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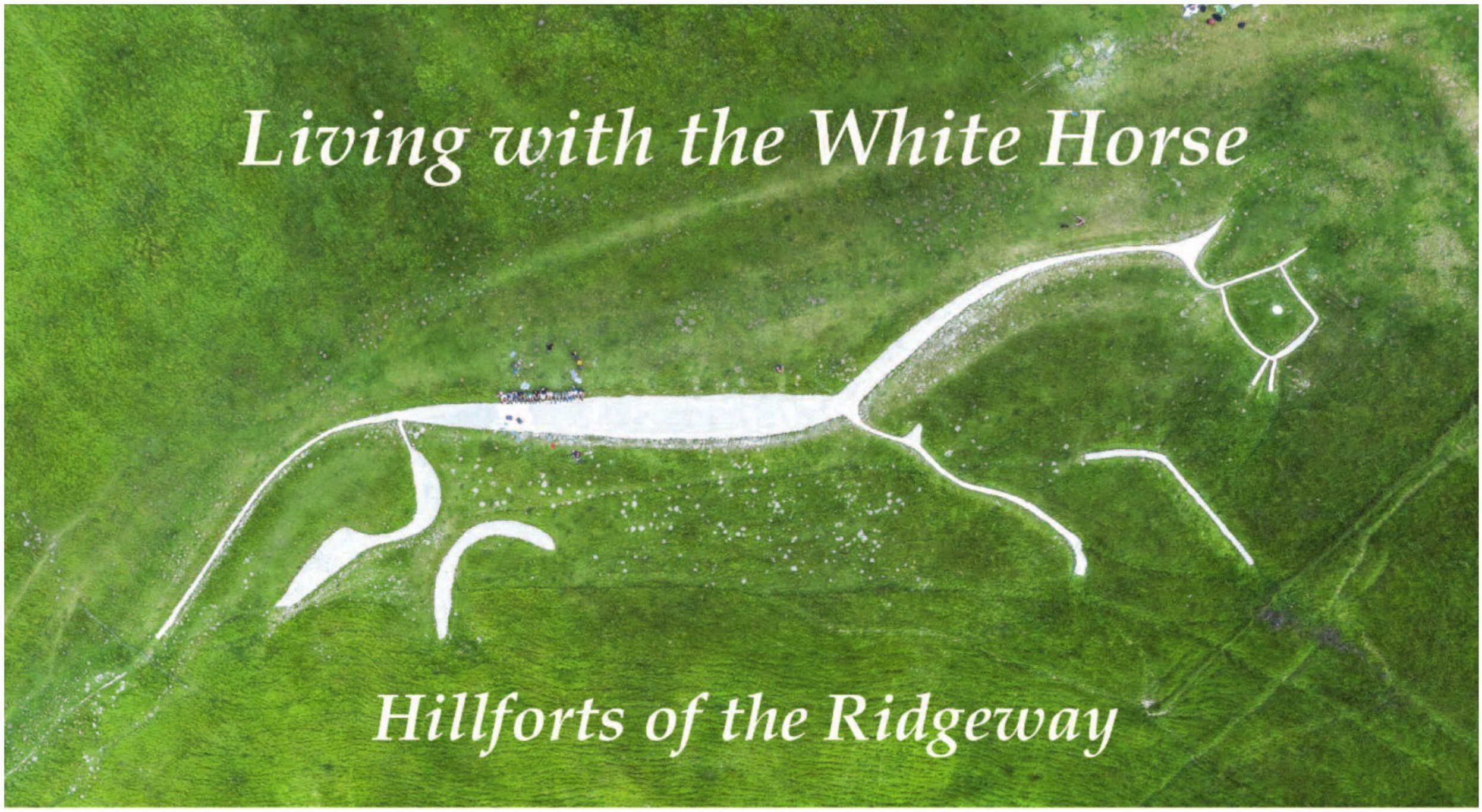
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Founded in 1944, the Council for British Archaeology promotes archaeology for all. It makes the case for safeguarding our archaeological heritage, and increasing public participation and understanding. It has a growing membership of individuals of all ages and over 600 organisations, and partnerships with Archaeology Scotland, CBA Wales/Cymru and CBA English Regional Groups. The CBA is an environmental charity registered in England & Wales (287815) and Scotland (SC041971), and a company limited by guarantee (1760254)

On the cover: This striking red-figure amphora, thought to be from Vulci, Italy, shows Odysseus tied to his mast in the hope of resisting the lure of the Sirens' singing (c 475BC, 34cm high). Our feature about the archaeology of Troy begins on page 30. Photo Trustees of the British Museum

From the editor



"The Council for British Archaeology", said Francis Pryor when Mike Heyworth was appointed its director in 2004, "is in his blood." He had started work 14 years before, to help with an archaeological bibliography for Britain and Ireland. Now, 15 years later, he is leaving.

Much has changed since Mike first joined the CBA as staff in 1990 – not least the headquarters' move from London to York. The practice of archaeology at universities and in the field, and public and political perceptions and engagement, have been transformed. As an educational charity that bridges the whole sector, regardless of specialist and professional silos, the CBA has reflected and shared in those changes. Mike's commitment has never wavered.

Where next? We have not been told. But as John Oxley, another York-based archaeologist, says as he anticipates stepping down from his job (My archaeology, page 14), "I don't think you can not *not* be an archaeologist. Archaeology is a way of life." Mike Heyworth, archaeologist, we wish you a long and active future.

And should you wish to take up the CBA challenge, turn to page 61.

mike pitts

DIG DEEP FOR ARCHAEOLOGY

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This issue's contributors include



Nick Ashton
is a curator at the British Museum. He and his colleagues write about their excavations at Barnham, Suffolk, destined to become a famed Palaeolithic site, on page 16



Caroline Wickham-Jones
is an Orkney archaeologist working with a large team on flint artefacts found over decades in fields near Aberdeen. On page 38 she considers what they can tell us about surface collecting



Dave Cowley
is an archaeologist at Historic Environment Scotland. He is leading a pioneering project to use artificial intelligence to speed up the analysis of airborne images, as he describes on page 44

Radiocarbon dates
Unless otherwise noted, ^{14}C dates in *British Archaeology* are calibrated at 95% confidence (cal AD or cal BC, expressed as AD or BC), rounded out after Mook (1986). See "Radiocarbon dating" by M Christie *et al*, *WikiJournal of Science* (2018), DOI: 10.15347/wjs/2018.006



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THE VOICE OF ARCHAEOLOGY IN BRITAIN AND BEYOND


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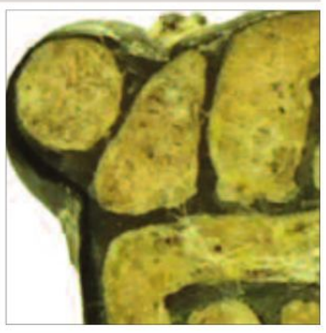

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FIRST SIGHT
This escutcheon (7.5cm high), a copper-alloy hook from a seventh-century AD hanging bowl, was found near Firsdown, Wiltshire in October. The bird's head would have curled over the bowl's rim to hold a suspension ring, and the forked-tail plate gives the effect of folded wings. The knotwork design is created with champlevé enamelled cells, illustrated at top to suggest original colours. Photography Portable Antiquities Scheme

Fieldwork in distant places, and living with a local community over numerous years, make the dynamics of ancestry and heritage recording, and isolating conservation and preservation priorities, a mixture of diplomacy, empathy and co-production of research to secure the futures of a living past.

Sue Hamilton reflects on Easter Island/Rapa Nui, interviewed by Sian E Gardiner for UCL blog Ask an Academic, May 2019

Britain in archaeology



Scientists have identified **fin whale bones** from the Cairns Broch, a large Iron Age stone-built complex and focus of a major research project in South Ronaldsay, Orkney. As part of their study of ancient whalebone use in the western Atlantic, Vicki Szabo from Western Carolina University and Brenna Frasier from St Mary's University, Nova Scotia, have extracted DNA and collagen data from a large prehistoric assemblage which also includes sperm and humpback whales. Second in scale only to the blue whale among living animals, fin whales are unlikely to have been hunted in the Iron Age, and were probably stranded.

A fin whale vertebra was found at the Cairns in 2016, carved into a tub-like container. A human jawbone and two neonatal lambs had been placed inside, and two red deer antlers propped against the outside. The vertebra had been wedged





by a very large saddle quern (for grinding cereals) against the broch wall and close to the entrance, when the broch went out of use in the mid-second century AD – "an act of closure of the broch", said Martin Carruthers, site director.



The remains of a woman buried around AD580–600 with a silver **Kentish disc brooch**, have been excavated by the Canterbury Archaeological Trust ahead of works at Canterbury Christ Church University. Also in the grave were amber and glass necklace beads, a copper-alloy belt-buckle and a bracelet, and an iron knife. The woman died in her 20s shortly before the establishment of St Augustine's Abbey, whose proximity to the grave suggests the site may already have had high status associations.



Ditches of a **Roman fort or defended compound** have been found in Exeter, during excavations by Cotswold Archaeology ahead of the renovation of a bus station and leisure complex. A large Roman fortress was known to have been raised in Exeter around AD55, succeeded by a town, Isca Dumnoniorum, the regional capital of south-west England. "This discovery of yet another new Roman fort within the city," said Andrew Pye, archaeology officer at Exeter City Council, "demonstrates just how pivotal a role the Exeter area played in the first decades of the Roman conquest and subjugation of Britain."



A **Bronze Age ring cairn** has been identified near Tidenham in the Forest of Dean from an airborne lidar survey. Dating from around 2000BC the monument (imagined in a drawing by Anne Leaver) is unique in the region, said Jon Hoyle, an archaeologist at Gloucestershire County Council. At least ten white limestone stones, none more than 1m high, form a circle on a 5m wide rubble bank about 25m in diameter. • The Megalithic Portal reports that a 3.5m long standing stone at Oldbury, Gloucestershire, thought to have been lost or destroyed, has been rediscovered, laid flat beneath a stile.

Fieldwalking around the Tay estuary south of Perth has identified a dense distribution of **Late Mesolithic artefacts** (8000–4000BC) on land that at the time would have been 3m above the shoreline. Local brown-coloured carnelian stone blades, scrapers and burins suggest the site at Freeland Farm may have been visited and revisited over a long period, accumulating many small settlements and stone-knapping floors. The discovery, part of the Early Settlers Project, is described by Sophie Nicol and Torben Bjarke Ballin in a free report at www.archaeologyreportsonline.com.



Research into the Galloway Hoard, an exceptional collection of Viking-age metalwork from south-west Scotland, has identified the name Ecgbeorht (Egbert) in **Anglo-Saxon runes**. Inscriptions on five silver arm-rings may, suggests National Museums Scotland, record the names of people who owned and buried different parts of the hoard, though only the one has been deciphered. Over 100 gold, silver and other items, some of them unique, were buried early in the tenth century. The hoard was discovered by detectorists in 2014, and subsequent excavation revealed that it appeared to have been hidden inside a rectangular building (feature Jan/Feb 2015/140).

On 22 November two metal detectorists were **convicted of theft** and concealing their find, a hoard of Anglo-Saxon coins and jewellery, and were jailed for ten and eight and a half years respectively. Two other men were convicted of concealing the find; one was jailed for five years, and the other awaits sentencing.









Coins in the hoard, as reported earlier in Britain in archaeology (Sep/Oct 2019/168), prove an unknown alliance between Alfred the Great of Wessex and Ceolwulf II of Mercia. Gareth Williams, a British Museum curator, told the BBC, "You could argue that this is England's first hoard. It's one of the most important finds I've seen in my career."

Police investigation began in June 2015. Evidence showed that around 300 coins had been found at Eye, near Leominster, Herefordshire, with a gold-mounted crystal, rings, bracelets and ingots. Thirty one coins have been recovered. "We will do everything we can", said Amanda Blakeman of West Mercia Police, "to recover property that belongs to our country, our history, and our culture."

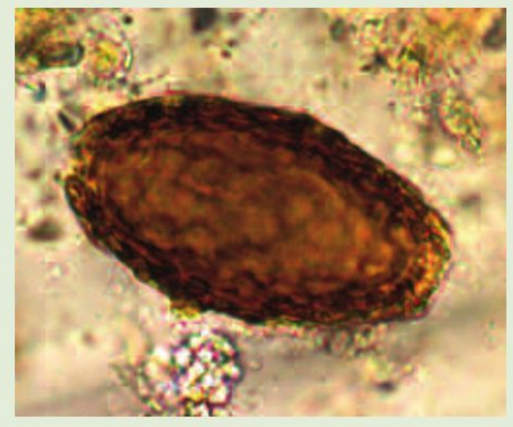


A search for the **remains of *HMS Beagle*** has identified the mud dock in the flats of the River Roach, off Paglesham, Essex, where the ship was probably dismantled. Wessex Archaeology, commissioned by Historic England, used magnetometry, ground penetrating radar and an aerial survey by drone capturing red, green, infrared and near-infrared light, which mapped differential plant growth. *HMS Beagle* was launched in 1820, and in 1831–36 carried Charles Darwin around South America as he developed his theory of natural selection. It was refitted as a static coastguard watch vessel in 1845 to seek out smugglers, and was sold for breaking up in 1870.



Another season of **fieldwork at Silchester** (Calleva Atrebatum), a Roman town in Hampshire that had a prehistoric back story but was never later built over, has brought new revelations. Excavation of a 4.8m deep Iron Age defensive ditch recovered wooden stakes, leather offcuts and dog skulls, and a human skull on a triangular arrangement of hurdles. A Neronian bath layout (AD55–65) was revealed to have been rebuilt in Flavian times (late first century). Evidence from 2018 found an earlier structure beneath both baths, the first known masonry building in the town and likely to be Claudian (AD41–54).

Pontus Skoglund, group leader of the Francis Crick Institute's Ancient Genomics laboratory in London, has won a £1.7m Wellcome Trust grant to study **human evolution and disease** in the UK. Using the Crick's customised ancient DNA facility, researchers will sequence whole-genomes of more than 1,000 people using skeletal samples between 3000BC and the present. Further information about gender, family and disease will come from another 2,000 individuals. Tom Booth, the Crick's only bioarchaeologist by training, said the "exciting" project will work with an unprecedented number of samples across a long time period. "The record of human genetic evolution in Britain will be the most fine-scale of any place in the world," said Skoglund.



A pioneering study at the Late Bronze Age village of Must Farm has identified **intestinal parasites**. Helminth (worm) eggs were found preserved in sediments and human and canine coprolites (droppings), the latter distinguished by fecal lipid biomarkers. Eggs of fish tapeworm, *Echinostoma* worm, *Capillaria* worm and the giant kidney worm (pictured) constitute the earliest evidence so far seen for these in Britain; probable pig whipworm eggs were also found. The village was raised over a slow-moving channel on timber piles, but rapidly caught fire and fell into the water which preserved an exceptional picture of ancient life (News Sep/Oct 2016/150). Parasites could have been ingested from eating raw fish, frogs or freshwater molluscs. The study is reported in *Parasitology* 146 (2019). ■

news+

News+ is written by readers of *British Archaeology*

Kirby Muxloe Castle – a moment in history

Roy Loveday, an honorary research fellow at the Department of Archaeology, Leicester University, believes that a particular historical viewpoint is obscuring the public interest in a curious castle:

Archaeology and history often seem like the parallel lines of a railway track: running together over the same course but never meeting. That's perhaps not surprising, since one deals with material evidence for people and the other with a written record of pivotal human interactions that rarely produced physical residues. Beyond battlefield remains and plague pits it is rare for archaeology to record a specific historical event. That is what set apart the remarkable discovery in 2012 of Richard III's body in the Grey Friars in Leicester (feature May/Jun 2013/130). But there is another site in the county that bridges the archaeological-historical gulf, and by chance it's tied into the same story – Kirby Muxloe Castle. Yet while Richard's new tomb in Leicester Cathedral and the attendant Richard III Centre receive a flood of visitors (feature Mar/Apr 2015/141), the castle attracts very few. When a famous portrait of Richard III was recently displayed in the city's New Walk Museum, an accompanying leaflet suggesting places to visit (13 in the city and the Bosworth Battlefield Centre 16 miles away) omitted the castle just five miles away. Why?

Made of brick and with only one tower surviving to battlement height, it's not the most exciting ruined castle. But that is to miss the point. It is not a ruin. It's a medieval building site effectively frozen at a particular point in time – June 16 1483, the date when its builder, William, Lord Hastings, was dragged from a council meeting in the Tower of London for immediate execution on the order of Richard, Duke of Gloucester. This isn't surmise: remarkably the castle's building records survive and tell of an abrupt halt as soon as the devastating news arrived. The physical evidence supports the picture. Toothing bricks projecting from the west tower stand ready for the attachment of walls and battlements that were never built. The gatehouse remained unfinished at first floor level.

The castle (or building site) at Kirby Muxloe then furnishes rare physical evidence of an historical event. But how important was that nationally? Executions were far from unusual during the Wars of the Roses. This one, however, was particularly callous – carried out without trial and within minutes of the accusation, by soldiers apparently primed for the task. It might appear to be given context by Richard's struggle for control of the young king Edward V, with the parvenu Woodville-Grey family of Edward IV's widow. But Hastings was not of that clan. Quite the opposite, he and the Greys were old Leicestershire enemies. In fact, according to Dominic Mancini (an Italian priest visiting England) it was Hastings who wrote to Richard in York urging him to "hasten to the capital with a strong force" for fear the Woodvilles would grab power. Other sources tell the same story.

So, far from opposing Richard, Hastings – a noble noted by all sources for his loyalty and trustworthiness – supported and encouraged him. Yet within six weeks of Richard's arrival in London he had been summarily executed. Why?

Almost certainly because he realised Richard was planning not just to neutralise the Woodvilles but to take



Above: This summer the National Portrait Gallery loaned its portrait of Richard III to the New Walk Museum & Art Gallery in Leicester as part of a national Coming Home project



Right: The gatehouse and west tower of Kirby Muxloe Castle, never finished



Left: Toothing bricks on the west tower mark planned junctions of (from left) an inner building wall, the major battlement wall and a low wall beside the moat (the figure is on Rampart Walk, protected by a gunport)



Below: At Kirby the unfinished gatehouse shows patterned brickwork with Hastings' emblem (a "maunch" or heraldic sleeve) on the right hand tower



Left: Buckden tower house in Cambridgeshire, of almost identical size and plan to the Kirby Muxloe gatehouse, was probably also the work of John Cowper; it was begun by Thomas Rotherham, Bishop of Lincoln 1472–80 and completed by his successor

the throne for himself. Hastings' unswerving loyalty to Edward IV, and hence his young son, meant he could support Richard as protector but not as king, and he paid the price. This powerful obstacle removed, Richard took the throne just 13 days later. As Dominic Mancini says: "Thus fell Hastings, killed not by those enemies he always feared, but by a friend whom he never doubted."

It is difficult to avoid the conclusion that it's this fact, uncomfortable for the strong body of Richard apologists, that keeps the castle off the visitor trail. Information boards in the portrait exhibition took a consistently "good" Richard position ("taking the boy-king into protective custody... suppressing a coup... lodging the princes in the Tower which was then a luxurious royal residence... establishing a fairer criminal justice system"). Is this a new orthodoxy in which Hastings' summary execution – omitted from the time-line – is an embarrassment? This is worrying. Dispassionate archaeological investigation established the truth of statements, so long disputed by Ricardians, that Richard would indeed have had "one shoulder higher than the other" and that he had been unceremoniously buried without a coffin. Yet the special pleading continues and now, it seems, is deflecting attention from an important site that happens also to be structural witness to his ruthlessness.

Last of the line

Enough of the castle was completed to demonstrate the considerable impact it was intended to have. Recorded visits to Tattershall by master mason John Cowper reveal Hastings' model for Kirby Muxloe, and the large size of the unfinished gatehouse, the intended site of his great tower. Its squat, unfinished form implies a design akin to the almost identically sized, contemporary example in the Bishop of Lincoln's Palace at Buckden, Cambridgeshire.

The real distinctiveness of Kirby Muxloe, though, lies in its exceptional provision for artillery defence – a planned 40 gunports to judge from the pattern of completed work. In the turbulent world of the late 15th century, the fact that Hastings' fortune arose in considerable measure from sequestrated Lancastrian estates would have reinforced the need for effective defence. That need evaporated just four years later when Henry Tudor severely restricted livery and maintenance.

The patched up building work at Kirby Muxloe marks the final high water mark of defensive domestic architecture in lowland England, and stands striking witness to a pivotal event that shook Yorkist loyalists: "with all the rest of [Edward V's] faithful men expecting something similar... [Gloucester and Buckingham] did thereafter whatever they wanted" (*Croyland Chronicle*). On both counts it deserves attention that is currently being denied by lack of evidential balance. ■

ROY LOVEDAY (5)

Letters



following the story!
Alison McQuitty, chair Berkshire Archaeological Society

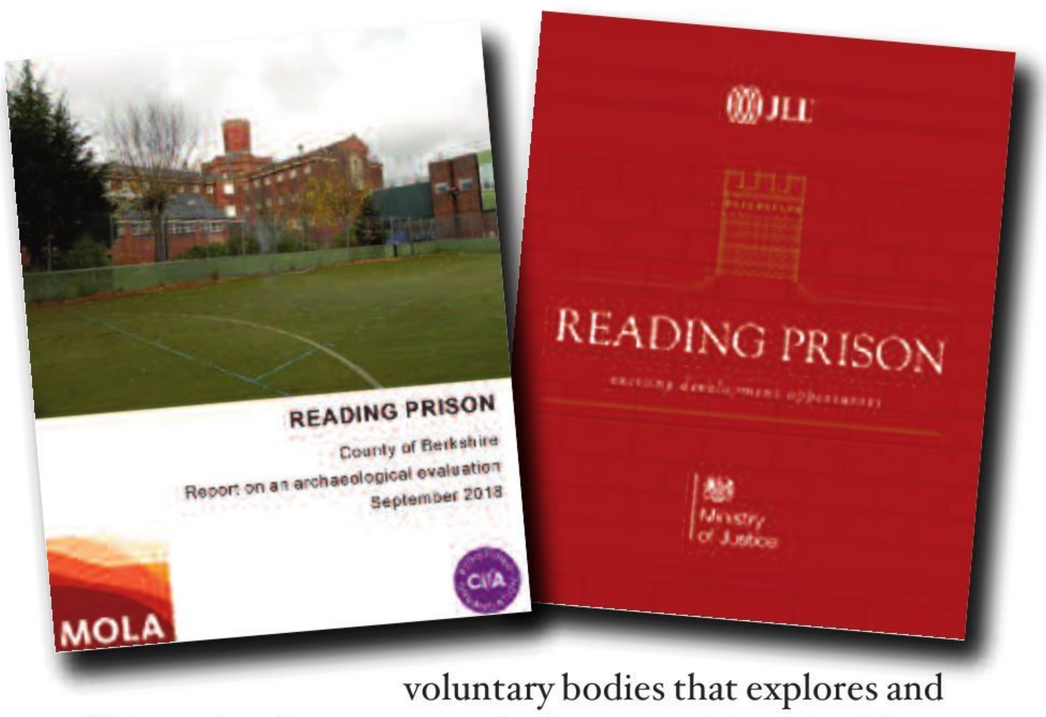
• *Reports of archaeological work at Reading Prison have become available (Phase 2 Nov/Dec 2019/169) – if you express an interest in buying the site. Ed*

Reading Abbey's future

The Berkshire Archaeological Society welcomes the interest and substantial work shown by features in *British Archaeology* (Jul/Aug 2019/167) concerning iconic buildings within Reading: Reading Abbey and Reading Gaol. Their stories are the stories of pivotal periods and themes, of not just Reading's history but also wider national history. The society shares the frustration felt by many that the report of the archaeological excavation carried out in 2016–17 was not put into the public domain.

Societies like ours and the Council for British Archaeology are fundamentally concerned with education about and protection of the heritage which is for everyone and needs to be accessible to everyone. In that spirit the Berkshire Archaeological Society gives strong support to the campaign to save Reading Gaol for the community and envisage its future as an arts and heritage hub. As part of this initiative we welcome the idea expressed in "What now for Reading Abbey?" for a wide-ranging project involving academic, professional, statutory and voluntary bodies that explores and records the story of these buildings for future generations. We strongly urge all interested parties to work towards that outcome.

And *British Archaeology* – please keep

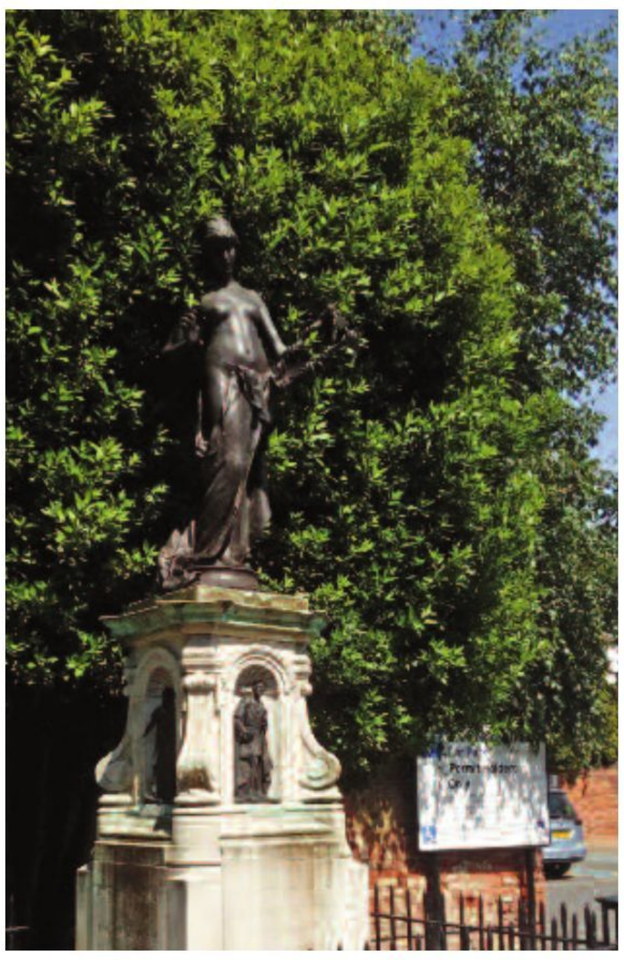


Prospective buyers of Reading Prison can read environmental and archaeological reports on the site

Write to the editor at email or postal address on page 3. Letters may be shortened

Marlowe's grave

Regarding the chances of identifying Christopher Marlowe's grave (Letters Nov/Dec 2019/169) the BBC DVD and book *In Search Of Shakespeare* [by Michael Wood, 2003] between them shed light on his death. Marlowe was stabbed between the eyes by Ingram Frizer, a blackmailer and petty shark, in the presence of Nicholas Skeres, a street thug, and Robert Poley, a known player in Elizabeth 1's espionage department. It was all kept pretty quiet, but Marlowe's remains will have a hole in the head. That should narrow it down a bit!
Dennis Onions, Bicton Heath, Shropshire



Christopher Marlowe has a memorial near the Marlowe Theatre in Canterbury, but where is his grave?

Staffordshire Hoard

I read with considerable interest Chris Fern's conclusions about the fine craftmanship and concealed symbolism within the Staffordshire Hoard (feature Nov/Dec 2019/169). However, I found it difficult to reconcile the idea of the owners maintaining the collection for decades as a memento of defeated enemies, only to carelessly strip it with smithing tongs – an explanation for its mangled condition.

In 2012 I was involved in a programme of fieldwalking in the hoard field, three years after its discovery. Many of the stones in the topsoil were also battered. My photo (opposite) shows a common quartzite pebble from near the hoard's location. Its surface has 25 recent impacts and smears from agricultural processes, most probably the system of power harrowing introduced after the last war, when rapidly rotating blades are driven through the topsoil after ploughing to reduce it to a fine tilth for seed sowing. Given that the hoard was reportedly recovered from the ploughsoil or its interface with the subsoil, it would have received the same impacts as the pebble. It is possible that the hoard was buried in pristine condition only to be power-harrowed in the 20th century.
Brian Meredith, Ilmington, Warwickshire

Thank you for a very lucid article on the interpretation of "decorative" symbols in the precious metalwork from the Staffordshire Hoard. However, I wonder whether we are not in danger of interpreting the hoard in terms of modern values of gold and artwork, rather than values of the tribal and intensely superstitious Anglo-Saxon society. Values inferred from contemporary and early medieval literature are very different to now. The most significant and valuable part of the war loot is missing; namely the skilfully worked iron of the swords, knives, axes and helmet frame. The value of a composite pattern-welded sword worthy of decoration would have far exceeded that of the most intricately worked precious metal ornamentation. Such a sword could have an intrinsic name and mythology inheritable by its new owner. In contrast, the ornamentation, however beautiful in our eyes, had a mythology intrinsic to the religion or tribal group of the enemy which could be lethal to the new owner and could be read by educated but illiterate people (eg Hrothgar's reading of the hilt of the sword that Beowulf seized to slay Grendel's mother).

I would suggest that the hoard's goldwork was stripped crudely and hurriedly on the battlefield and immediately buried to eliminate

JORDY SCHAAP/WIKIMEDIA/BY-SA 4.0 (CROPPED)

that power which even smelting could not destroy. In contrast the swords, knives and helmet frames complete with names and reputations were repurposed and perhaps re-ornamented by their conquerors. This implies an invasion of Mercia, perhaps from a combination of Northumbria and East Anglia or Wessex, and their defeat there rather than invasions of neighbouring territories by Penda and storage in a treasury. Destruction of such artefacts persists to our time... think Cromwell's destruction of regalia, or events in Afghanistan or Iraq/Syria.
Michael Martineau, Hildenborough, Kent



BIRMINGHAM MUSEUMS TRUST, BRIAN MEREDITH

Royal barns

I recently attended an Oxford University conference on Anglo-Saxon halls. Excavations in Kent, Northumberland and Oxfordshire were described, with similar groups of large rectangular earth-fast timber buildings. Some had been dismantled, others burnt down; frequently an adjacent rebuild. A repeated footprint was north-south orientation with opposing doors, little internal division other than a timber structure in one corner. Excavations revealed few high status artefacts, rarely evidence for a hearth and no ancillary buildings. Yet these have been described as complexes of great halls for royal entertaining.

Farming historians would interpret these as threshing barns. Opposing doors for prevailing wind through-draft, no hearth, no divisions, ventilation wind-eyes only, a secure granary constructed in one corner to safeguard next season's precious seed-corn from vermin. When the barn is no longer weather-tight or burns down, you build a new one on an adjacent site, re-using whatever you can salvage. There are a goodly number of later medieval versions still standing, demonstrating all these features.

I suggest the only royalty being entertained in the "hall complexes" is King Corn.
Heather Horner, South Leigh, Oxon

Detecting lottery

Gareth Williams's article on the 11th-century Chew Valley coin hoard and Mike Pitts's carefully worded observations on the circumstances of the find's reporting (feature Nov/Dec 2019/169), highlight what is fast becoming a national scandal. Archaeology has often had a complex relationship with detecting. There are detectorists who are as well-informed as many archaeologists (if not better), and who properly record their finds. At the other extreme are those who regard detecting as the equivalent of buying a lottery ticket.

The establishment of the Portable Antiquities Scheme was an important step towards addressing the issue of significant finds, but unfortunately provision has not kept up with reality. No one could have predicted the rise of the commercial detecting rally, with attendance sometimes running into the hundreds. A rally organiser has to locate an unscheduled but possibly productive area (for instance by consulting a heritage environment record), make a financial arrangement with the landowner, advertise widely and charge a fee on the day. Everybody is happy.

When someone makes a significant find, potentially Treasure, most of those present are probably aware that an archaeologist should record it before it is lifted. But, how do you find an archaeologist on a Sunday afternoon? A finds liaison officer may once have been prepared to drop everything and rush out to conduct an excavation which might last more than a day. But, given the demands on these officers, this is now rare. Pitts suggests the creation of a "hotline" number to call. Nice in theory but it only gets us so far. The best equipped to deal with the situation would be a well-staffed commercial archaeological unit – but only if they know they will be funded for their time and have a staff member on call. So, yes to a "hotline" by all means, but to implement this the Portable Antiquities Scheme needs a national fund. Everyone with any interest in the past would benefit in the end!
Mike Farley, former county archaeologist, Aylesbury



A damaged pebble; see Staffordshire Hoard

Civil war

In Britain in archaeology (Nov/Dec 2019/169) you state that the Battle of Worcester was the final battle of the English Civil War. Surely this distinction goes to the battle of Winnington Bridge, August 19 1659.
David Evans, via info@archaeologyuk.org

• Historical tradition sees Winnington Bridge as the outcome of a Royalist conspiracy to restore the Stuart monarchy eight years after the Civil War ended. Ed ■

Mick Sharp experiences gods and devils circling a windy outcrop

Archangels and dragons



Brentor (SX 471805, PL19 0NP) is on the western edge of the Dartmoor National Park, south-west of Lydford and north of Tavistock, Devon



MICK SHARP

St Michael de Rupe (of the Rock), Brentor, sits atop the eroded cone of an extinct volcano. It's a dramatic site, and my photograph was used on the cover of the 2009 OS Landranger Map 191. Founded around 1130 by Robert Giffard, traditionally in fulfilment of a vow made during a storm at sea, the church watches over Dartmoor, Devon and Cornwall. Hats fly at 335m above sea level; christening parties are soaked to the skin, vicars compelled to approach on all fours, and mourners advised to "crook'y down" behind headstones; and gowned brides slip to the sodden ground.

During the 1889–90 restorations, 40 skeletons were found three feet (1m) below the church floor, one aligned east–west, the others north–south. The church sits within an Iron Age hillfort on what is said to be a site of ancient sanctity. From the 12th century to around 1550 an annual, and often rowdy, Michaelmas fair was held here on September 29, the "vigil, feast and morrow of the Archangel".

