



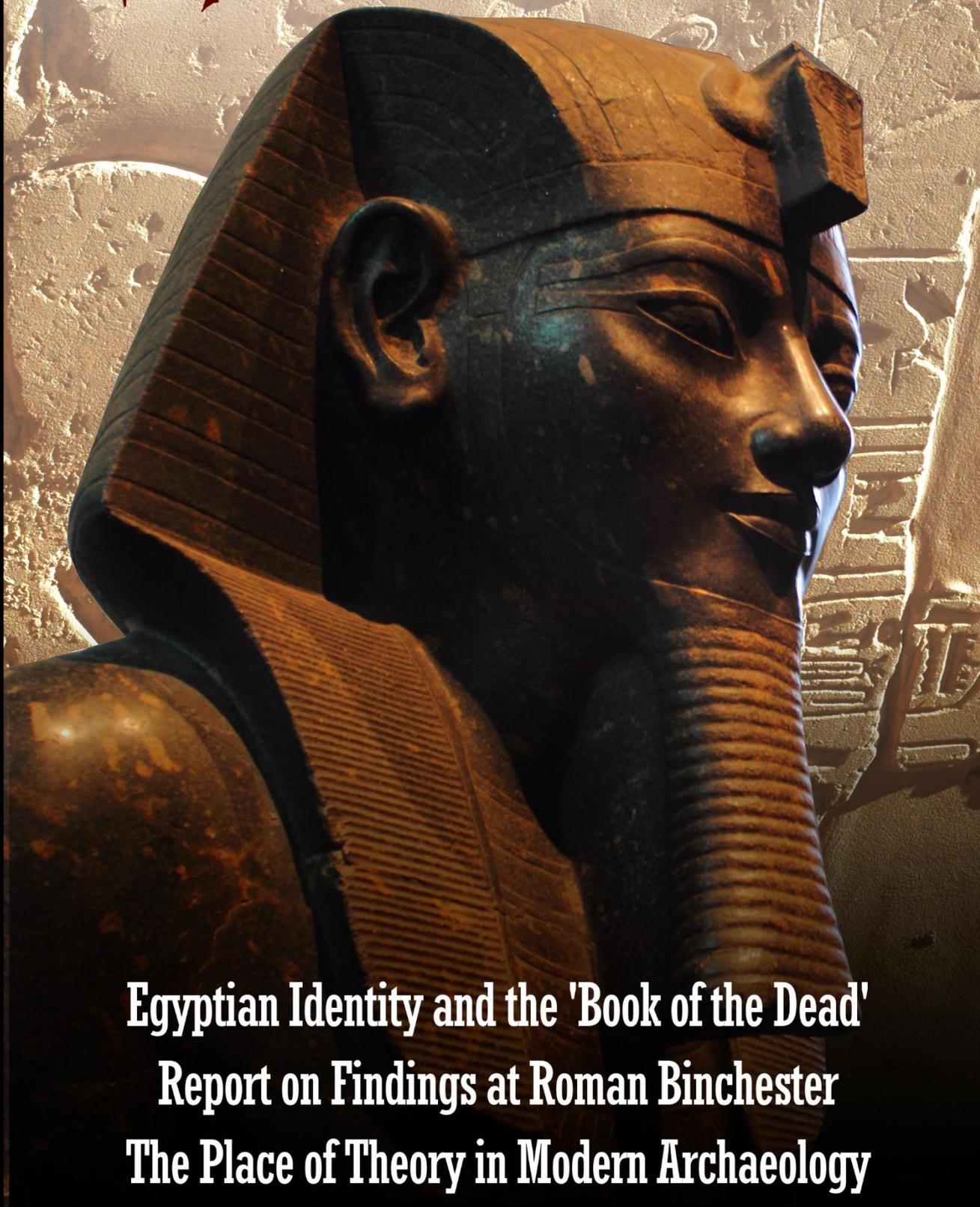
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Report on Findings at Roman Binchester
The Place of Theory in Modern Archaeology

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Editorial: Summer archaeology

Freya Lawson-Jones¹

¹The Post Hole, University of York, Department of Archaeology, The King's Manor,
YO1 7EP

Email: flj500@york.ac.uk



Dear all,

With great pleasure, the third years in the Post Hole team, including myself can now (almost) call ourselves graduates in the field of archaeology. Looking back, it has been a long year full of challenges and littered with deadlines, however it has also been a time of opportunities and excitement for the future, which is sad to see the back of. This shall be my penultimate editorial, as we have one more issue in store to be released over the summer months.

This year has been a fantastic one for archaeology as a whole, and we have seen many fascinating articles come through The Post Hole during this time. This month is no exception, and with great satisfaction I present to you the following pieces from Meg Kneafsey, Naomi Ireland-Jones and Kirsty Jones. Their papers expound upon a range of interesting subjects including the ancient Egyptian Book of the Dead, pre-Roman Britons, Roman forts, and application of theory to modern archaeology.

This issue also contains an additional piece, written by myself in remembrance to the recent passing of Professor Charles Thomas who was a family friend, as well as prominent archaeologists and academic.

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

In remembrance of Professor Charles Thomas

Freya Lawson-Jones¹

¹The Post Hole, University of York, Department of Archaeology, The King's Manor.
YO1 7EP



It is with great sadness that I find myself writing this piece for our journal in fond remembrance of Professor Charles Thomas who passed at the age of 87. Professor Charles Thomas was an incredible archaeologist, both in and out of the field, as well as being a well-known and respected academic author who had an incredibly versatile range of interests, leading to him contributing massively to our knowledge of the Mesolithic, the Bronze Age, Roman Britain and early Christian archaeology. Most particular to Charles' interests though was his passion for Cornwall, where much of his research was centred. Because of his drive for this landscape, he has brought much deserved attention to the archaeology of Cornwall.

Despite the profound loss to the academic writing however, Professor Charles Thomas was also an expert at excavations in the field. Most recently, I had the great pleasure of being part of his extensive investigations into the multi period site of Gwithian Bay, Cornwall, which continues to provide a wealth of material from this period. The sheer amount of shells coming up from this site was phenomenal.

Professor Thomas had an incredible past, as I discovered during our interview last year. Having served at the young age of 17 in Egypt during the end of the Second World War, Charles later went on to become a pupil of Professor Gordon Childe, whom he described as a shy, nice and eccentric man. I have provided a link to an interview which I conducted with Professor Charles Thomas at his beautiful home in Cornwall last year. Here he describes his experiences in Egypt and the famous archaeologists whom he later met, including Professor Gordon Childe, Professor Mortimer Wheeler, Stuart Piggot and Glynn Daniel. http://theposthole.org/sites/theposthole.org/files/downloads/posthole_43_323.pdf

What I neglected to mention in this interview however, was Professor Charles's generous nature and sparkling sense of humour, which I have had the privilege of knowing from a young age when I first began to clean shells from his excavations at Gwithian Bay. It is through these early experiences with Charles that archaeology became a firm interest of mine, and then later something that I wished to continue for as long as possible. We shared several laughs and a glass or two of wine whilst conducting this interview, and reflected on the past.

Professor Charles Thomas, born April 24 1928, died April 7 2016.



Professor Charles Thomas in Cornwall smoking one of his pipes (which he was usually to be found with).

Figure:

<https://www.theguardian.com/science/2016/may/08/charles-thomas-obituary>

The value of the 'Book of the Dead' for understanding identity in Ancient Egypt

Meg Kneafsey¹

¹Durham University, Department of Archaeology, South Road, Durham, DH1 3LE

Email: meg.kneafsey@durham.ac.uk



The Books of the Dead is the name given to a 'designation of a group of mortuary spells' (Hornung and Lorton, 1999:13). These constitute over 200 papyrus sheets of texts and vignettes on the walls of tombs and coffins (Faulkner, 1985:11). Translated literally as *Book of Coming Forth by Day* (Taylor, 2010:55), the funerary texts associated were generally used only from the beginning of the New Kingdom (1550 BCE) and replicates of early funerary texts such as the Pyramid Texts in the Old Kingdom and the Coffin Texts in the Middle Kingdom (Allen, 1974:2). The focus of this assessment will concern the Book of the Dead texts that existed during the New Kingdom and therefore the identity within this time period of the Ancient Egyptian civilisation. Using several anthropological frameworks of identity, it will be demonstrated that the texts found are crucial archaeological evidence that enable modern readers to understand a fluid concept of identity during this time.

Early interpretations of the Book of the Dead texts were often restricted by western perceptions of the soul and the afterlife. General belief saw the texts to be an equivalent of current religious books, for instance the Bible and Qur'an (Faulkner, 1994:13), before it was understood to be a funerary rite. As these texts, alongside other funerary objects and tombs, have survived the archaeological record, there is a commonly held belief that the Ancient Egyptians were 'obsessed' with the dead (Morales-Correa, 2015) rather than seeing its relevance as a means to understanding Egyptian beliefs about life, society, and identity. Ultimately, however, there exists a separate meaning and identity behind Egyptian beliefs of the afterlife that have increased the difficulty of understanding identity. Consequently, a detached approach to one's own beliefs and influences must be taken to most adequately understand the meaning behind the Book of the Dead texts.

What is Identity?

There are many different theories on what identity is and how it is constructed. However, it is necessary to apply theoretical frameworks to acquire an unbiased understanding. This complex notion of identity is not only hard to define, but it is particularly difficult to reconstruct past identities such as those in Ancient Egypt. Most widely accepted by theorists is that 'identity' is a clear social construct. In understanding identity, we are conceptualising societal beliefs.

