The PostHole

The student-run archaeology journal
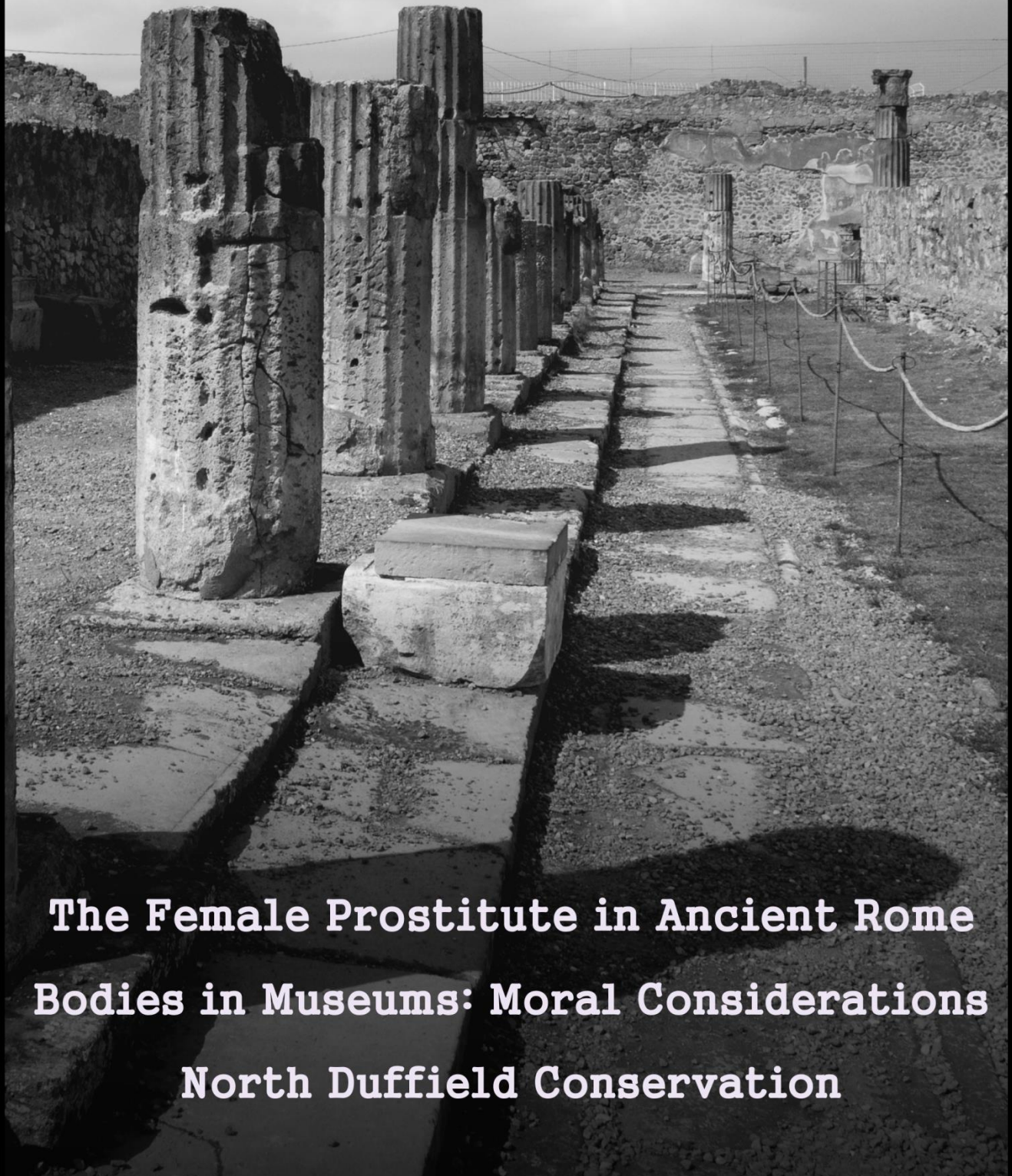
The Female Prostitute in Ancient Rome

Bodies in Museums: Moral Considerations

North Duffield Conservation

Acknowledgments and Awards

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.

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Editorial: A warm welcome in a cold month

Freya Lawson-Jones[1]
[1]The Post Hole, Department of Archaeology, University of York, The King's Manor, York, YO1 7EP
Email: editor@theposthole.org

It is with great pleasure that I write my first editorial as editor-in-chief for The Post Hole. I would like to give my enormous thanks to last year's team, who have now left the journal, for their tremendous job in making it such a success. We certainly have some very big boots to fill, and I hope that we will be able to continue the magnificent work of our predecessors.

Initially, I would like to officially welcome our very promising new team members, as well as welcoming back some of the previous year's team. I hope that this year will prove a good one for The Post Hole!

For November/December's issue, we have a brilliant selection of articles, all of which were an absolute pleasure to read. In this cold and fairly grey month, there is nothing like an intriguing piece about dead bodies to brighten up the atmosphere! I am extremely happy to be able to release an issue which is brimming with such diverse and fascinating articles. So, here is a summary of our selection:

Firstly, we have an excellent investigation into the perceived social identities of female prostitutes living and working in ancient Rome. Here, **Neil Ackerman** from the University of Highlands and Islands, tackles the way in which these women were viewed and documented, as well as discussing the limitations of the predominantly male dominated research into this. Ackerman also stresses the need to consider our own biases when discussing gender identities; modern Western connotations of sexuality are not directly comparable to those held by an ancient Roman citizen.

Secondly, we have an insightful article written by **Sophia Calugay** from the University of Aberdeen, which thoughtfully lays out the contentious issues surrounding the display of the dead in museums and other public places. Calugay produces a synthesis of the debates and important questions regarding morality and ideas of personhood, while considering a variety of viewpoints including her own.

Our next article is the fourth submission from **Brian Elsey**. In this excellent piece, Elsey considers the archaeological investigations made by the North Duffield Conservation and Local History Society, unveiling the details of an excavated circular Iron Age feature. A number of engaging images are used to illustrate this interesting and comprehensive summary of the excavations.

Finally, we have two articles submitted by **Professor Arnaud Lambert** about the fascinating site in Chalcatzingo, Mexico. The first article is a brilliant investigation into seven new cup-marked stones from this area. Lambert provides an excellent description of their spatial and chronological settings, and draws some interesting conclusions about their function in rituals.

Lambert's second is a brief recording and discussion of the possibility of a sculptural fragment currently residing in a caretaker's building in Chalcatzingo being further evidence of a ball court at this site. There are similar finds from sites elsewhere, and these are also historically documented from this time, so it will be interesting to see how this may develop.

Before finishing here however, I would like to describe some amazing discoveries recently published which excited me closer to home. This is the Whitehorse Hill's Early Bronze Age cist burial on Dartmoor, which is now considered one of the most important burials of its age in the South-West; the burial contained a stone cist box, inside of which were the cremated remains of a young woman, along with an unprecedented amount of spectacularly preserved artefacts. Due to the positioning of the burial in what would later become a raised peat bog today, organic evidence has been incredibly well-preserved.
.
Her cist had been packed with moorland grasses, suggesting a late summer or early autumn burial. Alongside the cremation was a woven lime and bark basket, the materials for which had undergone processing to make them suitable for weaving. Having been painstakingly opened in a laboratory, the basket was found to contain two pairs of large wooden stud plugs, representing some of the earliest evidence of woodturning. It is tempting to imagine that these may have been worn through the ears or lips, as we see in piercing trends today. The basket also contained over 200 shale, clay, tin and amber beads, as well as a flint flake. Additionally, a delicate woven sash was found patterned with triangles of calfskin, as well as a tin studded cow hair armband.

Figure 1: Photograph of the Whitehorse Hill cist in situ
(Day of Archaeology 2015)

More recently, the previously unidentified animal pelt which surrounded the cremation was matched to belonging to none other than that of a brown bear. When confronted with evidence like this, it is hard to resist conjuring up an image of a warrior princess figure! I hope that there will be many more finds of this nature from Dartmoor in the future. The above information on the Whitehorse cist was taken from Jones, A. et al. in their 2014 article about the site.

I would finally like to show gratitude to **Sam Galison** for providing us with our splendid cover image of the columns in Pompeii.

Don't forget, if you would like to share any of your thoughts, research or experiences with the archaeology community, then please submit your work to us at submissions@theposthole.org to appear in next month's article. For guidance on submission, please visit our website at www.theposthole.org/authors for more information about this.