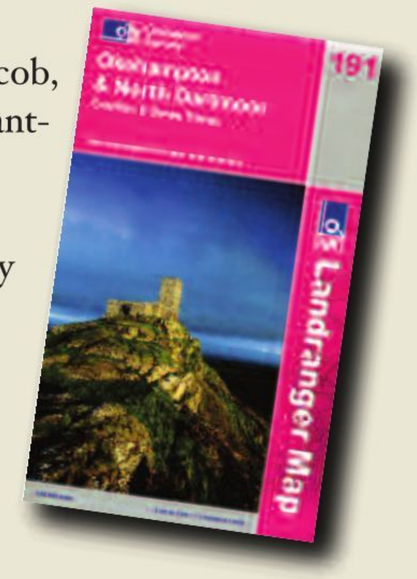
Archangels are the "Seven Spirits" who stand in the presence of God: Michael, Gabriel, Raphael, Uriel, Chamuel, Jophiel and Zadkiel. Their names end in "El", meaning God. Uriel is "the Light of God". Michael, "who is like unto God", is captain-general of the heavenly hosts, protector of the Hebrew nation (*Daniel* 10.13, 21; 12.1), patron saint and prince of the Church Militant, elector of souls and, like Hermes/Mercury, a messenger and psychopomp. The 12th-century Doom painting inside Chaldon church, Surrey, shows him weighing souls while the Devil tips the balance. Michael is named in *The Revelation of St John the Divine* (12.7–9) triumphing over the rebel angels of the dragon (Satan) during the "war in heaven". On the south parclose screen of Ranworth church, Norfolk, a winged and sword-wielding Michael stands victorious upon the red, seven-headed dragon of *Revelation* 12.3.



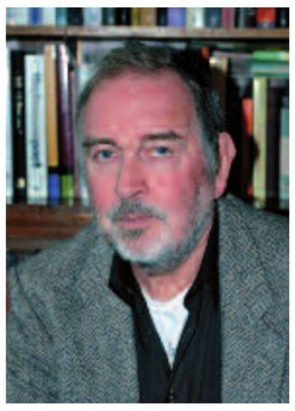
Ideas of dualism and the ultimate triumph of the spiritual over zoic vice may be traced back to ancient Egypt and the Middle East, as may images of winged messengers and genii, and of warrior-heroes overcoming serpents with sword or lance. Egyptian-style Phoenician ivories found at the Assyrian capital of Nimrud, Iraq, show a winged male figure grasping the comb of a griffin while thrusting a spear into its mouth; hieroglyphs on one plaque read: "enduring/abiding one; lord of radiance".

Emperor Constantine (AD306–37) dedicated a church to St Michaëlion in Constantinople. In 495 Michael appeared to fishermen at St Michael's Mount, Cornwall. The fifth-century legend and founding of his church on Monte Galgano, Puglia, was copied in the eighth century at Mont Tombe (Mont-St-Michel), Normandy.

Dedications to St Michael mushroomed in England and Wales, along with his association with high places and the Christianisation of ancient sacred sites. In *A Crown of Lights*, part of his marvellous series of Merrily Watkins mysteries, Phil Rickman draws on the legend that the St Michael churches of Llanfihangel Rhydithon, Cascob, Llanfihangel-Nant-Melan and Cefnllys, were built to magically encircle Radnor Forest where the last Welsh dragon lies sleeping. ■



Greg Bailey on broadcasting



I know what I like about both TV and archaeology: they offer the possibility of wonder. At their finest each might allow us to confront our consciousness, commonality and material effect.

While I readily dismiss ancient alien twaddle and find most recent TV anthropology gimmicky and exploitative (eg *The Tribe Next Door*, Channel 4 November), TV archaeology should surely be an imaginative project. If overcautious television executives understand archaeology as a known quantity, an archaeological sensibility might see mystery everywhere and in everything.

Directed by the incomparable Werner Herzog, *Nomad: In the Footsteps of Bruce Chatwin* (BBC2 September/October, BBC Studios Scotland) explored just this. Chatwin, who abandoned his promising archaeology degree at Edinburgh to explore and enact nomadism, and Herzog, the equally compulsive traveller of lands and ideas, had much in common besides their friendship. "We were kindred spirits, he as a writer I as a filmmaker," announces Herzog in his onscreen introduction. "In this film... I will follow a similar erratic quest for wild characters, strange dreamers and big ideas about the nature of human existence."



Indeed, with extended excerpts and overlapping themes from Herzog's work, the film is as much his as his dying friend Chatwin's. Its opening chapter, "The Skin of the Brontosaurus", follows the writer's travels and subjects featured in *In Patagonia*. His first published book, partly inspired by a long-since discarded piece of animal skin which the young Chatwin had coveted but could not inherit, was not the brontosaurus of family mythology, but actually from an extinct giant sloth.

The second chapter, "Landscapes of the Soul", moves from Avebury and Silbury Hill, to which Chatwin regularly cycled from school at Marlborough College, to Llanthony Priory in the Black Hills to Aboriginal South Australia. "This is where he was somehow centred," says Herzog of Silbury, "this was his pivot, his mythical place of origin. Everything is an echo of this."

And if parallels are suggested between significant landscapes, leylines and songlines, dowsers and dreamers, all continents apart, an erratic quest rather than biographical film is promised. As are deranged landscapes. Herzog's valley of windmills from his first feature film, *Signs of Life*, a demented image that fascinated Chatwin, is echoed by other scenes in a quest for strangeness that both artists claimed as their own.

Here a derelict *Star Wars* fighter, a prop disintegrating in the Australian desert, or a full-sized replica of Magellan's ship, paint peeling and stranded next to a Patagonian rubbish dump or perhaps syncretic shrine. Here domestic furniture, cookers, TVs and mattresses are piled alongside equally indecipherable offerings of crosses with a tattered shirt blowing in the wind.

Chapter four, "The Nomadic Alternative", is elegiac in its sense of loss. Vintage photos show groups of Selk'nam people staring at the camera, gazing at us. Other pictures reveal the last male hunter-gatherers of Patagonia in huddled groups, backs to camera or lying on the ground seemingly dead, watched passively by plainly dressed women. Other men wear pointed sky-tall head-dresses, naked except for painted dots on their bodies and faces.

Was prehistoric rock art, the kaleidoscope of hand stencils at the Cueva de las Monas, their only other legacy? "Is there still an echo of their voices?", asks Hertzog.

I could continue about "Songs & Songlines", an excavation on Navarino Island, Chatwin's rucksack or the closing reflection on mortality. But the cumulative effect of Herzog's film, Ernst Reijseger's extraordinary music and the cinemaphotography of Louis Caulfield and Mike Paterson, is far more than episodic.

Greg Bailey researches TV archaeology in the Department of Archaeology & Anthropology, University of Bristol ■

Phase 2

The grave of Matthew Flinders (1774–1814) was among thousands uncovered during excavation at the former St James's burial ground, destined at the time of writing to be the site of the HS2 London terminus at Euston (feature May/Jun 2019/166). In October HS2 announced that Flinders' remains would be reburied in Donington, Lincolnshire, where he was baptised. Some of his descendants and the Donington community had formed a Matthew Flinders Bring Him Home group. Flinders, grandfather of archaeologist Flinders Petrie, confirmed that Australia was an island continent by sailing right around the coast.

We reported the discovery of an elaborately carved Pictish stone in the last Britain in archaeology (Nov/Dec 2019/169). It has since been revealed that the back of the stone does indeed bear a carved cross: it is flanked by "two massive beasts quite unlike anything found on any other Pictish stone". The North of Scotland Archaeological Society and the Pictish Arts Society have launched a public appeal for £20,000 to pay for cleaning and conservation, before the stone goes on permanent public display at Dingwall Museum, Easter Ross.

A decade ago we featured the wreck of *HMS Victory*, a Royal Navy flagship that sank in the English Channel in 1744 and had been found by Odyssey Marine Exploration. Sean Kingsley argued that trawlers endangered the wreck, and excavation was urgently required (artefact sales would cover costs and a profit). Dave Parham countered that there was no evidence for fishing damage, and Odyssey "would be salvaging objects from the seabed, not undertaking archaeology" (feature May/Jun 2009/106). Plans to excavate were finally dashed in September, when a High Court ruled that the wreck was at "minimal risk", dismissing an appeal from the Maritime Heritage Foundation which hoped to employ Odyssey to raise artefacts. ■



My archaeology

John Oxley is soon to retire from the City of York Council after 30 years as city archaeologist. He looks back on a career that coincided with profound changes in archaeological practice

Dramatic narratives in a historic city

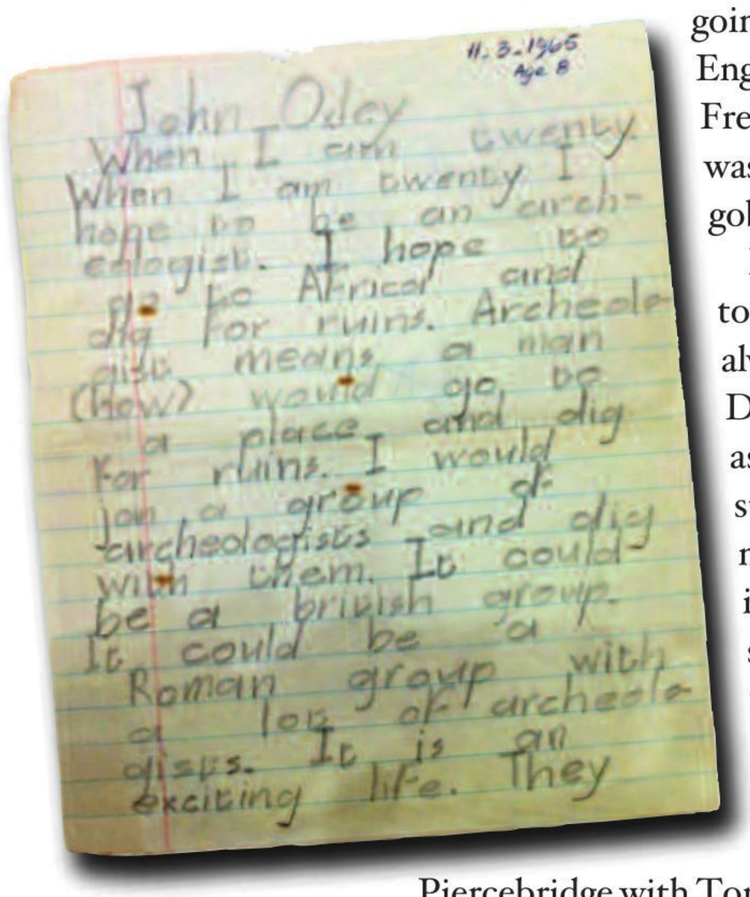


PIPPA OLDFIELD

When my parents downsized and moved house, they found a page of writing from when I was eight years old at St William's Primary School in Darlington. We'd all written an essay: "When I am 20." It's dated 11 March 1965, and it said, "When I am 20, I'm going to be an archaeologist." I'd completely forgotten I'd written such a thing!

I was incredibly interested in astronomy: I built my own telescope when I was about ten. My Mum was a secretary and my Dad an office manager, I was the first one in the family to go to university. My mother was very interested in history and we did go on visits to historic sites, Hadrian's Wall and things like that. I remember running around Housesteads, in and out of the hypocausts, no more than about five years old. *Animal, Vegetable, Mineral?* was on the telly at the time, so perhaps that had captured my imagination. But I was really into sciences.

Then when we had to make a choice of what subjects we were going to study for A level, we had an inspirational history teacher called Tony Brown. So I decided, right, I'm not going to do maths, physics and chemistry, I'm going to do history, English and French. Everyone was completely gobsmacked.



When I am 20 life will be exciting

I'd continued to visit sites. I always try and visit Durham Cathedral as often as I can, it still has a literally monumental role in my life. I started digging with the Durham University team at the site of the Roman fort at Piercebridge with Tony Scott. I just went along and said, can I come and dig? And they said, yeah! You're in that space, seeing people at university, and that sowed that idea in my mind, perhaps history and archaeology is the way to go forward.

I ended up studying ancient history, medieval history and archaeology at Liverpool University, between 1975 and 1978. Two of us actually went on to have a career in archaeology, the other being Val Higgins, a professor in the American University of Rome. But at the very first lecture, John Eames stood up and looked around. He fixed the 12 of us in the eye, and said, "I hope none of you thinks you're going to get a job in archaeology. Because there aren't any! We're producing an educated electorate."

I stayed on for two years and researched the medieval salt town of Nantwich. I did survey work on Iron Age hillforts down the central Cheshire ridge. Lloyd Laing, who'd written extensively about the Dark Ages and the Celtic fringe, was a lecturer at Liverpool and he'd done some work at the Mote of Mark in Dumfriesshire. So we went back in 1979 and had an amazing season of excavation on the top of that hill on the edge of the Irish sea, an epic site. When you weren't being drenched by rain, you were being eaten alive by the midges.

The Thatcher government of the time cut funding to universities, so the option of staying on in Liverpool or getting a job in any university was negligible. My then wife started a teacher training course in Durham, so I set about trying to write up my Nantwich research while I was looking after our first son. We were poor as church mice.

I applied for a job to write reports on excavations in the late Saxon and medieval town of Southampton, and I joined Southampton Museums in March 1982 on an annually renewable contract. There was a team of six there, funded by the Department of the Environment and the City Council.

Within 18 months, with the government's job creation programme, we had about 120 people digging in the town. It was quite an extraordinary time, and Southampton in the 80s was an amazing place to be in terms of archaeology, with everything going on in the city and at the university – we were heavily involved with the World Archaeological Congress in 1986, and I was fortunate to be able to go and work with Mark Brisbane in Novgorod in 1989 and 1990.

When I had left Durham it was pouring down with rain. I got off the train in Southampton and it was a glorious sunny day, not a cloud in the sky. Bob Thomson met me at the station, and the first thing he said to me was, "Welcome to the south!" But I'm a northerner at heart. I was born in Darlington, my Mum and Dad were born there and their parents were born there. The north to me is a very special place. So when a job in York was advertised, I thought, wow, that's an opportunity! I applied, and started work on 16 October 1989.

1988/89 was a year of great disasters that changed the way archaeology is carried out in this country – the Huggin Hill Roman baths and the Rose Theatre in London, and the Queen's Hotel here in York. The Queen's Hotel site, in the heart of the Roman *colonia*, had remained empty since demolition in 1972. It was clearly

J OXLEY

of huge archaeological potential, but as was the way then, that was never factored into planning decisions and a new office block with a 4m deep basement was approved. Before construction, the York Archaeological Trust (YAT) were able to get on site and do a limited amount of work which demonstrated the sheer quality of the surviving deposits: remains of this demolished Georgian coaching inn, medieval tenements, Anglo-Scandinavian waterlogged deposits, and underneath all of that this enormous Roman building with walls standing 2m high. A significant amount of that was destroyed without any record.

There was a huge public outcry. A revised foundation proposal was submitted and the YAT were given a bit more money, but effectively development went ahead. The council was a Labour administration acutely aware that the city was dependent upon railways and chocolates for employment, and that these were industries in decline. They wanted to attract office-based employment, and they had identified 35 suitable sites. The Queen's Hotel was the very first one to come through. Archaeology blew that programme out of the water: it had the potential to stop or severely curtail development on each of those other 34 sites.

Intense engagement

Once everybody had stopped shouting at each other, the City Council agreed a new way forward. They would appoint consultants: how could you put new offices in very sensitive archaeological cities? And they needed their own archaeological advisors to scrutinise every planning application. English Heritage funded both of those things, and York's urban archaeological database and my post came out of that. Geoff Wainwright was among those who interviewed me for the job [see My archaeology Mar/Apr 2006/87]. He thought very highly of the work we'd done in Southampton, and it helped that I'd never actually excavated with YAT. He was of the view that the council shouldn't be relying on advice from an external organisation with its own archaeological interests. He was very supportive of YAT's work, but he saw that the planning authority needed to be separate from the units who were delivering the archaeological services.

We'd been moving in that direction in Southampton, with an archaeologist advising the planning department. The difference was the council was paying for the work. That "polluter pays" idea only became viable post PPG16 [planning policy guidance 16], which was published in November 1990. Working alongside development management is such a powerful place to be. You are part of the very fabric of decision making, you are part of the team. It shifts the way in which your advice is viewed. Here in York that's been incredibly successful.

The archaeology is amazing. Apart from London, perhaps, there's nowhere in the UK quite like York in terms of the intensity of the debate around how the archaeology should be carried out. Ove Arup prepared a report which demonstrated that you could build anything in York and have foundations which destroy less than 5% of the deposits. This allowed us to find a way of ensuring that the city could continue to develop, but not at the expense of the archaeology.

Our main focus has been on trying to preserve archaeological deposits for the future, but we allow development to take place subject to rigorous evaluation. Where opportunities for long-term, well-funded archaeological research excavations arise, then we try and make those happen, as for instance at Hungate between 2006 and 2011. This was the largest excavation ever in York, funded by developers and led by the YAT. It had an amazing range of deposits, from the 19th- and early 20th-century city, to ninth- and tenth-century tenements with beautiful tiger-striped red-black layers relating to industrial activity, and this wonderful agricultural Roman landscape that had been used for burials.

A series of Roman decapitated burials on Driffield Terrace hit the headlines in the mid 2000s as being a gladiator cemetery. We were able to use that dramatic narrative to really capture people's imagination. It is critically important to have continued support for what we do. People who lived in the city were having that conversation – are they or are they not gladiators? – with their elected members, with councillors. From an archaeological perspective, the interpretation was interesting and contentious. From a public heritage management point of view, it provided this intense point of engagement: it emphasised to politicians the importance that their electorate gives to archaeology.

I'm very proud of what I've done in York. When I came here in 1989 there was distrust between different organisations, and the council had no policy for dealing with archaeology and realising its conflicting ambitions. I've been able to resolve those conflicts. I've been able to ensure that development can take place, but not at the expense of archaeology. We now have over 30 community archaeology groups in and around the city of York. The council itself has moved from a position where it regarded archaeology as this thing to be feared, this huge problem, to being part of York's case as a potential World Heritage Site which the council has adopted as a strategic objective. Now archaeology, heritage and the historic environment are central to what makes York a special place to live in.



KANE CUNNINGHAM

John Oxley (centre) at a community archaeology project at a deserted medieval settlement, Hanging Grimston

Studying archaeology is one of the best things you can do, because it equips you with so many different skills. Even if you can't use them to earn a living as an archaeologist, you'll have those skills for life and you can use them in any other job. There are jobs in archaeology, but it's not easy. You have to be totally committed. You have to have the academic background and the practical skills, and you've got to understand what it is that you want to be able to do. If you succeed, it's one of the most rewarding things you can actually do.

I retire at the end of December, but I don't think you can not be an archaeologist. Archaeology is a way of life.

Interview Mike Pitts



Barnham: Home is where the hearth is

An old clay pit in Barnham, Suffolk, has been yielding remains of early human activity for over a century. Renewed excavations are finding exceptional evidence for animals and vegetation, with flint artefacts and signs of fire from 400,000 years ago. Nick Ashton, Rob Davis, Simon Lewis and Simon Parfitt report on a site of international significance

When Euston Hall burnt down in 1902, no one could have predicted that it would have an impact on Palaeolithic archaeology. The hall was the seat of the Duke of Grafton, whose family had already played a role in scientific discovery when a cousin, Robert Fitzroy, captained HMS Beagle and set sail with Charles Darwin in 1831. Over 70 years later the clay pit at Barnham rapidly expanded to make bricks for the rebuilding of the fire-struck hall. Discoveries of elephant bones and handaxes were soon recorded from the pit and so the site entered into the annals of the British Palaeolithic.

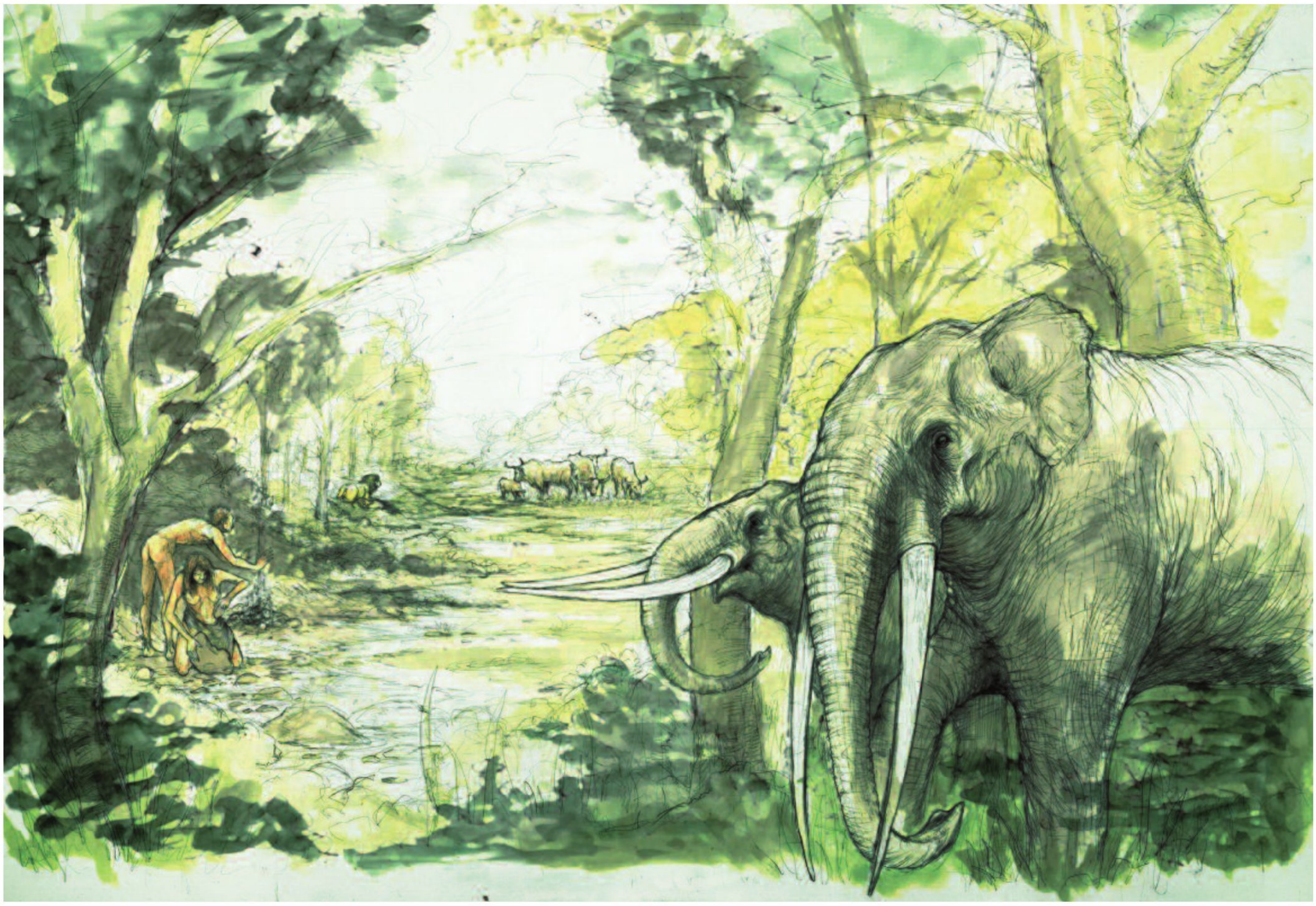
The now wooded clay pit, just south of the quiet village of Barnham in Suffolk, is still being investigated today. Seasonal excavations since 2013 are fast establishing it as a critical site for understanding our distant relatives from some 400,000 years ago.

Life around a pond

The site lies in a dry valley, flanked by Chalk, till – mixed glacial debris – and glacial gravels, which also underlie the valley-bottom sediments. The glacial deposits were laid down by ice sheets in the Anglian, the most extensive of the British glaciations, some 450,000 years ago. As climate warmed and the ice retreated, a new drainage system with rivers, lakes and ponds was established across the glacially remoulded landscape. One such pond at Barnham gradually filled with grey silty-clay through the first half of the warm period – the Hoxnian Interglacial (425,000–390,000 years ago). As the pond became choked with sediment, vegetation encroached and soil developed across the basin, marked by a thin black clay or palaeosol, an ancient soil, sealing the underlying grey silty-clay. Hillwash and other slope deposits, consisting of brown clays or "brickearths", then gradually filled the valley bottom.



The grey silty-clay reaches a depth of 5m in the centre of the basin and preserves a remarkable environmental record; it has been excavated in Area 111, one of the places where we are working now (see plan opposite). Pollen preserved within the sediments charts the vegetational succession from open tundra, through the arrival of pioneering birch and pine, to the establishment of full deciduous woodland. Remains of molluscs and vertebrates also survive. A wide range of fish, such as trout, tench, roach, rudd and pike reflect still or sluggish water with a stream connection to the local river network. Over 17 different species of amphibians and reptiles have been found, with everything from frogs,



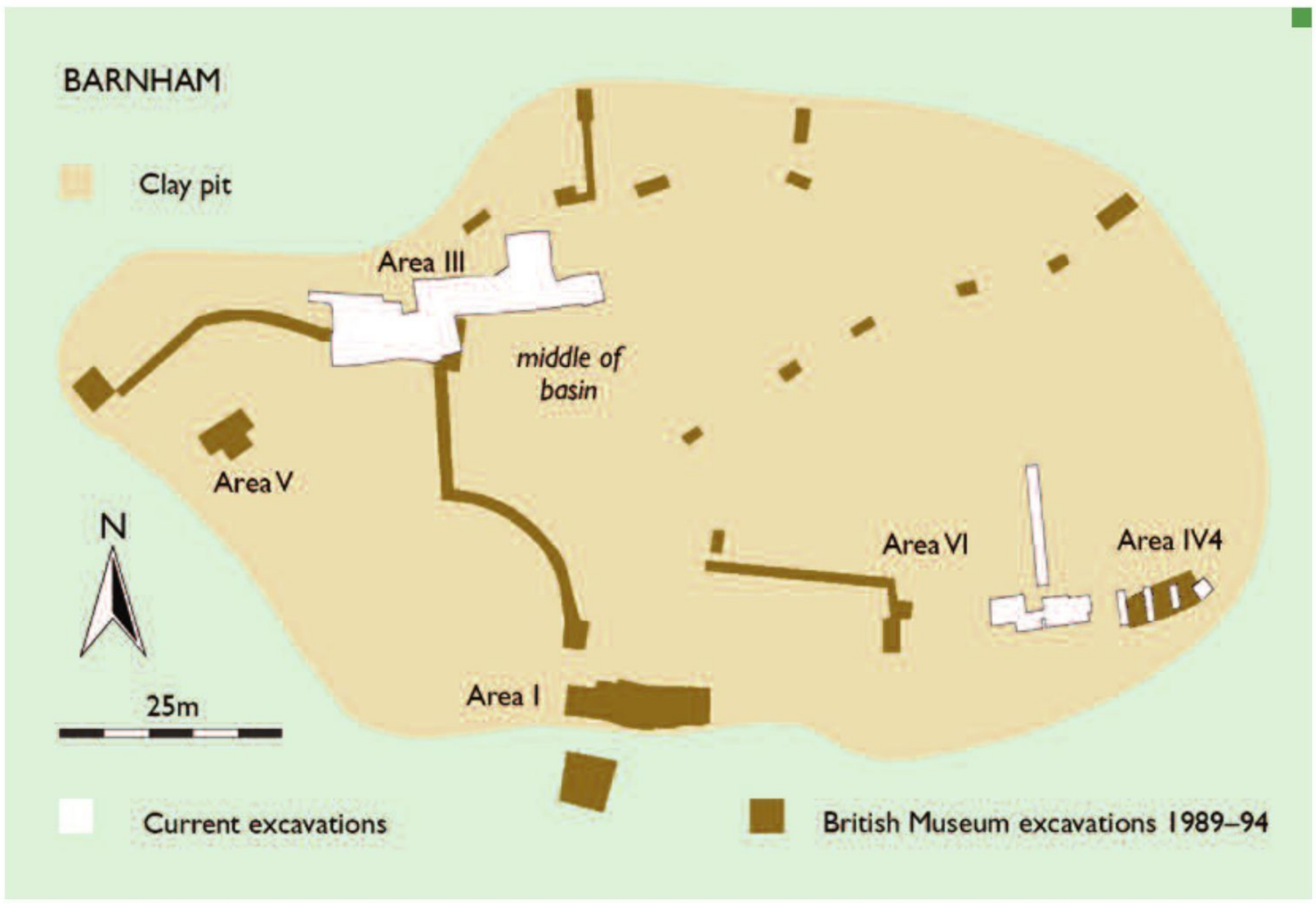
CRAIG WILLIAMS

Above: Animals and people gather round a wooded pond at Barnham 400,000 years ago, painted by Craig Williams

toads and newts to snakes and lizards. European tree frog, pond terrapin and Aesculapian snake require long, warm summers for breeding, suggesting that temperatures were at least 2°C warmer than present-day averages of 17°C.

There is an even wider range of mammals; moles, voles, water voles and shrews abound alongside more unusual species, such as the semi-aquatic Russian desman that today inhabit wetlands in the valleys of the Don, Volga and Ural rivers. We have also found remains of rabbit, squirrel and badger, together with wild boar, red and fallow deer, and aurochs (large wild cattle). Teeth and bones from extinct rhinoceros and elephant survive as fragments, perhaps trampled underfoot by their relatives. The elephant is the straight-tusked form, whose bulls stood up to 4m high, weighing in at almost 10 tonnes. Some of the foot bones from a particularly big cat have yet to be identified to species, but may be from an extremely large lion or the sabre-toothed *Homotherium*.

Together, the plant and animal remains paint a vivid picture of a small, stream-fed pond, rich in wildlife, surrounded by a mosaic of open grassland and mixed oak forest. This small backwater, off the main valley, was a focus for watering game including deer, bovids, rhinoceros and elephant, with the occasional lion or sabre-toothed cat lurking in readiness for the next kill. But the large cat was not the only hunter. Humans were also visitors to the site.



ROB DAVIS/CBA

Right: The current project in the Barnham clay pit is the second in which the British Museum has been involved

JORDAN MANSFIELD (2)



Humans come & go

The grey silty-clay thins towards the fringes of the former pond, so that at the edge it is less than 30cm thick. Unfortunately it is decalcified there, so bone does not survive. The silty-clay immediately overlies coarse lag gravel consisting of large flint cobbles. The cobbles formed a valuable source of flint for making tools, and most of our human evidence consists of the flakes, flake tools, cores and a few handaxes that they left behind. The artefacts mainly occur on and in the cobbles and within the overlying silty-clay, which was then sealed by the same palaeosol as found above the pond deposits.

From work in the 1930s the site had been one of the flagships of the "Clactonian v Acheulean" debate, where people with simple flake tools (Clactonian) were said to have been succeeded by a group who benefitted from more sophisticated handaxes (Acheulean), although this had never been properly demonstrated. Our work in the 1990s appeared to show that this was not the case, and that we were dealing with a single human group (see feature May 1995/4).

One of the basic rules of archaeology should be to never re-excavate one of your own sites – you will almost certainly end up with a different interpretation. This is indeed what happened. We had originally dug Barnham in the early 1990s, and came to a reasonable conclusion that in one area of exposed cobbles (Area 1) a human group were simply making flakes and tools from cores. And only 50m away (in Area 1v4) the same group were also making the occasional handaxe on the same cobble surface – a simple case of doing different things in different places.

Since 2013 we have opened up new trenches that bridge the 50m gap between Areas 1 and 1v4, revealing a more complex geological situation. We have now established that the core and flake assemblage is indeed associated with the cobble surface, but the handaxes are being recovered from the overlying palaeosol. The new sections in Area 1v4 show that the palaeosol did not develop in this part of the site, and that the cobbles were exposed for longer, allowing handaxe-makers to work on the same surface at a later time. In this area we have a palimpsest of two different assemblages on the cobble surface, which are separated out into different sediments in other parts of the site.

Above: Excavation of grey silty-clays infilling a former pond in Area III, looking north-east



Right: In Area III clay diggers quarried out rectangular pits, leaving blocks of undisturbed grey silty-clay which provide useful sections through the sediment and areas for excavation

When did the first group arrive? To address this we need to examine the artefacts that are thinly dispersed in the grey silty-clay in the middle of the pit with the detailed environmental sequence. The Hoxnian is divided into four successive pollen zones (I-IV), but just the first two of the zones are represented at Barnham. So far most of the artefacts are from the top 1m of the grey silty-clay, which suggests that the first group arrived during zone II, when deciduous forest was becoming established. But we have dug only small areas that go deeper into the silty-clays, and we need to expand these excavations to really answer this question.

Further questions are when did the handaxe-makers arrive, and how long after the the first group left? Could their arrival be linked to the environmental disruption of widespread deforestation seen across northern Europe, perhaps caused by volcanic clouds or a meteor strike? Handaxes first appear at the very top of the sequence as the pond was drying out, vegetation encroached and the soil developed. This seems to correspond with either the end of pollen zone II or beginning of zone III as the oak forest matured. But we need better pollen preservation at the very top of the sequence to see whether the second human arrival corresponds to the deforestation event. It is difficult to measure the time gap between the groups, but it could have been a few generations or less.



JORDAN MANSFIELD (2)

Above: A 3D photogrammetry model of Area III

Burning question

Around the fringes of the basin are concentrations of burnt flint and occasionally burnt artefacts and charcoal, associated with the handaxes in the palaeosol. For some reason charcoal has rarely survived. But was the burning caused by people or was it simply a natural forest fire? The high density of burnt flint in one area suggests human fire-use, but could that be an indication of a lightning strike or other more limited natural fire? Answering these questions is not easy, so we have adopted a cautious approach using an array of geochemical and experimental techniques.

Infrared spectroscopy is one of several methods that we are using to determine burning of sediments and the likely temperatures. Initial results show that some of the sediments were heated, suggesting localised burning. Much more laboratory work is required and this is only one step on the journey to establishing fire-use.

The geochemical work is also part of a series of fire experiments where we can begin to control some of the variables. The first experiments by Josh Hogue and Becky Scott have been designed to understand the effects of burning on flint and sediment within, beneath and adjacent to a fire. They have used probes in different locations to establish temperatures during and after the burning with set parameters, such as sediment type, wood type and weight, and duration of feeding the fire. Once the hearths are cold, they have excavated them, taken sediment samples and recorded the effects on flints.

