



INTER-SECTION

Innovative approaches by Junior Archaeological Researchers

I



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Volume I

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and their inheritors
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The Board of the Faculty of Archaeology congratulates the editors of INTER-SECTION: Innovative Approaches by Junior Archaeological Researchers on its strong first edition.

Because it is important that results of archaeological research, also that undertaken by students, are available to a larger scholarly and lay audience, and because it is important that students experience early on what it means to publish in a peer-reviewed journal, the Faculty Board applauds the establishment of this journal and has decided to subsidize it for the first three years.

We wish the journal, its editors and the student authors every success.

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Peter Akkermans, vice-Dean and chair of education

David Fontijn, chair of research

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‘PUBLISH OR PERISH’? PRESENTING THE WORK OF JUNIOR ARCHAEOLOGISTS TO A BROADER AUDIENCE

*Dean Peeters¹, Robin Nieuwenkamp²
Mette B. Langbroek³, Roosmarie J.C. Vlaskamp⁴*

We are very proud to present the first volume of INTER-SECTION: Innovative Approaches by Junior Archaeological Researchers! This journal emanates from the observation that student research which is carried out conform high theoretical and methodological standards is generally only read by a handful of people, as it is solely reported in theses and other written assignments. Often, however, such work would be a valuable contribution to the archaeological discourse and could provide ‘fresh’, innovative views on Archaeology as a discipline. Our aim is to make student research, carried out at the Faculty of Archaeology, Leiden University, available to a broader public by stimulating these junior archaeologists to write a short, focused article, counselled by a faculty teacher. Reviewing of these articles by renowned external specialists further aids in the amendment of these papers and provides an invaluable experience for a future academic career. INTER-SECTION is a platform where gathered knowledge of the past and innovative ambitions for the future meet, and are united to produce articles that appeal to a broad audience of archaeologists.

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Background

In September 2014 Leiden University’s Faculty of Archaeology celebrated the opening of the renovated *van Steenis* building with the two-day symposium: ‘Archaeology in Transition’. Here, faculty staff members, students, and external invitees congregated to discuss the nature and future of Archaeology. At a given moment, one of the invited scholars raised the point that, unfortunately, only very few students aim to publish research they carried out during their studies. In discussing the potential reasons for this, students proclaimed insecurity on the relevance of their work to a broader archaeological field, as well as mere inexperience and unfamiliarity with the process of publication to be the source of their hesitance. While studying essentially should be aimed at

exploring and developing yourself, your interests, capabilities and, especially, getting grip on the driving forces that made you decide to study Archaeology, the current academic climate increasingly expects students to do more than the study program principally demands, an actuality that often only reveals itself after graduation. Fortunately, the study program offers many possibilities to do so. The faculty’s wide range of specializations provide both theoretical and thematic courses that are often well attended by students who do not take these subjects as a main specialization, thereby broadening their archaeological scope and knowledge. Furthermore, the individual research projects of faculty staff members with a field-work component, provide ample opportunities to acquire additional experience during a student’s degrees.

Apart from the extracurricular activities commonly accommodated by educational institutions, academic employees increasingly expect junior archaeologists to have excelled even further. When applying for academic grants or vacancies, a candidate's capability to set up and carry out research that is methodologically solid, innovative, and societally relevant are considered among the main criteria. The ability to do so is often tested by the amount of presented posters or papers at international conferences and publications during their studies, whilst this is generally not part of the regular curriculum. It seems that the phrase 'publish or perish', heretofore used to stress the competitive academic environment established researchers find themselves in, nowadays becomes increasingly applicable to junior archaeologists who are just venturing into the arena.

In the light of these developments, we, a group of four (former) Research Master students, have worked out the idea to create a journal that functions as an accessible and stimulating platform, and facilitates students' first steps on the academic ladder. Publications in such a journal would not only benefit the author's curriculum vitae, but would additionally allow the extensive amount of data annually being produced and analysed by Leiden's students to be accessed by the broader archaeological community. Initial pitching of this idea at both students and teachers revealed that a faculty journal for the publication of junior research is indeed much desired. The end-product of almost a year's work of discussing, creating, calling for papers, writing, reviewing, adapting, and editing lies before you. The journal is named "*INTER-SECTION*", symbolizing the wide range of archaeological discourses being studied and taught at Leiden's Faculty of Archaeology.

Aims

Archaeology is an intrinsically multi-disciplinary conduct, investigating the materialization of human activities in distinct geographic regions and varying time periods by the application of a wide range of methodologies. Because a single archaeologist is never specialized in all of these, and research groups are strongly rooted in traditional approaches, looking beyond the imaginary borders of sub-disciplines may fuel innovative approaches and lead to surprising insights. As much as the application of multiple approaches is argued typical for archaeological research, multi-disciplinarity does not necessarily imply inter-disciplinarity. Because geographic regions and time periods, and their adjacent methodological and theoretic approaches can strongly vary, understanding of past human activities can only be reached in its full extent through continuous interaction between sub-disciplines. The broad and diverse scientific staff of Leiden's faculty, and its educational *World Archaeology* programme being structured around broader research themes, creates great potential for doing so. Instead of focusing on a particular method, region, or time-periods, at *INTER-SECTION* we therefore aim to consciously bring together the approaches of individual students in order to stimulate broader theoretical and methodological discussions, and present

the sub-disciplines of archaeology with alternative approaches.

We do realize that writing an article is a completely different exercise than the common written assignments students are familiar with such as essays, internship reports, or dissertations, and as such demands a style of writing which generally remains unpractised by the average student. In order to ensure that students are well guided in the writing process we rely on the invaluable experience of the faculty's teaching staff. Each author is supported by a 'referee', often the teaching supervisor of the course or thesis an article is based on, who aids by proofreading the initial drafts and discussing how these can be improved. The peer-review process is set up in such a way that external specialists in the field of research provide additional suggestions for improvement. Following the criteria for publication, authors are stimulated to evaluate the impact of their own results on a broader scale, which causes their articles to provide an interesting, interactive, and important read for their archaeological peers. We truly hope that the joint effort of students, teachers, alumni and external researchers in the creation of *INTER-SECTION*, leads to an increase of the publication of student research in the future.

Practical Details

INTER-SECTION: Innovative Approaches by Junior Archaeological Researchers is an open-access journal. It is published twice a year, digitally available online (<http://www.inter-section.nl>), and printed in limited numbers. For each of the forthcoming volumes we plan to publish between 5 and 7 articles. To further stimulate the publicity of research conducted by archaeology students, each volume will contain an overview of all undergraduate and graduate thesis titles that have been approved since the previous volume. We gladly invite everyone to distribute *INTER-SECTION* publications amongst their personal network and welcome students to send in proposals, for which the details can be found on our website.

Acknowledgments

First and foremost we would like to thank the members of the Faculty Board for their critiques and support, without which the realization of this initiative would not have been possible. We are also very grateful to the professors and associate professors who have been willing to become members of our Editorial Advisory Committee. Your experience, enthusiasm, advice, and the practical help in finding adequate peer-reviewers, have been invaluable in the setting up of this journal. Additional thanks are addressed to the teaching referees, and the anonymous reviewers, who were so kind to take the time to provide the authors with constructive remarks and suggestions for further improvements of their articles, contributing to the academic quality we pursue. Last, but definitely not least, we are very grateful for the enthusiasm of the contributing authors, Samuel Cardenas Meijers, Fenno Noij and Amy Quinn, who worked very hard to realize the first volume of *INTER-SECTION: Innovative Approaches by Junior Archaeological Researchers*.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL SITES IN LIMA AND THEIR INHERITORS: COMMUNITY ENGAGEMENT IN THE MANAGEMENT OF HUACAS IN LIMA

Samuel Cárdenas Meijers

Abstract

This article takes a look into the current heritage management of archaeological sites in the Peruvian capital Lima while focusing on community engagement. Furthermore, it examines how these archaeological sites, which have no significant value for the community, can be transformed to cultural centres within the urban area in which they are situated. Archaeological sites can have three functions for the local community which can be benefited, namely cultural, educational, and of entertainment. The engagement of the local community can eventually result in the preservation of a site and the development of the community. In this view, they can take three roles in the management of archaeological sites, namely managers, users, and preservers. This article contributes to the understanding of how archaeological sites, which are situated in an urban area, can be valorised. Furthermore, it shows which efforts can be made to engage a local community with their archaeological heritage. And last, it gives an example of how local communities can participate in the management of archaeological sites.

Keywords

Civil initiatives, Community programs, Cultural centres, Social change, Preservation of sites

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Introuction

The metropolitan area of Lima in Peru has a population of approximately 9,8 million inhabitants, who are living in 49 districts that are spread over three river valleys, the Chillón, Rímac, and Lurín (Chirinos Cubillas 2013, 42; <http://proyectos.inei.gob.pe>). Around 447 archaeological sites are incorporated in this urban area which include structures of which their datings go back for over 4000 years (Lizarzaburu 2015). Nowadays, the Peruvian population refers to these archaeological sites as *huacas* (Chirinos Cubillas 2013, 42). The term *huaca* derives from the words *Waq*a (in Quechua) and *Wak'a* (in Aymara)¹, and was used in pre-Columbian times to define sacredness (Rostworowski 1983 in Astvaldsson 2004, 3). The majority of the *huacas* that are situated in Lima were built, used, and/or reused by the pre-Columbian cultures, Lima (A.D. 200-700), Wari (A.D. 550-1000), and Ychsma (A.D. 900-1534) (Chirinos Cubillas 2013, 42;

Flores Espinoza 2012, 19-20). Additionally, there are examples of *huacas* from earlier periods, such as Huaca el Paraíso (4000 years old) and Garagay (3500 years old) (Ravines 1985, 24; Stanish 2001, 46).