All the best,
Freya Lawson-Jones
Editor-in-Chief
editor@theposthole.org

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The female prostitute in ancient Rome: An Identity

Neil Ackerman[1]
[1]Orkney College, University of the Highlands and Islands
Email: 12001578@uhi.ac.uk

Prostitution is often stated as being the oldest profession (Gonsalves 2008, 157). Regardless of the questionable accuracy of this statement, prostitution is an ancient business. This paper will specifically discuss the identity of the female prostitute in Ancient Rome. For clarification, the definition of prostitute used will be: a female who is not a slave and who works within the sex industry. It should also be noted that the entire Roman Empire will not be discussed; local cultural variation presents more alternatives than the scope of this paper allows for. Therefore Rome itself, as well as Pompeii, will be looked at. In presenting an identity of the Ancient Roman prostitute, the difficulties in studying female prostitutes from this time period will be presented. Various interwoven identities will then be discussed, starting with the legal definition given to prostitutes. Then Roman sexual definitions, and their impact on the identity of prostitutes, will be explored. Thirdly, the identity of a prostitute as a woman will be examined.

Historically, work on Roman society has been understood along the lines of 19th century colonial concepts of male power. This resulted in an understanding of Roman life without a female perspective (Olson 2006, 187). For instance, an exploration of the Roman female narrative requires different chronological divisions to the traditional ones, which present changes in society from a male perspective (Bauman 1992, 2). As a result, some scholars have begun to look at female and family issues in Ancient Rome to try and fill this gap (e.g. Allison 2007; Rawson 1986; Rawson 1996). One of the major obstacles for the visibility of women in this period is the lack of documentary evidence. Texts from the Roman period arguably represent the view of the male elite who were creating the documents. While women may be discussed, it is from this point of view, showing women as society sees them rather than how women identify themselves (Allison 2007, 345; Thom 1992, 46). This results in a lack of evidence for the lives of women from this period (Hallett 1993, 52), including prostitutes.

The first aspect of an Ancient Roman prostitute's identity that will be looked at is that of their legal status as *infames*, and the boundaries this creates with other groups in society. Edwards states that not only was the label of *infamis* given to prostitutes, but also to gladiators, actors and other public performers. This designation meant that members of

these professions were restricted from various aspects of public life, such as standing for election to magistrate or being allowed to speak in a court of law. They were also viewed as symbols of shame and allowed to be beaten, mutilated and violated by others without fear of punishment (1997, 66). Indeed, a husband was allowed to kill his wife's lover if they were *infames* on the condition he then divorced her within three days and began the case against her for adultery (Edwards 1993, 38). The legal restriction on *infames* overlaps with the legal restrictions already placed on women, so this likely had less of an effect on female than on male prostitutes.

However, while the designation of *infamia* may not appear to have much of an additional effect on a female prostitute in terms of legal restrictions, it was significant in other ways. The first is that the label of *infamia* is carried for life. Other similar punishments, such as those imposed on disgraced soldiers or criminals, are only in place for a time (Edwards 1997, 67). There is also the effect this legal status has on those around them. Pimps are likewise defined as *infames*, and if there is an attempt to convict a woman of adultery which fails, the husband can then be prosecuted for pimping and carry the label of *infamis* himself (Gardner 1986, 90; Olson 2006, 193-194). There are also cases where it is suggested some elite women registered themselves as a prostitute to avoid the fine for adultery (Duncan 2006, 255). This may have had the effect that the husband would be disgraced alongside the wife, and this being the case, there may be more than simple practical economic reasoning behind this. The effect on a husband whose wife claimed to be a prostitute, whether this was actually the case or not, was to be identified alongside them as *infames*. An unmarried prostitute could marry a free man, but again he would have to carry the *infamis* identity once they were married. Augustus later brought in legislation to ban any woman who was, or had been, a prostitute from ever marrying a freeborn male citizen (Duncan 2006, 255). This has the result of identifying the prostitute as one that has been ostracised from society.

Prostitutes and actors are seen as the worst of the *infames* (Duncan 2006, 255), and are often viewed as being the same. Both their jobs are seen as 'faking it' for money, and are therefore interchangeable (Duncan 2006, 256:270). Therefore, the identity of a prostitute may not be focussed specifically around their job in the sex industry, rather their level of *infamia* and the fakery innate in the profession. Caution should be given when assuming that legal designations, such as *infamia*, relate to social attitudes. Social attitudes are often more fluid and complex than is represented in legal documentation (Edwards 1997, 71). An example of this is the repeated creation of legislation to try and stop the noble classes from taking part in occupations that carry the *infamia* mark, and to try and stop them from

marrying *infames*. The fact that numerous legislations were brought in suggests it was unsuccessful (Duncan 2006, 256).

One of the major reasons for defining prostitutes as *infames* is to create a boundary between them and the rest of society. In a society where honour was held in high esteem, prostitution could be used as an example of what not to be, providing a contrast to the honourable in society (Edwards 1997, 67). It has been suggested that another way in which the sex industry is further set aside from society is through the concept of 'moral zoning' in city planning. Much of the literature on this uses Pompeii as an example due to its unique preservation, which makes it ideal for studying structures in the wider context of a city. Brothels are a part of Pompeii that has been given a lot of attention, and this may be in part due to the relatively high number of brothels. It has been suggested there could be thirty five in the city, if not more, although this number is contested (McGinn 2006, 161). One of the ways in which the placement of these brothels has been interpreted is moral zoning, by deliberately placing them in hidden areas, although keeping them central (McGinn 2006, 162; Wallace-Hadrill 1995, 51-52). Lawrence (2007, 86) has argued that their placement has also been designed to keep them away from elite children. McGinn (2006, 162) agrees that the visibility of brothels may have been deliberately disguised, pointing to the example of the Roman port city of Ostia where there appear to be no visible brothels, although it seems unlikely there was no sex industry.

This adds to the difficulty experienced by archaeologists in recognising prostitutes and the industry as a whole (McGinn 2006, 163). However, moral zoning of a city may be a little simplistic. While defining social class is important in Rome, the physical segregation of elites and the poor in city planning is not so clear cut. While elites do tend to all live in the same area, they are not necessarily cut off from other ranks in society. This being the case, it can be suggested that brothels would not need to be segregated from other groups in society (McGinn 2006, 163). It is also simplistic to attempt to understand the physical presence of prostitution purely through the placement of brothels. There are many public areas, such as the circus or baths, where prostitution could take place (McGinn 2006, 162). Because of the difficulties in being able to define a brothel, and the public nature of a prostitute's work, archaeological evidence is difficult to find.

A further feature of a prostitute's identity is described through Ancient Roman attitudes towards sexuality. Sexuality in a modern Western definition tends to fall into categories of gender preference. In simplified terms, this is across an axis of heterosexual and homosexual, although there are many shades within this spectrum. The Ancient Roman definition follows different rules. The axis used is that of active (*vir*) and passive (*cinaedus*)

(Parker 1997, 47). The role of the *vir* partner is that of penetration and sexual enjoyment. In contrast *cinaedus* is a passive role, designed to allow the *vir* to experience their pleasure through receiving their penetration. Therefore the definition of someone's sexuality falls along these lines, regardless of the gender they are having sex with. Bisexuality was allegedly common, although this definition would have made no sense at the time. The idea of a man sleeping with another man does not bring into question the masculinity of either. The penetrator (*vir*) is still seen as masculine. Indeed the masculinity of an individual could be asserted by sleeping with *cinaedus* men (Parker 1997, 55). A woman who takes on the active *vir* role is seen as unusual and masculine in her enjoyment of sex, and is often identified as a prostitute or adulteress and is socially unacceptable (Parker 1997, 58).

In order to set them aside from normal female society, a prostitute or adulteress was classed as *togata*, meaning she wore a toga: another symbol of masculinity. This adds yet another layer to the identity of the prostitute. The identity of *togata* in describing a woman does not always make a distinction between adulteress and prostitute, suggesting they may be interchangeable in this regard in a similar way as prostitutes and actors in their given roles of *infames* (Olsen 2006, 192-193). Ancient Rome is not the only period or place where female prostitutes wore men's clothing to represent their masculine sexual appetite. Prostitutes in Elizabethan England and in 16th century Venice also wore men's clothing for this reason (Duncan 2006, 270; Garber 1992, 86). A woman wearing a toga, as well as representing masculinity in sexual preference, also represents a public figure. Noble women in Rome did not go out in public alone, or conduct business in the public eye. A prostitute is the opposite of this, being visible in public and always alone. Therefore, she again acted more like a male would have than a female, who would stay at home or go out with attendants (Duncan 2006, 270). Thus, the term *togata* represents the identity of a prostitute on two levels: that of a woman with a sexual preference that goes against the norm and that of someone who works in public and goes out alone. However, while the toga was a symbol of men and masculinity, it is not the case that all men would have always worn one. Poorer male citizens may not have been able to afford one, and they are not necessarily functional items of clothing, being both cumbersome and hot. Augustus legislated to ensure the upper classes wore togas, which suggests even those who could afford it were not always wearing them (Olson 2006, 188). In the same way, defining a woman as *togata* does not necessarily mean she was literally wearing a toga. The definition is more a moral description than a literal one (Olson 2006, 196).