The Archaeology of Identity has been developing alongside cognate disciplines (predominantly influenced by changing anthropological theory) over the latter half of the twentieth-century. Early archaeology concentrated particularly on culture rather than the individuals; seeing culture as a person in itself (Diaz-Andreu, 2005:3). Traditionally, identity was intrinsically linked with existing ethnic groups and simplified to homogenous groups with shared cultural practices (Lucy, 2005:86). Diaz-Andreu, (2005:2) argues that 'identities are constructed through interaction between people, and the process by which we acquire and maintain our identities requires choice and agency'; clearly a difficult area to reconstruct through archaeological evidence. However, anthropologists such as Pierre Bourdieu (1977) argue for an inherent link between societies and the individuals within them. Bourdieu presents a notion of social practices that are unspoken, yet important, contextual factors. His idea of habitus – 'a system of structure, structuring dispositions...which is constituted in practice and is always oriented towards practical functions' (Scott and Marshall, 1998) - is that individuals are bound to act in ways that are socially determined. Consequently, it is important to understand identity as the relation that individuals have with the institutions and structures within their social culture rather than merely the unique personality and life history of individuals. Thus it is essential to assess the Book of the Dead texts on their relevance in understanding Ancient Egyptian societal structures and beliefs when considering identity.

Whose Identity?

Although many of the found texts of the Book of the Dead are personalised for individuals, notably the texts belonging to Ani, these follow much of the same spells and pathways found in other texts. As Faulkner (1985:11) states 'if the prospective owner...was wealthy and his death was not untimely he would commission an expert scribe to write the text for him and it would consist of his own personal choice of chapters'. Conversely, their personalisation for high-paying members of the elite is not specific enough in detail regarding the paying individual to show personal identities - particularly as they were meant to emulate a certain societal expectation of the trials of the afterlife. The personalisation was more limited for lower status purchasers. The 'less fortunate had...a ready written text in which spaces [have] been left for the insertion of the name and titles of the buyer' (Faulkner, 1985:11). Many references found in tomb placements suggests that these Books of the Dead were a 'canon' like the Bible; everyone (in educated society) knew about them and accepted them as a part of the death process even though not all could afford to have one. Gee (2010) argues that the texts had a function of uniting this social group in a 'canon' of beliefs. The similarity to the language of texts in other religions appear to serve the same function cross-culturally. The aim appears to be consolatory, giving people hope that their life is meaningful in the face of the death.

With regards to shared identity, a concern is the extensive time period that Ancient Egypt stretched across (6000-300 BCE). This produces an analytical issue as identity is 'subject to persisting change' (Diaz-Andreu, 2005:2) rather than a static concept. Furthermore, the identity constructed through the texts are for the elites; although, it should be acknowledged that by the New Kingdom, passage to the afterlife extended beyond the pharaohs to anyone who could afford the high price of the texts. Therefore, despite little in-depth research into the social status of the owners of found texts, 'it is clear that most owners came from the upper strata of society' (Taylor, 2010:62). Of the found texts, the majority appear to have been produced for male buyers; particularly prior to the third intermediate period (Taylor, 2010:63) and wives were sometimes depicted alongside their husbands in vignettes, such as Tutu's inclusion in Ani's Book of the Dead. Herein lies an insight into the identity of Egyptian women (an area of little importance in traditional archaeology) suggesting women were considered a husband's accessory rather than a being in their own right.

Rites of Passage

Rites of passage have remained a constant element in the construction of identity throughout the vast majority of societies. A common framework of a rite of passage was first expressed by anthropologist Arnold van Gennep (1909). This contains three stages; severance where the individual is detached from their previous point, transition as the between the states and incorporation when the individual entering the new state.

The journey through the afterlife, as seen in the texts, clearly parallels this framework; death acting as severance, transition through the afterlife and finally incorporation into the world of immortality in the realm of Osiris (David, 2002:160-161). This idea of transitions may be influenced by the short lifespan found in Egypt, allowing for many states of being; childhood, young adult, adult and death. The stages of the Book enact the stages of crossover into the Afterlife. This seems to be a more strongly narrative version of human experience than simply having tomb depositions of belongings and tomb wall paintings; indicating the importance of this text-based evidence over the physical objects remaining. A papyrus scroll has the continuity of a narrative that is organised into stages according to the passage of time (which is the foundation of narrative literature as experiences over time) or according to movement from place to place, for example through walls, down to the Underworld and eventually to the river lands that represent a sort of paradise after life.

In having taken a rite of passage, individuals 'achieve' a state of being. This suggests that Egyptians saw the afterlife and those who became immortal as 'deserving' of their place rather than simply passing on after death.

Myth and Identity

The texts are clearly more developed in their details than earlier Pyramid and Coffin texts. These texts have a greater use of myths of Ra, the Sun God, Osiris and the Underworld. There are also supplementary sources that confirm from temple finds that this elite class did adopt these myths as part of their ritual practice. A myth is a much stronger way of making a group cultural identity than individual spells and rituals - rather than being an immediate spell to ward off danger, a myth provides a full explanation of what seems to be a random, unfair world and gives it a permanent, transcendent meaning.

The anthropologist Malinowski's functionalist idea of the social function of myth to justify the social order is a strong explanatory model for why the privileged Egyptians who served as priests and officials would be keen to align themselves with religious myths. Malinowski (1926) argues that myths exist to justify rituals by giving explanations to their origins; thus supporting religious elite's social order through the myth of how creation is ordered by Ra and death by Osiris and how the cosmos is a place in which the deceased elite official clearly deserved his good life on Earth and an even better Afterlife. Indeed, religion in Ancient Egypt has order been perceived as a 'powerful legitimization of king and elite in their task of preserving order' (Dorman, n.d.).

Communication

For many, the theory of identity is created through people's words and actions. Language is intrinsic to understanding these identity concepts. Identity within material archaeology is made evident through the use of a number of markers ranging from dress to behaviour to choice of space. The effects of which are dependent upon the recognition gained from other social beings. Language is another example of this marker. Through the Egyptian papyrus, there is direct evidence of how ancient people thought. Compared to archaeology of identity which is based on interpretations of objects in a burial tomb complex, this evidence appears much more inferential and weaker than the textual based. The detailed written evidence of the pictures and texts of the Book of the Dead, that were purchased deliberately and placed in with the dead person, provides a stronger body of evidence through the markers of language, dress, behaviour that is recognized by other social beings in that period in Egypt than any amount of artefacts in a tomb burial. The language enacted from the texts of the Book of the Dead can be analysed acutely and are strongly linked with the idea of control and empowerment.

In terms of discourse analysis, spells can be described as a type of performative utterance. Speech acts theory proposes performative utterances are not simply describing a given reality but are changing the described social reality (Urmson and Sbisá, 1975). For example, a particular formula can be used for enactment purposes such as verbs like 'I command' seen in spell 27 (Taylor, 2010:160) or heightened epithets, maybe to flatter a god 'Homage to you, Osiris, Lord of eternity, King of the gods' (Budge 1960). These persuasive devices are there to create a new better situation than the actual situation of death and decay- a triumph of word or 'spirit' over the everyday world of nature.

A key example of performance utterance is the many examples of spells meant to transform the deceased into alternate, animal forms. These forms are symbolic of 'liberation from human limitations'. The accompanying vignette can be perceived as a form of performance utterance in itself (Wyatt, 2001:298).

'I am a long-lived snake; I pass the night and am reborn every day. I am a snake which is in the limits of the earth; I pass the night and am reborn, renewed and rejuvenated every day' (Transformation spell into a snake cited in Faulkner, 1985)

Empowerment

This idea of empowerment is a recurring theme throughout the Book of the Dead. The texts that were procured by the individuals were meant to protect them from many of the unearthly and dangerous aspects in their journey through the afterlife. Without these texts, it was not certain that a person would be able to pass through unscathed. One failure would result in the end of a person's journey and they would not be able to pass onto the immortal world. Whether this failure was due to a 'magical' creature or to being devoured by Ammit through the heart's weighing in the Hall of Maat.

By procuring these texts, Egyptians were ensuring that they had admission to the afterlife. Egyptians did not, it appears, have to be good. They could simply use the texts to 'cheat' their way through. Egyptians believed that by stating these spells for transformation and protection purposes, they could defeat the fears of the dangers in the unknown. For example, the spells empowering individuals to breathe and drink such as Spell 59:

'O you sycamore of the sky, may there be given to me the air which is in it, for I am he who sought out that throne in the midst of Wenu [Hermopolis]. I have guarded this egg of the Great Cackler. If it grows, I grow; if it lives, I live; if it breathes air, I breathe air. (Taylor, 2010: 176)

One of the most notable spells to do this was Spell 27 'for not permitting a man's heart to be taken from him in the realm of the dead';

'Obey me, my heart, I am your lord, you are in my body, you do not oppose me, I command you to obey me in the god's domain' (Taylor, 2010:160)

The control of the heart can be interpreted as relation to the weighing against the feather. By using a spell on the heart, the individual almost 'tricks' the judgement by ensuring that their negative qualities are not revealed through the heart.

This idea of empowerment is extremely important to constructing identity. The relationship between power and identity is a well-developed concept in a range of social disciplines. Within Ancient Egypt, this is integral to the elite's identity that they could purchase power in the form of acquiring texts for the afterlife. The elite could, through spells and incantations, neutralize their fear of death. They were in control of their afterlife, thus overcoming the terror of death and the sense of futility that their life comes to an end with no further meaning.

Judgement and Confession

A common aspect of many religious beliefs throughout the world is the concept of judgement in the afterlife in order to proceed. The Negative Confession involves Forty-two Assessors of the dead where the individual must deny having committed a specific sin to each (Faulkner, 1985:28). These denials are interpreted as relieving the deceased of their 'spiritual baggage' (Quirke, 1992:162). It can be compared with the Ten Commandments found in Judaeo-Christian scriptures and thus has often been seen as a 'confession' rather than a denial at surface value. For example:

Book of the Dead: "I have not committed adultery, I have not lain with men."

Exodus 20:14: "Thou shalt not commit adultery."

Book of the Dead: "I have not stolen."

Exodus 20:15: "Thou shalt not steal."