Although the 447 monumental structures from the metropolitan area of Lima have an irreplaceable value for the history of this area, they are being used as latrines, waste dumps, smoking areas for drug addicts, and even as mountain bike tracks (García Bendejú 2014). According to a report of 2013, nearly 60 percent of the *huacas* was in danger of being invaded or destructed (Fernández Calvo 2013). In order to preserve them, a 'cultural centre approach' seems to have great potential. By applying it, the cultural, educational, and entertaining functions of a *huaca* are benefited. In addition, the surrounding community can take several roles in its management, including 'managers', 'users',

and ‘preservers’. This article looks at the possibilities that are offered by a cultural centre approach. First, it discusses the archaeological on-site museum Huaca Pucllana, an example of a *huaca* that fulfils the role of a ‘cultural centre’; then it takes a look into community programs that take place in other *huacas* in Lima and are aimed at engaging the community with its heritage; and last, it revises a management plan for all the *huacas* in Lima focusing on community engagement.

Methodology

This research aims at creating an overview of the cultural heritage management of archaeological sites in Lima since there have not been many publications concerning this topic. In addition, it examines the way in which the local community² is engaged with its archaeological heritage. Furthermore, it proposes to merge all the efforts that are being taken to preserve the archaeological sites into one model, keeping the engagement of the community in mind. In this model a ‘cultural centre approach’ is important. This term will be explained later on.

The method of research contained an internship at the on-site museum Huaca Pucllana in which participation, observation, and interviews with employees were essential to obtain the information that was needed. Regarding the current

management of archaeological sites in Lima, other sources rather than academic publications were consulted due to their absence. These include written law, reports, and publications from the Ministry of Peru and the Metropolitan Municipality of Lima, as well as news articles, social media, and an interview with Mr Jose Contreras Velez, the founder of the initiative *Salvemos Las Huacas* (Let us save the *Huacas*). This is one of the civil initiatives concerned with the management of archaeological sites in Lima.

Cultural centre approach

This approach encourages for an archaeological site to be a cultural centre. In this case, the collaboration between central and local authorities and the local community is very important. This type of cultural centre can have three functions for the community: cultural (organising cultural events), educational (organising programs that influence the development of the participants), and of entertainment (organising activities or events). The main goal of the activities, events, and programs is to valorise the archaeological sites in order to preserve them. By participating, the local community can take three roles in the management of the sites, namely manager, user, and preserver. This approach is based on the idea of valorising an archaeological site to be a cultural centre within an urban area (Flores Espinoza



Figure 1. Archaeological Summer Workshop for kids (District Municipality of Miraflores).

2002, 373) combined with the essence of a management plan for all the *huacas* in Lima (Municipalidad Metropolitana de Lima 2014) and a research on civil initiatives that are concerned with the preservation of archaeological sites in Lima. The potential of the cultural centre approach lies in that it could be applied to urban areas with archaeological sites that need to be valorised, keeping in mind the engagement of local communities.

The cultural centre Huaca Pucllana

The archaeological site Huaca Pucllana is one of the many huacas in Lima, and is located in the District Municipality of Miraflores. The complex was built around 500 B.C. and served as a ceremonial centre within Lima society (Silvera La Torre 2012, 313). Through time, the site has been reused for almost 1000 years (Flores Espinoza 2005, 87 and 91). Eventually in 1981, after years of being in danger of destruction, a valorisation project for Huaca Pucllana was authorised by the INC and, as part of the project, an on-site museum was opened in 1984 (Flores Espinoza 2002, 370).

Since the creation of the museum, one of its aims has been to function as a cultural centre within the urban area (Flores Espinoza 2002, 373). The research carried out by the author has shown that it is achieving this aim while engaging the local community in an active way (Cárdenas Meijers 2015, 96-97). The cultural, educational, and entertaining functions of Huaca Pucllana as a cultural centre are visible through the programs and activities that it offers. The cultural function is realised through the events that take place at the plaza of the complex, such as concerts, opera and theatre (Cárdenas Meijers 2015, 73). While the educational function is achieved through the archaeological summer workshops for kids (since 1988) (fig. 1), internship possibilities for students (since 1982), and a former excavation program for neighbours in which they assisted the archaeologists (Cárdenas Meijers 2015, 56; Flores Espinoza 2012, 371). Last, the entertain-

<i>Function</i>	Cultural	Educational	Entertaining
<i>Actor</i>			
Ministry of Culture	<i>The Huaca narrates to us</i> (Storytelling, guided tour, workshop)	- <i>Clean Huaca, Lively Huaca</i> (Cleaning of sites and guided tours) - <i>Transforming my past, transforming my city</i> (Conservation program for youngsters of rehabilitation centers)	<i>(The Huaca narrates to us)</i>
Metropolitan Municipality of Lima (MML)	<i>Cinema at your huaca*</i>	Workshops and guided tours for schools*	<i>(Cinema at your huaca*)</i>
Civil Initiatives	Cultural festivities and artistic demonstrations	Cooperation with schools (Workshops, organizing activities such as cleaning of sites)	- Guided cycling tours - <i>Huacas, Bubbles, and Rock 'n Roll*</i> (Concerts at huacas)

Table 1. Community programs and activities in Lima vs. the functions of a huaca (* Programs that have ceased).

ning function by a current event, *Cinema under the stars at Huaca Pucllana*^A, by which popular movies are screened (Diario Correo 22 April 2015).

Focusing on Huaca Pucllana, a cultural centre approach seems to be beneficial on two

levels: the social change and/or development of the community and the preservation of the site. Programs that aim at involving the community with museums have to operate *for* the community rather than for the museum itself (Dierking 2013, 206-207). Programs that follow this view have proved to benefit the com-



Figure 2. The 'hug' for the huaca (Peruvian Ministry of Culture)

munity in several ways. This includes identity building by affiliation and membership through active involvement and volunteering, role development (obtaining a social role, which helps to foster self-esteem and empowerment), and social role valorisation (obtaining a social role that is respected by society) (Silverman 2010, 55-56). Furthermore, community programs aimed at adolescents have contributed to the self-development of the participants: their self-confidence strengthened, their interest and attitude toward science improved, as well as improvement of communication, career preparation and other life skills, tolerance of other people and cultures, and their cultivation of a sense of civic responsibility (Dierking 2013, 208). Another goal of the museum is to raise awareness within the community about the importance of their archaeological heritage. When a local community is aware of this importance, it can contribute to the preservation of the sites in an active way. The first step is to know, but also understand, the value of their heritage. When they do have the *knowledge* of the importance of their cultural heritage, they will have the *power*, through active participation, to influence the management of their cultural heritage (Nordeflycht Concha 2004).

Community programs and the other *huacas* within Lima

The heritage management of Huaca Pucllana is sometimes seen as a model that can be applied to

other *huacas* (González-Olaechea 2014). However, the conditions in other districts are different than that of this *huaca*, which is located in one of the wealthiest districts of Lima. Nevertheless, there are being made efforts at other *huacas* to engage the community with its archaeological heritage.

Although only three percent of the *huacas* in Lima is in social use (Municipalidad Metropolitana de Lima 2014, 4), there has been an increase of community engagement in the management of *huacas* over the past two decades (Cárdenas Meijers 2015, 76). This engagement is achieved through programs and activities that are offered by three actors: 1) The Ministry of Culture, 2) The Metropolitan Municipality of Lima (MML), and 3) Civil initiatives. The emergence of civil initiatives is a remarkable trend, which demonstrates the concern of the society of Lima for the preservation of the *huacas* (pers. comm. with Contreras Velez). By organising programs and activities at the *huacas*, their different functions (cultural, educational, and entertaining) are exploited.

As table 1 shows, the authorities (local and central) have been exploiting the three functions of a *huaca*. It must be noted that some events can fulfil several roles at the same time. An example is the event *The huaca narrates to us*: a cultural and entertaining event that is aimed at children between four and eight years old which consists of storytelling (based on pre-Columbian stories) in combination with songs and workshops (such as pottery-making), as well as guided tours, and which ends with ‘a hug for the *huaca*’ by which children form a circle around a *huaca* symbolizing their promise to preserve it (fig. 2) (Guzmán *et al.* 2014, 7-9). Other



Figure 3. Cyclist Club Defender of the Huacas (*Círculo Ciclista Protector de las Huacas*)

activities include the cleaning of sites, guided tours, workshops for schools, and a 'cinema event' similar to the one at Huaca Pucllana. The difference is that *Cinema at your huaca* consists of a combination between theatre and cultural movies (Municipalidad Metropolitana de Lima 2014, 31). The engagement of schools through workshops and guided tours encourage the development of the children in an active way and, at the same time it raises awareness of the importance of their heritage. The event *Transforming my past, transforming my city* encourages the development of 'troubled' youngsters and provides them a new chance in society (Guzmán *et al.* 2014, 9).

