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The student-run archaeology journal



Highly
Commended
by the
BAA

November 2014



Visual Analysis: Chantry Chapel, Wakefield



Late Pleistocene Landscapes of Italy

The London Mithraeum

Acknowledgments and Awards



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Cover image credit: Drawing by Alicyn Murphy

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Editorial: The ultimate multidiscipline

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As I am delving deeper into bio-archaeology, arguably the most rapidly advancing sub-discipline of archaeology, I am becoming more aware of the importance of the multidisciplinary approach to archaeological study. Through conversations with peers, I have found that archaeology tends to be a subject either stumbled upon or one which advocates are born into. If you take into consideration the wide scope of opportunities the discipline can offer and the various specialist techniques and skills that are required to complete a fully comprehensive archaeological study, this strikes me as rather strange. It seems that the general public consensus is that a day as an archaeologist either consists of sitting in a mud hole in the ground, or raiding ancient tombs and trying to avoid the inevitable onslaught of the cursed treasure's protector! The fact is that the field has moved on from the days of using dynamite to excavate, as the Victorians did, or other equally inapt techniques (in most cases, anyway), and today it is more diverse than ever before. There are opportunities for: field archaeologists, commercial archaeologists, bioarchaeologists, GIS teams, bio-mathematicians, historical interpreters, heritage workers, maritime archaeologists, archaeological photographers, metal detectorists, post-ex analysts, landscape archaeologists, and the list could go on. In my opinion, this is the obvious attraction of archaeology: whether you're interested in the demission of *Homo neanderthalensis* or the contents of a public rubbish bin, there is a space for all those interested in understanding the human past by assessing what we leave behind. This is why I think it is so important that archaeological researchers, no matter which sub-discipline they may be part of, are archaeologists first and foremost. The background knowledge of the wider picture normally results in far more comprehensive studies and research is more focused and relevant when put into context. This is something we can lose when we hand over our samples to a non-archaeologist. I am not criticising other disciplines, but merely questioning the importance of the results when data is analysed without the archaeological value of these results in mind. A multidisciplinary study does not mean throwing all forms of analysis at a site or sample, but logically thinking through the best ways to address specific archaeological questions using techniques from a range of fields of study.

Last month I briefly mentioned the new *TPHExtra* feature 'TPH meets York Seminars' and it may not seem like a lot has happened since then. However, behind the scenes we have been recruiting a new team of interviewers headed up by Zack Goodall, our Publicity Coordinator. We have now filmed four interviews with Paul Pettitt, Barry Taylor, Jane Grenville and Huw Barton, which are in the process of being edited and will soon be released on our website. Here are some

comments from two of our interviewers about the process and meeting the interviewees themselves:

Emma Samuel “Dr Taylor is known for his work at Star Carr, the world renowned early Mesolithic site in North Yorkshire. This interview provided a rare opportunity to pick his brains on subjects ranging from palaeoecology to ethnography. It was also a chance to learn more about his research into animate landscapes, specifically the relationship between people and plants.

For anyone interested in delving deeper into this subject area, Dr Taylor is co-hosting a session at TAG Manchester this year.”

Freya Lawson-Jones “Dr Huw Barton, a guest speaker at York from the University of Leicester, came to lecture on the Penan people’s culture from Borneo as part of our weekly York Seminar Series. This fascinating talk looked at the relationship between people and plants in this part of the world, raising many interesting questions about what relationships of this nature there may have been in the past. In this interview, we covered Dr Barton’s work on the Cultured Rainforest Project, as well as in the Great Cave of Niah and lots more.”

The Post Hole image competition is still open! We are looking for a cover image for an issue next year, so please send in your photographs, digital images and reconstructions from the excavation season. To enter simply visit our website (theposthole.org/photo-competition) and click on the competition banner.

We would love to hear your opinions or any extra information you have concerning the topics of the articles featured in this Issue. Please send them in a ‘Letter to the Editor’. Again, simply visit our website (theposthole.org/letters) and fill in the relevant details on the form. This is another opportunity to get involved, so please do not miss the chance to have your views published by *The Post Hole*.

Before we move on to this month’s articles, I would like to send out a call for PR Officers. We are looking for people all across the world to become PR Officers and advertise *The Post Hole* in their establishment (individuals will be fully credited for their efforts). If you are interested in this opportunity please email Eleanor via editor@theposthole.org.

Now to the articles featured in Issue 41. The first article comes from **Ben Wajdner**, who assesses the current methods of heritage management and offers a well researched alternative. This work has been carried out as part of Wajdner’s MA thesis, so if you like the article please take a look at his Academia page: york.academia.edu/BenWajdner.

The second article concerns the Pleistocene landscape of Central Italy. **Maurizio Gatta** presents findings from Cisterna di Latina as an example of how a mixture of techniques are changing how we think of this ancient landscape.

Joanne Harrison is the author of the third article this month. Harrison has produced some interesting images by visually analysing Chantry Chapel in Wakefield, and she summarizes the development and redevelopment of the Chapel, from the Medieval construction to minor restoration works in the 21st century.

The fourth interesting paper comes from **James Green** and concerns the recent excavations going on at Bury Farm. Green assesses the importance of the site when considering the surrounding landscape. The author also stresses the importance of engaging with the local community during projects such as this.

The fifth and final article of the November issue is written by **Chase Minos** and concerns the religious phenomenon, the cult of Mithras. Minos scrutinises inscriptions and temples looking for evidence of the cult, whilst examining the involvement of the Roman military.

I hope you enjoy the variety of the research papers submitted for Issue 41. If you would like to feature in an upcoming issue of *The Post Hole*, please send in your work in a word document to Jess (submissions@theposthole.org). If you need any advice or have any questions please send an email (again to submissions) and we will be happy to help. More information on submissions, formatting and referencing can be found at: theposthole.org/authors.

I would finally like to express my gratitude to **Alicyn Murphy** for the fantastic drawing of Chantry Chapel in Wakefield which features as our Cover Art this month.

All the best,
Eleanor Green.
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An alternative look at heritage value: understanding what matters behind one's sense of place



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The aim of this paper is to shed some light on a fascinating research area within critical heritage studies, considering how knowledge of the historic environment affects a resident's sense of place. More specifically, *does recognising time-depth in the place you live affect the way one values that place?* This question contributes to the development of methodologies for understanding value within the heritage landscape.

'An alternative look at heritage value: understanding what matters behind one's sense of place' – what do I mean and why have I chosen this title? As I unpack this, it is clear from the outset that for there to be an alternative to something, there first has to be something already established. Let me begin here.

Traditionally heritage management has revolved around the practical management of special historic assets. As an idea this can be predominantly traced as emerging from the enlightenment period where there was a shift towards modern philosophy and positive science – the pursuit of objective logic and rationality; sweeping aside the metanarratives and medieval philosophies of the past (Waterton 2005, 312).

Waterton notes that this led to "an unhelpful cluster of dichotomies: nature/culture, man/woman, subject/object, fact/value distinctions". She adds that "these concepts have endured, allowing dominant, scientific approaches to hang time within a seemingly unproblematic and straightened linear sequence with clearly definable epochs, but failing to grasp the inner, subjective qualities of social, ritual and sacred meaning" (2005, 312).

Archaeology itself, developed within this framework, extending its practice in a time of colonial dominance which also led to unbalanced assumptions of cultural and racial superiority. At home, during the continued industrial expansion which was permeating into all areas of social life, there grew the conservation ethic of the likes of John Ruskin and William Morris. They established moral and intellectual principles of authenticity and skill, affirming the notion of there being culturally superior moments which needed to be conserved in the state in which they were found.

This larger picture of the concept of heritage and its 'protection' was effectively exported across the empire where, as a result, it still largely dominates the discourse of heritage at international level. In the UK I would argue that we are still perpetuating and dictating these superior cultural

heritage values through our management framework, such as with listed buildings and scheduled monuments.

Many scholars are also arguing that heritage is more than merely the ‘special assets’ of history. Dobson puts it plainly that “whilst this distinction may provide a convenient means for dealing with heritage in practice it is an artificial one” (Dobson 2011, 104).

Let me give an analogy of how I see this.

Lonely George, the last remaining Galapagos Island Saddle-back land turtle, was adopted by leading experts in order for study, to look after and provide access to this rich scientific and educational resource for the world. A part of the story of such a resource is of course the guilt factor, in how we as humans have had such a detrimental impact on its existence. However, this is also a result of the changing of its natural environment, natural selection and it being no longer compatible with that realised adaptation.

But, Lonely George has been a great educational asset and is a signpost to the world about human responsibility in a changing world, so much so that when Lonely George sadly passed away in 2012, experts felt compelled to keep the asset preserved through the process of taxidermy.

Now, for me, this shares parallels with what we do with historic assets in cultural heritage. We freeze in time an asset that once was, perhaps out of guilt for its extinction, or maybe because we refuse to acknowledge that processes such as natural selection are an integral part of life. It is not the end of the story; only through the process of change, allowing other areas to develop, can heritage move forwards.

The point to take away from this tongue-in-cheek analogy is that heritage is not the old, the dead and the stuff we are burdened to preserve from the past. Heritage is alive! We need to get away from the model of heritage as taxidermy, and embrace that heritage is the integral process of change around us that informs the present and the future. It is not the protection of prescribed elements of superior identity, instead it is the ongoing stories we all hold to and experience throughout our lives and our landscapes.

So the alternative view of heritage is that heritage is narrative. Picking up from Waterton, where distinctions were previously made between nature and culture, in the landscape there is no distinction. In the narrative of heritage there are overlapping relationships between them. The landscape is not simply the neutral backdrop, but the setting in which all heritage is experienced.

As such, leading experts realise there must be a bold, new understanding and management of change in landscape. This requires open, cross-disciplinary approaches across cultural and ecological fields of expertise. Fairclough notes that “archaeology and ecology both began to develop additional methods of understanding and assessing landscapes... in particular they

pursued the idea that landscape is the sum of all its parts – natural, cultural, ecological, archaeological, historic, aesthetic, social and mental – and that multidisciplinary approaches are necessary to do full justice to it” (2003, 296).

The next factor required for developing this new approach for understanding and managing change in the landscape comes from the realisation that there are multiple landscapes. There is not one which can be ‘assessed’. Fairclough again states: “The Landscape is in fact doubly cultural. Its components (i.e. ‘ingredients’) within the environment are the product of hundreds, sometimes thousands, of years of human cultural actions. At the same time, however, the landscape as a whole is cultural because it is created only in the present-day by our own cultural and social attitudes” (2003, 297).

Landscape itself is an ongoing idea. The European Landscape Convention underscores this by defining landscape as an area, as perceived by people (Council of Europe 2004). Fairclough notes that landscape is everyone’s common heritage. Everyone owns landscape, in memory and in daily life; everyone has roots in at least one landscape somewhere (Fairclough 2004). This requires a management approach which makes no judgement but rather acknowledges the landscape’s open and changing meanings to all people.

This leads us then to today, with the continuing development and application of Historic Landscape Characterisation (HLC) as a methodology for viewing heritage. To simply compare its approach to that of designation, HLC is about generalising, considering the whole, not establishing or perpetuating prescribed values, and is open to contribution from stakeholders.

This has clear benefits to local people as it provides autonomy for understanding their own place and freedom to express value free from an authorised message. Practically it provides an honest platform for interested parties to engage dialogue when suggesting future change. This helps to realise the bottom-up system of change management, rather than it simply being a theoretical ideal.

So where does this leave us in relation to next steps? There has begun to be realised a shift away from simply protecting distinct special places, and to utilising methods such as HLC for considering heritage as the process of change. The ultimate aim then is to contribute something to the continued development of this framework.

This is where the second part of my title requires unpacking: “...understanding what matters behind one’s sense of place.”

If we believe then that heritage is the narrative of change experienced within each of our perceived landscapes, then it is worth knowing what impact knowledge of this has on people’s sense of place. To qualify, it would be useful to shed light on the diversity of views and values held relating to corporate, personal, distant, immediate, temporal and imagined narratives within

a landscape. An example of a specific research question which could be pursued is to explore whether recognising time-depth in the place you live affects the way one values that place.

Over the past summer I have carried out this form of research for my MA thesis which is now completed. This work is available from the Department of Archaeology's library, at the University of York. My hope is to have provided a useful example of methodology which others are able to improve and use to approach similar, or at least complementary research questions. Where my work was lacking, others will be more able. Students are the backbone of this research. I encourage you to explore this area, critique mine and others work before me, and push forward this fascinating area within critical heritage studies.

Hopefully this small insight into the direction that archaeology and heritage studies are going will whet the appetite of other students to get involved in this, I would argue, important line of enquiry. I would be more than happy to hear from anyone who is interested in this type of work or who wished to consider undertaking similar research themselves.

Editors note: To view other work that Ben Wajdner has carried out please visit his academia page (york.academia.edu/BenWajdner). Wajdner's MA thesis is available in its entirety and can be sourced from the Department of Archaeology library at the University of York.