There are many experiments to

Below: All the grey silty-clay from Area III is wet-sieved through a fine mesh to recover small vertebrate remains



JORDAN MANSFIELD (2)



Left: The carapace from European pond terrapin suggests that summers at Barnham were at least 2°C warmer than present

go, but a few consistent results are beginning to emerge. It seems that temperatures tend to be about 500°C at the base of the fire, can reach 400°C in the ground beneath at 5cm down, but then drop off rapidly to about 100°C, where flint is not visibly altered. Flint in the centre of the fire is reduced to little more than dust, but towards the edge of the burning it has the characteristic cracking and reddening that we find with the archaeological burnt flint. Finally, longer burning may have a different effect on flint and sediment alteration. Forest fires tend to sweep through and burn quickly, whereas intentional fire is usually fed, and burns for longer. The experimental and archaeological results need to be compared to those from forest fires. Fortunately Thetford Forest is on our doorstep, where over 100 natural fires were recorded just last year, some of which were in deciduous woodland. With Forestry Commission help we hope to gain a better understanding of the effects of natural fire and make another step towards understanding the burning at Barnham.

Around the hearth

If fire-use can be identified at Barnham, it would be one of the three oldest sites in Europe with this evidence, all dating to about 400,000 years ago. One site is Menez-Dregan in Brittany, while the other is Beeches Pit near West Stow, a mere 10km down the road from Barnham. The fire at Beeches Pit is associated with flint tools including handaxes, as at Barnham, but more distinct hearths with burnt sediments have been identified.

The three sites have another feature in common – they are located in safe or peripheral parts of the landscape. Menez-Dregan was once a coastal cave looking south over the Bay of Biscay; humans had out-manoeuvred cave bears, lions or hyaenas for its use. Beeches Pit was sheltered beneath a chalk bluff on the fringes of the Lark valley with a spring-fed pond for fresh

Below: Foot bone in Area III, from a large lion or sabre-toothed cat (14cm long)





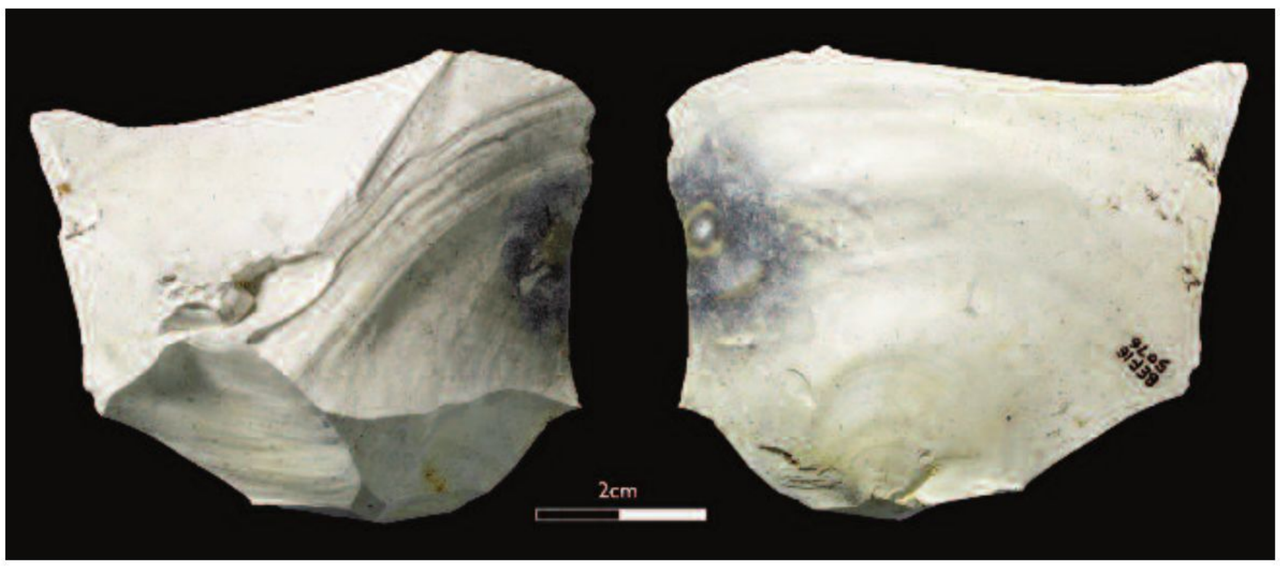
JORDAN MANSFIELD (4)

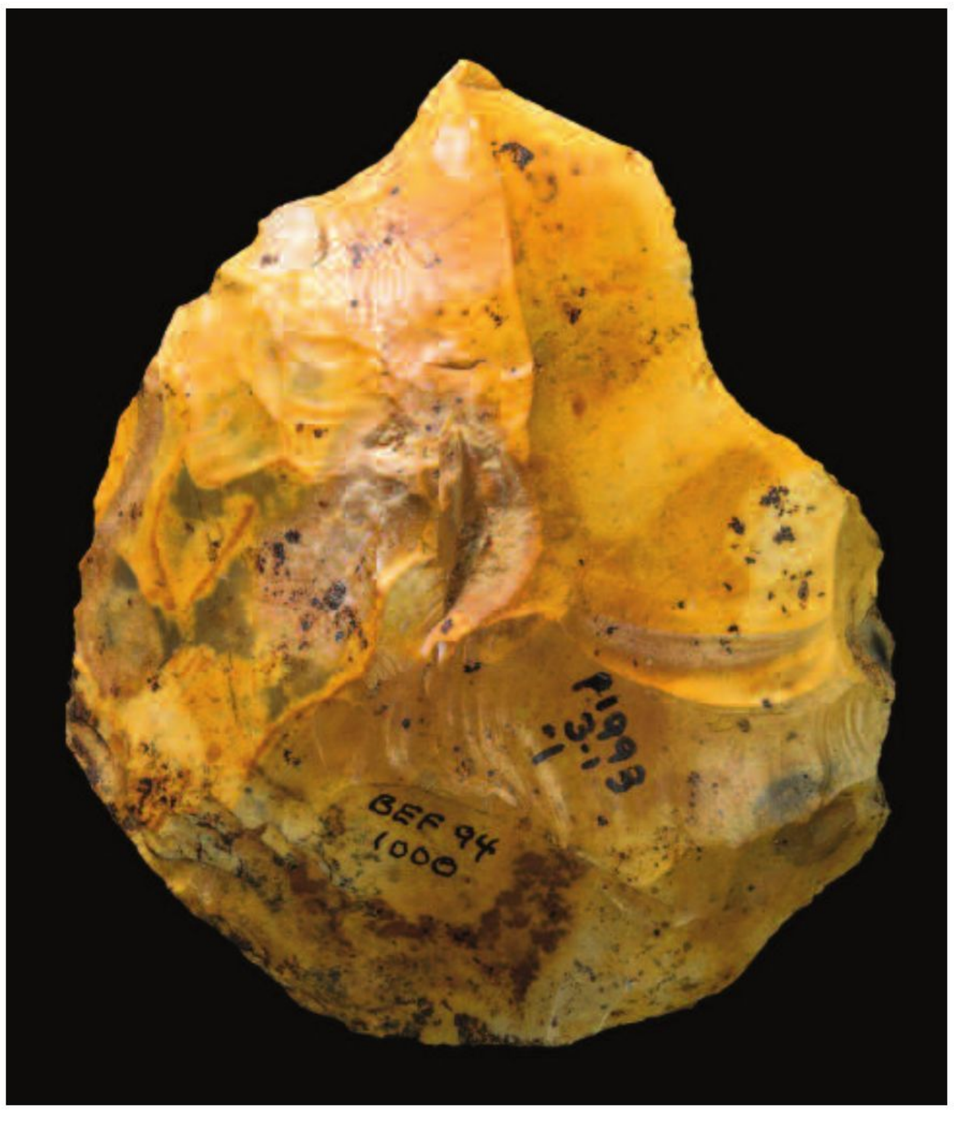
water. It is now becoming apparent that Barnham was in a similar landscape position, being near the head of a small, wooded valley, away from the main river valley of the Little Ouse.

Remains at many of our early Palaeolithic sites occur in river sediments, which were once open floodplains of the Thames, the former Solent or their tributaries. Even Boxgrove, the 500,000-year-old site near Chichester, West Sussex, was on an open coastal strip (feature Oct 1996/18). These were ideal hunting grounds with large herds of herbivores, but after dark they would have been treacherous places to camp. So with Barnham, Beeches Pit and Menez-Dregan, we are perhaps seeing a different aspect of life – the safe havens that today we call home.

Fire would have been a critical ingredient. Not only did it provide warmth and protection, but cooking killed pathogens and removed toxins, opening up a new array of food sources. Cooked meat freed up energy use in the gut, which could be exploited by that energy-hungry organ – the brain. Perhaps its most significant contribution was providing evening light and becoming a hub for social interaction. Was it around the hearth

Above: 3D model of Area 1 at the edge of the pond, with a cobble surface overlain by 30cm of decalcified silty-clay, sealed by a black-clay palaeosol (in section); over this is up to 4m of "brickearth"





Above: An extremely fresh flint flake from the grey silty-clay in Area III

Left: Flint handaxe from Area IV4

Below: Twisted ovate handaxe on the surface of the grey silty-clay in Area III, a third and final flint technology found at Barnham



JORDAN MANSFIELD



that the development of language, the beginnings of story-telling, and the emergence of early belief systems set us on the path towards the social animal that we are today?

Who were they?

We need to look to Europe to find out more about the successive groups of people who made Barnham their home. The first group with a tradition of core and flake manufacture probably entered Britain as the climate was warming in the first part of the Hoxnian Interglacial. Elsewhere we can see groups with similar material culture at Clacton, Essex, and the lower levels at Swanscombe, Kent. If we dig deeper at Beeches Pit we might also find evidence there. The second group, of handaxe-makers, seems to have arrived towards the peak of the interglacial and can also be seen at Swanscombe and Beeches Pit.

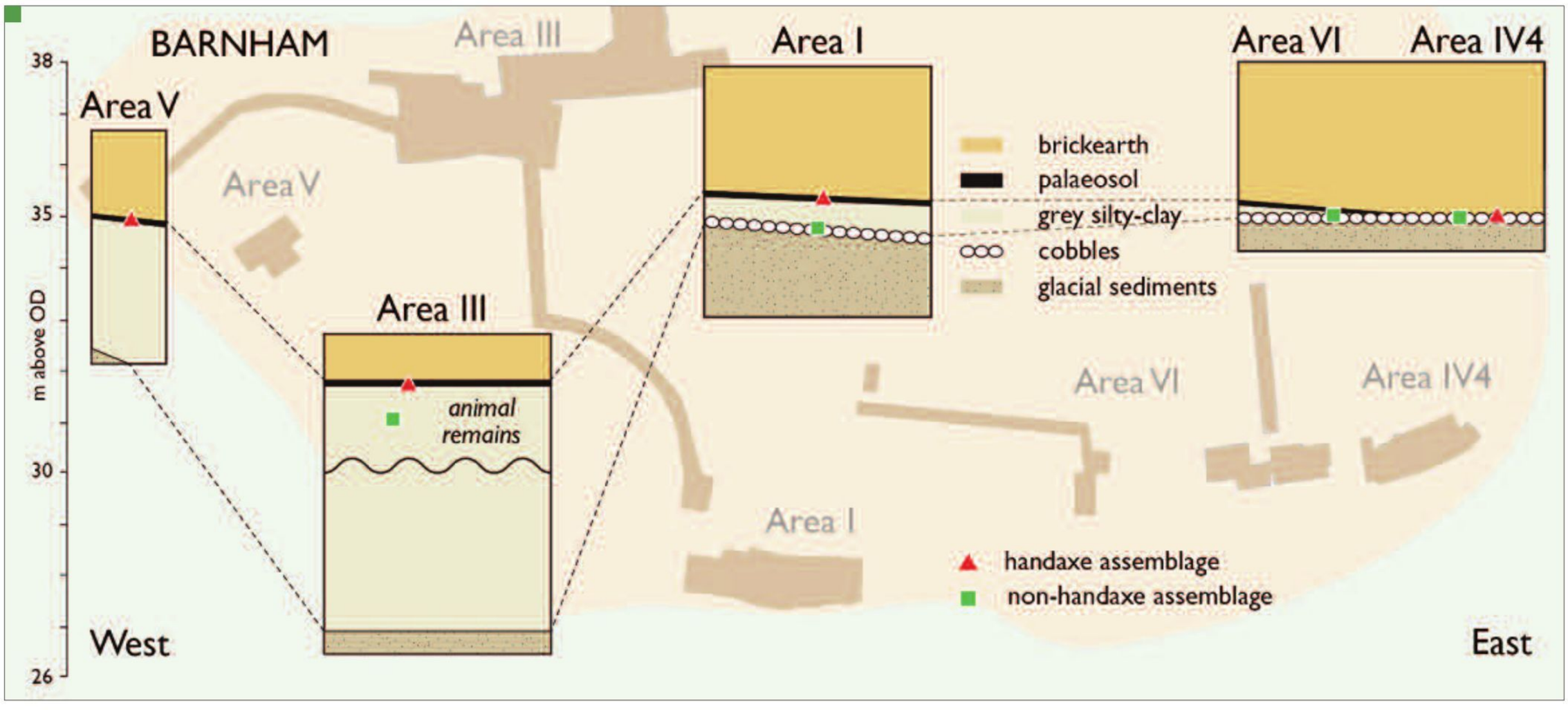
So where in mainland Europe might these people have come from? The situation is complex. Very few sites can be dated with the same precision as those in Britain. We also find a myriad of stone tool assemblages, some with and others without handaxes. People used different raw materials in different regions, some of which were less suited to making handaxes. At some sites in Italy archaeologists have found handaxes made from elephant bone, while several cave sites in France have handaxes in some levels, but not in others.

One way to interpret this complexity is to view the differences as showing localised material cultures that in part reflect the resources available and the needs of individual groups. Stylistic differences emerge, shown by handaxe form or other material possessions, and become embedded traditions. The different assemblages can be seen as a photo-montage that is difficult to disentangle due to the problems of dating and correlating the sites. In Britain we have the benefits of being a cul-de-sac of Europe, where we have clear images of at least two of these groups that happen to make the journey across the narrow land-bridge that probably still connected us to Europe.

The problem in making sense of the different material cultures in Europe seems to be increasingly mirrored by the

Above: Excavation of the cobble surface in Area IV4

Below: Schematic cross-section looking north (shown reversed) showing stratigraphic separation of core and flake, and handaxe assemblages in west and centre, but a palimpsest in Area IV4 at the east



CRAIG WILLIAMS/CBA

In Britain we have the benefits of being a cul-de-sac of Europe

complexity in the human fossil record. Until recently, the fossils were divided into *Homo heidelbergensis* and early *Homo neanderthalensis*. But now some fossils seem to have features of both, while the status of *H heidelbergensis* has also been questioned. New aDNA work highlights the complexity, but also promises to bring better understanding.

As for Barnham, we will continue working to try and answer this and many other questions. It is a critical time in history, when humans had a more sustained occupation of Europe and new technologies such as fire-use began to emerge. Critically, brain-size had approached modern levels, increasing memory, enabling more complex relationships, better communication and the building of wider social networks that distinguish humans from our closest primate cousins. It is hoped that among the excellent bone preserved at Barnham we will find human fossils, giving us critical clues to the emergence of humans 400,000 years ago.

This feature is written on behalf of the Barnham project staff: Claire Harris, Marcus Hatch, Peter Hoare, Josh Hogue, Sophie Hunter, Tudor Bryn Jones, Mark Lewis, Claire Lucas, Jordan Mansfield, Simon O'Connor, Sylvia Peglar, Becky Scott and Craig Williams. The work is being undertaken with the generous support of the Euston Estate, the Heading family and PR *International. The research is part of the Pathways to Ancient Britain project, funded by the Calleva Foundation, and of the Breckland Palaeolithic Project, funded by the Leverhulme Trust. Nick Ashton is curator of Palaeolithic & Mesolithic collections and Rob Davis is a postdoctoral research assistant, both at the British Museum; Simon Lewis is professor of Quaternary science, at the School of Geography, Queen Mary University of London; Simon Parfitt is a principal research associate at* UCL



JORDAN MANSFIELD (2)

Right: Excavation of burnt flint in the palaeosol



Right: Experimental fire above buried flints; probes regularly measure temperatures at different places during and after burning

PAX AHIMSA GETHEN/WIKIMEDIA/CC BY-SA 4.0



Counter-protesters in San Francisco in 2017, at a Patriot Prayer march which they accused of attracting white supremacists

Should *British Archaeology* stop using "Anglo-Saxon"?



St Stephen's Hall, a public route into the Palace of Westminster, is lined with art celebrating British history

A row has blown up in an academic field known for the study of early literature, fine crafts, weaponry and migrations: Anglo-Saxon England. The term "Anglo-Saxon", some say, should be dropped, as racist and divisive. Ten archaeologists and historians reveal their take

Election campaigns never go without the odd hitch. In 2012 Mitt Romney hoped to become president of the United States. The *Daily Telegraph* reported that an aide had said that Romney's "Anglo-Saxon heritage" gave him a better understanding of US and UK "shared history" than Barack Obama. Romney's team, accused of racism, denied the comment. The discourse is less subtle today. Earlier this year a politician excused president Trump from accusations of racism by identifying as a person of colour himself – "I'm white. I'm an Anglo-Saxon."

"Anglo-Saxon" has two meanings: one historically and geographically specific, and favoured by academics over the still popular "Dark Ages", the other referring to a modern transatlantic culture or the wider English-speaking world. The latter's elision with a notion of white racial superiority has been traced back to 16th-century England, was empowered at the height of the British Empire and in 19th-century America, and is today explicit in white supremacist speech, especially outside the UK; some far-right groups appropriate medieval nomenclautre and imagery (Spoilheap Nov/Dec 2019/169).

This has become more than a theoretical divide. In 2017 the International Society of Anglo-Saxonists (ISAS) met in Hawaii to consider "global perspectives". Adam Miyashiro, an Asian-Polynesian medievalist, complained that the conference did not address a "racist understanding of the term 'Anglo-Saxon'". This September Mary Rambaran-Olm, ISAS second vice-president, resigned at a meeting in Washington. ISAS had refused to change its name. Further resignations followed, abusive arguments occurred on social media, and ISAS voted for a name change, not yet implemented.

The debate has troubled UK academics. Should "Anglo-Saxon" be dropped in a field where it appears in everything from journal titles to excavated house-types? Would doing so be giving in to extremists? Why does it matter? *British Archaeology* asked many of those who have blogged or spoken on the subject for comment. Several declined for fear of further abuse on social media. We are especially grateful to those who have contributed to this special feature, thoughtfully expressing a range of views. We make no judgment, but welcome your comments on a matter of public interest. We start with those who would drop "Anglo-Saxon".



Below: Colin Gill's mural (1925–27) shows Alfred the Great, self-styled "King of the Anglo-Saxons", defeating a Danish fleet at Swanage Bay in 877

M PITTS (2)



Erik Wade

The early English preferred the term *Englisc* when speaking of themselves. While sources sometimes refer to the "Angles and Saxons," the much rarer compound term "Anglo-Saxon" survives mostly in the Latin titles of kings or in sources from outside England, where it served to distinguish the English Saxons from the continental Saxons. The term appears almost exclusively in Latin. It occurs only three times in Old English. In the 19th century, "Anglo-Saxon" became the preferred historical term when it became synonymous with "white." The current fervour over scholars using a different term lays bare this supposedly historical term's racial, national roots. Scholars retired the term "Aryan," for instance, after World War 2, a model for how to contend with terminology that has become attractive to racists.

Erik Wade is a visiting lecturer at the University of Bonn



Mary Rambaran-Olm

Historically, people in early England or *Englelond* did not call themselves "Anglo-Saxons". The term was used sporadically during the early English period, but by and large, the people in early medieval England referred to themselves as *Englisc* or *Anglecynn*. There is evidence that people on mainland Europe referred to the early English people using Latinate forms of "Anglo-Saxon", but within early England it was sparsely used and such uses were mainly found in regal documents. It wasn't until the 18th and 19th centuries that "Anglo-Saxon" gained popularity, mostly for racial segregation and to promote white superiority. Today, white supremacists misuse the term to mean "white" (which is untrue of the period) and to falsely claim indigeneity to Britain when the separate tribes referenced were migrants. Today, scholars in my field are coming together to interrogate this term's use to reflect accuracy in our work. No term is perfect but both "early English" or "early medieval English" represent the people in early medieval England more accurately.

Mary Rambaran-Olm is a literary historian and palaeographer of early medieval England, also specialising in digital humanities



Mary Dockray-Miller

For more than 150 years, the term "Anglo-Saxons" has connoted "implicitly superior white people" in much of UK and US conventional discourse. Some academics now insist on the possibility of a highly specialised usage, referencing only a specific chronology and geography. However, the racism embedded in the mainstream use of the term inevitably seeps into its academic meaning, reinforcing the field's whiteness and discouraging students of colour from entering the field at all. Members of the Medievalists of Color organisation have repeatedly attempted to educate the field at large about their experiences of racism and exclusion within academic medieval studies; resistance of some scholars to this information indicates inability to look beyond white privilege and academic hierarchy towards a multicultural, global understanding of the Middle Ages and history writ large. "Anglo-Saxon" is on its way to the dustbin already occupied by terms like "oriental" and "negro". At some point, I hope sooner rather than later, it will no longer be appropriate in active discourse, inside or outside the academy.

Mary Dockray-Miller is humanities professor in the College of Liberal Arts & Sciences, Lesley University, Cambridge Massachusetts



Catherine Clarke

Debates around the future of our field – and the language we use within it – have been particularly relevant to me, not only as a medievalist, but also as convenor of the strand known as "Anglo-Saxon Studies" at the annual Leeds International Medieval Congress (IMC). In 2018, we convened a roundtable at the IMC to reflect on the past 25 years – and future – of our field. Questions of inclusivity and diversity emerged very prominently in the discussion, as did concerns around the terminology "Anglo-Saxon". The strand name at the IMC has now been changed, provisionally, to "Early Medieval England", sitting alongside existing strands including "Celtic Studies", "Scandinavian Studies" and "Late Antique & Early

Medieval Studies" – though the IMC plans a broader review of all its programming strands in early 2020.

In the 2019 IMC programme, it was noticeable that many scholars were already choosing to identify their work as "early medieval English" – so the formal name change is in many ways following shifts already visible in scholarly practice. But it's important to recognise that the current conversation isn't just about names and vocabulary. Changing a name is meaningless without an intellectual rationale, and also without wider moves towards transformation and inclusivity in our field. The work of scholars such as Susan Oosthuizen has reminded us how "beset with difficulties" the phrase "Anglo-Saxon" really is, based on the complex, messy evidence of early medieval ethnicities and cultures. Others point, quite rightly, to the dangerous ways in which this terminology is misrepresented, appropriated and mobilised by right-wing and racist groups today. We may not have a perfectly satisfactory alternative name, but if colleagues are telling us that current language is hurtful and toxic, we can do better. Most importantly, we have a duty, all of us, to be attentive to diverse viewpoints, be mutually respectful, and work towards building a supportive, welcoming and inclusive field together.

Catherine Clarke is chair in the history of people, place & community at the Institute of Historical Research



Jo Story

One key issue in this debate is the teaching of medieval and earlier history in UK schools, where "Anglo-Saxon England" forms part of the National Curriculum for Key Stages 1 and 2, alongside Prehistory, Roman Britain, Vikings and the Norman Conquest. Universities across the UK have worked closely with schools, publishers, exam boards and other organisations to enhance this curriculum, and to develop teaching materials that enrich children's understanding and challenge teleological tendencies that might come with a chronological approach to the past. Particularly important in this respect has been the work done by the Runnymede Trust, which is the UK's leading Race Relations think-tank, on the award-winning website Our Migration Story (www.ourmigrationstory.org.uk). This seeks to ensure that migration is understood as a constant factor in the long-term peopling of Britain, and – importantly in this context – that "the Anglo-Saxons" are not construed as indigenous in narratives that start with the Norman Conquest.

Jo Story is professor of early medieval history, University of Leicester



Howard Williams

I've long been uncomfortable and publicly critical of the academic use of the term "Anglo-Saxon", given its complex history in nationalist, imperial and colonial contexts where its overt racial associations are shifting but persistent. I have worked at two Welsh higher education institutions, and work and live today in the Anglo-Welsh borderlands where these terms are particularly sensitive.

Most scholars in the field see a cautious and critical stance to the use of "Anglo-Saxon" as essential, although I continue to see uncritical use in both scholarly research and public-facing arenas. Still, I wouldn't consider a blanket policing of the term itself as a constructive or beneficial way forward. There is no ready replacement, and purging terminologies ignores its widespread use, not only across multiple disciplines, but also its wider presence in commercial, governmental, heritage and educational contexts as a shorthand for the mid/late first millennium AD in southern and eastern Britain. Academics can always adapt and shift their use of specialist labels, but abandoning the term "Anglo-Saxon" would not help us reach audiences within and beyond academia, and it would concede intellectual and historical territory to extremists and fringe narratives.

Howard Williams is professor of archaeology, University of Chester



Duncan Sayer

Ancient DNA from skeletal material from the fifth/sixth centuries shows that the past was complex and pluralistic. Describing people then as "Anglo-Saxon" is convenient, but it can be misleading – indeed our prehistoric colleagues may suggest it is even "culture historical". Nonetheless, "Anglo-Saxon" describes a cultural and political situation with roots in the deep past. Nether Gildas, writing in the sixth century, nor Bede in the eighth, used the term. In the ninth century Alfred the Great described his unified realm as "Anglo-Saxon", but the use did not persist. In post-Reformation England, the Anglo-Saxon idea gained traction, and in the 19th century the Anglo-Saxon poems were translated. Importantly, people in the fifth and sixth centuries did not

think of themselves as Anglo-Saxons, because post-Roman migrants did not define themselves in biological terms. The use of early medieval symbols and mythology by the "popular right" is worrying, but scholars from the diverse fields of genetics, literature, history and archaeology describe plurality and complexity, and do not espouse misguided populist objectives.

Duncan Sayer is professor of archaeology and director of the UClan Research Centre for Field Archaeology & Forensic Taphonomy at the University of Central Lancashire



Rohini Jayatilaka

As a member of the International Society of Anglo-Saxonists (ISAS) for nearly three decades – I became a life member shortly after I joined as a postgraduate student – I have been observing with utter dismay the debate about nomenclature. Many Anglo-Saxon scholars, including myself, have not wished to enter the debate on the public ISAS forum, since the few who have argued for the relevance of the term in an intellectual context have been soundly pilloried. "Anglo-Saxon" should remain a valid and succinct term to describe England from the departure of the Romans in the fifth century until the Norman Conquest of 1066. It encapsulates a specific period in England's history, as Merovingian or Carolingian do in Europe.

I came to Anglo-Saxon studies by a circuitous route. I was born and brought up in the former British colony of Ceylon (now Sri Lanka), of Sinhalese and Irish parentage, and since the island had been ruled by colonial powers for several centuries I was fortunate enough to be steeped in a very mixed cultural heritage from birth. I went through a British-style educational system and grew up appreciating the value of history in shaping a nation and its people. In the mid-1970s my family moved to America due to Sri Lanka's political upheaval, where I completed my undergraduate degree and began postgraduate studies. Inspiring tutors piqued my interest in early European medieval history and archaeology. My long interest in Buddhist monasticism in Sri Lanka stimulated my interest in the Benedictine Rule in Anglo-Saxon England, and England seemed the obvious place to complete my postgraduate work.

I have since worked with colleagues from a wide range of backgrounds and countries: England, Ireland, Scotland, New Zealand, the Netherlands, Germany, France, Italy, Switzerland, Hungary, Romania, India, Japan, Australia, Canada, America, to name but a few. We have one important thing in common behind our diversity: we are all interested in the intellectual, cultural or historical study of Anglo-Saxon England. Many are members of the "International" Society of Anglo-Saxonists. Studies of England are not "owned" by any particular group. An insular American-based perspective only serves to feed the very biases that the discussion has raised. In my long career, nobody has ever suggested that it is odd for me to be doing Anglo-Saxon studies.

Racist connotations attached to "Anglo-Saxon" anywhere in the world are deplorable and should be condemned outright. But surely racism is based on ignorance, and should be countered through education, not by forcing a society of scholars to change its name? And what is to become of the names of projects such as the Sources of Anglo-Saxon Literary Culture or Fontes Anglo-Saxonici? Or of publications such as the peer-reviewed journal *Anglo-Saxon England*? White supremacists in Britain call themselves the English Defence League: are we to proscribe "English"? It is a sad statement when educators in any field bow to the demands of the ignorant.

Rohini Jayatilaka is an affiliated scholar at the Faculty of English, University of Oxford



Christine Rauer

My research focuses on literary history, where "Anglo-Saxon" serves as shorthand for Old English or Anglo-Latin. My current work is on early Mercian literary production (seventh to ninth centuries), for which I sometimes need to refer to the wider context of the later Anglo-Saxon period.

"Anglo-Saxon" is everywhere: many of us have the term written into our biographies. It is in the names of institutions, publications and places of publication, funding bodies, departments and job titles. More than 100,000 people saw a recent British Library exhibition, "Anglo-Saxon Kingdoms". In my particular field, the *Old English Newsletter* bibliography lists 5,000 items with "Anglo-Saxon" in their titles. Anyone seriously investigating England of this time will need to engage with the term regularly. It brings together historians, archaeologists, literary experts, art historians and linguists, and not only from the English-speaking world. It's not perfect, but may be the best, or one of the more practical options.

It is the larger field of medieval history, not just Anglo-Saxon studies, that is tainted by racist appropriations. The terrorist who committed the recent New Zealand mass murder had inscribed his weapon with "Charles Martel", "[Battle of] Tours 732", "[Siege of] Acre 1189" and "Odo the Great". In the context of Brexit and growing nationalist tendencies within the UK and elsewhere, replacing "Anglo-Saxon" with "English" or "medieval", in professional or general contexts, seems futile to me; it also disrupts the communication between academics and members of the public in the UK.

Would we ask biologists to stop using the word "bird" because some people use it abusively to refer to women? Language should be allowed to evolve naturally and gradually, following informed, individual preference, not driven by ideology or politics.

Allowing individual scholars the freedom to choose their own preferred vocabulary will help us put our differences and divisions aside, and focus on the history and culture of the period we study. Anglo-Saxon studies is open to everyone, regardless of ethnicity or background. I am myself a non-native speaker of English, with a family background from outside the English-speaking world.

Christine Rauer is reader at the School of English, University of St Andrews



John Hines

The fifth to 11th centuries were a formative stage for an European power framework that has conditioned interaction with the wider world for more than 1,500 years. Modern research, teaching and writing about those early centuries are of great relevance and potential to us all. In the UK we enjoy broadcasts, exhibitions and accessible literature that present this period to the public in a responsible and informative manner.

An equivalent to "Anglo-Saxon" appeared first on the continent in the late eighth century and was adopted in the West Saxon court a century later. In the tenth century this was one of several terms used in the emerging kingdom of England. It fell out of use, but from the mid-19th century it displaced "Saxon" for historical references to pre-Norman England, when the cultural heterogeneity of this population became evident. While "Old English" became the preferred term for the language, "Anglo-Saxon" was regularised as a collective label in archaeology and art history.

It denotes a readily identifiable, fluid cultural complex with open borders, and no unitary linguistic, territorial or political field. Clear scholarship and debate cannot continue without this term. It is a precisely defined concept in archaeology and history, art history and palaeography, indispensable to any contextualisation of Old English language and literature. "Early Medieval England/English" is too ambiguous and inaccurate; the "Early Medieval" is a very different period for half of Europe and in some fields of British archaeology. Defining the boundaries of "England" and identifying the "English" would be contentious and would impose a barrier to engagement.

Word perceptions change, and we must appreciate the strength of objection, particularly in the United States, to how "Anglo-Saxon" can be misused. To impose a global taboo on the term, however, would widen divisions and hinder communication. We certainly must reach out to groups who may perceive this area of study as irrelevant to them. For generations, Anglo-Saxon studies have grown in range and significance into what is now a diverse and fertile educational field with so much to offer students, scholars and enthusiasts from all walks of life. In generosity of spirit, that is what we should keep focused on.

John Hines is professor of archaeology at the School of History, Archaeology & Religion, Cardiff University ■



"Anglo-Saxon" is everywhere – but has its time come?





Troy stories

How ancient myths became modern sagas

Nearly a century and a half ago the British Museum declined Heinrich Schliemann's offer to show finds from Troy. Now it is making amends with the UK's first major Troy exhibition. To prepare readers for the winter blockbuster, Andrew Shapland and Lesley Fitton introduce the archaeology of a famous World Heritage Site

The ancient Greeks told a story of heroes who fought a war against the powerful city of Troy. After a ten-year siege, they built a wooden horse large enough to conceal armed warriors, and tricked the Trojans into pulling it into their city. It fell, and its people were killed, enslaved or forced to flee.

We know about the Trojan War because it was central to Greek thought and art, and narrated in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, epic poems attributed to Homer. Inspired by the legend and its characters – beautiful Helen, swift Achilles and Odysseus,



NATIONAL MUSEET DENMARK/ROBERTA FORTUNA & KIRA URSEM

Right: On one of two Roman silver cups from Hoby, Denmark, Priam kisses Achilles' hand, begging for the body of his son, Hector (first century AD, 13.5cm across)

who devised the famous horse – travellers visited the Troad in modern Turkey, beside the Dardanelles, a narrow strait leading into the Black Sea that borders Europe and Asia. In the 19th century archaeologists claimed to identify the city itself.

The story of Troy, with its universal themes of violence and destruction, love, despair and hope, continues to speak to people across cultures and through time. The archaeology too fascinates, not least because it appears to offer the possibility of answering the question: did the Trojan War actually happen? Excavations, to which the name of Heinrich Schliemann (1822–90) will forever be linked, revealed Troy to be a tell – a great mound of



TRUSTEES OF THE BRITISH MUSEUM, BRITISH MUSEUM/CBA

settlement debris accumulated over generations – known as Hissarlik. Schliemann's were the first large excavations there, but he was not the first to dig. The story begins in the mid-18th century.