However, 'specific links to later Christian and Muslim beliefs remain uncertain' (Quirke, 2013:vii). Although there is no direct causal link, it can be argued that there is a relation to universal human psychology that societies try to suggest that social rules are transcendent and of eternal significance rather than just convenient rules for running a society.

Those who believe that this is a direct influence may then interpret the Negative Confessions as Ancient Egyptian beliefs on what is expected of a 'good' and moral individual. However, this perception relies on a modern influence of afterlife beliefs rather than taking an impartial approach. Nowhere in the Negative Confessions can we concretely conclude that this is the

expectation of what was expected of Egyptians during this time period. Furthermore, it would rule out anyone who had committed the many mentioned sins.

The term 'confession' is very appropriate. Although these appear as statements of never committing the sin, it is more likely that this is a way of washing away previous sins committed. This idea of a confession is strengthened by a following scene in the Hall of Two Maats in Spell 125, where the individual states that they are 'free of every sin' (Taylor, 2010:206) suggesting that they have cleansed themselves during the previous encounter.

In this sense, it could be argued that these are linked to Egyptian standards but allowed for individuals to still pass on without having to have been 'pure'. The weighing of the heart in which the Deceased is found to have led a virtuous life, was actually a positive appraisal that the relatives had bought as a ready-to-wear accessory to go in the tomb and bore no necessary relation to the actuality of the Deceased life. This does not negate the possibility that the symbolic ritual of the weighing of the heart was a way of giving to this stratum of Egyptian society the positive value of soul-based religion described here as reason for religious beliefs in a soul.

Although this is not necessarily a true reflection of the individual, it is an insight into the way at least one part of Egyptian society began to think of cosmology – through having meaning for the individual life and possible forgiveness for mistakes through a ritual confession. This is not a sense of the interior soul and self-examination of Christianity but it is a far more complex idea of Selfhood than external public ritual.

Conclusion

The texts of the Book of the Dead may have some limitations aiding our conceptualisation of Ancient Egyptian identity through issues of interpretation and restrictions in the material record. However, many of the texts are extremely valuable to our understanding of Ancient Egyptian identity in the New Kingdom. Texts like these are an integral part of communicating identity and beliefs. The Book of the Dead texts are therefore an important written historical document that reveals an evidence-based insight into how the literate high-caste Egyptian society thought of themselves and their life experiences. Anthropological theory provides a critical framework that can be applied to these texts and other archaeological evidence, ensuring relevant and developed interpretations. Through this application, it can be seen that the texts are essential in aiding our conceptualization of Ancient Egyptian structures, religious institutions, and societal beliefs. It is these areas that are imperative to understanding identity.

Subsequently the Book of the Dead texts are an instrumental asset to archaeology when reconstructing Ancient Egyptian identity.

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The influence of archaeological discoveries since the C18th on understanding the ancient pre-Roman inhabitants of Britain



Naomi Ireland-Jones¹

¹Durham University, Department of Archaeology, South Road, Durham, DH1 3LE

Email: naomi.ireland-jones@durham.ac.uk

Although the British Iron Age technically belongs to prehistory, the writings of classical authors have been highly influential in shaping our understanding of the period, as have more recent archaeological discoveries. This essay will explore these two sources of understanding, as well as other factors which have informed our current views of pre-Roman Britain. It will focus on the concept of unfamiliarity, as demonstrated by the physical appearance of the people living in Britain before and shortly after the Roman invasions of 54BC and AD43, as well as their material and social culture. The continuity and abandonment of concepts from classical writing and how this relates to the archaeological discoveries since the C18th, as well as to other factors, will be explored. A dichotomy of public and academic views of the Iron Age will also be discussed.

The remoteness of the ancient Britons in the Roman world was key to their Classical image. Classical authors created an image of Britain as a wild place of unfamiliar peoples and customs, despite knowing that it was in fact accessible (Stewart 1995). To create this image, they recalled ancient Greek and Roman legends of Britain as a nation isolated from the rest of the world by the surrounding *oceanus*, the river-ocean that rimmed the world (Stewart 1995; Creighton 2000; Braund 1996). This was combined with imagery of a people barbaric in dress, physical appearance and cultural practices - much like other 'barbarians' before them (Hall 1989; Ferris 2000). The unfamiliarity of Britons was also emphasised by their very name, which separated them from the European Gaulish or Celtic people, who were better known in Rome (Stewart 1995). As discussed below, these understandings of culture and appearance can still be seen in the modern day image of Iron Age Britons, whereas the concept of remoteness has largely been lost in favour of a "Celtic commonwealth" identity (James and Rigby 1997).

Classical descriptions

Physically, Caesar describes the Britons as long-haired, wearing pelts and dyeing themselves with woad (*Gallic Wars* V.XIV). He differentiates between the interior and maritime Britons,

the latter considered little different from the Gauls, in that they are more civilised than those inland. Many other sources support the idea of Britons painting or dyeing themselves, although the colour of the woad pigment is contentious (Pliny *Natural History* XXII. 2; Ovid *Amores* II.16). Further descriptions of body decoration include Solinus' image of tattoos based on animal motifs (*Miracles of the World* XXII), an idea corroborated by Claudian's Britannia, who has tattooed cheeks (*On the Consulship of Stilicho* II). Claudian also takes up the idea of wearing animal skins, whilst Herodian writes that the concept of clothing is unfamiliar to the Britons and that they run around naked, in order to best show off their tattoos (III). Cassius Dio adds that Britons never wore shoes (*Roman History* LXXVII). Herodian also notes that Britons wore iron around their waists and necks, valuing it as highly as "other barbarians" valued gold (III).

Culturally, a variety of assertions can be found in classical writing, including Herodian (III) and Cassius Dio's (*Roman History* LXXVII) statements that Britons swam or ran around in bogs and marshes, sometimes up to their necks, for days at a time. Other comments regarding behaviour come from Caesar (*Gallic Wars* V) and Tacitus (*Agricola* XII; XXXV; XXXVI), both of whom emphasize the use of chariots in war, while Herodian notes the use of shields, swords and spears but the lack of armour of any kind (III.14). It is stated by both Caesar and Cassius Dio that many Britons do not grow crops, but live on meat and milk instead, and both write that Britons shared wives between close kin, attributing children to the first husband of the woman in question (*Gallic Wars* V. XIV; *Roman History* LXXVII). The pre-Roman Britons also had druids ruling their tribes, and lacked female leaders. Cassius Dio claims that the "form of rule is democratic", the boldest men chosen as leaders (*Roman History* LXXVII). A relatively positive image of British culture from the period is drawn from Martial, who discusses the woven baskets which are exported to Rome (*Epigrams* XI).

The vast majority of classical authors focused on the barbarity of elements of life in Britain. This was at least partly due to the influence of Caesar's writings on later texts, as well as the influence of classical literary traditions (Stewart 1995). Caesar had a clear twofold agenda when writing about Britain; he wanted to show that the Britons were a barbaric people in need of conquering, and at the same time a worthy opponent, both of which made his victories appear of great importance (Braund 1996). In addition, classical literary traditions meant that even work we would consider factual i.e. geography, was treated more in a literary sense (Braund 1996; Stewart 1995). Within this tradition the "topoi"- "stock literary description" (Mann 1985:21) -saw Britain as a remote place. This acted as an "ideological and cultural reference point... for the negotiation of power" (Stewart 1995). As a result, the classical writings should not be considered an accurate or factual representation of Britain before the Roman

occupation, but rather as a means of justifying and explaining current affairs in Rome (Ferris 2000, Woolf 2011). Despite this, they have held great influence over our understanding of the Iron Age throughout history, and it is only through archaeological means that we can begin to overturn this.

Archaeological discoveries

The concept of remoteness suggests that there was minimal contact between Britain and the continent during this period; however archaeological discoveries have suggested that this is untrue. Evidence of communication between the mainland and Britain can be seen in items such as the Great Torc from Snettisham, which was gilded in mercury, a technique still relatively new and probably introduced from the continent (British Museum 2015b). This demonstrates that ideas and technology travelled. In addition, archaeological investigations have illustrated the transportation and exchange of metal objects imported into lowland Britain from the continent, either as finished articles or as scrap for re-use (Northover 1984, Hunter 2006). Artistically, there are also many similarities between items from mainland Europe and Britain, leading to classifications of material culture found during the middle of the C20th into styles such as “La Tene”. All of this evidence indicates that there must have been communication between the mainland and Britain, contrary to the implications of Roman writing. However, the concept of remoteness was just one of many ways in which the Romans sought to differentiate themselves from the Britons.

Many of the classical authors' claims have been shown to be inaccurate, if not totally incorrect, through more recent archaeological discoveries. A good example of this is the idea that there was little or no arable farming in Iron Age Britain (Caesar and Cassius Dio), which has been undermined through various lines of evidence including ard marks and other physical evidence of ploughing, charred grain, and isotopic analysis carried out on human remains. Evidence from as far north as the Antonine wall suggests that land may have been cleared for the purpose of arable agriculture (Dumayne-Peaty 1998), an activity we can see as far back as the Bronze Age from ard marks (Fowler 1983). This is in addition to considerable evidence of cultivated grains from across prehistory (Clay 2001). What's more, dietary studies have shown that there was little change in the average diet between the Roman and Late Iron Age; there was considerable consumption of crop foods in both periods, as shown by the levels of C3 foods in dietary breakdowns (Richards et al 1998; Redfern et al 2010; Jay and Richards 2006; Jay and Richards 2007).

Physical Appearance

Of particular interest to Roman writers was the use of body art, whether in battle or as part of day to day life. The fact that in Rome tattoos and body paint were considered degrading and were used to mark out slaves (Jones 1987) may have influenced their descriptions of Britons, in order to portray them as barbaric. However, as Carr (2005) discusses, there may also be archaeological evidence to support some of the classical writing. Carr begins with a brief warning about and discussion of the importance of translation, in particular relating to the use of *vitrum* in Caesar's writing. Traditionally translated as woad (Thirsk 1985), it may in fact refer to glazes or tattoos. She then goes on to look at material evidence for the use of woad-based indigo dyes and tattoos in prehistory, using evidence from sources such as bog bodies, coins and purported "paraphernalia" for the creation of dyes.