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Understanding Late Pleistocene landscapes of Central Italy: a multidisciplinary approach



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Introduction

In recent years environmental studies, applied to archaeological contexts, have seen a growth in importance. This development is mainly thanks to new technologies that allow us to obtain a myriad of data from finds that were once unable to be analysed with the detail possible today. Bioarchaeology, paleoecology and palynology above all have assumed enormous importance as branches of archaeology.

Once viewed within the wider archaeological context these studies have allowed us to understand, in some cases, the reason behind the choice of certain territories where humans settle. Here then we have come to understand many new elements concerning the exploitation of land and the human relationship with wildlife, natural resources and mobility strategies. All of this is slowly revolutionizing prehistoric archeology.

Within this framework I am embarking on a PhD to reconstruct the wider landscape of Central Italy during the Late Pleistocene, tackling a region as yet lacking in integrated palaeoecological studies. In this paper I present the findings from Cisterna di Latina (Latina) to demonstrate how my PhD project aims to remedy the situation.

The Late Pleistocene archaeological finds from Cisterna di Latina (Latina)

In July 2012 several faunal bones were delivered to the laboratory of archaeology at Tor Vergata, University of Rome.

Collected by locals from the ground in front of an old quarry face, these finds consisted of several hundred fragmented and barely identifiable bones. However their archaeozoological potential was clear. Initial field surveys confirmed that further material



Figure 1. Location of points in the site. Author's own.

remained *in situ* and for this reason it was decided to conduct excavation work, with the goal to preserve the integrity of the site and obtain a wide and complete study. In September of the same year fieldwork commenced, coming to an end in March 2014.

Morphologically the site has been confirmed as the front of a quarry, along which appear tens of cracks and cavities of varying sizes. These have been filled by natural sediments and, with high frequency, faunal remains and lithics. The excavation was conducted in six ‘points’ along the current quarry face, positioned in order to maximize the picture of the distribution of archaeological data.

The focus was reserved for “point 3”, from which the initial finds had been recovered. This section along the north side of the Quarry was identified as the bottom of a cavity, almost totally destroyed by quarry works. Despite the small size of the investigable site, approximately 7m², a wide range of information has been collected. It has been possible to reconstruct a stratigraphic sequence and further to observe the distribution of bones inside the cavity, fundamental to the understanding of the site.

In total almost 2,000 bone remains have been examined, identifying the following species:

Mammals:

- Equus ferus* - Horse (Boddaert 1785)
- Stephanorhinus hemitoechus* - Rhinoceros (Falconer 1868)
- Bos primigenius* - Ox (Bojanus 1827)
- Capreolus capreolus* - Roe (Linnaeus 1758)
- Cervus elaphus* - Red deer (Linnaeus 1758)
- Sus scrofa* - Wild boar (Linnaeus 1758)
- Crocuta crocuta spelaea* - Hyena (Erxleben 1777)
- Canis lupus* - Wolf (Linnaeus 1758)
- Meles meles* - Badger (Linnaeus 1758)
- Lepus sp.* - Hare
- Arvicola cantianus* - Rat (Koenigswald 1973)



Figure 2. Hyena mandible. Author's own.



Figure 3. Sample of coprolites. Author's own.

A total of 47 coprolites (Fig. 3) were also found, in an excellent state of preservation. These elements have the potential to provide a wealth of information about the archaeological site, such as the presence of certain plant (Callen and Martin 1969) and animal species, but this requires extremely delicate and complex laboratory analysis (Bryant 1974; Horwitz and Goldberg 1989; Reinhard and Bryant Jr. 1992). At present it has been possible to confirm that the coprolites belong to the species *Crocuta crocuta spelaea* (Hyena).

Among the materials collected during investigation 52 lithic products have been identified (Fig. 4). The most evident feature of this set is the high number of side-scrapers. Along with the presence of the cortex and the small size of the instruments, these denote the Mousterian lithic type known as "Pontiniano", typical of the Central Italy Pontine plain (Blanc 1939; Taschini 1972; Bietti and Kuhn 1991; Kuhn 1995).

Discussion

Based on the information provided by the taphonomic record, the main layer of activity at Cisterna di Latina seems to represent a late Pleistocene hyena den dated between 20,000-30,000 BP.

The discovery of this new site and associated artefacts is allowing us the opportunity to make new and more detailed studies, with a particular eye to the paleoenvironmental reconstruction of the site and the surrounding landscape. Such a study will require a full cross-disciplinary analysis in order to gain a complete understanding of the wider picture:

1. Zooarchaeology (for taphonomic and taxonomic studies)

This will enable us to understand the animal habitats from faunal variety, biometric study and sexual dimorphism and may display evidence of evolutionary adaptation to the Pontine plain environment. In turn this will allow a consideration of both the possibilities and restrictions that the environment would have played in hominid existence. Combined with a detailed study of a representative sample of the bones, identifying gnawing, cut and butchering marks, the role that humans played in the wider structure of Palaeolithic ecology may become clearer.

2. Paleoecology (for the study of biological remains, plants and most importantly coprolites)

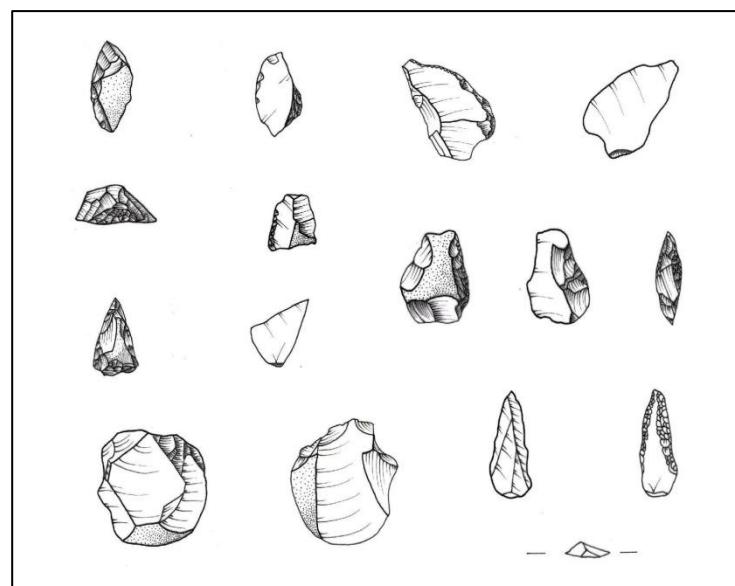


Figure 4. Lithic industry. Drawings by author.

The range of information that we can deduce from this is incredibly large. Just the coprolites analysis alone may divulge information about vertebrate remains, pollen (Bryant 1989), phytoliths, fungus and spores, parasites (Reinhard 1992; Reinhard et al. 1988), seeds and leaf remains, insects, mineral and chemical components that are preserved inside them. Aside from revealing the vegetation of the landscape, elements of diet (Bryant 1986; Callen 1969; Callen and Cameron 1960), nutrition and plant use (Callen and Martin 1969) in the past can all be revealed through a comparison with modern data.

3. Lithic analysis

Stone tools and raw materials are not only useful for revealing cultural information and hunting techniques, but more importantly can provide an insight into management strategies, mobility and the choice of land for settlement when places of raw material acquisition are also considered.

The integration of all these different approaches will allow me to paint a broader and more complex picture of human exploitation of the landscape on a regional scale, understanding the reason behind chosen locations and the relationship with fauna, natural resources and mobility strategies.

Although the study is only at the beginning, the archaeozoological analysis of the finds has already provided the first interesting results. The evidence suggests the presence of different environments, linked to the morphology of the area surrounding the site which, as at present, varies considerably within a few miles.

Crocuta crocuta spelaea or *Canis lupus* are an almost ubiquitous species, surviving in a wide range of climates and landscapes, and therefore contribute little towards an environmental reconstruction. Nevertheless, the herbivorous species present can provide a narrower frame. *Bos primigenius* preferred environments in open pasture but also inhabited wooded areas rich with glades in a temperate climate (Conti et al. 2010; Van Vuure 2002). The presence of the *Equus ferus* indicates large areas of grassland steppe-plain and a continental climate. A study of the articular surfaces of the distal epiphysis of equine might also suggest that the type of soil present was a soft territory. The presence of cervids attest an open forest environment, whilst the prevalence of *Cervus elaphus* on *Dama dama* indicates a largely temperate climate. The absence of goats as *Capra ibex* and *Rupicapra* also hints at the absence of extreme weather conditions. Finally the presence of *Sus scrofa* could indicate the presence of wetlands, which is supported by anthropic works from the middle of the last century that attest to the swampy character of the region.

In summary, the faunal association therefore suggests a mixed environment, with large areas of steppe or prairie alternating with woodland areas characterized by Mediterranean thicket, especially in the hilly area. Along the coastal territory swampy areas are likely to have prevailed. The climate would appear to have been temperate, verging towards slightly cool.

Conclusion and future expectations

As mentioned at the beginning of this brief paper, environmental studies can revolutionize prehistoric archaeology. A knowledge of the surrounding area is of fundamental importance for the understanding of a site and of human interactions with the surrounding area. Although the site under consideration does not demonstrate a sustained human presence it can still provide, as we have seen, the information needed to reconstruct the landscape within which man lived.

The multi-disciplinary model proposed here draws upon different strands of archaeology with the precise aim of reconstructing an environmental context. We have already seen how much information can be gathered for an environmental reconstruction of the Pontine Plain, merely from the faunal analysis of a single site. Other resources have yet to be exploited, including the 47 hyena coprolites. From the diverse archaeological, palaeoecological and archaeozoological perspective, a wide range of forthcoming information could complete the picture of the site and lay the foundation for understanding the wider context of the region.

The site and the material found are of major scientific interest, offering a vast new database upon which to reflect and from which to draw inspiration to improve our knowledge of the area in the Late Pleistocene.

Whilst so much has already been accomplished, these findings represent the beginnings of a much larger project. A great deal of work is still to be done so that we can claim to have a complete picture of the environmental context of the Pontine Plain in the Late Pleistocene. The approach I have outlined should now be applied to a number of sites covering the area as widely as possible, not least to those sites that were excavated in the past when the analysis available was insufficient in comparison to what is possible today.

Acknowledgments

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Visual Analysis and Phased Interpretation of Chantry Chapel, Wakefield



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The bridge chapel in Wakefield, Chantry Chapel, has been a Grade I listed building since 1953, and Wakefield Bridge is a scheduled ancient monument (English Heritage, nd). This report documents the results of a desk based assessment, visual analysis and phased interpretation of the Chantry Chapel. The aim of the study was to determine the nature of construction, alterations, repairs and maintenance from its construction to the present day, setting them in their wider context, and enabling an interpretation of the phasing of the building.

Historical development

A chantry chapel is a chapel which contains a chantry (an altar) where priests chant masses for the founders and their families during life, and for their souls after death (Speak and Forrester 1971, 29; 1972, 4). Four chantry chapels were built in Wakefield before 1400, but the Chantry Chapel of Saint Mary is the only one that remains (Speak and Forrester 1971, 25). It is thought that this is because the chapel is an integral part of the medieval Wakefield Bridge, and it is important to the bridge's structure, acting as a buttress (Speak and Forrester 1972, 4). According to Pevsner (Pevsner and Radcliffe 1967, 529) one of the reasons chapels were built on bridges in medieval times, was to collect money for the upkeep of the bridge.

During the 14th century, Wakefield flourished and the town boasted a parish church, four roads leading into it, and around 120 houses (Speak and Forrester 1971, 22). The Chantry Chapel was built, along with Wakefield Bridge in 1342 at around the same time as the nearby Parish Church and Sandal Castle. It is believed that the people of Wakefield built the Chapel and it is speculated that the same stonemasons built all three buildings, the Chantry Chapel being their highest success (Walker 1967, 228).

Notable architects, antiquarians and historians of the 19th century subsequently considered the design of the front, in the English Decorated Style, to be one of the best examples of fourteenth century architecture (Speak and Forrester 1972, 5) and the flowing tracery, crockets and reliefs have been described as the most flamboyant in the country (Glossop 2012, 211).

The sandstone building stood on a small island in the River Calder, adjoining Wakefield Bridge. It measured 50' long by 25' wide by 36' high and contained two rooms – a crypt or sacristy at lower level, and a chapel above. Internally, the chapel measured 42' long by 16'8" wide and the crypt, under the eastern third of the building only, measured 16' wide. An octagonal turret to the

northeast corner contained the staircase connecting the two spaces and the bell tower above (Walker 1967, 234).

The west façade was the front of the building, accessed from the bridge via two steps. At each side were buttresses, with five arched and highly decorative panels between. The northernmost, middle and southernmost arches contained doors and those in between were solid but with tracery. The parapet was also divided into five panels, each containing a relief sculpture, and topped by crenellations. The parapet corners each contained a niche with a statue, and the outer buttresses were topped with crocketed pinnacles, each of which had two niches with statues (Walker 1967, 234-236).