Finding Troy

The Greek city of Ilion (Roman Ilium) was widely accepted by Classical writers as the site of Troy and the Trojan War. The city became a place of pilgrimage in the ancient world for this reason. But it was felt that no traces remained of the Troy of which Priam was king, because the story said that it was annihilated after the Greek victory – and naturally, in this pre-archaeology era, no one dug to seek the earlier remains beneath the Greek and Roman cities. Then the matter was hugely confused by the influential geographer Strabo, who wrote that the Ilion/Ilium of his own day was some distance away from the Troy of the Trojan War. After the end of antiquity, the location of Ilion/Ilium was also lost, but because of Strabo's misinformation, even when it was relocated it was not recognised as the site of the Troy of the Trojan War. By this time, too, there was another contender.

Above : View of Bounarbashi by Sir William Gell; he thought it was Troy (1804)

Rght: During the archaeological search for Troy (which eventually settled on Hissarlik) excavations were conducted at Sigeion, Thymbra and the strongest alternative contender, Bounarbashi



Below: A marble sarcophagus lid featuring the model horse and other Trojan War scenes, probably from Rome (late 2nd century AD, 2.1m long)

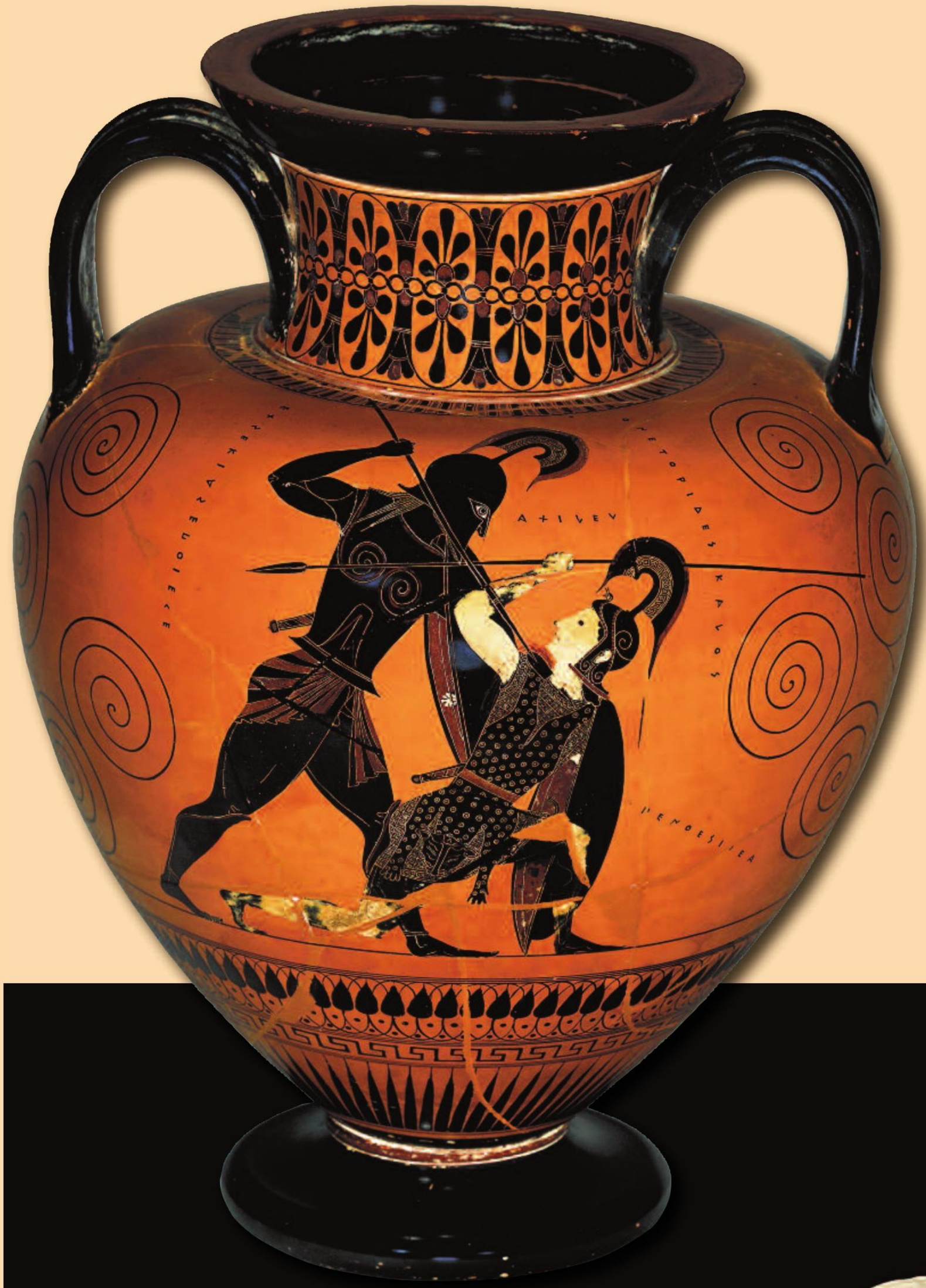
Among the first travellers to study the Troad in detail was Robert Wood (1717–71), a British scholar and member of parliament, who visited in 1742 and 1750–51. His lead was followed by an extensive cartographic survey set up by the Comte de Choiseul-Gouffier (1752–1817), French ambassador to the Sublime Porte, as the government of the Ottoman Empire was known. The Comte began in 1784, and was soon joined by Jean-Baptiste Chevalier (1752–1836), the Comte's personal secretary. Chevalier came up with a theory, which he first described publicly in Edinburgh in 1791, that Troy was to be sought near the modern village of Bounarbashi.

Two years later, Franz Kauffer, an engineer also employed by Choiseul-Gouffier, published a map that showed the mound of Hissarlik as an ancient site. In 1801, Edward Clarke (1769–1822), an English cleric and traveller, used coins and inscriptions to identify this site as Ilion/Ilium. However, the Bounarbashi theory held sway, and it was accepted by William Gell (1777–1836), a celebrated English archaeologist, topographer and artist,



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TRUSTEES OF THE BRITISH MUSEUM



who published his detailed account in *The Topography of Troy* (1804).

It was left to a distinguished Scottish journalist, Charles Maclaren (1782–1866), to revive the Ilium theory in a book published in 1822. His conclusion at first went relatively unnoticed. In 1847 he visited the Troad to see the sites for himself, and finally in 1863, at the age of 80, he published a revised version of his work, confidently titled *The Plain of Troy Described & the Identity of the Ilium of Homer with the New Ilium of Strabo Proved*.

Meanwhile, the first excavation in the Troad had been conducted in 1787, under Choiseul-Gouffier's orders, by Salomon Gormezano at the so-called "tumulus of Achilles" near Sigeion. The Calverts, a land-owning English family based in Turkey and involved in the consular service, conducted significant fieldwork, first at Hanay Tepe, a mound at Thymbra (1853).

Left: Achilles falls in love as he kills queen Penthesilea, defending Troy, on an amphora from Vulci, Italy (c 530BC, 41cm high)

Below: The Wounded Achilles, a marble by Filippo Albacini (1777–1858) in Chatsworth House; Achilles was said to have been shot by Paris in the heel, the only part of his body not protected by dipping in the River Styx when he was an infant (1825, 2m across)

CHATSWORTH SETTLEMENT TRUSTEES

John Brunton, an engineer serving in the British Army Works Corps, ordered 150 men to excavate at "Ilium Novum" (New Troy, as opposed to Bounarbashi, which was "Ilium Vetus" or Old Troy), after the Crimean War ended in 1856 and without realising the site's significance, "fearing they might [otherwise] get into mischief".

Frank Calvert began excavating at Ilium Novum in 1863; he also dug at Bounarbashi at around the same time, identifying the site with ancient Gergis. That autumn he wrote to Charles Newton, keeper of the newly formed Greek & Roman Department at the British Museum, offering his services, his lands and finds from the site to the museum. The trustees asked for more information, and the matter was dropped. In 1868 he was visited by another explorer. Calvert encouraged him to excavate at Hissarlik, a message his visitor put into practice within two years. He was Heinrich Schliemann.

Controversial treasures

Schliemann became the hero in his own myth, an example of a great life shaped through hard work and perseverance. His success in business meant that by his late 30s he had acquired a great fortune, and he decided to travel, visiting Egypt, India, China and Japan. This trip, and the book he wrote about it, *La Chine et le Japon au Temps Présent* (1867), helped him join the literary and intellectual scene of Paris, and he attended lectures at the Sorbonne.

His next book, *Ithaque, le Péloponnèse, Troie, Recherches Archéologiques* (1869), was based on his own diaries, which were heavily indebted to John Murray's *Handbooks for Travellers* and edited as if the archaeological research was his motivation for the journey, rather than mostly done on his return. Unusually, he was ready to hire local workers to excavate sites he visited, often without permission. At Ithaca he claimed to have uncovered Odysseus's palace and the cremated remains of Odysseus, Penelope and their children. Then he moved on to Mycenae, before reaching the Troad and digging at Bounarbashi for a couple of days – presented as serious archaeological research in his book, but appearing as less intensive and more dilettante in the diaries.

It was at the end of this trip that Schliemann visited Frank Calvert, whom he describes in his diary as "the famous archaeologist, who shares my opinion that Homer's Troy is none other than Hasserlik [sic]". There can be little doubt, however, that Schliemann wrote backdated diary entries after meeting Calvert, to make it look as if he had independently identified Troy; his dig at Bounarbashi then became an attempt not to prove it was Troy, but that it was not.

He began excavating at Hissarlik in April 1870. At first, continuing until 1873, he largely supervised the excavations himself. He made his most famous discovery in the western part of the mound, in the area of what he called the Scaean Gate: a hoard of metal objects of varying types, which he inevitably named Priam's Treasure. The discovery of the treasure became publicly known only after the end of the excavations, when Schliemann had returned to Athens. There he put it on display in his house, and as news of the sensational discovery spread, he announced it in the German press. Trying now to work out exactly what happened from Schliemann's notebooks and publications has proved difficult, and controversy continues to surround his finds.

He gave his Trojan collection to his native Germany, and it was displayed in Berlin in 1881. During the Second World War, some of Priam's Treasure, including the gold, along with other valuable artefacts from Troy, were moved to a heavily fortified tower in Berlin Zoo for safety. Only in the 1990s was it revealed that they had been

Below: Schliemann's photo of Priam's Treasure, from his Atlas Trojanischer Alterthümer (1874)



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TRUSTEES OF THE BRITISH MUSEUM



removed to Russia during the fall of Berlin, and divided between the Pushkin Museum in Moscow and the Hermitage in St Petersburg. They went back on display at the Pushkin in 1996, but their ownership remains contested. Even if Priam's Treasure was all found together, as Schliemann claimed, it is unlikely ever to be fully reunited.

Schliemann vindicated

Schliemann rapidly published a report of his discoveries, accompanied by an expensive two-volume *Atlas* with photos of the finds and excavations. An English version of the German original, published by John Murray with engravings and lithographs rather than photographic plates, appeared as *Troy & Its Remains* in 1875. Schliemann visited London, where he was well received. His supporters included Charles Newton and the prime minister, William Gladstone, a noted Homer scholar. There was some scepticism about Schliemann's attempts to associate his finds with the *Iliad*, but few disagreed that he had made an important archaeological discovery.

Legal problems with the Ottoman authorities forced Schliemann to look elsewhere, and in 1874 he returned to Mycenae. Typically, he began to excavate without the permission of the Greek government and was forced to stop after a week, but he overcame such difficulties and on November 28 1876, he telegrammed King George I of Greece to announce his discovery of the graves of Agamemnon and his followers. Once again, Schliemann had excavated a site with Homeric associations and made spectacular discoveries that were to have a lasting impact on both scholarship and the public imagination.

He was back in London in 1877, giving a triumphant lecture about Mycenae at the Society of Antiquaries, which was featured in the *Illustrated London News*. He oversaw John Murray's publication of the excavations, again lavishly illustrated: he even persuaded a reluctant Gladstone to write the foreword, and Newton also made an important contribution. Pleased with his reception, he decided to exhibit his finds from Troy. After being turned down by the British Museum – it didn't have the space – the South Kensington Museum (now the V&A) stepped in, though the British Museum had earlier in the year acquired other Trojan objects, belonging to Frank Calvert, at Sotheby's.

Meanwhile Calvert and others had argued that there were problems with Schliemann's chronology for Troy, and it was pointed out that the putative contemporary Homeric remains from Mycenae were very different. Schliemann countered that the traditional date of the Trojan War of 1174BC must be wrong, as his finds at both Troy and Mycenae proved that it occurred at a much earlier date. His return to Troy from 1878 can be seen as a way of seeking to address such criticisms, and perhaps also to settle his own private doubts.

He had gathered around him a team of specialists. Rudolf Virchow (1821–1902), a distinguished anthropologist

Above: Excavations at Hissarlik in a watercolour by William Simpson, dispatched by the Illustrated London News to meet Heinrich Schliemann in 1877





Left: Photo published by Schliemann in 1874, showing the plain of Troy seen through the trench he dug into the centre of the Hissarlik tell

Right: Schliemann's excavations at Troy were treasure hunts on a large scale

ATLAS TROJANISCHER ALTERTHÜMER/HEIDELBERG UNIVERSITY LIBRARY (2)

and archaeologist, joined him in 1879 and undertook a survey of the Trojan Plain. Émile Burnouf (1821–1907), director of the French School at Athens, also worked with him. Frank Calvert joined the team, to dig at Hanay Tepe with funding from Schliemann. This proved to be mutually beneficial, with Calvert contributing to Schliemann's latest publication, *Ilios: The City & Country of the Trojans* (1880). The book did not mark a significant change in Schliemann's opinions, and opened with a familiar autobiography of over 60 pages. But unlike earlier publications, which had the feel of expanded excavation diaries, the tone strived to be scientific.

Schliemann was notoriously short-tempered with his critics and found it hard to ignore one in particular. Ernst Bötticher (1842–1930) published several articles suggesting that Hissarlik was not a settlement but a vast cremation ground, a theory that can only be described as half-baked. After a site visit in 1889, Bötticher accepted that Hissarlik was indeed a settlement, but refused to apologise. So early the next year Schliemann decided to press home his victory by inviting international delegates to Troy, who duly agreed on a supportive statement to be published in *The Times*. Having achieved this public endorsement, he died in Naples the day after Christmas, aged 68.

A long history

But if Hissarlik was Troy, the question remained: which Hissarlik? In 1880 Schliemann had recruited Wilhelm Dörpfeld (1853–1940), an architect, to be his assistant. Dörpfeld returned to excavate at Troy in 1893 and 1894, with the financial support first of Sophia Schliemann, Heinrich's widow, and then of the German state. Dörpfeld identified a large circuit wall with impressive battlements, and he had no hesitation in pronouncing it the Troy of Homer's poems. Given that the Mycenaean pottery associated with this sixth city meant that it was contemporary with the heavily defended sites in Greece at Mycenae and Tiryns, this was a more likely candidate for Homer's Troy than Schliemann's much smaller (and earlier) version. Both Calvert and Schliemann had missed the importance of this later wall, despite starting their excavations at the edge of the mound: Calvert had almost certainly found part of it, but no associated finds. Schliemann, too, appears to have dug through the wall of the sixth city and associated buildings.

Among those who had helped to establish the pottery sequence for mainland Greece was Carl Blegen (1887–1971). In 1932 he began excavations at Troy, organised by the University of Cincinnati and with Dörpfeld's blessing. The aim was to locate Troy within the chronological framework of the Aegean Bronze Age, and in doing so to understand more about the site's development and wider relations.

The excavations ran until 1938. As Blegen noted, "From the start [they] were planned as a work of sober, serious research, and there was no compulsion to recover objects of startling or sensational character with high publicity value." He deliberately left some areas unexcavated for future archaeologists, an opportunity grasped 50 years later by a joint project of the universities of Cincinnati and Tübingen (1988–2012). Manfred

Right: Heinrich Schliemann, painted in 1877 by Sidney Hodges (1829–1900) when the archaeologist was in London



STAATLICHE MUSEEN ZU BERLIN/MUSEUM FÜR VOR- UND FRÜHGESCHICHTE/CLAUDIA KLEIN

Below: Sophia Schliemann wearing "Helen's jewels" from Hissarlik



MUSEUM FÜR VOR- UND FRÜHGESCHICHTE/BERLIN

TRUSTEES OF THE BRITISH MUSEUM (2)



Above: Thetis Dipping Achilles in the River Styx, by Thomas Banks (1789), loaned by the V&A for the exhibition

Korfmann (Tübingen) was responsible for Bronze Age Troy, and Brian Rose (Cincinnati) focused on Greek and Roman times. Rose showed that Troy was already an important site at the time Homer composed the *Iliad*, around the eighth century BC. In turn, the Iliad reinforced Troy's importance as a place of pilgrimage.

The oldest levels of Troy (I–V) belong to the Early and Middle Bronze Ages, with Troy I–III grouped together as the Trojan Maritime Culture (3000–2200BC), with connections such as marble figurines across the Aegean; gold jewellery from Troy II is paralleled on the nearby island of Lemnos. Troy was one of many fortified sites in a wider Aegean exchange network, distinguished then by its strategic position at the entrance to the Black Sea. In the following Trojan Anatolian Culture (Troy IV–V, 2200–1750BC), by contrast, changes in architecture and pottery point inland.

Troy VI and VIIa (1750–1180BC) span the Middle and Late Bronze Ages, the era of palaces and empires in the Aegean and eastern Mediterranean. Evidence for relations between Troy

Below: Framing at the end of the main gallery in the British Museum exhibition evokes the wooden horse that helped bring ten years of siege at Troy to an end



and its neighbours comes in the form of Mycenaean pottery, which was also imitated locally, and Hittite texts. A wider collapse seen across the eastern Mediterranean at the end of the Bronze Age coincides with the apparently violent end of Troy VIIa.

The largest-scale building project occurred in Troy VIII (900–85BC, embracing the era of Classical Greece), when the top of the mound was levelled to form a precinct for a Temple to Athena. This probably removed the Late Bronze Age buildings here, and with them any evidence for written administration, but still left 14m of occupation levels intact when Calvert and Schliemann began to excavate.

The Cincinnati-Tübingen team surveyed the entire site using various geophysical techniques that revealed that the layout of the Roman city of Ilium spread south of the mound of Hissarlik. An area where Brunton had found mosaic floors in 1856 could now be understood in the context of a late Roman city. Roman emperors had supported building projects at Troy, partly to celebrate Aeneas' role in Rome's foundation. Rose suggests that the site was finally abandoned in the early seventh century AD, with limited reoccupation in the 13th century, after which it was turned over to farmland. Its mythical associations were forgotten.

Was there a Trojan War?

Debate over Troy raged for a century after Schliemann had gathered experts at Hissarlik to defend his theories, including over the question whether Hissarlik was really the site described by Homer. And if most archaeologists today are convinced that Hissarlik *is* Troy, the question of whether any support for the Trojan War has been found there is far more contentious. Archaeological evidence is rarely easy to reconcile with history, let alone myth.

The Trojan War became a historical event when the Greek historian Herodotus wrote that it had occurred 800 years before his own time, that is around 1250BC. In the middle ages the Fall of Troy was regarded as a significant event in human history, and it became widely accepted it had occurred in 1183

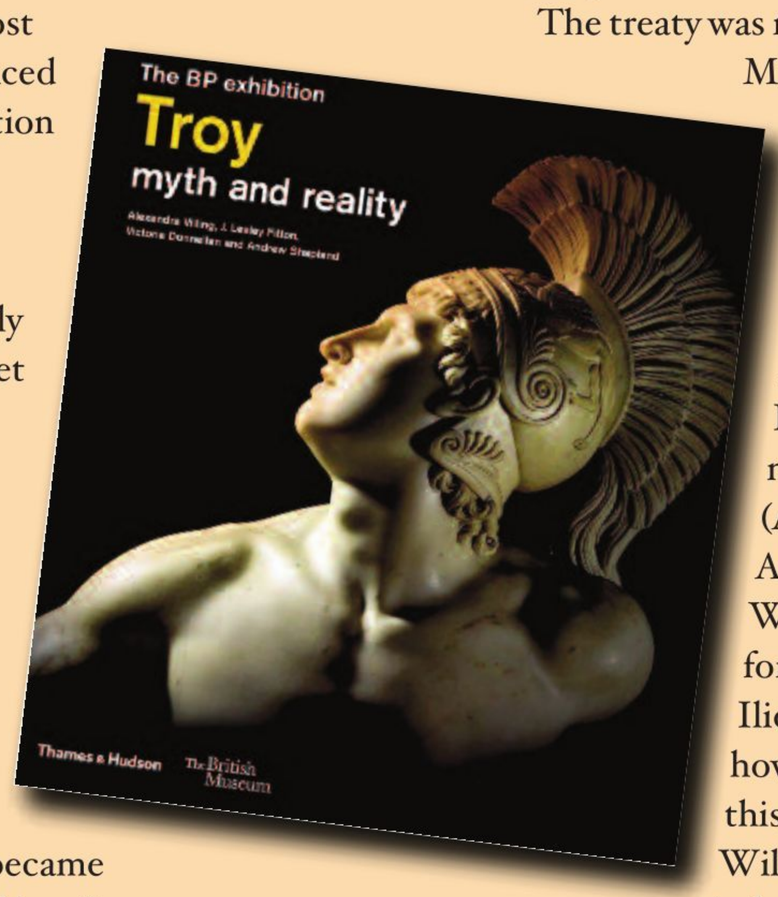


Above: Bronze Age face-pot from Troy (c 2550–1750BC, 28cm high)

or 1184BC. Despite Schliemann's best efforts, there is only one Bronze Age object with a readable inscription from Troy. This is a bronze disc, just over 2cm across, found by the German team in 1995. It is a seal, inscribed on both sides in a hieroglyphic script used in Bronze Age Anatolia, which has been partially deciphered as the names of a scribe and a woman, probably his wife.

Elsewhere, however, the search for scripts has proved more fruitful. Since excavations began at Boğazköy in central Anatolia in 1906, over 14,000 cuneiform tablets have been found. Two texts appear to have particular relevance to the question of the Trojan War: the *Alaksandu Treaty* and the *Tawagalawa Letter*.

The treaty was made between King Muwatalli II (ruled c 1295–1272BC) and a ruler called Alaksandu of Wilusa. It was long argued that Alaksandu could be Paris's alternative name in the *Iliad* (Alexandros or Alexander), and Wilusa the Hittite form of the Greek Ilios. The problem, however, was that this identification of Wilusa could not be independently proved.



A breakthrough came in 1998 when a distinguished Hittitologist, David Hawkins, published a decipherment of a hieroglyphic inscription carved on the rock face of a pass near Izmir in Turkey called the Karabel relief. Hawkins realised it described a boundary between two territories. Once the mapping was done, the only possible location that remained for Wilusa was the Troad – and the only known site there, large enough to have been its administrative centre in the Bronze Age, is Hissarlik. Wilusa and Ilios are thus one and the same.

The *Tawagalawa Letter* shows that, at least at some periods, the Hittite Empire and Mycenaean Greece were in conflict. Troy VIIa ended with signs of burning and remains of spears and arrowheads. For Blegen this was evidence for the Trojan War, but others have disagreed. He dated the end of Troy VIIa to around 1240BC, which would have fitted the Hittite-Ahhiyawa conflict, but archaeologists now place this as late as 1180BC.

This was a time of widespread destruction across the Aegean and wider eastern Mediterranean, sometimes blamed on marauding "Sea Peoples" in contemporary sources. Crucially, this was also the time that the Mycenaean palaces on the mainland were destroyed, making it difficult to argue that Mycenaeans sacked Troy.

The textual evidence offers a useful background, but archaeology offers no clues about the attackers' identity: it can neither confirm nor deny that the destruction was indeed the event that came to be described as the Trojan War. Schliemann's belief in the veracity of Homer, however, has been vindicated. The epic tale relates to the world of the Bronze Age Aegean, and a long history of contact and conflict in which the great city of Troy did indeed play a central role.

The BP exhibition Troy: Myth & Reality is at the British Museum until March 8 2020, with a catalogue of the same name published by Thames & Hudson in collaboration with the British Museum. Andrew Shapland is Sir Arthur Evans curator of Bronze Age & Classical Greece at the Ashmolean Museum, and Lesley Fitton is co-curator of the exhibition and former keeper, Department of Greece & Rome at the British Museum ■

STAATLICHE MUSEEN ZU BERLIN/MUSEUM FÜR VOR- UND FRÜHGESCHICHTE/CLAUDIA PLAMP

Nethermills Farm: anatomy of a lithic scatter

Nethermills Farm lies west of Aberdeen, in the settlement of Crathes on the north bank of the River Dee. Ancient stone tools have been collected from the cultivated fields here since the mid-20th century. They can be found over some 2km, and indicate a long history of activity from the Palaeolithic to the Bronze Age; the total collection numbers over 40,000 pieces. Excavation by James Kenworthy 40 years ago focused on a significant Mesolithic site, but investigated only a tiny portion of the area of archaeological interest.

The different collecting episodes have all been separately – but relatively uniformly – catalogued, making it possible to examine the development of our understanding over several decades. While previous research has often considered farming, and how finds moved about in the ploughsoil, little attention has been given to archaeologists: what differences are there between material found in an initial sweep across a field, and later collections? Many scatter sites are fieldwalked only once, with the perception that the sample recovered is representative. Such sites are an important archaeological resource, and understanding how we create them matters. I and my colleagues – listed in the endnote – wondered if Nethermills Farm could help?

Decades of collecting

Lithics were first identified in the fields at Nethermills Farm in the spring of 1973 and there have been six main periods of collection on the eastern fields (table opposite). As might be expected, analysis and reporting of this material has varied. Roger Daly's collection, around 500 pieces found in the 1990s, came to light only when we were test-pitting in 2019, and we have not yet been able to catalogue it.

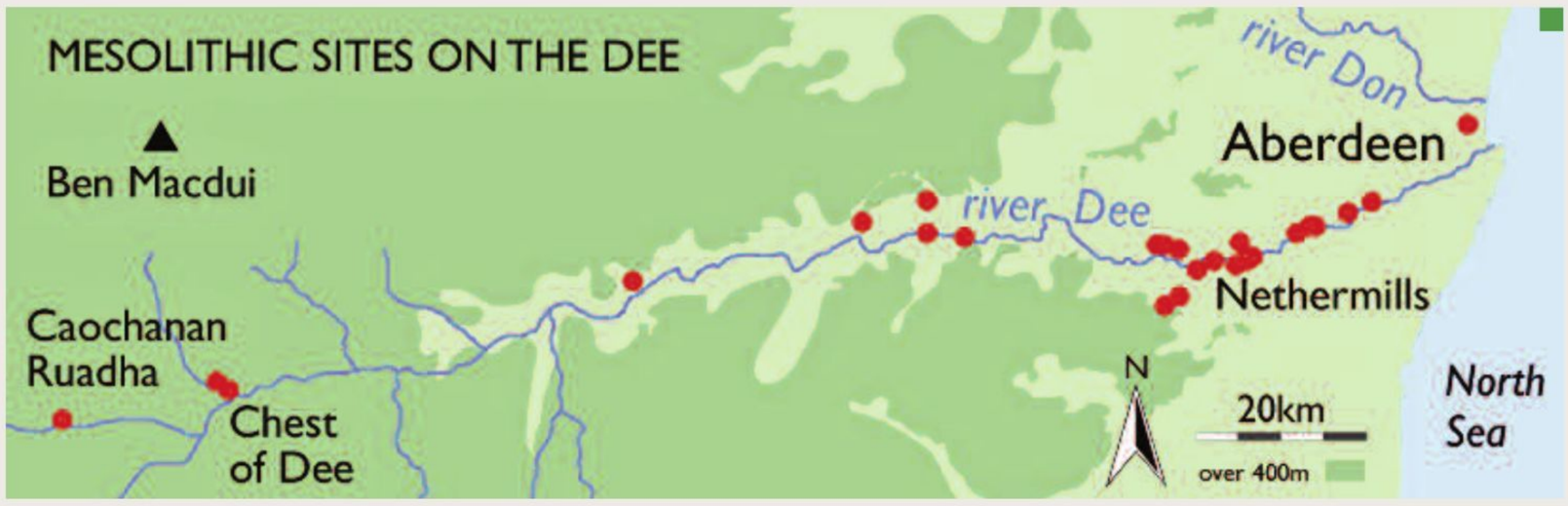
Starting in 1973 John Grieve collected across two adjoining fields but focused on three prolific hotspots. He lacked formal training, but compiled a basic catalogue, carefully studying relevant literature ("Mercer's



Below: Test-pitting at Nethermills Farm in 2019

C WICKHAM-JONES

What archaeologists call lithics – stone tools and manufacturing debris – lie scattered across the UK wherever people lived and worked in the more ancient past. Collections from cultivated land are a critical source of information. But how reliable are they? As Caroline Wickham-Jones explains, a long-running project near Aberdeen is helping to evaluate fieldwalking



C WICKHAM-JONES/CBA (3)

paper influenced, but not very impressed", he wrote of one report). His collection was archived by Aberdeen City Museums and never published.

Kenworthy excavated an area of roughly 110m² under Grieve's easternmost concentration. He analysed his finds extensively, but never completed the work. Torben Bjarke Ballin (a professional lithic specialist) resumed study in 2012, but as everything had been individually wrapped and bagged – around 30,000 pieces – it was impractical for him to examine more than a small portion. Kenworthy identified 2,750 "special" pieces, which we published as part of the excavation report in 2017.

OFARS – the Over Fifties Archaeological Research Society – covered both fields using 2m transects. Their collection has been catalogued in detail and published online by Heather Sabnis (trained by Kenworthy). Mesolithic Deeside also used 2m transects and focused on the easternmost field, where test-pitting took place in 2019; Ann Clarke (a professional lithic specialist) has analysed all that material.

Kenworthy set out to investigate a Mesolithic site indicated by Grieve's fieldwalking, finding stratified remains, including postholes and fragments of timber with bark remaining. In his final post-excavation work in 2016 he was unable to verify the structures' existence, and sadly test-pitting in 2019 indicated that continuing cultivation has destroyed this evidence. Nevertheless, it is clear that Mesolithic people repeatedly visited the area over a considerable period of time. Most of the excavated material related to the Late Mesolithic (8000–4000BC), but there was also some Neolithic and Bronze Age material (4000–1000BC), together with seven items of apparent Late Upper Palaeolithic date (13,000–9500BC). Radiocarbon determinations confirmed the principal activity dates from the sixth millennium BC to the late second millennium BC.

Above: Nethermills Farm is among a series of Mesolithic sites along the length of the River Dee (see News Sep/Oct 2015/144)

Right: Principal lithic collections from Nethermills Farm (flint only)

Date	Researcher	Technique	Pieces of flint
1973–74	John Grieve	Field collection	3,244
1978–81	James Kenworthy	Excavation	>30,000
1990s	Roger Daly	Field collection	c 500?
2009	OFARS	Field collection	4,593
2018	Mesolithic Deeside	Field collection	2,992
2019	University of Aberdeen	Test-pitting	433
TOTAL			>41,762

Blades, flakes & cores

Grieve's collection was catalogued and rebagged in 2018 to provide secure storage, and standardise recording with more recent work from the field. This allowed us to scrutinise an early collection (an oft-neglected resource), while also thinking about how site information accumulates across the decades. Reflexive work such as this, often overlooked, is an important part of fully understanding lithic scatter sites.

The most obvious result of Ballin's work on the Grieve Collection was to provide an accurate count. The collection contains material from several sites, and Aberdeen City Museum had previously registered a total of 6,736 pieces, while an earlier study by Daly noted 8,775. There are 5,701 pieces in the collection today. Discrepancies are likely to be due partly to problems with the original bags, and partly to the vagaries of previous research. In one or two cases whole categories of artefact are missing, and it is possible that material has been removed for study or exhibition and not returned.