The female version of the toga, representing the ideal of femininity, is the *stola,* worn over a tunic (Olson 2006, 189). Like the toga, the *stola* was a brief fashion and was not worn

throughout the Ancient Roman period. There are descriptions of elite women discarding the *stola* to advertise themselves sexually, however, the dominance of male literature on this matter does little to represent the actual thoughts of women. The *stola*, like the toga, may well have been abandoned as an impractical and hot garment, rather than as an attempt to proclaim sexual willingness (Olson 2006, 197:200). While Olson is rightly critical of the male dominated understanding of female clothing, a somewhat simplistic understanding of a prostitute's dressing in modest clothing is given. She questions why a prostitute would do this as it may be bad for business (Olson 2006, 198). This ignores one of the identities rarely discussed in terms of the prostitute: that of a woman. As discussed earlier, there are laws allowing the abuse of prostitutes. However there is legislation stating that if the woman turns out not to be a prostitute, the abuser can be prosecuted (Olson 2006, 197). While literature complaining of noble women and prostitutes becoming indistinguishable may be down to the male-dominated bias in the literature exaggerating the lagging morals of noble women, legislation such as this suggests that women's fashion is mutually inspired by noble women and prostitutes, such as Coan silk being worn (Olson 2006, 197), showing the identity of the prostitute as a woman. The aforementioned fears of women and prostitutes dressing similarly also suggests the idea of the identity of prostitutes as women. That a prostitute may be willing to dress in a way that is bad for business suggests she may be presenting her identity of a woman over that of a prostitute.

To conclude, there is not one simple definition of the identity of the female prostitute in Ancient Rome. Rather, she has a multi-layered identity. In unpicking this identity, it needs to be recognised that the male dominated literature from the time, and the traditionally male dominated research of the period, does not give a highly visible picture of women, and this is especially true for prostitutes. Prostitution is also difficult to define archaeologically through material culture. The first identity presented in this paper is a legal designation: *infamia*. This presents prostitutes to society as dishonourable and untrustworthy and worthy of segregation from society. The second identity presented is that of *vir*, the active partner in sex, alongside which is the label of *togata*, which like like *infamia*, is interchangeable with an adulteress. This essay also describes the identity of the prostitute as a woman who is a public figure and works alone. The third identity presented is that of a woman. This is shown through clothing and a prostitute presenting herself in a way that is not beneficial for her business, but reinforces her identity.

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Bodies in museums: The moral standing and displaying of the dead

Sophia Calugay[1]
[1]University of Aberdeen
Email: s.d.calugay.10@aberdeen.ac.uk

Cover Photo: A photograph of the victims of Pol Pot's totalitarian regime at the Choeung Ek Killing Fields memorial park, Phnom Penh, Cambodia. (Authors Own 2007).

Introduction

Archaeologists frequently come into contact with human remains. However, issues regarding the treatment of the dead, whether through scientific investigation or display, remain contentious topics. In this essay, I will attempt to summarise the broad theoretical discourse regarding the moral concerns over the treatment of the dead and the display of human remains in museums. I will first address the two opposing world views that affect how various groups interpret and respect the dead, identifying the dualistic and materialistic scientific community on the one side, animistic indigenous communities and pagan groups on the other. Due to the sensitive nature of the subject in my reflection on the topic I shall discuss two other issues concerning the dead, these include the circulation of their photographs online and in the media, as well as the relationship between tourists and displayed human remains.

Are human remains 'Persons' and is it necessary to display human remains?

(Current debates)

More than a 130 museums in Britain hold in their care large quantities of human remains, the Natural History Museum, London, has over 20,000 remains alone (Brooks and Rumsey, 2007). In 1998, the Museum of London held an exhibition entitled *London Bodies*, showcasing a large collection of more than 18,000 human skeletal remains from the museum's archaeology department (Swain, 2002, p98). The purpose was to reveal how Londoners have changed in appearance through time, with reference to the archaeological record (*ibid.* p98). Similarly, in 2007 the Manchester Museum hosted their exhibition, *Lindow Man: A Bog Body Mystery,* for the third time, due to its popularity (Alberti *et al.* 2009).

There are a number of moral and ethical questions which must be addressed by researchers and museum staff in their everyday encounter with the dead. These questions concern the moral duties of archaeologists, the way in which the dead are 'wronged', and how museums should store, handle and display human remains.

How do we respect the dead? There are two valid standpoints here, some of the communities from which remains are said to have originated argue for their repatriation and reburial instead of being in display cases in institutions. Archaeologists, on the other hand, argue the importance of analysing human remains, but with a degree of 'respect' guided by their code of ethics. We see that respect is a matter of relativity in this case.

Beinkowski (2006) sees it essential for archaeologists to delve into the various attitudes that we hold towards mind, body and consciousness. This is because of the importance in the relationship between these, in terms of the core role that it holds in understanding the world

view of the culture at hand, and their attitudes towards the dead. There are four basic world views, the first of which is dualism (Beinkowski, 2006). French philosopher Rene Descartes explicated that human beings have two separate substances, Mind and Body. This view had a key role in the enlightenment, and from the 17th century impacted the development of science, guiding the disciplines of archaeology and museology. The second is materialism, where only Body or Matter exists. There is a claim that this has led to philosophy and science becoming increasingly materialist, a trend continuing today. Thirdly is idealism; only mind or spirit exists, everything else being an illusion. This world-view is considered to have been largely ignored by contemporary western philosophy and science. Finally, animism: Mind and Matter always go together and everything is simply part of Nature (Beinkowski, 2006). Indigenous cultures and pagan groups fall into this category (Alberti *et al.* 2009; Bain and Wallis 2006). Pagans are coined as 'new indigenes' by Bain and Wallis (2006, p4) due to their shared world views with indigenous peoples, 'whose re-enchantment practices involve engaging with nature as alive with spirits… multiple deities and other beings' (*ibid.* p4).

The idea of personhood and the lack of it are also quite important. Philosopher Immanuel Kant argued that personhood exists with consciousness and the capability to make choices (cited in Beinkowski, 2006). With this comes rationality, dignity, respect and rights (*ibid.*). In the dualistic and materialistic world view, the dead are separated from the living, resulting in human remains being viewed as 'things'. 'Things can legitimately be used as means to human ends in a way in which 'persons' cannot' *(*Beinkowski, 2006, p6). For Kant, because things have no autonomy, they are objects rather than subjects (*ibid.*). Because of this, 'archaeology, as an archetypal dualistic/materialistic practice, treats dead bodies as 'things', for its own ends. And so, on the whole, do museums' (Bienkowski, 2006, p7). At the opposite end of the extreme, animism shows no contrast between the mind and the body. Rather they are one, in unison and in harmony. 'Sentience, or consciousness, is everywhere: within nature, within individual cohesive humans and even human cells communicate with each other…we call this 'the integrated body'" (*ibid.* 2006, p6). As a consequence, death cannot separate the body from consciousness. The dead are still integrated within the community and are still considered as persons (Bienkowski, 2006, p7). Their presence is felt in the landscape and the environment.

It is through the discussions of personhood and morals that we understand the different sides of the argument, regarding how archaeologists and the scientific community view human remains in comparison to indigenous and pagan communities.

Both the scientific and academic communities have been accused of treating human remains as products, which are justifiable and reasonable objects to conduct analyses on (Alberti *et al.* 2009; Bain and Wallis, 2006; Orr, 2006). Human remains are studied in order to understand the pathology of past populations, cause of death, nature of the surrounding environment, and past diet, amongst other reasons (*ibid.*). In medical and scientific terms, the study of medieval, historic and pre-historic skeletal remains can help us prevent outbreaks of deadly diseases today, and may even occasionally assist in discovering cures.

On the other hand, many native Americans, Australian aborigines and British pagans ask that we treat human remains with respect by repatriating them and their grave goods to their original communities (Bain and Wallis, 2006; Davis, 1999). Orr (2006) argues that the remains of British druids in museums should be repatriated and interred in their original contexts or as close as possible. She believes that they are the ancestors of Britain 'we are the same tribe' and they should not belong to a museum case or stored in basements where they are 'less honoured', and 'abandoned' (*ibid*. p3- 5). Some people believe that when their ancient ancestor's remains are removed, their tribe is torn apart and they feel 'the disconnection' (Orr, 2006, p3-7). When human remains are displayed they are usually shown in secular, museum based perspectives (*ibid.*). Hence she argues; archaeologists should think outside of their own materialistic and dualistic worldviews to understand other rationales (Orr, 2006, p6).

Scarre (2003) argues that we do not need to share the spiritual and religious beliefs of ancient peoples in order to treat remains with respect. However, some of the ways in which we treat remains may breach the wishes of the deceased. Scarre (2003, p242) suggests that, 'it is fairly certain that an Egyptian pharaoh would not have wished to be translated from his tomb in the Valley of the Kings to a glass case in the British Museum… Ancient Egyptians took very seriously the issue of their welfare after death. For Egyptians of all ranks, one of the main tasks of this life was to make suitable preparations for the prosperity in the next…' Some people believe tomb robbers may have disrupted their journey to the afterlife. Archaeologists, however, have scientific and academic intentions, which are deemed beneficial, but their treatment of pharaohs' remains would still be as objectionable from the viewpoint of ancient Egyptians (*ibid*. p242). Therefore, in this case, respect should be considered in terms of granting the wishes of the dead, as opposed to serving the purposes of the living.