Evidence for woad, including seed and fruit macrofossils from Dragonby (van der Veen 1996), and possible reports of woad-indigo from early unpublished excavations at Sheen (Plowright 1901-2), suggest that this non-native plant was growing in Iron Age Britain, which has led some scholars to suggest that it was intentionally cultivated for use in dyes (van der Veen et al 1993). However, for a practice considered to be widespread there is relatively little evidence, especially as use of woad-dyes cannot be seen on any British bog bodies found to date (James and Rigby 1997). The bog body of the Lindow Man does show evidence of copper traces on his skin, and while this could be an alternative source of the blue paint noted by Caesar (Pyatt et al 1991), more recent papers have suggested that it may simply be a result of post-depositional processes (Cowell and Craddock 1995). Similarly, the paraphernalia identified by Carr (2005), including needles, cauldrons, fire-dogs, tweezers and razors, could be evidence of tattooing or dyeing procedures, but most have more plausible uses. The most interesting and least understood items Carr discusses are cosmetic grinders, which could be related to the process of making woad-indigo. Experiments support this suggestion, but they are not stand alone proof of tattooing or body painting in Iron Age Britain; without the classical texts it is unlikely that any of the archaeological evidence above would have pointed towards such practices, though neither do they contradict the classical authors.

Although fabric rarely survives from the Iron Age, there are some pieces of evidence which illustrate that pre-Roman Britons not only wore clothes, contrary to Herodian's claims, they also wore textiles rather than animal pelts (c.f. Caesar *Gallic Wars*). Evidence of clothing is found in mineralised textile remains or minute wool fragments; James and Rigby (1997) describe a fragment of wool from a grave in East Yorkshire as "the most informative fragment"

and yet this is just 28mm across! Mineralized fragments can tell us a little about the weaving patterns used, whilst the location of fasteners in other graves helps to facilitate discussion of the ways in which garments might have been worn (James and Rigby 1997). Further evidence of clothing comes from the Lexden Tumulus, Colchester, where both cloth of gold and silver-decorated fabric have been found (Laver, 1927), and from tools found in various locations which are associated with textile making such as spindle whorls, loom weights and needles (Gleba & Pásztokei-Szeöke 2013). It should also be noted that there is also evidence that Caesar was in part correct about the use of fur as clothing, with Lindow Man having been shown to be wearing a fox fur armband (Stead et al 1986, British Museum 2015a).

On a similar note the claim from Herodian that Britons did not wear armour cannot be contradicted as a general rule, but evidence from graves at Kirkburn show that there was some use of armour, in this instance a mail tunic, with butted links (Stead and Ambers 1991). Similar items from Stanwick, Lexden and Baldock show that this was not a one off find, with Stead and Ambers noting that “Varro (de Lingua Latina, v, 116)... implies that the Romans adopted mail from the Celts” (1991: 56). This argument is drawn from linguistic studies rather than archaeological discoveries, but combined with the evidence of Iron Age mail it strongly suggests that the Britons might have been more advanced in the technology of warfare than classical sources would like us to believe.

On the subject of ornamentation archaeological evidence has indicated that the classical texts were correct in referring to neckwear, with torcs being in evidence in many Iron Age sites, in particular in hoards such as the Snettisham hoard (Stead 1996). However, as well as some items made of iron, as claimed, ornamental objects were also made of bronze of various colours, and gold; with some even having been shown to have been gilded with gold using an advanced technique known as mercury gilding (British Museum 2015b).

On other matters of appearance it is harder to find evidence to contradict or support the classical writings. In particular hair length and the wearing of a moustache are claims which are very difficult to evaluate from archaeological discoveries, although here bog bodies may be useful. Lindow Man had his hair and beard trimmed with shears before his death, rather than with a razor, and his hair is fairly short (Stead et al 1986, British Museum 2015a). This may not be a typical length, and may relate to the circumstances of his death, but it does appear to contradict classical writing. Evidence for hair styles can possibly be drawn from images in material culture, such as coins and decorative handles; however these give mixed impressions, especially given the ornamental or symbolic nature of the objects in question (James and Rigby 1997).

Discussion

While there are many other areas in which archaeological discoveries have impacted our understanding of the Iron Age people of Britain, it is also important to consider the alternative influences on our current views. In particular, colonialism and empire expansion during the 19th century had a considerable impact on our current understandings of both the Roman and Iron ages in Britain. During this period scholars often aligned modern Britain with the Roman Empire (Lakkur 2006; Hingley 2000; Hanson 1994), and therefore their views of Britain were often shaped by their view of the colonies, in particular the Indian subcontinent (Mills 2012;). Hingley (2000: 104-5) argues that the Edwardians used the connection to the ancient Britons to “dilute” the Victorian idea that Britons today have mostly Germanic Anglo-Saxon blood. In addition, their understanding of prehistoric peoples was shaped by the work of early ethnographers, leading to the popularity of the “noble savage” view of the Iron Age (Harding 2004; Champion 1997). As a result, we have inherited a mixture of perspectives drawn from the Classical sources, the early understandings of these sources and their limited understanding of archaeology, in addition to Antiquarianism. Consequently, we see Britain not only as a country of unrecognisably savage, wild, barbaric or otherwise “different” people, but also as a “Celtic commonwealth”, linked closely to the other Celtic peoples of mainland Europe (James and Rigby 1997).

In this respect there is a considerable difference between the views in academic and public spheres. The vast majority of the public use the terms Celt and Briton interchangeably, however academic literature is more divided. Despite the wide ranging and varied academic writing on the Iron Age, with evidence drawn from all available sources, including historiography of earlier archaeological writing, public understanding is often drawn from a limited range of information. For example, a recent BBC documentary discussing the Iron Age was entitled: “The Celts: Blood, Iron and Sacrifice”. This programme ignored all discussion of the term “celtic” and compared modern “Celtic Festivals” (which draw inspiration from the Irish Annals of the C10th AD) to probable similar occasions in the Iron Age. Whilst not necessarily untrue, this conflation of ideas is misleading. Such decisions might be understandable in the world of film, where sales are vital, but nonetheless these are the aspects of archaeology which are seen by the public and therefore shape general understanding of such topics as the pre-Roman peoples of Britain.

This is also the case in the academic world which, is generally still very much shaped by the classical texts and understandings drawn from them, though this is beginning to change. In

particular, Roman and Victorian writings still hold great sway, with regards to the physical appearance and cultural behaviours of these people, due to the relative lack of evidence in these areas in the archaeological record. There are many volumes of work on the Iron Age, including study of society, settlement, weaponry and metallurgy, but these are not known to the public- as a result, each generation of archaeologists must fight these preconceived ideas, formed by museums, films and documentaries seen in childhood. Due to this, the process of change and movement away from romanticized and classically influenced views of the Iron Age is a remarkably slow process (though it is undeniably happening), despite the volume of archaeological evidence available.

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Excavations of a Roman fort and *Vicus* settlement at Binchester

Kirsty Jones¹

¹Durham University, Department of Archaeology, South Road, Durham, DH13LE

Email: Kirsty.jones@durham.ac.uk



Introduction

NERRF research project aims and background

In 2006, the North East Regional Research Framework for the Historical Environment proposed a synthesised research project based on the research agendas of curators, local governments, societies and groups, the heritage sector and academics. The key research priorities of NERRF were to expand on the current knowledge of the Iron Age-Roman transition, roads and communication, Roman military presence, native and civilian life, material culture, trade and industry, religion, burial, landscape and environment and the Roman-early medieval transition. In particular, the research agenda focused on the military remains connected with Hadrian's Wall, placing emphasis on the effects of the wall on the pre-Roman landscape, the Roman road network, and the settlements around Hadrian's Wall, situating them in their wider context. Research was concentrated at the site of Binchester, due to its excellent preservation and its significance among the garrisons along the road known as Dere Street. This particular area was of interest due to a lack of knowledge regarding the roads and surrounding military infrastructure (NERRF 2006).

Binchester: Past research

Binchester is a village situated on the banks of the River Wear, near Bishop Auckland, County Durham, in North East England (NGR centre: NZ 2095 3135). It contains the remains of the combined Roman fort (approx. 4.5 ha) and *vicus* settlement known as Vinovia, which was the focus of a seven year public excavation, open to amateur and academic interest, as well as intermittent excavation and analysis since 1878. The Binchester Excavation Project commenced in June 2009 and ended in July 2015. It was the joint landscape archaeology project of Durham University, Stanford University, and the Architectural and Archaeological Society of Northumberland and Durham- funded by Durham University, Vinovia and Durham County Council (Archaeological Services 2015: 2). The excavations were overseen by the Archaeological Services at Durham University, whose main focus was: 'academic research, empowerment and education, and conservation and management', according to the 2015 interim report (Archaeological Services 2015: 2). It is evident that these aims were met.

Archaeological Services education and training

Students and volunteers were provided with training by Archaeological Services at the beginning of each excavation. They were shown how to use the excavation kit, how to utilise the recording facilities such as context bags, context sheets, grid plans and photography, as well as how to record new trench heights using a dumpy level. Additionally, the volunteers learnt to recognise and record key finds such as bone, ceramics, iron and copper, as well as how to interact with the visiting public. Bulk finds and key 'small' finds were transferred to the Conservation Laboratory in Durham, and scientific dating was carried out where necessary.

Trench 1: Binchester fort excavation results

Geophysical survey

The initial geophysical survey of the area was undertaken by Time Team in 2007, who mapped the north and north east of the fort (Fig.1). This project revealed sepulchral areas outside the fort and vicus, including three mausolea and an inhumation. The geophysical survey undertaken at the beginning of the research project in 2009 (Fig.2) extended the area that had been previously surveyed, through the use of magnetometry, resistivity, and ground penetrating radar.