The civil initiatives organise programs and activities similar to those of the authorities, including guided tours, cleaning of sites, cultural events, and workshops, among other things. The use of social media like Facebook and blogs is characteristic for these initiatives, which helps the initiatives to reach a large audience and diffuse news and information about activities and other initiatives. These initiatives can be divided into 'local' and 'general' initiatives. Local initiatives put an emphasis on local heritage and usually cooperate with local schools. Together with the local community they organise guided tours around heritage sites, artistic demonstrations, and the cleaning of heritage sites (Chirinos Cubillas 2013, 48). General initiatives put an emphasis on heritage in general and organise programs or activities that incorporate several *huacas*. To illustrate, every month the initiative *Cyclist Club Defender of the Huacas* organises guided cycling tours around huacas in Lima (fig. 3), and aims at raising awareness for the valorisation of archaeological sites (www.facebook.com/Circulo). The initiative *Let us save the Huacas* promotes the idea of the guardianship of archaeological heritage in which educational centres play an important role: teachers should take their role as leaders (pers. comm. with Contreras Velez). This initiative tries to create partnerships with similar initiatives and offers them technical and pedagogic support, which includes the mapping of archaeological sites and workshops for teachers at educational centres. *Let us save the Huacas* also supports activities from other initiatives like guided tours, cleaning of sites, and cultural activities, among others. The collaboration between civil initiatives in general is becoming more common (pers. comm. with Contreras Velez).

The discussed programs and activities, in combination with a cultural centre approach, show three roles that the community can take in the management of *huacas*, namely: managers, users, and

preservers. The emergence of a civil movement that is concerned with the preservation of archaeological sites shows that the community is willing and capable of being involved in the management of sites. Furthermore, the community can 'use' the archaeological sites by taking advantage of their different roles (cultural, educational, and entertaining). An important element of this usage is that it can contribute to the development of the community on several levels. Lastly, the community can contribute to the preservation of the sites by getting involved in the community programs, activities, and civil initiatives.

Plan: My huaca, legacy that unites us

The management of Huaca Pucllana, including the engagement of the community, is the result of a well-planned and long-term valorisation project. This is not the case with the management of the majority of *huacas* in Lima, as only 17 *huacas* are involved in long-term valorisation projects (Municipalidad Metropolitana de Lima 2014, 4). However, the community programs and activities, which reinforce *huacas* as cultural centres, show a great potential for the management of *huacas* that simultaneously involves the community in an active way. The main problem at this moment is the fragmentation of the management of *huacas*: they are not managed as one group.

As the result of a convention for the cooperation between the Ministry of Culture and the MML in 2013, in July 2014, the Board of Culture (as part of the MML) presented a plan for the management of the *huacas* of Lima as a whole, including the study, preservation, and management of archaeological sites (Ministerio de Cultura y Municipalidad Metropolitana de Lima 2013; Municipalidad Metropolitana de Lima 2014, 31). This plan, *Plan: My Huaca, legacy that unites us*⁵, can be seen as the first long-term management plan in which community involvement plays an important role. It incorporates the programs and activities that are offered by the Ministry of Culture and the MML, creating a network of *huacas* in which they act as cultural centres. Moreover, one of the aims of the plan is to identify social actors that have an interest in archaeological sites, as well as the community, in order to find partners and resources (Municipalidad Metropolitana de Lima 2014, 2). This creates an opportunity to involve partners that are essential for the implementation of this plan: the civil initiatives that are concerned with the preservation of the archaeological sites in Lima. Another group of society that could be incorporated into the plan are universities, such as the National University Federi-

co Villareal, the National University of San Marcos, or the Pontifical Catholic University of Peru, and their students whom studies are related to archaeology and heritage management. By doing so, future archaeologists will gather experience in the ability of engaging the community into their heritage.

Sadly enough, because of the formation of a new metropolitan municipal government this January (2015), 40 percent of the employees of the Board of Culture have been discharged. Furthermore, all cultural programs are going to be revised (*El Comercio* 10 January 2015). Up until now, it is not clear which programs are going to be continued. For this reason it is uncertain if the plan *My Huaca, legacy that unites us* will be executed. By cancelling the plan, the opportunity to merge the efforts of different actors (Ministry of Culture, MML, Civil Initiatives) into one model will be lost. The loss will be big, given the fact that a cultural centre approach seems to be effective: the cultural, educational, and entertaining roles of the *huacas* are being exploited through programs and activities, giving the community the opportunity to fulfil several roles within the management of *huacas* (managers, users, preservers). The engagement of the community is essential in the management of *huacas* and needs to be encouraged, especially because of the growing willingness of the community to be involved with this management.

Conclusion

To conclude, a big part of the 447 archaeological sites in Lima is in danger of being destroyed or invaded. In addition, they are used as waste dumps, public toilets, and mountain bike tracks, among other things. However, managing the *huacas* of Lima in the view of a cultural centre approach seems to have great potential. An example of this is the archaeological on-site museum Huaca Pucllana, which exploits the different roles that a *huaca* can fulfil (cultural, educational, and entertaining). This has two results: a) the preservation of the site, and b) the development of the community. Regarding the cultural heritage management of other *huacas* in Lima, three actors are involved: the Ministry of Culture, the Metropolitan Municipality of Lima (MML), and civil initiatives. This is done by engaging the local community with its cultural heritage in an active way through guided tours, cleaning of sites, workshops, and organising events, among other things. By organising activities and programs the three actors exploit the cultural, educational, and entertaining functions of *huacas*. The combination of a 'cultural centre' approach with the programs and activities that are offered reveal the several roles

that the community can take in the management of archaeological sites, namely: managers, users, and preservers. The only thing that is missing is a management model for *huacas* as a whole. Sadly enough, a management plan including all *huacas* is cancelled up until now. Hopefully the future will change this situation, because there is a great potential in the current management of *huacas*, and maybe more importantly, the community seems to be willing to be involved in this management.

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¹ Quechua and Aymara are, besides Spanish, both official languages in Peru (Fowks 2015).

² When discussing the term 'local community', this article refers to the group of people who lives near an archaeological site.

³ *Instituto Nacional de Cultura* (National Institute of Culture), nowadays the Ministry of Culture of Peru.

⁴ All Spanish-English translations by the author.

⁵ *Plan: Mi Huaca Herencia que nos une.*

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SMILING SLAVES: FIGURAL DEPICTIONS OF CLASSICAL COMEDY'S 'CLEVER SLAVE' IN A ROMAN SOCIAL CONTEXT

Amy Quinn

Abstract

A paucity of identifiable archaeological material makes it difficult to locate slavery in the archaeological record, but the figurines of slave characters in Roman comedy represent a rich, untapped resource. One character in particular, the 'clever slave' (*servus callidus*), with his devious schemes and sharp wit, captured the imagination of Roman society. This clever slave's popularity is attested archaeologically, with thousands of charming figurines spanning different time periods and geographical areas of the Classical world. Much discussed in the field of classics, no previous work has been undertaken to examine this character from an archaeological perspective in terms of its societal significance. Slave statuettes have been unearthed in homes, sanctuaries and tombs- diverse contexts that hint at their multitudinous purposes. By examining a representative sample of the material evidence alongside comedic texts I provide an in-depth look at *servus callidus* figurines: their form and iconography, their archaeological contexts and their potential agency for the society that produced and purchased them.

Keywords

servus callidus, Roman comedy, slavery archaeology, slave figurine, Plautus

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Only in recent years has archaeology's potential to contribute to ancient slavery studies been recognised, though many researchers remain reluctant to tackle slavery from an archaeological standpoint thinking it unglamorous in respect of artefacts, unrewarding in terms of information and ill-fitting with the current trend for agency theory in archaeological research (Webster 2008, 110-111). Ascertaining the agency of slaves in the ancient world proves challenging given that slave culture was embedded in the fabric of everyday life, making the remains indistinguishable from other material (George 2013, 15; Mullins 2008, 124-125). We must turn to other evidence to enhance our knowledge of slave culture, and it is in this vacuum that I conduct this examination of slave figurines, specifically an artefact type representing the most popular character in Roman comedy: the 'clever slave'.

The character of the clever slave in Roman drama is particularly fascinating as a wickedly heroic figure, beloved despite his lowly position within Roman society. His Latin epithet, *servus callidus*, translates as skilful or cunning slave and the surviving comedies frequently portray him as the gossipy narrator, facilitating interaction with the audience. He is blatantly shown to be cleverer than his master (e.g. Plautus *Ps.* 1-130), which is intriguing considering the staunchly hierarchical society of ancient Rome. The examination of the clever slave has been polarised between the academic spheres of classics and archaeology, with each field making little reference to the other, and there is much potential for new insights to be gained by employing a tandem approach.

Research Methodology

The referenced material is by no means intended

to constitute all archaeological evidence for the clever slave of which there are thousands of figurines found across all regions of ancient Greece and Rome as well as Cyprus, Asia Minor, Egypt and the Levant. Establishing their context would help attest to the purpose and meaning of these artefacts, but is complicated by the lack of a solid archaeological context for many objects. Another obstacle is the debatable classification of clever slave iconography as styles naturally change and evolve over time and large geographical areas. An iconographical analysis has been conducted by looking in depth at 39 statuettes that, in my estimation, depict the clever slave through very distinct use of an iconographical motif.¹ To distinguish works from different periods one must differentiate between the more rigid conception or motif and the style of the piece, which is changeable (Zadoks-Josephus Jitta 1984, 9). Fig. 1 shows how the iconographical motif of the clever slave is heavily indebted to its Greek comedy origins, with the main characteristics recognisable in each style. Greek comedy of the third century BCE saw slave roles become individualised- from these distinctions the clever slave emerged with his striking iconographical markers (Webster *et al.* 1995a, 1). The first statuette could be termed a proto-clever slave, produced before this character was noted for these physical attributes particularly; the slave is seated on an altar after claiming sanctuary with a hand raised to his face, looking forlorn. Comparing this figure with a Roman clever slave also seated on an altar one can see they share the grinning upturned mouth, framed by the outer-edges of a beard, with the furrowed brow a manifestation of their conniving temperament (Bieber 1961, 189; Webster *et al.* 1995a, 27-28). These attributes constituted my main criteria for identifying the clever slave assemblage; the trademark “trumpet-mouth”, a distorted face and short tunic that became the quintessential indicators of this character.

