The Post Hole

The student-run archaeology journal

February 2015

Photography Competition: Winning Entries

Issues of Gender in Archaeology

Spatial Organisation and Material Culture:
Studying Identity

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Cover image credit: 'Those unknown'.
Photo: Karen Price, winner of *The Post Hole's* 2015 Image Competition

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Contents

Editorial: Sympathetic Restoration

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The character of archaeology means that we are regularly in contact with fragile, important, and occasionally priceless artefacts. Life is full of accidents and delicate archaeological relics are inevitably susceptible to breakages. This was brought to the public's attention at the end of January, following the revelation that the beard from Tutankhamun's death mask had been broken off and regularly repaired with epoxy adhesive. The press quickly capitalised on this conservation blunder. This provide the opportune moment to draw attention to other similar incidents such as the repainting of Ecce Homo, the removal of 15,000 year old cave paintings, presumed to be graffiti, in Mayrieres, south west France and the smashing of three Qing Dynasty Chinese vases after a museum visitor tripped over their shoelaces (*c.f.* Kingsley 2015, Shute 2015, Thompson 2015). Other examples have gained similar press attention, such as the excavation damage of the putative remains of King Richard III (Mcfarnon 2014) and the accidental killing of the world's oldest clam when researchers attempted to determine the mollusc's age – a record breaking 507 years old (Vincent 2013)! The point I would like to demonstrate is that it is the nature of archaeology, science and even life, that mistakes will be made, accidents will occur and, naturally, these errors will be more widely publicised than successes. This may be as a result of journalistic strategy and a tendency to run stories which will sell. Perhaps the reluctance to formally report such incidents is due, then, to the fear, embarrassment or apprehension concerning the unprecedented media uproar.

Figure 1. The damage caused by a hasty repair job after the accidental breakage of the beard from King Tutankhamun's death mask (Bunn 2015).

Not reporting these mishaps can mean that careless repair jobs are carried out on culturally important objects which do not do them justice. This appears to be what has happened in King Tut's case. The hasty restoration job was carried out at Cairo Museum, apparently after the beard

was accidently knocked off as the bulbs in the display cabinet were changed. This was 'rectified' through an inadequate restoration using everyday epoxy glue, leaving visual imperfections on the death mask (Fig. 1). The excess dried adhesive was chiselled from the relic, leaving a yellow stained layer under Tutankhamun's chin. The beard is slightly skewed and gold scratches are observable. But could this have all been avoided?

There seems to be a place for a restoration body, sympathetic to these mishaps, which would, in turn, create a more understanding atmosphere in the international heritage community. There appear to be two main benefits: first, this body could carry out restoration suitably, using appropriate materials, and as such return the objects to their former condition. Secondly, it could make people less reluctant to come forward and report accidental damage. This would again ideally result in more thorough conservation jobs. Of course, this is not to excuse the damage of such precious objects, but instead an acceptance of infrequent mistakes and the importance of being able to then rectify the damage to a high standard.

The Image Competition has now closed, thank you to all the people who entered the competition. The winning image came from **Karen Price** and is entitled "Those Unknown" and features as the Issue 44 cover art, so, if you have not already, be sure to take a look.

There is still space for articles to feature in Issue 45, please send all articles to Jess Hand at submissions@theposthole.org. As well as academics around the world, we welcome articles from all students. It could be a specially written piece for us, or essays you have written as part of your archaeology course. This is a fantastic opportunity to see your name in established journal with a global audience (Fig. 2) as a published undergraduate. So, if you feel passionately about anything linked to archaeology, be it crowd funded excavations or microliths, then please write it down and submit to *The Post Hole*. We pride ourselves on publishing articles on a diverse range of topics and demographics from students, academics and enthusiastic amateurs; we would love to hear from you!
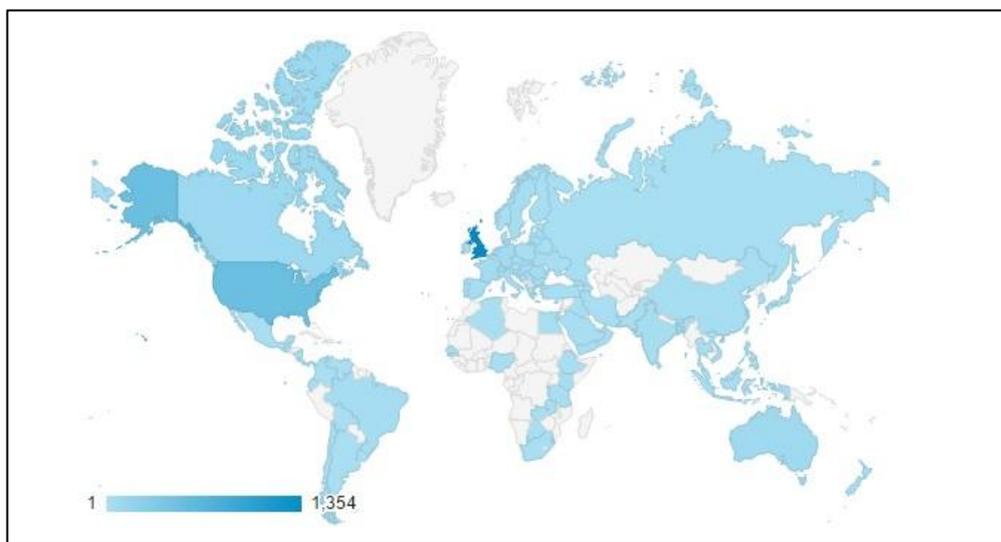

Figure 2. A map showing areas of the globe where people have accessed *The Post Hole* website .

The first paper to feature in Issue 44 comes from **Ella Hierlehy,** and concerns the progression of gender theory throughout the twentieth century. Hierlehy presents the developments using three case studies to address the plausibility of gender identifications.

Peruvian mummification developed as different cultures thrived, and **Callum Scott** examines and compares the practices of three of those cultures (Chinchorro, Paracas and Nascas). Scott focuses on social stratification, decapitation and use of textiles as he compares mummification techniques.

Jessica Hand explores the challenges of studying identity in the archaeological record by considering spatial organisation and material culture as potential methods of doing so. Hand uses archaeological case studies to examine the influence of modern conceptions of identification studies.

The next article comes from one of our regular contributors **Arnaud Lambert**, who has featured in an impressive six issues! In this piece, Lambert considers the origins and meaning of a sculptural fragment found at the Central Mexican site of Chalcatzingo, making some thoughtful inferences based on style and significance.

Amy Wright, the Design and Creative Content Coordinator for *The Post Hole*, has organised the Image Competition this year. In this piece Wright showcases some of our favourite entries which we just could not see go unpublished!

As always, I hope the above pieces have inspired some potential writers out there to work on their own piece for *The Post Hole*. If you are considering publishing your work through us, please look over the guidance for authors which can be found at theposthole.org/authors. We have recently altered the requirements for images used in articles, so be sure to familiarise yourself beforehand

All the best,

Eleanor Green.
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Changes in the archaeological approach to gender since the early twentieth century.

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In the early twentieth century there was very little concern for gender issues in archaeology, with men leading the study on all platforms. Leading female figures such as Garrod were not celebrated, but left out of the grand narrative of archaeological history (Hills 2004). However, gender archaeology, or enquiries into gender in the archaeological record, has grown since the 1960's, and overtly since the eighties, paralleling the growing interest in gender issues throughout most other disciplines and socio-political life (Greene and Moore 2010). Now it is recognised that there is "no longer a simple binary divide between men and women", with numerous cases of people being classified as a third or cross-gender (Gilchrist 1999, 54-78). Since the emergence of gender archaeology, there have been numerous phases of research and debate. This is exemplified through case studies, such as the three which I focus on in reference to this discussion; Marija Gimbuta's works on Neolithic and Copper Age Indo-European societies' use of the female figure (1974), Bettina Arnold's re-examination and analysis of an Iron Age female burial (1991), and Whelan's study of a Native American 'two-spirit' individual at the Santee Sioux cemetery (1991). However, when considering these case studies, we must observe both the geographical and periodic variations. Approaches to gender archaeology have varied quite obviously internationally, as is apparent when comparing Europe, the USA and Australia, as well as in the study of different time periods such as prehistory and succeeding eras (Nelson 2006). Nevertheless, "the *absence* of women, whether in the profession, in representations or in interpretations, was, however, the consistent theme, and the emphasis was therefore upon gaining visibility" (Sorensen 2000, 156).

