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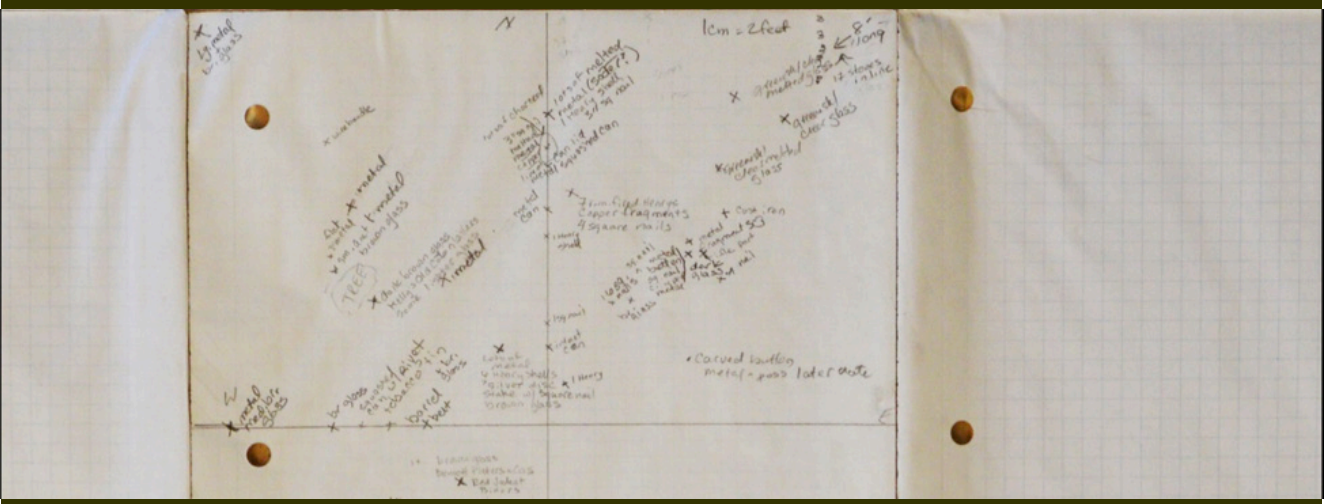

Editors:
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AP:

Online Journal in Public Archaeology

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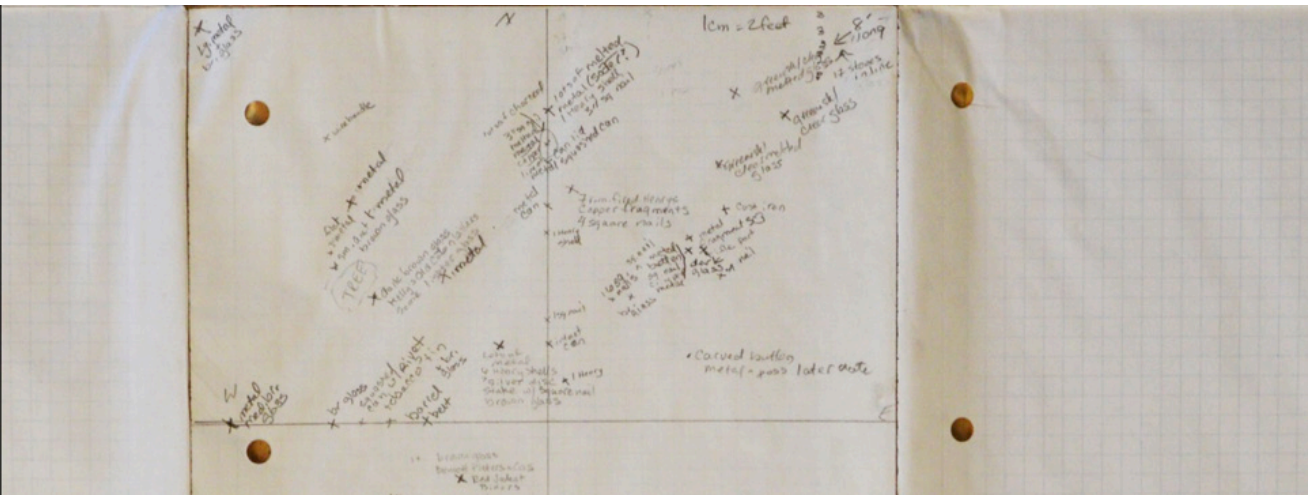

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INDEX

EDITORIAL

Evaluating

Jaime ALMANSA SÁNCHEZ, Editor
Elena PAPAGIANNOPOULOU, Editor

Dear friends,

First of all, we need to apologize for the delay in publishing Volume 7. As you probably already know, we have recently migrated to Open Journal Systems, which means this is the first time we use the new platform to handle papers and we are still oiling gears. Meanwhile, other unforeseen circumstances got in the way, but one thing is certain: we are adjusting and learning.

On the bright side, as you might have already heard, this past year we were accepted in Scopus, which is a recognition of the value of our journal for the research community. One of the main changes during this process was the creation of an editorial board consisting of international scholars and practitioners who have supported the journal in the past and will continue doing so in a more straight way in the future. It has been a while since we applied to Scopus for inclusion and, although the migration to the new platform was fundamental, the support of our authors and readers as well as the hard work and perseverance of the team are, in effect, the basis of this success. Thank you all again. Always.

This good news made us look back and consider where we stand and where we want to head next. For the moment, our focus is to be more efficient and keep offering a good service to you.

During the past three years we have been pointing out and noting down our flaws—some of them obvious, others not that much—which clearly proclaim that there is still room for improvement for

the journal. We have already addressed some of them, changed completely others (e.g. the platform) and the results seem to be satisfactory. However, as long as improvement is possible, we cannot be fully satisfied. But reality brings us to a different scenario; one in which not all improvements can be fully achieved due to limited resources. In our case, being a fully Open Access journal run with voluntary work equals struggling in terms of both financial sustainability and time constraints. Flexibility and imagination, the pillars of the model, are thus the only way we can carry on, trying to do the best journal possible with the available resources. Still, we need to be ambitious, and believe we need to keep on doing better and providing a service that has proven useful for many around the globe. Last year we reached the milestone of 100 contributors and our statistics show a steady growth in readership year after year.

The question then arises, how can we keep growing in audience and improving in quality? You will play a central role, and your support will continue to be essential. Feel free to contact us with any ideas or comments you may have, and we will continue doing our best.

What's on?

This volume sees the end of a series of fora about the looting of archaeological heritage. This time the focus is on large infrastructure works with three papers we hope will be of your interest: First, Richard Morgan offers an overview of Environmental Impact Assessment which we want to be of use for archaeologists, understanding how it works in theory and practice. Then, Nicolás Zorzin examines a case in Taiwan (Hanben), where the mixed outcomes of the project—no protection, but awareness—offer a view of the challenges that big development works pose for the protection of archaeological heritage on the island, and demonstrate the general need for an effective model. Finally, Fernanda Kalazich discusses the debate over the Dakar rally, which has been promoted as a source for economic development by the countries involved, while the risk

and actual impact for archaeological heritage was dramatic, with very limited possibilities of action to mitigate it.

The first article of this volume brings out an example of integrated research in the United States of America. Greg Pierce, archaeologist in the Office of the Wyoming State Archaeologist (OWSA), highlights the outcomes of the project at the Gipson Site, showing how the inclusion of educational and outreach activities in any project is not only possible but also beneficial. Then, Rihanna Rogers returns to the journal, this time with co-authors James Schuetz and Rex Cauldwell, with a very personal overview of their project in La Mina, Costa Rica. There, despite facing several challenges, they wish to encourage others to follow a similar path towards an archaeology engaged with the community.

This year's Points of You is a photo-essay. Aris Anagsnostopoulos, Eleni Stefanou and Evangelos Kyriakidis take us to Gonies Maleviziou in Crete and their engagement with the local community during the summer field school (2014-2017).

This volume includes only four book reviews. However, the first one could be considered an article. Ignacio Rodríguez Temiño writes a lengthy sharp critique of "Challenging the dichotomy" where some of the realities of the postmodern world do not always fully fit into Western paradigms. Marianne Eriksen reviews "Built on bones", Clara Masriera reviews "The archaeology of Time Travel" and, finally, Alexandra Ion reviews "Collecting, ordering, governing". All together bringing once again dozens of pages of public archaeology.

Before leaving you to read this volume, we wish to make a final announcement. This summer we will publish our third Special Volume, edited by Howard Williams and Lorna Richardson, and focusing on public archaeology and contemporary perspectives on death, after several papers within the First Twitter Public Archaeology Conference last year. As usual, we hope you will enjoy our new volume and find it useful. We would like to close this editorial with our standard calls:

1. Call for Debate:

We welcome guest blog posts on a wide range of topics related to public archaeology as well as event reviews. You can send your posts in a Word document with image files attached to our email. We also encourage your feedback and comments, after visiting our blog, as well as discussion via our social media. If you have any specific topic in mind that you want to write about, we are open to suggestions. Don't forget our forums that are always open to discussion and comments.

2. Call for Papers:

Volume 7 was set to be published in 2017. Because of the delay in publication of the current volume, the deadline for submissions is extended by one month, and will be 31 May 2018. We wish to receive papers for our next volume as soon as possible so that there will be enough time to get things done in a timely, consistent manner. For more information about the submission procedure, please visit our website. In case you have any questions or doubts, please feel free to contact us.

3. Call for Special Issue Proposals:

We invite guest editor proposals from those who wish to discuss particular topics and areas of research that fall within the aims and scopes of the journal. Special issues provide a great opportunity to review a specific topic, examine aspects that remain unaddressed, discuss, suggest and develop novel approaches, and encourage new research models. Feel free to contact us for guidance on preparing your proposal.

4. Call for Donations:

The philosophy of this journal—and of its editors—is to provide the widest access at no cost for both authors and readers. AP is—and will remain—a free-access and not-for-profit journal, thus, sustainability is always an issue. The publisher, JAS Arqueología,

will continue to take care of it for as long as it exists. The material costs of the journal are less than 100€ per year, which is affordable for the company in case donations are low, but keeping it a fully open-access and ad-free publication means its future depends on your support. So if you find any stimulation in AP Journal, please consider a modest donation. No matter how small the amount, it can make a big difference.

At this point, we should warmly thank and express our gratitude to our donors. Should you wish to support AP Journal, you can do so either directly or indirectly, by buying a hard copy of any of the existing volumes:

- Direct donation via PayPal on our web page.
- Purchase of the hard copy. There is a fixed price of 10€. Just ask us.