Excavations 2009 - 2014

During the 2009 stage of excavation, the stone wall of the barrack block was uncovered running from north to north west, integrated with cobbles and paving slabs, and a series of pits and gullies, extending into parts of the *via sagularis*. There was also evidence of the extensive re-use and relining of the pits with stones, as well as an abundance of cattle bone deposition, which became more significant following the 2010 and 2011 excavations (Fig.3) (Archaeological Services 2009: Archaeological Services 2010: Archaeological Services, 2011). It may indicate that the use of the site changed during this period, evident from the initial mid-2nd to late 3rd century timber construction of the commander's house, or *praetorium*, and its subsequent site formation processes (Ferris 2011). Petts (2013) states that the reconstructed 4th century AD stone *praetorium* was used as a slaughterhouse due to the abundance of cattle bone deposition dated to the later 4th century AD, which was contemporaneous with the filling of the pits in the barracks (Petts 2013).

A rectilinear post-Roman stone building was discovered in the south east rampart in the 2009 excavation, which was not aligned with the barrack block. The next stage of the excavation in 2010 revealed different phases of construction for the post-Roman building, with stone and cobbled building exteriors (Fig.3). The 2011 excavations uncovered more cobbled and paved surfaces across the majority of the fort, including the barrack buildings, showing internal

divisions and evidence of drains. The south eastern corner of the trench was further excavated in 2012, revealing the raised stone walling that was supporting the post-Roman/medieval building. To the south west lay cobbled surfaces with evidence of medieval pottery. In addition, part of the barrack block showed evidence of reconstruction in the medieval period, which indicates that the medieval building and the barrack block were at one point contemporaneous. The rectilinear building and the reconstructed barrack were removed during this stage revealing stone and cobbled surfaces that predated the previous structures, and a stone structure attached to the west side of the barracks (Archaeological Services 2012).

In 2013 an earlier phase of the barrack block was uncovered, showing the soldiers' accommodation, the stables and the officer's quarters, with the eastern section evidencing the reduction of the block to half its original width. The internal layout incorporated paving, stone and clay walls, and drains and hearths (Archaeological Services 2013). The 2014 excavation revealed an earlier phase of construction of the barrack block, with contemporaneous cobbled paved flooring to the east and west, and evidence of timber partitions. The alignment of these partitions indicated a separation of the stables and accommodation. Evidence revealed that the west wall had been rebuilt at a later phase, and that the timber spine had been removed. In addition, a latrine block was uncovered against a north east corner tower in the fort wall, and evidence of a stone building was found at the north of the barrack block (Archaeological Services 2014).

Excavation 2015

During my three weeks of excavation at Binchester in June 2015, I remained at the south of trench 1 in the barrack block, and later in the south west of the trench, working with a group of three students. By this point, trench 1 evidenced the stables within the barrack blocks to the south of the fort, and a latrine block and corner tower to the north of the fort against the wall. I was assigned to the south-west part of the trench, which contained the barracks with incorporated stables, and a large stone-lined pit (Fig.4 & Fig.5). We removed the top layers of soil and cobbles using trowels and mattocks, as directed by members of Archaeological Services. We intended to reveal more paved and cobbled surfaces throughout the interior and exterior of the barrack block, showing different phases of construction that were similar to the more recent versions of the structure. Post holes, beam slots and stake holes were uncovered after the removal of the surfaces, alongside the remains of a large burnt timber post in the south corner of the trench (Fig.5 & Fig.6). Removing the burnt surface exposed another cobbled surface, indicative of the earlier wooden barrack design. It is clear from the burnt timber and early post holes, as well as from the phases of early reconstruction, that the original late 1st century AD fort was a timber construction that had been demolished. This may have

been due to the fact that it could be burnt down and rebuilt without a substantial consumption of time. The second fort constructed of stone in the Antonine period was half the size of the earlier timber construction, and gave rise to the vicus settlement at Vinovia (Ferris 2011).

Trench 2, Binchester vicus excavation results

Excavation commenced at the vicus (trench 2) during 2010, to the east of the fort's eastern entrance. This revealed a later road than Dere Street along the same alignment, running along the edge of trench 2 from south to west. Evidence of a rectangular bath house was discovered in the east end of the trench, and another rectangular building to the west, as well as medieval and post-medieval deposition (Archaeological Services 2010). The post-medieval deposition was removed during the 2011 excavation, which included the removal of the over-lying cobbled surface along Dere Street. This revealed more of the bath house to the east, as well as evidence of repaving and stone-lined pits that were filled with an abundance of animal bone, assumed to be contemporaneous with the bone-filled pits that were discovered across the earlier stratigraphy of the fort and *praetorium* from the late 4th century AD. It was clear that the settlement of Vinovia had changed its function during this period, and it is assumed that it was being used for large scale butchery (Archaeological Services 2011; Petts 2013). The pits were excavated and removed in 2012, and more of the bath house was revealed during 2012 and 2013, evidencing extensive reconstruction and bricking-up of the rooms, windows and doors over different phases (Archaeological Services 2012; Archaeological Services 2013). The 2014 excavation revealed what is thought to have been the *apodyterium* within the bath house. A plunge pool with drainage system was discovered in the large room in 2015, and the eastern part of the bath house revealed a hypocaust and flue (Fig.7).

Discussion: continued usage and change in function

Vinovia

It is clear that Vinovia was once an important part of the frontier system along Dere Street (Fig.8), due to its constant reconstruction and continued use during Roman and sub-Roman occupations (Petts 2013). Evidence of the rebuilding and redevelopment of early wooden and later stone features within the fort and vicus demonstrates the significance of the fort and civilian settlement with regards to the protection of the main trade network. The fort changed in function during the early to mid-2nd century AD, from barracks to industrial use, and saw the subsequent construction of the *praetorium* (Ferris 2011). The excavated pottery from the Roman period found at Vinovia dates from no later than the late 4th century AD, in accordance with the economic collapse in Roman Britain. This corresponds with the radiocarbon date from a cattle bone excavated from one of the larger pits within the fort, in addition to the radiocarbon dates of the cattle bones from the *praetorium*. Both show a clear change in the use of the

settlement during the late 4th century AD (Petts 2013). It has been suggested that the industrial activity and large scale dumping was either to maintain a substantial remaining population at Vinovia, or for meat redistribution in the local area, including the forts and urban centres along Dere Street and Hadrian's Wall (Ferris 2011: Petts 2013). However, similar changes in the use of space during the same period were documented at Eboracum (York) (Fig.8), and it has been argued that the large amount of animal bone deposition was due to butchery for elite feasting (Collins 2012). Despite the apparent lack of butchery markings on the bones recovered from some sites, the substantial refuse deposition of animal bones is typical of specialised butchery at Roman military settlements (O'Connor 2000: 54). That said, there are clear cut marks on the bones excavated from the pits at Binchester, and in addition several military and civilian sites in Britain have shown that carcass reduction and extensive rubbish deposition is essentially a Roman practice and military-related, apparent at sites within the northern frontier system (Dobney 2011).

Hadrian's Wall

Evidence suggests large-scale dumping of animal bones towards the western end of Hadrian's Wall at Banna (Birdoswald) fort in Cumbria (Fig. 8), which saw the construction of its *vicus* during the 3rd century AD, and continued to be occupied after the troops were withdrawn during the late 4th to early 5th century AD. Similarly, excavations at the fort at Arbeia, South Shields (Fig.8) has revealed evidence of large-scale dumping as well as continued occupation at the site after troop withdrawal. Moreover, the reduction and demolition of granaries dating from the 3rd to late 4th century AD is evident at Arbeia (South Shields), Vercovicium and Vindolanda (both in Hexham along the centre of Hadrian's Wall) (Fig.8), which is indicative of a reduced need for food storage around that time, and suggests that the occupants may have been sourcing their food locally or using their own supplies, to an extent which could maintain such populations (Collins 2012). In acknowledgement of the similarities between the sites, it would be reasonable to assume that either interpretation of Vinovia's evidence for butchery is credible, or even that it was maintaining its own population as well as distributing meat to other sites and urban areas.

Dere Street

The *praetorium* at Vinovia had been left to decay after the late 4th to early 5th century AD. The area that was once the fort transformed into an area of extensive meat processing, and it is not clear who inhabited the settlement directly after the withdrawal of the Roman troops (Ferris 2011: Petts 2013). However, evidence suggests that the organisation of industrial activities was a 'centrally organised and managed activity', which would indicate that there was still a degree of social structure present (Ferris 2011: 123). Nevertheless, the large scale deposition

and neglect of the buildings indicates a shift in priorities, possibly as a result of Roman acculturation and the subsequent abandonment of troops (Petts, 2013). Isotopic analysis of human bones in Yorkshire has shown that there was a decrease in diversity at Roman military settlements that protected Dere Street, such as *Cataractonium* (Catterick), demonstrating that military recruitment had become more 'localised' towards the end of the Roman period (Chenery 2011: 1525). The cessation of tax flow between Britain and Rome, and the change in recruitment, may have also resulted in the change in priorities regarding building maintenance, food storage and procurement, and the change in use of the military settlements along Hadrian's Wall (Collins 2012).

Concluding on the wider research aims

The excavation project at Binchester has revealed the importance of the military settlements along Dere Street, and their relationship with the forts and settlements at Hadrian's Wall. This is evident in the continuous reconstruction and continued functionality of the buildings and space, although no evidence of pre-Roman activity has been discovered. The late Roman and early medieval transition has revealed how the military settlements in the north of Britain were affected by the economic difficulties of the Roman Empire further west. This is seen in the changing form and function of the military settlements; the large scale dumping and butchery, the cessation of building reconstruction, and the discontinuation of granaries. However, it isn't clear if the evidence of butchery at Binchester is indicative of a substantial remaining population, or if meat was simply distributed between military sites. Recent studies have provided the isotope ratios of 4th century AD inhumations found in cemeteries around the Dere Street military sites of York and Catterick. It may be interesting to investigate whether or not there were any sites with high meat consumption levels but little or no evidence of butchery. This may indicate that military settlements like Vinovia were practicing large scale butchery for meat distribution to the settlements nearby.