The 1960's and the emergence of the 'second wave of feminism' meant that the earliest approach to gender archaeology made a large effort to finally bring women into the narrative of archaeological work, which had predominantly been undertaken by Victorian male scholars. The main objective was to rectify the male bias, or androcentric assumptions. These assumptions are most apparent in the sexist use of language in archaeological books, here an exemplar from Ucko's work; "Early man made a home in a cave… He made scrapers and bones… His wife used the scraper to clean the underside of animal skins" (Unstead 1953, 7). Thus, this representation of generalised patriarchal society needed to be altered.

Figure 1. An example of a female figurine from Gimbutas' 'Language of the Goddess'. Interestingly these figurines were interpreted as a continuous tradition of female power, without consideration of geographical location or time period. (Photograph from Marija Gimbutas' collection).

This is presented especially well in Marija Gimbuta's work with female figurines (Fig. 1) in the Neolithic and Copper Age of south-east Europe and Anatolia (Gimbutas 1974). She concludes that the predominant number of female figurines, compared to that of male representations, demonstrates the importance of women's status at the time. However, the fact that she did not consider, or chose to dismiss, the wider context of Indo-European society and its male dominated and warlike character, brought about much criticism of her 'gynocentric' approach. Sceptics such as Ian Hodder argued that "the elaborate female symbolism in the earlier Neolithic expressed the objectification and subordination of women… Perhaps women rather than men were shown as objects, because they, unlike men, had become objects of ownership and male desires" (Hodder 1995, 220). Later, this phase in gender archaeology has been labelled "add women and stir" (Wylie 1991, 34). It has additionally been highly criticised, being viewed as sometimes radical, inaccurate and gynocentric, as seen with Conkey and Gero's (1997, 424-430) explanation of the early approach to the subject as "diverse in theory" but sometimes unnecessarily "seeing gender everywhere", or "genderlirium".

Figure 2. Plan of the Vix burial chamber: with traditional male indicators such as wagon associated artefacts (e.g. numbers 9, iron wheel rim, 10, hub sheaths, 17, decorative front panels from the wagon). (Arnold 1991, 367).

The difficulty of looking at burial goods in relation to gender or sex are evidenced by the analyses of Bettina Arnold and the 'Princess of Vix', French burial. Arnold (1991) carefully re-examined the grave goods (Fig. 2) and her conclusion supported the interpretation of the burial as that of an elite female (Fig. 3). This debate about biologically determined sex and socially constructed gender was vital in the second phase of gender archaeology, or the real beginning of gender archaeology, as believed by some.

This development in gender archaeology emerged around 1984, upon the publication of Conkey and Spector's paper, *Archaeology and the study of*

Figure 3. The skeletal remains were originally interpreted as a 'transvestite priest' because it was previously and androcentrically believed to be inconceivable that a woman could be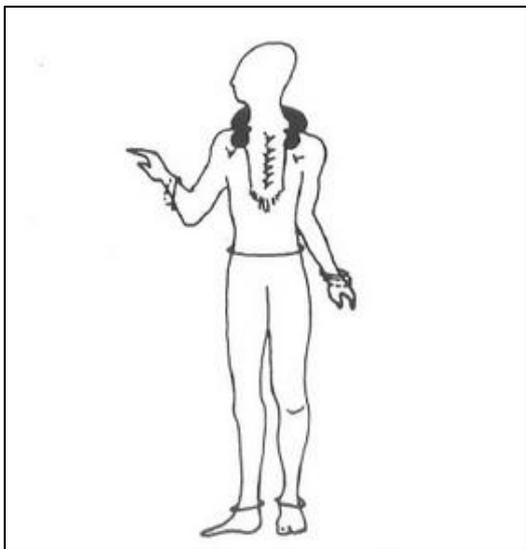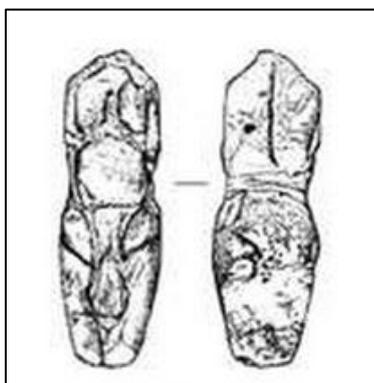 honoured with prestige items which were usually associated to males, despite the fact that the skeleton was sexed as a female (Spindler and Spindler 1983, 230).

Gender, in the UK and America, and was simultaneous with the emergence of the journal *K.A.N.: Kvinner I arkeologi I Norge (Women in Archaeology in Norway)* in Norway. It began to be recognised that although sex can be biologically determined through the analysis of skeletal remains, gender is a social construct that varies within each society as well as through time, and which can only be merely suggested by artefacts. This new understanding was heavily worked upon in the second phase, but later fiercely criticised by the third wave of feminism as 'essentialist'. Therefore, it was merely emphasising the difference between men and women, and encouraging the traditional bipolar concept of the two genders (Arnold and Wicker 2001, 138). This could be a direct criticism of Arnold's conclusion, because although she does challenge the traditional interpretations of gender representation in the archaeological record, she does still divide the two genders in terms of just burial goods, or more accurately, the quantity of burial goods (Arnold 1991, 372).

The next development in gender archaeology was closely associated with the feminist movement from the 1990's onwards, and moves forward in the understanding that the field of gender and gender difference is more than simply a divide, but includes third, fourth and neutral genders (Figs. 4 and 5). Archaeological works began to reflect the wider social understanding that gender, like wealth, age and ethnicity, is a non-static construct which is fluid and flexible (Amundsen-Meyer *et al.* 2010).

Figures 4 and 5. 'The Hermaphrodite' statuette, as describe by White and Bisson 1998) and the excavation in the South area at the site of Catalhoyuk (Source from flikr: Catalhoyuk). Both works in archaeology demonstrating more elaborate ideas of gender: the statuette becoming a part of Green's argument that the creators of Prehistoric European figural iconography adopted a deliberate duality of gender representation, including hermaphrodism (Green 1997, and Hodder's excavations at Catalhoyuk explored ways in which to express different perspectives and multi-vocality (Wolle and Tringham 2000, Nelson 2006).

The most explored area is the idea of 'two-spirit' individuals in Native American society (Fig. 6). Although it is the most celebrated of the third-gender roles worldwide, with 150 North American tribes mainly from the Plains recognising individuals as those of the two-spirit (Rosoe 1994, 330), it is incredibly difficult to see evidence of this in the archaeological record. However, Whelan identified a possible example of a two-spirit b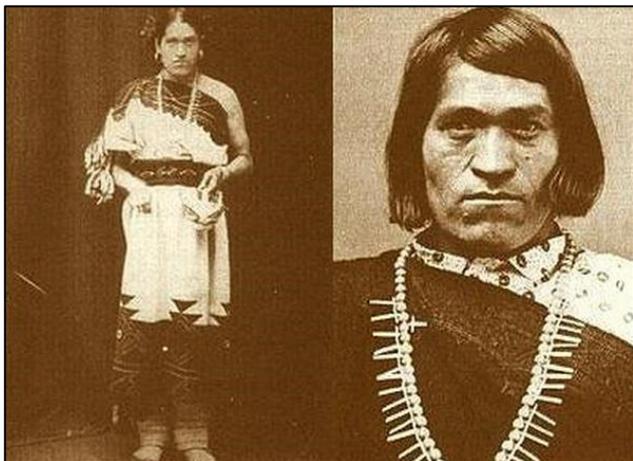urial with an associated assemblage (1991). The Santee Sioux cemetery in present-day Nebraska was in use around 1830-1850 AD, with thirty-nine individuals being recovered to date. The biological sex of these individuals is divided almost equally. Whelan stressed that sex and gender were distinguished analytically, and the designation of gender categories was not prescribed on the basis of biological sex. Each of the skeletal remains were analysed independently of artefacts associated with each burial, using multivariate sexing and ageing methods where possible. Interestingly, none of the artefacts analysed indicated, or were associated with age, sex or subsistence activities, debatably suggesting that these burials were representative of symbolic status only. The gender of each individual was also analysed independent of the sexing; certain artefacts repeated in relation to a specific gender category, such as those with documented ritual associations (e.g. pipestones, mirrors, pouches) were associated with seven people. When compared with the analyses of the skeletons' biological sex, six of these were male with only one resulting as a female. This one female was a young adult, and was buried with more varying artefacts than any other individual in the cemetery. Whelan's concluding theory was that this could be an archaeological example of a two spirit individual – a biological female who changed her gender, achieving a respected, shamanic role in the Santee community (Renfrew and Bahn 2005, 95-108).