FORUM

The looting of archaeological heritage

In 2012, in addition to AP Journal Volume 2, JAS Arqueología also published a book in Spain about the looting of archaeological heritage: *Indianas jones sin futuro* (Indianas jones without future), by Ignacio Rodríguez Temiño. We then realised there was an urgent need to debate this issue more thoroughly at an international scale, to show how different things can be and try to find better strategies for the protection of archaeological heritage.

While the forum was being designed, a special issue of Internet Archaeology on looting was published (Issue 33) and new projects started to emerge. This shows an increasing interest in these topics and opens the way for wider debates and perspectives.

At first, we thought metal detecting was the main topic to be discussed. Then we started to realise it was just a small part of a wider problem: looting. This is how we decided to initiate a series of forums for the coming years, with a focus on different aspects of looting, and from different perspectives*.

PART I (vol. 3 – 2013) Beyond metal detectors: around the plundering of archaeological heritage.

PART II (vol. 4 – 2014) Conflict and looting: alibi for conflict… and for the looting of archaeological heritage.

PART III (vol. 6 – 2016) Beauty and money: a market that feeds looting.

PART IV (vol. 7 – 2017) Managing development: from the building of a country, to the destruction of archaeological heritage.

**Participation is open for anyone interested, for both published and unpublished parts. We would like the debate to constantly flow among topics.*

PART IV

MANAGING DEVELOPMENT: FROM THE BUILDING OF A COUNTRY, TO THE DESTRUCTION OF ARCHAEOLOGICAL HERITAGE

With the fast development of major cities around the world, many archaeological sites appeared. The birth and growth or urban archaeology is in some way the birth and growth of a protective system that started to regulate what could or could not be done when building new infrastructures.

In 1966, the National Historic Preservation Act (USA) stated on its section 106 the need to conduct archaeological research in those developments funded by the Federal Government. Soon enough, some States promulgated their own regulations on this line, as well as other countries did. In Europe, the London Convention in 1969 already raises awareness on the destruction and looting of archaeological heritage, and the need to regulate and communicate findings for the good of all. It does not directly refer to construction, but environmental laws would cover this gap.

Nevertheless, the unstoppable construction of buildings, roads, pipes, etc. needed further action. The French model started as a kind of blackmail to developers, according to Laurent Olivier (2016), but in someway worked, although to a high cost for the profession. Archaeologists became diggers whose only task was to empty plots for construction, leaving the scientific role of the profession in Academia. This was not different in many other countries that chose a commercial model. Power was (apparently) with developers.

But how could power be with the developers if laws were with archaeology? This paradox is one of the most interesting topics to take into account in current archaeological practice and archaeological heritage management models need to approach it urgently.

Why? Because together with the alienation of professionals in their practice lays a constant destruction of archaeological heritage.

Sometimes legal, sometimes illegal, the looting of archaeological heritage linked to construction projects is undeniable.

This forum intends to delve into the way different management models cope with the destruction of archaeological heritage linked to construction; in terms of prevention, mitigation, and prosecution.

How does the model deal with threats? What are the consequences of destroying archaeological heritage during construction? Is there a sustainable solution for all this?

Impact assessment and archaeology

Richard K. MORGAN

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Introduction

Cultural heritage is as susceptible to damage by poorly controlled development as other valued aspects of the environment (Therivel, 2009). Many countries have institutional arrangements to protect recognised structures or sites from interference of various kinds, particularly land development. However, there remains the problem that important cultural heritage sites may not be protected, if only because they have not yet been discovered, or revealed to a wider community. In addition, some development activities can have indirect effects on cultural heritage that may not be obvious until careful analysis is carried out. In these situations, environmental impact assessment (EIA), and related approaches, provide a means for identifying possible impacts on cultural heritage and ensuring this is recognised by proponents, decision makers, and other stakeholders, so that appropriate measures can be taken to avoid or limit the impacts.

In this article, I briefly outline the nature of EIA, in terms of best practice thinking, and look at some of the ways impact assessment has been shaped to meet the needs of the archaeological community around the world. The final part considers some of the challenges facing the IA community as a whole, as an emerging community of practice seeking to establish itself in uncertain political and economic times. To avoid terminological confusion, I use impact assessment (IA) to refer to the generic process, and EIA to refer to the project-level application of IA. Some jurisdictions, and bodies such as the World Bank, prefer the term environmental assessment (EA), and there are other variations in use, but EIA is probably more familiar to most people.

Nature and purpose of IA

Impact assessment is a structured process for considering the implications of proposed actions for people and their environment while there is still an opportunity to modify (or even, if appropriate, abandon) the proposals. In principle, it can be used at all levels of decision-making, from policies and plans through to specific projects; in practice, project-level application has dominated its use around the world (Morgan, 2017).

The institutionalised forms of IA now so evident around the world had their origins in the late 1960s with the enactment of the National Environmental Policy Act (NEPA) in the US. The following decades saw the process spread to more and more countries and it is now one of the most widely used environmental management tools.

The purposes of IA are:

- to provide information for decision-making about the biophysical, social, cultural and economic consequences of proposed actions;
- to promote transparency and participation of the public in decision-making;
- to identify procedures and methods for the follow-up phase (e.g. monitoring and mitigation of adverse consequences) in policy, planning and project cycles; and
- to contribute to environmentally sound and sustainable development.

Some jurisdictions use a narrow definition of "environment", to mean just the natural environment; while others also include people and their activities and structures. The trend in the international research and practitioner community, as exemplified by publications from the International Association for Impact Assessment (IAIA), is to follow the expanded interpretation.

A key driver in the original development of IA was to encourage investigation of *indirect* impacts (Morgan, 2012). Direct impacts of major development projects are generally well recognised and increasingly addressed through environmental engineering

methods. Indirect impacts can still cause problems as they typically result from more complex cause-effect pathways, and may be separated in space and/or time from the original action. A classic example of this is a dam on a major river: the interruption of sediment movement down the river often results in greater coastal erosion because sediments are no longer replacing material lost to the sea during storms. This in turn might affect coastal activities (settlement, recreation, and so forth) and may have implications for cultural heritage linked to historic coastal sites. An important purpose of IA then, is to recognise the possibility of indirect impacts and attempt to predict what they might be, and the likelihood and implications of their occurrence.

Another important consideration is cumulative impact. This concept recognises that, in many situations, earlier development projects will have already created a legacy of effects on the local environment. Before further development is allowed, the analysis of cumulative impacts considers how the impact of the proposed activity will add to, and perhaps interact with and exacerbate, existing pressures on the local area.

Practice of IA

IA involves the identification and characterisation of the most likely impacts of proposed actions (impact prediction/forecasting), and an assessment of the social significance of those impacts (impact evaluation). Most methodologies break these two basic components into a series of steps comprising some or all of the following (Morgan, 2017):

Screening: Should an impact assessment be carried out? Many countries use lists of activities that require an EIA, perhaps supplemented by lists of those activities that may require an IA if they meet certain size/capacity characteristics.

Scoping: A critical step in the impact assessment process, scoping involves characterising the nature of the proposal and its constituent activities, the likely area that could be affected, and identifying the significant potential impacts that need to be investigated further.

Impact prediction: The phase during which potential impacts are investigated to determine the chance that they will occur, and if so, their magnitude, extent and so forth.

Significance evaluation: Those impacts that are likely to occur are evaluated for their social significance.

Impact management provisions: Significant impacts will require some form of response to avoid, or mitigate the impacts. This may be through design changes to a proposal, or by instituting measures to protect people and/or the environment, or by compensating affected parties. Managing impacts through the life of the proposal is an important part of EIA, so the development of impact management plans, together with monitoring provisions to ensure compliance and effectiveness of those plans, is critical to the whole process.

Reporting/communication: Effective communication of the information generated through the EIA to the people who need to use the information is vital. Potentially-affected communities and other stakeholders need the information in a form that enables and empowers them to participate in decision-making processes. Additionally, decision-makers need the information in a form that allows their decisions to be fully informed.

Forms of IA

Under the umbrella of IA, a number of specific forms have become firmly established since the 1970s. EIA itself tends to refer to the process used in development control to provide a broadly-based assessment of impacts of proposed projects on all aspects of the environment; better known examples of more specific forms include social impact assessment (SIA), ecological impact assessment (EcIA), and health impact assessment (HIA), all of which can be used as standalone assessment processes in themselves, or within an EIA for a major project to provide specialist input where needed. Strategic environmental assessment (SEA) extends impact assessment thinking to higher level decision-making at policy, programme and plan levels, a reaction to the project-orientation of

most EIA applications, and has been vigorously promoted in certain jurisdictions, such as the EU, and by certain agencies, including the World Bank (Morgan, 2017).

Impact assessment, culture and archaeology

The treatment of cultural heritage, and especially archaeological resources, in impact assessment mirrors the variations described above. In some jurisdictions, broadly-based EIA requirements include reference to culture as one of the aspects of environment to be considered. For example, the 2014 amendment to the EU Directive on EIA refers to the need to assess the effects of projects on, among other things, "…cultural heritage, including architectural and archaeological aspects….". In New Zealand, the Resource Management Act on the one hand sets up a strong framework for the protection of historic heritage, including archaeological sites, through planning provisions; on the other hand, it is much less prescriptive in specifying what should be included in EIAs ("assessment of environmental effects" in New Zealand parlance) of projects. When legislation does not provide clear direction, leaving situations open to interpretation, it can be more difficult to persuade developers of the need for archaeological investigations in an EIA. After all, most people equate "environmental" with water, soil, air and biota, not human artefacts or cultural heritage.

In contrast, a number of jurisdictions (including Ireland, S. Africa, Jamaica, the US, and several Canadian states/provinces) make clear their expectations by requiring archaeological impact assessments (AIA). Other jurisdictions use broader names—heritage resources impact assessment (e.g. Hong Kong), or historic resources impact assessment (e.g. Alberta and Saskatchewan in Canada)—but they still explicitly include archaeological resources. While clear direction removes uncertainty, there is a danger that the process is seen as separate from EIA and the benefits of working closely with other impact assessors on a more integrated assessment can be lost.