Drawn evidence shows that there was a small window above the east window on the south elevation. The east window consisted of five traceried lights, above which was a recess in the gable, containing a statue of the Virgin Mary. The three windows in each of the north and south elevations were square-headed, divided into three lights, and had flowing tracery near the head. The roof was wood with a lead covering (Walker 1967, 237-238).

Internally, a holy water stoup sat in a recess in the west wall, to the north of the central door. In the north wall, a recess with doors served as an aumbry, and against the south wall was a piscina. On the east wall, a statue of the Virgin Mary was positioned in a recess, and in front of this was a raised stone altar (Walker 1967, 238).

The Chantry was licensed in 1356, possibly having been delayed because of the Black Death (Walker 1967, 229). However, the Act for the Dissolution of the Chantries in 1545 brought a temporary end to the Chantry Chapel as a place of worship, and in 1548 it was sold, under the condition that it must not be demolished because of the structural support it provided to the bridge. By the following decade, Roman Catholicism had been revived by Queen Mary and for the duration of her short reign, the Chapel was back in use as a place of worship. At some time in the mid 16th or early 17th century, the Chantry was given to the trustees of the Wakefield Poor (Speak and Forrester 1972, 5; Taylor 2008, 108).

It appears that by 1638, the Chantry Chapel and Wakefield Bridge were in poor condition as the County Magistrates granted £80 for their repair. Walker (1967, 244-245) mentions documentary evidence in the form of a sepia drawing dating from around this time that shows the three northern windows blocked up, a missing parapet on the north, a broken parapet on the turret and front, and rough stonework infill to the lower part of the west front.

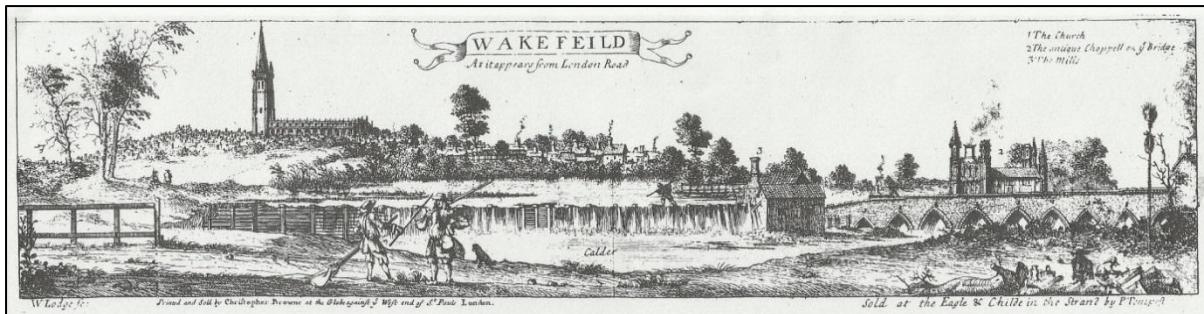


Figure 1. (above) Engraving showing the chantry chapel on the bridge, believed to be from the 1680s (Lodge c.1680 [Engraving; Wakefield from London Road], Goodchild 1981, Item 1).

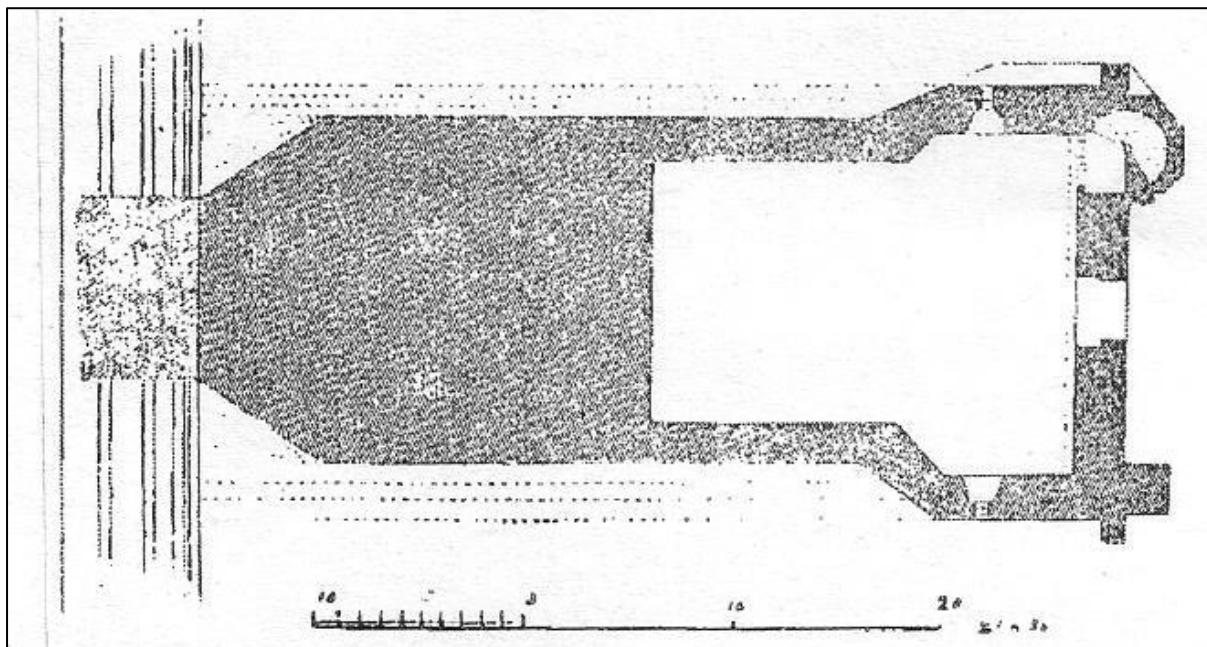


Figure 2. (above) Plan of the Crypt (Walker 1967, 233).

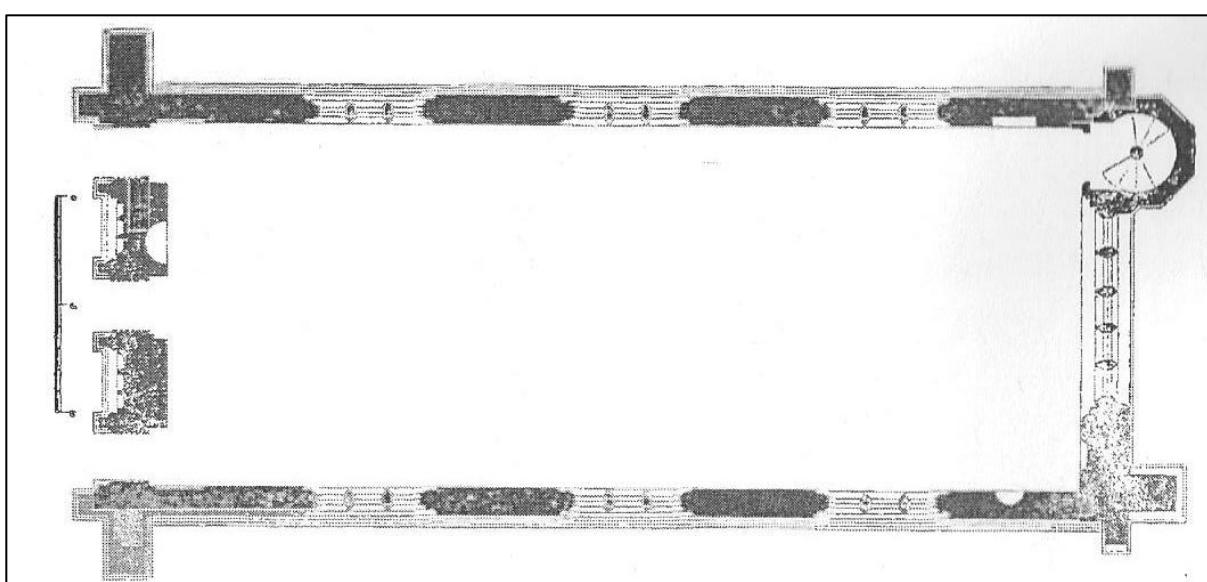


Figure 3. (above) Plan of the Chapel (Walker 1967, 235).

There are no maps of Wakefield before 1771, but Figure 4 gives the impression of a prospering town in the early 18th century. As one of a relatively small number of buildings identified by name on this drawing, the Chantry Chapel obviously had significance, but little is known about any building work carried out on it for most of the 18th century, possibly because it was put to a variety of secular uses between 1696 and 1842, with the records relating mostly to tenants and businesses.

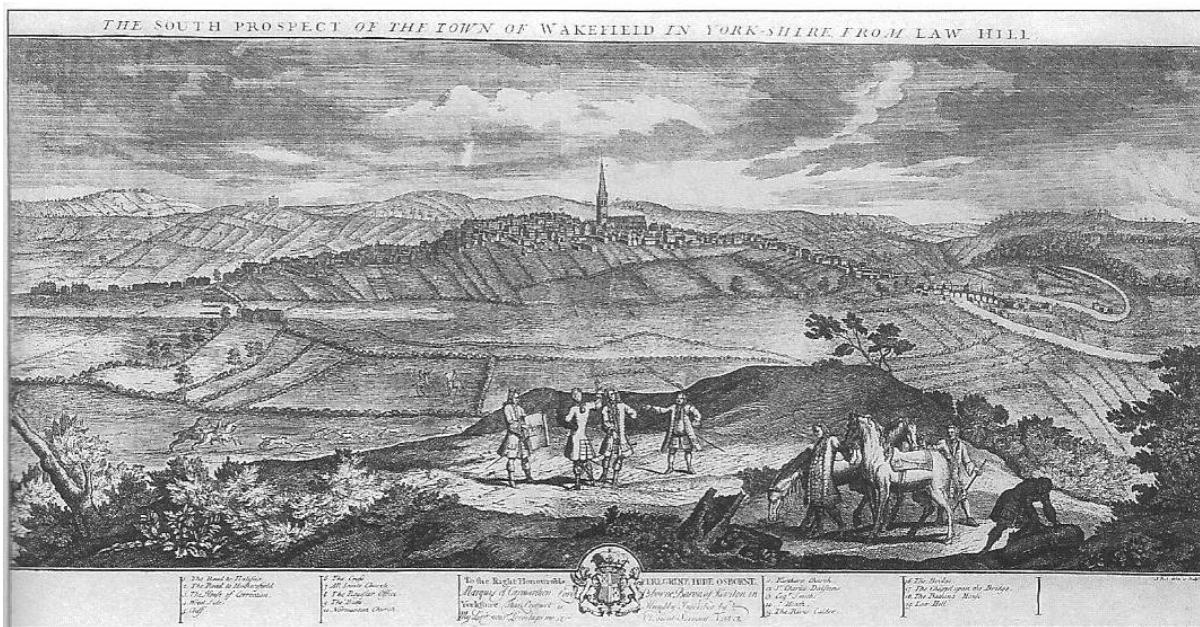


Figure 4. An early drawing of Wakefield featuring the Chantry Chapel to the far right of the town (Goodchild 1998, 19).

Wakefield Bridge was widened twice, once in 1758, and again in 1797 (Speak and Forrester 1972, 7) indicating the importance of the route into the town. At around the time of this latter widening, on an order made at the Pontefract Quarter Sessions, the Chantry Chapel was leased from the Trustees of Wakefield Poor to the West Riding Magistrates, who were to be responsible for its repair. They were already responsible for the bridge, and since the chapel was deemed to be essential to its structural stability, it made sense that they should be under the same management (Walker 1967, 245).

The works of 1798 involved removing the infill and tracery to the original window positions on the north elevation and replacing them with new windows. At the front of the chapel, the buttresses were supported by short round pillars. There is speculation that the works carried out brought about an improvement in the status of tenants (Walker 1967, 245).