Figure 6. Photographs of We-Wah, from.New Mexico, who was born biologically male but lived as a Two Spirit woman (Photograph by Zuleyka Zevallos). 'Two Spirit' is a western term, but one that describes the idea of the individual taking on the sex, gender, role and dress of the opposite sex (Gilchrist 1999, 61). Fulton and Anderson propose that the two spirit way of life is "a sacerdotal role, an intermediary between the two sexes, between the living and the dead, and between the gods and humanity" (Gilchrist 1999, 62).

The development of gender archaeology has clearly progressed throughout the twentieth century in response to society's changing attitude. Although there have been criticisms of the developments, and of the late concern within the discipline in comparison to other social sciences (Nelson 1997, 15-20, Wylie 1991), there is now a widespread and strong determination to understand the genders of past peoples, independent of biological sex. The three case studies I chose emphasise this, demonstrate how research into gender is no longer about "centralizing women and securing their presence in…research agendas and interpretations" (Sorensen 2000, 39-40). With the development of archaeological theory, for instance, Processualism, Post-

Processualism and Feminism, there is now consideration of the idea of the individual or the agent. Gender archaeology now attempts to categorise less; exploring the agent and their interactions with others, and trying to understand how this, in addition to their varying social structures and ideologies, is affected and shaped (Sorensen 2000, 39-40). However, there still remains some debate as to the extent of how the topic of gender and how it is approached within archaeology has progressed. Similarly, Nelson argues that many text books on archaeology still neglect gender as an important element of the past (2006, 16), whilst Denning similarly believes that 'gender archaeology' has become normalised within the subject, so much so that it now remains merely as a "discrete subcategory of the discipline" and has "neutralised the power and politics of a feminist approach" (2000, 214).

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Figures

Figure 1: Sourced from Marija Gimbutas' Collection, OPUS Archives and Research Centra, Santa Barbra, CA.

Figure 2: Sourced from Arnold 1991, page 361.

Figure 3: Sourced from Spindler and Spinder 1983, page 230.

Figure 4: White, R. and Bisson M. (1998*). Imagerie féminine du Paléolithique : l'apport des nouvelles statuettes de Grimaldi, Gallia préhistoire.* Tome 40: 95-132.

Figure 5: https://www.flickr.com/photos/catalhoyuk/15030235650/ or http://www.catalhoyuk.com/media/photography.html

Figure 6: Photographs by Zuleyka Zevallos from the article Zevallos, Z. (2013). '*Rethinking Gender and Sexuality: Case Study of the Native American 'Two-Spirit' People'.* Available at: *http://othersociologist.com/2013/09/09/two-spirit-people/*.

Differing treatments of the dead between three pre-Columbian South American cultures: Chinchorro, Paracas and Nascas

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Introduction

There are many similarities among the pre-Columbian cultures of South America. Meaning an analysis between one early culture (Chinchorros) and two closely linked cultures (Paracas and Nascas) is necessary; firstly to assess similarities which are uniform through time and secondly to investigate how burial practices progress in a single cultural group. This paper will analyse each individual culture and compare the three looking for similarities and linear progressions. The first similarity investigated is the continual use of decapitation, which is consistent in all three groups (Arriaza 1995; Arriaza *et al.* 2005; Arriaza *et al.* 2008 51-53; Aufderheide *et al.* 1993; Brown *et al.* 1993; DeLeonardis 2000; Krudson *et al.* 2009; Peters 2000; Proulx 2001; Proulx 2008, 572-580; Proulx 1999; Santoro *et al.* 2012; Silverman 2002: 170, 202). Another is the use of shrouds, either textiles or simpler vegetable and camelid wrappings, as well as other offerings and grave goods (Arriaza 1995; Arriaza *et al.* 2005; Arriaza *et al.* 2008, 53; Aufderheide *et al.* 1993; DeLeonardis 2000; Peters 2000; Proulx 2008, 565-572; Proulx 1993; Santoro *et al.* 2012; Silverman 2002: 174, 202; Silverman 2002; Stewart 1943). The third is the notion of social stratification (Arriaza 1995; Arriaza *et al.* 2005; Arriaza *et al.* 2008, 51-53; Aufderheide *et al.* 1993; Brown *et al.* 1993; DeLeonardis 2000; Krudson *et al.* 2009; Peters 2000; Proulx 2001; Proulx 2008, 572-580; Proulx 1999; Santoro *et al.* 2012; Sepúlveda 2014; Silverman 2002: 170, 202).

Chinchorro mortuary practice

Social stratification

Chinchorro mummification has five distinct forms: black, red, mud, bandage and natural (Arriaza 1995; Arriaza *et al.* 2005; Arriaza *et al.* 2008:51; Santoro *et al.* 2012; Sepúlveda *et al.* 2014. Which citations refer to which form of mummification?). The evolution of these methods of preservation is unclear and it has been argued that it was purely egalitarian; however there is evidence of social stratification at death (Arriaza 1995; Arriaza *et al.* 2005; Sepúlveda *et al.* 2014). This division is clear in the later stages of the Chinchorro culture, with the greater use of grave goods in varied abundance between 2000-1500 BC. Conversely, it is also visible in the earliest stages (6000-5000 BC) of artificial mummification, (Arriaza 1995; Arriaza *et al.* 2005;

Arriaza *et al.* 2008, 50). Mummification began as a tool to console grieving parents who lost their children due to arsenic in drinking water and hence the method was strictly used on children during the earliest phases of the Chinchorro practices (Arriaza 2008, 51; Santoro *et al.* 2012; Sepúlveda *et al.* 2014) This selective mummification is clearly seen from Camarones 14 and 17 where children were mummified (C-3 and C-4) and adults were not (Arriaza 1995; Aufderheide *et al.* 1993). Therefore, children were arguably the most important in the culture. This does not suggest a hierarchal stratification in the culture, but only stratification at death due to grief.

A hierarchy is discernible in the later phases of black mummification. As mummification expanded as a cultural tradition, it seems that there was an established egalitarian mortuary practice with little variation (Arriaza 1995; Arriaza *et al.* 2005; Arriaza *et al.* 2008, 51; Santoro *et al.* 2012; Sepúlveda *et al.* 2014). However, this was due to the economic stability of the culture. This can be easily seen in Sepúlveda *et al.* (2014) where established trade networks with southern Peru and the highlands were used to obtain the manganese minerals with a copper trace for use on black mummies. The scarcity of these materials then led to a shift towards the use of more readily available red pigments: this shift is seen in the Tarapacá Universidad mummy which is dated 2800 ± 155 BC, which has red and yellow ochre bands on top of a single layer of manganese instead of the more common five coatings of manganese (Arriaza 1995; Sepúlveda 2014). This change led to the use of the black pigments being reserved for the faces of mummies and for use on children (Arriaza 1995; Arriaza *et al.* 2005; Arriaza *et al.* 2008, 51; Santoro *et al.* 2012; Sepúlveda *et al.* 2014). Consequently, Arriaza's (1995) suggestion that social stratification was non-existent, due to the majority (71%) of mummies being artificially mummified, can be seen to be inaccurate. It is not whether they were mummified, but how they were mummified that determines social stratification. This change in mummification practice, from black to red, then led to increased variation in mortuary practices. Natural mummification was on the rise due to the lack of resources to properly mummify the dead, and different methods were used to display status rather than black mummification (Arriaza 1995; Sepúlveda *et al.* 2014). The use of bandages and mud coatings particularly display opposite ends of a hierarchy. The use of a bandage coating, which shares features of both black and red mummification, clearly was a show of status; these mummies would have required considerable effort and expense to produce, both those using black pigments and those using red pigments (black showing an even higher status) (Arriaza 1995; Arriaza *et al.* 2008, 51-53; Aufderheide *et al.* 1993; Santoro *et al.* 2012; Sepúlveda *et al.* 2014). This is then contrasted with mud coated mummies, which show a very simplistic method of preservation: using a sandy cement-like mixture to encase the body, although there is variation on whether they were eviscerated or not (Arriaza 1995; Arriaza *et al.* 2008, 51-53; Aufderheide *et al.* 1993; Santoro *et al.* 2012; Sepúlveda *et al.* 2014). This clearly shows that social stratification was an evident motion in society provoking more and less elaborate forms of mummification, which were influenced by economic stressors through the Chinchorro period.