The wily slave was present in the Greek comedy of Menander (from 320 BCE), though simply as a comedic turn and plot exposition. It was the second century BCE Latin playwright Plautus who adopted and adapted the cunning slave character and placed him at the forefront of his plays, which coincides with the increased popularity of the character in the material record (tab. 1). The description that Plautus provides echoes the unflattering figural portrayal:

*“Bright red hair, protruding belly,
Rather swarthy, chubby calves,
With large head, ruddy face, sharp eyes...”*
(Pseudolus 1218-20) (tr. Smith 1991)

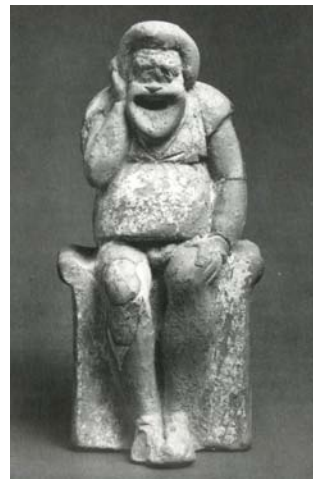


Figure 1. Above: Terracotta figurine of drunken slave: second century BCE, Cyprus, Height: 11.1cm, Australian National University, Canberra (Green et al. 2003, 54); Below Left: Terracotta figurine of slave sitting on an altar, 330-310 BCE, Piraeus, Height: 13cm, British Museum; Below Right: Bronze clever slave seated on an altar: early first century CE, Roman, Height: 11.2cm, British Museum (Green and Handley 1995, 66 fig. 41; 82 fig. 54)

Figurines from across the Greek and Roman world, ranging from the fourth century BCE to the second century CE were examined in terms of their clever slave iconography to explore the form and development of these pieces, to chart their popularity and to illuminate their varied archaeological contexts. Conscious of bringing together such eclectic material, the study of the cultural interpretation of this character employs Plautus and Roman society as an anchor in this timeline.

Comic Archaeology

The trickster slave’s origins can be found as far back as the fourth century BCE, though slave statuettes were not uncovered in notable quantities till after the time of Menander (c. 290 BCE) (Webster *et al.* 1995a, 78 fig. 16) The first costumed comic actor figurines were immortalised in terracotta at the start of the fourth century BCE in Athens, where they were produced and exported. Terracottas were manufactured cheaply and are therefore excellent indicators of the impact of theatre on a wide social spectrum. Depictions of theatrical characters reveal a much broader social enjoyment of theatre than is suggested by the written sources (Easterling and Hall 2002, xviii). The production of these figures continued into late antiquity, with the objects copied by local centres of production in Italy and throughout the Greek world for a mass market (Csapo and Slater 1995, 55). From 320 BCE, slaves begin to dominate the comic theatral material with their growing popularity peaking in the period 150-50 CE (tab. 1) (Webster *et al.* 1995a, 82 fig. 27). At this time Plautus provided the fullest, most entertaining interpretation of this character to the point where the clever slave became the most recognisable symbol of Roman comedy.

At this time, bronze was increasing as a popular media for theatral art which may indicate that these motifs entered a high level of Roman

society originally, inspired by Greek and Hellenistic designs, though there is still plenty of cheaper material as well (Webster *et al.* 1995a, 61 fig. 6).² From 50 BCE-50 CE slaves would remain the most well-liked image of comedy and likely expressed an active passion for the theatre (Webster *et al.* 1995a, 58 fig. 5; 66-67). From 50-180 CE, there is a striking dwindling in the finds of comic material, possibly the result of changing interests and fashions. The close of the second century CE saw the clever slave’s era of popularity come to an end with the continued lessening of comic objects across the board (Webster *et al.* 1995a, 74).

Staging the Figurines

There is a plausible presumption that many of the surviving statuettes were used decoratively in domestic settings, though for most pieces their archaeological context is unknown. There is also a current tendency to excavate other types of sites (e.g. burial) which affects this kind of context analysis. Comic figurines have been uncovered in the houses of Olynthos, which was destroyed in 348 BCE and remains one of the few urban sites in Greece to have been completely excavated (Green 1994, 38). Despite these constraints, comparable comic depictions strengthen the argument for the placement of these statuettes in domestic contexts.

From the second century BCE, the villas

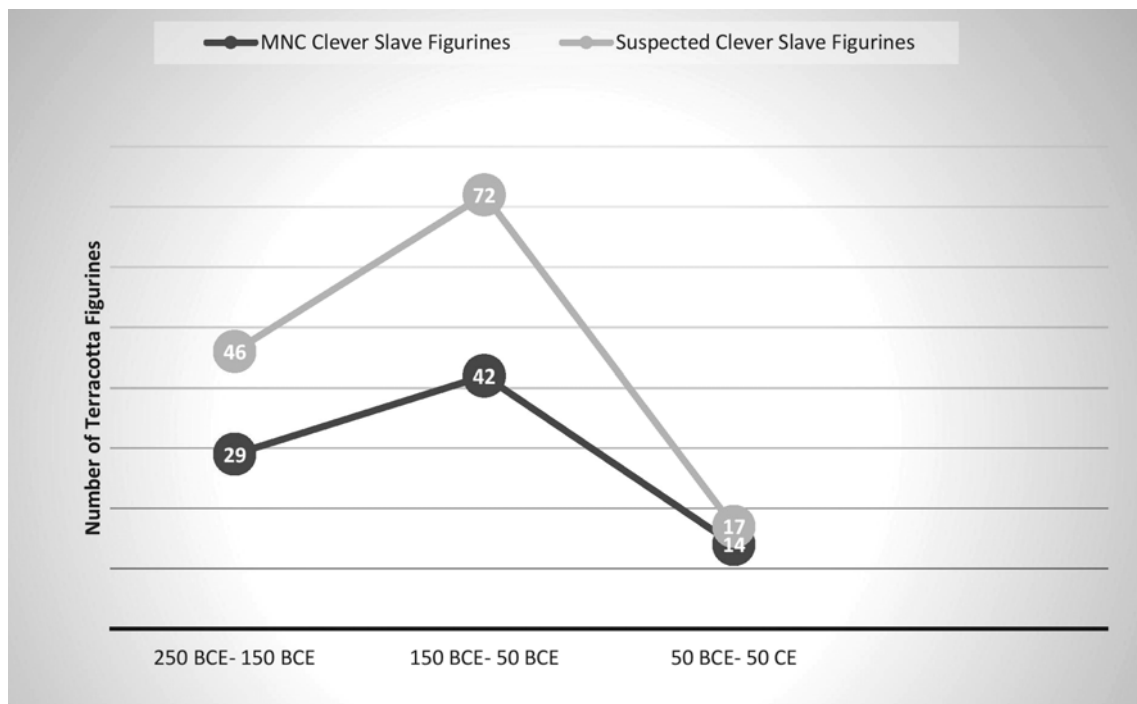


Table 1. Comparison between the numbers of figurines identified by clever slave iconography in MNC (Webster *et al.* 1995a) and the number I suspect can be classed as the clever slave (see footnote 1).

of wealthy Greeks and Romans were decorated with theatre imagery: statues and busts of poets and characters, frescos, paintings and mosaics of dramatic scenes (e.g. House of the Comedian, Delos) (Csapo 2010, 147-149). We can picture the slave statuettes sitting in libraries and *triclinia*, acting as a reminder of the patronage of the house-owner, either as an avid theatre-goer or even one of the benefactors funding such spectacles (Csapo 2010, 140-141). It also suggests that private dinner theatre (in the style of Petronius' *Satyricon*) may have been performed in this setting. Public events were ephemeral, while domestic decorations offered a perpetual reminder, while serving as tangible expressions of upper-class status. One wonders if they were sold at the plays and are reminiscent of the merchandise peddled at modern music and sporting events. If collected in this way, clever slave statuettes would have both appealed to fans and encouraged buyers to be fans of any production the character was part of (Green 1994, 38). It would be easy to presume these figurines belonged to the master of the house, but this is contested by the beautiful women's jewelry found bearing the mask of the cunning slave (Green and Handley 1995, 75; 89-90). Domestic slaves, unable to purchase such things, may have enjoyed the ironic sight of the grinning slave around their master's home.

The terracotta figurines did not just sit in the homes of the rich but were produced for a relatively undiscerning mass market, with little originality or effort required in their production (Csapo and Slater 1995, 55). It may have been possible to buy a number of characters from a play and have a scene represented in a figural manner (Green 2010, 79; Green 2002, 118). In fact, full 'sets' including comic slaves have been excavated; the 'New York Group' was uncovered in a tomb on Lipari, a small island near Sicily which housed a permanent theatre (Brea and Cavalier 2001).