In the words of Davis (1997, p12-13), a member of the Council of British Druid Orders (CBDO), 'every day in Britain, sacred druid sites are surveyed and excavated, with associated finds being catalogued and stored for the archaeological record. Many of these

sites include the sacred burials of our ancestors. Their places of rest are opened during the excavation; their bones removed and placed in museums for the voyeur to gaze upon, or stored in cardboard boxes in archaeological archives… these actions are disrespectful to our ancestors. When archaeologists desecrate a site through excavation and steal our ancestors and their guardians…it is a theft… we should assert our authority and reclaim our past.'

On the other hand, osteo-archaeologists counter this by stating that pagan interests are a 'threat' to their research (Bain and Wallis, 2006, p11). Human remains are said to be safer in museums than in other grounds and that 'it is irritating to be told how to do one's job by people who know little about it' (*ibid.* p12). By excavating and analysing human remains, we give them back their identities and allow their stories to be remembered by future generations. For Davis (2006, p3), speaking on bog bodies of Iron Age Britain and northern Europe who were sacrificed, excavation and analysis is an opportunity to give a voice to the past, to those 'who can no longer speak'. It is 'examining the actual materials from the period that expands our knowledge' of the past; this cannot be deduced from documents and archives (*ibid.*). But, he argues, we can do this with a degree of respect towards the dead. To rebury human remains, such as bog bodies, without first being allowed to extract information is to lose a part of history that we can never get back (Giles, 2006).

Because of the pressure from native communities, archaeologists and investigators dealing with human remains now have a set of ethical and moral codes governing their practices, spanning from governmental legislation to archaeological and forensic governing bodies. For instance, the *Guidance for the Care of Human Remains in Museums* issued by the Department for Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS, 2005) provides a framework for the legal acquisition and care of human remains by museums and institutions, the curation and use of these remains (including storage, public display, and access to research and education), and their repatriation (including the process of returning remains).

In 2013, the Advisory Panel on the Archaeology of Burials in England (APABE) published guidelines for institutions wishing to carry out scientific studies on human skeletal remains, providing a framework for the destructive analyses researchers carry out. These destructive and irreversible procedures include extraction of samples from human bones and teeth for carbon and nitrogen stable isotope analyses to understand diet, strontium and oxygen isotope analyses for tracing geographic origins, DNA analyses to shed light on ancient diseases, and radiocarbon dating to provide an absolute date. The APABE believes that studying human remains provides a beneficial insight into human history; despite the irreparable damage caused by the analysis of bone.

Therefore, archaeologists need to evaluate their research and decide if it will have positive results; 'whether that knowledge could be obtained by non-destructive analyses [if possible], the experience and competence of those who intend to undertake the work' and 'the feasibility of the techniques' are a few of the many considerations researchers are made aware of (APABE, 2013, p2-5). If the sampling is approved then the processes should be "properly documented" for future researchers (*ibid.* 2, 6). In short, as long as the results are positive and outweigh the destructive sampling techniques, we should conduct scientific research on human remains provided that we treat them with appropriate respect.

Why should museums display the dead?

Displaying human remains in museums and temporary exhibitions, inspires young people in science, and creates interest in the study of human bodies. Alberti *et al* (2009, p135) states that, 'when small children and younger adults actually experience captivating displays, their interest is piqued, their intellect stirred, perhaps a life-long exploration begins. Such displays therefore act as 'advertisement' for the next generation of eminent physicians and anti-cancer researchers'.

Giles (2006, p2-3) argues that 'it is the experience of coming 'face-to-face' with the past, which museum displays…attempt to capture.' It is, therefore, the reason why many visit museums. As with bog bodies, they cannot be easily reinterred because their original contexts may have been destroyed. Since their possible living descendants could be traced narrowly, Giles suggests that they be displayed in museums 'with sufficient respect present with various interpretations' (*ibid.* p11). As archaeologists, our task is to foster greater understanding of the past, and telling the stories of bog victims is one way to do so.

It is argued that as well as conducting scientific analyses on human remains, displaying the dead is also treating them as things. 'We put them into a particular context, with restricted information that is carefully chosen to interpret the dead body for our own contingent purposes' (*ibid.* p137). Brooks and Rumsey (2007, p261) argue that human remains are 'contextualised' in museums through their exhumation and placement into a new context. The dead now have a 'different function' of serving the interests of the present, through their use in our educational efforts and to further our knowledge of human past. The Human Tissue Act (2004) states that human remains should be 'treated with appropriate respect and dignity', but how can we achieve this when we use them as "objects, for our own purposes and needs, irrespective of the wishes of the dead?" (Alberti *et al.* 2009, p138). Cole (2000, p169) contends that human remains are 'relics of once vital individuals, which do not belong in a museum setting but rather in a memorial setting'. Displaying them runs 'the very real risk of creating a cabinet of horrible curiosities'.

Although the public may gain new insight from viewing human remains in museums, it is not necessary to showcase (Alberti *et al.* 2009, p138). Tarlow (2006) argues that a degree of privacy should be afforded them, especially considering cases in which naked bodies are on

public display and thus open to criticism. The decision to showcase human remains is made with dualistic and materialistic institutions and scientific communities holding the most influence. As a result, the wishes of the deceased and their communities are often overlooked. For example, Charles Byrne (O'Brien), 'The Irish Giant', wished his body to be buried in the sea, but the Hunterian Museum continues to display his remains, refuting that his will was not written in paper and that he serves to educate present and future generations about the conditions of giant peoples (Alberti *et al.* 2009, p140).

My personal standpoint and reflections upon the issue

What is the difference between displaying human remains in museums and disseminating their photographs in the media and online? Moral and ethical issues are particularly sensitive when considering the treatment of the skeletal remains of those who died violent deaths. For instance, skeletal remains of more than 8,000 people who died in the recent Cambodian genocide from 1974-1979, are displayed in the Choeng Ek memorial in the middle of the killing fields.

Most of the readings on archaeological treatment of human remains concern the ethical and moral issues of their display in museums. However, many of their images circulate on the internet and are present in archaeological and historical journals and magazines, as well as in newspapers, which tend to reach out to a wider audience than museum visitors. Media coverage is more widespread in our society and influential than museum displays. Should we be concerned with the circulation of images of the dead in the media? I believe this is a very important issue, and that we should consider the same ethical and moral issues as when we display the dead in institutions. Foremost of these is that the dead would likely not consent for their remains to be photographed and viewed across so many platforms open for wider public opinion, especially given that many people viewing these images may make disrespectful comments.

On 10th April 2015, the Archaeology Magazine posted a photo of a Hungarian mummy, indicating that it was a victim of tuberculosis (see fig. 1). At the time of writing, there are over 9,000 'likes' and over 1,000 'shares'. Nine days later a photo of 'Red Franz', a bog body from Germany, was posted in their Facebook page (see fig. 2).

Fig. 1: Photo image of a two hundred year old Hungarian mummy (Archaeology Magazine 2015a).

Fig. 2: Photo image of 'Red Franz' (Archaeology Magazine 2015b).

There are currently 14,019 'likes' and 2,956 'shares'. A link to the original article on the web called *Bog Bodies Rediscovered* was provided with the photo of 'Red Franz', which showcases some of the most striking images of bog bodies discovered in northern Europe (Lobell and Patel, 2010). These sensitive images often end up in the layperson's Facebook

'newsfeeds' across the world in various contexts. Some Facebook users have already posted inappropriate comments online such as 'that's the Ghost Rider, right?', 'I SWEAR I saw this guy in the parking lot of a Greatful Dead concert' and "this is how the zombie apocalypse starts" (Archaeology Magazine, 2015a; *ibid.* b).

The Archaeology Magazine, a reputable source of information on archaeological developments throughout the world, published by the Archaeological Institute of America (AIA), has over a million Facebook 'likes'. Their Facebook page offers easy access to archaeology news, which is automatically updated in the subscriber's newsfeed. A lot of people may be unaware that their jokes can be seen as disrespectful, but some groups do believe that these remarks are highly insulting to the deceased. Though social media can inform people about human history, circulating graphic images of the dead, especially close-ups, can facilitate disrespect.

Most ethical and moral debates centre on archaeological human remains. Remains from recent atrocities and genocide are rarely taken into consideration but are of great historical significance. I am particularly concerned with places which hold and display multiple human skeletal remains. For instance, the Choeung Ek Genocidal Centre holds more than 8,000 skulls on eight different levels, indicating the type of death they suffered. Partially excavated by archaeologists in the 1980s, the site is a major tourist destination in Phnom Penh, Cambodia, visited by thousands of foreign and domestic travellers each year (CEGC, 2012). Many skeletal remains are still scattered across the site and can be stepped on and freely touched by visitors. Visitors are charged $6, which includes an audio tour or a local guide tour. The experience takes many visitors back through time and having been there myself, I can say it is very informative.