Decapitation

It is important to note that decapitation originated in this period. Decapitation was a vital part of the mummification process, in the production of both black and red mummies, to allow extraction of the brain through the foramen magnum (Arriaza 1995; Arriaza *et al.* 2005; Arriaza *et al.* 2008, 51; Aufderheide *et al.* 1993; Santoro *et al.* 2012; Sepúlveda *et al.* 2014). Although the ritual or practical purposes of decapitation are not fully understood, it is still crucial to acknowledge that the origin occurred here, particularly when comparing the Chinchorros with the Paracas and Nasca cultures. The use of artificial heads, which was another factor of considerable variation in the treatment of corpses, also originated in this period (Aufderheide *et al.* 1993). There is no evidence as to what happened to the original head, however it may be postulated that veneration or use in ritual is probable, as in the practices of the other cultures.

Shrouds

The use of shrouds by the Chinchorros occurred as early as Acha Man (7000 BC), who was found with remains of a tortora reed mat covering part of his face; this is believed to have covered at least the whole head (Aufderheide *et al.* 1993). This type of shroud continued to be used until the end of the Chinchorros (1500 BC), however there was variation in the bandage mummies, where the body's own skin and animal hides were used to wrap the body (Santoro *et al.* 2012). The continual use of shrouds through the periods of focus makes this a highly relevant subject for comparison.

Paracas mortuary practices

Social stratification

The mortuary stratification of the Paracas can be divided into three main groups: Caverns, Necropolis and Ocucaje (Peters 2000; Proulx 2008; Stewart 1943). The Caverns were bottle shaped pit tombs where multiple burials were placed in the natural landscape of Cerro Colorado, some with stone-lined antechambers and roofs constructed from organic material (Peters 2000; Stewart 1943). This was the simplest of burial methods, requiring no evisceration and, due to the high salinity of the soil, it is argued that no special treatment was needed and only smoking was used for artificial preservation (Burger 2009; Stewart 1943). However, the methods used in caverns may be oversimplified. The presence of a black substance on bones and tissue indicates the use of a preservative (Stewart 1943). This shows there was an element of complexity in the treatment of bodies. Less structured bundles also support cavern burials being low class (Peters 2000).

Necropolis burials are located in abandoned domestic structures; these included more grave goods, better structured bundles and more mummies, which is clear from sites with up to 429 mummies (Peters 2000; Proulx 2008; Stewart 1943). The Necropolis burials are prepared in a

more complex manner, with the viscera and muscles removed (Stewart 1943). The brain, as with the method practiced by the Chinchorros, was removed through the foramen magnum, thereby suggesting an influence or perhaps linear progression from earlier, possibly Chinchorro, societies (Stewart 1943). The Ocucaje burials are a denomination of Necropolis burials. Key differences are adobe walls, two chambers and a greater amount of grave goods (Peters 2000). These differences in mortuary practice show a clear continuation of social stratification from earlier cultures.

One key difference to note is that unlike the Chinchorros, who developed social stratification due to a lack of resources and allocated materials based on an emotional hierarchy (with children at the top), the Paracas developed stratification at death based upon prestige during life. This is clear because of the demographics of the assemblages and the differences of sites such as Juan Pablo, where they were buried in simple pits, and the Necropolis (Strong 1957). The Cavern burials are a more general area of burial, showing both genders and multiple ages, whereas the Ocucaje burials are always elderly men between the age of 50 and 70 (Peters 2000). This demonstrates a very specific group was being selected for burial in these areas. This group also shows distinctive outer garments, often worn by supernatural creatures in iconography, which suggests a specific role in society (Peters 2000; Stewart 1943). Therefore at this period in time, stratification at death had a totally different motive based on societal structure and was not based on grief as with the early Chinchorros. Instead it is an expansion on the early stratification seen after the red mummies.

Textiles

The textiles used vary based on the funerary groupings explained above. In Cavern burials the textiles were loose, simple and less abundant leading to smaller and less shaped bundles (Proulx 2008; Peters 2000). However the more extravagant textiles from the Necropolis and the Ocucaje tell us a lot about the culture. It is important to recognise that textiles used during life were incorporated into the bundles, but that there were also textiles produced specifically for the dead (Peters 2000). Most revealing of all, regarding customs of the dead, is the iconography of occult beings and trophy heads on the textiles (Proulx 1999). The Paracas are responsible for the earliest depiction of trophy heads in Peru (Proulx 1999; Proulx 2001; Proulx 2008, 571), and in this regard the textiles show a large cross-over with Nasca pottery (Silverman 2002).

Decapitation

Physical decapitation in the Paracas is mentioned above as a method to extract the brain via the foramen magnum, however due to the iconography it is clear that this was not only a method of preservation. Due to the similarities with the Nasca, this will be discussed further below.

Nasca mortuary practices

Decapitation

The Nasca were the culture most focused on ritual decapitation, with 21.5% of Nasca 6 motifs depicting trophy heads (Brown *et al.* 1993; Knudson *et al.* 2009; Proulx 1999; Proulx 2001; Proulx 2008, 572-580; Silverman 2002, 170; Silverman 2002). The trophy heads have specific characteristics similar to the Paracas trophy heads, such as the use of a carrying rope through the forehead, stuffing the eyes with cotton and removal of the brain through the foramen magnum (Brown *et al.* 1993; DeLeonardis 2000; Knudson *et al.* 2009; Proulx 1999; Proulx 2001; Proulx 2008, 572-580; Silverman 2002). There is distinct evidence of ritual from small cut marks on the scalp, which may have been a ritual bloodletting (Brown *et al.* 1993; Proulx 1999). However, the most convincing evidence is the appearance of vegetables either as offerings to heads or morphing into trophy heads in iconography (Knudson *et al.* 2009; Proulx 1999; Proulx 2001; Proulx 2008, 572-580; Silverman 2002, 170). Figure 1 shows a trophy head being presented to a bundle and figure 2 shows the taking of trophy heads (Proulx 2001). It is important to notice on these motifs that the trophies are smiling, therefore the actual taking of trophy heads was not seen as brutal. Notably, trophy head taking was linked to social prestige, with warriors and political officers often depicted carrying heads (Knudson *et al.* 2009; Proulx 1999; Proulx 2001; Proulx 2008, 572-580; Silverman 2002). Thus it can be argued that trophy heads were an important factor in social structure.
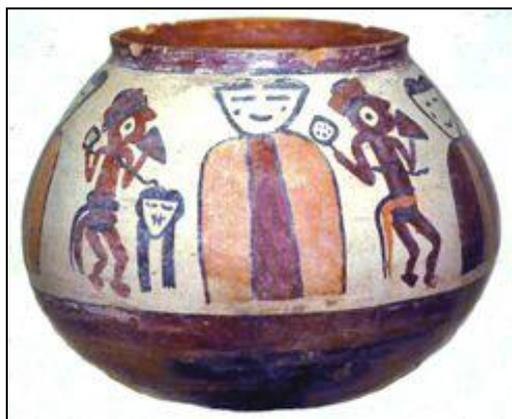

Figure 1. Depicts a Nasca bundle being honoured with a trophy head (Proulx 2001).

Figure 2. Depiction of a decapitation ritual (Proulx 2001).

There is a distinct change in the deposition of trophy heads, with a shift from singular deposition to caching (Brown *et al.* 1993; Knudson *et al.* 2009; Proulx 1999; Proulx 2001; Proulx 2008, 572-580; Silverman 2002). This may represent a shift from respecting the individuals to more forceful collection. This theory is also supported by evidence for ritual warfare (DeLeonardis 2000; Proulx 1999; Proulx 2001; Proulx 2008, 572-580).

Similar to the Paracas with their textile false heads and the Chinchorro clay reconstructions, the Nasca used false heads (DeLeonardis 2000; Proulx 1999; Proulx 2008, 580). These come in

many different forms, ranging from the limestone replacement of PV62D13, to textile replacements seen at Ubbelohde Doering, to ceramic replacements seen at Aja B cemetery (DeLeonardis 2000). Once again this shows a link, not only to the Paracas but to the Chinchorros as well.

Conclusion

The use of decapitation, shrouds or textiles, and the stratification of the dead are three clear similarities between the three cultures discussed. The use of decapitation as a feature of the mummification process and the eventual ritualism of the method can be seen as a progressive development in the cultures. The use of shrouds is a method that was exaggerated by the later cultures. Social stratification clearly progressed through the Chinchorro period, and expanded into everyday life among the later cultures, leading to stratification based on social position rather than grief. Therefore it is clear that there are similarities between the Chinchorro, the Paracas and the Nasca and that the progression between the two later cultures was stimulated by economic development (the use of ceramics) and the increasing ritualisation of methods of mummification.