It is an archaeological site of crucial importance for the study of Classical theatre, with over a thousand Greek and Hellenistic terracotta masks and figurines found in graves, votive pits and waste pits, dating from 430-251 BCE (Battezzato 2003, 247). Their deposition in a tomb evokes a religious element which emerged from the Greek practice of actors suspending their masks in the temple of Dionysus after a performance (Lysias 21. 2) (Green 1982, 240 fig. 3). In Roman times the dramatic performances were similarly imbued with a religious connotation, having been performed at the *ludi* festivals which were usually dedicated to the gods. Goldberg (1998) convincingly argues that Plautine

performances were staged in front of the temple of the deity that festival was honouring, with the audience seated upon the temple steps. It is not difficult to see how the figurines of masked characters may have taken on the dedicatory tradition of the masks, which is almost certainly the case for a second century CE clever slave statuette found beneath the ruins of the Temple of Neptune in Sorrento (Mitten and Doeringer 1968, 281 fig. 275).

Over time clever slave imagery came to be found in all areas of Roman art with little connection to specific performances, often simply referencing an enjoyable memory or cultivated lifestyle (Jory 2002, 239; Wiles 1991, 80-81). There is a strong association between the leisurely worlds of the theatre and the symposia, epitomised in the happily drunk slave in fig. 1, which were both domains of the fun-loving god Dionysus/Bacchus. The double affiliation of Dionysus with the theatre and the cult of the dead seems to explain why comic masks are so often found in cemeteries as tomb decorations. Commonplace by the second century BCE, comic images in Roman graveyards appear to represent the carefree life that the decedent might wish to hang on to (Csapo 2010, 148-149; Wiles 1991, 129).

The Slaves and Their Audience

It is still puzzling why Plautus decided to adopt a fictive slave as his trademark and why this lowly character was so well received, especially by the high-ranking magistrates who funded such plays. It would be anachronistic to say that Plautus used onstage slaves to criticise the institution of slavery and he is far more likely highlighting the instability of fortune as a plot device. The fact that all of his plays were set in Greece would also have discouraged any mapping onto Roman society. The most credible theory points towards the psychological impact of the clever slave for slave-owners. A rogue slave can be entertaining when serving as a medium for the fantasies and anxieties of the members of the audience (McCarthy 2000, 3, 6). In a hierarchical society people constantly strive to navigate power-relationships- to assert their position while serving those above them- and the clever slave may have appealed to people as an archetypal rebellious subordinate. Decorating their homes with these pieces might reflect people's need for bold fantasies. This obviously glosses over the harsh realities of servile life, with slaves shown content in their servitude and much too infantile to look after themselves (e.g. the drunken slave of fig. 1 and Plautus *Ps.* 1287). The objectification of a person in slavery melds well with the use of a fictional slave (especially in object-form) onto which to project subversive fan-



Figure 2. The 'New York Group' of terracotta Greek Comedy figurines: late fifth-early fourth century BCE, Attica, Metropolitan Museum, New York (<http://images.metmuseum.org/CRDImages/gr/original/DP116961a.jpg>).

tasies (McCarthy 2000, 19-21). In this light comedy becomes another form of catharsis resembling the Roman festival of *Saturnalia*, where society's rules were broken momentarily as the slaves acted as masters and the masters as slaves (Segal 1987, 8-9).

The clever slave could never be considered threatening as the play's dénouement leaves the characters back where they started; the master's authority is affirmed and the clever slave lives to scheme another day as a slave still.

There is no doubt that slaves were present at these plays, whether spectators themselves, attending to their masters or working within the production, and would have been exposed to the antics of the sly slave (Richlin 2014, 204). The character probably provided an outlet through which to vent their emotions vicariously and silently reassert their independence. Trickster tales usually embody a story of the weaker besting the stronger, understandably enjoyed by dominated people and incorporated into their folk tales. Insider gossip can be seen as a powerful tool of the slave, and the fast-talking comic slave is the ultimate expression of this. Even inadvertently, Plautus' plays humanised slaves by showing them interacting with other slaves (*Capt.* 198-205), lamenting their relentless beatings (*Poen.* 129-139) and resenting their master (*Ps.* 471-473). It is unlikely that the Plautine comedies were composed with the reception of slaves in the audience in mind, but theatre is experienced uniquely by every individual and it is perfectly credible that oppressed slaves in the audience held this rebellious slave in admiration.

Conclusion

The power of comedy in society is often overlooked, with ancient comedy paling next to its "nobler sister" of tragedy, in the same way that archaeology is sometimes seen as the "handmaiden" of history next to historical texts. In turn, archaeologists can operate on the assumption that the material record will reveal the truth of oppressed groups or "those without history", ignoring the embedded nature of slavery in every aspect of society, including its preserved writings. Though approaching from an archaeological standpoint, I strived to utilise both the material and written evidence in order to formulate valid social theories. Archaeology should not be framed in a text-free zone and vice versa, and this mode of study is especially effective when dealing with a subject that suffers from a dearth of evidence like slavery (Moreland 2001, 11, 94-95).

Arising from a Dionysian milieu, clever slave imagery was considered appropriate in domestic, religious and funerary contexts, which may be surprising for such an irreverent comic creation. Their archaeological contexts, though hampered by a lack of findspot records, have shed light on their purpose and reception in Roman society. While the exposition for the agency of these figurines is tentative, it does lay down groundwork for a more comprehensive study of these fascinating artefacts.

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¹ Webster et al.'s Monuments Illustrating New Comedy (MNC) (1995a) catalogues slave statuettes with clever slave iconography (called Mask 22) but it is my belief that the wavy-haired slave (like the third figurine in fig. 1) (Mask 27) also represents the clever slave. The resulting increase in the number of clever slave figurines in the catalogue is conveyed in tab. 1.
² Such small objects were easily transportable, making provenance difficult to establish (Webster et al. 1995b, 257).

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Ancient Sources

Lysias, Lysias, Chapter 21, line 2

Gaius Petronius Arbiter (Petronius), Satyricon

Titus Maccius Plautus (Plautus), Captivi, Line 198-205

Titus Maccius Plautus (Plautus) Poenulus, Line 129-139

Titus Maccius Plautus (Plautus) Pseudolus, Line 471-473; 1287

“LINGUISTIC LANDSCAPE STUDIES” AND ARCHAEOLOGY: A REEVALUATION OF THE KADESH INSCRIPTIONS OF RAMESES II

Fenno F.J.M. Noij

Abstract

This paper analyses the Kadesh Inscriptions of Ramesses II (ca. 1279-1213 BC) through the sociolinguistic concept “Linguistic Landscapes”. The inscriptions contain an account of the battle of Kadesh (located in modern-day Syria), which, despite the negative long-term consequences it had for the Egyptians, was used as the inspiration for the decoration of five temples.

Previous studies have focused little on their purpose, and often interpreted them as being either propagandistic or apotropaic (i.e. meant to ward off evil). This study uses the location of the texts within the temple to reinterpret their possible function. It shows that the inscriptions were placed in different locations within the temples, including on the inside. This influences the potential audience for the texts, since only a limited amount of individuals were allowed within the temple.

The spatial distribution brings about a new interpretation of the function of the Kadesh inscriptions: the worshipped god was thought of as being present in the temple, and would have been able to read the text. This leads to the hypothesis that the texts served as a reaffirmation of the bond between the pharaoh and the gods, who worked together to maintain order in Egypt.

Keywords

Egyptian temple reliefs, Linguistic Landscapes, New Kingdom of Ancient Egypt, spatial analysis, visibility studies

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Introduction

The placing of written texts in a landscape is a common occurrence in both modern and ancient societies. These texts do not only contain a large amount of historically relevant information, but their presence also influences the perception of the space which surrounds them.

This paper will study the relationship by using a concept from the field of Sociolinguistics, “Linguistic Landscapes”. This will be applied to a case-study of the Kadesh Inscriptions, which were placed on the walls of several Egyptian temples during the reign of Ramesses II (ca. 1279-1213 BCE).

Linguistic Landscapes

Linguistic Landscapes (LL) were first introduced

by Landry and Bourhis (1997), who defined it as follows:

“The language of public road signs, advertising billboards, street names, place names, commercial shop signs and public signs on government buildings combines to form the linguistic landscape of a territory, region or urban agglomeration”

(Landry and Bourhis 1997, 25).

Although various definitions have since been proposed (Coulmas 2009, 15), they all share the framework in which written texts are placed in a certain space. LL-studies (LLS) focus on the relation between these two. Written texts have a speci-

fic purpose, and the way they are placed in an area shows the way this area is used and perceived by those inhabiting it. Written texts are therefore not merely sources of information, but become a part of the material culture within the landscape. This creates a reciprocal relationship between the two: the presence of the texts influences the perception of the landscape, but the location of the text within the landscape also influences the perception of the texts. LLS can be used to gain a better understanding of this relationship.

To be able to fully use LLS, however, it is necessary to understand the nature of language. Language is fundamentally communicative, and written texts are equally so. The function of the texts can therefore be determined by looking at several factors: the transmitter(s), the message, the way it is communicated, and the (possible) receiver(s)¹. For LLS, these can be converted into four questions: “who wrote or commissioned the text?”, “what does the text say?”, “how was the text portrayed?”, and “who could read the text?”.

Most LLS have focused on modern rather than ancient societies (Pavlenko 2010, 133). This paper will attempt to use its framework in a historical setting, namely on the Kadesh Inscriptions of Ramesses II.