I was interested in visiting Choeung Ek because I had just finished my history module on South-East Asia during the Cold War at school. Thus, I was aware of the history of site and the atrocities committed. People visit Choeng Ek for various reasons, but I'm concerned that many visit to experience a different kind of dark, 'fear-related' tourism, exemplified by trips to scary themed parks. Many would argue that experiencing Choeung Ek has opened their eyes and made them respectful of the Cambodian people. However, some are not so respectful. On TripAdvisor (2015), there are over a thousand photographs posted by foreign visitors, including a couple of 'selfies' with the skeletal remains. These images could be posted on their social media profiles, exposing the remains to further ridicule.

It is human nature to be curious and to have an interest in the past, but I believe that these acts do not show respect to the dead but instead expose the victims of horrendous crimes to unhealthy fascinations. I believe that displaying the dead in this way is ethically and morally

wrong, considering their death at the hands of the Khmer Rouge regime. Their story should not be exploited and trivialised by 'morbid' tourism. Over 5,000 people reviewed the site and

although most comments contain the word 'sad' many recommend the 'attraction' (TripAdvisor, 2015). Tourists who visit Choeung Ek Genocidal Centre also stopover at the Killing Fields Museum of Cambodia, located at the S-21 Prison, where people were interrogated and tortured before being massacred in masses at Choeung Ek. It could be argued that the victims of Pol Pot's genocide have merely been reduced to and marketed as an activity for those seeking a macabre thrill.

Although I feel affected when I see images of any human remains, whether a complete body or just body parts, I think archaeologists have a duty to help us understand humanity's past and where we could be heading in the future. However, to display bodies in museums carries many ethical and moral issues, as does displaying photographs of human remains. Who authorises which human remains should be exposed to public light and criticism? By displaying human remains, the dead are merely becoming commodities to sell archaeology. We deny them humanity and privacy.

Conclusion

Though an exhaustive topic, I have highlighted important debates regarding human remains and their display, including the various stances on respectful treatment of the dead. I have presented various examples of the exhumation of human remains as well as arguments for their reburial and repatriation. I have given my view and reflected on other issues arising from the debates, such as the circulation of images of the dead online and in the media, and the relationship between displaying victims of atrocities and tourism.

With regards to the scientific analyses of human remains, I am personally against this. I believe that it is disrespecting the right of the dead to rest, such as in the case of the victims of the Cambodian genocide. However, as an archaeologist, our goal is to foster greater understanding of the human past. Sampling techniques extract portions of bones, teeth and burial materials that are irreplaceable. Even though these will give us a better understanding of who the person was, some would argue that removing parts of the bone are disrespectful. The wishes of the dead and their peaceful reburial should therefore be afforded them. As archaeologists, we are forcing our materialistic values onto our subjects when we analyse them. In this regard, based on the debates mentioned, I disagree with the idea that the dead are merely objects for the researcher rather than persons with the right to be left alone to rest. The display of human remains is a contentious issue, but different groups should accept a healthy dialogue to move forward.

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The North Duffield Iron Age round-house

Brian Elsey[1]
Email: bandjelsey@talktalk.net

This is the fourth in a series of articles concerning the activities of Archaeology North Duffield, the archaeology branch of the North Duffield Conservation and Local History Society, the other entries appearing in issues 13, 18 and 24. There have been two more seasons of excavation since the last report in 2012, and this brief report will give an update on the work, the findings and the current interpretation of the site.

In July 2013 and over June-July 2014 the site was revisited by the community team, hoping to reveal more of the circular feature that had been partially uncovered in the previous dig. In the first year of the project, the feature was thought to be a ring-ditch enclosure due to the lack of evidence for post holes. The more recent excavations together uncovered a complete ring ditch with an outer diameter of 20 metres, along with a series of pits approximately one third of the way towards the centre of the circle, clearly suggestive of post settings (see Figure 1). Unfortunately the entire site has been truncated by medieval and modern ploughing and no trace of floors or ancient ground surfaces remains.

Figure 1. Team members showing the position of revealed post-holes prior to excavation in 2013 (image copyright by author).

The Round-house Structure

A large proportion of the ring-ditch was excavated over the two digging seasons (see Figure 2). It varied between 0.7m and 1.0m in width and between 0.2m and 0.3m in depth, with steep sides and a rounded base. The ditch fill contained a large number of sherds of Iron Age calcite gritted pottery, and, in the 2013 excavations, an as-yet-unidentified iron object bearing a resemblance to a spearhead. In addition to these finds, several pieces of iron slag were recovered, along with a single worked flint.

Figure 2. Looking north across the round-house being uncovered in 2014. The larger southeast entranceway can be seen to the right, and the smaller west-southwest entrance to the left. The replica round-house constructed as part of the overall project can just be seen in the upper left (image copyright by author).

There were two gaps in the ring-ditch that have been interpreted as doorways or entrances into the structure. The larger of these gaps appeared on crop marks in the southeast segment of the ditch, and when uncovered in 2014 turned out to be approximately 6m in width. This is thought to be too large to be a practical doorway without some other form of protection from the weather, but it is likely that any evidence of a lighter, shallower-set ancillary structure such as a screen or windbreak will have been lost to ploughing if it ever existed. The terminals of the ring-ditch at this south-eastern entrance both held large numbers of presumed packing stones.

Just south of due west the ring-ditch was again broken, this time by a gap of just over 2m. The northern terminal at this entranceway was formed of a pit 0.6m deep and containing two large Sherwood sandstone boulders, interpreted as post packing, but there was no corresponding post-setting upon the other side of the gap: the ring-ditch terminal there was homogenous with the rest of the feature, although it also contained significant amounts of stone.

Figure 3. The post-holes within the round-house after excavation in 2013 (image copyright by author).

The series of pits within the circle formed an almost unbroken set respecting the curve of the ring-ditch, with considerable variation in depth and diameter, and most were half-sectioned with some eventually fully excavated (see Figure 3). They have been interpreted as post-holes due to their position roughly one-third of the distance from the outer ditch to the projected centre of the ring, consistent with other excavated round-houses in Britain (Harding 2009). This interpretation is further supported by the presence of packing stones or clay within a number of the features.

Overall, the ring-ditch encloses a floor area of roughly 241 metres, which places it at the upper end of round-houses in Britain in terms of size. Parallels from the Iron Age exist at Broxmouth, East Lothian (Armit and McKenzie 2013) and Whitton Hill, Northumberland (Harding 2009), along with a late Bronze Age example of similar size at Thwing in East Yorkshire (Manby 1984; 1985; 1986; 1991).

For the most part, the weather treated the site gracefully, but a long dry spell in 2014 coupled with strong winds (see Figure 4) made work more difficult.

Finds and Dating

The 2013 and 2014 seasons of excavation brought the total number of Iron Age pottery sherds up to 127, mostly recovered from within the ring-ditch, indicating a middle Iron Age date around 300 BC (Austin 2014). Along with these, 4 possible Bronze Age pottery fragments were discovered. A small number of Roman pottery sherds and a moderate quantity of medieval and later ceramics were retrieved from the plough soil.

Figure 4. Wind-blown sand rapidly filling an excavated feature (image copyright by author).

Some 21 pieces of struck flint were collected over the entirety of the project, and analysis suggests a probable Neolithic date for the majority of the items (Makey 2015). However, the flints are likely residual and not related to the round-house itself.

Three fragments of burnt daub, still retaining the impression of the wattle upon which they were pressed, were recovered from the north-east area of the ring-ditch. Further quantities of clay that has been heat-altered—the clay no longer absorbs or dissolves in water, suggesting it has structurally changed—were retrieved from other areas of the ring-ditch, some with a flat facet suggesting they were associated with a structure. This could be a kiln or oven or even simply internal daub from the round-house wall.

There has been a variety of evidence suggesting the presence of iron-working at the round-house (Elsey 2015, 95-7). Lumps and fragments of slag were recovered from a number of contexts, as well as appearing in a previous field-walking exercise. Along with the previously-mentioned iron object, several 'prills', evidence of iron-smelting, were found in the ring-ditch fill. A large sandstone boulder was lifted from one of the terminals of the ditch at the southeast doorway that when placed on the ground sat firmly on one end. Its uppermost surface, in this position, was unnaturally pock-marked and showed indications of burning, and this has been suggested to be an 'anvil' (see Figure 5). However, no evidence for hammer-scale was found in any context.