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Spatial organisation and material culture as means to study identity

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It has been argued that we can scarcely do without the word identity today to describe an almost inviolable right to exist (Rowlands 2007, 60). It is no surprise therefore that identity, arguably associated with everything that comes under the umbrella of existing, is a difficult concept. Here the case will be made that identity is inherently too complex to be studied using any single method. Both material culture and spatial organisation used to study identity have strengths and weaknesses, with Johnson supporting the argument that the two used together in order to study identity where possible is the most appropriate option, stating that spatial ordering goes hand in hand with both the ordering of society and with material culture (2002, 69). I will contend that studying identity at the level of gender and class identity, for example, is useful but more refined definitions of identity are ultimately inaccessible. I will also explore some of the theoretical problems that come with studying identity through the archaeological record, exploring the idea that identity is largely irreducible in the majority of cases regardless of which method is employed in its study.

The English poet Donne thought that the individual was of little importance in the tide of human history, yet, conversely, Mill theorised that humans when brought together are not converted into another kind of substance (cited by Hodder and Hutson 2003, 7). Donne's view is a good reflection of how studying identity in archaeology was once perceived within New Archaeology. The concept of the 'individual' was rejected for a long time, as New Archaeology preferred to look at what an artefact meant within the greater picture, and variability that might suggest individualism was overlooked (Hodder and Hutson 2003, 8), as such mimicking the opinion of Donne. However Mill's view reflects the notion that, even when men are brought together under the same set of social conventions, their individual identity is not lost nor does it transform into something else readily accessible in the archaeological record. His outlook in particular shares similarities with arguments stressing the importance of agency in archaeology. Agency in the archaeological record has been considered unassailable through archaeological evidence, as it is both unpredictable and forceful of generalisation (Hodder and Hutson 2003, 7). Dant has reflected upon how archaeologists have long since acknowledged material culture as the evidence for distinct social cultures (Dant 1999, 2), and as such brings into question its applicability into looking for the individual. Overall, however, it is recognised that archaeology should not regress back to the approach favoured within the New Archaeology and completely ignore evidence reflecting individualism (Hodder and Hutson 2003, 7). The predominant issue

regarding identity and its study through the archaeological record, is that identity is a term used in a variety of different ways (Diaz-Andreu *et al.* 2005, 1). Identity can be defined as the unique identifying characteristics of an individual (Diaz-Andreu *et al.* 2005, 1), as such heavily involving an individual's personality. Identity defined in this manner is inaccessible within archaeology, as archaeologists are constrained by a lack of knowledge about specific individuals (Diaz-Andreu *et al.* 2005, 9). However, broader forms of identity, such as class, can be accessed through archaeology by applying methods using both spatial organisation and material culture.

Memories are motionless, yet their spatialisation is able to transform them into something more tangible and as such localising memory in time (Meskell 2003, 39). A similar thing can be said of identity. Spatial organisation enables a concept such as identity, otherwise an abstract concept and ephemeral in that identity is ever changing (Mattingley 2004, 11), to be grounded in something more concrete, something that physically exists, such as the urban fabric of a city. One example comes from Abu-Lughod, who argues that Muslim and Hindu quarters are distinguishable through the use of convoluted street patterns in Muslim lodgings (1987, 162). Therefore, she believes that Muslim identity can be discerned from a Hindu identity by looking at how space has been utilised. She also discusses the influence the Islamic religion has on the spatial organisation of residential quarters (Abu-Lughod 1987, 164). For example, buildings are laid out in such a way that women can see men, but not vice versa (Abi-Lughod 1987, 164). This is achieved through the use of bent entrances to create visual blind spots and make it impossible for buildings opposite one another to have their doors directly facing one another (Abu-Lughod 1987, 164). She argues, however, that this was the reality only for those wealthy enough to be able to afford to duplicate space in their homes and segregate men and women entirely (Abu-Lughod 1987, 164). The use of space in this scenario could indicate wealth and perhaps a high social status, but also the likelihood of religion being a significant contributor to the identities of the people occupying these types of spaces. Furthermore, and on a much larger scale, elite identity has alternatively been shown through the spatial organisation of an entire city, an example being the medieval Islamic city of Madinat al-Zahra. Here, the power of the caliphate was spatially represented, with the palace standing on the highest point of the site and constructed in tiers (Bennison 2007, 72). The administrative buildings were built on the second terrace, which, paired with the palace on the top terrace, formed a royal zone of limited and restricted access to the majority of the general public (Bennison 2007, 72). It is evident here how spatial organisation can be carefully employed to reveal the powerful and elite identity of one individual, something which Johnson has also studied via the use of space in medieval castles. He argues that guests will not know where in the castle is or is not accessible to them, for example, the chamber beyond the great hall at Tattershall Castle, which was only accessible in certain circumstances to the visitor (Johnson 2002, 80). Further supporting evidence comes from Gilchrist, who states that royal castles were mostly urban, built with the intention to dominate the

town population (2009, 314). This highlights again how space can be manipulated within the landscape to express wealth and powerful identity of one individual over another.

As well as spatial organisation, material culture can be used to access aspects of identity. An example of material culture being used to study gender identity comes from Scandinavian style brooches. Brooches have been found in northern and eastern England, and their total number has now surpassed what was once thought to be the original overall total (Kershaw 2009, 296). As such, the presence of women in more significant numbers in the Danelaw than was once thought to be the case has become a favoured conclusion, and one that has been drawn from studying the material culture (Kershaw 2009, 296). Four hundred and eighty five brooches were studied from what was once the Danelaw, with more than half being of Scandinavian style (Kershaw 2009, 298). The high number of Scandinavian style brooches suggests that they were introduced to England via female settlers, who wore the brooches on their clothing (Kershaw 2009, 299). Brooches as grave goods can also be particularly helpful in determining the sex of skeletal remains. The remains of a woman and her new-born were discovered on the Island of Rousay in Orkney for example, her grave containing a characteristic Scandinavian oval bronze brooch, indicating strongly that she was a Norse woman (Jesch 1991, 9). Brooches of this style have been found in other burials too, indicating them as grave goods characteristic of Norse women and are therefore helpful when establishing gender identity, and arguably also useful in establishing an ethnic identity. It is evident, therefore, that from the discovery of brooches at Danelaw alone, three conclusions relating to identity can be drawn: the ratio of women to men in the Danelaw was higher than expected; these women can be identified as Scandinavian and the skeletal remains buried with brooches are likely to be female rather than male (although not always exclusively).

However both spatial organisation and material culture, as methods for studying identity, have their limitations. For example, it is only possible to study how space has been utilised if a house or city physically still exists to be studied, such as the famously preserved city of Pompeii. However, this is neither the norm nor the universal standard within archaeology. Furthermore, despite Pompeii being a physical reality in the present (Laurence 2007, 1), the history of its excavation over more than two hundred years has been turbulent, with information having been destroyed, ignored and unreported (Wallace-Hadrill 1990, 150). This highlights how, even when there is potentially the best opportunity of being able to study spatial organisation and begin to try and access identities in the past, challenges are still likely to arise. Another difficulty in studying spatial organisation is that some cities are completely unrecoverable through archaeology. Eighth century Baghdad sits underneath modern day Baghdad, making excavation on a grand scale incredibly unlikely. Furthermore, issues can arise through an individual inadvertently creating the identities of other individuals through their use of spatial organisation. For example, Madinat al-Zahra showcases the elite identity of the Caliph living on the top terrace, and as such implies those that did not live on the top terrace or have access to the royal zone were of a low social

status. The Caliph, by highlighting his class identity through the use of space, has gone on to impact everybody else in that setting. It is therefore paramount that generalisations which extend beyond just the one individual based on the spatial ordering are carefully considered, as the social status for many individuals may not have been a defining feature of their identity.

Similarly, the relationship between material culture and identity was once considered unproblematic (Diaz-Andreu *et al.* 2005, 2), a notion which has since been challenged. A key problem for archaeologists is understanding the journey of an artefact; how does it get from its place of manufacture to the place where it is eventually deposited? Investigating this through material culture is very difficult (Milwright 2010, 160). For example, one process is gift giving, a form of exchange in early Medieval Europe. Vestergaard highlights how material objects are useful in providing insight into trade connections and skills in handicraft (1991, 97). Using material culture to study identity creates a more complicated picture; gift giving was both a voluntary action and a social 'must' (Vestergaard 1991, 98). However, whilst gift giving is known to be a feature of the Norse world, it is no easy task to determine what, within an archaeological assemblage, may have been offered as a gift. This reflects the problem raised by Milwright. Another problem is that, although gifts may be perceived as being a reflection of the individual's identity, integral to gift giving is the acceptance of the gift (Vestergaard 1991, 97). It is possible therefore that an individual may have been obliged as part of the institution of gift giving to accept a gift that they did not identify with, and had it not been for the custom of gift giving they would not have accepted or ever come into contact with it.

