Neanderthal genetic code in 2007, from an exciting recently found site called El Sidron in Spain (Lalueza-Fox *et al*. 2012). Here, Neanderthal bones had been encased in cave sediments, untouched and uncontaminated since the time of their deposition (Lalueza-Fox *et al*. 2012).

We have the FOXP2 gene (Krause *et al*. 2007) which means they could possibly talk (although it must be remembered that genes work as a collective with other genes, in complex ways; not usually in isolation). Also discovered was that they had varied pigmentation (Lalueza-Fox *et al*. 2007), which could mean they had races like us. Then the most ground-breaking paper of all: Neanderthals and *Homo sapiens* had interbred (Green *et al*. 2010). People outside of Africa are shown to carry a small percentage of Neanderthal DNA, which would mean that we are not a different species after all, as different species cannot produce fertile young together (Mayr 2002, 183). Producing fertile young together is the definition of a species.

The paper by Green *et al*. (2010) on shared genetics has been followed by a wave of published research that demonstrates cognitive equality with Neanderthals, not difference, that they decorated themselves with painted shells (Zilhao *et al*. 2010), wore ornamental feathers selectively taken from raptors (Morin and Laroulandie 2012), painted seals (MacErlean 2012) on stalactites in Spain (although this researched has not yet been peer- reviewed) and even sailed to Crete on Neanderthal-made boats (Ferentinos *et al*. 2012).

So who and what were Neanderthals? In all these shifts and sways of academic opinion, and moves in and out of different trends (some found to be erroneous), what is correct? I have to say, sometimes the paper that says the least, in terms of speculation and trend-following, says the most.

Jelinek's (1969) paper does stand out, his detached forensic analysis gives us more, and we see a young Richard Klein (a very big name now in Palaeoanthropology and author of the excellent 2009 Human Career) request in a reply that the same objective analysis of the whole Neanderthal fossil record be performed. I would agree: we should take away all stances on how human they were or not and just look at what we have archaeologically, including genetics and material culture, and take it from there.

However, this shifting and swaying process that we have may also be leading us somewhere, perhaps to a better understanding. It seems, however, that trends have too powerful a place in who and what gets published. Is that coming from publishers or from academics? Also, the old cultural stance we as humans have on other species, of us being the most advanced creature on the planet, forever judging other species as we used to judge other races, judging even past humans as inferior, harks back to the initial Social Darwinism that we saw in 1865.

Palaeo-archaeology is still a discussion of the measure of exclusion and inclusion, rather than who hominins were, those successful humans who walked this earth far longer than we have, in their own right as men, women, or children.

Does this apply to other archaeological fields? Are they steered by shifts and trends, are they focused on inclusion and exclusion of past people as equals to ourselves? Can they be misdirected for a decade by too powerful a sway held by a faulty key paper? This discussion isn't aimed at devaluing academic publishing, nothing should: good, well-researched papers are essential, but maybe a little objectivity and awareness of why trends are occurring may be the practise of a good archaeologist.

In the end, it is the physical archaeology itself that is the anchor, while ships of ideology float randomly above it in ever changing directions. In addition, a good archaeologist must be mindful of stances of superiority, and of how valid, useful and ethical such stances might be.

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Vikings at Torksey: a fieldwalking adventure of a first year archaeology student

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Vikings at Torksey,   Julian D. Richards

Torksey, situated in the county of Lincolnshire, England, is first referenced in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle entry for the winter of AD 872-3, which records that the Viking Great Army, fresh from campaigning in Northumbria, took winter quarters on Turc's Island, later to become known as Torksey.

In collaboration with the Department of Archaeology at the University of Sheffield, and with additional funding from the British Academy and the Society of Antiquaries, the Department of Archaeology at the University of York is currently undertaking a 3-year reconnaissance programme at Torksey, adjacent to the River Trent. The work is being directed by Julian Richards in York and Dawn Hadley in Sheffield, with additional collaboration from the Portable Antiquities Scheme (PAS), the British Museum, and the Fitzwilliam Museum in Cambridge.

The site of the Viking winter camp has been identified by metal detectorists as one of the richest sources in England of Anglo-Saxon coins and scrap jewellery, as well as Arabic coins and Viking bullion silver and gold. We are working with the detectorists to plot their finds, but we are also using other techniques, including fieldwalking, geophysics, auger surveys, and test pitting, to establish the extent of the site, the nature of the activities represented, and the quality of preservation.

In 2011 fieldwalking by York undergraduates north of the modern village of Torksey identified a concentration of Roman pottery in the middle of the winter camp, coinciding with an enclosure observed in the magnetometer plot. This must be a Romano-British farmstead, which occupied the high ground overlooking the Trent long before the establishment of the winter camp.

In 2012 we turned our attention to the land immediately to the south of the modern village, the Castle Field, which overlooks the Trent and lies adjacent to the ruins of Torksey Castle, known to go back to Tudor times, but possibly earlier. We already know that in the late 9th and early 10th centuries Torksey developed into a flourishing Anglo-Saxon town or burh, with its own mint, and a major pottery industry.

Torksey ware is one of the earliest forms of wheel thrown pottery to be manufactured in England, and it is believed that the technology was introduced to this country from France by potters who were travelling with 'the baggage train' of the Viking army. A number of kilns had already been excavated in the Castle Field; some in the 1950s by Maurice Barley, and others more recently by Pre-Construct Archaeology in advance of a housing development just beyond the northern perimeter.

Barley also reported that he observed some human burials, and skeletons have also been reported washing out of the river bank. The field is a Scheduled Ancient Monument, but has never been systematically surveyed or field-walked. Our aim in November 2012, therefore, was to plot the distribution of finds in the Castle Field, and particularly to see if we could identify different kiln products and Torksey ware variations in different parts of the site, as well as to determine the focus of the cemetery. The finds are still being processed, but the early results are very encouraging.