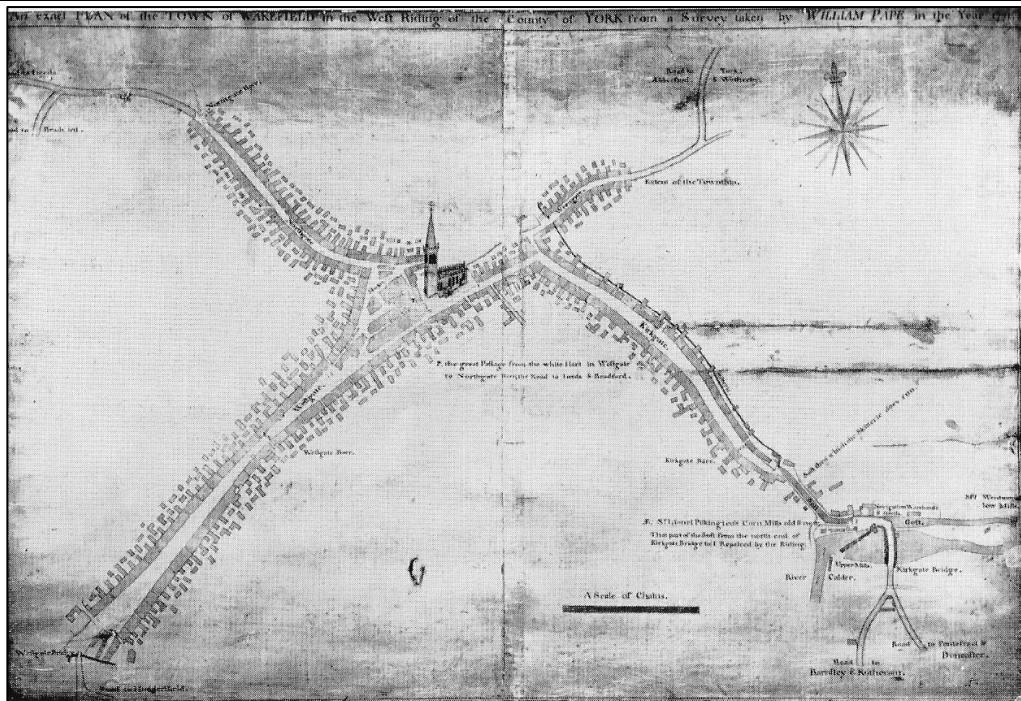


Figure 5. First known map of Wakefield dating from 1771 (Speak and Forrester 1971, 37). Although Wakefield Bridge is labelled, the Chantry Chapel is not shown, which is a possible indicator of loss of status associated with its secular use.

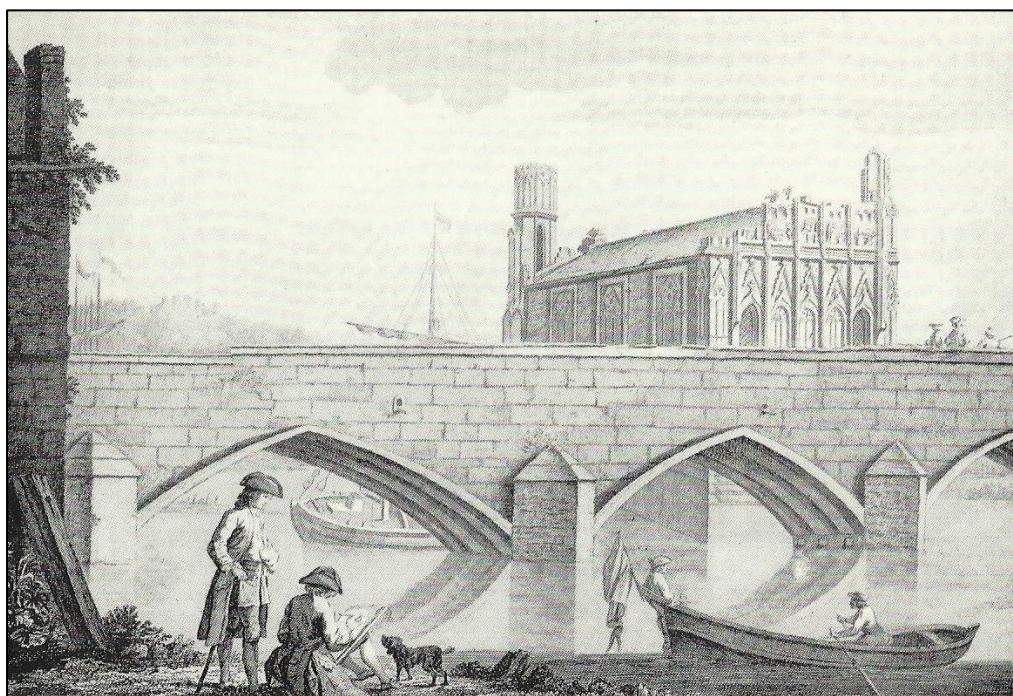


Figure 6. Drawing dating from 1783 (Speak and Forrester 1971, 37) showing the chapels decaying west front.

Rebuilding of the Chantry Chapel in the 19th century

In 1842, Vicar Samuel Sharp, Trustee of Wakefield Poor, proposed to the Yorkshire Architectural Society that the Chantry Chapel, once again in a state of decay, be restored. He persuaded the other trustees to give the building to the Church of England, and the magistrates agreed to relinquish their lease. An architectural competition was held and the architect Sir George Gilbert

Scott won (Taylor 2008, 108). In 1847-1848, the chapel was rebuilt from bridge level upwards, mostly in its original design, but with a few small amendments: namely that the front was constructed of Caen and Bath stone, the Chapel floor was level with the bridge, the high window to the south was omitted, the southernmost parapet panel on the west front had a different relief, and the recess for the stoup became a space for the font. Stone was reused where possible, the east window and three of the side windows were filled with stained glass, and the crypt was enlarged (Walker 1967, 246-247).

The original front was relocated to Kettlethorpe Hall where it was used as the front of a new boathouse (Walker 1967, 246).

Unfortunately, Caen and Bath stone were not suitable for use in an industrial town and the front façade rapidly deteriorated to a condition worse than the original it had replaced (Walker 1967, 246).

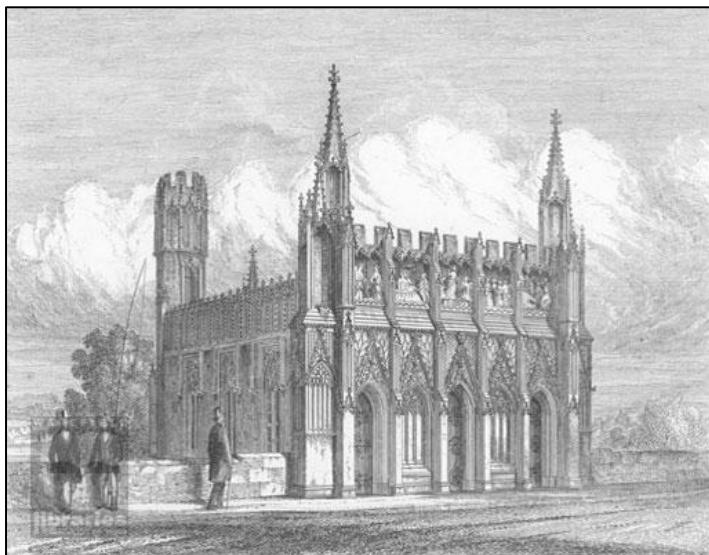


Figure 7. St Mary's Chapel on Wakefield Bridge, 1851 (Higham 1851 [Engraving; Image Reference: xl02643] At: <http://www.twixtaireandcalder.org.uk>). Everything from bridge level was rebuilt in 1848. Image courtesy of Wakefield Council.

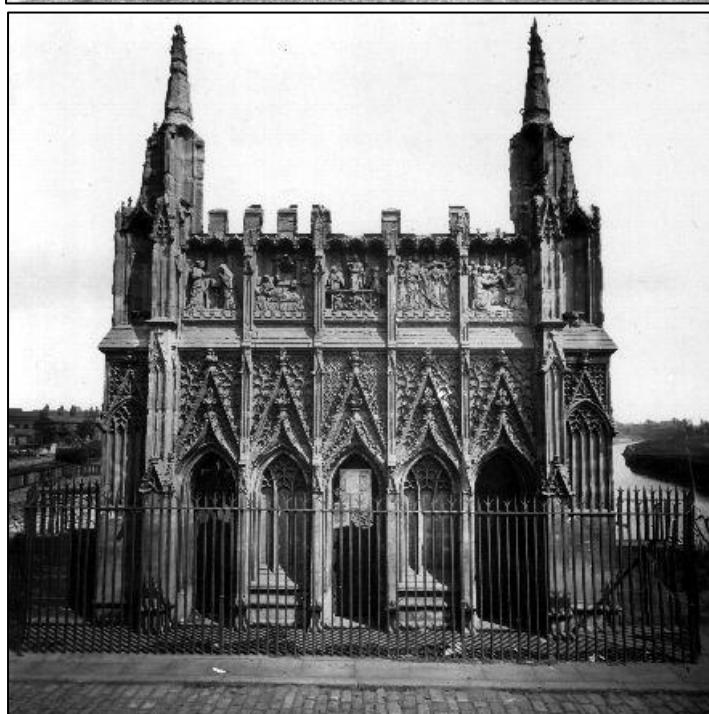


Figure 8. The West front between 1895-1905 with the protective railings in place. Missing stonework can already be seen to the top crenellations (Garratt 1895-1905 [Photograph: Accession number: 1983.157] At <http://www.wakefieldmuseumcollections.org.uk>). Image courtesy of Wakefield Council.



Figure 9. The Chapel between 1900-1910. The severe decay to the front is not evident on the previous photograph. Even if the photographs were taken 15 years apart the change seems very dramatic. (Anon. 1900-1910 [Photograph: Accession number: 1978.104/5] At <http://www.wakefieldmuseumcollections.org.uk>). Image courtesy of Wakefield Council.

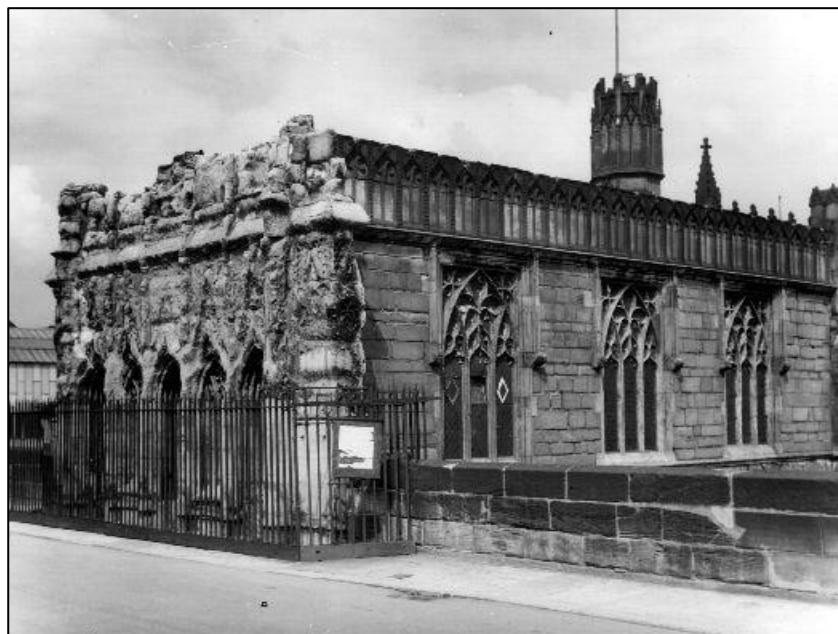


Figure 10. Dated between 1910-30, further erosion can be seen, particularly to the north side of the façade (Anon. 1910-30 [Photograph: Accession Number: 1993.2034] At <http://www.wakefieldmuseumcollections.org.uk>). Image courtesy of Wakefield Council.

Restoration projects in the 20th – 21st centuries

The first major restoration of the Chapel in the 20th century was carried out in 1939 under the guidance of the architect Sir Charles Nicholson. The west front was replaced, and, according to Walker (1967, 247), so also were miscellaneous stones and most of the window mullions and tracery, and the existing walls repointed. Taylor (2012, 37) reported that the statues to the west front were added in 1948 after World War II had ended, yet photographic evidence of apparently later date does not show them. Primary documentary sources do however confirm that further works were required by 1948 and that between 1950 and 1954, a programme of works was carried out under the guidance of the architect Major Pace. This included new stonework for two windows, repairs to the roof, external and internal pointing, replacement of the chapel floor/crypt ceiling, an upgrade to heating, lighting and power systems and miscellaneous minor works (Secretary's Reports to AGM 25/4/1949, 4/4/52, 13/4/53 and 1955. WYAS, D152; Letters from Pace 7/4/52, 18/8/52 and drawings nd. WYAS, D152). It seems unlikely that replacement of the

window stonework and pointing of the walls would have been carried out in 1939 and the early 1950s.