Where cultural heritage and archaeological resources have been identified and could potentially be affected by proposed developments, it makes sense that developers recognise this

as early as possible and factor it into their project designs from the start. Major infrastructure projects, such as highways, can be particularly disruptive of the landscape and therefore tend to be more sensitive to environmental impacts in their design and implementation processes. For example, both the Irish National Roads Authority (NRA) and the New Zealand Transport Agency (NZTA) have developed tiered approaches to highway planning and design that involve environmental considerations from the earliest stages. And both have also released specific guidelines on how archaeological heritage (NRA) and historic heritage (NZTA) are to be addressed in their respective processes. This ensures heritage information, and archaeological information in particular, is taken into account when possible highway routes and designs are still being explored; in effect, internal impact assessments are carried out by the agencies. Then, as the process moves towards the implementation of a specific proposal, the impact assessment information becomes more specific, and more detailed, and is the basis for formal development control permissions.

However, despite the benefits of early recognition of cultural heritage, inevitably most impact assessment tends to takes place once developers have made decisions about location and likely design of a project, so investigations are often carried out against the clock, to serve the formal decision processes. For archaeological assessments, this would limit what can be achieved in terms of recording information, and may not be as effective in avoiding adverse impacts or providing for future mitigation of impacts during project construction and operation.

Direct impacts of development on archaeological resources, such as those associated with urban areas in countries with long history of human occupation in one space, focus attention on recording the archaeology of a site and maybe removal of key finds, before the site is covered, or significantly damaged by development. However, indirect impacts may need to be considered even if a valued site is not itself threatened by development. For example, rock art is very vulnerable to air pollution so any industrial proposal in the vicinity of valued heritage that could result in air pollution (especially a rise in local SO_2 concentrations) would need to be investigated to determine the likelihood of acid rain impacts on the rock art.

Given the importance of context in understanding archaeological resources in relation to other sites and in relation to the wider landscape, the incremental loss of parts of that picture through piecemeal development can be a significant cumulative impact. Where the situation allows, strategic environmental assessment (SEA) offers a way forward. As the name suggests SEA allows for more strategic thinking about the potential effects of development across wider areas, and where there are known or suspected archaeological resources of significant potential value, it provides a basis for controlling that development to avoid or mitigate impacts across large areas.

In situations where cultural heritage and archaeological resources belong to existing indigenous communities, it is possible that archaeologists may also need to work with cultural impact assessment processes (CIA). Although CIA can vary in aims and scope (Partal and Dunphy, 2016), the form practised in New Zealand, Canada, and several other places, is a post-colonial approach that ensures indigenous values are considered in decision-making. The scope of a CIA is usually broad but includes archaeological resources as important components of the cultural heritage of indigenous communities. Work by archaeologists in these contexts can contribute to the wider CIA by showing the nature of indigenous connections to place, and the historic legacy of occupation and resource use that underpin contemporary indigenous culture.

Issues and challenges for IA

Ironically, a major challenge for IA results from its appeal as a widely-used method for protecting valued environmental components. Not only is it practised in most countries globally, it has also been adapted to serve many different environmental sectors, resulting in many varieties of impact assessment (Morrison-Saunders et al., 2014), including, of course, archaeological impact assessment and its related forms. The IA community struggles to manage the tension between sectoral forms of IA, which are often identified with disciplines or professional areas, and the need to ensure all forms of IA serve the same ends, adopt the same basic principles, and avoid wasting effort by reinventing the wheel. This

means forging an effective community of practice that can agree on basic standards and encourage communication between the various sectors and forms of IA (Morgan, 2017). The International Association for Impact Assessment (IAIA) is working to build such a community internationally and has strong links to bodies such as the World Bank, UNEP and the WHO. However, there is still a need to raise practitioner awareness within different sectors to the existence of a wider community of practice and to the research being carried out that may inform and improve their practices.

Within the IA research community itself there has been a move to develop stronger theoretical perspectives in the last 25 years; however, the practice of IA does not always reflect those developments. IA evolved in the 1970s as a technocratic tool, based on a rational decision-making model in which technical information is gathered and experts advise decision-makers on the best decision. Inevitably, this has been subject to increasing criticism over the years, reflecting the influence of wider theoretical debates in related fields, especially planning, about the nature of decision-making and the role of other stakeholders in those processes (Weston, 2010). Accordingly, contemporary literature on IA theory now tends to emphasise a participatory and inclusive approach which recognises different types of knowledge and the importance of representing the views of different groups in society, regardless of their economic and political status (for example, Spaling et al., 2011). There is also a growing interest in the role of power in IA processes as both a problem (Spiegel, 2017), and a facilitative aspect (Cashmore and Axelsson, 2013). So IA theory is evolving and pointing the way to more effective modes of practice.

Actual IA practice in many places lags well behind theory, for a number of possible reasons. For instance, most project-level IA is the result of statutory requirements and those institutional arrangements are slow to change. Moreover, modes of practice that have developed within particular jurisdictions become entrenched among local practitioners. It is difficult for emerging practitioners, imbued with new thinking about how to conduct IA, to overcome such institutional and practice inertia. IAIA and its national affiliates together with professional bodies in a wide number of countries have emerged to provide support for IA practitioners, especially

through professional development programmes. This can help overcome practice inertia, as long as all the bodies maintain good communication with the research community and with each other.

Despite those efforts, IA still suffers from the lack of a strong identity within political circles, and strong champions, at national and international levels. Many governments seeking to recover from the Global Financial Crisis of 2008 have been "streamlining" their planning procedures, to encourage faster decision-making about development projects (Morgan, 2012). Although they usually leave IA in place, they tend to limit its use to larger developments, and reduce the scope of issues to be addressed. This has increased the risk that important environmental values might be affected due to more superficial or nonexistent assessment of the implications of proposed development.

So while impact assessment will hopefully continue to develop and expand, it is vulnerable to political and economic whims. It needs to develop the resilience and political influence of a mature practice area. Developing that community of practice needs practitioners, who come from many diverse disciplines, to join with others in the IA world to build a critical mass that can really exert some influence in developing a shared picture of IA and promoting it to governments, funding agencies and the public.

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Selected resources

- International Association for Impact Assessment (IAIA) www.iaia.org The website has a variety of resources about the main forms of impact assessment, covering principles and practice-oriented tips.
- British Columbia Archaeological Impact Assessment and Review Process (online) https://www.for.gov.bc.ca/archaeology/docs/impact_assessment_guidelines/assessment_and_review_process_part1.htm

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Archaeology and development in Taiwan - the case of Hanben[1]

Nicolas David ZORZIN

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The island of Taiwan is 180 km distance from the coast of China, and is part of a chain of islands in the Pacific Ocean, between Japan and the Philippines. For most of its history, it was inhabited by Austronesian populations until Dutch colonisation opened the way to Southern Han Chinese immigration in the 17th century. After the Dutch Colony was defeated by the pro-Ming Koxinga kingdom (1662-1683), Taiwan was integrated into the Qing dynasty (1684-1894) until it was conceded to the Empire of Japanese (1895-1945). At the end of WW2, the so-called 'retrocession' to the Republic of China (i.e. to the defeated nationalist Kuomintang (KMT) regime of Chiang Kai-shek, opposed to the communist regime) introduced approximately two million 'mainlanders' to the island (25% of the total population of Taiwan by 1949) (Li 2004, 2014; *Manthrope 2005*).

As such, Taiwan inherited mixed populations[2], cultures and languages (notably Mandarin, Minnan, Hakka, and Austronesians). Yet, the definition of a postcolonial identity in contemporary Taiwan is still an ongoing process and a struggle between forces with different political agendas; often divided between pro-China, pro-Taiwan independence, aboriginal rights recognition, and a large majority of pragmatics favouring the status quo of a *de facto* independent Taiwan with different degrees of sympathy or animosity towards China. It should be noted here that Taiwan is increasingly dependent economically from China, and that an overall 'developmentcentric mentality' (Hsia Chu-Joe cited in Tsai 2012) dominates most political decisions and actions, whoever holds political power on the island.

1 This contribution is a shortened version of a larger publication to come concerning Cultural Heritage Management in Taiwan.

2 Total population of Taiwan in 2017: 23,5 million (2-3% are Aborigines)

The study of archaeology in Taiwan first appeared during the Japanese occupation as part of the empire's colonial agenda. It was developed as an uniquely academic discipline but, since the 2010s some private units are active in the country. Archaeology in Taiwan has been increasingly regulated, notably with the implementation of the 1982 Cultural Heritage Law, and since reinforced through different reforms and aligned with the principle of 'polluter-payer'. University archaeology departments as well as private units can compete to win rescue archaeology contracts from developers. These developers are tipically state institutions, such as the Ministry of Transportation and Communications (MOTC). It is in this context that the Hanben case-study has been analysed.

Fig. 1 Map of Taiwan and location of the Suhua highway section and of the site of Hanben, on the path of the Provincial Highway 9 *中文: 臺9線. Source: Liaon98, modified by the author

The Hanben archaeological site (2012-2017) – in search of a balance between preservation and development

The Hanben archaeological rescue project resulted from the discovery of remains by a team of archaeologists from Academia Sinica[3], on the path of the new Suhua highway (蘇花公路), which will be part of the Provincial Highway 9 (台9線) (Fig. 1), connecting the mountainous East Coast to the rest of the highway network of Taiwan. The Suhua highway is a NT$50 billion project, supported financially and administered by the MOTC, which aims to secure and reduce the driving distance between the cities of Suao and Hualien from 135 minutes to 90 minutes by 2018 (Shan 2015; Anonymous 2015).

With the zone being particularly inaccessible and ecologically intact, *Environment Impacts Assessments* (EIA) were systematically averse to an infrastructure development, and the project was thus put on hold during the 2000s. However, on October 22nd 2010, after a major typhoon, a bus of tourists was buried by landslides on the old East coastal Road #9 (Yilan County), killing 21 people, 19 of whom were Chinese nationals. The MOTC – playing on the emotions of Taiwanese public opinion and using the outrage of Hualien populations asking for a "*safe road home*" as justification – imposed the beginning of the highway project despite the EIA.

This could be interpreted as the well-oiled neoliberal strategy sometimes called "shock therapy" (Klein 2007): using national crises and shocking events such as numerous deaths by accident, to push through controversial or even illegal/anti-constitutional policies while citizens are too emotionally distracted by disasters to make well-thought-out decisions. Consequently, early opponents' actions were delegitimised, and resistance made ineffective, facing not only governmental pressure but also the pressure exerted by the majority of the population reacting to an unquestionably dramatic incident, over-emphasized by media (potentially complicit while owned by various powers implementing or benefiting from the "shock therapy" itself). As a result, most Taiwanese citizen would forget the major environmental issues created by such a project, and see the highway project as a necessary, vital and urgent matter.