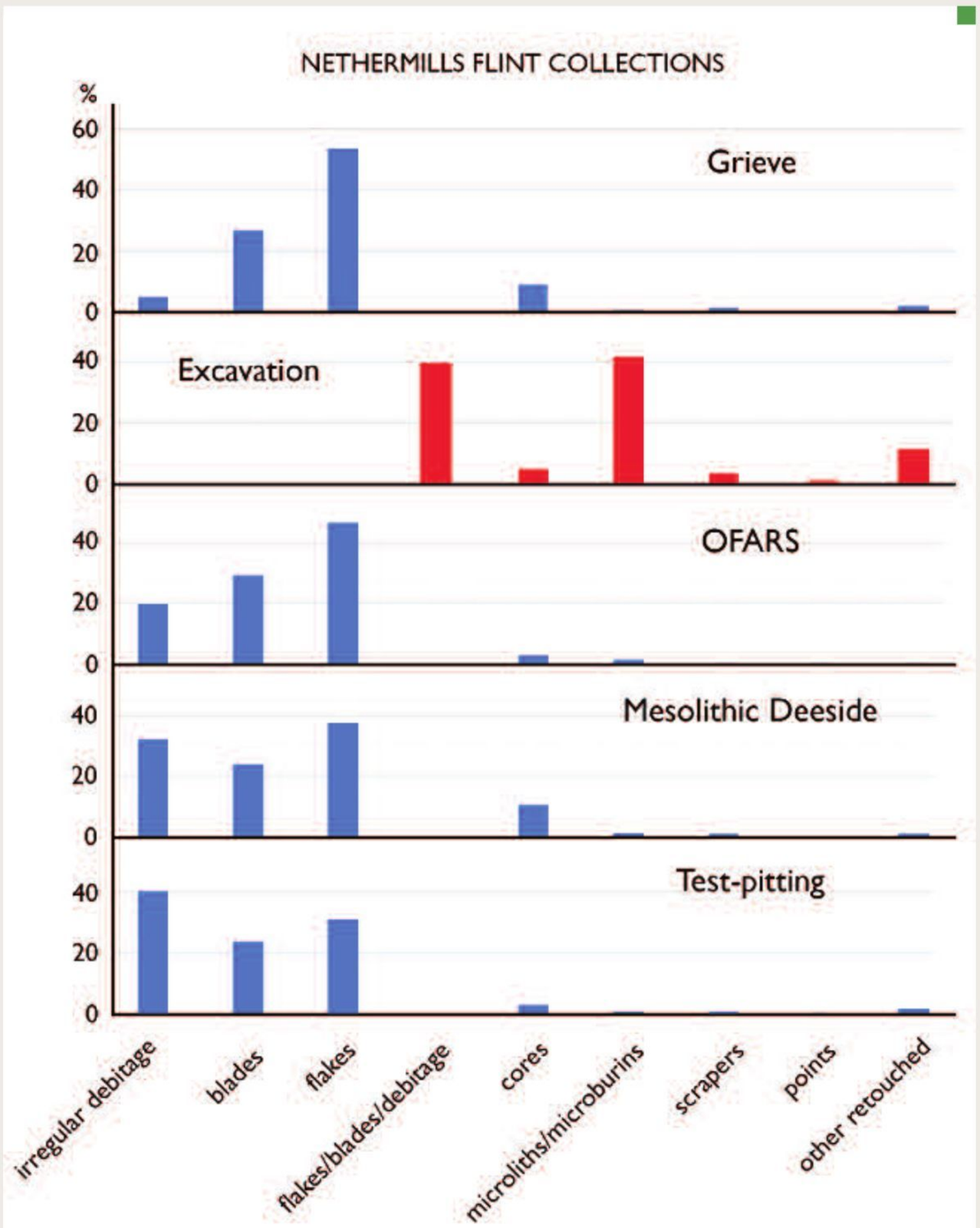
At Nethermills Farm Ballin recorded more pieces in Grieve's collection (3,244), than originally listed (3,151), though the difference is small (3%). Nevertheless, a number of unquantifiable biases have a bearing on the study, including the specific interests of individual collectors, the weather and the differing expertise of particular analysts. While scrutiny suggests that analysis has been reasonably consistent, some

Below: Composition of individual collections at Nethermills Farm (only 2,750 of 30,000 excavated pieces analysed)

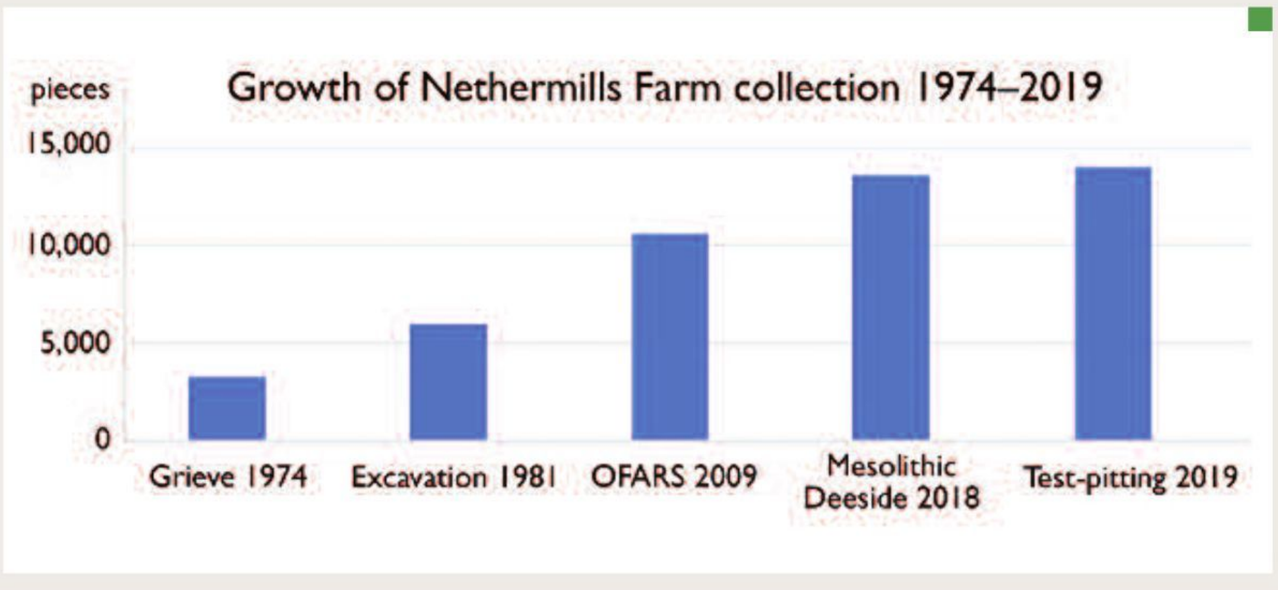
Collection	Grieve	Excavation	OFARS	Deeside	Test-pitting
Debitage	168		910	896	175
Blades	867		1,338	722	102
Flakes	1,738		2,131	1,125	134
Flakes/blades/debitage		1,085			
Cores	300	127	120	155	12
Microliths/microburins	30	1,147	70	34	1
Scrapers	49	81	17	32	2
Points	12	1	3		1
Other retouched	79	309	4	28	6
TOTAL	3,244	2,750*	4,593	2,992	433

C WICKHAM-JONES/CBA (3)

	Grieve	Excavation	OFARS	Deeside	Test Pitting
Irregular debitage	5		20	30	40
Blades	27		29	24	24
Flakes	54		46	38	31
Flakes/blades/debitage		39			
Cores	9	5	3	5	3
Retouched pieces	5	56	2	3	2
TOTAL	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Sample size	3,244	2,750	4,593	2,992	433



Above and left: Relative amounts of flint types within each assemblage at Nethermills Farm



Left: The total collection of studied material from Nethermills Farm has grown to around 40,000 pieces over 45 years

differences in definition and recognition are inevitable. In addition, over 90% of the excavated material has not been catalogued, and what has been analysed was selected because it was "interesting" in some way. We have ignored the rest of the excavated material here because the principal focus lies on how knowledge about the site has accrued.

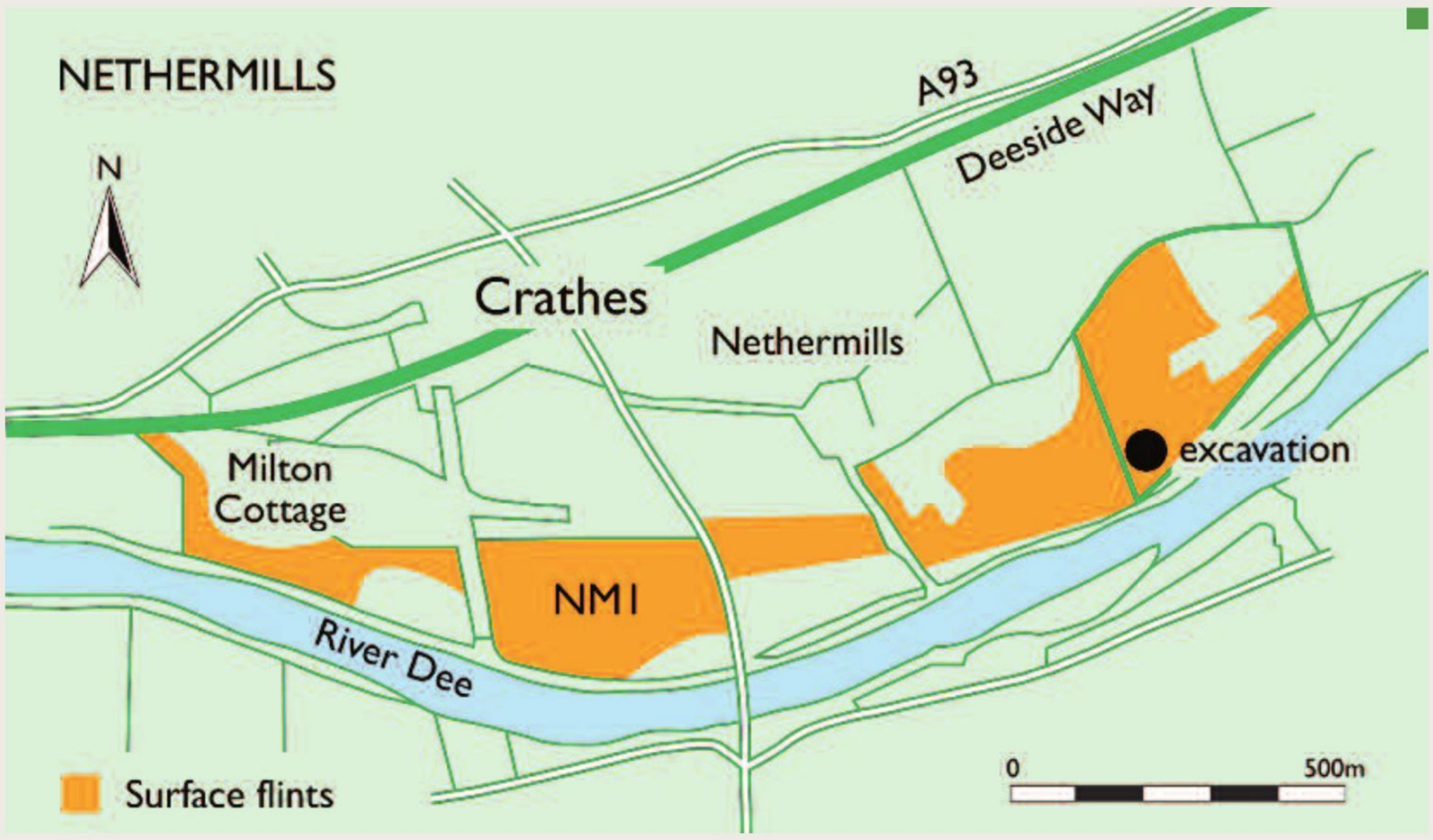
At first glance, there is some difference between the absolute totals of material from different collecting episodes. OFARS amassed the largest fieldwalked assemblage (4,593 pieces), while both Grieve and Mesolithic Deeside collected around 3,000 pieces. Grieve recovered mainly flakes, but also many blades (long narrow flakes) and cores, and though he was interested in Mesolithic material, there were few microliths. In general, Grieve recovered larger, chunkier pieces, though it is interesting how little debitage – the roughest material – he collected. Ballin found Grieve's blades to be wider (9–13mm) than those from the excavated sample (5–8mm). He also noted that Grieve collected more pieces with evidence of hard-hammer percussion than is common among local assemblages. Grieve did, however, recover Neolithic and Bronze Age arrowheads – three leaf-shaped points and eight barbed-and-tanged points. On balance, the lack of debitage suggests that Grieve may have been cherry-picking things that most interested him.

OFARS were particularly good at recognising blades and flakes. While they recovered more debitage than Grieve, their collection contained fewer cores, but they were good at spotting microliths. OFARS recovered both broad and narrow blades (a width range of 4–17mm), and their collection contains one large, unusual blade that may be Palaeolithic, as well as three leaf-shaped points. Mesolithic Deeside also collected a sizeable assemblage and were good at recovering debitage as well as blades and flakes. They collected many cores and, in general, they recovered many smaller pieces. Analysis by Mesolithic Deeside indicates that, while the spacing of fieldwalked transects influences the size of a collection, it has little impact on overall interpretation.

Not surprisingly, given that over 90% remains unanalysed, the excavated assemblage is different. While it contains fewer cores than the Grieve or Mesolithic Deeside collections, it has the greatest number of microliths. Whereas Grieve recovered nine broad-blade microliths and only one narrow-blade, most of the excavated microliths were narrow-blade. Both excavation and test-pitting used sieving to recover lithics, finding the smallest pieces.

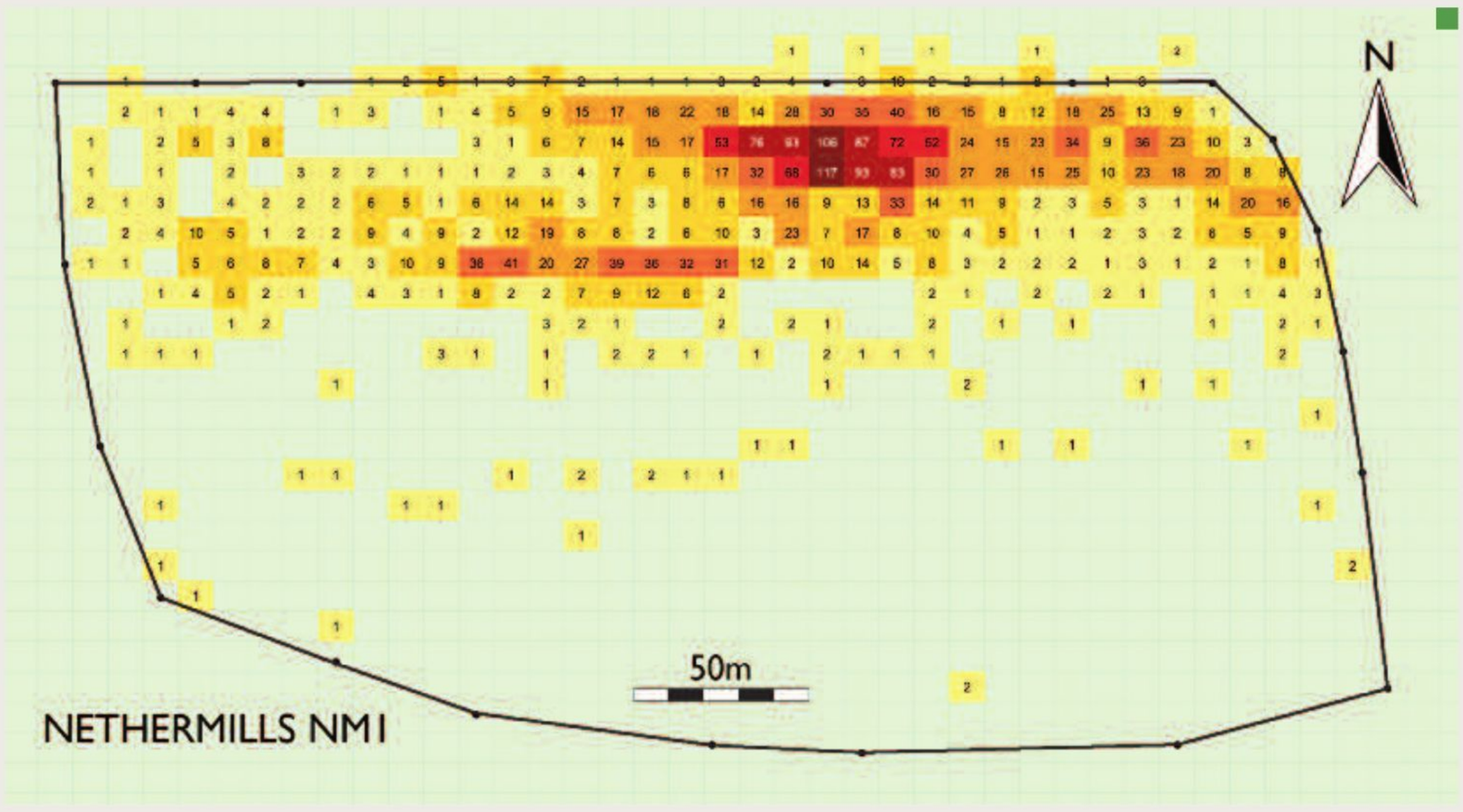
There is some difference between the relative contents of individual collections. The lack of debitage in Grieve perhaps means that flakes are over-represented; the proportion of irregular debitage increases with time and may reflect the growing importance archaeologists give to knapping techniques. It is also possible that recognisable blades and flakes were removed by earlier projects, leaving the bulk of the debitage for later. It's difficult to know whether the lack of material is due to unconscious bias or actual absence, and it should be remembered that Grieve was targeting "flint-rich" parts of the sites, so that other factors may have affected his collection. Research elsewhere indicates that different artefacts within ploughsoil tend to move differently over time, smaller pieces falling downwards and larger migrating towards the surface. Curiously, given the variation in other types, the proportion of blades is very consistent through collecting time. Grieve recovered a higher percentage of cores; not surprisingly, the excavated portion yielded a disproportionate amount of microliths and other retouched pieces.

Given these gross variations, it is interesting to see how understanding of the site has changed with each episode of work. Curiously, despite the gross differences between individual collections, general understanding of the area changes little through time, as each new episode of fieldwalking adds information to the previous view. Mesolithic activity was visible from the start. However, whereas Grieve's work suggested that the principal focus of activity dated to the earlier (broad-blade) Mesolithic, excavation showed there to have been a greater later (narrow-blade) component. This



AFTER WICKHAM-JONES ET LA 2016/CBA (2)

Main areas of lithics as collected over 50 years beside the Dee at Nethermills; see below for detail of field NM1



Artefacts collected in Nethermills field NM1 mapped by 10m square; colours range from 1–4 (light) to >104 (dark)



Nethermills excavation in 1981, showing the thin cover of ploughsoil

J KENWORTHY COLLECTION/HISTORIC ENVIRONMENT SCOTLAND



Above: Mesolithic Deeside volunteers preparing to fieldwalk at Nethermills Farm

was balanced by OFARS who also recovered broad-blade microliths, suggesting that the excavation area had its particular history.

Both Grieve and OFARS have Neolithic or Bronze Age points, while excavation produced a wider range of later material. Again, artefacts relating to the Late Upper Palaeolithic were recovered from the start, and later confirmed among the excavated material and the OFARS assemblage. However, these pieces would probably not have been identified as such by earlier analysis, as at the time a Scottish Palaeolithic had not been recognised. Recovery of a possible Hamburgian shouldered point from one of the test pits in 2019 provided nice confirmation of the significance of the location as a Late Upper Palaeolithic site (see feature Nov/Dec 2017/157).



Lessons for archaeology

Analysis of the field collections at Nethermills Farm over the past 50 years provides some important lessons for the way in which we research and interpret lithic scatter sites.

1 Repeated visits are necessary for a fieldwalked assemblage to be representative of a site. Even after over 3,000 pieces had been removed, it was still possible to collect several thousand more from the surface in subsequent decades. The recovery of over 30,000 lithics from excavation mostly below the ploughsoil in one small part of the site suggests why material continues to appear, at least in places: lithics may still be seen on the surface at Nethermills Farm.

2 Both Grieve and OFARS recorded the importance of walking after rainfall in order to maximise the visibility of flint, but other logistical details such as the spacing of walked transects seem to matter less. Every project has its own factors, including the experience and number of walkers, time available and possible social benefits. While assemblage size will vary, interpretation remains remarkably uniform.

3 The role of community archaeology groups in fieldwalking is highlighted. The importance of repeated visits to a site over years

Above: Fieldwalking can be a sociable activity without jeopardising the recovery rate of worked stone

Below: Test-pitting at Nethermills Farm in 2019

Below: Mesolithic Deeside volunteers proved good at spotting tiny lithics



makes fieldwalking less viable for professional teams such as commercial units with restricted finance and time. Community groups are on the spot, understand the locality, and are



C WICKHAM-JONES

enthusiastic and experienced. Nevertheless, the significance of specialist advice, in particular for lithic analysis, is also emphasised in order to ensure prompt reporting and publication of results. The weekly production of lithic data allowed Mesolithic Deeside to plan an up-to-date fieldwork strategy and maintain team enthusiasm.

4 While basic archaeological interpretation of the site was available from the outset, subsequent fieldwork added significant detail. Later collections impacted on chronological interpretation, broadening the understanding of Mesolithic activity to focus on the later Mesolithic while reinforcing the presence of both earlier material (Late Upper Palaeolithic) and later (Neolithic and Bronze Age). Similarly, the importance of soft hammer percussion became more apparent.

5 Other subtle shifts perhaps reflect unconscious biases of the time or individual collectors. Irregular debitage is commoner than first recognised, and retouched pieces are more numerous and more varied. Flakes fall in relative significance, while more diversity in core type is seen. None of these affects the broad understanding of the site, but all are significant to detailed interpretation.

6 Old collections matter. The Grieve Collection includes material from eight sites besides Nethermills Farm, together providing information relating to prehistoric activity along the River Dee. This is supplemented by data from more recent fieldwalking projects and excavations along the length of the Dee, all of which together form an important record of the human past, adding considerably to archaeological understanding. Many similar assemblages housed in museums around the UK offer a, largely untested, archaeological resource and merit careful curation.

7 Though fieldwalking at Nethermills Farm has ceased, well-publicised interest in the site awakened memories of other material such as the Daly Collection.

Lithic scatters are an important archaeological resource. In many countries their contribution to archaeology is acknowledged, but this is not always so in the UK. The inclusion of lithic scatter sites within a protective scheduling programme is not always easy. Yet they play a valuable part in constructing the narrative of prehistory. Given the fragility of the archaeological resource and limitations of our assets, we should be taking them more seriously.

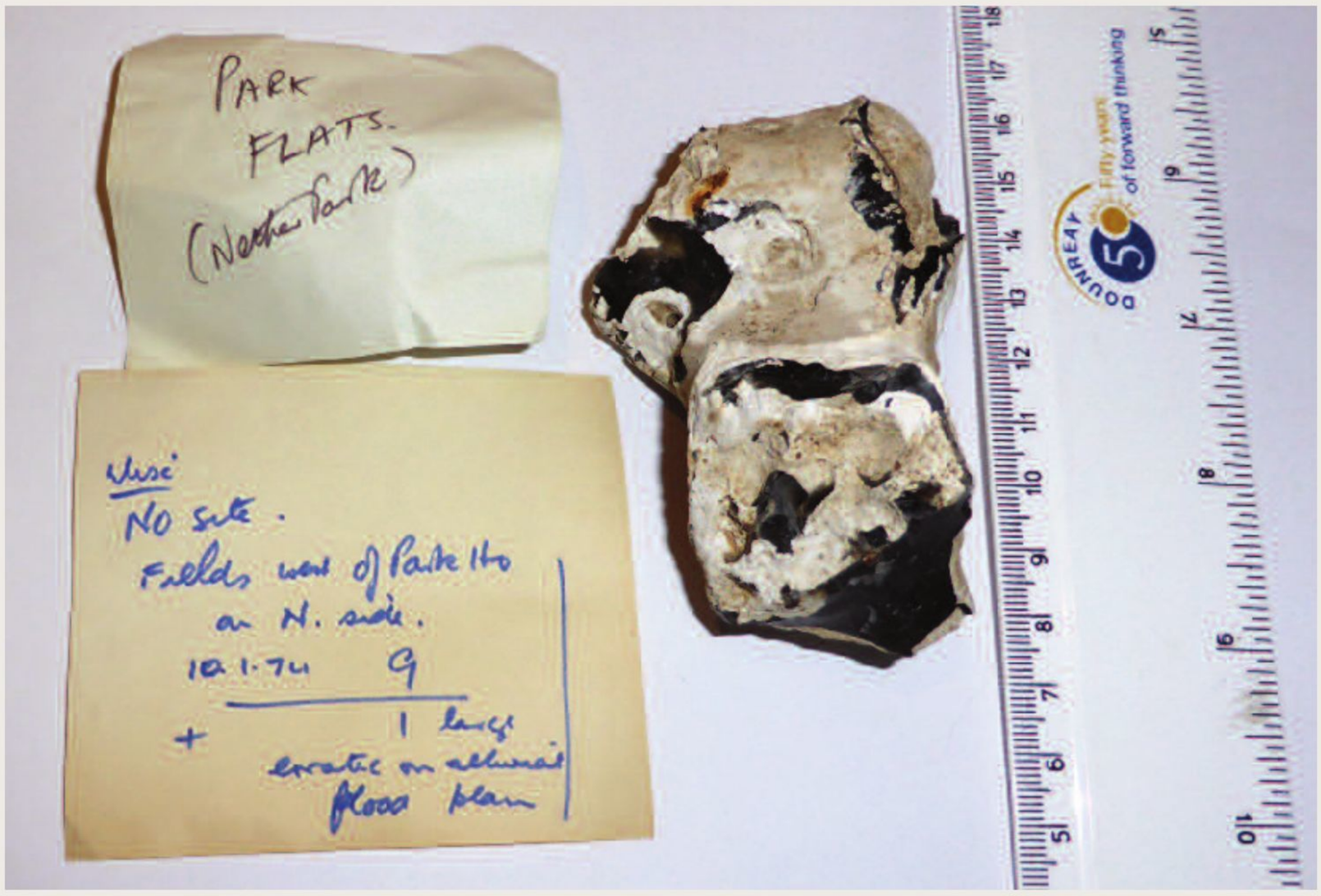
Torben Bjarke Ballin, Alison Cameron, Ann Clarke, Diane Collinson, Sheila Duthie, Gordon Noble, Irvine Ross, Heather Sabnis and Caroline Wickham-Jones contributed to this project as well as many volunteers. Funding has been gratefully received from the Society of Antiquaries of London, the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, the Marc Fitch Fund, Aberdeenshire Council, Historic Environment Scotland and the National Lottery Heritage Fund. Aberdeen City Museum facilitated the loan of the Grieve Collection. See "Archaeological excavations at Nethermills Farm, Deeside, 1978–81" by C Wickham-Jones et al, Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland 146 (2016), doi.org/10.9750/PSAS.146.198535. *Caroline Wickham-Jones is a consultant archaeologist specialising in the archaeology of Scotland's earliest inhabitants*



GORDON NOBLE

Right: Test-pitting at Nethermills Farm in 2019

Below: Example of a flint nodule from Nethermills Farm with original labelling, from the Grieve Collection





C WICKHAM-JONES (2)

Right: Microliths from Nethermills Farm in the Grieve Collection

Scotland in miniature: automating archaeological survey on Arran



Historic Environment Scotland believes that tens of thousands of ancient sites lie undiscovered across the country, in a fast changing landscape. But how to find and record them while they are still there? An exciting experiment with artificial intelligence has had some surprisingly good results. Dave Cowley enters the world of convolutional neural networks



Lidar – vast point clouds, processed, filtered and visualised to produce digital landscapes that can be explored with the roll of a mouse wheel, zooming effortlessly from the general to the detail – used to be a wonder. Airborne laser scanning (ALS), as lidar is also known, is now familiar and routine. Used for archaeological survey it is revealing digital treasure chests of ancient sites and landscapes around the world.

So it is on Arran, popularly known as "Scotland in miniature" because of its varied landscape types, where Historic Environment Scotland (HES) has just completed a rapid survey of all 432 km² of the island. The survey drew heavily on ALS data from the Scottish Remote Sensing Portal, a partnership between the Scottish Government and the Joint Nature Conservation Committee. Arran has attracted archaeologists for decades – it is an easy day trip from Glasgow – yet the HES survey has more than doubled the number of known archaeological sites. The quantities of known prehistoric roundhouses and medieval and later farmsteads and shieling huts, for example, have all significantly risen.

This is exciting stuff, with implications for how we understand the pattern of prehistoric settlement on the island, or the use of upland grazing in medieval and more recent times. Moreover, the survey was completed during 2018 with just six weeks in the field and a little more than that in the office, a dramatically quicker rate of coverage than would have been possible had we attempted to walk the whole island.

Nonetheless, this is a story that has been told many times – we know there are many previously unknown sites and landscapes awaiting discovery, and that ALS is a hugely effective way of mapping them. But here this is just the beginning. The Arran survey is part of a research and development project run by HES, which is exploring the effects of digital datasets and technology on our work, and how we might recast and greatly speed up our workflows for the future.

Key to this is recognising that, wherever we survey, we can expect to increase the number of known monuments very significantly. How do we address the fact that so much of our archaeological knowledge is inadequate, compromising management and research? Even the rapid rate of coverage on Arran is not scalable to the rest of the country if we wish to create systematic and reliable information for large areas. That is the real challenge for us: to date only some 10% of Scotland's 78,000 km² has benefited from intensive survey. What can we do?

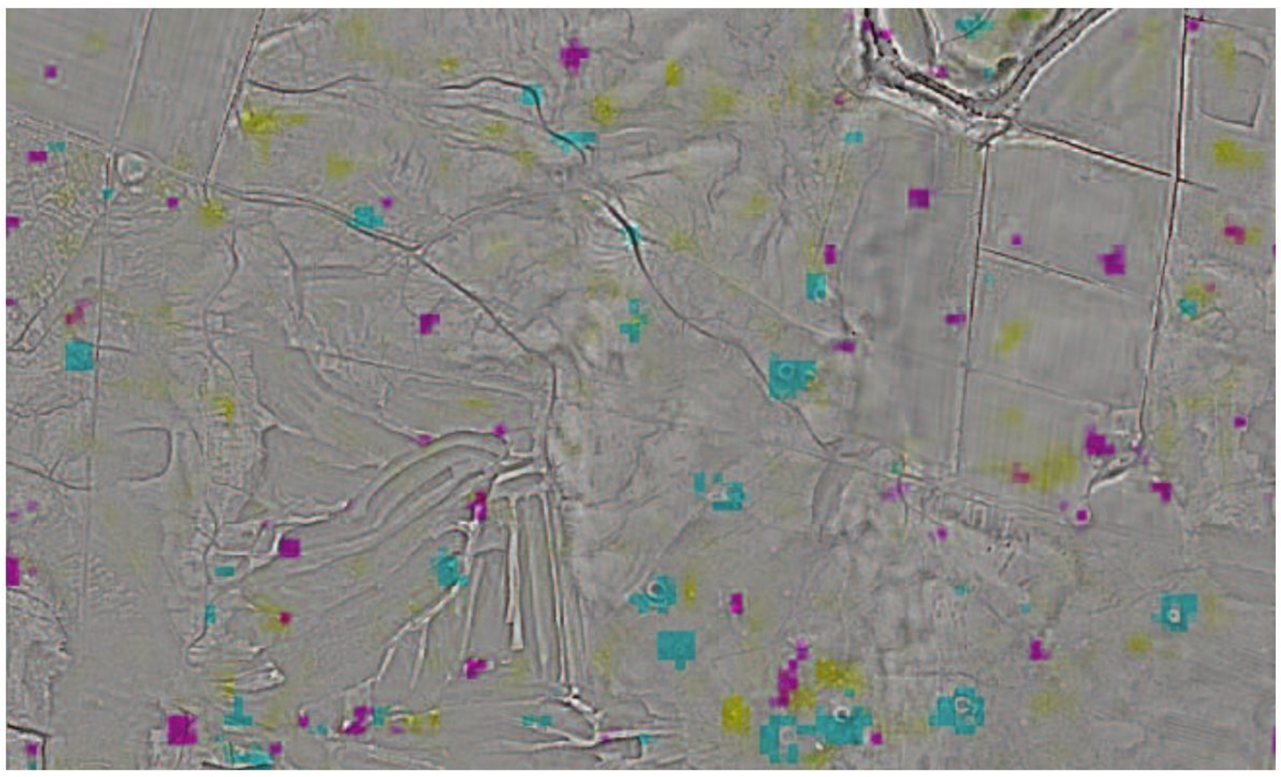
Automatic archaeology?

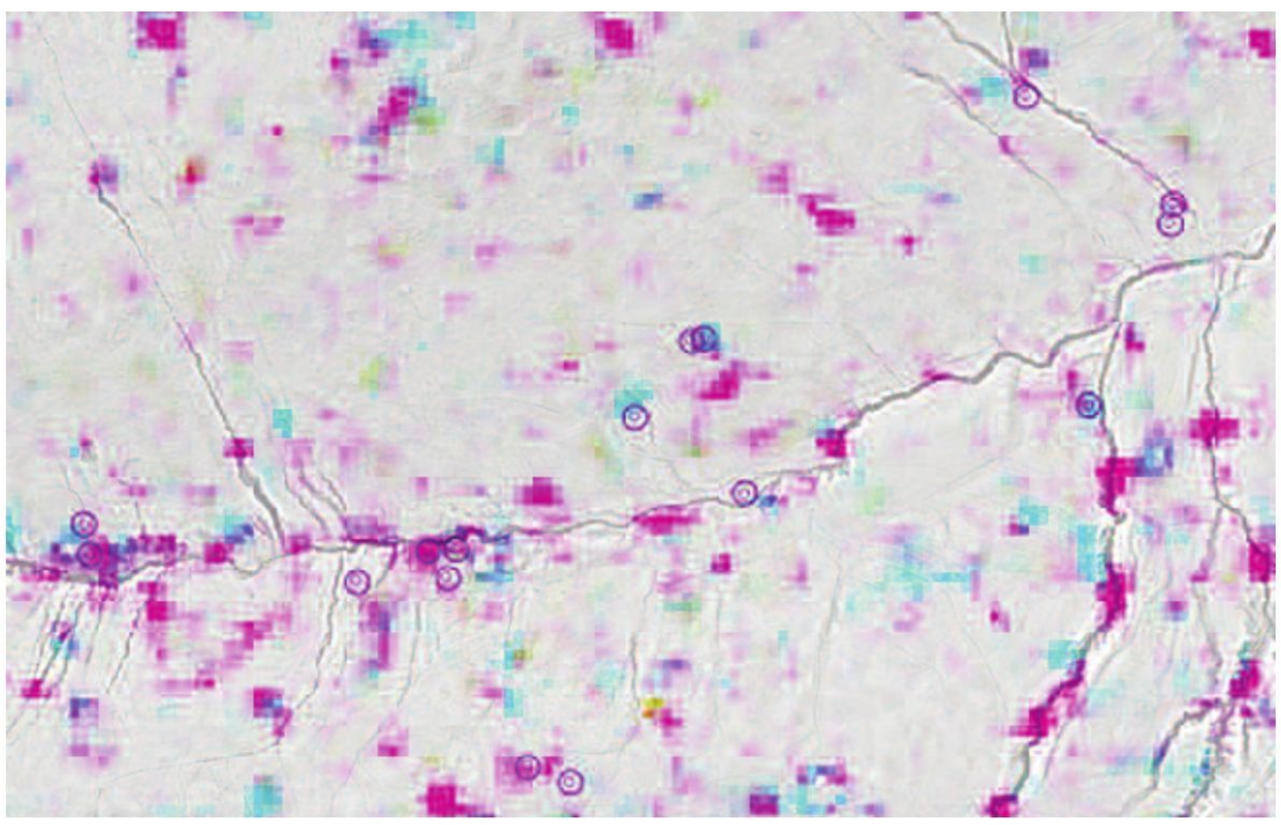
Archaeological survey is largely physical, relying heavily on boots on the ground and desk-based human observation – it's not up to dealing with large complex datasets, or covering extensive areas without massive resources. Perhaps an answer to this problem lies in machine learning and artificial intelligence (AI). AI is a growing part of the modern world. It's in our homes, our cars, and increasingly underpins processes such as surveillance, medical diagnostics and



Above: A digital 3D model allows exploration of Arran from the whole island to very detailed views

Right: Arran's varied geology and landscapes have given it the nickname of "Scotland in miniature"





getting to grips with big data. Can it help us analyse 3D landscape data, finding patterns in Scotland's historic environment that human interpreters would not have time to see, or would miss entirely?