Thanks to the Mick Aston Archaeology Fund, a grant was obtained to enable two charcoal samples from the ring-ditch to be carbon dated (Elsey 2015, 97-8). The first was dated to 2188 ± 29 BP (267-209 cal BC) and the second to 4495 ± 28 BP (2573-2517 cal BC). The former date coincides closely with the date of 300 BC suggested by the majority of the ceramic assemblage: mid-to-late Iron Age. The latter fragment may be residual, and related to the possible Bronze Age pottery fragments or the Neolithic worked flints. Either way, this evidence suggests human use of the site much earlier than was previously suspected.

Figure 5. Proposed 'anvil' stone, showing the pitted and pock-marked upper face (image copyright by author).

Conclusions

So ends the third and final season of excavation at this enigmatic site. The project has widely been regarded as a success, both archaeologically and for the village community. While the dig has been a key part of recovering evidence, the project has also incorporated an Iron Age festival held on the village green in 2013, a conference on the Iron Age in 2014 that included presentations from a number of experts from Yorkshire and beyond, and finally the publication of a book just this year (Elsey 2015).

The excavation was very lucky to receive a visit from Dr Melanie Giles, Senior Lecturer in Archaeology at the University of Manchester, whose comments added considerably to the understanding of the site thanks to her extensive knowledge of the Iron Age in Yorkshire. Likewise, Dr Cath Neal from the University of York spent a day on site, both digging and sharing her considerable experience of Iron Age sites, suggesting a range of new possibilities. The attention and encouragement from experts such as these has provided invaluable encouragement to the team and the Society as a whole.

There is still some work to be done. Soil samples were taken and processed by wet-sieving, but the resulting environmental evidence has not yet been analysed. Anita Radini of York

University has agreed to give the author a crash course in environmental sample identification early in 2016. The burnt daub recovered from the ditch fill is still awaiting investigation: if anyone can suggest an appropriate expert, please contact the author.

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Observations on seven new cup-marked stones from Chalcatzingo, Morelos

Arnaud F. Lambert[1]
[1] Onondaga Community College, 4585 West Seneca Turnpike, Syracuse, NY 13215
Email: lamberta@sunyocc.edu

Introduction

Despite the well-known corpus of rock carvings and stelae from Chalcatzingo, where mythic narratives and political allegories illustrated elite worldviews and social concerns (e.g., Angulo 1987; Cook de Leonard 1967; Grove 2000), students of Mesoamerican archaeology are far less familiar with the cup-marked stones at the site. This is surprising since cup-marked stones occur in sufficient numbers at Chalcatzingo to suggest that they were an appreciable feature of the community. Only a handful of publications have focused on these enigmatic features (Gay 1972; Grove 1987; Lambert 2010, 2011a, 2011b). The first comprehensive investigations of the boulders and rock outcrops with cup-marks speculated as to their possible ceremonial function (Gay 1972:84; Grove 1987:166). The most recent survey was conducted in 2005 by this author and its findings were later confirmed by subsequent visits to the site in 2006 and 2008. These investigations have yielded the most thorough account of cup-marked stones at Chalcatzingo to date. At present, 39 cup-marked stones have been identified at the site, although the 2005 survey failed to locate three of the stone "altars" identified by Carlo Gay in 1972 (Lambert 2011 c:141-142, Table 5.1).

One of the unanticipated results of the 2005, 2006, and 2008 surveys was the discovery of thirteen previously undocumented cup-marked stones at Chalcatzingo. The details of six of these features have since been published (Lambert 2011a, 2011b). The present paper is intended as a supplement to these other works, and will hopefully contribute to the ongoing documentation of the site by providing additional information regarding the seven remaining stones.

The Spatial and Chronological Setting of the New Cup-Marked Stones

Previous work at the site has demonstrated that the cup-marked stones of Chalcatzingo belonged to three separate cupulate complexes – cylindrical, pit & groove, and hemispheric – which could be identified by cup-marks with distinctive morphologies and dimensions (Lambert 2010:184-186). These complexes also demonstrated marked differences in their

placement throughout the site and in the nature of their archaeological associations, suggesting that they had different chronological positions as well.

Except where noted, the majority of the cup-marked stones described in this report belong to the *cylindrical cupulate complex*, a tradition placed within the Middle Formative to Middle Classic period: c. 700 BC – AD 300 (Lambert 2010:190). A majority of the new cup-marked stones were found in areas which appear to correspond with the spatial distribution of previously documented examples of cylindrical cupules (Plate 1). These areas are namely the northwestern talus slopes of Cerro Chalcatzingo (near the Group A rock carvings), along the conjoining El Rey drainage which extends downhill from the Group A carvings towards the Central Plaza, and on the terraces on the western periphery of the Central Plaza (Lambert 2010:187). A few of the new stones appear to deviate from this pattern and are found on the eastern periphery of the Central Plaza, near the Group B carvings. While an explanation for the unusual placement of these cup-marked stones is currently a matter of conjecture, some of the information presented in this paper may help to elucidate their location within the site's built landscape.
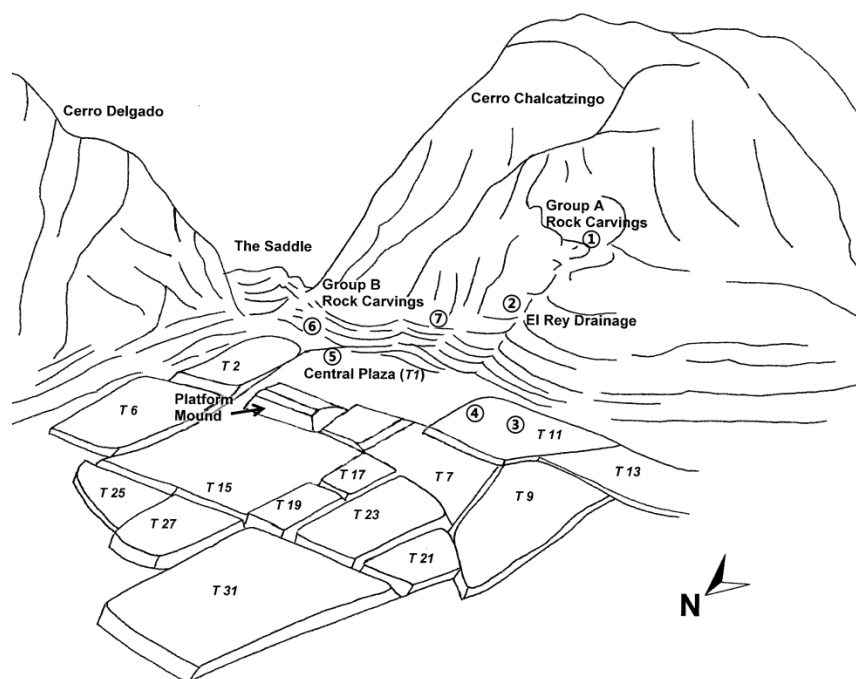
Plate 1: Schematic plan of Chalcatzingo showing the location of the new cup-marked stones: (1) CMS 1-A-2, (2) CMS 1-A-9, (3) CMS 2-A-5, (4) CMS 2-A-8, (5) CMS 3-A-4, (6) CMS 1-B-1, and (7) CMS 1-B-6. Redrawn and modified after Grove 2000:278, Source: Lambert. A. F.

Description of the New Cup-Marked Stones

Rather than rely on the system of nomenclature established by either Gay (1972:73) or Grove (1987:159), this paper will consider each of the new stones using a system of designation that easily accommodates the inclusion of newly discovered cup-marked stones, and references their spatial contexts and archaeological associations (Grove and Angulo 1987:114-115). These designations are intended to identify the stones as cup-marked (i.e., CMS), to identify the area of the site in which they were found (e.g., Area I-A, II-B, etc.), and to provide them with an ordinal number based on their date of discovery (i.e., first stone or third stone discovered in that area). This system of nomenclature has been used in four other publications (Lambert 2010, 2011a, 2011b, 2011c).

The first two stones to be discussed are located on the northwestern talus slopes of Cerro Chalcatzingo (Area I-A) and will be considered together. CMS 1-A-2 was located on a rock outcrop northwest of Monument 7 and among the Group A rock carvings (Plate 2). This cup-marked stone has two faint, circular cupules. Both measure 2.5 cm in depth and 12.7 cm in diameter. CMS 1-A-9 is an upright boulder located along the trail paralleling the El Rey drainage and leading up to the Group A rock carvings (Plate 3). The boulder measures approximately 200 cm in height and contains a circular cupule on one of its vertically-oriented sides. This cupule measures 10 cm in depth and 11 cm in diameter.

Plate 2: Photograph of CMS 1-A-2.
Source: Lambert. A. F.

Plate 3: Profile view of CMS 1-A-9.
Source: Lambert. A. F.