3 A research centre funded by the Taiwanese government – Head of the project: Professor Liu Yi-Chang

It allowed the MOTC's Directorate General of Highways to bypass the previous EIA decisions in only three weeks of time, by allegedly obtaining 'approval' from the EIA committee on November 11th 2010, and by giving the construction monitoring responsibility to the developer itself.

The archaeological discovery

In 2012, after already two years of high-way infrastructure construction, archaeologists discovered a site nearby the train station of Hanben, in the extreme south of the Yilan County, at the border with Hualien County (Figs.1 & 2).

At the end of 2015, the Director of the Hanben archaeological rescue project declared to the media that the site could be dated from the early Iron Age (400 AD to 1100 AD). It was found that the inhabitants of Hanben mastered the craft of iron production, but it seems that these populations could be of foreign origins (from the south of modern China) who were later 'incorporated into Aboriginal communities' (Shan 2015). During the excavation, roads, houses, tombs, fireplaces, ovens, drainage layout, and fields were found in a very good state of preservation (Fig.3). It is very likely that the prehistoric settlement has been preserved in its entirety because of earthquakes and landslides, which sealed and protected the site very deep underground until today. At the beginning of 2016, the situation evolved quite dramatically when an unexpected second layer of occupation was found about 10m under the top-soil. It was dated to be from the Late Neolithic period between 0AD and 400 AD. Only an extremely limited surface of the site has been revealed (Fig. 2) and the full extent of the site is still unknown.

The results of the Hanben excavation could become critical to understand the beginning of the Iron Age in Taiwan, particularly on the East Coast. Considering the quality of the preservation of the site (Fig. 3), Hanben could be compared to the world-renowned archaeological site of Pompeii, in Italy. Just as the ancient city was frozen in time in August 79AD, buried in few hours by the ashes of Mt. Vesuvius, Hanben was equally frozen and preserved under meters of mud around the same period. It is a unique and a rare

case that gives archaeologists the opportunity to resurrect all the aspects of human life at a critical period of transition between the Neolithic and the Iron Age in Taiwan.

Fig. 2 Hanben Project in 2016 - Location of the zone affected by construction work (within the red line), estimated area covered by the archaeological site (green dashes), archaeological excavations conducted (orange), future high-way (blue, built; dashed-blue, not built yet) and actual road #9 (large light yellow line); Source: Public Television Service (PTS) "Our Island" TV Show #841 & Google map 2016, modified by the author.

Fig. 3 Excavation at Hanben site – Public presentations - Source: the author (Picture taken on June 12th, 2016)

Treatment of the site by the different interests groups (media, grassroots groups, government institutions, archaeologists, and politicians) – a true attempt at preservation?

In October 2015, a journalist from the *China Post* newspaper wrote: *"Directorate General of Highways Chao Hsin-hua (趙興華) confirmed the delay at the Legislative Yuan, saying that the relocation of archaeological relics at Hanben continued to cause delays and would push back the launch date of the 20-kilometer section from Nanao to Heping. […] Angered by news of the delay, Hualien County Magistrate Fu Kun-chi (傅崑萁) demanded tax cuts from the central government due to "administrative inefficiency" on the road improvement project*" (The China Post, Anonymous 2015).

Here, archaeology is presented and seen as an "issue" (Chiang 2016) by the Hualien County Magistrate, and as a useless and a costly one by other mainstream media. In contrast, other publications coming from various newspapers or independent medias, blogs, and forums, reported citizen protests and their concerns about the loss of Hanben archaeological site (Shan 2016, Taiwan Today - Anonymous 2015). A protest held in January 2016 in front of the MOTC against the destruction of the 'archaeological remains of the Hanben Culture' was largely covered (Lee 2016, Shan 2016 – Fig. 4). A group, the Raging Citizens Act Now (RCAN -人民火大行動聯盟) has been particularly active in trying to change the destiny of the site, notably by asking: 1) to 'respect the archaeological process'; 2) to change the route of the project; and 3) to allow archaeologists more time to expand the surface of the archaeological excavation' (Lee 2016).

However, 6 months after the protests, the situation in June 2016 was unchanged and could be described as followed: 1) there were no signs from the MOTC of a full understanding of the archaeological process and of the exceptional value of the site unearthed; 2) the communication about the site by archaeologists was heard only very late in the process, so the debate of re-routing the Highway came while the project was already reaching its final stage, making it extremely unlikely to be modified without heavy costs and very significant delays (Shan 2016); 3) one year of archaeological investigation was added to the previous three years

of work, but the initial team from Academia Sinica was dismissed in June 2016, and replaced by a private unit (Archaeo Cultures Co. - 庶古文創) to speed up the process and compress it to 6 months. In the news, it was yet claimed that the second team came in 'addition' to the one of Academia Sinica, but this was indeed false information (Shan 2016). This team replacement ordered by the MOTC's Directorate General of Highway proves again the complete misunderstanding of the archaeological process, which cannot be fragmented as such without greatly damaging both the recording of the site and its interpretation, not to mention that rushing the final investigation (which according to archaeologists should require 3 more years (See Liu, Yi-chang, cited in Taiwan Today 2015) will irreparably damage the integrity of the site.

Fig. 4 Protesters in front of the Ministry of Transportation and Communication - Source: Taipei Times, 21st January, 2016; Photograph: Chang Chia-ming

On May 20th 2016, the Kuomintang (KMT) government was replaced through general elections by the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP), but it was unclear if the position of the new government

– or, more precisely, the position of the Ministry of Culture – would change on the subject. On June 2nd 2016, the Ministry of Culture (MOC) designated the Hanben Heritage site as the 8th national historical site in Taiwan, and associated it, according to certain cultural traits, to the Atayal Aboriginal tribe.

A resolution concerning the site of Hanben, between the Ministry of Culture and the MOTC was attempted on June 23rd 2016. A protest organised by Taiwanese citizens was held in parallel to this reunion in front of the Executive Yuan, in Taipei (Fig.5).

Fig. 5 Encounter between government representatives and protesters supporting the preservation of Hanben archaeological site in Yilan Source: the author (Picture taken on June 23rd 2016, Executive Yuan).

On July 27th 2016, at the Legislative Yuan, a conciliation meeting between the various interest groups involved occurred: Ministry of Transportation and Communications - 中華民國交通部, Ministry of Culture - 文化部, Grassroots groups, some politicians (notably from the New Power Party - NPP時代力量: Freddy Lim 林昶佐), but also architects, engineers, one archaeologist, and scholars of various backgrounds who could contribute to the debate.

This meeting happened, essentially, because of the interventions of one of the members of the legislative Yuan, an Indigenous member: Kawlo Iyun Pacidal- 高潞．以用．巴巒剌 (NPP), from the Amis tribe[4]. During the meeting, the representatives of the MOTC seemed openly hostile to the idea of preserving Hanben, and dissonances and tensions within the Ministry of Culture could be perceived as well. The grassroots people also stated that: "*at the moment we speak, the construction of the bridges was never stopped, and the moment the bridges will reach each other, the purpose of this meeting would be totally nullified*".

A few months later, during an interview with a well-informed archaeologist in Taiwan, the author received this answer to the specific question: "Could Hanben create a precedent and open a new era for the protection of Cultural Heritage in Taiwan?"

> [Carla – Archaeologist in Academia] "*No! Absolutely not... the only thing that is actually changing in Taiwan archaeology because of* [Hanben]*, it's the public involvement.* […] *Grassroots peoples started to realise the importance of archaeology and to understand the specific problems of archaeological sites in Taiwan: i.e. the difficult balance between the archaeological practice, the preservation and the development. […] These grassroots groups started to pay attention. Now, we are in the process of revising the Cultural Heritage Law and a new version came out last year* [2016]*. These are the specific regulations, but the guidance to implement that law are still to come. These grassroots people are very involved with this process. […]"*

In January 2017, to the question os whether Hanben could be saved, the same interviewee stated:

> […] "*Now it's too late* [to save Hanben]*. All the construction plans have been passed, so the rescue excavation is going on with the private unit. […] The bridges* [above the site of Hanben] *are now almost connected. […]*

4 The largest indigenous group in Taiwan (approx. 200,000 people), mostly present on the East coast of Taiwan, especially around Hualien City and along the Southern Huatung Valley

> *Unfortunately, the* [decisions makers] *all think in a very political manner: Hualien County is all controlled by the KMT but the DPP wants to take it back, so, because all the people living in that area want to have the road built, the DPP cannot take a decision which will alienate the entire population of Hualien... In fact, I suspect that some of the people in the DPP think the site of Hanben is important, but they cannot* [do anything] *because they want to win the elections next term…"*

Hanben archaeological site outcomes - a mixed picture

Ultimately, the attempt to preserve Hanben failed to interrupt the development project, and failed as a model for modifying and rescheduling a project to preserve and promote the archaeological heritage of Taiwan. However, it could be seen as a success in raising public awareness, and in the formation of groups who now better understand the importance of archaeology and who are willing to invest time and energy to defend it. In the future, it might become a lesson for these groups, and the protection of the next 'Hanben' might be better and planned much more in advance with their support.

Nonetheless, the role of archaeologists in the *relation de force* between various institutions is still problematic. The only way for archaeologists to play a significant role in the defence of heritage, would be to protect them from external pressures, i.e. guarantee their independence (financial, professional, political). To do so, a drastic increase in the number of active archaeologists in Taiwan (approximately 40 in 2017) might contribute greatly to avoiding both the pressures and potential conflicts of interest generated by the current obligations of archaeologists to assume many different roles simultaneously; as academics, practitioners (in competition which each other), evaluators in national committees, etc. To avoid the current risk of archaeologists becoming judge and jury, Taiwanese archaeology requires an estimated 400 professional archaeologists – ten times the current workforce.

Finally, to guarantee archaeologists both freedom of speech and cohesion as a group, it could be conceivable to establish a national archaeological body based on the French or Japanese models, sustaining a centralised and autonomous pool of archaeologists for rescue and research activities in archaeology.

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State-consented destruction of archaeological sites: the Dakar Rally in Northern Chile (2009-2015)

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Since 2009, the South American cone has become the scenario of the Dakar Rally, which operated from 1978 to 2007 between Europe and Africa. The geographical shift was a decision taken by the Amaury Sport Organization (ASO) due to the possibility of terrorist attacks. Thus, other deserts had to be conquered. Through agreements of ASO with different countries, the rally began first between Argentina (2009 – present) and Chile (2009 – 2015), being joined later by Perú (2012-2013, present), Bolivia (2014 – present), and Paraguay (2017). I will briefly address the situation of the Dakar Rally in Chile, which constitutes a unique, emblematic case of the destruction of cultural heritage, due to reasons that involve the state, the vacuums in current legislation and the mobilisation of various stakeholders against the rally.