Another issue concerning material culture is that of a projected self-image (Cross 2002, 41). Medieval knights were typically depicted either baring swords or in prayer (Cross 2002, 42). It is possible that these expressions of identity were more an effort to conform to social conventions and values of the time, rather than being a true reflection of the individual's identity. Further supporting evidence comes from the Luttrell Psalter, in which many of the images merge everyday activities with biblical references (Backhouse, 1989), highlighting how connections to Christianity and the church were particularly desirable (Cross 2002, 42), but not necessarily accurate.

The study of identities in the past, be it through spatial organisation or material culture, has significant difficulties that go beyond the challenges that arise from the specific method employed. Shennan points out the challenges of being able to get at the truth behind archaeology (1989, 2), this problem wholly derives from an inability to maintain objectivity. The interpretation of archaeological material will never fail to differ between archaeologists, as who we are affects how we perceive the world (Shennan 1989, 1). An archaeologist with a background interest in politics and an archaeologist with a background interest in economics, for instance, may make different interpretations of the same material (Shennan 1989, 2), aptly pulling the issue of objectivity into the concluding statement that anything beyond description is merely just

guesswork (Shennan 1989, 2). Teamed, then, with the issue of identity in particular being a subjective concept and open to many different understandings (Tilley 2006, 7), it is clear why studying identity is laced with such intricate complexities. Hawkes argued that unaided inference from material remains to spiritual life is the hardest inference of all (Fig. 1), his point fundamentally being that subjective concepts, such as identity, are harder to access archaeologically (1954, 162). However, this does not mean to say the study of identity in archaeology should be abandoned, for some areas of identity have been made accessible, through both material culture and spatial organisation as highlighted in the case studies above. What should be kept in mind, however, is the limitations in what archaeology can offer.

It should also be noted that an individual's identity is constantly evolving, and does not remain static (Mattingley 2004, 10). A key example of this is Regina from South Shields, commonly thought to be the archetype of a Roman lady, whose identity was unsurprisingly complex (Mattingley 2004, 11). She was first a slave, and later freed by marrying her owner (Mattingley 2004, 11), thus, reinforcing the fundamental understanding of identity; that it is constantly evolving. As such, through the archaeological record we will only ever see a brief snapshot of an individual, and must reflect that the interpretations drawn from archaeological evidence may not extend across or be applicable to the entirety of an individual's life.

Figure 1. Hawke's ladder of inference, arguing that subjective concepts, of which identity is one, are more difficult to access archaeologically (Hawkes 1954, 162), a result of there being a greater caveat between the archaeological evidence and the interpretation made.

Also relevant is a recent study conducted by the BBC, a survey which has shed light on the complexity of people's sense of identity. Its relevance comes from the potential that the findings in today's societies and of today's individuals may hold true for those who lived in the past; archaeologists are increasingly realising that today's identities matter in how identities in the past are studied (Diaz-Andreu *et al*. 2005, 11). Diaz-Andrea also highlights the problems and limitations of focusing on the likes of religious or national identities (2005, 11). The majority of people within the survey considered their identity to be built up of their interests and leisure

activities (Easton 2014), followed by their values and personal opinions (Easton 2014). What is noteworthy from these findings is that none are actually identities that we are born with (Easton 2014), such as nationality, gender, ethnicity or social class. Support which may highlight the applicability of such a survey to the study of identities in the archaeological record comes from Hadley, who discusses ethnic identity as not being innate, but instead the result of individuals or groups identifying with one another based on shared common interests (2002, 46). As well as this, it can be seen from Johnson that there is a general scepticism towards the idea that identity is given by some core feature, such as biological sex, and that there is now a stress on agency in the creation of identities (2010, 141) . However, the use of both spatial organisation and material culture to study identity has largely been concerned with individuals being pigeonholed and sorted into predetermined labels (Meskell 2007, 23), focusing on issues of identity such as class, ethnicity and gender. As such, we are focusing only on single elements which make up an individual's identity (Meskell 2007, 23) and thus fail to access the fundamental aspects of what defines identity as a whole.

The potential danger of using the past to define identity should also be noted (Shennan 1989, 10). One key example is the work of Kossinna and his fixation on national identity. His Kulturkreis theory offered theoretical support for the expansionist policies of the Nazi regime (Arnold 1990, 464), resulting in land being declared as ancient German territory, even if only one artefact deemed Germanic was unearthed (Arnold 1990, 464). This was then used to give substance to the belief that the German people were of superior origin (Shennan 1989, 10) and could claim rights over land. This highlights clearly how studying identities in the past can result in frightening consequences. His work was to be seized upon by senior officers in the Third Reich such as Himmler (Jones 2002, 3) and Hodder has argued that few can now work without the shadow of misusing the past for nationalistic purposes during the Third Reich (1991, 197). Meskell argues further that it is the longevity of data in archaeology that enables inequalities to be produced, due to the tangible nature of material culture (2007, 24).

Ultimately, there may be some cases where categories such as ethnic, national and religious identity may suffer from the fact that these are identities given to an individual by the archaeologist; likely based on what material culture and spatial organisation can tell us, rather than the identity the individual would have given themselves. In many cases, this will probably never materialise in the archaeological record, if the construction of identities in the past was concerned with personal values, interests and opinions. Meskall succinctly highlights that we often "forget the subjective, inner world of the individual" (2007, 24), and that it is paramount that human agency and volition is not disregarded when dealing with the volatile nature of identity (Meskall 2007, 28). It is important, however, that studying identity within archaeology does not regress back to being overlooked and ignored but simply acknowledges that accessing identity, through whichever method, only has a limited chain of inference before we are left conjecturing about the finer and arguably more important, details of an individual's identity.

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Notes on a Sculptural Fragment from Chalcatzingo, Morelos, Mexico

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Introduction

Figure 1. The northwestern slopes of Cerro Chalcatzingo. (Image Copyright: Arnaud F. Lambert)

The importance of Chalcatzingo as a record of human activity in the eastern Valley of Morelos, Mexico cannot be underestimated. Within this large terraced community nestled between two granodiorite hills – Cerro Delgado and Cerro Chalcatzingo – starkly juxtaposed against the surrounding agricultural lands (Fig. 1), eighty years of archaeological exploration and research has yielded significant insights into the development of complex polities during the Formative period in general, and of the rise of Chalcatzingo as a major administrative and ceremonial center in particular (Guzmán 1934, Piña Chan 1955, Cook de Leonard 1967, Gay 1972, Grove 1984, 2000). Central to these investigations has been the site's impressive corpus of rock carvings, stelae, altars, and cup-marked stones (Grove 1968, 1987b, Grove and Angulo 1987, Lambert 2010). The purpose of this brief report is to put on record one of the many sculptural fragments from the Chalcatzingo archaeological zone (Figs. 2 and 3). At present little is known regarding its date of discovery or archaeological context and it has not been mentioned in any archaeological publications regarding the site and its monuments (Aviles 2005, Córdova Tello and Meza Rodríguez 2007, Gillespie 2008, Grove 1996, 2008, Grove and Angulo 1987). However, this enigmatic stone is worthy of note because it displays three distinct forms of modification and anthropic marking: low-relief carving, fracturing, and possibly toppling. Therefore, even though it may be difficult to establish its chronological placement in relation to the other monuments of Chalcatzingo, careful analysis of these markings and forms of modification may yield pertinent information regarding cultural practices documented at the site throughout the Formative period, especially those linked to monument mutilation (Grove 1981)

Figure 2. Sculpture fragment from Chalcatzingo. (Image Copyright: Arnaud F. Lambert).
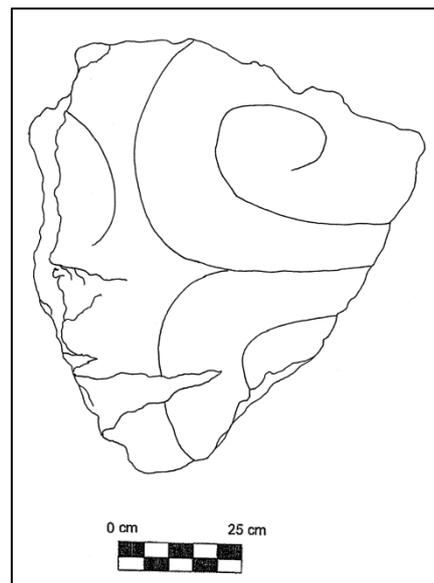