The next two cup-marked stones, CMS 2-A-5 and CMS 2-A-8, are situated in Terrace 11, to the west of the Central Plaza (Area II) (Plate 4). Although the drawings and descriptions of

these features are accurate based on observations made in 2005, 2006 and 2008, the terrace was being used as pasture land during this time. As a result, there has been a great deal of soil erosion and the dimensions of the low-lying boulders may have changed. A certain amount of caution is therefore warranted when using the boulder measurements that are provided herein.
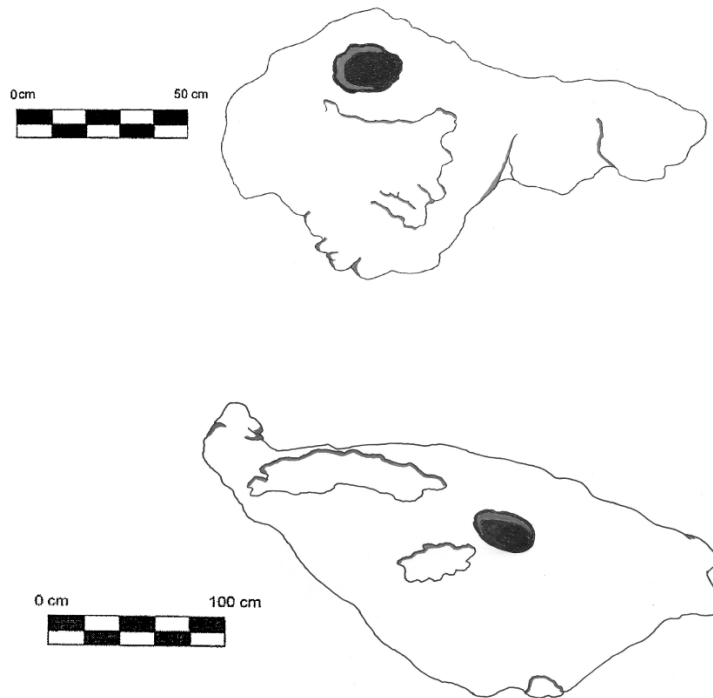

Plate 4: Oblique views of CMS 2-A-5 (top) and CMS 2-A-8 (bottom)

Source : Lambert. A. F.

CMS 2-A-5 is a small boulder, measuring 71 cm in length and 39 cm in width. It is situated approximately 15 meters northwest of CMS 2-A-6 (Gay's Altar 6; Grove's MCR-30) and 30 meters southeast of CMS 2-A-1 (Gay's Altar 1; Grove's MCR-25). This boulder contains a single circular cupule measuring 9.5 cm in depth and 13.9 cm in diameter. CMS 2-A-8, by contrast, is a moderately sized field boulder located 12 meters north and 10 meters west of CMS 2-A-9 (Gay's Altar 10; Grove's MCR-33), and shows some signs of exfoliation. There is one circular cup-mark located on this boulder which measures 13.3 cm in depth and 18.1 cm in diameter.

CMS 3-A-4 is a small triangular slab-like boulder situated to the east of the Central Plaza (Area III) (Plate 5). This boulder measures 90 cm x 92 cm x 107 cm and contains one small circular cupule with elevated sides like a crater. The cup-mark may be hemispheric or cylindrical in terms of its morphology. The ambiguity is due to its small size, which is just 2 cm in depth and 6 cm in diameter.
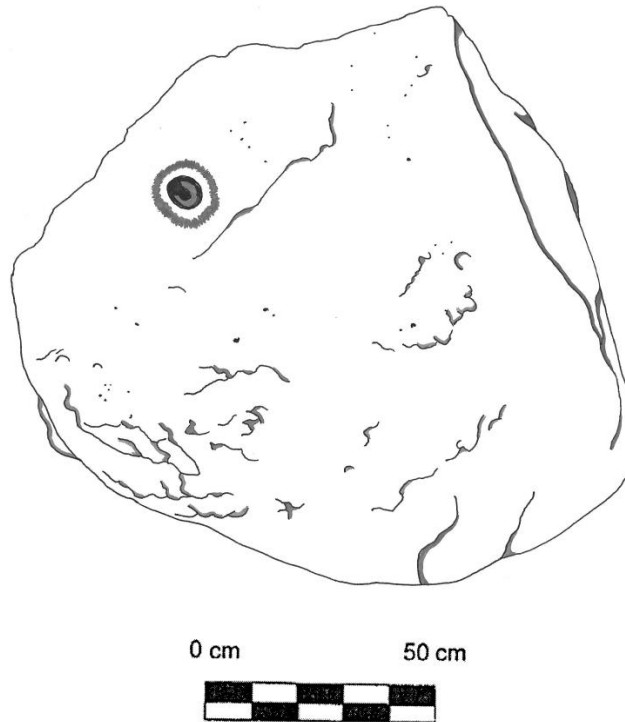

0 cm   50 cm

Plate 5: Superior view of CMS 3-A-4.
Source: Lambert. A. F.

Finally, there are two cup-marked stones located near the northern talus slopes of Cerro Chalcatzingo (Area I-B). CMS 1-B-1 is a large flat-topped boulder overlooking the terraces below the Group B rock carvings. It is situated approximately 45 meters downhill from Monument 3 and overlooks MCR-18. The boulder is 423 cm in length and 250 cm in height (maximum) and exhibits three circular cup-marks on its upper surface (Plate 7). The first, southernmost cupule, measures 8.9 cm in depth and 15.9 cm in diameter. The second cupule has a depth of 13.5 cm and a diameter of 17.8 cm. The third and easternmost measures 14.4 cm in depth and 22.4 cm in diameter.

Plate 6: Photograph of CMS 1-B-1.   Source:
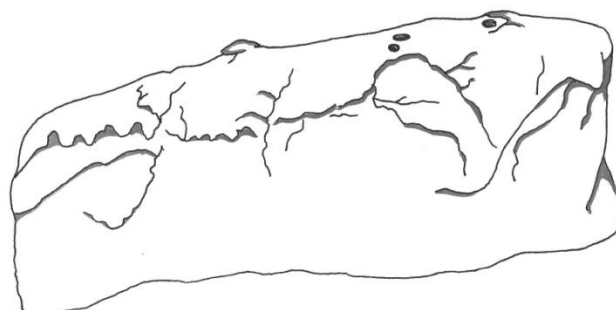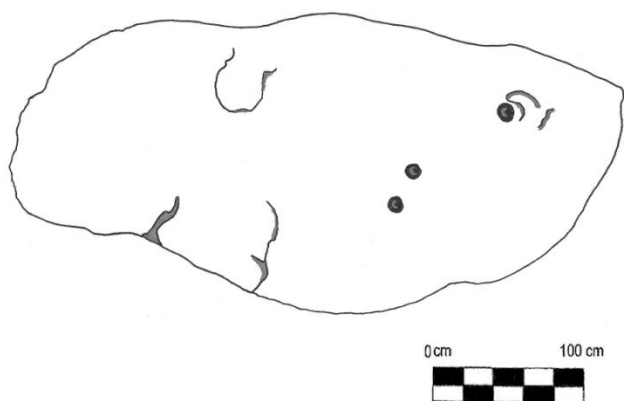Lambert. A. F.

Plate 7: Profile (top) and Superior View (bottom) of CMS 1-
B-1.

Source: Lambert. A. F.

CMS 1-B-6 is located at the base of Cerro Chalcatzingo between the Group A and Group B rock carvings (Plate 8). The upper surface of this boulder was level with the surface of the ground when initially recorded in 2005 and it was therefore impossible to determine the size of the stone. There is one circular cup-mark on this boulder, measuring 3.8 cm in depth and 4.4 cm in diameter.

Plate 8: Photograph of CMS-1-B-6.
Source: Lambert. A. F.

Discussion and Conclusions

Previous analyses of the spatial positioning and archaeological associations of the cylindrical cupulate complex stones have indicated a strong symbolic and practical relationship between these features and the construction of a ritual water management system. This appears to involve the Group A rock carvings, the El Rey drainage along the northwestern side of Cerro Chalcatzingo (Area I-A), the Central Plaza (Area III), and Terraces 11 and 13 (Area II) on the western periphery of the site (Grove and Cyphers 1987:32-33, 37-41; Lambert 2011c:113, 167). What is known about the location of the new cup-marked stones from Chalcatzingo seems to corroborate this view with regards to Area I-A, Area II, and Area III. All of these new cup-marked stones seem to mirror the horizontal orientation of the previously recorded boulders in these areas, with the exception of CMS 1-A-9. This boulder is vertically-oriented and its cupule is therefore incapable of channeling or holding water. However, because of its uniqueness in the corpus of cup-marked stones at Chalcatzingo

and its position on the sloping path paralleling the El Rey drainage, it is possible that this stone may have fallen from a more elevated point on the path where it was horizontal.

The appearance of cylindrical cupules in Area I-B seems more problematic. But it is possible to infer that these cup-marked stones had a similar role to those present in other areas of the site, due to the presence of a symbolic association between the nearby Group B rock carvings and water. This relationship is clearly expressed through the imagery of clouds, rainfall and agricultural fertility on Monuments 2, 31, 3 and 5 (Lambert 2011c:125). In addition to the Group B rock carvings, it is also interesting to note that there is a small artificial ditch, the El Paso drainage, located between the bottom of the northern talus slopes and the Central Plaza (Grove 1987:165). Taken together, this evidence points to the existence of a smaller-scale ritual water management system on the eastern periphery of Chalcatzingo that mirrored the one surrounding the El Rey drainage.