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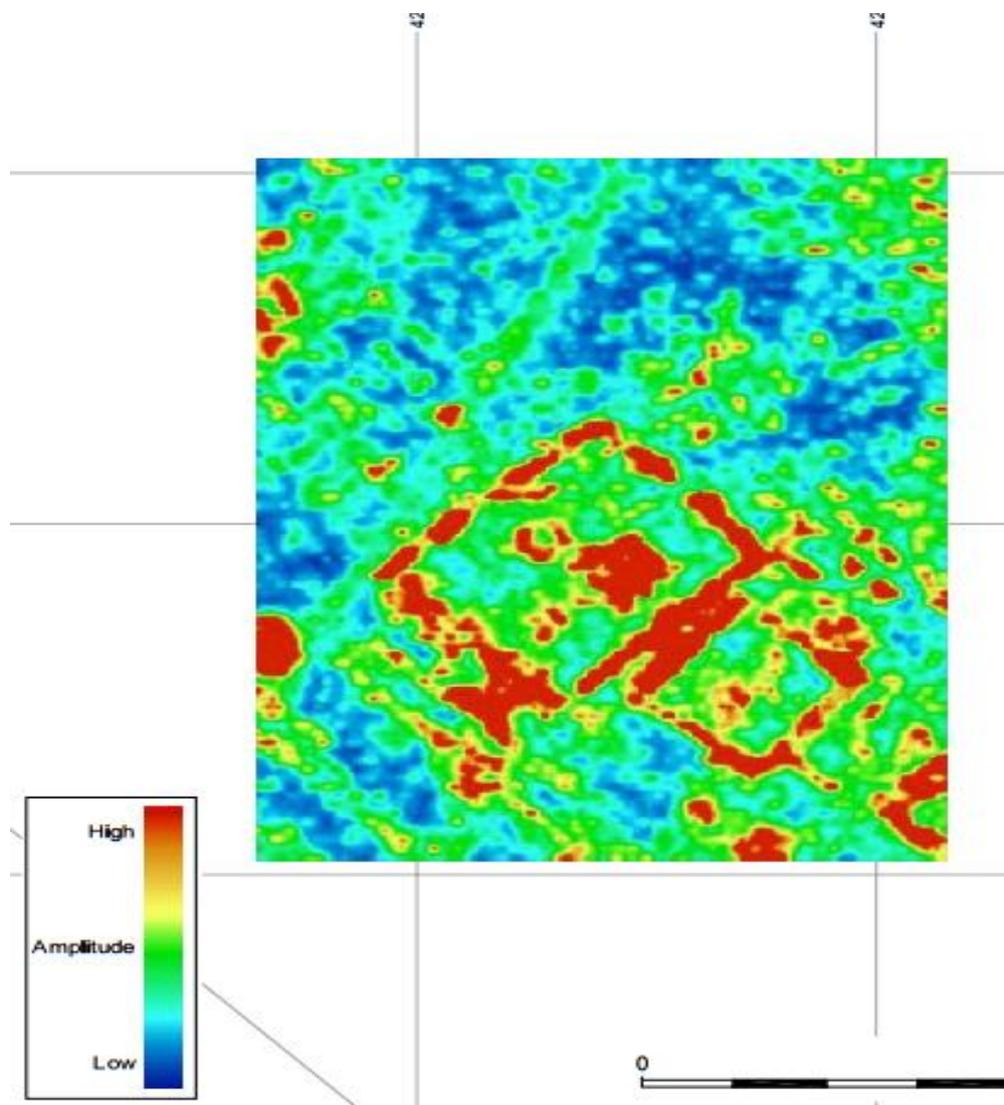
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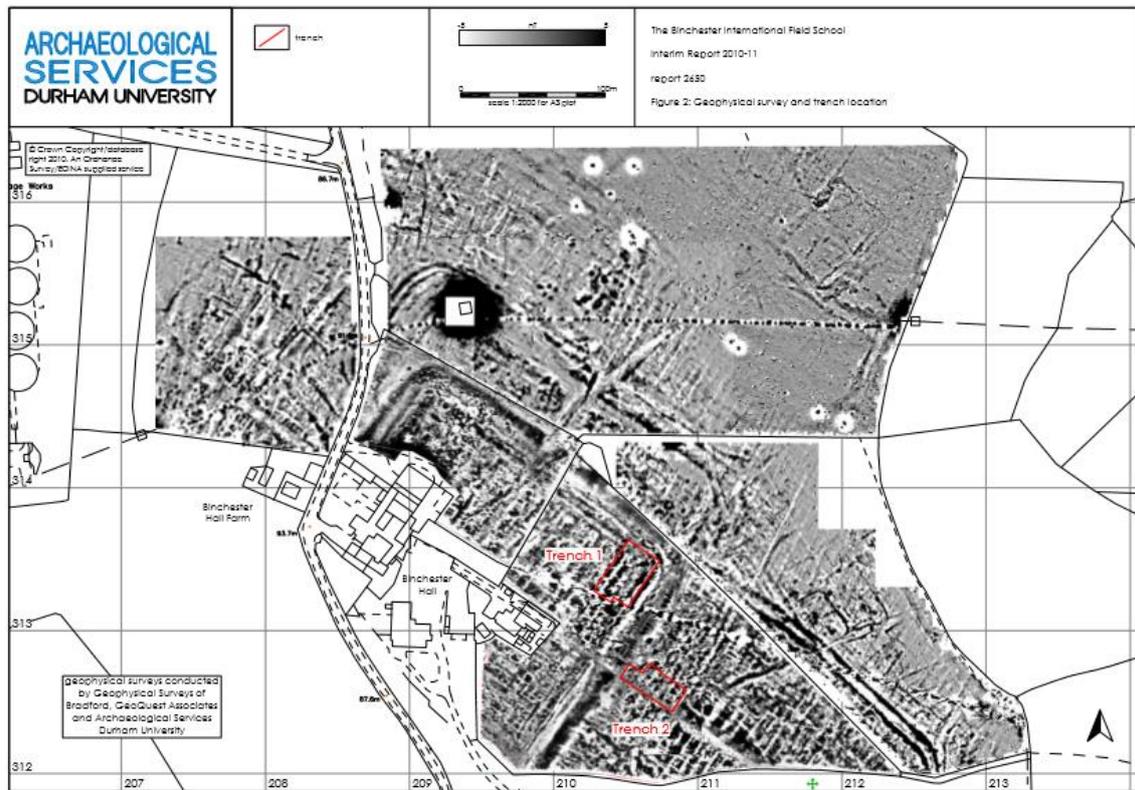
8) Appendix/Figures

Fig. 1 Initial Geophysical Survey Results (GPR) 2007



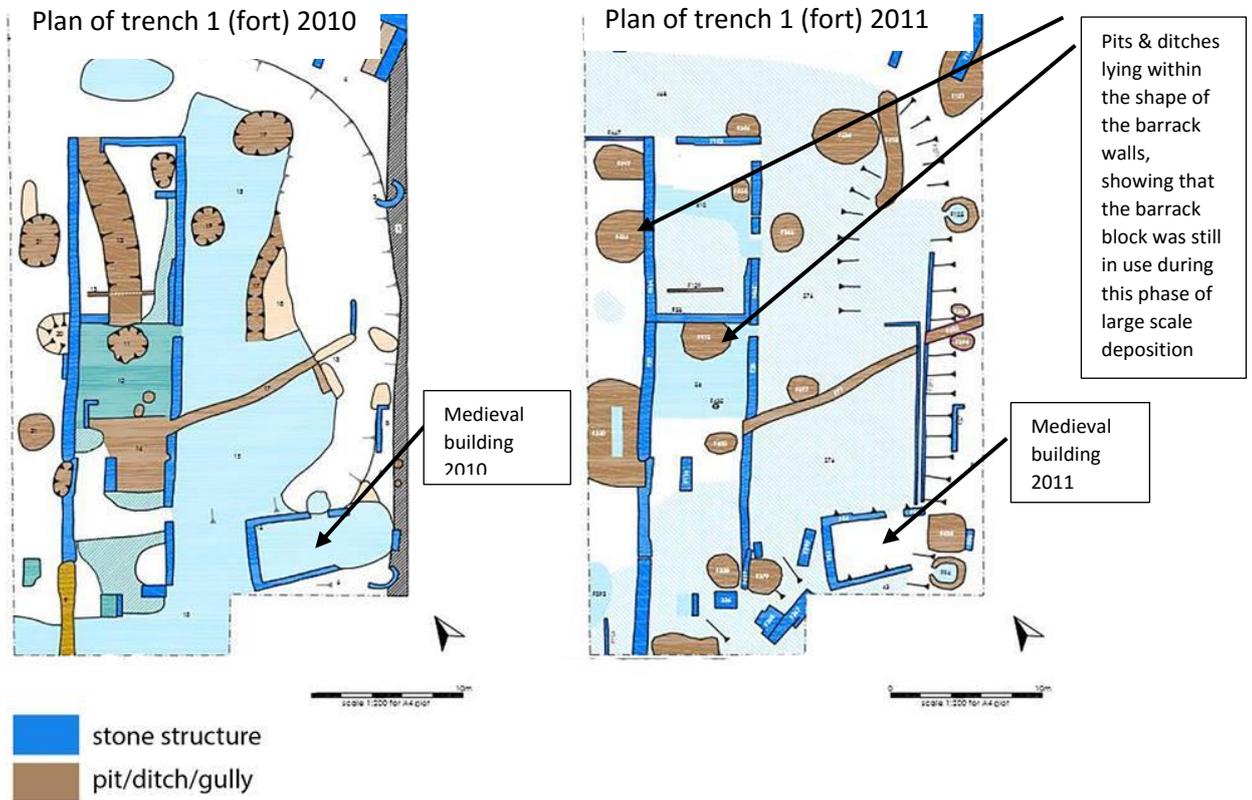
(Wessex Archaeology, 2008)

Fig.2 Geophysical Survey 2009 (used for Interim Report 2010, highlighting the fort and vicus)



(Archaeological Services, 2010)

Fig.3 Trench 1 (fort) plans from 2010 & 2011 showing the increase in evidence of pits, ditches and gullies over the period of the 2 excavations.