Figure 3. Scale drawing of the sculpture fragment from Chalcatzingo (Image Copyright: Arnaud F. Lambert)

The Sculptural Fragment from Chalcatzingo

This fractured stone first came to my attention during an investigation of the rock carvings at Chalcatzingo in August 2005. Located to the immediate right of a low-relief carving known as Monument 13 (Figs. 4 and 5), it is found approximately 25 to 30 meters downhill from the Group B rock carvings on the northern talus slopes of Cerro Chalcatzingo. The sculptural fragment itself consists of a triangular rock, measuring 70.9 cm in height and 60 cm in length. It is light tan in

Figure 4. Chalcatzingo Monument 13 (Image Copyright: Arnaud F. Lambert).

colour and is composed of moderately coarse granodiorite (see Fig. 2). The stone is decorated with the remains of a low-relief carving representing a bifurcate scroll motif. Such scroll motifs are common in the Olmec-style rock carvings of the Cantera phase of the Middle Formative period at Chalcatzingo, c. 700-500 BC (Angulo 1987,137-138). They appear in the Group A rock carvings situated on the northwestern slopes of Cerro Chalcatzingo, most notably Monument 1 (Fig. 6). In this sculptural context, they are

associated with images of clouds and rain drops as the carriers of moisture from the underworld, which is represented as zoomorphic cave openings and reptilian figures (Lambert 2015). A related set of symbols is evident in the nearby Group B rock carvings where clouds continue to be associated with rainfall but are intermixed with feline and serpent imagery (Lambert 2013, 93-94).
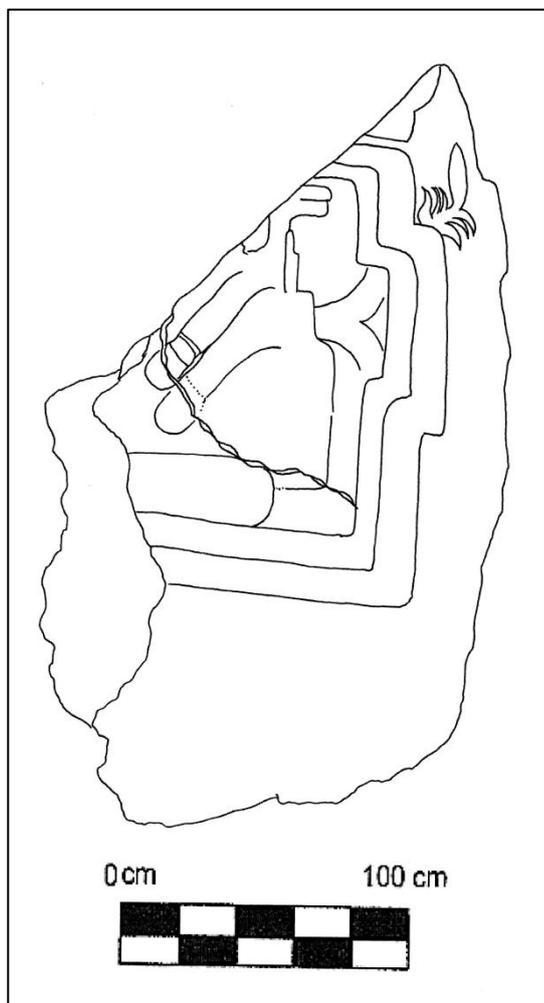

Figure 5 (Left). Scale drawing of Chalcatzingo Monument 13 (Image Copyright: Arnaud F. Lambert)

Figure 6 (Below). Chalcatzingo Monument 1 (Image Copyright: Arnaud F. Lambert)

Given its fractured state, it is clear that this sculptural fragment was once part of a much larger composition. One possible candidate is Monument 13. Both of these damaged carvings were found in close proximity and Monument 13 appears to closely match the symbols used in Monument 1, such as the seated ruler and the quadripartite cave opening, but it is missing the cloud imagery, volutes, and bifurcate scrolls. The sculpture fragment, by contrast, consists exclusively of the remains of a bifurcate scroll. Assuming that Monument 13 was once part of a much larger rectangular slab that once stood upright (Grove and Angulo 1987,122), it is very plausible that the sculptural fragment under consideration may have been part of the damaged sections of the original monument before it was toppled (Fig. 7).
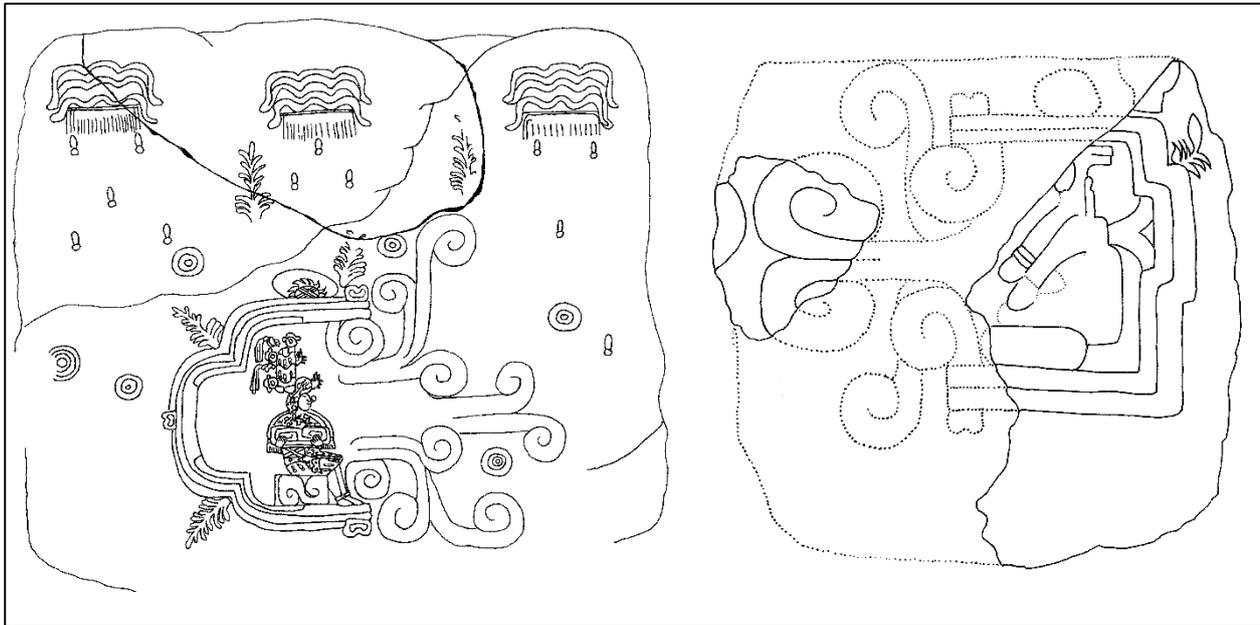
Figure 7. A comparison of Monument 1 and a proposed reconstruction of Monument 13 incorporating the sculpture fragment. Drawings are not to scale. (Image Copyright: Arnaud F. Lambert)

Another possibility is that it belongs to an undiscovered rock carving or sculpture situated further up the northern talus slopes of Chalcatzingo. Although less likely, this scenario remains plausible due to the periodic discovery of fractured monuments on the terraces at the base of Cerro Delgado (Gillespie 2008, 9, Fig. 2) as well as several new broken monuments near the Group B rock carvings (Grove 1996, González, Córdova, and Buitrago 2011).

Regardless of its specific origins, from these observations it is clear that any discussion of the sculptural fragment's state of preservation and possible primary contexts must take the cultural practice of monument mutilation into account. Often linked to status competitions that may have accompanied the death of a ruler (Clark 1997, 220-222, Grove 1981, 63-65), acts of monument mutilation at Chalcatzingo appear to have involved several types of damage ranging from deliberate fracturing and breakage to toppling and decapitation. In light of these considerations, it is interesting to note that the monuments and carvings located on Terrace 6 near Cerro Delgado and on the northern talus slopes near the Group B rock carvings not only displayed the greatest degree of mutilation, especially in the form of fracturing and toppling, but were also located closest to the main areas of public interaction at the site: the central plaza and the main platform mound. As such, these broken monuments would have made pointed examples of the socio-political competitions periodically witnessed in the Middle Formative period at Chalcatzingo; after the passing of one of its rulers, new lords attempted to enhance their positions in the community through public displays, such as the erection of new sculptures and the toppling of the previous ruler's monuments.