The high-speed, off-road crossing of some 500 vehicles (motorcycles, trucks, cars and side by side) in each Dakar rally raid has left traces of irreparable damage to a rich and diverse material record over six regions of Chile (*c*. 1600 linear km N-S), from the coast to the Andean piedmont. The most challenging and full cross-country stages of the rally took place in the Atacama Desert, traversing between 1000-3000 km in each tournament. Far from the concept of *terra nullius* attached to desert spaces, several distinct human occupations have left their imprints in this territory, from early hunter-gatherers (*c*. 12800 AP) to the saltpetre boomtowns of the late 1800s. Among the sites at risk by the event, are numerous shell middens, settlements and burials along the coast; Early Formative villages (3500 – 2500 AP) developing initial agricultural technologies in the desert hinterland; ancient trails

5 CONICYT PAI/ Concurso Nacional Inserción en la Academia, Convocatoria 2016, Folio 79160085.

constructed and used by different farming and herding societies, as well as the geoglyphs, stone structures and settlements associated with them, in a time span that goes from the Early Formative to the Inca period (AD 1450-1530), many of which continued in use until last century.

The National Monuments Council (Consejo de Monumentos Nacionales, CMN]), the public organization dealing with tangible heritage, reports damage to 318 archaeological sites in the seven years of the Dakar Rally (Colegio de Arqueólogos de Chile, A.G. [CARCH] 2015; Table 1). This is however, a moderate number, as the *pre* and *post facto* impact assessments did not evaluate the totality of the areas crossed by the tournament: they did not consider last-minute changes to routes; pilots getting lost and making their own trails; rally fans going to the event parking at random or attempting to be pilots themselves, leaving their trails behind.

Dakar edition	Sites found	Sites damaged
2009	No information	5
2010	147	52
2011	556	126
2012	272	24
2013	150	14
2014	319	6
2015	291	91
Total	**1735**	**318**

Table 1. Evaluation of sites before and after each edition of the Dakar Rally. Source: CARCH 2015.

Here, the State has played a leading role in the destruction of archaeological heritage, with its public organizations involved. The National Monuments Act 17.288 defines that archaeological sites and remains are under the custody and protection of the state. However, the National Sports Institute (Instituto Nacional de Deportes, IND) was the sponsor of the Rally Dakar in Chile, paying to ASO some four million dollars per event, without taking the necessary measures to protect archaeological sites. The legal system, has dismissed most legal actions presented against the rally, despite the fact that damage to archaeological sites is typified as a felony (Art. 38, National Monuments Act 17.288), arguing formal reasons without addressing the contents of the injunctions and complaints (see CARCH 2015; González 2014). The National Defence Council (Consejo de Defensa del Estado, CDE) that resolves the legal actions and defence of public organizations has not replied to the CMN's official requests of addressing the IND's penal, civilian and administrative accountability in the destruction of archaeological heritage. Thus, in the existence of a dispute between two public institutions, the CDE has abstained from action.

In addition, the Dakar Rally has taken place outside of the Environmental Impact Assessment System (Sistema de Evaluación de Impacto Ambiental, SEIA), to which all investment and development projects in Chile must comply with by law. The General Environment Act Nº19.300 defines the type of projects and/or activities that must undergo the SEIA in cases of generating or presenting environmental impact (Art. 10). Since the operation of sports events is not indicated in this article, it is not possible to compel the IND to submit the rally to the SEIA. And there was no will of the IND to submit the race voluntarily. As there is no specific legal frame for archaeological assessments in sport events, the rally falls into the illegality of heritage destruction. Here, archaeology is just one of the components damaged by the Dakar Rally; its existence outside the SEIA also affects the evaluation of flora and fauna, which maintain fragile ecological balances in the desert, as well as the generation and disposal of toxic residues. According to a 2012 report by ASO (Bade 2013), during that year, the event discarded 5.250 litres of used oil, 16.500 k of contaminated solids, and 12.200 tyres; 60 tons of waste were collected from camps and roads, and the CO_2 emissions generated reached 15.500 tons. Considering that

the IND's mission is to "contribute to a healthy, active and happy quality of life of all people" (IND n/d, my translation), I do not see how the sports public organization holds up to its mission by the destruction of cultural heritage and the unnecessary contamination of the desert and environment in general.

Finally, the indifference of public institutions before the destruction of archaeological heritage opened a common ground of struggle that united the efforts of civil, environmental, indigenous, heritage and scientific organizations as well as individuals, which took the case to national courts and the media (see González 2014). In the case of the CARCH, professional association of archaeologists – of which I am member, therefore use as an example – its first incursion ever in courts was related to the Dakar Rally in 2010. Since then, it actively participated in several legal actions against the event, contacted parliament members and the media, and sought to create awareness and make visible the damages to cultural heritage. In addition, the CARCH articulated several related organizations from Argentina, Bolivia, Peru and Chile, publishing statements against the operation of the Dakar in our countries (v.gr., Le Monde Diplomatique 2016). Through different actions, it was possible to bring and position the matter of heritage destruction to the public eye, unprecedented in the national scene. During the event itself, several archaeologists and other civilians participated as onlookers, filming and evaluating the damages to archaeological sites *in situ.* Since the institutions responsible of the event did not make themselves accountable for the destruction of cultural heritage, then there was the option of catching *in fraganti* those pilots that damaged it. Here, the arrest of two European pilots by the Police of Investigations (Policía de Investigaciones, PDI) was possible due to the photographs and videos that showed them crossing a demarcated area, signalling a pre-Hispanic road[6].

By the very nature of the Dakar tournament, in terms of territorial extension and unpredictability of the routes, preventive measures that can be taken to protect archaeological sites will

6 The most incredible and unfortunate aspect of the case was the declaration made by one of the detained, the Italian pilot Matteo Casuccio: 'These guys, you wouldn't imagine how they got for four rocks out of many of a mountain. Not that I was passing through the middle of the Coliseum. *That* is an archaeological ruin. If they went to Rome they would hallucinate' (Naranjo 2015, my translation).

never suffice. The 2015 Dakar Rally was the last in Chile; however, presidential elections held on December 2017 gave the victory to right-wing candidate Sebastián Piñera. Shortly after, it was announced that his government would seek to bring the Dakar Rally back in 2019 (Emol 2017). In the time being, the 2018 edition will continue to be held in the territories of Peru, Bolivia and Argentina, over the remains of a shared past and history. Thus, the battle against the rally is not over yet, and possibly needs be reignited.

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Integrating Research, Outreach, and Education at the Gipson Site

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Abstract

In the fall of 2015, the Office of the Wyoming State Archaeologist (OWSA) conducted archaeological investigations at the Gipson site, a historic campsite located in the Laramie Mountains of Wyoming. This project was undertaken at the request of the property owners and successfully synthesized research, outreach, and education. During the field session, twelve students and volunteers ranging in age from 10 to 60 years conducted survey, metal detecting, and test excavations. Data collected from this work can give clarity to the nature of the 19th century occupation and will add to the understanding of railroad building activities in the West. However, the benefits of this project extend beyond the informational value the collected data provide. Through the integration of students from the University of Wyoming and local volunteers, including the property owners, the Gipson site investigations proved to be a successful public outreach and archaeological educational tool. This paper will provide background on the project and discuss the challenges and benefits of incorporating outreach and education into a standard research project.

Keywords

Historic Archaeology, Archaeological Education, Public Outreach

Introduction

Archaeologists are commonly asked to wear many hats. Our responsibilities can include conducting research via field investigations or laboratory analyses; working with multiple parties including private firms, government agencies, avocational groups, and descendant communities; teaching classes at the secondary and post-secondary levels; and so much more. In conducting this range of activities, professional archaeologists invariably encounter individuals with different archaeological interests, attitudes, aptitudes, and knowledge bases. Often our goals are multifaceted and dependent on the circumstances at hand. We may seek to educate on what archaeology is and why it is important. We may have to navigate the differing interests and agendas of a broad range of parties to see a project to completion. We may attempt to involve members of the public in all phases of our work from the identification of a resource to the interpretation of the collected data, or we may simply seek opportunities to share the results of our work with a larger audience. These are but a few of the tasks and responsibilities we shoulder as archaeologists, and they are by no means mutually exclusive; there is often overlap in our goals and motivations. Regardless of the form that our activities take, many in the field hold to the belief that it is our responsibility to share the results of our research and to involve interested individuals or parties in our work as often as we can (Hoffman 1997: 73; Jameson Jr. 2003: 154; Jameson Jr. 2004: 21-22; McGimsey 1972: 5-7; McManamon 2000: 5-6; Merriman 2004: 3-5; SAA 1996; Stone 2015: 15).

The Office of the Wyoming State Archaeologist (OWSA) is well aware of the complexities of conducting archaeological investigations and interpretation in the public eye, and we have adopted three basic tenets to guide the work we do (OWSA 2017; Pierce 2017a). These tenets include a dedication to outreach, research, and education. Outreach connects this office and our work to individuals across Wyoming, and beyond, who would like to be involved in the identification, investigation, interpretation, and preservation of our archaeological resources. Research allows OWSA to explore the archaeological resources in Wyoming and to use the data from these investigations to add to the understanding

of historic and prehistoric activities in the region. Educational programs and activities are an important conduit through which we inform the public about the nature of our rich archaeological heritage, how archaeology informs us about the past, and present issues relating to the preservation of these valuable resources. We look to integrate these three foci into as much of what we do as possible. We truly believe that these three topics are not mutually exclusive and when appropriate can be brought together for the benefit of OWSA, the resource, and the public.

Recently, OWSA engaged in a project which successfully integrated public outreach, academic research, and archaeological education. In the fall of 2015, we took 12 students and volunteers ranging in age from 10 to 60 years into the field to conduct archaeological investigations at the Gipson site, 48AB2383, at the request of a local property owner. Investigations at this historic camp consisted of survey, metal detecting, and test excavations. This was the first systematic investigation of the site and the results have helped clarify the nature of the 19th century occupation and will add to the understanding of railroad building activities in the West.

The Gipson Site

The Gipson site is located in the Laramie Mountains southwest of Tie Siding, Wyoming and approximately 30 minutes south of Laramie, Wyoming (Figure 1). The site sits atop a small hill overlooking the Laramie Valley to the northwest (Figure 2). The property did not pass into private ownership until 1997 and remained undeveloped until 2009, when Eleanor and Andy Gipson purchased the lot and constructed a cabin on the premises. In investigating their new property and selecting the future location of their cabin, a scatter of historic material on a nearby hilltop was discovered.