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The remnants of a stone ballcourt ring from the Chalcatzingo archaeological zone

Arnaud F. Lambert[1]
[1] Onondaga Community College, 4585 West Seneca Turnpike, Syracuse, NY 13215
Email: lamberta@sunyocc.edu

In recent years, there have been several discoveries in the Chalcaztingo archaeological zone which pertain to the playing of a ballgame. In one of her early forays at the site, Cook de Leonard (1967:84, Plate 8) reported upon a ballcourt marker which resembled Classic period markers from Teotihuacán. During the 1972-1980 *Chalcatzingo Project*, conducted under the auspices of the University of Illinois and the Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, (INAH), an enclosed ballcourt at Terrace 15, Structure 2, typical of the Late Classic period (AD 600-800), was excavated on the northern side of the site's main platform mound (Martín Arana 1987:388-389; Taladoire 2001:104-108) (plate 1).

Plate 1: Plate of the reconstructed ballcourt at Chalcatzingo (Morelos, Mexico).
Source: Lambert. A. F.

Five hand-made figurines were found under the playing alley as part of an offering, but were too idiosyncratic to associate with other figurine types present at Chalcatzingo (Martín Arana 1987:390-391). The same project also uncovered a handstone and fragments of a yugo—

two stone artefacts that are closely linked with the widespread Middle Classic period (AD 300-600) ballgame cult associated with the Gulf Coast (de Borhegyi 1980:8-11; Grove 1987:336-338). Together, this archaeological data places the ballcourt at Chalcatzingo between the Middle Classic and Late Classic periods, at a time when the ballgame was reaching its apogee in Mesoamerica and new innovations were being introduced into the game such as stone rings and enclosed courts (Taladoire 2001:102, 110). Many of these changes continued to be a part of the ballgame well into the Postclassic period (AD 1200-1520) (Plate 2). Although there have been many important finds associated with the ballgame in the Chalcatzingo archaeological zone, neither of the stone rings that probably belonged to its ballcourt have yet been identified by investigators.
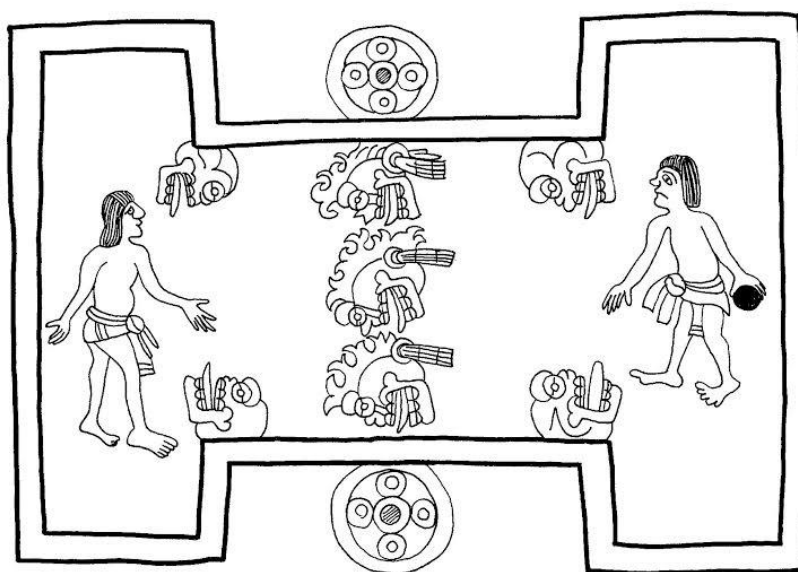

Plate 2: Drawing of an enclosed Postclassic period ballcourt, redrawn after page 68 of the Codex Magliabechiano (Nuttall 1903:80). Source: Lambert. A. F.

The following section explores the possibility that a sculptural fragment, currently located in the caretaker's building near the central plaza of Chalcatzingo, is the remnant of one of these missing stone ballcourt rings (plate 3). The stone fragment in question is a ring segment made of locally available granodiorite measuring approximately 22 cm in thickness and 40 cm along the perimeter of its longest curved edge.
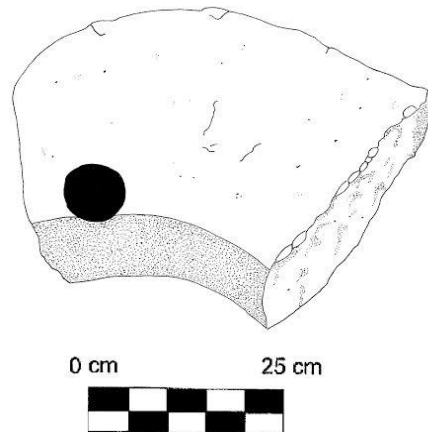
Plate 3: Scale drawing of the ring segment from Chalcatzingo.
Source: Lambert. A. F.

The fragment constitutes approximately one-seventh of a complete stone ring, assuming that it matched the form of other Late Classic and Early Postclassic period ballcourt rings in the western Valley of Morelos and the Valley of Mexico (Baquedano 1991:178; Taladoire 2001:102) (plate 4). Based on the dimensions of the segment, the exterior diameter of the complete stone ring is estimated to have been around 85-90 cm. Stone rings of a similar size are known from Xochimilco, San Francisco Asis de Xocotitlán and other locales throughout the Basin of Mexico (Baños Ramos 1990; Baquedano 1991; Nicholson 1985).
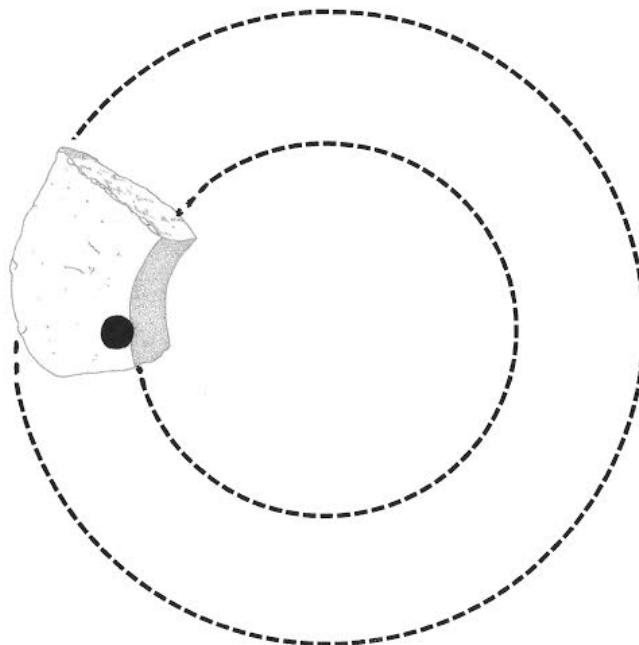

Plate 4: Reconstruction of one stone ballcourt ring from Chalcatzingo.
Source: Lambert. A. F.

In addition to its broken state, the ring segment is characterized by a small circular cup-mark, measuring 4-5 cm in diameter. Although low-relief carvings of petaloid designs, circles, and various animal figures such as monkeys and serpents are common features in the stone ballcourt rings of Central Mexico (Baños Ramos 1990:74; Whittington 2001:242-243), it is not clear whether the cupulate marking served a similar decorative purpose. Rather, given that stones from the ballcourt's balustrade were appropriated to build portions of Structure 4 on Terrace 15 at Chalcatzingo (Martín Arana 1987:391), it seems likely that the stone rings, along with other elements of the ballcourt, were broken apart and repurposed sometime towards the end of the Late Classic period. The cup-mark may be evidence of this kind of monument modification, but it is possible that the cupule was created during an iconoclastic event during the last few years of Chalcatzingo's Classic period occupation. Regrettably, there is not enough evidence to test these different ideas. Certainly, by the end of the Late Classic period, whatever the cause, the ballcourt at Chalcatzingo ceased to be used and appears to have been replaced by a ballcourt (Structure C) at the nearby Postclassic period site of Tetla (Martín Arana 1987:396).

As ongoing research projects and excavations at the Chalcatzingo site uncover new monuments and clarify the culture history of this important ceremonial center and village, it is hoped that further evidence of the stone rings may be found. Thus far, the ballcourt at Chalcatzingo bears many of the hallmarks of cultural exchange between the societies of the Gulf Coast, Oaxaca, and Central Mexico. However, new information is needed in order to investigate whether changes in the use of the ballcourt at the end of the Classic period reflected local processes of site renewal or large-scale historical changes linked to political decentralization as the people of Chalcatzingo reacted to the fall of Teotihuacán (Santley, Berman, and Alexander 1991:18-20).

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