We started exploring this in 2017 with the Norwegian Computing Center in Oslo, a research foundation that has led the use of "computer vision" – trying to automate what our eyes and brains can do – with remote-sensed archaeological datasets. Convolutional neural networks (CNNs) in particular have proved very effective for picking out things of interest from images, for example in facial recognition. Such "image classification tasks" are a key part of what archaeologists do when we look at lidar images, making CNNs a promising way to speed up survey.

The Norwegian Center applied their CNN, developed for use on their landscapes, to our digital topographic data of Arran. The latter included a version of the digital surface model for the island, and some "image patches", or cropped images of selected monument types such as roundhouses, that "showed" the network what to look for.

This produced some good results, where the CNN accurately identified roundhouses, for example on Machrie Moor, but also utter chaos in areas of landscape where lumpy, broken terrain created confusion leading to an overwhelming number of "false positives" – natural lumps and bumps incorrectly identified as archaeological remains. This was a promising start. But it also made clear that there was lots of work still to do, and highlighted some general issues.

First, there is a general concern about AI: how do we know if it is working or not? We need to understand the performance of neural networks, including factors such as how they are trained, how they learn, and how and why outputs from one network may differ from another. Just as experience, intuition and skills vary among archaeologists, so these are factors that need to be considered in developing our use of AIs – they are not all the same.

Left: Automatic detections of roundhouses (cyan), shielings (magenta) and small cairns (yellow) on Machrie Moor in a Norwegian study, showing good concordance between AI predictions and remains which HES archaeologists would identify

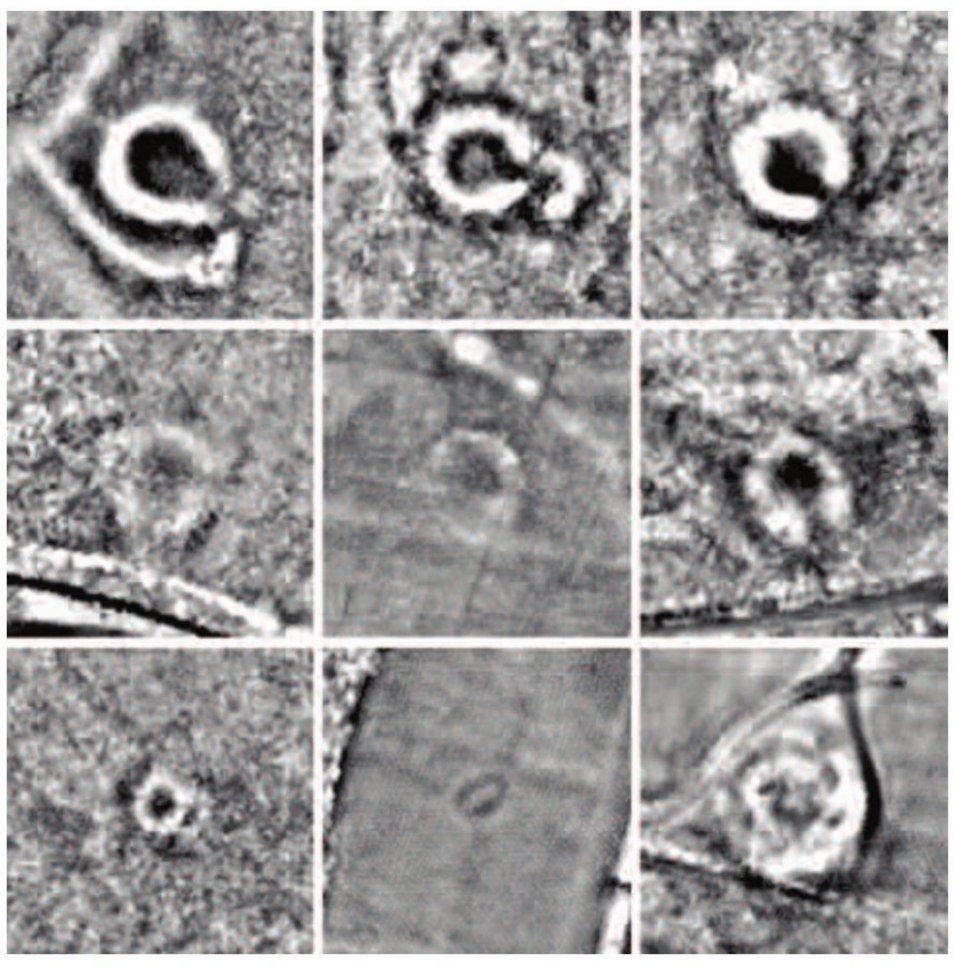
Left: In Glen Shurig, an area of very broken terrain, the Norwegian study generated an overwhelming number of false positives; known shielings are shown as purple circles, AI predictions as cyan and purple shading

Below: Remains in the Machrie Moor area. AI correctly identified roundhouses in the top row, but not those in the middle row; the bottom row shows (left to right) a small hut, a modern cattle feed stance and a circular burial cairn, misidentified as roundhouses and (right) a shieling hut

The pre-training of neural networks is a good example of why this matters. Many approaches, including the Norwegian study of Arran, rely on ImageNet, a database of over a million tagged generic images of, for example, animals, fungi and plants. But do pictures of kittens and puppies hinder pre-training of an AI designed to look for archaeology?

This is exactly the question that Jane Gallwey, a PhD student at the University of Exeter, has sought to address by using lunar lidar for pre-training – neatly sidestepping the issue of how well ImageNet performs in training an archaeological neural network, and instead using explicitly topographic imagery (even if it is off the planet!). Training, whether for a human or an AI, matters: a pressing concern is establishing large archaeological training sets. This is why Iris Kramer, a PhD student at the University of Southampton, will shortly be publishing a "benchmark" of the Arran dataset for use by other computer scientists to test their approaches in a common framework, helping us to better understand variability across different networks. This also highlights the range of issues that need to be tackled. Our work at HES contributes to an informal "automation network" of researchers, including colleagues in Edinburgh, Glasgow, Leiden, Southampton and Venice.

We also need to consider the datasets that are input to CNNs. As humans, in surveys we work with visualisations – images derived from





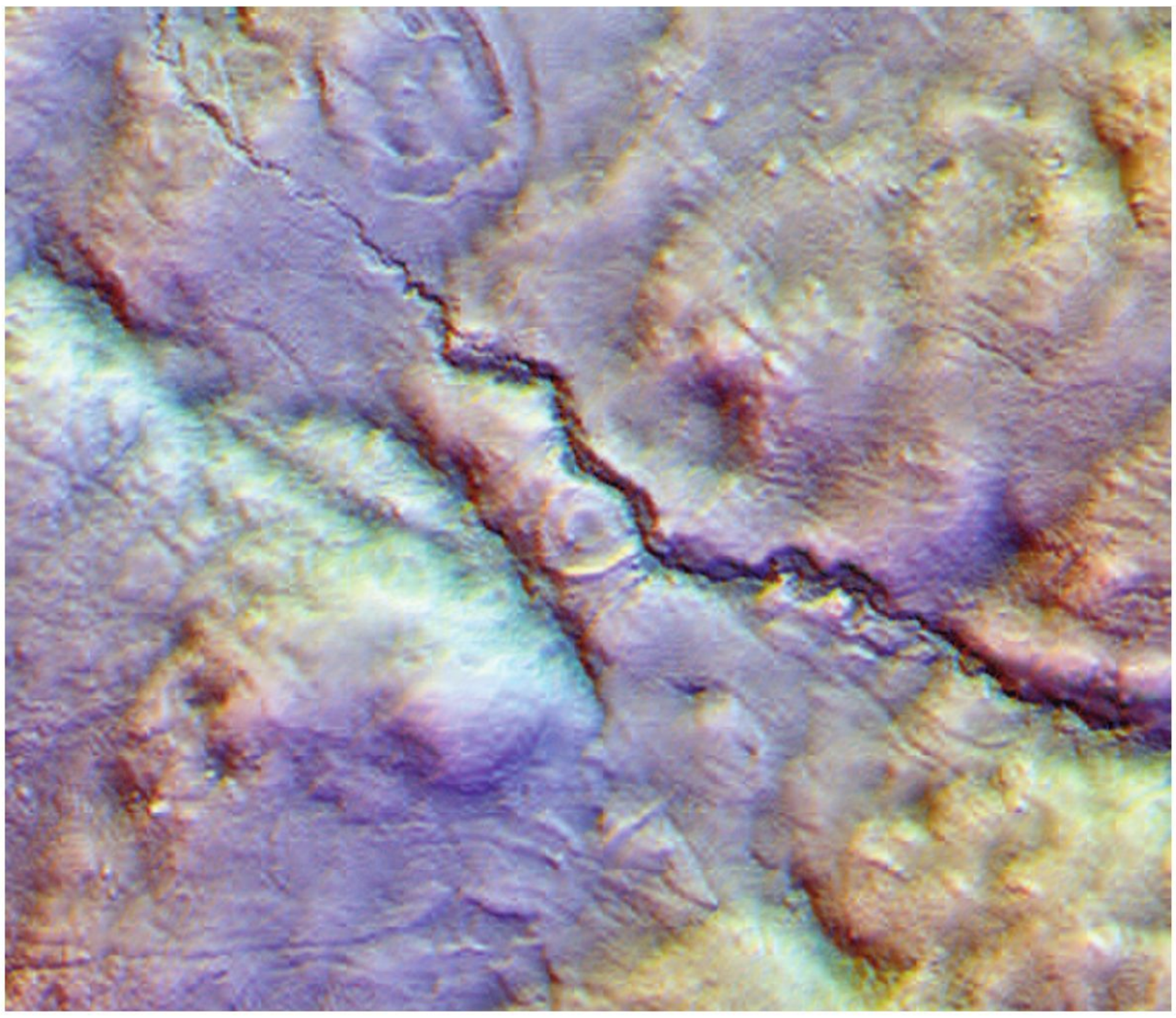
the raw data that are designed (hopefully) to show us the landscape and the archaeological sites it contains. So far, inputs to CNNs have been variants on such images. When we process a lidar dataset we often downgrade its detail to make it manageable – we reduce "data dimensionality", and we have no means of comprehending a point cloud without derived visualisations. However, with increasing computational power it becomes realistic to ask if such a process is best for AI. It works for humans, but it may be fundamentally limiting the potential of a CNN.

Then there is the well-known issue of the black box: AI gives us a result, but we have no idea how it got there. This is a legitimate concern, but it is not unique to neural networks – it applies just as much to you and me. We all see things subtly differently, and while we can hope to explain to each other what we see and how we interpret it, very often much of the process of archaeological interpretation happens "because I say so", with little explicit explanation. Black boxes are everywhere. However, tools are being designed that look at the operation of a neural network, identifying which part is being activated by which bit of data. This is fascinating – it has the potential for us to define explicitly how a neural network is working, something that we will probably not be able to achieve for human archaeologists for a little while yet! It should also oblige us to examine and explain our own interpretative processes.

Right: ALS reveals low footings of roundhouse walls near Machrie Moor on the west of Arran

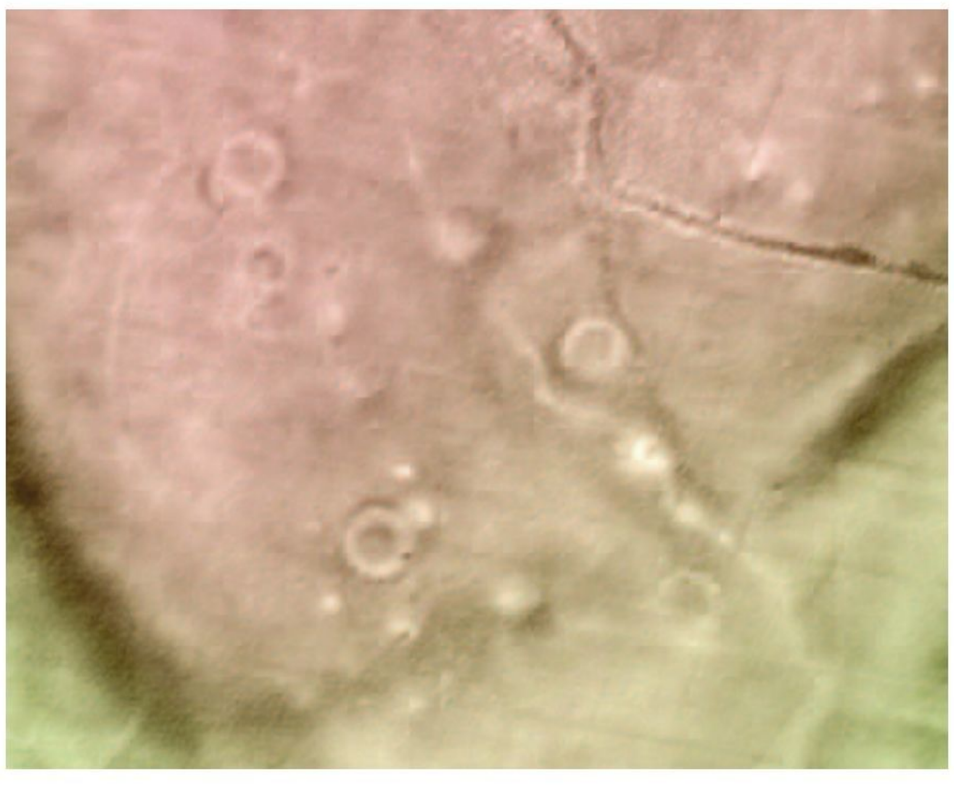
Global significance

How do we integrate AIs into our work patterns, and what should we expect? An "archaeological AI", or perhaps a range of them working iteratively together on problems of detection, will never be magic. They will never replace the role of the archaeologist, but careful thought is needed about how these things fit together. For HES, a national body seeking more extensive, reliable and systematic archaeological data to inform management and research, a key issue is bringing AI to bear in exploring the mass of remote-sensing data that has already outstripped our human abilities to investigate. If we are to do more than scratch the surface of such big data, we need ways of detecting objects of interest that can work tirelessly, 24/7, and systematically. We need to understand the character of the outputs – how reliable are they, how "competent" was the system that produced them, and so on? And we have to reflect on our established knowledge-creation processes, and subject these to the same critical review as AI. This is a fascinating prospect for anyone interested in how archaeological sites and features are identified and classified – whether by humans or machines.



Above: HES fieldwork looked at previously known sites on Arran, as well as selectively checking others identified through desk-based mapping from the lidar

Right: A roundhouse inside an enclosure near Dougarie on the west coast, one of nearly 900 ancient monuments that the survey recorded for the first time



Developing the use of AI is vital to our plans to create reliable and systematic archaeological data for Scotland, the need for which is pressing. During the course of the 18th century Scotland's landscapes were dramatically "improved", heralding two centuries of increasing intensification of agriculture, industrialisation, afforestation and urbanisation. Moreover, we may be moving into a time of accelerating landscape change – with drivers such as changing climate and agriculture practices. All these factors threaten the survival of archaeological remains, the more

18+

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serious if we have no record of them. So, in the expectation that there are tens of thousands of presently unknown ancient sites scattered across Scotland's landscapes, if we want to bring them on record we need to work at a pace – and that means working with AIS.

In the UK we benefit from several centuries of archaeological recording, providing a wealth of information on which we can build. This is not true in many parts of the world. The collective work of human and artificial archaeologists in undertaking survey that contributes to documenting our global heritage is especially important, the more so in the face of ever more rapid and unprecedented landscape changes.

Dave Cowley manages the Rapid Archaeological Mapping Programme at Historic Environment Scotland ■

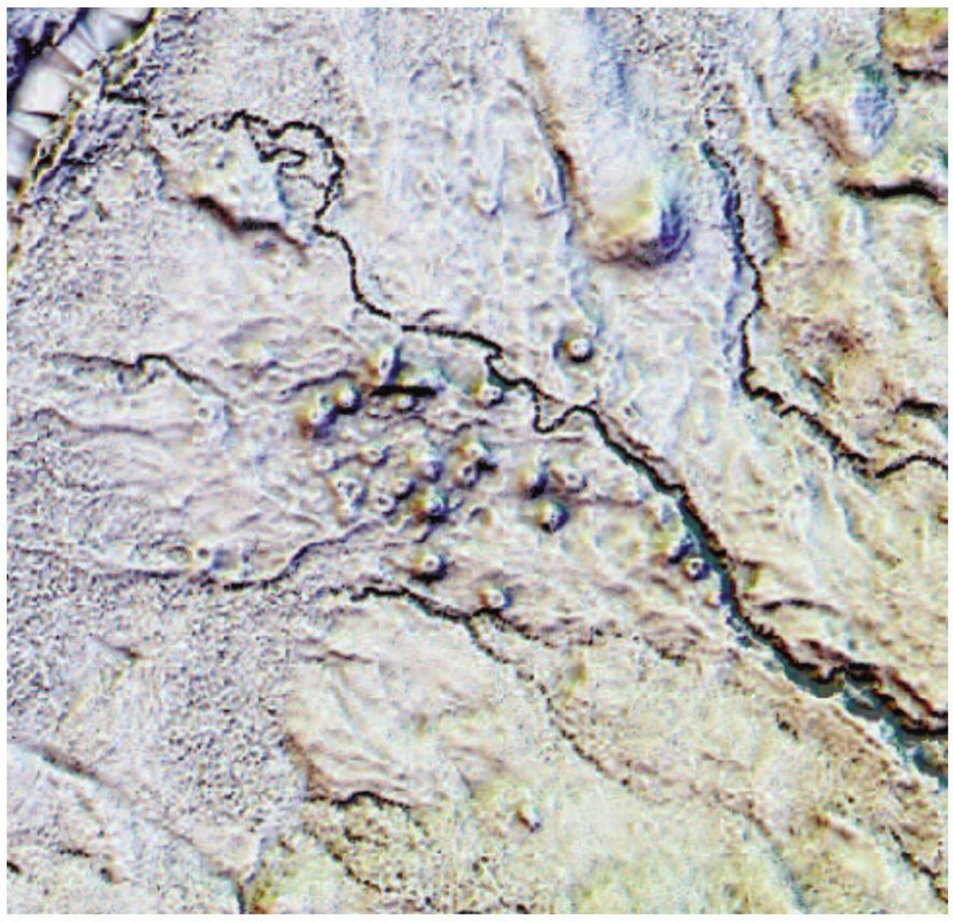


Above: An air photo of a post-medieval farmstead in north-east Arran has been "draped" over a 3D digital lidar surface to provide indications of vegetation and ground surface

Below: People and machines sometimes struggled to work with digital lidar-derived data in Arran's weather, requiring rugged pen computers



Below: Dimples on this lidar visualisation of Glen Iorsa are the remains of medieval and post-medieval summer-grazing shepherds' huts (shielings), in the heart of the mountainous north end of Arran and a long hard walk from the nearest modern road





Above: Footings of a small shieling hut in Benlister Glen, looking down to Lamlash and Holy Island

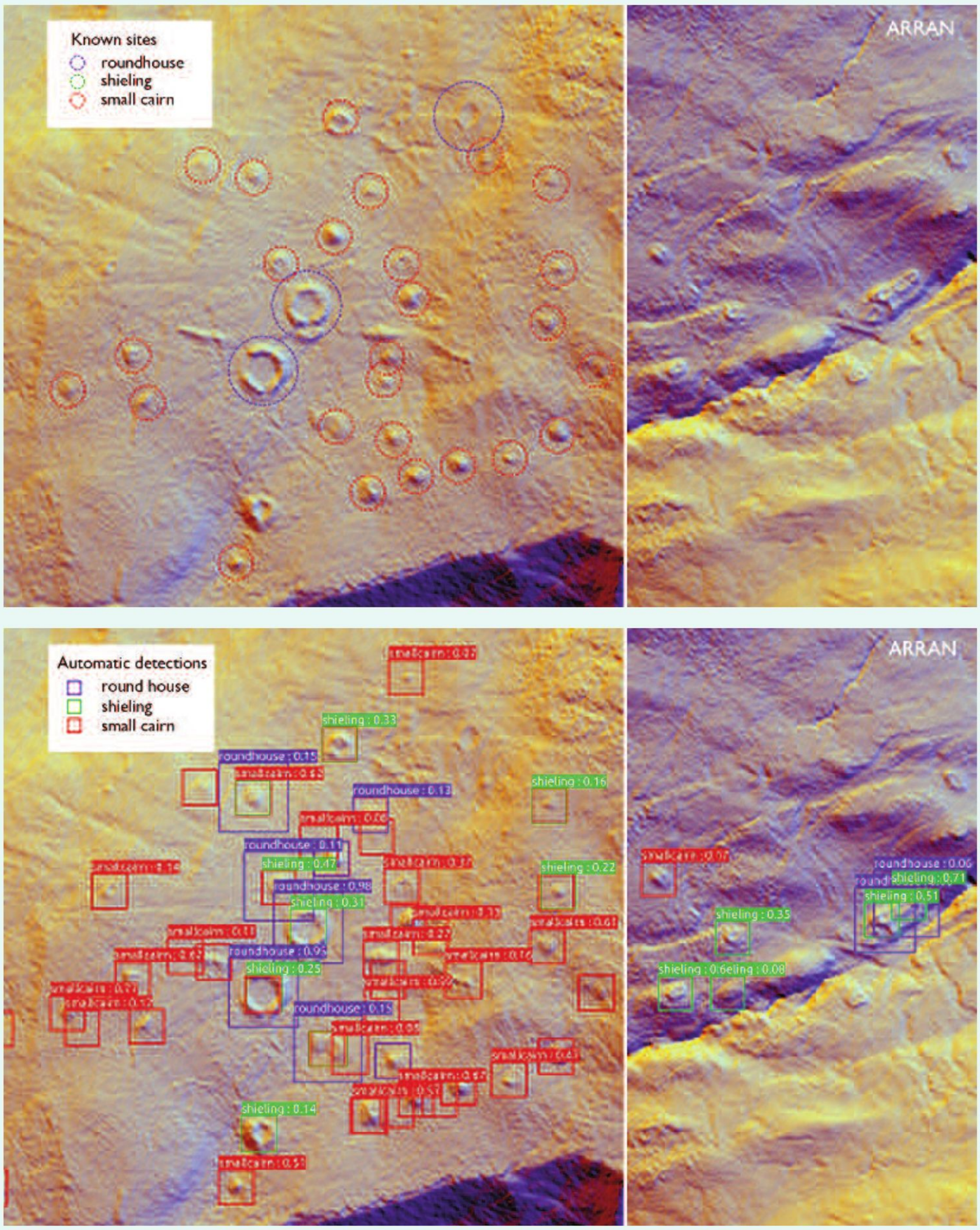
From archaeologist to data scientist



Iris Kramer

I'm a PhD student in computer science at the University of Southampton. I started after undergraduate and masters study in archaeology, when I became interested in research on automated methods for the detection of archaeological sites. I like a challenge, so I focused my research on the most advanced method out there – deep learning. This is a big step on from telling computers what to do, using systems that can perform specific tasks, such as image classification, without explicit instructions, instead relying on patterns and inference.

If that sounds familiar – it is because these are the kinds of processes that we humans are quite good at. The challenge in computing is to move beyond the usual kinds of classifications of cats vs dogs, for example, to detecting archaeological sites on remote sensing data. This is not straightforward. Archaeological remains are found in different types of land use and in different states of preservation – they can look different in remote-sensed data. So, in my research, which includes working with Historic Environment Scotland on Arran, I have been looking to improve the performance of convolutional neural networks (CNNs) with transfer learning. This is about using knowledge gained in addressing one problem, and applying it to related questions – a little bit like how we draw on our range of experiences when we tackle a new activity. For CNN-based archaeological site detection, the balance between the background landscape and the "site" is a big challenge, mainly because the dispersed nature of most site distributions means that the background can be overwhelming – like a needle in a haystack. I am trying to fuse information drawn from different remote-sensed data and different site manifestations, so that the networks can learn the cumulative character of sites, moving beyond unique expressions.



IRIS KRAMER (3)

Above: Known and automatically detected features at Ballymichael Glen, east of Machrie Moor (left) and near Catacol in the north of the island

This is starting to work well, though the network is still generating some false positives that an expert human interpreter would be able to disregard. Here, we are now thinking about how aspects of human interpretative processes can feed into the design of our computer system. For example, a field archaeologist will instinctively draw on their observations of context, like contemporary land use, in directing their observation and interpretation. They will know, for instance, that the earthwork remains of a Bronze Age roundhouse are not going to survive in what is now heavily improved farmland. Thus, when a roughly circular slight earthwork turns up in such a location – we know it is probably very recent, with the characteristic circular site of a cattle feed-bin being a likely explanation. In such cases we, as human beings, bring contextual knowledge to bear, something that we can also feed into our computer systems – improving the "experience" and background knowledge of the network to better distinguish "noise" from archaeological sites. These kinds of advances in deep learning are building blocks for an AI archaeologist – not science fiction, but a tool that will have a dramatic impact on how we develop our capacity to work with big, remote-sensed datasets, and rapidly improve our knowledge base and understanding of the landscape. ■

Mike Pitts has been editing *British Archaeology* for 16 years: 2020 will see his 100th edition. In this essay about ancient Britain he explores a theme that has emerged from unprecedented amounts of new research and discoveries that have accumulated during that time



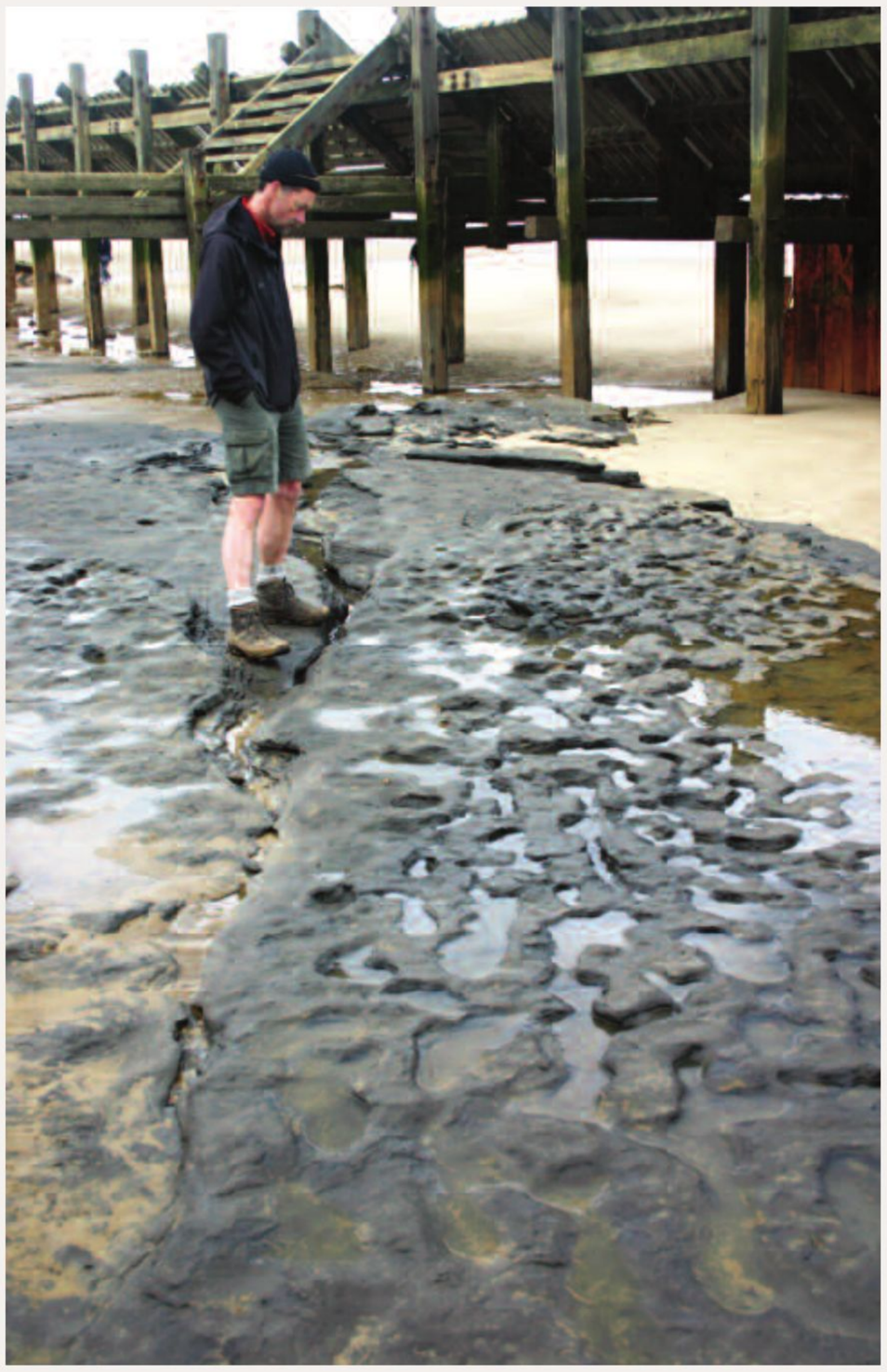
Footprints and boats: new stories of ancient Britain

We have featured a lot of new archaeology since 2003, when I started to edit this magazine – new ideas, research technologies, excavations and discoveries. The pace of research is so great that it can be easy to miss how much has changed in what we know about Britain's early history. Helped especially by development-led excavation (News Jan/Feb 2016/146) and the scientific trio of increasingly precise radiocarbon dating (feature Sep/Oct 2019/168) and the analysis of isotopes and ancient DNA (aDNA; feature Nov/Dec 2016/151), there's been a revolution in archaeology, and the way we think about ourselves.

At the broadest level, we can see nearly a million years of an astonishing variety of practices and achievements, of economies and belief systems, of individuals making their mark and of societies adapting to changes in climate, technologies and events. A particular theme is that of people on the move: of trade and social exchange, of journeys around Britain and across the seas, and of significant migrations. Between the first signs of people, at Happisburgh on the Norfolk coast (feature Sep/Oct 2010/114) and now, there may have been as many as 20 occasions when the existing human population entirely or substantially disappeared, and was replaced.

The most dramatic of these changes saw new species, from *Homo antecessor* (perhaps), to *neanderthalensis* and *sapiens* (feature Mar/Apr 2014/135). Significant changes in stone technology at Barnham (feature this edition) suggest the possibility of three different groups of early humans arriving during a single interglacial around 400,000 years ago. On several occasions long periods of extreme cold drove people out: modern humans had come and gone before people used Gough's Cave 14,000 years ago (feature May/Jun 2011/118) and their immediate descendants were again forced south. And whenever the climate warmed enough and people returned, thousands of years later, there could have been no memory of having been here, and the land was discovered anew.

The uninterrupted era of humans in what are now islands began when hunter-gatherers were at Star Carr 11,300 years ago (News Jul/Aug 2018/161) – but that needn't mean that population change stopped. Cheddar Man died a few centuries later. Not



MARTIN BATES

long ago research using modern DNA was said to show that some inhabitants of modern Cheddar were directly descended from this Early Mesolithic individual. We now know things were more complex. Cheddar Man's aDNA tells us he probably had dark hair and black skin. Ancient DNA research appears to indicate that when hunter-gatherer lifeways disappeared some 4,000 years later, the Mesolithic population of the British Isles also largely, possibly entirely faded away.

Above: Footprints found in 2013 in old estuary muds are among evidence for Britain's earliest humans, at Happisburgh, Norfolk, around 800,000 to a million years ago



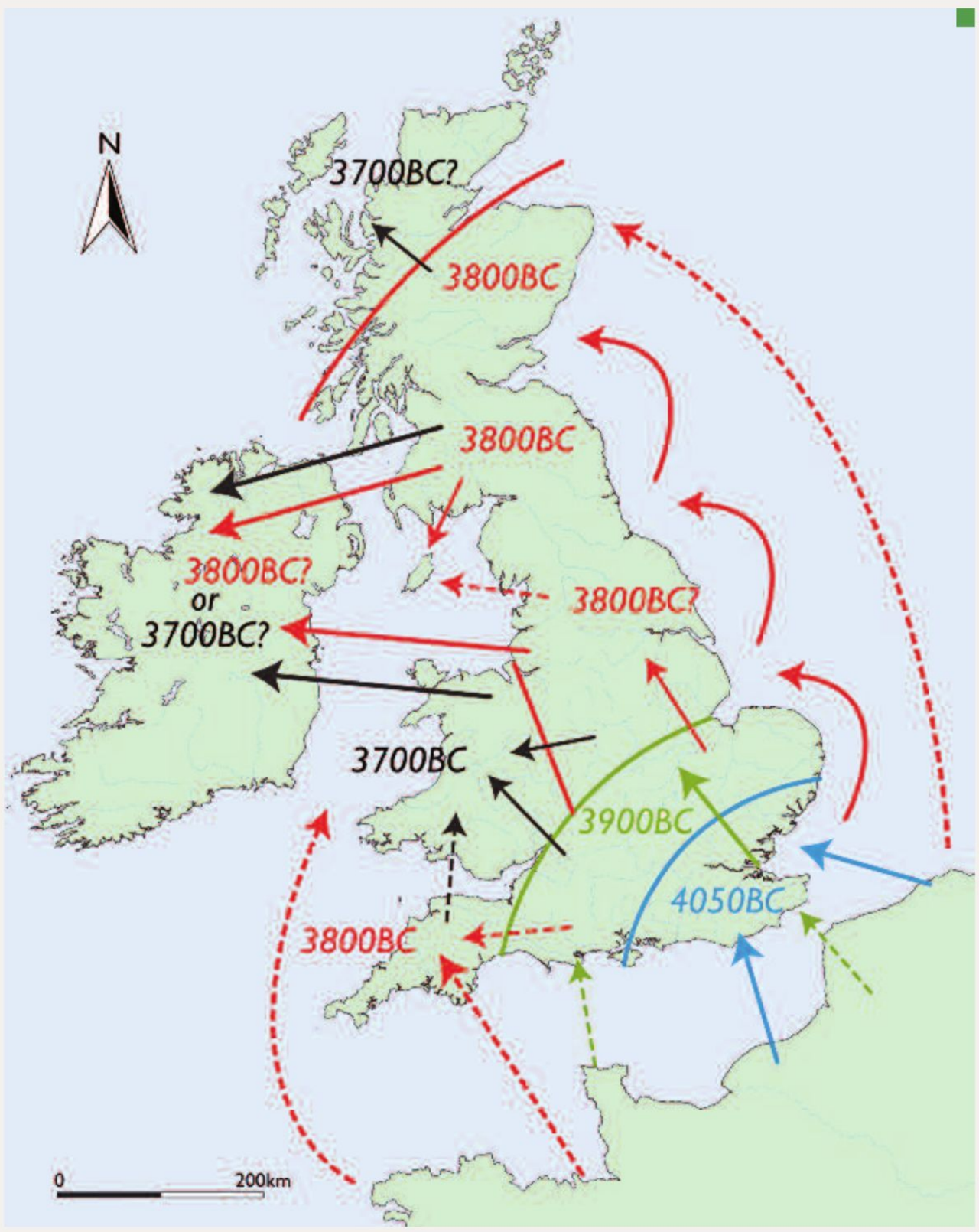
Left: Ancient DNA data informed a model of Cheddar Man's head (10,000 years ago), made for the launch in 2018 of a scientific study and a Channel 4 TV film

New farming peoples not only brought new ideologies, technologies and ways of earning a living – and the domesticated animals and plants they needed for that (feature Jul/Aug 2011/119) – but they were lighter skinned (though not what we would call white) and genetically distinct too. Their genome replaced that of the hunter-gatherers (feature Sep/Oct 2019/168).