The Kadesh Inscriptions

“The Kadesh Inscriptions” refers to a series of texts and reliefs placed on the walls of several temples during Ramesses II’s reign. They depict and describe the battle of Kadesh (located in modern-day Syria), which was fought in the fifth year of his reign against the Hittites. The battle probably ended in a close “Pyrrhic” victory for Ramesses, since he had to abandon his campaign in the aftermath of the battle (Bryce 2005, 239; van Dijk 2000, 298; Kitchen 1999, 55). Despite this, Ramesses used the battle as the inspiration for the inscriptions.

The Kadesh Inscriptions encompass two different, co-existing texts, which are known as the Poem and the Bulletin. They complement each other in regard to the narrative concerning the battle, but differ in literary style (Lichtheim 1976, 58). In addition to these texts, reliefs were also placed on the walls of the temple. They depict scenes of the battle as well as offers brought before the pharaoh and the gods (Kitchen 1996, 18-23).

The Poem is known as such because it contains extensive sections which are written in a poetic style². It describes the battle from the moment that

the army of Ramesses is moving towards Kadesh. It is then ambushed and Ramesses is surrounded by Hittite forces. A description of the events of the battle, especially the exploits of Ramesses, follows. He calls upon Amun in an extensive prayer to help him, which comes and helps secure victory. The remainder of the army praises Ramesses for his great deeds but he chastises them for failing him.

The Bulletin primarily describes the events before the battle, where two local Bedouins tell Ramesses the Hittites are far away. The Egyptians immediately move to Kadesh, but as soon as they arrive, two captured scouts reveal that Ramesses has been ambushed. The Bulletin then briefly describes the battle and the fact that Ramesses is victorious with the help of the gods. It is written in a factual style.

The reliefs depict different episodes from the battle, and are filled with smaller captions describing the scenes. The Bulletin is often incorporated into the reliefs, while the Poem is always found separated from the reliefs.

Earlier interpretations

Previous studies of the Kadesh Inscriptions have had little focus on their purpose, and instead concentrated on their historical-, linguistic- and literary relevance. These studies usually offer one of the following two suggested functions: the first states that the texts are propaganda, used by Ramesses to show his military exploits and to portray him as the hero who saves Egypt (this interpretation is mentioned by Eyre (1996, 416), Goedicke (1985), Kitchen (1999, 47), Murnane (1995, 209) and Spalinger (2002, 356)); the second states that they are apotropaic in nature (i.e. meant to ward off evil) and were meant to protect the temple (mentioned by Von Der Way (1984, 36-9) regarding the Kadesh Inscriptions and by Hornung (1992, 119; 156-7), Shafer (1997, 5-6) and Wilkinson (1994, 67; 2000, 46) regarding temple reliefs in general).

However, none of these studies has emphasized the importance of the spatial distribution of the texts when interpreting the function, while their placement has a large influence on who is able to read them.

Spatial distribution

The Kadesh Inscriptions were placed on various temple complexes which were either built or extended by Ramesses II. It can still be found on the following temples: Luxor, Karnak, Abu Simbel, the Ramesseum and Ramesses’ temple at Abydos. The

location of the texts and reliefs in these temples is diverse: at Luxor, the inscriptions covered the outer face of the pylon, as well as the outer face of the walls of the temple complex (Porter and Moss 1972, 304-5; 334-5). At the Ramesseum, they were engraved on both the outer- and inner face of the first and second pylon, and some possible fragments have been identified on the inner face of the walls of the second court (Porter and Moss 1972, 433-5). At Karnak, they have been identified on the outside of the southern wall of the Hypostyle hall (part of which was located inside the Cachette Court), and the outside of the western wall between pylons VIII and X (Porter and Moss 1972, 57-8; 179). At Abydos, the reliefs covered the entire outer face of the walls (Porter and Moss 1970, 39-41), but was not placed on the pylons. At Abu Simbel, the inscriptions are found on the northern wall of the Great Hall (Porter and Moss 1975, 103-4), one of the inner rooms of the complex. Abu Simbel is unique in that only the Bulletin has been found here, while the other temples have both the Bulletin and the Poem placed on their walls³. See figure 1 for plans of the temples with these locations.

The Poem has also been attested on a number of hieratic papyrus scrolls, namely the papyri Raifé and Sallier III (which are two parts of the same scroll) and Chester-Beatty III (Kuentz 1928; Kitchen 1979, 2). The former papyri appear to have been written at least sixty years after the battle (Lichtheim 1976, 72).

Accessibility

Egyptians saw their temples as mansions of the gods who were worshipped there (Shafer 1997, 3; Wilkinson 2000, 25) and who were physically present in the form of a statue in the inner sanctum (Bell 1997, 133-4; Teeter 2011, 44). The god’s presence was vital in the preservation of the order of the world (*ma’at*), since without divine help, forces of chaos (*isfet*) would disrupt it (Shafer 1997, 1). Since the temple served as a divine residence, it was not a place anybody could enter. Egyptian temples were divided into three “zones” (Shafer 1997, 5-7) of accessibility (see figure 2): the first zone surrounded the main building of the temple. This outer area was usually enclosed by an (undecorated) mudbrick wall (Wilkinson 2000, 56) and access to it was not restricted. The second zone was an open court, which could be entered by passing through the pylons. Normally, only priests could enter this area, but the rest of the population were occasionally allowed to enter it (Bell 1997, 135; Teeter 2011, 52; Wilkinson 2000, 62). The third zone was the roofed part of the temple, which only the ritually cleansed pharaoh

and most senior priests could enter. It was inside these rooms that the god resided.

The possible audience for the inscriptions was heavily influenced by these limitations in accessibility. Texts on the outside of the temple, especially those on the pylons, could be easily observed by everyone in Egypt. Those placed in the open court could only be seen during special occasions (although priests could always enter this area), and those in the roofed rooms were only visible to the senior priests and the pharaoh himself.

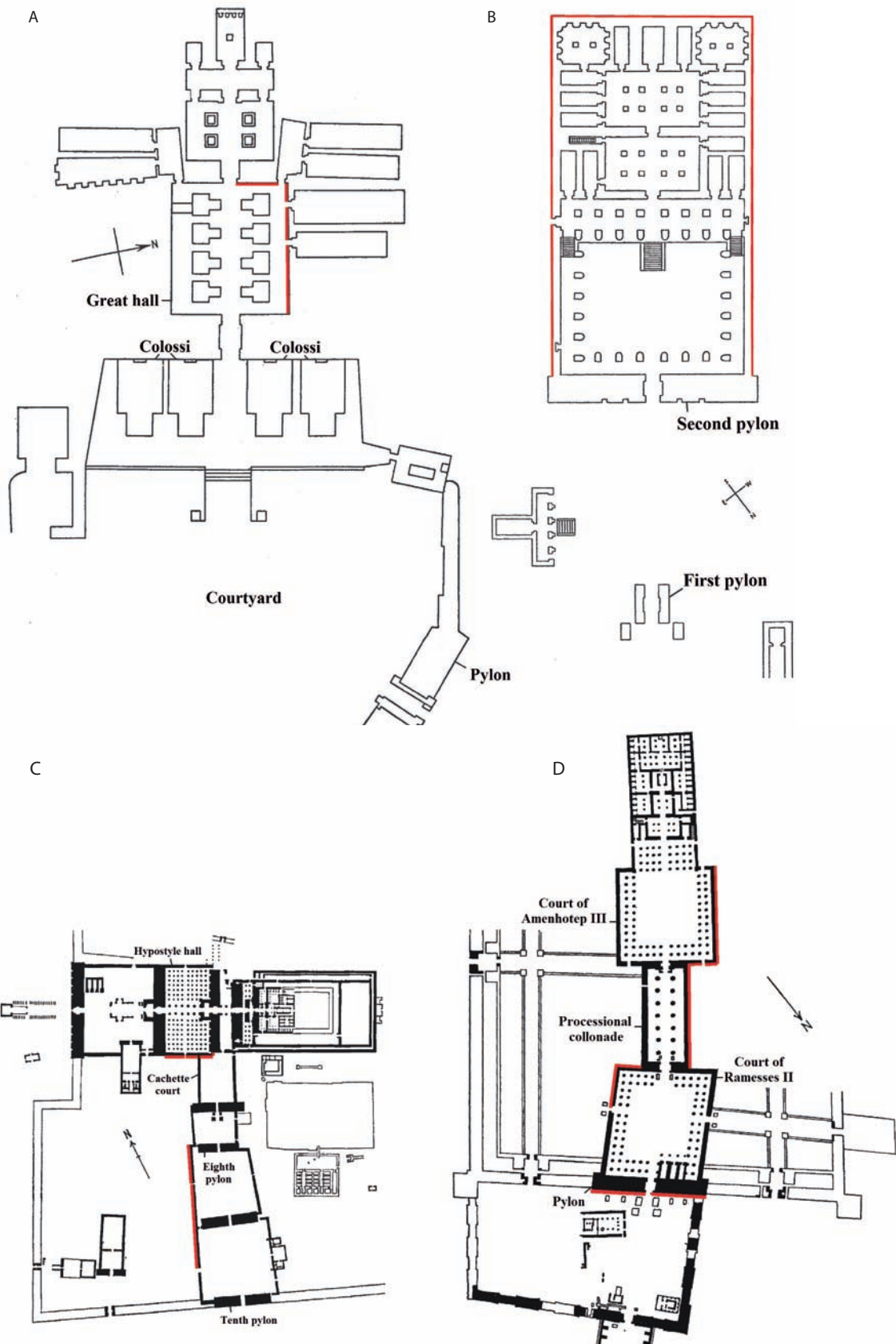
Implications of the spatial distribution

The position of the Kadesh Inscriptions within the LL of the temples suggests that the texts could only be observed by a limited amount of individuals. This is especially clear in Abu Simbel, where the texts were placed in the inner rooms, and at the Ramesseum, where they were located in the open courts. Earlier interpretations should be evaluated with regard to this information.