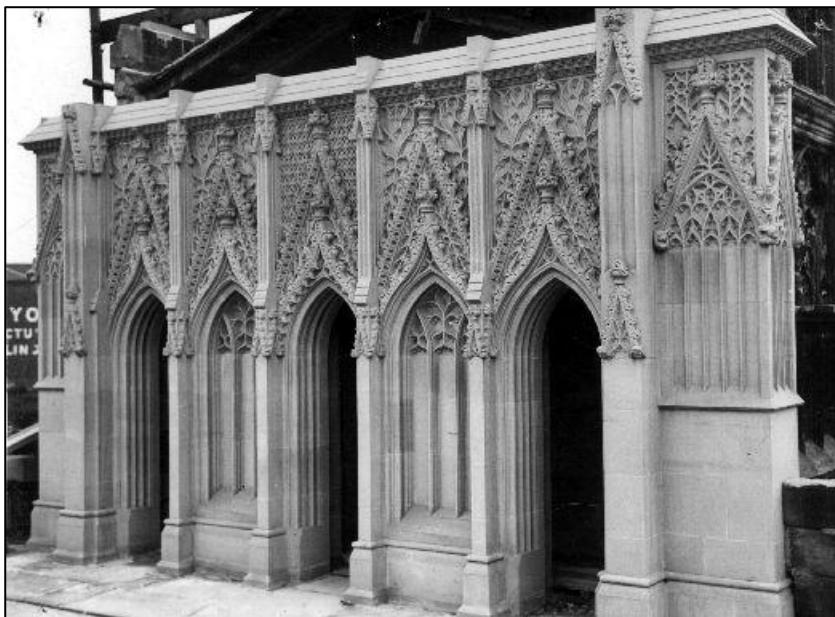


Figure 11. Erection of the new front in the same design as the previous front. (Anon. 1930-40 [Photograph: Accession Number: 1971.59/8] At <http://www.wakefieldmuseumcollections.org.uk>). Image courtesy of Wakefield Council.

By 1966, further restoration work was required. This time the works included repair and renovation of the stonework and glazing on the north elevation, restoration of the turret and crypt walls, and pointing and glazing of the west front. Alterations were also made to the heating and lighting systems, the organ and interior furnishings (Anon. "£4,500 is Chantry's need", Wakefield Express 9.3.73). This work was completed in the mid 1970s (Taylor 2011, 43).

The Friends of Chantry Chapel website states that the group formed in 1990 in order to keep the chapel in a good state of repair and make it available to visitors (Taylor, nd). In 1995-6, major repairs were carried out to the roof, stonework was repaired and replaced where necessary, and the heating, power and lighting systems were replaced (Taylor 2011, 43). Work to the roof was required in 2007 when thieves stole lead and damaged the crenellations.

In 2009 the most recent restoration and new works were carried out, which included the laying of a new stone floor, removal of pew platforms, repairs to the stair, and the insertion of a new service area to the west end, housing a small kitchenette facility and a composting toilet accessed from the south door on the west front (Taylor 2011, 46-47).

The building today

Chantry Chapel and Chantry Bridge are well liked by the people of Wakefield, and act as a local landmark (Taylor 2011). Being one of only four remaining bridge chapels in the country, there is a national significance too, particularly as it is thought that the Wakefield Chantry Chapel is the best surviving example (Pevsner and Radcliffe 1967, 529).

The front façade facing the bridge is very soiled and weathered, and is a stark contrast to the other elevations which are much cleaner. Evidence of stone replacement is very clear to see,

because of the lesser amount of dirt and the reduced level of decay. The condition of the older stone is quite variable, with some retaining good clarity to the highly decorative designs, and other areas severely eroded. Documentary research has provided dates for some of the replacement works, alongside information about design choices and specification.

The crypt area at the lower level shows evidence of numerous periods of change including formation of a chimney, the remains of a fireplace, and plumbing and electrical services. It also appears that the crypt has been reduced in size as the plan (figure 2) does not correspond to the current layout. Stone infill is evident, however there is no documentary evidence to explain this. The room does not have a use.

To the main chapel above, several aspects of work are evident, ranging from major changes such as a renewed flag floor and the insertion of lightweight partitioning to form a service area, to more minor changes such as the replacement of individual stones, pointing repairs and repair leads to the stained glass. The insertion of modern services (lighting, heating, plumbing and power) is evident throughout. Again, documentary research has provided dates for some of the works. However, in the case of the timber roof, which is part plain and part decorative, documentary evidence has not been found to provide an explanation as to whether this relates to phasing/authenticity issues.

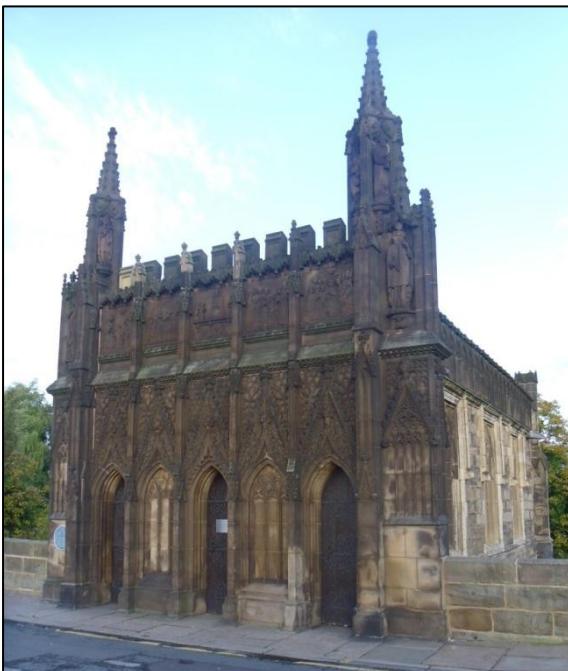


Figure 12. The facade today, much weathered and dirtied by passing traffic, and with small areas of stone replacement evident (authors own).

Interpretation

There have been three major phases - the original building, rebuilding of the chapel from bridge level upwards in 1847, and the second replacement of the front in 1939 (Pevsner and Radcliffe 1967, 530), but there also have been numerous alterations, repairs and modernisations throughout its life. The figures below describe the external phasing.

**Key**

- Medieval (14th-17th centuries)
- 18th-19th century major works
- 20th century major works
- 20th-21st century minor works

Figure 13. West elevation photographic phasing diagram (authors own).



Figure 14. North elevation photographic phasing diagram (authors own).



Figure 15. South elevation photographic phasing diagram (authors own).

Despite its long and complex history, the fabric of the Chantry Chapel, as it stands today can be summarised as having a medieval base, mid-19th century walls, a 20th century front façade and roof, and various small to medium scale replacements and repairs dating from medieval times to the present day.

Further research will likely produce much more comprehensive information than has been provided in this report. A particularly rich source of information, although not complete, is available for the building from the mid-19th century to the third quarter of the 20th century, in the form of minute books, faculties, architect's correspondence and dilapidation books/ quinquennial inspections, all available at WYAS. The Diocese of Wakefield retains documentation relating to the more recent works identified through visual analysis.

The removal of the original façade is controversial as it could be argued that it is not authentic to use it elsewhere and rebuild a replacement for the original building. There are also questions about how the replacement facades and elements have been designed – some have been created as a replica, others have been re-interpreted in the age in which the work was done. The former aligns with English Heritage's principles of restoration and the latter with their guidance on authenticity and integrity (English Heritage 2008, 47; 55). The result is that the building combines elements from many periods, mostly in a style with which little of the building fabric is actually contemporary. However, the building's history, fabric, listed status, the volume of literature, and the warmth felt by the people of Wakefield, demonstrate that it does have significance on many levels, on both a local and national scale.

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Bury Farm: Prehistory on the Granta and involving the community

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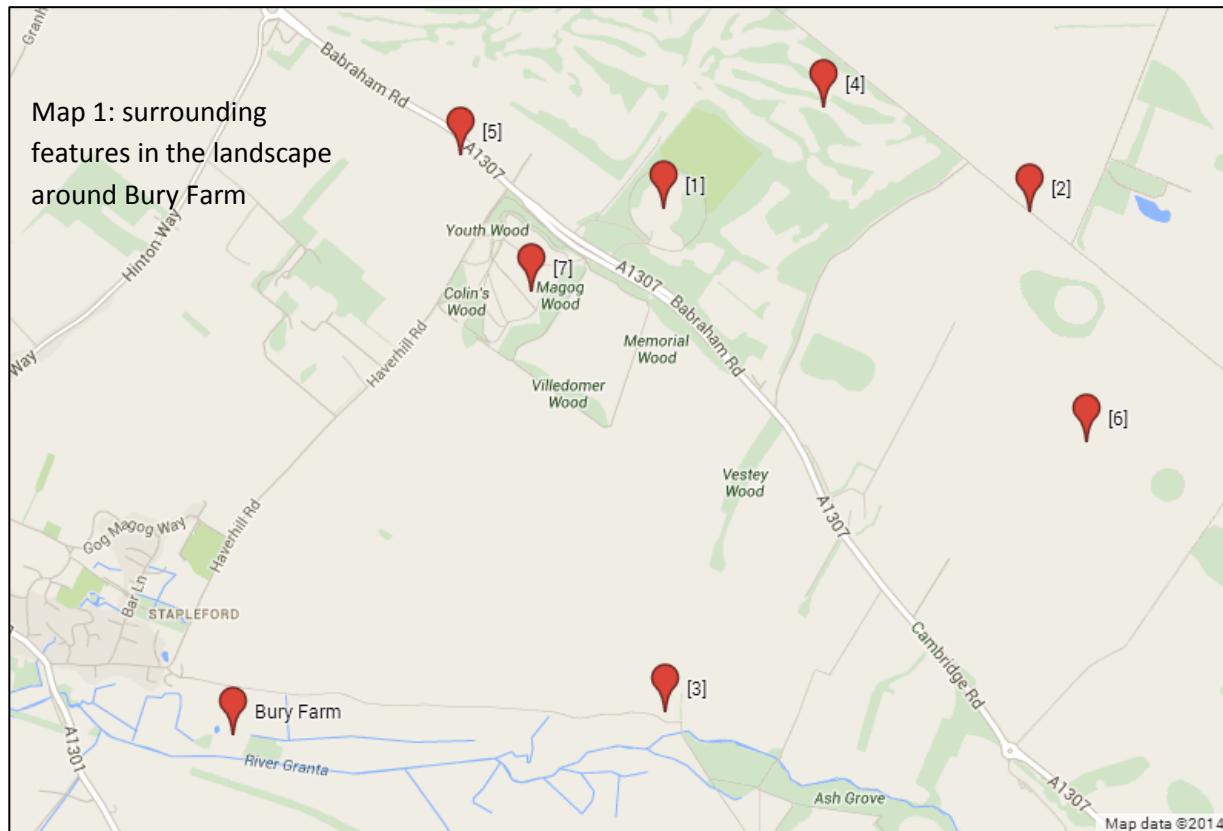
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Since 2011, Cambridge University has been working with the ACE (Association for Cultural Exchange) foundation in an investigation on land beside the River Granta. A fair amount is already known about the prehistoric landscape in this area, and the Bury Farm project aims to add to this an understanding of how people interacted with the river. Along the way, the partnership is developing ways of involving and teaching the local community.

Bury Farm is located on land owned by Corpus Christi College and rented as a farm, covering the middle and lower river terraces of the Granta. It sits just outside the village of Stapleford and on the edge of the Gog Magog Downs. These low, gentle chalk hills contain a good deal of archaeological remains, particularly belonging to the Iron Age. The most significant feature is the Hill Fort on Wandlebury Hill ([1] on Map 1). This is described on the site's English Heritage Pastscape record (2007) as a circular Iron Age fort made up of banks and ditches, which are still partly visible. Excavations in 1955 suggested that the original ditch and rampart was constructed in the 4th century BC, with refortification in the 1st century AD involving the construction of a



second ditch and rampart within this. There is evidence of intense occupation within the fortification throughout the Iron Age, including hut foundations and fragmented skeletons, as well as occupation outside the fort which predates this. There are some signs of Roman occupation on the site, and stronger evidence from across the area. A Roman road passes just to the north of Wandlebury Hill, heading east from Cambridge ([2] on Map 1), and a small distance along the river from Bury Farm a scatter of material was found which indicated a Roman building nearby ([3] on Map 1), as stated on the Pastscape record no. 371643 (2007). Extensive earlier settlement of the area is also evident. Scattered remains of Mesolithic, Neolithic and Bronze Age communities have been found, such as a Mesolithic pit ([4] on Map 1) – Monument no. 1212208 on Pastscape (2007) - and a Neolithic axe ([5] on Map 1) – Monument no. 371668 on Pastscape (2007) - both found near Wandlebury. More substantial sites are Copley Hill Farm and Little Trees Hill. Copley Hill Farm ([6] on Map 1) – Monument no. 1381680 on Pastscape (2007) - is east of Wandlebury and consists of a Neolithic long barrow and Bronze Age enclosure visible as cropmarks (Pastscape, 2007). Little Trees Hill ([7] on Map 1) is a larger hill just south west of Wandlebury. Soil marks here have been interpreted as a Neolithic Causewayed Enclosure, potentially confirmed by worked flints found nearby (Pastscape, 2007). A bowl barrow, monument no. 371693 (Pastscape 2007), sits within it.

There was clearly widespread occupation of the downs throughout most of prehistory, and the Granta will presumably have had a significant role in the landscape. Therefore, at the heart of the Bury Farm project, is an aim to understand this role – how the communities which built Little Trees and Wandlebury made use of the river and how the river effected them.