Eleanor Gipson contacted staff with the Anthropology Department at the University of Wyoming (UW), the Wyoming State Historic Preservation Office (SHPO), and the Office of the Wyoming State Archaeologist (OWSA). Collectively, individuals from these offices worked with Eleanor to complete and submit

a site form to the Wyoming SHPO (Gipson 2012). The Gipsons wanted to investigate the site further but, unfortunately, UW, SHPO, and OWSA staff were already committed to other projects at the time and were unable to assist in field investigations. However, individuals from these agencies were able to help develop a collection methodology for the site which the Gipsons could operationalize themselves (Eleanor Gipson personal communication 2015; Mark Miller personal communication 2015). Using this methodology, a datum was established near the center of the site and the locations of visible artifacts were recorded in relation to this datum using compass direction and distance. This work resulted in a sitemap documenting the spatial distribution of the visible surface artifacts (Figure 3). An analysis of diagnostic artifacts including firearm hardware, ammunition, and bottle fragments revealed that the site dates to the late 1860s. This date range and the geographic location of the site suggest that the Gipson site is likely related to surveying or hunting activities associated with the construction of the Union Pacific Railroad in the Laramie Valley.

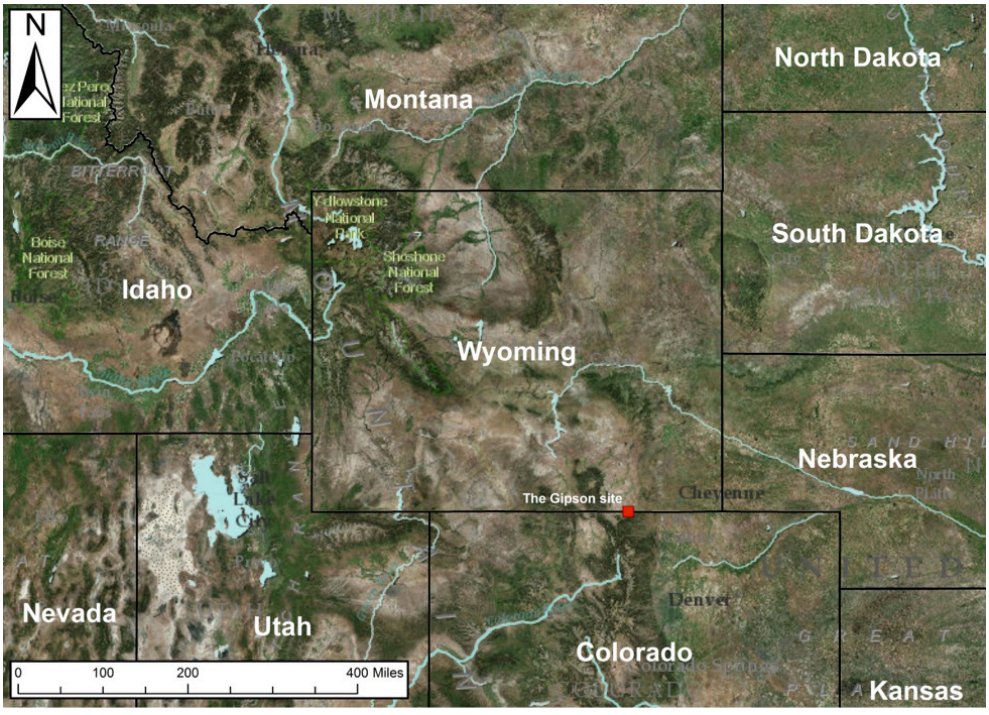

Figure 1. Location of the Gipson site (Esri et al. 2016).

Figure 2. Site overview facing north.

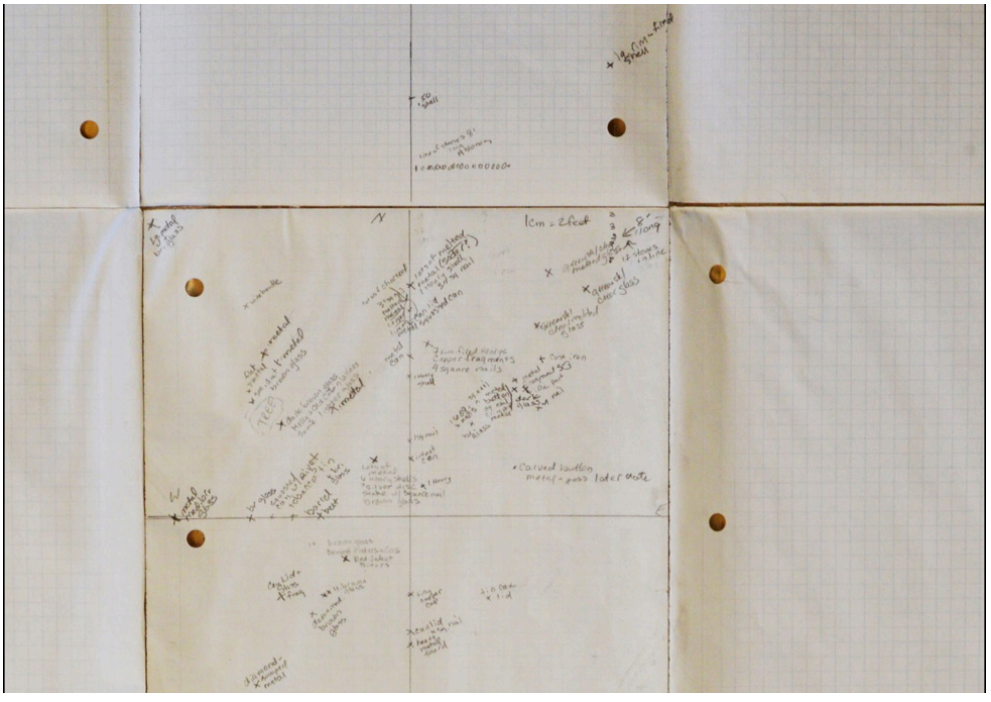

Figure 3. Original site map created by Eleanor Gipson.

Mrs. Gipson's initial recordation of the site helped to provide a basic site boundary, inventory, and site history. However, Eleanor was intent on doing more with the Gipson site and approached OWSA about conducting more intensive investigations. The proximity of the site to Laramie allowed for easy day trips to conduct fieldwork, and the relatively small size and shallow depths of the sediment were ideal for brief, focused investigations featuring avocationalists and students with little field training. As such, the decision was made to integrate field investigations at the site into the curriculum of a fall Public Archaeology course taught by the author at the University of Wyoming.

The Class

Anthropology 4190/5190, Public Archaeology, is a regular course listing in the department of Anthropology at the University of Wyoming. The purpose of the class is to introduce students to a wide range of topics related to conducting archaeology with the public in mind (Pierce 2017b). Students are asked to tackle issues faced by archaeologists when working with and presenting information to the public. The course format includes discussing selected readings in class and participating in public archaeology events and projects outside of class.

Course topics include a general introduction to the relevant cultural resource management laws and discussions focusing on what is, and what is not, public archaeology, archaeological ethics, issues relating to curation, our responsibilities and obligations regarding stewardship of the archaeological record, looting, vandalism, the illegal antiquities trade, working with collectors, the involvement of descendant communities in archaeological investigations, archaeology and the media, and the benefits, difficulties, and logistics of archaeological education. Students are asked to thoughtfully and respectfully debate each topic with the goal of realizing that these are complex issues with various stakeholders having differing opinions and that in some cases there is no "correct" answer.

The class also seeks to illustrate how public archaeology works in practice. Over the course of the semester, students are asked

to participate in public archaeology events, such as the annual Wyoming Archaeology Fair, and in field investigations conducted with local property owners. During these activities, participants work alongside professional archaeologists and interact with members of the public. In this capacity, they work as both teacher and student. Students gain information from the professional archaeologists, while they act as "experts" presenting and discussing archaeological topics with members of the interested public.

The lessons learned from in and out of class activities are then put into practice as each student is asked to generate educational materials that can be used by K-12 teachers and a second outreach document which can be used to present an archaeological topic to the public in a fun and informative manner. The format and subject matter of the outreach and educational material is open to each individual's choosing to allow for maximum engagement with each project. Every discussion and activity is designed to help the class develop a greater appreciation for the number of individuals other than archaeologists who are involved in archaeological investigations, to model productive methods of interacting with these various stakeholders, and to have each individual begin to grapple with the complexities of many of the issues faced by professional archaeologists on a regular basis.

The 2015 Anthropology 4190/5190 class had five graduate students enrolled in the MA or PhD programs in the Anthropology Department at UW, three anthropology undergraduates, and one history undergraduate. The students' archaeological knowledge base in the field, lab, and classroom was diverse for this course. This diversity presented unique opportunities and challenges in developing a field and classroom experience which successfully integrated this range of interests, perspectives, and skill levels.

The Project

As part of the Fall 2015 Public Archaeology course, everyone enrolled was required to participate in a weekend field excursion to the Gipson site. The purposes of the visit were threefold; to develop relationships with the local property owners in the area, to investigate the nature of the occupation at the Gipson site, and

to introduce the class to the process of conducting archaeological investigations alongside avocationalists and property owners. The field crew consisted of the author, the Gipsons, and twelve students and volunteers (Figure 4). Experience for the crew ranged from graduate students with significant field time on academic and cultural resource management projects to those who had never been in the field. Three volunteers also participated, including two grade school aged children.

Figure 4. The 2015 Gipson site field crew.

Prior to the session, time was dedicated to instructing the class on how to prepare for the field. This included developing a project design and implementation strategy, identifying the necessary materials and equipment for the project, and generating field forms appropriate for the approved research design. These are skillsets which, undoubtedly, some in the class had already begun to develop. This allowed more advanced students to help mentor those with less experience.

The project design defined three major objectives; to identify the extent of the site, complete an inventory of visible archaeological resources, and test for subsurface deposits should time and circumstances allow. The Gipson site is a small site, approximately 250 square meters. This limited area, combined with the large number of participants in the investigation, was conducive to allowing for the completion of all the project goals in the limited amount of time allotted for testing.