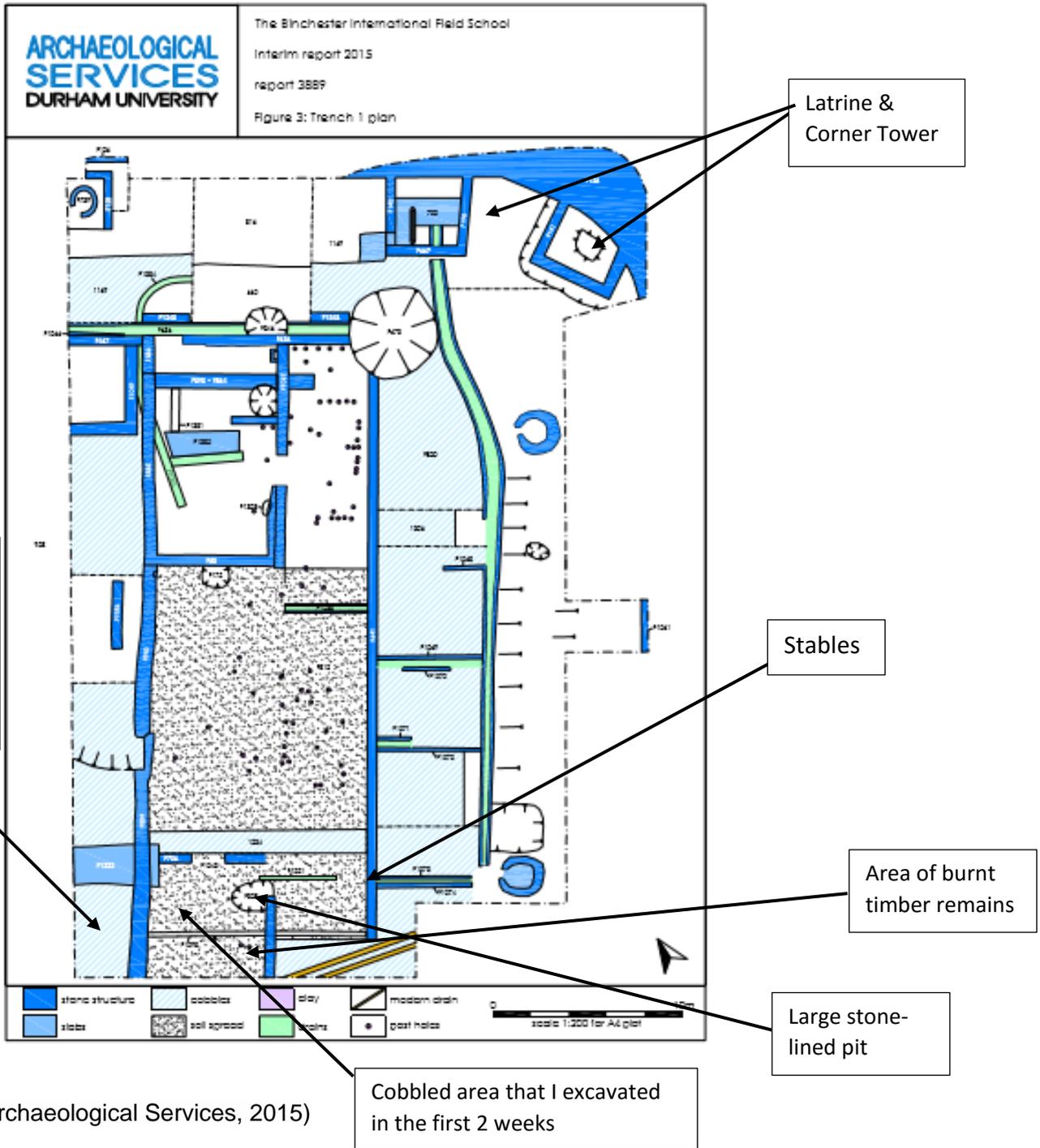
(Archaeological Services, 2010: Archaeological Services, 2011)

Fig.4 Large stone-lined pit, to the south of trench 1 (fort) near barrack block



(Photograph taken by the author)

Fig.5 Plan of trench 1 (fort) 2015 showing stables, latrine block and corner tower



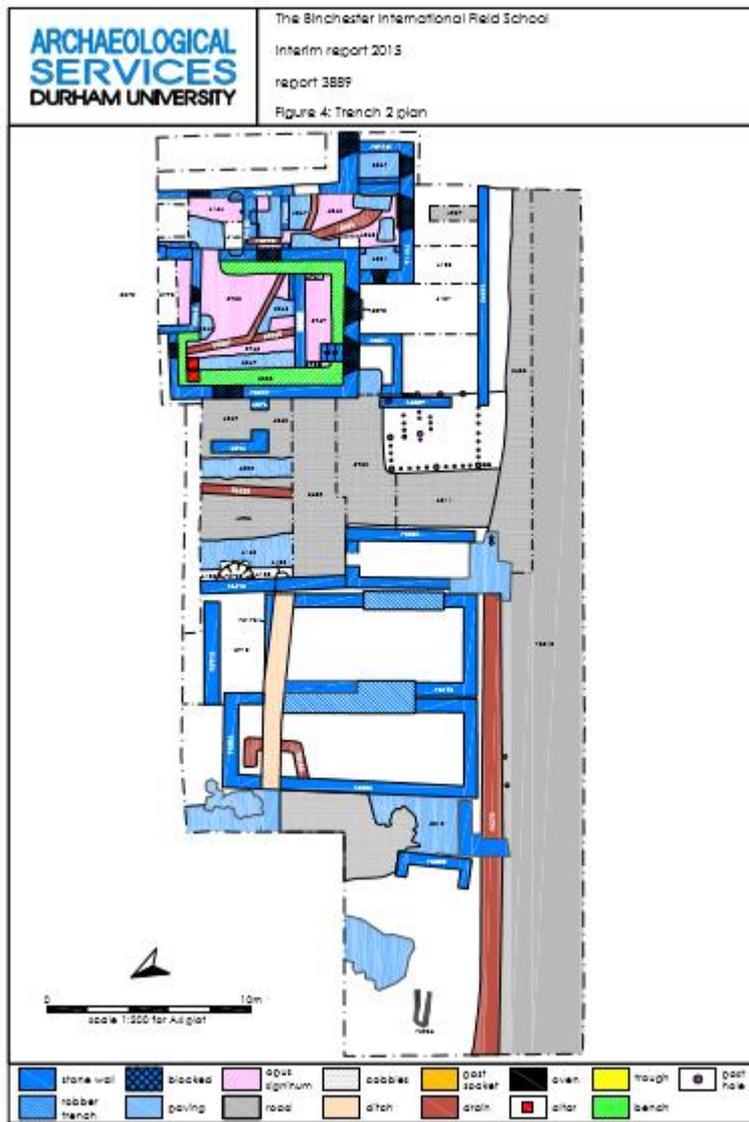
(Archaeological Services, 2015)

Fig. 6 Evidence of burnt timber beam in south of trench 1 (fort) 2015, possibly belonging to the original timber structure fort



(Photograph taken by the author)

Fig.7 Plan of trench 2 (*vicus*) 2015 with bath house in the east corner



(Archaeological Services, 2015)

Fig.8 Map of the north of Britain showing Dere Street, Hadrian's Wall and the forts and *vici* settlements that have been mentioned in this paper



(Map produced by the author)

The Current Place of Theory in Archaeological Research

Kirsty Jones¹

¹Durham University Department of Archaeology, South Road, Durham, DH1 3LE

Email: Kirsty.jones@durham.ac.uk



Introduction

The fragmentation of archaeological theory in recent years has led to the apparent standstill of the synthesis of new theory and theoretical debate (Bintliff & Pearce, 2011). This inspired the proclamation of 'The Death of Theory' at the 33rd Annual Conference of the Theoretical Archaeology Group in 2009, referring to the lack of recent debate regarding paradigms in archaeology. American archaeologists still consider theory to be very much 'alive' and necessary, stating that there is still possibility for new insights within current theory (TAG 2009, 2011). However, it is thought to be the opinion of the majority that archaeology is maturing by reaching the same level of theoretical practice used in other disciplines of a similar nature, by using an assortment of what is already available to provide research answers (Jervis, 2011). It would appear that the recent cease in the advancement of theory, and the indisputable contentment in doing so, has encouraged the new debate of whether or not archaeological theory is 'dead'.

This paper will show firstly how the fragmentation of theory has contributed to modern archaeological research, by discussing modern case studies that have used a multiplicity of approaches, in comparison with original singular theoretical concepts from the 1800's and 1900's. It will also be shown how the evolution of theoretical movement and the eclectic use of fragmented theories has potentially caused the necessary standstill to what was the seemingly never-ending debate of archaeological theory.