The project began in 2011 as a training exercise in test-pitting, as part of ACE's British Archaeology Summer School. Test-pitting and augering continued into 2012 and 2013, with students from Cambridge University. Geoarchaeological surveying during this time suggested the river (which has now been channelized into a narrow stream) was once much wider and meandered across the site. Findings near the old river channel over these years consisted of some Mesolithic and Neolithic material, but hardly any belonging to the Bronze Age or later. There is some sparse evidence of Iron Age settlement and slightly more of Roman settlement, but this is far outdone by the quantity of Mesolithic and Neolithic remains. Excavations continued into 2014 in the hope of understanding why occupation seemingly declined so much, despite continuing substantially nearby.

The project was started as part of the British Archaeology Summer School, and elements of teaching have continued to be a major focus, along with efforts to involve the local community. This has evolved through the ACE foundation. The Association for Cultural Exchange is described on its website as an “educational trust” (2014) which runs and supports various teaching projects around the world. Their projects cover lots of areas, but archaeology has always been a key area for them, with one of the founding members being an archaeologist. The

foundation has helped the archaeologists at Bury Farm in several ways, acting as an initial intermediary between them and the landowner and providing them with access to facilities, which make the project cheaper and more comfortable than most. Their main contribution, however, is in acting as a link with the community.

Involving the community is important for a number of reasons. There is the obvious goal of spreading knowledge and the principle that there is little point investigating something and not telling people what you have found. The community can also provide extra input, such as local knowledge and expertise from other fields. For instance, one volunteer at the site this year, a retired geography teacher, had familiarity with riverine landscapes that proved useful. Non-archaeologists can assist greatly with the project directly as well. Simply increasing the amount and diversity of people contributing to the project is always useful. Dr. Sheila Kohring, the site director, is keen to make the most of this by spending time teaching, training and building up people's confidence.

There are three different approaches employed at Bury Farm. For the past two years, ACE have hosted an open day for locals, with an exhibition about the site and archaeology across the region, with help from the Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, as well as site tours. Also, special morning sessions have been held for children between the ages of 8 and 12. The project also advertises for volunteers to work on site. The majority of these volunteers are university students, mainly from Cambridge University. They, as well as a few A level students hoping to study archaeology, appreciate the training, as do the small number of usually quite experienced local enthusiasts. Dr. Kohring says volunteering is organised differently to many other sites, as people are required to do at least a week's work. She believes this ensures that they build up a relationship and, therefore, volunteers can contribute more.

There are, of course, problems caused by these programs. For one thing there is the problem of keeping in mind ACE's interests. It can also be difficult, Dr. Kohring says, to manage the expectations of non-archaeologists, who sometimes imagine they will quickly uncover exciting features and date things specifically, without alienating them.

However, the community involvement is generally beneficial for everyone involved, and Dr. Kohring says they hope to continue with it (pers comm). The future of the site is still a little undecided. They intend to undertake topographic and geoarchaeological surveying for a number of years and a series of meetings are being organised with the farmer and landowner to create further plans. The community will also be involved in this decision making, through meetings to understand their views. The project needs to keep in mind the interests of many different groups, including the local community, the landowner and the Historic Environmental Record office, as well as the academic interests. Therefore, deciding its future involves much varied discussion.

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The Unique Nature of the London Mithraeum

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The mystery cult of Mithras was a religious phenomenon that was, for the most part, propagated through, and associated with, the Roman military. Many inscriptions and temples on the frontiers of Rome indicate that it extended from Britain to Dura Europos, and from the Rhine to the Nile over three centuries (Clauss 2000, 16). The Temple of Mithras in the Walbrook stream valley was perhaps the largest and most significant Mithraeum found in Britain, despite being an accidental discovery (Shepherd 1998, 13). Peculiarly, this Mithraeum's location and size suggest that the nature of the cult might not have been as firmly connected with the Roman army as once thought. Mithraism was affected and influenced by local practices, gods and social changes within the Roman Empire, as will be made clear in some of the iconography discussed below (Clauss 2000, 16).



Figure 1. Distribution of Inscriptions, Altars and Mithraea in Britain, Pannonia Superior, Germania and Dacia. Vermaseren, M.J. 1956, 449.

Four legions were originally stationed in Britain but, after the first century this was reduced to three. During the next three centuries they gradually decreased in size (Mattingly 2006, 130-131). Initially they were the *II Augusta, XIV Gemina (Martia Victrix post 61CE), the XX Augusta (Valeria Victrix post 61 CE)* from Lower Germany, and the *IX Hispana* from Pannonia; six legions in total

are attested to have served in Britain including the *II Adiutrix* and *VI Victrix* (Daniels 1975, 249). Therefore there was ample opportunity for the influx of different cult practices. Of particular interest are the *XX* and *IX* legions that came from Pannonia and Germany; these areas possess some of the earliest evidence for Mithraism in the first century CE (Daniels 1975, 250). Dedicatory inscriptions and Mithraea were found along many sites near Hadrian's Wall such as; Luguvalium (Carlisle), Petrianae (Stanwix), Longovicium (Lanchester), Corstopitum (Corbridge), and Camboglanna (Castlesteads) (Vermaseren 1956, 283). The Rhine and the Danube (Pannonia Superior and Dacia, Figure 1) show a similar pattern. The London Mithraeum contributes greatly to the understanding of religion in Roman Britain; the temple is an enlarged version of the standard Mithraeum and its location indicates that a military and merchant following were likely.

Franz Cumont considered Roman Mithraism to have stemmed from the Persian god Mitra of the Hittite Empire, his conclusions are based upon the *Avesta* and other Persian texts (Cumont 1896). Cumont in the late 1800s wrote on Mithraism and used Persian texts to understand the iconography of Roman Mithraism. Gordon states that, although very important to the study of Mithraism, it was recently recognised that the cult was not primarily an offshoot of the Persian cult and that this connection, though significant, need not be emphasized to a great degree (Gordon 1975, 219). The god personified the idea of a treaty or contract; and in Persia, c. fifth century BCE, he was equated with the Sun. However, as Manfred Clauss argues, the Roman cult was an independent creation that neither stemmed from Persian religious customs nor was it a precursor for Christianity (Clauss 2000, 7). In the west it was a mystery religion, which was not the case in Persian worship until after 150 CE (Irby-Massie 1999, 74). Merrifield argued that the iconography of Mithras slaying the bull actually derived from scenes of Nike slaying a bull; the earliest evidence was Trajanic and also contemporary with the earliest evidence of Mithraea being built (Gordon 1996, 65).

London witnessed significant depopulation in the late second century followed by major public building works and a slight recovery in the late third to early fourth century (Merrifield 1983, 172). The Temple of Mithras was built in 240-250 CE, which is attested to by the early third century pottery, analysed by Joanna Bird, and a *sestertius* of Hadrian which provide a *terminus post quem* (Shepherd 1998, 47). The temple was located north of the Thames, west of the Forum Basilica, south east of the fort at Cripplegate and lay was set perpendicular to the Walbrook stream (Figure 2) (Shepherd 1998, xvii). The modern disturbances of the site were No. 7-9 Walbrook, of which the foundations for the walls truncated the walls of the Mithraeum and eradicated much of the post Roman stratigraphy (Shepherd 1998, 54). The temple's chronology is divided into four phases: Phase I (Figure 3), Phase IIa (Figure 4) and Phase IIb (Figure 5), Phase III (Figure 6), and Phase IV (Figure 7) (Shepherd 1998, 73-96). They indicate the changing function and the major changes made to the internal layout and features of the temple over time.

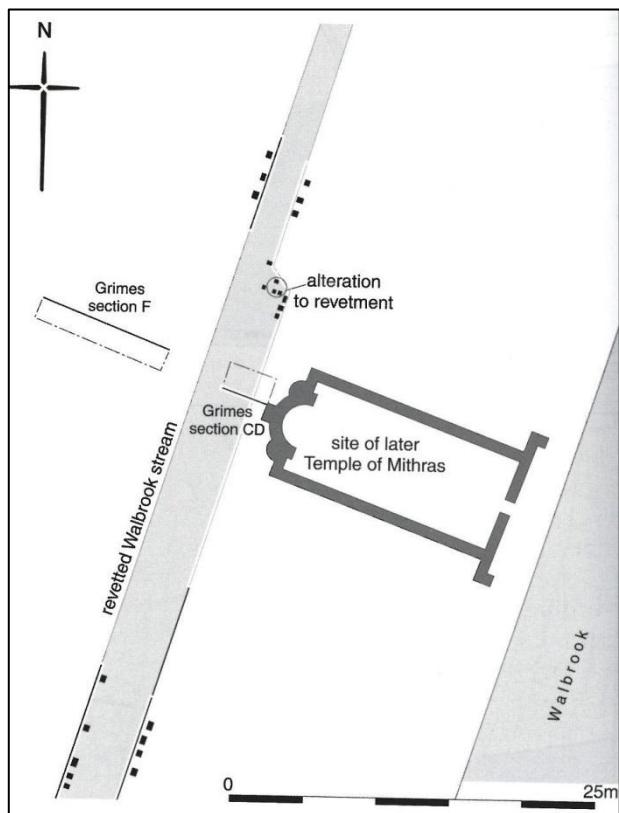


Figure 2. Orientation of Mithraeum to Walbrook Stream. Merrifield, R. 2008, 3.2.3.

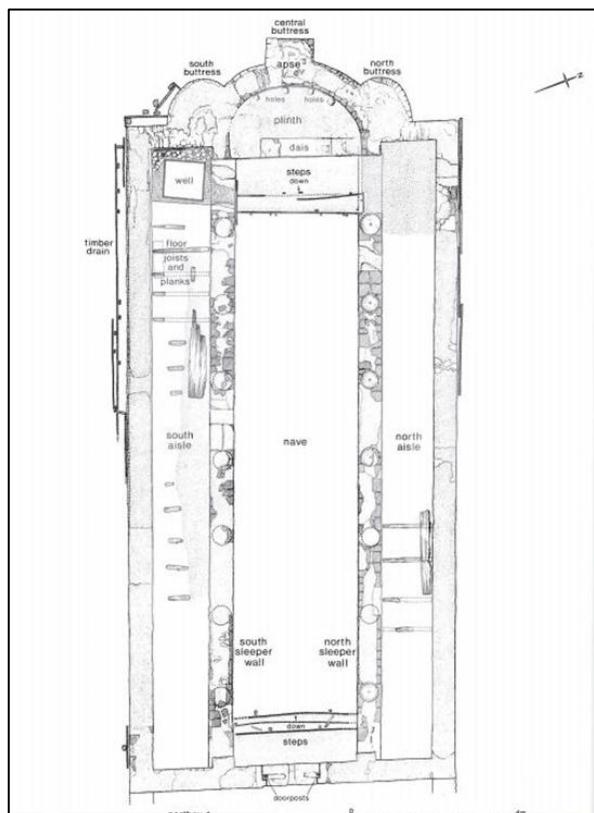


Figure 3. Phase I Temple. Shepherd, J.D. 1998, 62.

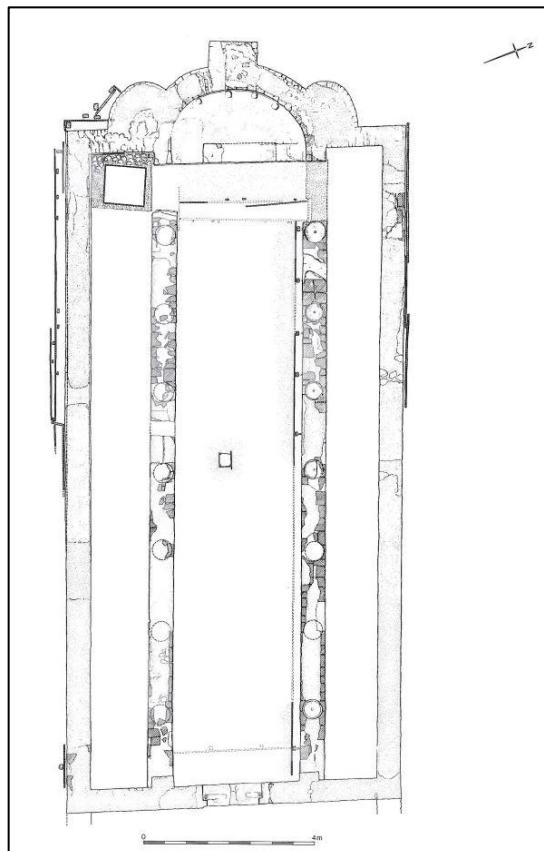


Figure 4. Phase IIa Temple. Shepherd, J.D. 1998, 79.