Interpretations of the texts as propaganda often imply that it was meant to influence the opinion of the population regarding Ramesses II. Their placement, as discussed above, is not ideally suited for this purpose. Furthermore, most Egyptians were illiterate, which means that it is highly unlikely that the monumental inscriptions, even if they could be observed, were understood by most individuals (Goedicke 1985, 79; Bard 2008, 30-32)⁴. The depictions in the reliefs might have served as propaganda, but to what extent the people of Egypt understood that they concerned Ramesses II and the battle is unclear.

Apotropaism is a prominent function of Egyptian magic, and was used to keep evil forces away through spells and symbols (Szpakowska 2011, 74-6; Teeter 2011, 167-9). To do this, they were placed on the outer face of objects. Since some of the Kadesh Inscriptions were placed on the inside of the temple, they cannot have functioned as apotropaic defence, since the evil forces were not supposed to have entered these locations. Furthermore, the symbols and spells associated with apotropaism are not present in either the texts or the reliefs, nor do the texts mention this function.

While neither the propagandistic nor the apotropaic function can be completely discounted, an alternative hypothesis is needed. By applying LLS, we can state that the supposed recipient was able to read the texts both in- and outside the temple. Only a limited amount of individuals was allo-



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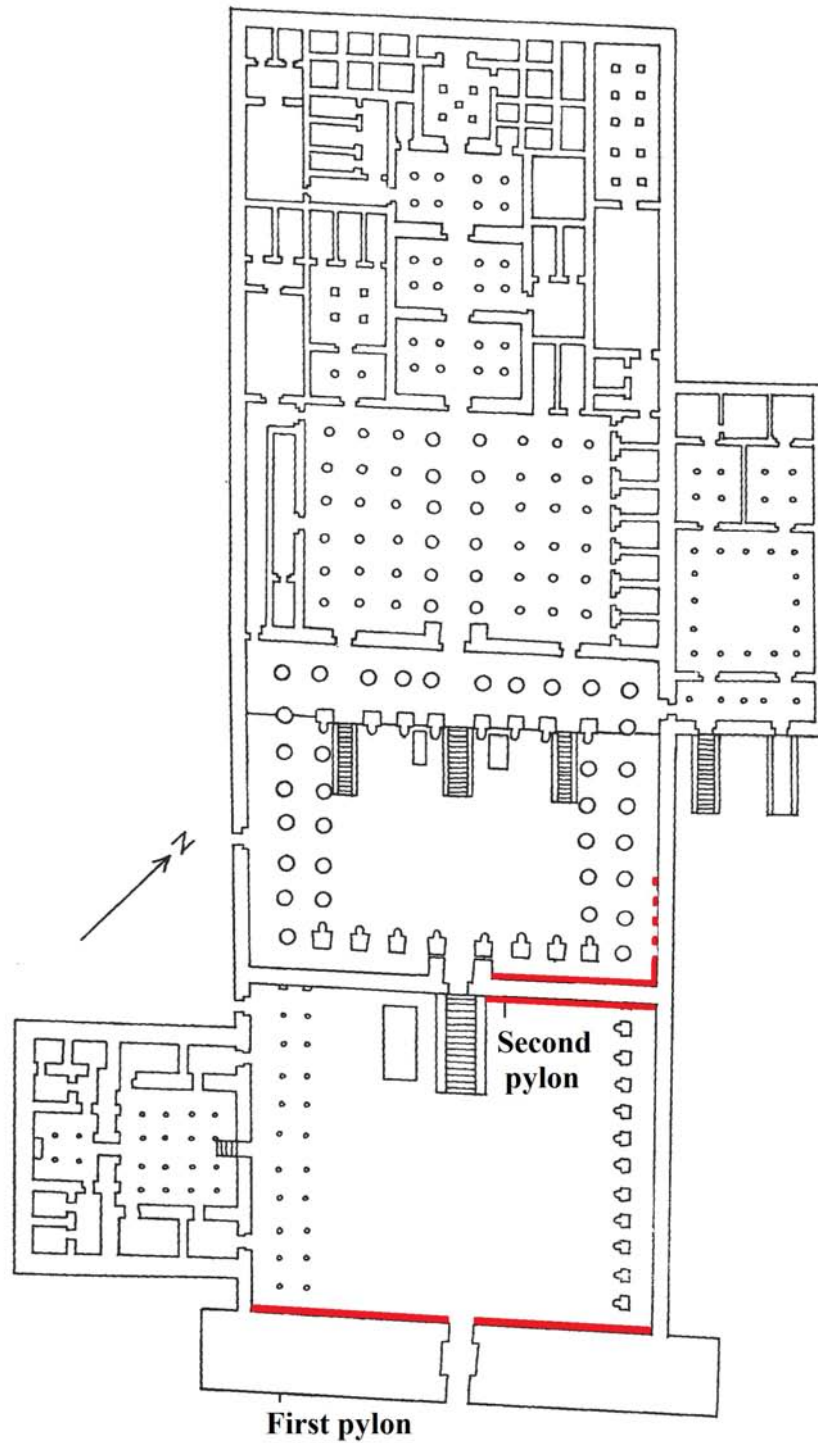


Figure 1. (Left and right page) Plans of the temples with the locations (cf. Kitchen 1979, 125-8; Porter and Moss 1970, 1972; 1975) of the Kadesh Inscriptions marked in red. A dotted line indicates that the extent of the inscriptions is unknown due to damage.

Left: 1a: Abu Simbel, 1b: Abydos, 1c: Karnak, 1d: Luxor

Right: 1e: Ramesseum

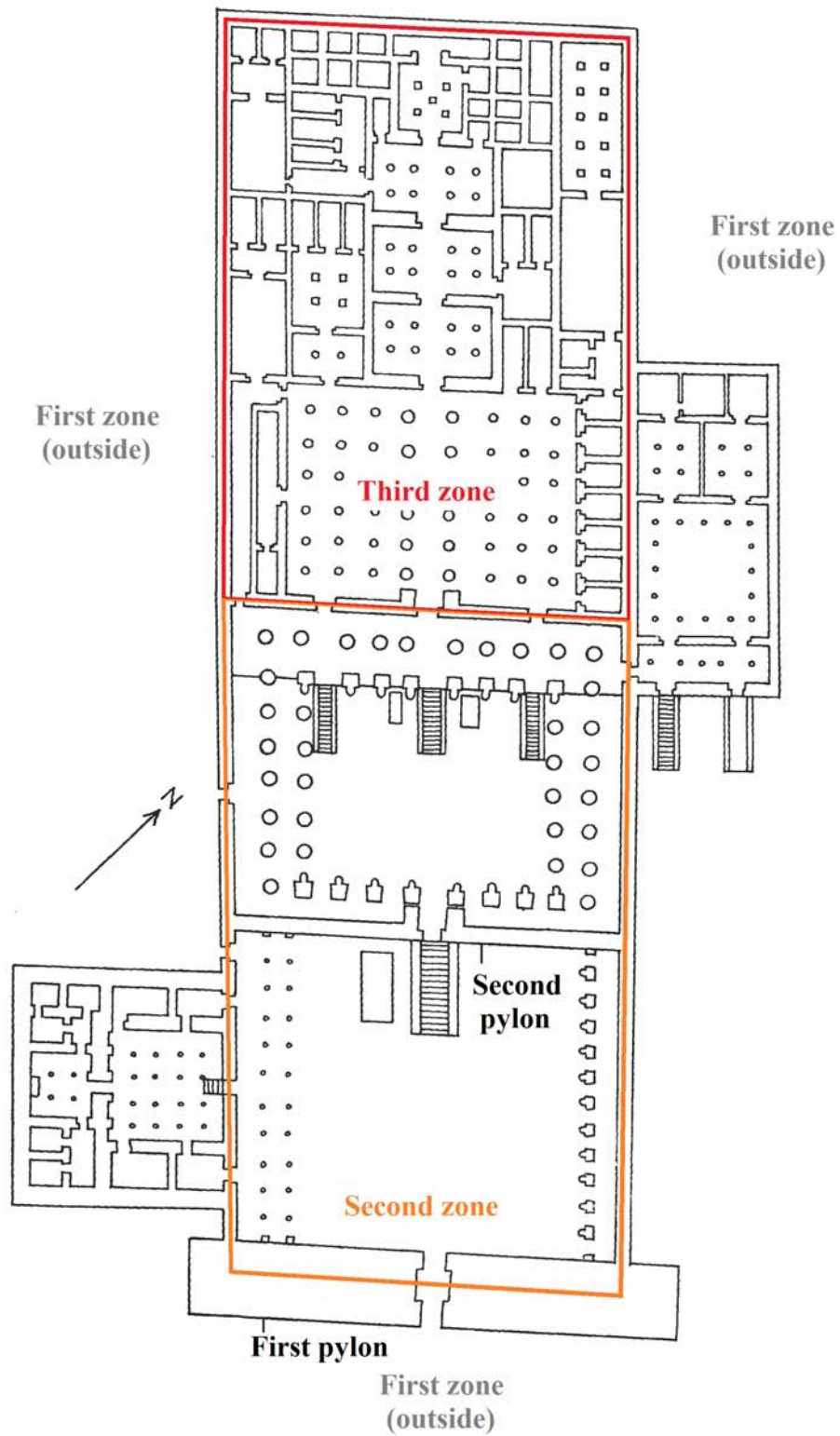


Figure 2. Plan of the Ramesseum with the different zones identified in and around the temple (after Porter and Moss 1972, plan XLI).