The project began with a surface survey of the entire site. The crew walked the site in linear north/south transects flagging any artifacts they saw. When an artifact was identified the survey was halted and a closer inspection of the area surrounding the find was done. With the survey completed, the field crew was broken into three smaller groups, with students with more developed skillsets directing the work of each. Group A collected flagged artifacts. Each item was photographed, and attribute and locational data was recorded. After the artifacts were collected, bagged, and recorded, Group A identified, photographed, and recorded attribute and locational data for all the cut trees onsite. Groups B and C conducted a metal detecting survey. The north/south metal detecting transects were 1 meter in width and covered the entirety of the site. Metal detecting hits were flagged and locational data was recorded. After the completion of the metal detecting survey, flagged locations were trowel excavated and screened through ¼ inch screen. Artifacts recovered in the metal detector hits were collected and bagged with attribute and locational data recorded. Each hit was backfilled after it was cleared.

Pedestrian and metal detecting surveys were completed relatively quickly, so the decision was made to excavate two test units and map a surface rock alignment. Group A used a handheld GPS, compass, and tape to record the location, orientation, and dimensions of each rock in the alignment. Overview photographs were also taken of the feature. Groups B and C laid out 1x1 meter test units, set the datum, and excavated in 10 cm levels. As deposits onsite were shallow, usually less than 30 cm, each crew was able to reach bedrock in two to three levels. Unit sediments were screened through ¼ inch screen. Artifacts recovered from each unit were collected and bagged with attribute and locational data recorded.

A number of local property owners stopped by to visit the site and talk about the work being conducted. These site visits provided students the opportunity to interact with members of the public during an ongoing field project. Students showed visitors around the site, talked with them about the history of the area, and explained the work they were doing. This experience was invaluable to visitors as well as students. Visitors were able to experience active fieldwork and talk with archaeologists about the process and the site, and members of the class were able to engage with interested members of the public and serve as "experts" discussing and explaining archaeology.

By the end of the session all of the objectives put forth in the project design were completed. Thirty positive metal detector hits and twelve cut trees were recorded, one rock alignment was mapped, two test units were excavated, and over 200 artifacts were collected. Artifacts included metal and glass fragments, shell casings, various nails and fasteners, horse tack, buttons, and buckles. Artifact types represent several functional categories including tack items, building items, clothing accessories, and artifacts associated with hunting and/or personal protection. All artifacts were taken to the University of Wyoming Department of Anthropology for analysis. When analysis is completed, they will be returned to the property owners.

This field project was a success on many different levels. It brought together outreach, research, and educational components. The synthesis of these three areas proved beneficial to the students, to the Gipsons and the interested property owners in the vicinity, OWSA, and the archaeological record. Furthermore, these successes came without sacrificing a commitment to quality research, fieldwork, and laboratory analysis.

The work at the Gipson site integrated active research aimed at improving the understanding of activities associated with railroad building in the Laramie Valley during the end of the 19th century. Some research has been conducted on railroad construction activities in Wyoming, however this work has often focused on nearby regions or later temporal periods (Branton et al. 2013; Laurent 1987; Mckee 1989; Rosenberg 1999; Wood 1989). A complete analysis of support activities for the construction of the

Union Pacific line through the Laramie Valley has yet to be fully realized.

In Southeastern Wyoming, railroad construction activity began in 1865, when Grenville M. Dodge, Chief Engineer of the Union Pacific Railroad, surveyed the Laramie Mountains while searching for a usable route through the region (Thybony et al. 1986: 43). By the mid to late 1860s, timber resources in the Laramie Range began to be extracted for use as rail ties for railroad construction activities further east in Nebraska (Thybony et al, 1986: 59; Wood 1989: 16). Rail construction reached eastern Wyoming by 1867 (Wood 1989: 13). Lodgepole pines in the Laramie Mountains adjacent to the railroad right of way continued to be exploited to create railroad ties for local use (Rosenberg 1999: 7; Wood 1989: 3). By 1869 the Transcontinental Railroad was completed. However, timber resources in southeastern Wyoming continued to be harvested well into the early 20th century for use as replacement ties for the now functioning Union Pacific line, for other rail lines through the region, for mine props, as cordwood, and for building construction in Laramie City (Thybony et al. 1986: 60; Wood 1989: 17-19).

Research and analysis of railroad construction activities, including work on tie hack camps, was reportive as primarily descriptive in 1989 (McKee 1989: 16). Little has changed in the last three decades regarding this work. Limited scholarship has been conducted regarding railroad construction activities in Wyoming during the 19th century, and many of the "future" research questions mentioned by McKee (1989: 17) regarding camp demographics, social organization, diet, and season of occupation have not been addressed. The Gipson site provides a unique opportunity from which to begin these forms of investigation as this location has seen little disturbance and no visible looting. When analysis of the data collected during the 2015 field session is complete, it will not only help us further refine the dating brackets of the site but also allow researchers to gain insight into the variety of activities conducted onsite during the 1860s and 1870s.

While research was an important component of the project, it was certainly not the only goal. OWSA firmly believes that public outreach and education can, and should, be integrated into as many research projects as possible. At the Gipson site, the public

outreach component figured prominently into the project design. A primary motivator for conducting this fieldwork was to strengthen relationships between local property owners in the area and the archaeological community. Many individuals, while generally interested in the past, are not aware of what archaeologists do and how individual actions can influence the archaeological record. When contacted by a member of the public it is an opportunity to engage in a dialog about a range of issues relating to our archaeological resources.

In taking the opportunity to speak with interested members of the public and local property owners, archaeologists have the ability to develop relationships with these individuals. Building on this dialog, it is often beneficial to integrate the public in the identification, investigation, interpretation, and preservation of archaeological resources (Hoffman 1997: 73; ICOMOS 1990; King 2012: 9; Little 2012: 399-402; Masse and Gregonis 1996: 381; McManamon 2000: 5-6; Perring 2015: 167; Pitblado 2014: 391, 395; Stone 2015: 17-18; Wertime 1995: 72). In fact, the Society for American Archaeology Principles of Archaeological Ethics states that "archaeologists should reach out to, and participate in cooperative efforts with others interested in the archaeological record with the aim of improving preservation, protection, and interpretation of the record" (SAA 1996). To this end, bringing members of the public into the archaeological process not only educates them as to how archaeology is done, how archaeology informs us about the past, and issues relating to the preservation of these resources, but it connects them to the process and makes them better stewards of these resources as well. This project involved two local property owners in active investigations and showcased the archaeological process to other individuals from the area. The net result of this work was that a number of interested members of the public were able to interact with professional archaeologists in a positive, and hopefully educational, manner.

Education was also a major component of the work at the Gipson site. Recent scholarship has found that archaeological education works to increase participants' awareness of archaeological resources; helps individuals to understand what archaeology is, what archaeologists do, and how material remains are used to interpret the past; and instills in students an awareness and appreciation of our

shared cultural heritage (Jameson Jr. 2003: 154-155; Moreno Torres and Márquez-Grant 2011: 29-30; Mulloy 2014; Smardz 2000: 235; Stone 2015: 25-27; Sutherland 2011: 56). Archaeological education has also proven useful in developing students' critical thinking and cooperative learning skills as well as fostering participants' ability to think holistically, weigh the value of different datasets, and apply the scientific method; all while working towards instilling an appreciation for other cultures and human variation (Esterhuysen and Lane 2013: 240; Levstik et al. 2003; Moe 1993: 2; Mulloy 2014; Price et al. 2001; Prothro 2012: 4-5).

This project was primarily focused on increasing participants', students', and site visitors' awareness of archaeological resources, understanding of the process of archaeology, and appreciation for Wyoming's cultural heritage. Still, components of this project required the use of critical thinking and cooperative learning skills as well as the application of the scientific method. Not only was it beneficial for students to participate in a research project from planning to field implementation, but this was an excellent project to introduce the class to the process of doing public archaeology. Significant course time was dedicated to the discussion of issues related to, and the practice of, conducting archaeology alongside the public. However, there is no substitute for experiential learning. It is one of the most effective means of transmitting knowledge and was actively incorporated into the teaching methods of Anthropology 4190/5190 as often as possible. Students led discussions, generated educational and outreach materials, participated in outreach events, and at the Gipson site conducted archaeological investigations alongside volunteers and property owners.

The experience at the Gipson site allowed participants to fill the roles of student and instructor while in the field, transmitting archaeological information and knowledge while simultaneously learning through practice. As mentioned above, the range of the class's experience and knowledge pertaining to conducting archaeological field work was challenging. The project design had to allow for this variation in background. Fortunately, many of the aspects of the investigations did not require extensive field knowledge, allowing for participation by those with less developed skillsets. Additionally, several individuals in the class were well versed in standard archaeological methods and

techniques. Advanced students were asked to take the lead on project components including survey, recordation, and excavation. In this capacity they acted as teachers, instructing those less advanced on proper field techniques. For many, acting as mentors and supervisors was also a learning experience. Less advanced students learned proper techniques and were shown how to work cooperatively with a diverse crew. All participants were afforded the opportunity, through the arrival of local property owners, to act as archaeological "experts" transmitting information on the work, the site, and archaeology in general to our visitors. Likewise, all participants gained valuable insight into incorporating individuals with a range of backgrounds, interests, and skill levels into a successful project. The flexibility of the project design and the range of participant skill levels ultimately led to the success of the Gipson site project, as all involved benefitted from the opportunity to learn through direct instruction, experiential learning, and in some cases acting as instructors.

As it can be seen, the work at the Gipson site brought together a number of issues of interest and concern for archaeologists in a successful synthesis of outreach, research, and education. This project collected data which, when analyzed, will add to our understanding of ancillary activities associated with transcontinental railroad building in Wyoming during the 1860s and 1870s. Incorporated into this work were public outreach and student education. Local property owners and members of the public participated in the investigations and visited the site while work was ongoing. Students from UW contributed to the research design and conducted the fieldwork alongside volunteers from the area. The incorporation of these three elements proved beneficial to all involved including the students, the property owners, and the archaeological resource.

The Future

While there are certainly logistical challenges to implementing this type of field program, in the appropriate circumstances the benefits combining outreach, research, and education can be significant. There are multiple benefits to be had from the integration

of the wider public in the practice of doing archaeology, not only for the archaeological record and the project itself but also for those that participate. The most direct benefits, archaeologically, are the time donated by public volunteers and the work done by these individuals as well as the development of more holistic site interpretations based on feedback from a range of partners. However, the long term benefits of the inclusion of members of the interested public in the archaeological process are often far greater. These benefits include increases in support from the general public for the protection and stewardship of cultural resources and activism and advocacy for the archaeological record as well as a greater understanding by participants in what archaeology is, what archaeologists do, and how we use the archaeological record to interpret the past (Bartoy 2012: 557; Hoffman 1997: 74; Lynott and Wylie 1995: 23; McManamon 2000: 6-7; Sutherland 2011: 56). Participants in archaeological programs often find the activity personally satisfying, as this work generally connects with their individual interests (Heath 1997: 70; Turnbaugh et al. 1983: 24-25). Additionally, the participation in the practice of archaeology serves to help connect local communities and individuals to their cultural heritage (Jameson Jr. 2004: 161; Moreno Torres and Márquez-Grant 2011: 29; Smardz 2000: 235; Stone 2015: 26-27).