The Fragmentation of Theory

In 1860, studies of the similarities and differences in artefacts and assemblages ranging between geographic locations and stages in time began to be interpreted using cultural-historical archaeology (Eerkens & Lipo, 2007). Vere Gordon Childe expanded on cultural archaeology in the early 1920's using inductive methods of studying the patterns of recurring remains within assemblages from Neolithic Europe (*fig. 1*), which led him to purport that diffusion was the reason for the spread of such things as pottery-based cultures (Childe, 1929). However, a recent case study regarding the genetic patterns from the late Neolithic bell

beaker burials at Kromsdorf, Germany, was able to analyse information regarding ancient DNA to enable comparison with similar bell beaker and corded ware burial sites. The scientific analysis of DNA developed evidence of mitochondrial lineages, providing a platform for further interpretation regarding diffusion, and differentiation of social organisation. This study used a processual approach, in addition to a cultural-historical framework with post-processual methods of social interpretation, to expand on the existing knowledge of the pottery cultures and the sociocultural aspects of the late Neolithic (Fehren-Schmitz *et al*, 2012). This shows that the combined use of existing fragmented theories can be complementary when exploring more specific information: a singular theory can provide a sound framework as a starting point for analysis of an artefact, site or landscape, but using several theories to build on, can enrich the interpretation of a past society (Bintliff & Pearce, 2011).

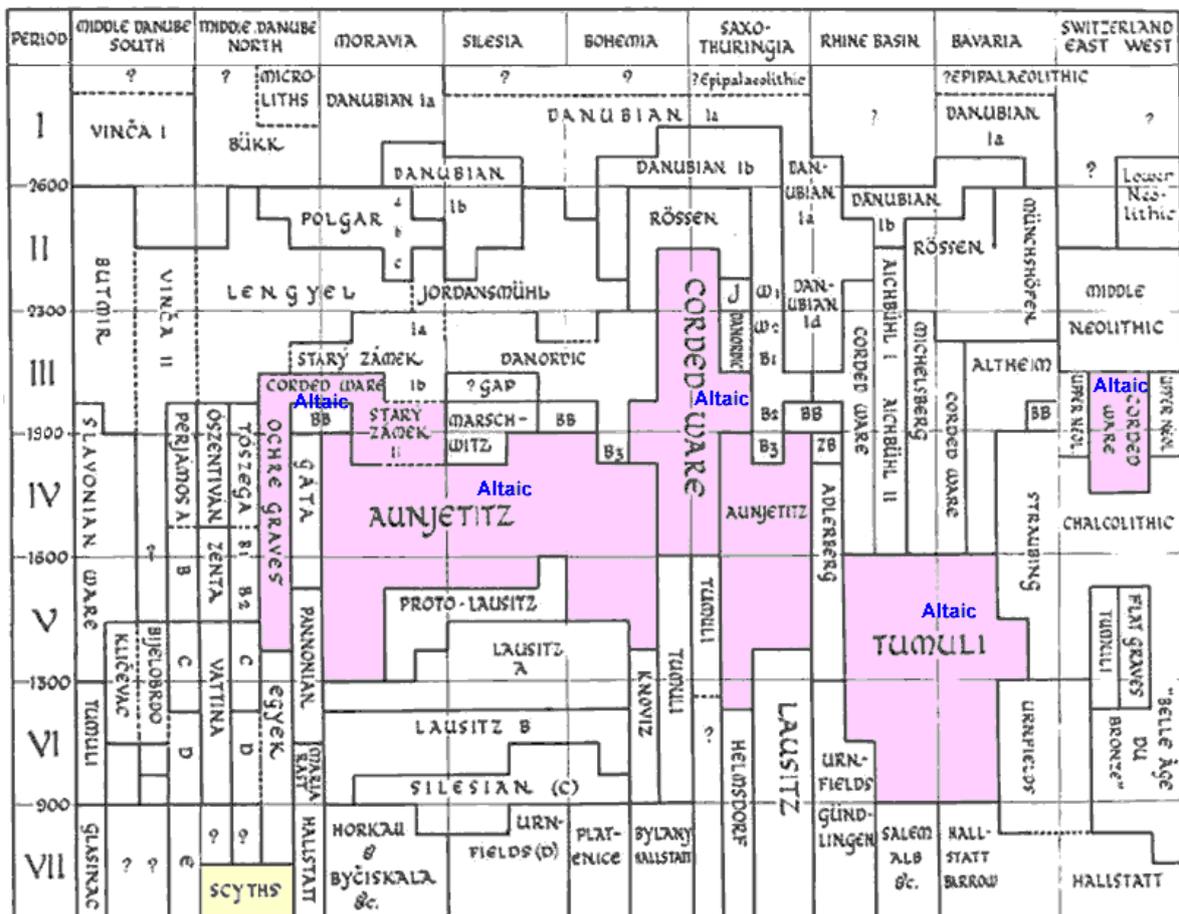


Fig. 1: Childe's Culture Chart (Coon, 2008)

The integration of archaeology and ethnography by Lewis Binford during the 1970's introduced middle-range theory for the interpretation of historic behaviour through the analysis of modern patterns. Binford's 'drop/toss' model, based on the spatial patterning of the antler-skinning waste around the hearths of Palaeolithic hunter-gatherers, was an interpretation of the ethnographic present, which were modern hunter-gatherer waste patterns in this case (fig.2) (Goodyear & Raab, 1984). A modern case study on the spatial analysis of several Palaeolithic

and Mesolithic settlement patterns from around the world has shown in-depth evidence that waste deposition is culture-specific, and therefore all deposition does not follow an exact model. It is also shown that deposition behaviour is not static and can vary, depending on factors such as wind blowing the hearth forcing a reconfiguration of the seating structure, and therefore changing the deposition pattern. This shows that a combination of post-processual methods and cultural-historical theory was necessary to deduce the nature of the hearths and the surrounding areas (Galanidou, 2000). The eclectic use of the range of different theories seems to be beneficial when investigating discrete research questions as well as analysing inductive approaches (Bintliff, 2011). However, it would appear that the agglomeration of theories that are used is completely dependent on the particular interest of the archaeologist, and whichever area of archaeology they belong to (Hodder, 2001).

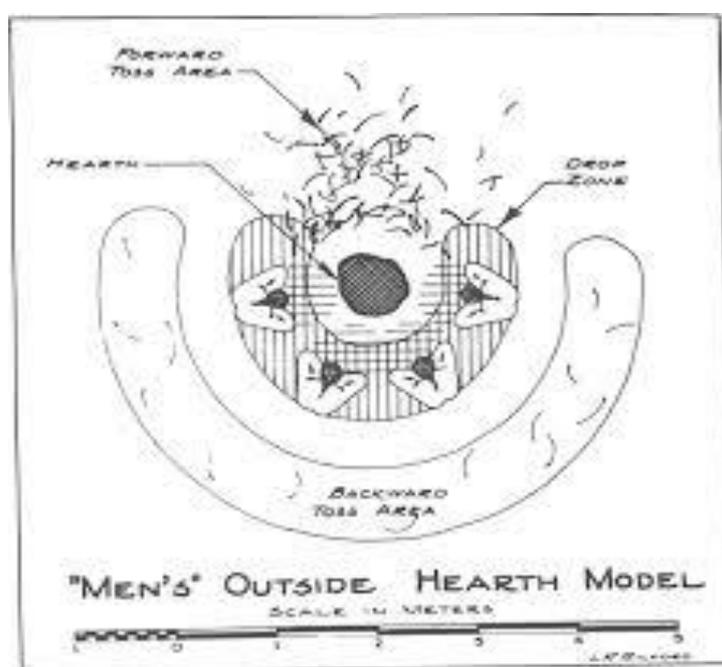


Fig.2 Binford's 'drop/toss' Model (Carr, 1991)

The Progression of the Movements of Theory

Changes in the main stages of theoretical movements in archaeology have created such a framework that have allowed the development of approaches to artefact and site analysis, starting with Darwinian evolutionary perspectives. This eventually led to culture-historical methods in the late 19th century, and later processual archaeology in the late 1960's; a critique of the culture-historical approach which introduced meticulous recording, accuracy and taphonomy to excavation techniques. (Bahn & Renfrew, 2012). The post-processualist approach was introduced in the late 1970's and was originally a critique or rejection of processualism and of the idea that scientific methods could produce completely objective

conclusions. This rejection fuelled a debate between the two movements for several years, and U.S. archaeologists are still very much in agreement with processualism. (Patterson, 1990). Archaeologists like Ian Hodder, Michael Shanks and Christopher Tilley were the original opposition to processualism, and moved the focus to hermeneutic interpretations of material culture, stating that all archaeological understanding relies on a degree of interpretation, and that all humans have a pre-theoretical knowledge (Bintliff & Pearce, 2011; Hodder, 2001). Processualism has a tendency to struggle with mathematical and scientific interpretation when aspects of past human behaviour don't make sense, which is why the new post-processual archaeologists encouraged ideas of phenomenology and structuralism to attempt explanations. Postprocessual archaeology tackles these explanations by invoking the individual and considering human nature, as opposed to relying entirely on cultural evolutionism or a particular rationale of processes (Patterson, 1990). It would appear that the different stages of theoretical movement are evidence of a continuous development of thought, including aspects of previous stages, rather than a linear list with the most recent being the correct method. This has gradually led to an end to the impasse, particularly in British archaeology, and onto the multiplicity application of method and theory; the combined use of processual and post-processual methods, and the selective range of theories which adhere to each archaeological movement, produce complimentary results and enriched interpretations (Hodder, 2001).

Conclusion

Modern case studies have been shown to produce in-depth results when applying a combination of scientific, social and cultural aspects of archaeological theory, and the broader role of sites and artefacts may not be completely captured and recorded without this multiplicity approach of fragmented theories. Different methods of research in other disciplines that are known to create discourse have been shown to produce more beneficial results when combined, such as qualitative and quantitative research, as well as emic and etic perspectives. This also applies to multidisciplinary approaches such as the combination of ethnography and archaeology, which Binford was renowned for promoting and applying (Galanidou, 2000). It is evident that as theory has fragmented, archaeology has done so too, in the sense that it has created more areas of specialisation within archaeology.

The development of archaeological movements through time leading to post-processualism have created this new framework of archaeological thought, which allows the archaeologist to create detailed and extensive interpretations by applying the most relevant theories to their work. After all, archaeology is very much an interpretive discipline. Therefore, in response to

TAG, it may not be the case that theory is 'dead', instead it may mean that the time has come for the death of theoretical impasse.

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