wed inside the temple, of whom most were priests. However, the temple also served as a divine residence, and gods were thought of as being present there. This would enable them to read the texts. Amun and the deified Ramesses were the main gods in the temples where the Kadesh Inscriptions have been found (Bell 1997, 179; Haeny 1997, 115-7), so it is likely that they were (among) the supposed recipients. They both served as divine protectors of the state, and the task of the pharaoh was to aid the gods in the preservation of *ma'at* (Baines 1995, 11-2; Bell 1997, 138; Hornung 1992, 141). The inscriptions not only show that Ramesses is maintaining *ma'at*, but also stress the importance of the help of Amun through the prayer and the offers made in the reliefs. The inscriptions, therefore, become an expression of the bond between the pharaoh and the gods, wherein Ramesses shows he is still honouring the bond and is asking Amun to do the same. This would mean that the Kadesh Inscriptions invoked a kind of reciprocity⁵ and functioned as "reaffirmation texts". In this way, they were part of a ritual vital for the continuation of the Egyptian state.

This does not mean that the possibility that the Kadesh Inscriptions served multiple purposes should be disregarded. It is indeed very likely that the reliefs in accessible areas were also meant to impress the human observers. The fact that the Poem was also found on papyrus implies that it circulated as a literary text as well (Spalinger 2002).

It should also be noted that they were part of a larger tradition of temple reliefs. It could be argued that similar texts had similar functions, and were thus meant as affirmations that the pharaoh is maintaining stability. Erecting and enlarging temples might have served a similar purpose, since Ramesses mentions building temples in his prayer to Amun, showing that this too was part of the reciprocal bond. LLS should be applied to these temple reliefs to test this hypothesis.

Conclusion

By studying the Kadesh Inscriptions through the framework of Linguistic Landscapes, it becomes clear that their placement made it impossible for them to be observed by the general population and that they were meant for the god who resided in the temple. Here, they were supposed to show the continued devotion of the pharaoh to the preservation of *ma'at*, and were meant to ask the god's help with this. The texts were meant as a "reaffirmation" of this bond between the pharaoh and the gods. The continuous creation of these texts, and their placement on temple walls, might even have been part

of this reaffirmation ritual, thereby preserving the stability of Egypt.

This study shows that the application of LLS in archaeological research grants a deeper understanding of the use of space and of the texts placed within it. The texts are not merely seen as sources of information, but have a purpose and become part of the material culture. This makes LLS a valuable tool for archaeologists, since it enables them to study the interrelationship between the texts and their location. This, in turn, grants a better understanding into the way ancient societies perceived the space around them.

Nevertheless, this type of study does have several limitations, such as its overreliance on the sense of sight and the lack of data that historical studies can provide (Coulmas 2009, 15). These limitations should be studied in depth to gain a proper theoretical framework of the applicability of Linguistic Landscape Studies in archaeology.

Acknowledgements

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¹ These factors are loosely based on the SMCR-model of Communication as described by Berlo (1960).

² Older studies (Breasted 1903; Kuentz 1928; Gardiner 1960) stated that there was no poetic aspect to the text, but later translations (including Davies (1997), Kitchen (1996), and Lichtheim (1976)) include the poetic parts in metric form.

³ This is attested by all the Porter and Moss sources mentioned above, as well as Kitchen (1979, 125-7) and Kuentz (1928, III).

⁴ Even those who were capable of reading the texts did not always fully grasp the linguistic complexity of them, since the copyist of the papyrus Raifé-Sallier III made several mistakes (Spalinger 2002).

⁵ The fact that the speeches in the Poem invoke reciprocity has already been noted by Morschauer (1985)

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THESIS OVERVIEW

JANUARY - SEPTEMBER 2015

At the moment of graduation, an archaeology undergraduate student has produced a minimum of 50,000 words in total in the form of written assignments. In the graduate phase, regular master students will increase this amount by 45,000, whilst research master students produce an additional 70,000 words. The majority of these texts, including the thesis, are only read by a handful of people. Since 2009 the Faculty of Archaeology requires all theses from both graduate and undergraduate students to be uploaded in the digital repository. Currently, most people are unaware of the fact that information on these theses, including extensive abstracts and author contact information, can be found online. A substantial part of these works is openly accessible as well (<http://openaccess.leidenuniv.nl/handle/1887/16590>). In order to stimulate the use of this invaluable database, and to promote student research beyond the publications in INTER-SECTION, we have decided to provide a complete overview of new theses in every edition. Since this is our first edition, the list presented here contains all theses effectuated between January 1st and September 1st 2015. We encourage our readers to consult the Leiden Repository for more information on the titles listed below.

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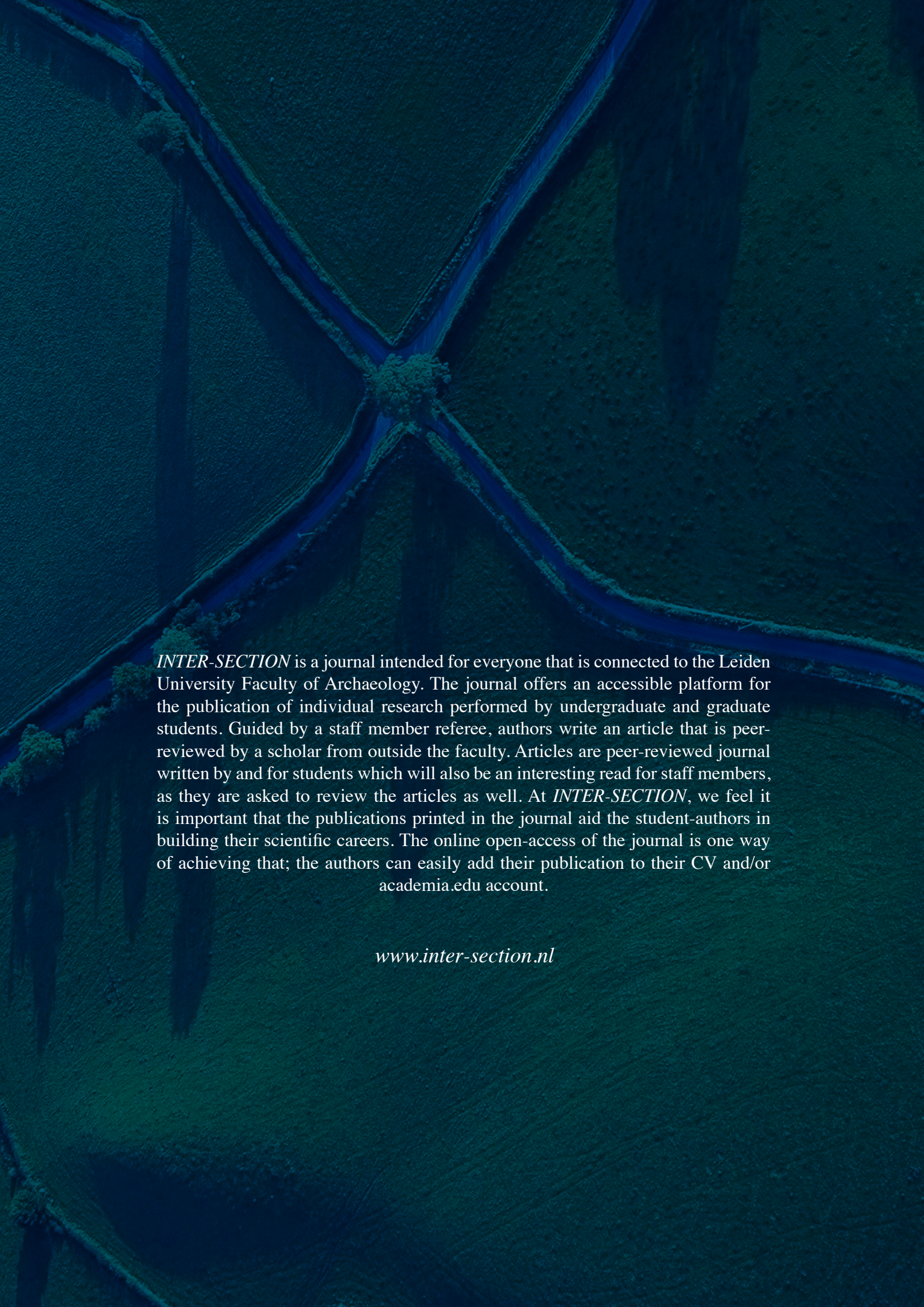
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An aerial photograph of a polder landscape, showing a central water intersection where four canals meet. The canals are filled with water, and the surrounding land is a mix of green fields and brownish soil. The overall scene is captured from a high angle, looking down on the water and land.

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