Conclusion

A careful examination of the iconographic details and anthropic markings of a sculptural fragment from the Central Mexican site of Chalcatzingo has allowed a number of inferences to be made regarding its probable chronological position and possible significance. Based on the stylistic affiliations of the bifurcate scroll design found on its worked surface, the sculptural fragment seems to have been originally carved sometime during the Cantera phase of the Middle Formative period (700-500 BC). The bifurcate scroll motif, along with the fractured state of the stone, also suggest that this stone was part of a much larger flat-faced sculpture that may have encompassed a larger existing carving, such as Monument 13, into the panel. If this reconstruction is correct, then the purpose of this carved panel may have been to legitimise a ruler's right to govern through the use of underworld and fertility imagery, much like the rock carving known as Monument 1 (Lambert 2015). Like several other monuments at Chalcatzingo however, the original sculpture seems to have been destroyed as part of status competitions between lords seeking to cement their right to rule over the community.

Acknowledgments

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The Post Hole's Photography and Art Competition

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As Rianca Vogels, our previous Publicity Co-ordinator wrote, image is central to archaeology (Vogels 2014, 7). Photography and art are seen in great variety throughout archaeological work, helping us to record, understand and explain the past. This has been made particularly clear to me since beginning my role as Design and Creative Coordinator for *The Post Hole*. With the formation of a new team over the summer of 2014, we wanted to build on the work of previous teams at *The Post Hole*, but also introduce something a little different. Given the success of the previous image competition we decided that this was a progressive way forward. This year's twist was a theme: 'excavation'.

Since October, various members of the team have been working to promote the competition via various platforms. Once again we were surprised by both the quantity and quality of the responses. Another surprise was the variety of people who entered, with many images coming from universities and museums both inside and outside of the UK. It has been particularly inspiring to see how wide The Post Hole's readership is.

With the approach of the competition's deadline a final rush of submissions were entered, our total was brought up to 32 entries. The task of choosing just one winner was a hard one, and it was decided that these entries would first be narrowed down to suitable cover images and then presented to the team for a final vote. Our final winner is **Karen Price**, whose photograph, '**Those Unknown'** can be on the front cover of this issue. Price describes the photograph as follows: "Mount Vernon archaeologist Leah Stricker trowel cleans burials uncovered during the Slave Cemetery excavation at George Washington's Mount Vernon plantation. Mount Vernon, VA, USA." As well as showing photographical talent with an unusual perspective and balanced composition, this entry by Karen Price conveys the sensitive issues surrounding the excavation of the Slave Cemetery, so be sure to have a look at the cover art.

However, such was the quality of the photographs and illustrations submitted that I have also chosen three 'standout' entries, which can be seen below, in no particular order:

Standout Entry: "He takes me to lush pastures"

Photographer: Ágnes Király

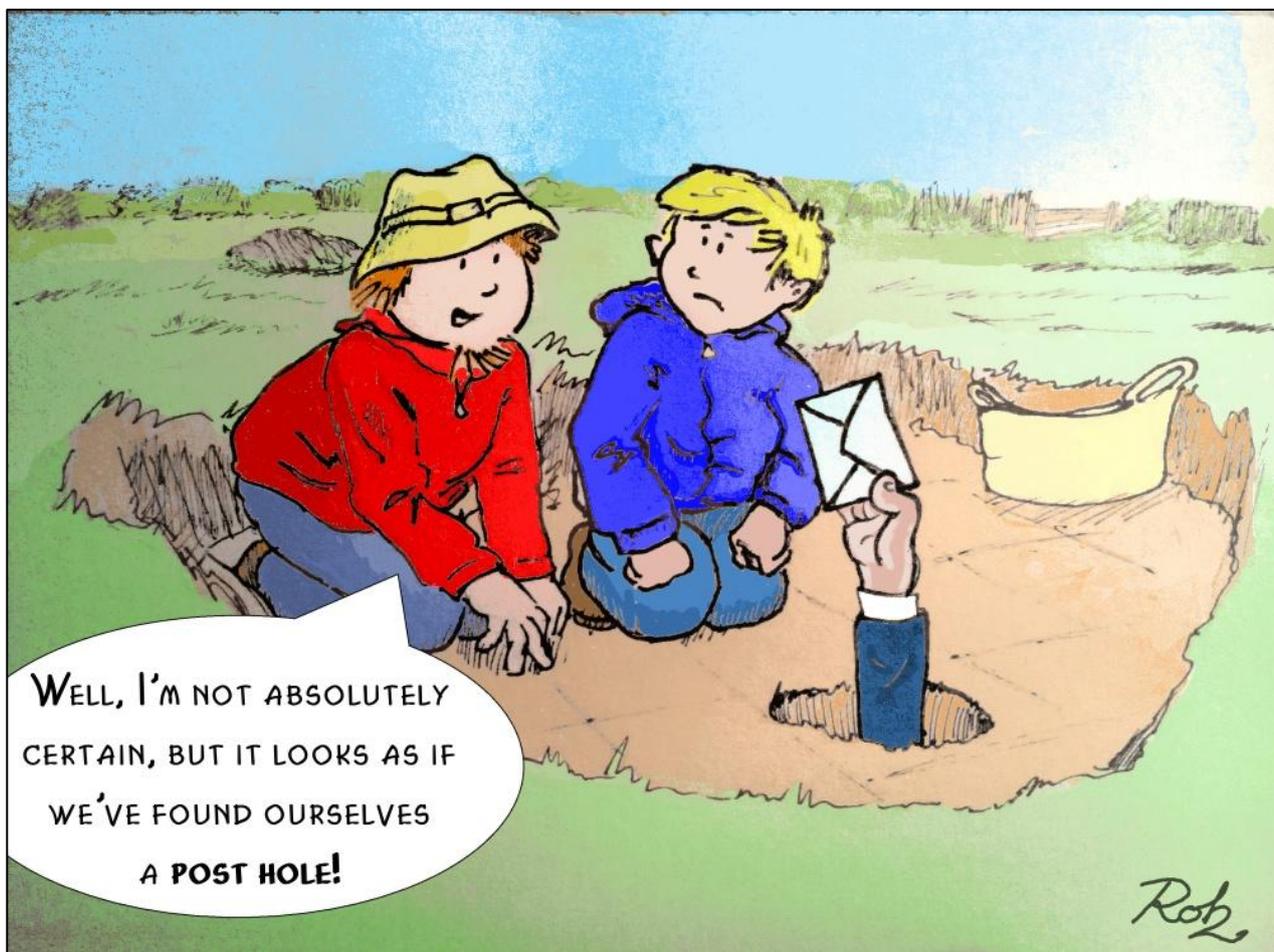**Metal detector survey at an 11th century hillfort, Sály/Hungary, 2014.**

It is important to remember that excavation is not just about digging, but requires a wide variety of methods and techniques - Ágnes Király's 'He takes me to lush pastures' shows one of these. I particularly like the unusual perspective used in this photograph.

Standout Entry: Taking the levels whilst a test pit is excavated to at Dunster with Dig Village

Photographer: Ivan Clowsley

This photograph was a particular favourite among the team. We liked that a variety of methods was shown here, in some beautiful surroundings.

Standout Entry: "Looks like we've found ourselves a post-hole!"

Artist: Robert Price

Artwork makes up an equally important role with images used in archaeology. This entry, from Rob Price at the Universität zu Köln, Archäologisches Institut, really made us smile and we hope it does you too!

All the entries submitted to our competition will be posted on our image gallery shortly, which can be viewed at: theposthole.org/gallery.

New photos and drawings can be uploaded to our gallery at any time, so if you have any that you would like on our website, upload them to the gallery pages!

Congratulations to our winner, and thank you to all who entered for showing continuing support.

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Submissions information

The full information for contributors, including submission rules and copyright, is available on *The Post Hole* website: http://www.theposthole.org/authors

Topics covered

The Post Hole publishes articles on a vast range of topics and themes, from the Palaeolithic through to the present day. Articles on heritage management, media, and archaeological projects are regularly featured. Other common topics are reports of excavations, reviews of conferences or books, information about local and national archaeology groups, and discussions and debates on archaeological theory and practice.

Submission deadlines

The Post Hole releases eight issues per academic year on a **monthly** basic between October and July. The submissions deadline for *The Post Hole*'s monthly issues is the **20th** of every month.

Submission length

Articles of any length **up to 3000 words** are welcome, though keeping below 2,500 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**, **Jessica Hand**, by email (submissions@theposthole.org).

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