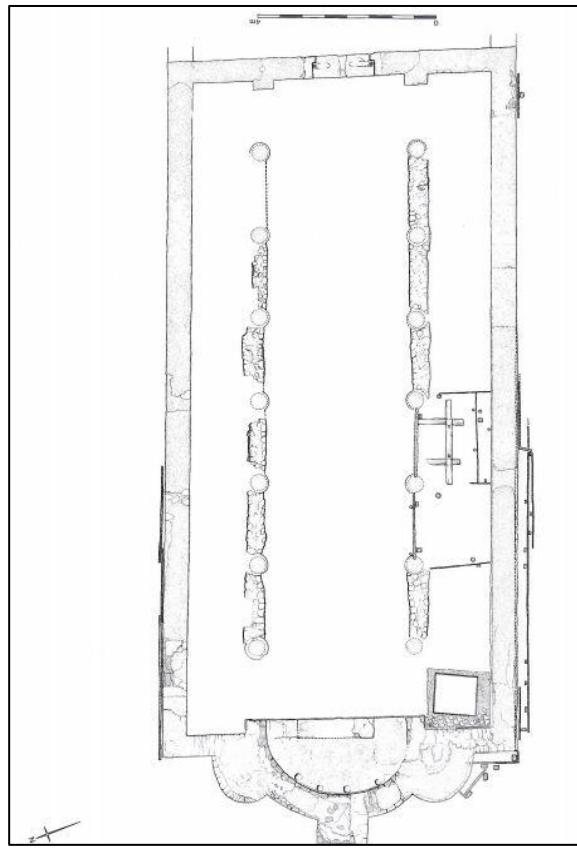


Figure 5. Phase IIb Temple. Shepherd, J.D. 1998, 81.

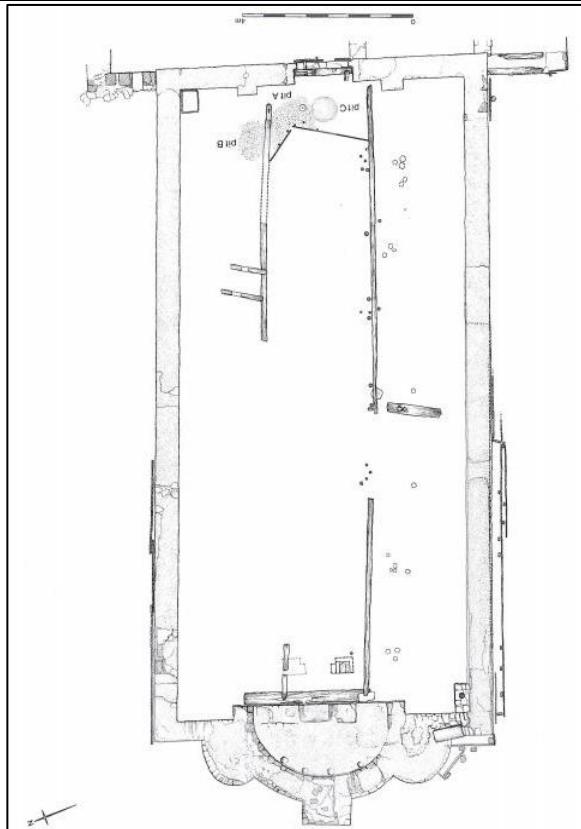


Figure 6. Phase III Temple. Shepherd, J.D. 1998, 83.

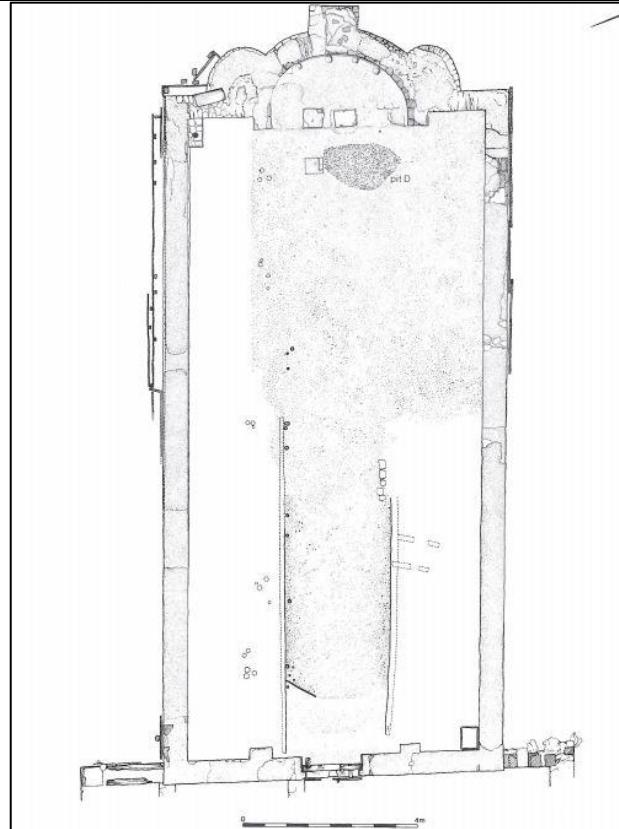


Figure 7. Phase IV Temple. Shepherd, J.D. 1998, 92.



Figure 8. Detail of the construction of the apse and north buttress. Shepherd, J.D. 1998, 57.

The layout of the temple needed to account for the unstable ground during construction and also in the late third century, when the building suffered a collapse of the south western ceiling. Instability was caused by ground water and subsidence due to the temple's proximity to the stream. The construction of the temple was fairly standard in that the foundations, walls, buttresses, apse and sleeper walls were constructed with mortar, ragstone and tile. Mortar was placed first with ragstone above, then ragstone and tile courses (Figure 8) (Shepherd 1998, 58-59). The effects of the ground's instability were signalled by the sleeper walls and apse constructed with three buttresses (Shepherd 1998, 58). The building was 58.5 feet long by 26 feet wide. Like many Mithraea, the temple was orientated east to west. There was also evidence of wooden planks in the north and south aisles which could have been

benches (Grimes cited Shepherd 1998, 63). Many other Mithraea have benches as well; Carrawburgh, Rudchester, and on the mainland, Nida (Hedderheim) are some examples (Figure 9). Significant changes occur in Phase III (late 3rd century CE), the collapse, the columns were removed, the cult icons were buried in Floor 5 (Figure 6), and the west end was rearranged (Figure 6) (Shepherd 1998, 227). In the early fourth century the layout became more open; evidenced in Floor 6a by a slab with *INVICTO* inscribed on it, dating 307-308 CE (Figure 10). Floor 3 raised the level to the top of the steps to the nave signalling the end of the sunken nature and by Floor 5 the well was covered (Shepherd 1998, 72, 225). Whether this signalled the end of the temple functioning as a Mithraeum is debatable. The Bacchic sculptures and votive offerings suggest that it was no longer a Mithraeum as argued by Henig (1998, 230).

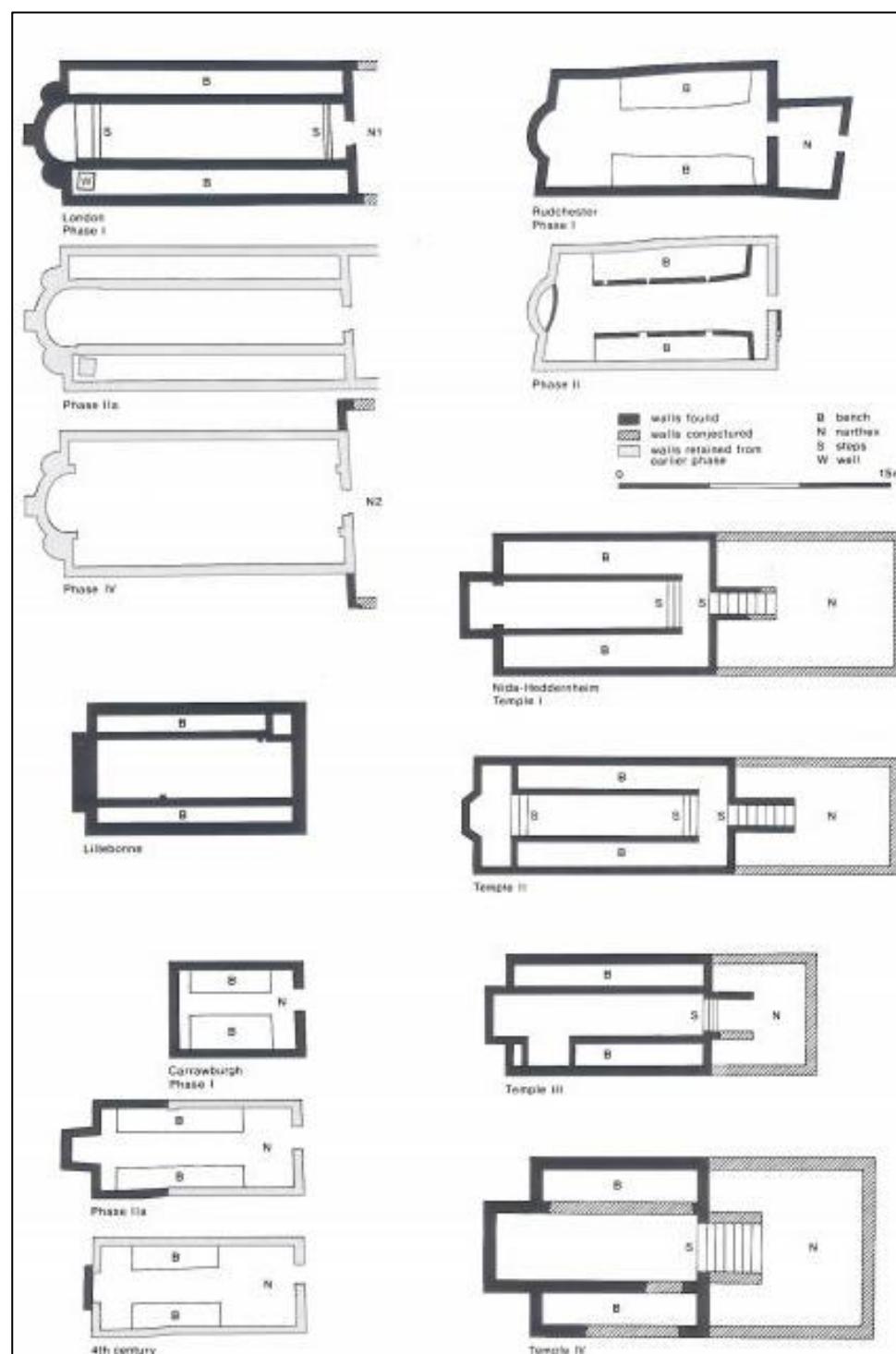


Figure 9.
Comparative plans
of mithraea in the
north-west
provinces.
Shepherd, J.D.
1998, 226.



Figure 10. (Left)

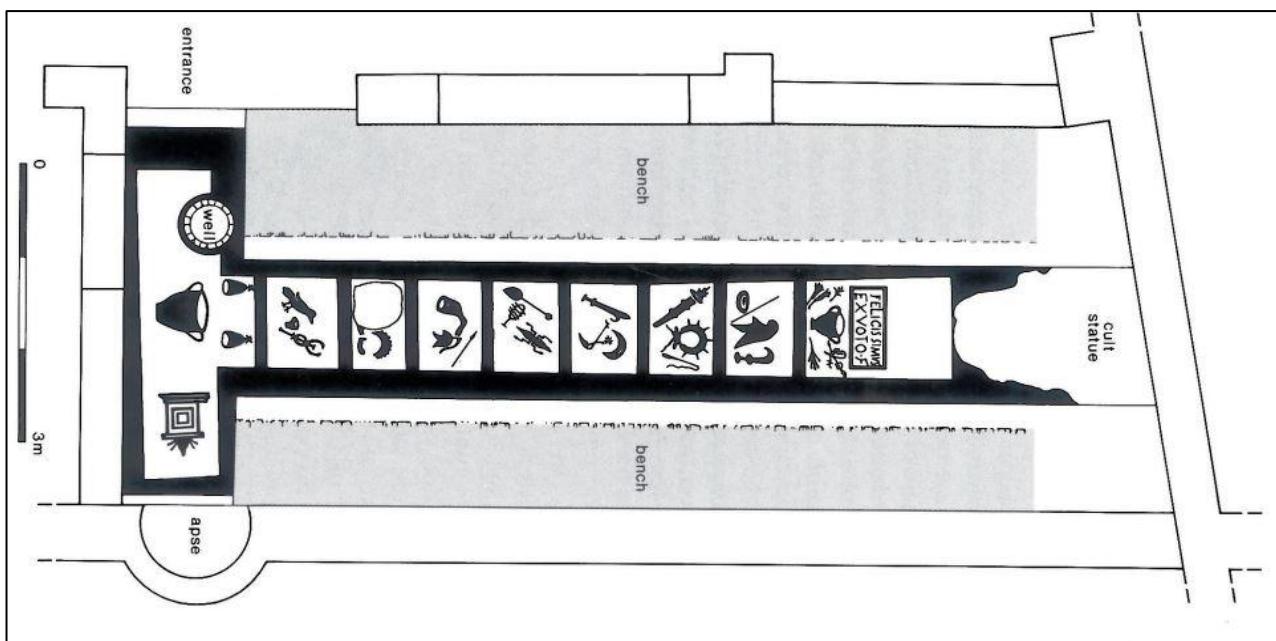
Four Augusti

inscription.