Fieldwalking adventure of a first year archaeology student,   Daria Wiercigroch

One of the best things about being a student at the University of York is the possibility of getting involved in many interesting projects. Last November, archaeology students from my year had a chance to get a taste of fieldwalking. We were working in Torksey in Lincolnshire for two days, experiencing the work of an archaeologist in the flesh. With wonderful expectations of things to come, we arrived one early morning, half asleep, on the muddy field in Torksey. With the wind blowing furiously; I think most of us had realised by this point that textbooks fail to deliver the whole truth about these experiences.

Students were split into groups and asked to lay out grids in the field. We found ourselves with tapes and flags to measure the grids to be walked. It felt a little like learning to swim by being thrown straight into the deep end, but it worked! Very quickly it all became clear and everyone got on with the task at hand, laying out grids and looking for artefacts. Our fear of the weather quickly faded and gave way to excitement.

Each group walked different grids, checking the top soil for finds. At the beginning it was hard to see anything except for stones. Looking more closely, however, soon revealed that what we initially believed to be stones were in fact pieces of ceramics, among other things. It amazed me how quickly it was possible to start recognising things of archaeological interest, which just a few hours before would have been omitted by most of us.

University of York students collecting finds whilst fieldwalking in grids at Torksey (Image Copyright: Julian D. Richards)

Plan of fieldwalking grids at Torksey (Image Copyright: Julian D. Richards)

We found an abundance of ceramics, animal bones and quite a lot of flint. Other finds included clay pipes, ceramic building material (CBM), glass and some iron sludge. On the second day, human remains were also found along with even more domestic debris. The experience of fieldwalking gave us an opportunity to see what the work of an archaeologist really feels like, rather than relying only on what the textbooks are saying.

For me, it emphasised the importance of a few issues; first of all the pros and cons of working with the ploughed soil could be clearly observed. On the one hand, it provided an opportunity to gaze into the changing nature of the landscape over time, as many different artefacts from different time periods were found lying right next to each other! On the other hand, however, it was concerning to learn that the archaeology is being rapidly damaged by the agricultural activity.

The importance of accurate recording was also demonstrated. Had the grids been laid out inaccurately, or finds recorded in the wrong way, the fieldwalking would have been of no value. After walking each grid, groups assembled to identify, count and record gathered finds. This also highlighted the fact that some of us turned into hoarders of one particular type of find over the others, and generally each student was better at identifying and finding different kinds of artefacts.

What also became evident was that archaeologists themselves focus on certain time periods which interest them most about the site, and this could be observed in the recording process. Some materials such as CBM for example were recorded but then thrown back into the field. Other finds, which were more modern were not recorded at all, such as clay pigeons.

Understanding that focus in research is necessary to answer certain questions about the site, I found myself being drawn to all aspects of the site, both past and modern. Today, the site is used in certain seasons as a field, whilst in other seasons it is open for archaeologists to conduct research. It is also a very attractive place for practising shooting clay pigeons. Patterns of usage due to seasonality and different needs at different times would have applied to past peoples as well.

I found myself becoming very excited with each artefact I had successfully recognised and picked up. It was very interesting to see that in such a short space of time, practical work could teach many useful skills. With different kinds of assemblages emerging in different areas we could start sketching occupational patterns of the site in our minds. The fieldwalking experience reminded me of what is truly important. I could finally understand that weather does not matter to archaeologists when passion and focus are present at heart. We were later encouraged to participate in any community fieldwalking in the future. I would certainly love to do more as it seems like an amazing opportunity to get involved and help shape the archaeology of a local area.

Students from the first year also had an opportunity to get involved in post-excavation work; processing the very finds they picked up themselves. Personally, I found washing ceramics to be an interesting yet calming experience. It made me realise that Archaeology is a discipline like no other, and I was smiling to myself having realised that I am where I ought to be, doing what I really enjoy. I have made the right choice in studying Archaeology.

I feel that the experience of my first fieldwalking opportunity made my senses sharper, and I find myself now noticing things much more when I visit historically important places. Formerly a dreamer, with my head high in the skies, I now often find myself with my eyes examining the ground, getting excited by the evidence of the past beneath my feet... I guess I am still a dreamer.

Submissions information

The full information for contributors, including submission rules and copyright, is available on *The Post Hole* website at:

http://www.theposthole.org/authors

Submission deadlines

The Post Hole releases nine issues per academic year on a **monthly** basic between October and July. The submissions deadline for all of *The Post Hole*'s monthly issues is the **final Wednesday** of the preceding month.

Submission length

Articles of any length **up to 2,500 words** are welcome, though keeping below 2,000 words is preferable.

Figures

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

It is preferable that photographs are submitted in **.jpg format**, and graphs, plans and other linear images are submitted in **.png format**. Please contact the Submissions Editor if you are unsure about image formats or anything else regarding your submission.

How to submit

All submissions should be sent to *The Post Hole* **Submissions Editor**, **Alison Tuffnell**, by email (submissions@theposthole.org).

The Post Hole may in the near future establish an online submissions system on its website. Details will be released about this should it happen. Submissions by email will continue as normal.

Back cover: *Oxtotitlán Cave, Guerrero, Mexico* (Image Copyright: Arnaud F. Lambert)

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Issues are released via our website at the start of each month and are available to anyone. If you are interested in writing for *The Post Hole*, you can read information for contributors on our website, or contact us (submissions@theposthole.org).

The Post Hole was established in 2008 and since then has become the premier student-run archaeology journal in the UK. The journal has a diverse audience which continues to grow with the recent redevelopment of its website and new social media presence.

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