Up to the Mesolithic era, everyone living in Britain arrived, or had immediate ancestors who arrived, on foot. If the sea level was high and Britain was isolated from the continent, nobody came. From around 8,000 years ago, relatively late in the Mesolithic and after a tsunami had swept across what remained of Doggerland (News Mar/Apr 2005/81 and Jul/Aug 2013/131) the North Sea and the English Channel finally took their modern shape. Walking ceased to be an option. This is the meaning of island Britain: facing a long and varied coast from Norway to Spain and Portugal, the British Isles have been directly accessible to a wider range of people and cultures than would ever have been possible were they landlocked.

Archaeology and aDNA suggest that Neolithic lifeways were carried westwards by people from the Near East via two routes: to the south along the Mediterranean and up through Spain, and through central Europe following the Danube river valley. As the archaeology would predict, Neolithic aDNA in Britain shows both of these streams, especially the former. There is a small and constant amount of older hunter-gatherer DNA in the Neolithic genome, but it's the same, and no more, as seen in continental populations, and it's quite possible that it was brought by the new immigrants – who barely mixed with hunter-gatherers here at all.

The new aDNA evidence appears to settle a long debate about whether farming was introduced by migrants or copied and adopted by native people. To go beyond bald support for the former, however, and to begin to understand the forces at work and the impacts on peoples' lives, requires



Right: The idea of complex migrations bringing farming to the UK after 4000BC, based here on archaeological evidence and radiocarbon dates (2011) was supported by aDNA analysis of human remains in 2019

TOM BARNES/CHANNEL 4, A WHITLE/F HEALY/A BAYLISS/CBA

ROGER MERCER

new archaeological research and discoveries. Genetics appears to support archaeological suggestions that early migrants arrived in the south-east and the south-west from different parts of the continent, and pottery, for example – one of many things brought over by the new farmers – shows stylistic differences between east and west Britain that persist for generations. A study in Dorset throws suggestive light on that divide some 5,500 years ago – between 3650 and 3350BC.

Migration story

The remains of a woman and four men excavated at Hambledon Hill had isotope signatures suggesting they came from the far south-west, where some of the rarer and finer artefacts at the site had been made. They may not all have been there to trade. Most of the 22 people studied could have grown up locally. Of the five who certainly did not, three demonstrably died when the hill was assaulted – and it's not impossible that the other two did too (feature Jan/Feb 2019/164).

Judging by artefacts, and enclosure and funerary-monument architecture, Wessex seems to have bridged two culture zones, and may have been the area where descendants of immigrant farmers who crossed the sea in the east, and ultimately came up the Danube, met those from the west and the Mediterranean. In later centuries this border zone featured four of the country's largest henges, each surrounded by monumental baubles of which Stonehenge is the greatest. Isotopic research suggests a significant number of people buried at Stonehenge in its early history were not local, with possible origins across southern England and Wales at the nearest (News Nov/Dec 2018/163). Pigs too were brought to the great henges from, in some cases, great distances (News May/Jun 2019/166).

Does this mean that Wessex, and Stonehenge in particular, was a draw from across the British Isles and even beyond? Perhaps, but until similar studies are done elsewhere, we have no wider context. Henges like the three at Thornborough in North Yorkshire, recognised as being at the centre of natural routeways, might have been way stations for great pilgrimages – or attractions in their own right (feature Mar 2004/75). We cannot yet say that no pigs travelled from Wiltshire to Orkney.

There does, however, seem to have been a remarkable amount of movement within the British Isles. There are affinities between things made across Britain at this time, notably pottery, and the monumental variations on themes of henges and timber architecture imply shared visions. But this needn't mean, as is sometimes claimed, that Britain was then some kind of nation. There are endless shared cultural traits, for example, across Europe at any time in history, with its distinct polities, languages and identities. Late Neolithic Britain would have been a place of many peoples, with local traditions and understandings, and those great henges may have had their roots in warring, alliances and trading between different groups. But long-distance journeying is quite different from something that brought it all to an end: another major population change across the UK.

Around 2450BC new technologies and styles (Beaker pottery, a new prominence of archery, metallurgy, new religions and more) appeared at the same time as a dramatic change in aDNA that is again directly traceable to the continent, from where the cultural changes also came (feature May/Jun 2018/160). As 1,500 years before, the new people had lighter skin and

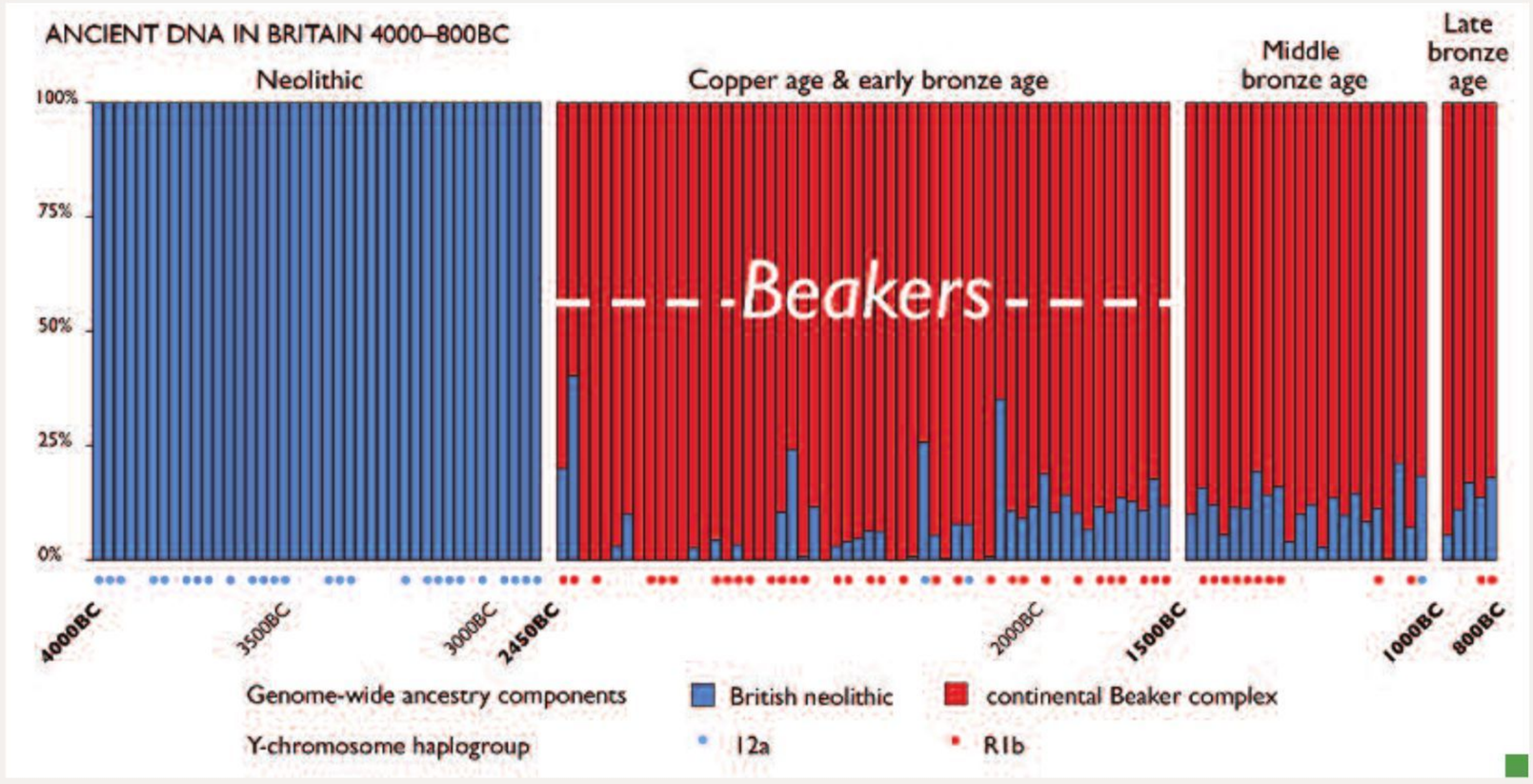


Above: Remains of a man buried at Hambledon Hill, Dorset c 3500BC, with a flint arrowhead in his ribs; isotopes suggest he was not local to the site



Below: Almost everything in this group, a selection from the Amesbury Archer's grave with one of five Beakers (top right), was new to Britain when the man, who had grown up in central Europe, was buried c 2335BC (not to scale)

WESSEX ARCHAEOLOGY



OLALDE ET AL 2018/CBA

paler eyes than those already living in Britain. Typically, it seems, they would have looked different (since the 19th century it's been known they had differently shaped heads, though the explanation for that remains elusive) even without the effects of their dress, behaviour and speech. There is regional variety – Beaker people in Scotland were doing some things differently from Beaker people in Wessex (feature Jan/Feb 2017/152) – and considerable movement within the UK (feature Sep/Oct 2016/150). On the face of it natives and immigrants mostly kept themselves apart. Again, however, archaeological research is needed to address questions raised by the genetics. There is often apparent continuity of rituals, or at least of ritual interest, at old monuments at this time of change. To what extent the genetically sampled individuals are representative of the entire population is currently difficult to address.

No sign of a subsequent genomic change so dramatic has been identified (although we await large studies of later prehistoric individuals), and it may be that the total population reached a level where it would have been unthinkable. There is, however, much evidence of continuing movements linking Britain with the rest of Europe.

At Cliffs End, Kent, many of the people who had been buried in a large hollow between around 900 and 300BC had come from outside Britain, remarkably apparently either from the western Mediterranean or from Scandinavia (feature Jul/Aug 2013/131). The Bronze Age Dover boat, thought by some archaeologists to have been used to cross the Channel, was found nearby (feature Sep/Oct 2012/126).

Above: Proportions of UK Neolithic (blue) and continental Beaker (red) ancestry from a major aDNA study published in 2018; each bar is a person, ordered by date from left to right, showing a major sustained change at the time the first Beaker artefacts appear in the UK

Right: Isotopes suggest that more than half of the examined people buried at Cliffs End, Kent came from outside Britain; among those in this pit group was a Mediterranean girl and a Scandinavian man (900–800BC)

Cliffs End may have been exceptional, and the bay opposite France is said to have drawn notable migrants in early historic times, from Julius Caesar's army to the likes of Hengist and Horsa, St Augustine and Cnut. But the idea of travel in later prehistory was certainly not unique. Throughout the Bronze and Iron ages there are strong archaeological suggestions of trade and contact across the North Sea and the Channel.

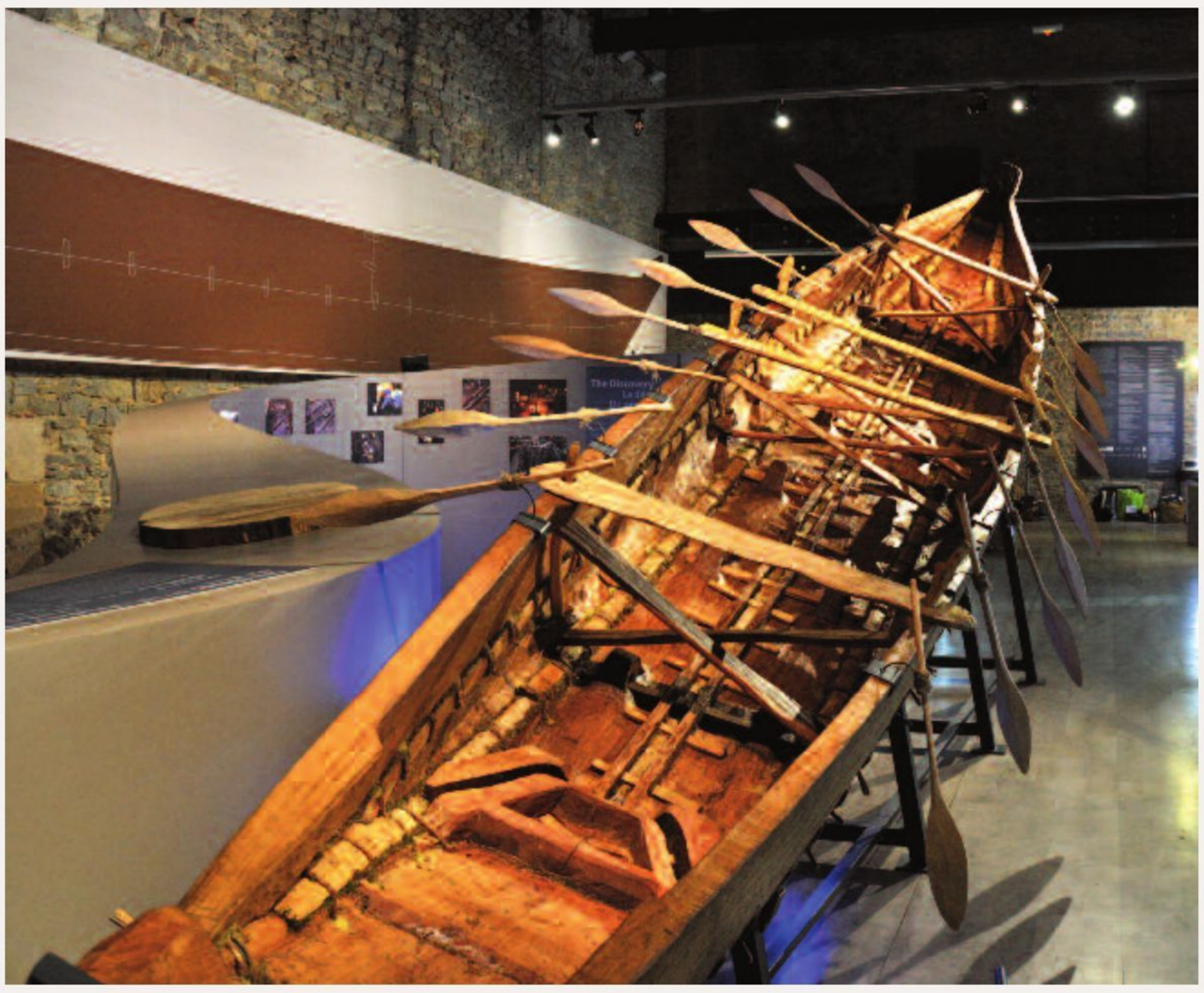


Some think of the English as Anglo-Saxons, the outcome of close contact with the European continent and of settlement by Germanic peoples – though aDNA research suggests less than half of the modern British genome can be described as "Anglo-Saxon", itself an elusive concept (see feature, this edition). And unusually, and in contrast to the Garden of Eden story adopted by Christianity, the surviving British origin myth is based on migration, not creation: the primeval Briton was what we would today call a Mediterranean refugee.

He was called Brutus. His story survives in a retelling by Geoffrey of Monmouth, a medieval bishop, and in older texts said to have been compiled around AD800 by a Welsh monk called Nennius (feature Sep/Oct 2017/156). Brutus was descended from Aeneas, a Trojan hero. Having accidently killed his father, he fled Italy, was chased into France and eventually settled in a previously uninhabited Britain, which is named after him.

It's only a story. But should we ever have the good fortune to find Brutus's grave, we have the sciences to test the theory.

This feature is inspired by Digging up Britain, reviewed on page 55 ■



WESSEX ARCHAEOLOGY, BOAT 1550 BC

Right: A half-scale replica of the Bronze Age Dover boat (1550BC), on display in Boulogne-Sur-Mer in 2012; such experiments have supported the idea that the original could have crossed the Channel

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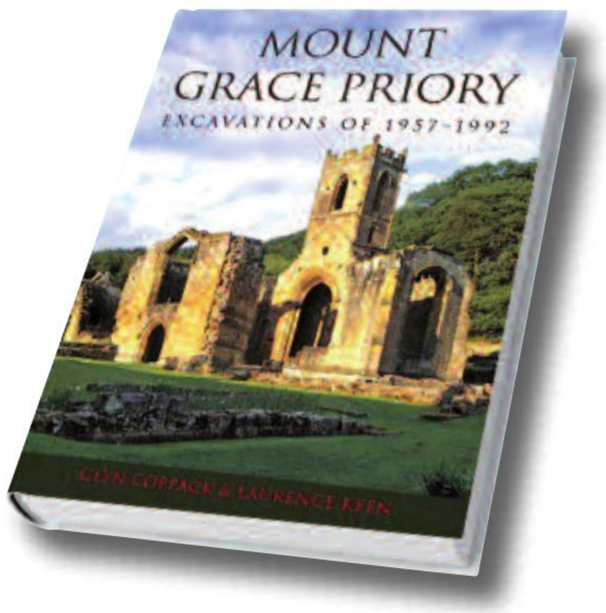
Mount Grace Priory: Excavations of 1957–1992

by Glyn Coppack & Laurence Keen

Oxbow Books Oct 2019

£30 pp446 hb ISBN 9781789253146

Reviewed by Paul Stamper



At the Dissolution there were 834 monasteries in England; just nine were Carthusian. In these the monks served God by personal devotion and privation, part of a community but living alone. Only on Sundays and feast days was the monastic day different; then the monks dined together, met to discuss business and discipline, and celebrated offices in the church. Mount Grace, in the north Yorkshire countryside near Northallerton, came into State hands in 1953, and notwithstanding partial demolition in 1539, its ruins are among Britain's most complete, with the remains of the monks' individual cells and gardens ranged around the Great Cloister.

This highly detailed report (turn to Chapter 8 for summary and overview) bravely assembles a narrative constructed not only on three campaigns of excavations in the second half of the 20th century, but also those between 1896 and 1900 by the pioneering monastic archaeologist Sir William St John Hope. Taken together the results firmly establish Mount Grace as one of the best-studied monastic houses in Europe, especially its charterhouses. Excavations, study of the standing fabric and documents combine to reveal Mount Grace's four phases of development as well as much about Carthusian life: although the monks were "Christ's poor men", the finds reflect the well-to-do backgrounds of both them and their patrons.

The photographs and plans (beautifully done, although the report is entirely in black and white) show typically meticulous "Ministry" excavations. The most significant insights into Carthusian life came from investigation of nine of the 18 monks' cells: their layout (a ground-floor living room connecting to a study and a bedroom-oratory, and stairs leading to a first-floor workroom), heating and sanitation (individual water-flushed lavatories), with finds reflecting monastic occupations and worldly possessions. Vivid glimpses of moments in time emerge. When cell 8 (whose last occupant was probably a bookbinder) was taken down at the Suppression in 1539 (two big postholes probably for the demolition men's crane) sherds from 43 pottery vessels – German stoneware mugs, jugs, a urinal and Majolica flower vases among them – lay scattered where discarded before the building was unroofed.

As well as much on Mount Grace and the Carthusians more generally, numerous wider themes emerge – on water supplies, horticulture and diet – that will be drawn on for studies elsewhere, whether of the spiritual world or the material: the tightly dated and securely stratified origin of much of the material adds greatly to its significance.

Paul Stamper runs his own consultancy, Paul Stamper Heritage

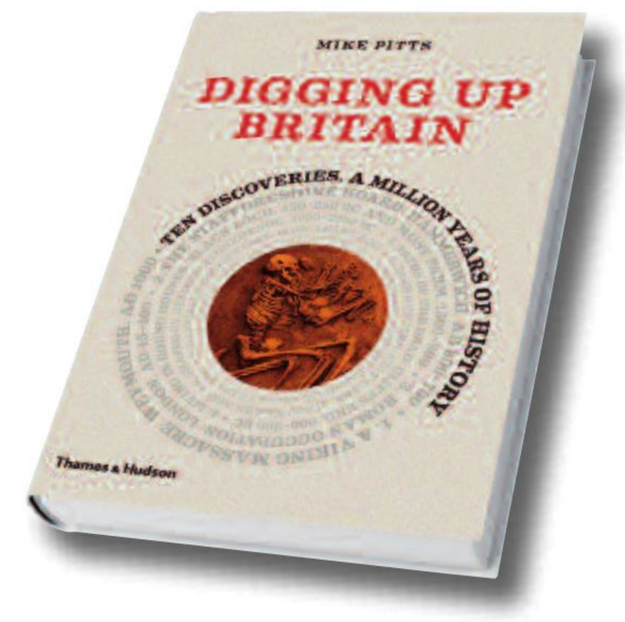
Digging up Britain: Ten Discoveries, a Million Years of History

by Mike Pitts

Thames & Hudson Sep 2019

£30 pp288 hb ISBN 780500051900

Reviewed by Kenneth Brophy



Digging up Britain is the popular archaeology book we have been waiting for. It is a timely celebration of spectacular discoveries made in recent years, as much a field guide to the current landscape of British archaeology as it is the archaeology of (mostly southern) Britain. This is a book only an archaeologist could have written so well, and gives the targeted broad readership a grounding in how archaeology – and archaeologists – work today in the UK.

Each chapter takes the reader through the story behind awesome discoveries made in the field and laboratory. Framed in reverse chronological order, the book journeys from the Vikings backwards over several hundred thousand years. Ten sites/discoveries form the spine – Ridgeway Hill Viking grave; the Staffordshire Hoard; Roman London and the temple of Mithras; Black Loch and Must Farm later prehistoric settlements; Bronze Age burials at Cliffs End, Kent; Stonehenge; Star Carr; Gough's Cave; and Barnham Palaeolithic site, Suffolk [see feature, this edition]. Some are old friends with new angles, others less familiar but no less fascinating. These sites are discussed in loving, often gruesome, detail. Along the way an introduction to current thinking about the context for these sites is given, written in an accessible and engaging style.

Having said that, I have reservations about the book's scope. Eight of the sites are south of the Humber, none in Wales. The only site in Scotland, Black Loch, forms half a chapter. There is no Northern Ireland, and little Doggerland. In a volume called *Digging up Britain* I would have expected a lot more Britain, much less southern England. The Stonehenge section lacks the focus and intensity of the other chapters – why not cover the stunning Ness of Brodgar, Orkney instead? It may seem a minor quibble but this imbalance sits uncomfortably in a book that argues strongly for the role of our discipline playing a part in discussions about contemporary identity and migration. It is also a shame that nothing more recent than the Vikings gets much attention.

The concluding chapter refers to even more stunning discoveries to come, many related to those themes of migration and identity. Pitts has presented readers with a vision of a modern discipline, engaged and relevant politically, socially, intellectually and economically. Yet my main takeaways from this book are the insights into the practice, professionalism, and passion of those working in the heritage sector.

Kenneth Brophy is senior lecturer (archaeology) at the University of Glasgow



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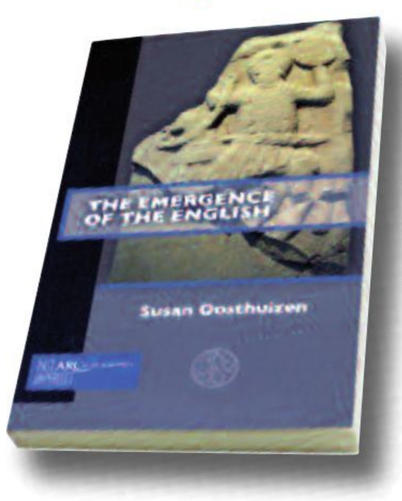
The Sword in Early Medieval Northern Europe: Experience, Identity, Representation



by Sue Brunning
Boydell Press
Jun 2019
£60 pp232 hb
ISBN 9781783274062

Sue Brunning's new book combines evidence from archaeology, art and written sources to breathe life into the "living" sword of early Anglo-Saxon England and northern Europe – the status emblem of the warrior elite and one of the most symbolically charged of all objects. Her trawl of surviving fittings from weapons hilts (pommels, grip-collars and guard-plates) reveals real wear from use, caused, she suggests, by the habit of a sword worn at the waist and from resting a hand on the pommel. Hence, the sword functioned day to day as part of elite costume, and contrastingly was only rarely, albeit most vividly, an instrument of bloodshed. How many weapons really were personified, like the fabled Hrunting and Nægling of Beowulf is debatable, but that antique swords existed, perhaps valued heirlooms, is demonstrable from both archaeology and wills. Revealing how swords were actually used and viewed in their day, Brunning's study is an exemplar for considering the multi-layered significance of material culture generally. *Chris Fern*

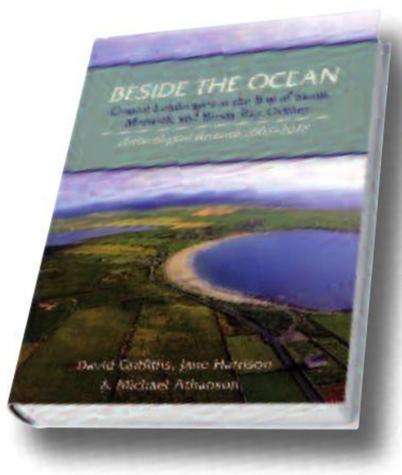
The Emergence of the English



by Susan Oosthuizen
Arc Humanities Press
Apr 2019
£16.95 pp149 pb
ISBN 9781641891271

This little book is a stimulating, enjoyable review of English origins, thoroughly up to date but also reaching back to influential 19th-cenury historians and owing much to Fernand Braudel's championing of long-term processes. In a carefully built argument, and with lengthy footnotes and many references (a longer index would have been useful), Oosthuizen challenges the assumption that Englishness first appeared exclusively in Anglo-Saxon settlement. Focusing on landscape, especially what she identifies as common land, she argues from history and archaeology for substantial social continuity: prehistoric tracks and fields apparently still in use through Roman and later times, she says, demonstrate a stability that belies notions of immigrants driving change. Oosthuizen is convincing on the importance of understanding landscapes, but the idea that immigration would have disrupted the physical arrangement of land use perhaps needs to be demonstrated, not assumed. *Mike Pitts*

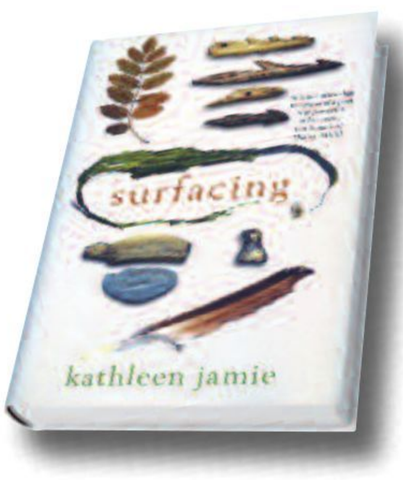
Beside the Ocean: Coastal Landscapes at the Bay of Skaill, Marwick, & Birsay Bay, Orkney



by David Griffiths, Jane Harrison & Michael Athanson
Oxbow Books Mar 2019
£45 pp374 hb
ISBN 9781789250961

This thoughtfully constructed and well-illustrated monograph reports on research into Viking and Late Norse settlement at three Atlantic-facing bays on the Mainland, Orkney, between 2003 and 2018. By 2000, writes Griffiths, who had first worked in the islands as a student, geophysical and topographical survey had advanced to the point that they offered a fruitful alternative to traditional sources of archaeological discovery, as most famously at the Neolithic village of Skara Brae – coastal erosion and shifting sands. Large areas inland of the bays were surveyed, and features of interest further explored with excavation, especially at a cluster of mounds in the Bay of Skaill and a well-preserved longhouse (see News Nov/Dec 2008/103). Vikings/Norse seem to come and go without immediate predecessors or successors. The skills of 28 specialists from 14 institutions are well used, and careful planning has allowed this landmark Orcadian project to be concluded. *MP*

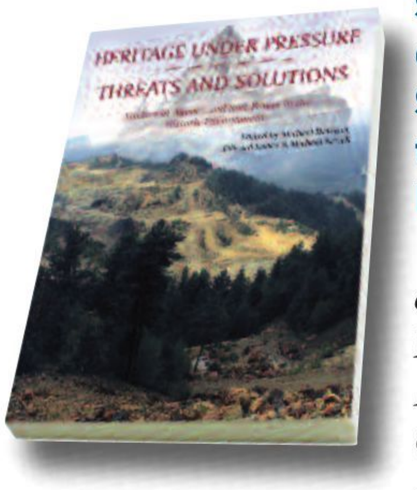
Surfacing



by Kathleen Jamie
Sort of Books
Sep 2019
£12.99 pp256 hb
ISBN 9781908745811

When I recall researching in Edinburgh, I hear Kathleen Jamie's poem *Arraheids*: "The museums of Scotland are wrang/They urnae arraheids/but a show o grannies' tongues", muttering, "ye arenae here tae wonder,/whae dae ye think ye ur?" (*The Queen of Sheba*, 1994). *Surfacing*, a prose collection dominated by two excavations, has the same power of language and imagery, the humour, and the informed interest in archaeology that memorably overturns the familiar. The journey begins in the Bone Caves near Inchnadamph, with a glance back to ice ages and forward to the climate crisis. She goes to Quinhagak, Alaska, where archaeologists are working with locals to record remains endangered by thawing permafrost (feature May/Jun 2014/136), and she trowels at the Links of Noltland in Orkney (feature Jul/Aug 2010/113), looking, talking and listening. In these and other essays the point of archaeology, of the past in our lives, is gently, beautifully dissected. *MP*

Heritage Under Pressure: Threats & Solutions. Studies of Agency & Soft Power in the Historic Environment



ed Michael Dawson, Edward James & Michael Nevell
Oxbow Books Aug 2019
£38 pp336 pb
ISBN 9781789252460

This multiauthored collection draws on a 2017 Chartered Institute for Archaeologists conference on archaeology as a "global profession". Key themes deal with confronting threats and disasters, responses to loss of cultural property in conflict, and managing heritage as the world climate changes. Writers interpret these widely, contributing to the book's value as an introduction to a world archaeology where explanation of antiquity is not the most important goal. The survey includes, to give a few examples, achievements of the UK's Cultural Protection Fund (due to end, other things being equal, in March), how destruction in Syria might be properly monitored, the aftermath of the 2015 earthquake in Nepal, and the future of the "historic fabric" of the Troubles in Northern Ireland; there is a long article about the shocking losses during the 1990s Bosnian War. These are, as Dawson says, "real world situations", and the relentless catalogue of damage and obstacles to progress can feel overwhelming. At the heart of it all, however, is a belief that heritage matters and will win through. Timely and important. *MP* ■

Council for British Archaeology

Briefing

Additional events and courses online: www.britisharchaeology.org/briefing

Fieldwork

The CBA cannot accept responsibility for operating conditions of projects.