Shepherd, J.D.

1998, 176.

Figure 11. (Below) Mithraeum of Felicissimus, Ostia. Shepherd, J.D. 1998, 224.



The temple did not have windows or they were very small and high up to reduce light (Shepherd 1998, 89). Rudchester, Carrawburgh and the London Mithraea were also dated to the third century, and reflect the general trend of Mithraea in the northwest provinces, where apses and rectangular niches were mainly found. Phases I and II of the Rudchester Mithraeum both include an apse with benches, and what appear to be sleeper walls. At Carrowburgh, the original temple was small and square, but later Phases, such as Phase IIa, have an elongated plan, a square niche, as well as benches. In Italy, the Mithraeum of Felicissimus, Ostia, does not have a projecting apsidal end but instead an apse right of the entrance (Figure 11) (Shepherd 1998, 226). Columns were most likely more for the superstructure's stability, but they may have had a ritual use as well. The London Mithraeum has seven columns, which may represent the seven grades of the cult. In comparison, the Mithraeum at Ostia has eight panels of mosaic on the floor representing the seven grades with one dedicatory panel (Figure 11) (Shepherd 1998, 225). Another Mithraeum in Ostia, Sette Porte, has a mosaic on the floor of seven gates, which furthers the connection of the cult with the stars, planets and astronomy (Figure 12) (Vermaseren 1956, 138).

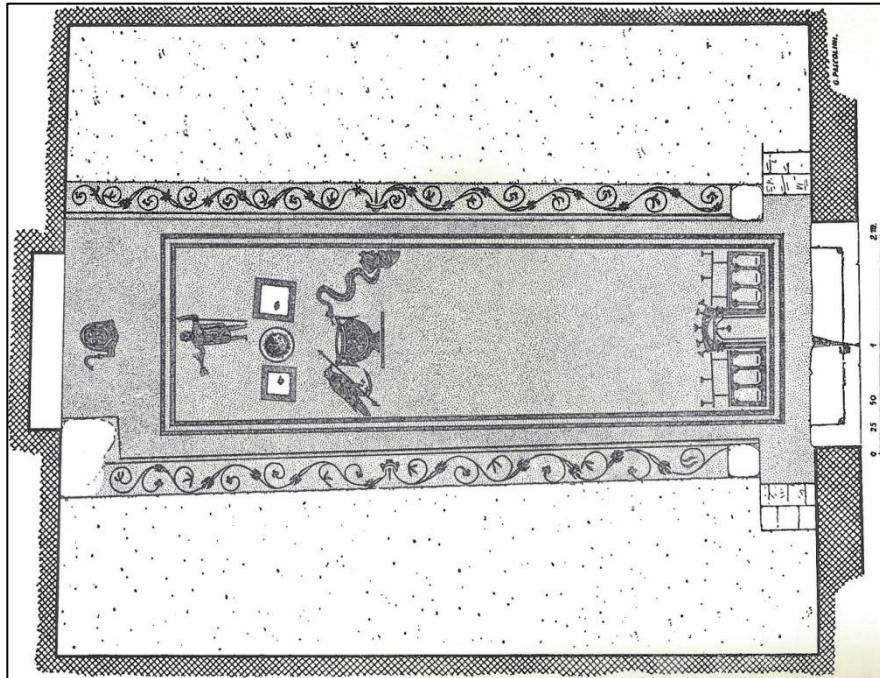


Figure 12. Mosaic of Seven Gates on the floor of the mithraeum at Sette Porte, Ostia. Vermaseren, M.J. 1956, 137. CIMRM 288.

The architecture of Mithraea was intimately linked with the sacred narrative of Mithras. In the cave, Mithras killed the bull which was clearly connected with the arrival of life and light. Several inscriptions upon altars and votive offerings, such as an altar from Housesteads (Coulston and Phillips, 1988) and Whitley Castle, were dedicated to *Sol Invictus*, “*Deo Invicto Mytræ*” and *Deo Soli Invicto* (Wright 1943, 37). An inscription from Isca in Wales (CIMRM 809) was dedicated to *Deo Invicto Mithrae* from the II Augusta (Vermaseren 1956, 284). Therefore, the ability to control the amount of light that entered the temple was essential to Mithraism’s mythical story; the coming of life and light out of darkness was created by these conditions in their temples. One of the few ancient sources on Mithraism was from Porphyry. In his *De Antro Nymphaeum* 6, the Persian cult’s temple was described as a symbol of the cave where Mithras slayed the bull and as a model of the universe that he created.

With this in mind, the Mithraeum at London and others in Italy and the frontier reflected this setting. Firmicus Maternus in *Error of the Pagan Religions* mocked the cult for initiating members within a murky cave away from the light. Despite the fact that he was mocking and denouncing the cult, it does provide further proof that the cave setting had religious significance to Mithraists. Candlesticks were also found (Shepherd 1998, 90, 178). Furthermore, water was also essential to the mystery cult and so many Mithraea are located near springs such as Poetovio, Pannonia Superior, Mackwiller, Gallia Belgica and Housesteads. They also have water basins or urns such as at Carrawburgh (Figure 9) (Irby-Massie 1999, 78). The London Mithraeum’s location next to the Walbrook stream supports this (Figure 1) (Vermaseren 1956, 283).

In London, the Mithras Tauroctonos with the zodiacal cycle was dedicated by Ulpius Silvanus of the II Augusta, apparently appointed at Orange (Figure 13 and 14) (Clauss 2000, 89). This scene was found at many Mithraea and it contains astronomical symbols, which were well attested at other sites. A relief found in Bologna (Figure 15) of unknown provenance contains the planets in the reverse order of the weekdays; other reliefs with astronomical symbols have been found in Sidon, Dura Europos, Brigetio (Szony, Hungary) and Rome (Figures 16, 17, and 18) (Clauss 2000, 87).



Figure 13. Mithras Tauroctonos of Ulpius Silvanus.
Shepherd, J.D. 1998, 174.

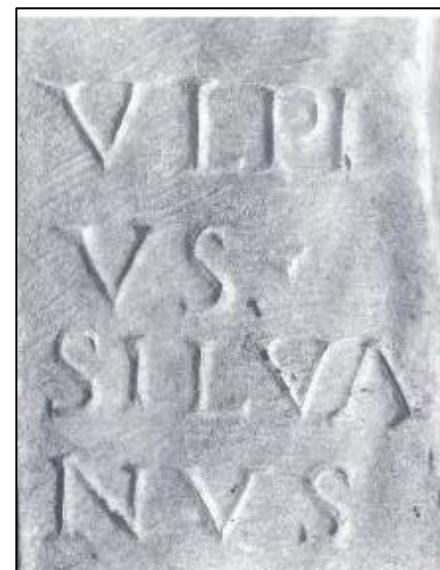


Figure 14. Ulpius Silvanus Inscription.
Shepherd, J.D. 1998, 175.



Figure 15. Tauroctonos from Bologna. Clauss,
M. 2000, 87.



Figure 16. Tauroctonos from Rome. Clauss,
M. 2000, 86.



Figure 17. (Left) Tauroctonos from Hungary.
Clauss, M.2000, 86.

Figure 18. (Above) Tauroctonos from Sidon.
Clauss, M. 2000, 90.



Figure 19. Mithras slaying the bull with ears of corn pouring from its wound. Vermaseren, M.J. 1956, CIMRM/593.

The Tauroctonos has spurred the idea that the reliefs were “star maps” (Clauss 2000, 87). For example, the scene contains Cautes, Cautopates, Sol rides up to heaven on the right, Luna downwards with her oxen, and all the parts of zodiac are present as well (Clauss 2000, 88). A sculpture of the Tauroctonos from Rome (Figure 19) showed ears of corn coming from the bull’s wounds while the snake and dog direct themselves toward them (Vermaseren 1956, 225). Thus the creation of life was connected with the cosmos. At many Mithraea, stars were depicted on the ceiling in order to evoke the

cosmos; for instance at Virunum where a plaque records its highly decorated ceiling. Beck stated that the stars were also to represent their deceased colleagues who have ascended to immortality (Beck 2004, 360).

Mithraism was a malleable and tolerant religion which revealed the influx of other deities and religions in their iconography. Some depictions of Mithras portray him with a bow, hunting; a scene not often seen, if at all in Britain. Scenes of hunting and Mithras were found mainly in the areas of the Rhine, Danube and the Near East at places such as Dura Eruopos (Figure 20), Neuenheim (Figure 21), and Osterburken (Figure 22) (Vermaseren 1963, 90). Location was a factor and Mithraea were located near other shrines, Albachtal of Trier for example, suggesting that there might have been friendly relations if not assimilation (Henig 1998, 232).



Figure 20. (Top Left) Dura Europos hunting scene. Vermaseren, M.J. 1956, *CIMRM* 52.

Figure 21. (Top Right) Neuenheim, Mithras shooting arrow at the rock, second top panel from the left. Vermaseren, M.J. 1956, *CIMRM* 1283.

Figure 22. (Bottom Left) Osterburken .Another scene of Mithras shooting an arrow, with two figures before him. Vermaseren, M.J. 1956, *CIMRM* 1292.

Evidence of a ritual meal is supported by chicken, sheep, cattle, pig and dog bones found scattered throughout the floors with a slight decrease in the post Mithraeum layers; many chicken bones were found at Carrawburgh as well (Shepherd 1998, 227, 247). Furthermore, in the ante room at Carrawburgh was a hearth with charcoal and ashes; similarly a small kitchen was found in the Lentia Mithraeum complex in Austria and Ostia suggesting a ritual meal was cooked within the temple (Vermaseren 1963, 41).

The London Mithraeum shows some evidence of clearly defined burned areas such as in Floor 2, and to conclude it was for a ritual meal would be convenient, but the evidence was not conclusive (Shepherd 1998, 74). Regardless, the evidence of animal bones in London and other temples indicates the presence of a ritual meal. Unfortunately, the narthex of the London temple could only be partially excavated due to its proximity to the edge of the site (Shepherd 1998. 95). Perhaps further excavation of the area could provide evidence for a similar function to the ante room at Carrawburgh.

Perhaps most telling of the temple's function as a Mithraeum were the sculptures of Mithras, Serapis, Mercury, Minerva and a "water deity," which could have been Oceanus (Shepherd 1998, 171-172). The sculptures were likely to have been carved in Italy; an isotopic analysis of these

sculptures has indicated that many originated from Carrara or Docimaeum quarries (Shepherd 1998, 109). Therefore, it was argued that the Mithraeum was built by a Roman official who came to Britain and brought his religion with him (Merrifield 1983, 187). This is a pleasant idea which the isotopic evidence and relative dating of the sculptures support, but Mithraism was popular elsewhere in Britain at the same time and an establishment run by, and even for, the local military and veterans in London, seems more likely. The dedication by Ulpius Silvanus seems to indicate that the nature of the Mithraeum in London was likely characterized by a military following but possibly also a merchant one, evidenced by the temple's location. However, the fort in London was found by Grimes to be incorporated into the city's defences and was sparsely occupied during the third century (Grimes 2011). Therefore, if the military presence in London was reduced at the time of the Mithraeum's construction, the initiations may have not been primarily military and perhaps more merchantile. A comparable location is Ostia, also a port town, where at least 17 Mithraea have been found (Laeuchli 1968, 73). However, because these were port sites, the movement of people, and more notably troops, through them could also testify to their construction by or for the military. At Rome and Ostia, there were dozens of Mithraea which suggests that Mithraism did not have only a military following (Laeuchli 1968, 73).

The shifting layout of the temple in the fourth century and the burial of religious items (the head of Mithras or Serapis, for example), was argued to signal the end of it functioning as a Mithraeum and the possible beginning of a Bacchic temple. The connection between Mithras and Bacchus could be further elaborated as the juxtaposition of Mithraic and Bacchic material occurred at Apulum, as well as London according to Haynes (2008). Further excavation of the area within and around the Mithraeum at London would considerably further an understanding of Mithraea and the cult in Roman Britain. The very fact that the London Mithraeum was not definitively associated with the military leaves many questions unanswered. A connection between the Roman military in London is not a sufficient explanation for the Mithraeum's genesis and development. Yet, the hierarchical structure of Mithraism suited the Roman military well, and in Britain the majority of the temples and inscriptions were found in close proximity to military sites and dedications came from military officials (Mattingly 2006, 215). Therefore, the Mithraeum in London was an exceptional temple in terms of location, contents and its contribution to the study of Mithraism in the Roman Empire and Britain. The size and construction of the temple cannot be discounted because archaeological evidence of Mithraea across the Roman Empire revealed that Mithraea were markedly smaller than the one in London.

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