Rampart Scotland: King's Park Stirling

13 - 18 July 2020, Kings Park Stirling

The King's Park, Stirling, is the oldest and best preserved Royal Park in Scotland and surrounds Stirling Castle, the ancient capital of Scotland. Excavation in 2019 dates the fort to the late 1st century AD, demonstrates that the occupant's traded with the Roman Empire and that it was burnt down. The training is relaxed and easy going and you can learn as much or as little as you want to. £50 a day (no food/accomodation)
Contact Dr Murray Cook
info@rampartscotland.co.uk
http://www.rampartscotland.co.uk/

Mercian Archaeological Services CIC: Sherwood Forest Archaeological Training Field School 2020

Kings Clipstone, 13-17 July, 20-25 July, 10-14 August, 17-21 August 2020

You will receive training and experience in many techniques of excavation, including The Core Skills of the Archaeological Skills Passport: Plus many higher level archaeological techniques that make up the Secondary Skills of the Archaeology Skills Passport including: Survey (Total Station), Finds Processing and much more. Accommodation not provided. £250 per person.
http://mercian-as.co.uk/fieldschool.html#sherwoodschool

Rampart Scotland: Battle Hill Prehistoric Landscape Project

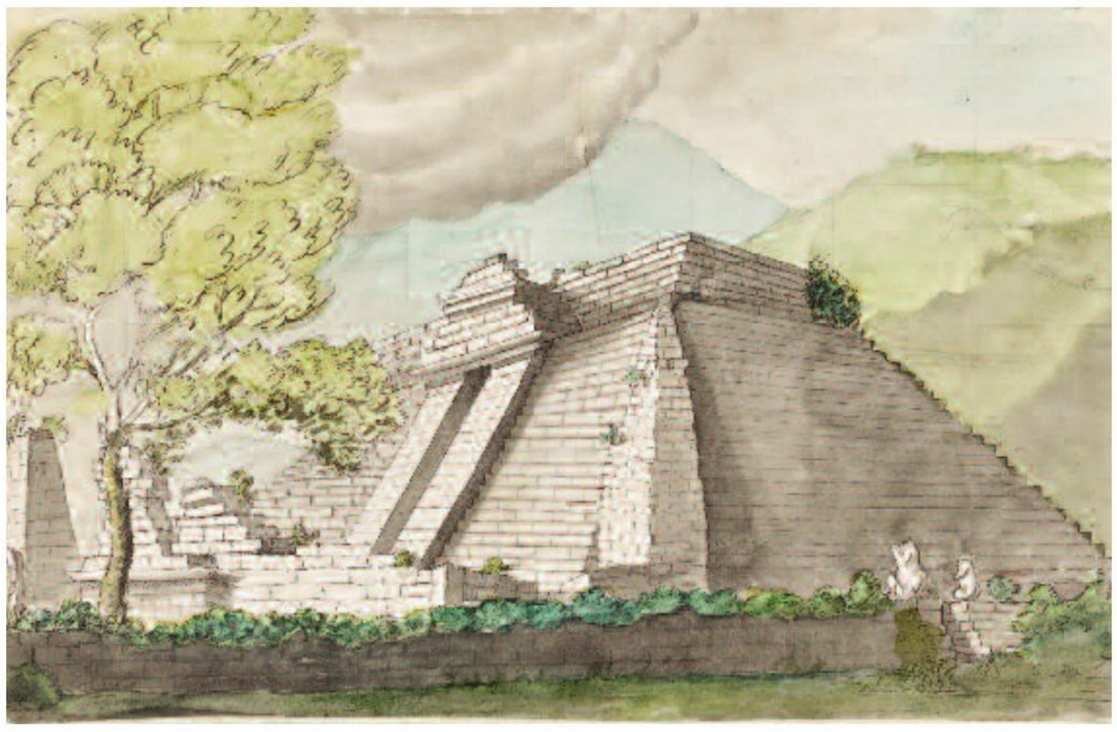
Battle Hill, Aberdeenshire, 3-14 August 2020

Excavate newly discovered archaeological remains that have never been examined before: including a 2500 year old hillfort, a Neolithic Cairn, 1000 AD bank; and a possible Pictish Structure. £850 including all room and board. Contact Dr Murray Cook info@rampartscotland.co.uk
http://www.rampartscotland.co.uk/

Mercian Archaeological Services CIC: Bainbridge Archaeological Training Excavation 2020

Bainbridge, Wensleydale, North Yorkshire, 7-11 & 14-18 September 2020

Join Mercian Archaeological Services CIC in the beautiful Yorkshire Dales for this week-long training excavation, which focuses on the teaching of archaeological excavation methods. As well as offering the very best in archaeological training and support, this training excavation is tailored towards enabling attendees to fulfil requirements of the Archaeological Skills Passport. £250 per person, accomodation not provided.
http://mercian-as.co.uk/fieldschool.html#bainbridge



Beyond its corridors of too often outdated permanent displays, the **British Museum** holds many free temporary exhibitions. With opportunities to focus in detail on otherwise stored material and loans, and to be imaginative and take risks, these are always worth a look. If you're there for the Troy exhibition (feature this edition) allow time to see "Sir Stamford Raffles: Collecting in Southeast Asia 1811–1824" (until January 12 2020). A selection of Hindu-Buddhist antiquities, theatrical puppets, masks, musical instruments and sculptures recalls General Pitt-Rivers' collections made later in the century, precious documents of global art and culture. Pitt-Rivers sought to counter revolutionary thoughts in Britain by educating the working classes, but Raffles (who collected locally, especially in Java, rather than buy in salerooms), the BM argues, had a more aggressive agenda: a "committed imperialist and an incompetent colonial official", he hoped to encourage European colonisation. JC Watson's watercolour (above) shows Candi Sukuh, a 15th-century AD Javanese-Hindu temple painted in 1813–15

CBA Network

CBA East Midlands

http://www.archaeologyuk.org/cbaem/

CBA London

https://archaeologyinlondon.com/

CBA North

Our website and emails to members continue with regional news as well as the events and activities of our local group members and others, whilst our own events for the year are being planned - of which details will be announced in due course to members. For further details, news and more please see our website https://cbanorth.wordpress.com/
If you can't see what you want or wish to contribute please feel free to contact us at cbanorth@archaeologyuk.org or contact one of the committee.

CBA North West

http://www.archaeologyuk.org/cbanw/CBANW_notices.html

CBA East South East

http://www.cbasouth-east.org

CBA South Midlands

http://www.archaeologyuk.org/cbasm

CBA Wales/Cymru

CBA Wales/Cymru AGM 2019, reconvened date - now to be held in Welshpool on 14 December. Times/location to be listed on: https://councilforbritisharchaeologywales.wordpress.com/

CBA Wessex

https://www.cba-wessex.org.uk/

CBA West Midlands

News from the Past 2020, 7.03. 2020 Church Centre, Carrs Lane, Birmingham B4 7SX.
More information will be available on the Meetings page nearer to the date. http://cbawm.archaeologyuk.org/index.php

CBA Yorkshire

Portable Antiquities Scheme – 6th December, Yorkshire Museum, York bring your finds for identification to the Yorkshire Museum and have them examined by the Portable Antiquities Scheme https://www.cba-yorkshire.org.uk/event/portable-antiquities-scheme-6th-december/

Conferences, Meetings & Lectures

Theoretical Archaeology Group Conference

16 - 18 December 2019, London

The 41st annual Theoretical Archaeology Group Conference will be held in London this year from 16th – 18thDecember 2019. The theme is 'Power, Knowledge and the Past' which aims to be broad and topical, emphasising both current debates about ontologies and ideologies in past societies, and the role of knowledge about the past in contemporary



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To include your news here, please write to James Rose at the CBA, at briefing@archaeologyUK.org

● **Exhibitions by Mike Pitts**

political narratives.
Details can be found here:
https://www.ucl.ac.uk/archaeology/news-events/conferences/tag-2019

Current Archaeology Live! 2020

28th & 29th February 2020, London

Current Archaeology's annual conference, focusing on the latest finds and ground-breaking research within archaeology, will be held at Senate House, London. The winners of the 2020 Current Archaeology Awards, as voted for by the public, will be announced at the Friday evening reception. For more information, visit www.archaeologylive.co.uk, or call 020 8819 5580.

Association of Critical Heritage Studies 5th Biennial Conference

26 to 30 August 2020, London

The Association of Critical Heritage Studies 5th Biennial Conference will be held in London next year from 26th-30th August 2020. The theme is 'Futures' which aims to engage with the aims of heritage to address the concerns of future generations.
Details can be found here:
https://achs2020london.com/submissions/

Courses

University of Oxford Courses and Workshops in the Historic Environment

Various dates, Oxford

A range of short practical courses to provide training in key skills for archaeologists and specialists in historic buildings and the built environment. Taught at Rewley House with full residential and catering facilities.https://tinyurl.com/y8pnl3le, or call 01865 270 380.

Archaeology: From Dig to Lab & Beyond

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https://www.futurelearn.com/courses/archaeology

Archaeology at Cannon Hall

Cannon Hall Museum, Park and Gardens Bark House Lane Cawthorne S75 4AT

Various events:
"Archaeology of Houses & Gardens" Sunday 8 December 2019 (11am - 3pm)
"Bring Your Finds Day", Thursday 16 January 2020 (1pm - 3pm)
"Medieval Landscape & the Industrial Revolution", Sunday 9 February 2020 (11am - 3pm)
"Archaeological Bulding Recording" Sunday 8 March (11am - 3pm)
"What We Have Learned About Cannon Hall" Sunday 5 April
For more information visit http://www.cannon-hall.com/free-archaeology-events-at-cannon-hall-museum or email jkcomarc@gmail.com

CITiZAN Winter Trail: Lost Lives

14 & 15 December, Slapton Sands, South Devon.

This guided trail with CITiZAN maritime archaeologists will take you from the Start Point to Slapton Sands. First a two-hour guided trail across the sands at low tide with a warm up in the pub and a 2 hour hike back along the cliff tops.Concentrating on the lives, landscapes and settlements that have been lost due to coastal erosion, human error and wartime preparations. Walking boots and water are a must for this trail. We will start at the start point car park and make our way down across the beaches down through to Slapton sands.After a well needed warm up in the local pub we will then make our way swiftly back along the cliffs back to the car park. Tickets: https://www.eventbrite.co.uk/e/lost-lives-citizan-winter-trail-14th-december-2019-tickets-73025458111

CITiZAN: Searching Mersea discussion with Colchester Recalled History Group

16.01.2020, 7 p.m. Roman Circus, Colchester

A talk presenting and discussing Searching Mersea, an oral histories project which mapped memories and stories onto Mersea Island, as a tool of locating and understanding foreshore archaeology.
https://www.citizan.org.uk/events/2020/Jan/16/searching-mersea-discussion-colchester-recalled-history-group/

University of York - York Heritage Research Seminars

Archaeology Department, Kings Manor, room K/159, Exhibition Square, York YO1 7EP

The YOHRS series features external speakers coming to discuss a wide range of heritage subjects, and are open to anyone who wishes to attend (no need to book!) Talks take place at 17:30 on Tuesdays during the Autumn and Spring terms, with drinks served from 17:15.

21.01.2020

"Embracing creativity: crafting heritage and mental wellbeing for the post-conflict Middle East"
Dr Zena Kamash will explore how creative, people-focussed approaches to heritage can rebuild a sense of individual and community pride and promote mental well-being in post-conflict situations.

28.01.2020

"Digital Cultural Heritage, replication and integration"
Stuart Jeffrey will examine the production of digital heritage objects, how this content can be delivered for



One of the more curious discoveries from Roman Britain is a group of headdresses once owned by the landlord of the Crown Hotel in Mundford, Suffolk, who seems to have acquired them from someone who dug them up while erecting a fence or gate post. They were from Cavenham Heath, and in the 1920s Nina Layard excavated at the said post (finding Roman pottery, tiles and a metal feather), bought the headdresses and gave them to Ipswich Museum. One consists of five copper-alloy discs linked together by chains and thought to have been worn over a cap, and two others are decorated copper-alloy crowns. The better preserved of the latter (above) can now be seen at **Colchester Castle Museum**, in "Adorn: Jewellery, the Human Story" (until February 16 2020), together with a new replica sporting two copper "feathers" either side of a central gem setting. Work of six modern jewellery makers born or now working in Essex features in this exhibition, the first to be held in the castle since it reopened in 2014 after a major refurbishment, and antiques range from Bronze Age gold to a Victorian mourning ring made with the deceased's hair. But star billing goes to Roman trinkets, from Fenwick Treasure gold earrings and a jet Medusa pendant, to Essex gems signed by their Greek makers

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- Inspiring children and young adults through our Youth Engagement partnerships, with 10,000 activity places arranged in 2019
- Enabling us to protect the UK's archaeological heritage and ensure it is accessible to all



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diverse audiences and how the integrated whole can be meaningfully constructed as a new object with its own biography.

18.02.2020

"Whose Objects? Towards amplifying the voice, visibility, and validity of Egyptian communities in Western museums". In this talk Heba Abd el Gawad uses Egyptian social media perceptions and representations of ancient Egyptian collections in Western museums and her recent Listen to Her! exhibition at the Petrie Museum of Egyptian archaeology to demonstrate that Western museums have a responsibility to forge relationships with modern Egyptian communities.

25.02.2020

"Measures of Emotion: Feeling out the Tools of Emotion Research in the Heritage and Culture Sector"
Jess Hoare will use research from a number of exhibitions and museum sites to examine the question of what is felt in museums and how this act of feeling might be understood in terms that reflect the difficult & conflicted nature of our personhood. ■



ALEXANDER KEILLER MUSEUM (2)

Last year the National Trust marked the UK's first century of women voters. Ros Cleal, curator of the Alexander Keiller Museum, Avebury, saw a chance to highlight the World Heritage Site's remarkable female archaeologists, and working with TrowelBlazers and trust colleagues created "Breaking Ground: Female Archaeologists at Avebury".
Bournemouth University was clever enough to pick it up, and the panels can now be seen in the Atrium Gallery, Poole House, Talbot Campus until December 18, with a selection of objects from the Keiller Museum scanned and 3D-printed for the occasion. Keiller, a wealthy eccentric, is inevitably prominent in the history of Avebury's archaeology, along with his Wiltshire nemesis Maud Cunnington. However, says Cleal, for his time he was unusually respectful of the women around him, gathering a talented group who included Dorothy Liddell (probably pointing in the Windmill Hill ditch in upper photo, right, taken in 1926), Doris Chapman, Kay Duncan, Marjorie James, Barbara Laidler and others. In 1960 Faith Vatcher (lower photo), a popular and skilled archaeologist excavating for the Ministry of Works, became the Keiller Museum's first official curator. She continued to dig while in post, recording several key sites around Avebury and Stonehenge ahead of their final annihilation by ploughing



Council for
British Archaeology



EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

There is an exciting opportunity to play a leading role in the development of archaeology across the UK.

The Council for British Archaeology is seeking to appoint a new Executive Director from April 2020 to succeed Dr Mike Heyworth MBE, who at the conclusion of the Council's 75th anniversary year is stepping down from the role after nearly 16 years.

The Council for British Archaeology (CBA) is an educational charity working throughout the UK to involve people in archaeology and to promote the appreciation and care of the historic environment for the benefit of present and future generations.

The CBA was founded in 1944 for the "safeguarding of all kinds of archaeological material and the strengthening of existing measures for the care of ancient and historic buildings, monuments, and antiquities", and to improve public education about archaeology.

Under the mission statement, Archaeology for All, we aim to deliver our strategy through four main objectives: participation, discovery, advocacy and sustainability. The new Executive Director will play a key part in drafting and delivering a new three-year strategy for the charity, working with trustees and staff.

The Executive Director will be responsible for the strategic operations of the CBA, acting as the Council's chief executive and reporting to the Chair of the trustees (currently Mr Ken Smith). Based at the CBA's office in York, this is a full-time post with an annual salary of £50,000 and additional benefits including over 30 days annual leave and an attractive pension, with an additional 10% of gross salary available as an employer's contribution to a pension scheme. Flexible working options will be considered.

A full application pack is available from the CBA secretariat: email CBAjobs@archaeologyuk.org or tel 01904 671417.

Closing date for applications: 09.00 on Monday 13 January 2020. Interviews will be held in York on 3 February 2020. It is hoped that the successful candidate will take up the new role from 1 April 2020.

For an informal conversation about the role, please contact Dr Mike Heyworth at the CBA office in York: email mikeheyworth@archaeologyuk.org or tel direct line 01904 521232.

The CBA is committed to equality of opportunity and welcomes applications from all sectors of society.

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Correspondent

Mike Heyworth reveals the winning nominations for the Marsh Archaeology Awards 2019



The four 2019 Marsh Archaeology Awards were presented in London in November

Every year the Council for British Archaeology (CBA), with the Marsh Christian Trust, makes three awards to individuals and projects involved in community archaeology. These awards are among 70 created by Brian Marsh, chairman of the trust, to recognise those who work out of love and dedication, rather than for fame or fortune. This year a fourth award was added to recognise the work of early career researchers in archaeology.

The awards were presented at the CBA's annual general meeting, held this year on November 22 at the Society of Antiquaries of London – where the CBA met for the first time 75 years ago.

Young Archaeologist of the Year

Anna Priest was presented with a Highly Commended certificate in recognition of her commitment to archaeology. She joined the Bexley Young Archaeologists' Club (YAC) branch in 2015 and became a young leader of the group when she turned 16. As well as developing her skills and experience in archaeology, she recently joined the YAC advisory committee and helped at the Museum of London to deliver a major event for the Festival of Archaeology.

A Highly Commended certificate was also presented to James Watts. Aged 11, James has already participated in two major excavations and has been a respected member of the team working with service veterans to aid their recovery from injury. He featured in the BBC4 *Digging for Britain* series and has been real archaeology ambassador, reaching out to the community during a public open day attended by over 300 people, and demonstrating emotional intelligence beyond his years supporting young participants with special needs.

The winner of the 2019 Young Archaeologist of the Year award was Roisin Hogarth. She is a very active member of the Flodden YAC branch and a member of the YAC advisory committee, and has a particular enthusiasm for archaeological fieldwork. Over the last three years Roisin has become an extremely active participant in local, community heritage projects, spending most of her weekends and school holidays working alongside other volunteers, community archaeology groups and professional archaeologists. She is now a well-known, liked and respected figure on the local community archaeology circuit.



Roisin Hogarth, 2019 Young Archaeologist of the Year

Community Archaeologist of the Year

The first Highly Commended nomination for Community Archaeologist of the Year was Adam Daubney. Until recently a finds liaison officer with the Portable Antiquities Scheme, Adam launched an Archaeology Café in Lincoln – a monthly meeting in a local café to share the fun of archaeology, aimed at breaking down the barrier between speaker and audience. More recently he has been



Eleanor Kingston, 2019 Community Archaeologist of the Year, with Charles Micklewright, a trustee from the Marsh Christian Trust

instrumental in the development of Wings to the Past – an eight-month community project that seeks to use archaeology to aid mental health resilience in RAF personnel and their families.

James Lyall was also Highly Commended in this category for his work as site director for Fridaythorpe Fimber Wetwang Archaeology Project's inaugural excavation carried out in partnership with the Roman Roads Research Association. Of the 68 who participated, 30 had never been on an excavation before. Subsequently James trained a small number of volunteers in magnetometry, and 35 fields and 85ha have now been surveyed.

The winner of the 2019 Community Archaeologist of the Year award was Eleanor Kingston. Eleanor is lead strategy advisor for the historic environment with the Lake Direct National Park Authority (LDNP). In recent years, in addition to encouraging and supporting a network of 70 LDNP volunteers, she actively engaged local communities in hands-on archaeology benefiting the park's historic environment. She has been responsible for the LDNP Archaeology Volunteer Network and organises an annual well-attended public conference on Lake District archaeology, disseminating the findings of community projects. Her enthusiasm, leadership, support and encouragement have involved a growing number of people in delivering successful community projects.

Marsh Award for Community Archaeology

The Roads to the Past project run by the newly formed Thornton-le-Street History Group (www.thorntonlestreetbigdig.com) was Highly Commended in this category. The community endeavour ran for three years, aiming to attract volunteers interested in exploring the past, regardless of previous experience, and to offer a supportive training environment so that everyone could improve their skills, knowledge and confidence. Research findings are being shared widely in many ways in professionally produced reports as well as open days, local press stories and village hall displays.

The Thixendale Craft & Social Group was also Highly Commended, for their work on the highly successful and innovative Hanging Grimston Art & Archaeology Project. It came about as a direct result of participation in the dig at Hanging Grimston. Some of those new to archaeology were so inspired by their experiences and the wonderful environment that they wanted to explore their response through art. The work led to the first Art & Archaeology Exhibition in 2017 followed by a second exhibition in 2019 to celebrate the end of research at the site after five years.

The winner of the 2019 Marsh Award for Community Archaeology was the Duddon Valley Local History Group (www.duddonhistory.org.uk) for their DuddonDig project (feature Nov/Dec 2019/169). Three seasons of excavation were the culmination of a project which started in 2006 with fieldwalking documenting over 3,000 previously unrecorded sites in the valley. With support from the LDNP and the National Trust, lottery funding was secured for excavations in which over 100 local people took part. Open days were held each season and there was an extensive schools programme. Many of the project volunteers have continued their interest on other digs and events.



Steve Cove (left) and Ken Day (right), representing the Duddon Valley Local History Group, winners of the 2019 Marsh Award for Community Archaeology

ADAM STANFORD [5]

Early Career Researcher of the Year

Danielle Bradford is Highly Commended in this new award category. Her undergraduate dissertation was a pilot study on sexual misconduct in archaeological fieldwork. She found that 23% of respondents from the University of Cambridge's archaeology and anthropology departments had experienced sexualised incidences, and 11% had been assaulted in the field. Danielle also highlighted a lack of adequate support for those affected, and worked with others to create a support group for students taking part in fieldwork, funded by Cambridge University Students' Union and the Graduate Union. The ground-breaking work has received international media attention, and she has been invited to speak at numerous conferences.

Also Highly Commended in this category is Samantha Stein who has a PhD from Sheffield University on Understanding Torksey, a landscape and geoarchaeological approach to Viking overwintering camps. Samantha has worked on the Ice Age Journeys project in Newark and undertaken work to explore paleochannels and the impact of Lake Humber on the development of the Trent Valley. She has been working as an assistant regional science advisor with Historic England and is now pursuing a freelance career.

The winner of the first Early Career Researcher of the Year award was Kevin Claxton. As an undergraduate at the University



Kevin Claxton, inaugural winner of the Early Career Researcher of the Year award

of York, Kevin wrote a dissertation on the site of the English Civil War Battle of Cheriton which went on to win several prizes. He classified a collection of artefacts recovered by amateur metal detectorists, and plotted their distribution to develop important new understandings of the battle. He is now undertaking a masters programme in field archaeology, and extending his research to the Battle of Marston Moor and other sites in northern England.

Nominations for the 2020 Marsh Archaeology Awards will open in the spring. Mike Heyworth is executive director of the Council for British Archaeology ■



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casefiles

Bob Sydes, listed buildings caseworker for England at the Council for British Archaeology, presents examples from the council's files

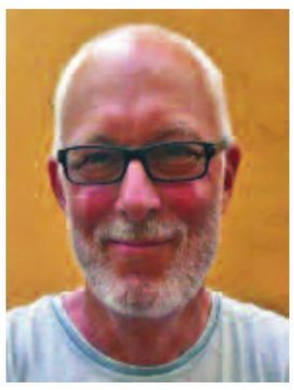
47. Bristol Royal Infirmary



PETER INSOLE/BRISTOL CITY COUNCIL

17th-century tenement boundaries incorporating earlier St James' Priory precinct wall

remains of 17th-century sugar refinery



Main photo shows archaeological evaluation this year at the site of the Royal Infirmary by Salford Archaeology

The Royal Bristol Infirmary dates from the mid to late 19th century. Below ground are remains of an earlier 18th-century infirmary and of a 17th-century sugar refinery, and potentially of the medieval St James Priory and a 16th-century mansion that replaced it. The site is in the St James Parade Conservation Area, which was enlarged in 2018 specifically to include the Infirmary in recognition of its substantial contribution to the character and appearance of this part of Bristol.

The site is subject to several planning and listed building consent applications, which include the partial demolition of "non-designated" heritage assets and damage and destruction of substantial subsurface archaeology, of possible national importance. The proposal highlights the crucial role that national amenity societies can play outwith the constraints of local planning authorities (including time, workload and political pressure) in raising issues that the National Planning Policy Framework (NPPF) treats very lightly.

Non-designated heritage assets, including most subsurface archaeology, are dealt with principally by NPPF paragraph 197. This requires a "balanced judgement" with "regard to the scale of any harm or loss and the significance of the heritage asset". Hidden in small print and often overlooked is Note 63, which usefully explains that "nationally important" archaeology should be "considered subject to the policies for designated heritage assets".

The local planning authority default response to sub-surface archaeology is usually conditional mitigation in the form of excavation, or monitoring and recording. The Council for British Archaeology (CBA) challenges this superficial treatment where we can and where it is appropriate.

Curiously, at the Bristol Infirmary only the Chapel is listed; the rest of the site is only locally listed and covered by a certificate of immunity (from listing) – hence its non-designated status. Part of the Infirmary, the Hill Block Ward, is proposed for demolition. The CBA challenges the attitude that buildings like this can be demolished because they are not listed, and because they do not suit the developer's business model. We have objected to demolition.

The impact of the proposed development on the substantial remains of the 17th-century sugar refinery is particularly important, as the business resonates strongly with Bristol's connections with the early slave trade and the opening of the West Indies trade routes from the 16th century onwards. Bearing in mind Bristol's diverse contemporary population this must surely be of the highest significance: and yet it receives no mention in the design & access statement, and only cursory examination in the archaeological written scheme of investigation.

The CBA objects to the demolition of the Hill Block Ward, and draws Bristol City Council's attention to the need for further evaluation of subsurface archaeology, particularly remains of the sugar refinery which we deem to have the potential to be nationally significant and important. We have also advised that any proposed archaeological mitigation is tied into a programme of wider community participation and engagement that reflects Bristol's contemporary population and its own ground-breaking Know your Place (http://maps.bristol.gov.uk/kyp).

This is a live planning application. You can keep up to date with it through our publicly accessible database: search for casework ID 154566 at https://casework.jcnas.org.uk. ■



Those crazy rocks

It's not often that archaeologists are able to persuade a prominent newspaper to change its copy. So on the face of it David Jacques should be congratulated for successfully lobbying the *Sunday Telegraph* to tweak an item about his excavation at Blick Mead in Wiltshire.

On November 2 the paper published a story that claimed the "people who built Stonehenge" lived in "Britain's first city" – known to archaeologists as a riverside Mesolithic site, used by hunter-gatherers millennia before Stonehenge was thought of. Jacques complained, and the online article was subtly amended; "city" was put in quotation marks, and the people who left their debris at Blick Mead were demoted to the "ancestors of Stonehenge builders". Linking Stonehenge with an ancient city, however, may seem a striking claim, in quotes or not. What lies behind this? And what can we learn from it?

As is almost always the case with science stories in the media, this one's origins lay in a press release. But journalists and their papers should take responsibility for what they publish, so let's start with the writer, the *Telegraph*'s science editor, Sarah Knapton. She has form for going with sensational angles, defending her reporting of a false claim that "E-cigarettes are no safer than smoking tobacco", for example. Or writing a recent piece headed, "Climate change: fake news or global threat? This is the science", which was criticised by scientists for mixing sense and nonsense, and effectively denying the reality of the climate crisis. A more knowledgeable or careful journalist would not have written that Stonehenge was built by hunter-gatherers who lived in a city, even if it said so in a PR statement.

Nonetheless, that release, again not written by an archaeologist, must take much of the blame. It was promoting a film in a series broadcast by National Geographic, called *Lost Cities with Albert Lin*. Lin is a personable, award-winning story-teller and "explorer", who likes technology as a means to engage a wide public. *Lost Cities* uses lidar to locate unmapped remains around the world, with Lin apparently dropping in as discoveries are made. It's not subtle. "I'm looking for the lost city of Stonehenge", says Lin, setting out on a new venture. And he finds it! "These crazy rocks!" he exclaims as he walks into the circle. "Perhaps Blick Mead was one of Europe's first cities!"

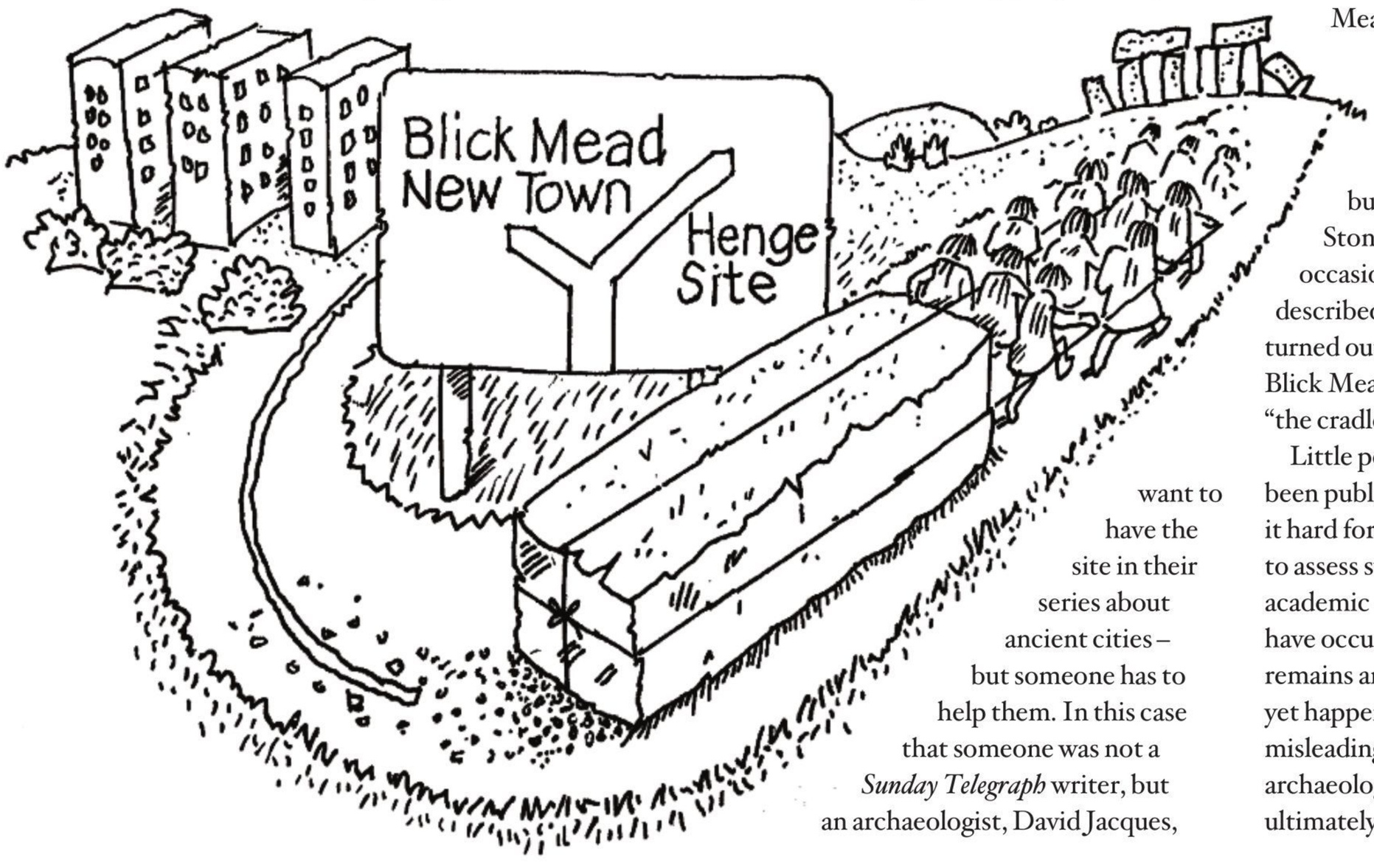
Lin and the British company that made the film are no more archaeologists than Sarah Knapton. They know Stonehenge has almost unmatched global appeal, and they want to have the site in their series about ancient cities – but someone has to help them. In this case that someone was not a *Sunday Telegraph* writer, but an archaeologist, David Jacques, and his press office at the University of Buckingham. Jacques may not have actually said, as the *Telegraph* did (and the other media that copied the story around the world), "Britain's first 'city' arose near an ancient spring on Salisbury Plain, and its inhabitants probably built Stonehenge." But he laid out the pieces.

Imagine you are a writer or a producer with little time. You need something new to link Stonehenge to a lost city, but you know nothing about archaeology. You go online. It doesn't take long before one excavation, apparently the only one currently taking place in the World Heritage Site, stands out: Blick Mead.

Jacques was clearly right to protest that hunter-gatherers were not urban dwellers, and that they did not build Stonehenge. What we know of Blick Mead suggests it was a location repeatedly visited by people over many generations. In that, and in conditions that allow poor preservation of bone and no wood, it is typical of a growing number of such sites across the UK (see feature May/Jun 2015/142). What makes it unique is its proximity to Stonehenge, and the depth of history it can bring for a wide public attracted by the stones.

But that is not how it has been presented. To quote Jacques and his press office, this is an excavation that will "rewrite British history". Blick Mead was "a really important place for the spread of ideas, new technologies and probably genes", "where the communities who built the first monuments at Stonehenge once lived". On one occasion a "standing stone" was described (on close inspection, this turned out to be a flint nodule), and Blick Mead has repeatedly been dubbed "the cradle of Stonehenge".

Little peer-reviewed research has been published on the site, which makes it hard for specialist archaeologists to assess such claims. The important academic debate that might normally have occurred about Blick Mead's remains and what they mean has not yet happened. It's good to correct misleading media reports. But it is archaeologists, not journalists, who ultimately create the stories. ■



MIKE SIGRIST

BINCHESTER ROMAN FORT

Binchester, or Vinovia to give it its Latin name, was the largest Roman fort in County Durham and was accompanied by a very extensive civil settlement.



Displayed remains include part of the commanding officer's residence with an attached bath-building. Excavated in the 1970s the bath-building features one of the best preserved examples of a hypocaust (underfloor heating system) in the whole of Britain.

During 2018 the timber building protecting the baths was replaced by a new and more robust structure' decorated internally in the Roman style affording a much improved visitor experience. Also on display are the stupendously well-preserved remains of part of the regimental bath-building outside the fort which has walls still standing 2 metres (7 feet) above Roman floor level.







Opening dates and times 2020:
Wednesday April 1st until Saturday October 31st Daily 10.00am-4.30pm
Entrance fees:
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Contact details: tel: 01388 663089. Out of season: 03000 267013.
www.durham.gov.uk/binchester

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Monday May 25 Bank Holiday - Ancient Crafts and Technology
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Monday August 31 Bank Holiday – Roman Military displays.
Events commence at 11.00am, repeated 2.00pm.

Location
The fort lies about 1 mile north of Bishop Auckland beside the road that runs from the town hall square to Newfield. It is signposted from A690 Durham-Crook, from A688 Spennymoor-Bishop Auckland, and from Bishop Auckland town centre. Postcode DL14 8DJ. Because of the sharp turn in to the access lane, coaches are strongly advised to approach from Bishop Auckland town hall square via Wear Chare (turn at the Merry Monk Inn).

Facilities and restrictions
There is ample parking space for cars and coaches. The majority of the site is fully accessible and the reception building incorporates a shop selling souvenirs and a range of publications and modest refreshment facilities. The site has portaloo toilets.
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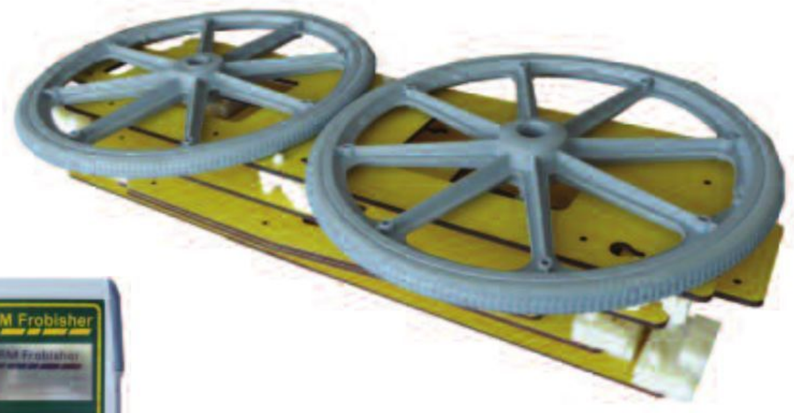
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