There are, however, genuine concerns which have been raised about the integration of members of the general public into active archaeological investigations. These concerns contend that outreach efforts may endanger the archaeological resource in allowing untrained individuals to record, collect, or excavate archaeological material or sites; that time and money is wasted on these activities when it could be focused on research; and that participants may use the skills acquired in these programs to engage in collecting or looting (Smardz 2000: 234).

Many of these challenges can be overcome by having a well-designed project with clearly defined goals (Perring 2015: 176). This project design should develop a framework outlining what each participant is to learn, how that message is going to be conveyed, and what each individual should take away from the experience (Smardz 2000: 235, 240-241). Designing a project in this manner will make sure that funds are allocated in the most effective

manner and that participants clearly understand what is expected of them, why the work is being conducted, and how this helps interpret the past. This will not only ensure that participants feel like valuable contributors, but will help to educate them as to how the archaeological process works, how recovered material helps to interpret the past, and on the importance of the preservation and care of archaeological resources.

This is not to say that the integration of members of the public is appropriate in all circumstances. Some projects may have budgetary constraints or may focus on sensitive sites, both of which could limit public participation. Remote locations, difficult or dangerous terrain, and active construction activity also have the ability to preclude projects from including public participation. Finally, in some circumstances the project participants may not have the necessary skill set to conduct archaeological investigations with public participation. In these instances, involving the public could do more harm than good from a public education perspective (Smardz 2010: 241). Still, given the appropriate circumstances, with the proper staff, the inclusion of the public in active archaeological investigations can bring together research, outreach, and education for the benefit of all.

Conclusion

As archaeologists we are often tasked with balancing a number of responsibilities in the work we do. Three of these responsibilities include our duty to conduct responsible research, our obligation to work and share our knowledge with members of the public, and in many cases our dedication to educating students, volunteers, and others about archaeology and our collective past. While it is certainly not feasible to integrate all three of these components in every project, they are not mutually exclusive concerns. At OWSA we attempt to integrate these three foci as often as is appropriate. The OWSA field investigations at the Gipson site successfully integrated academically grounded research, public outreach, and student education.

The Gipson project proved to be a resounding success. Quality data was collected during the field session and interested individuals

from the area as well as the owners of the property were successfully integrated into the investigation of the site through onsite tours and direct participation in fieldwork. Students also benefitted from the Gipson site work, gaining valuable insight into the actual process of conducting public outreach efforts through experiential learning. This project serves as an example of the positive achievements that can be attained through the incorporation of public outreach and education into research and fieldwork, and serves as a reminder that while balancing various professional responsibilities can be difficult, there are significant benefits to be gained when multiple goals can be addressed through a single project.

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This project would not have come to fruition if it were not for the dedication and perseverance of Eleanor and Andy Gipson. Their interest in the investigation and preservation of archaeological resources under their stewardship is something we as professionals should seek to foster in all individuals we work with.

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Overcoming Issues in Ancient Puerto Rican Boulder Art Research:

Reflections from the La Mina Petroglyph Project

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Abstract

Puerto Rico has long been understood by archaeologists as a key geographical location for understanding the succession of cultural occupations in the Caribbean (Alegría, 1965; Curet, 2006; Siegel, 2005.) Unfortunately, despite the importance of archaeology in this region, the island has been continuously effected by socio-economic instability, lack of archaeological funding opportunities, few specialized academic programs, and a heavy focus on cultural resource management (CRM) rather than academic research. Though more Puerto Rican-focused archaeologists have joined the academic discussion, publications in this area are still relatively low and heavily focused on CRM and salvage work. Poor funding and resources for non-consulting archaeological projects has relegated Puerto Rico to the "island with the lowest number of publications in the Spanish Caribbean." (L.A. Current, 2006 pg. 656). This paper will highlight some of the limitations of working in Puerto Rican archaeology. We will use the experiences we gained from our research project at the La Mina archaeological site to shed light on some of the difficulties we encountered as well as (hopefully) encourage an increase in academic and financial support for this understudied region of the Caribbean.

Keywords

Puerto Rico; Petroglyphs; Public Archaeology

Introduction

Archaeologists have long understood Puerto Rico as a key geographical location for understanding the succession of cultural occupations in the Caribbean (Alegría, 1965; Curet, 2006; Siegel, 2005). Unfortunately, despite the importance of archaeology in this region, socio-economic instability, lack of archaeological funding opportunities, few specialized academic programs, and a heavy focus on cultural resource management (CRM) rather than academic research have continuously effected the island. As articulated by L. Antonio Curent in his book chapter, *Colonialism and the History of Archaeology in the Spanish Caribbean*:

> Despite the surge in the number of archaeologists, archaeological projects, and increase in awareness among the general public produced by both the federal and Puerto Rican conservations laws, academic (non-consulting) archaeology is still suffering from a lack of strong programs with a well-defined vision and set goals. I dare to say that while over 95% of the work is CRM related, only two universities in the island have serious, but poorly funded, academic programs or research centers (Universidad de Puerto Rico and Universidad del Turabo). The Division of Archaeology at the *Instituto de Cultura*, the only government program for the preservation and study of archaeological sites in the island, [is] working almost entirely on CRM issues, including evaluating hundreds of CRM reports. A sign of the seriousness of the crisis in Puerto Rican archaeology is the low number of archaeological work that actually sees it way to academic or popular publications. (L.A. Curent, 2006, pg. 656)

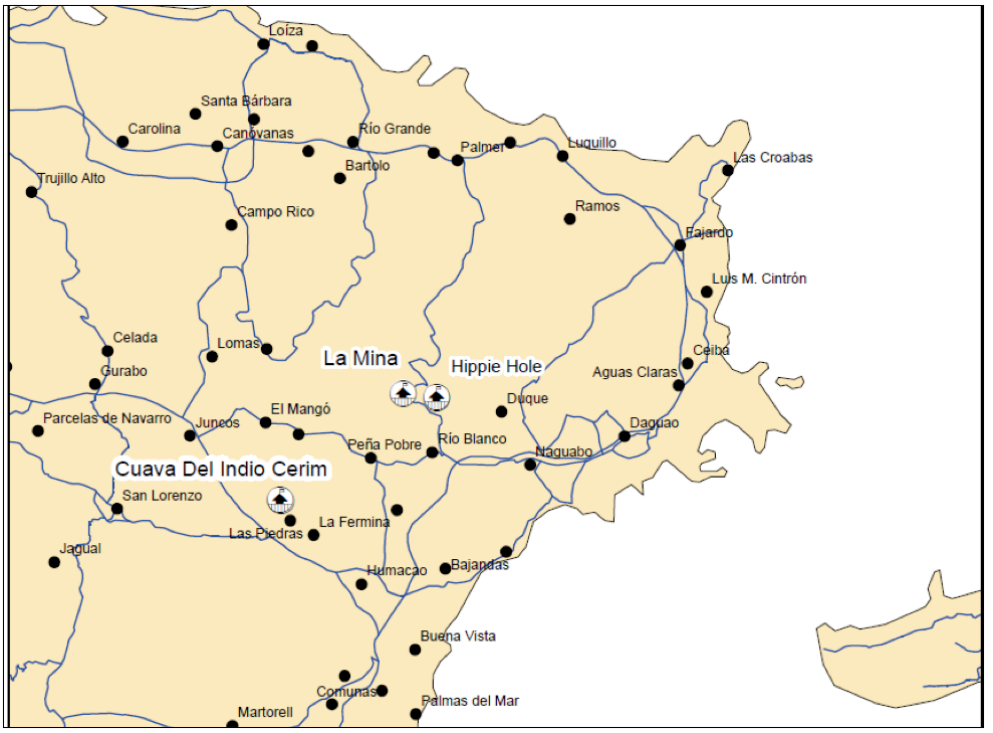
Though written over a decade ago, little has changed in academic archaeology in Puerto Rico. Yet while more Puerto Rican-focused

archaeologists have joined the academic discussion, publications in this area are still relatively low and heavily focused on CRM and salvage work. Poor funding and resources for non-consulting archaeological projects has relegated Puerto Rico to the "island with the lowest number of publications in the Spanish Caribbean." (L.A. Current, 2006 pg. 656). Unfortunately, many of these issues have been further compounded by the recent socio-economic devastation of Hurricane Maria in 2017. In addition to the serious issues that plague this region, including lack of water, electricity, and food, many industries on the island, including archaeological work, have come to a standstill. This paper will highlight some of the limitations of working in Puerto Rican archaeology through the use of specific experiences that the co-authors' gained from our own research at the La Mina project conducted near the El Yunque Rainforest. In addition to discussing the issues encountered during our project, the authors discuss the site, methodologies, tentative findings, and include narratives from each author about the challenges and delays encountered while working within the underfunded Puerto Rican archaeological system. In this way, the study (and this paper) goes beyond the scientific data and interpretation to provide the reader with real-world challenges one might face conducting scientific research on the island. We hope that our reflections from working at this archaeological site shed light on some of the difficulties we encountered as well as, hopefully, encourage an increase in academic and financial support for this understudied region of the Caribbean.

Brief History of the La Mina project

This project consisted of a Phase I geological and archaeological survey of the La Mina petroglyphic site, a previously unrecorded preTaino/Taino site located on private property near the El Yunque National Forest in Municipio de Naguabo, Puerto Rico. The La Mina petroglyphic site is located just northwest of the Rio de Cubuy in the foothills of the La Mina Mountain. It lies at the edge of the Luquillo Mountain range and experiences tropical to humid climates. Coined "La Mina" by locals, this region (including both the mountain and site) was named after a now closed historic mine in the mountain just to the north of the site. Local informants, tentative archaeological

site analysis, and historical records indicate that the La Mina site had been occupied by both preTaino and Taino peoples, utilized by the Spanish as a coffee and tobacco plantation, and later privatized as a homestead and listed in the Naguabo municipality in the Barrio Cubuy.



Caption: La Mina regional site map (courtesy of James Schuetz, 2015)

La Mina Project Description

In order to contextualize our reflections, it is important to discuss the research design employed at the La Mina site. The Phase I survey consisted of the following:

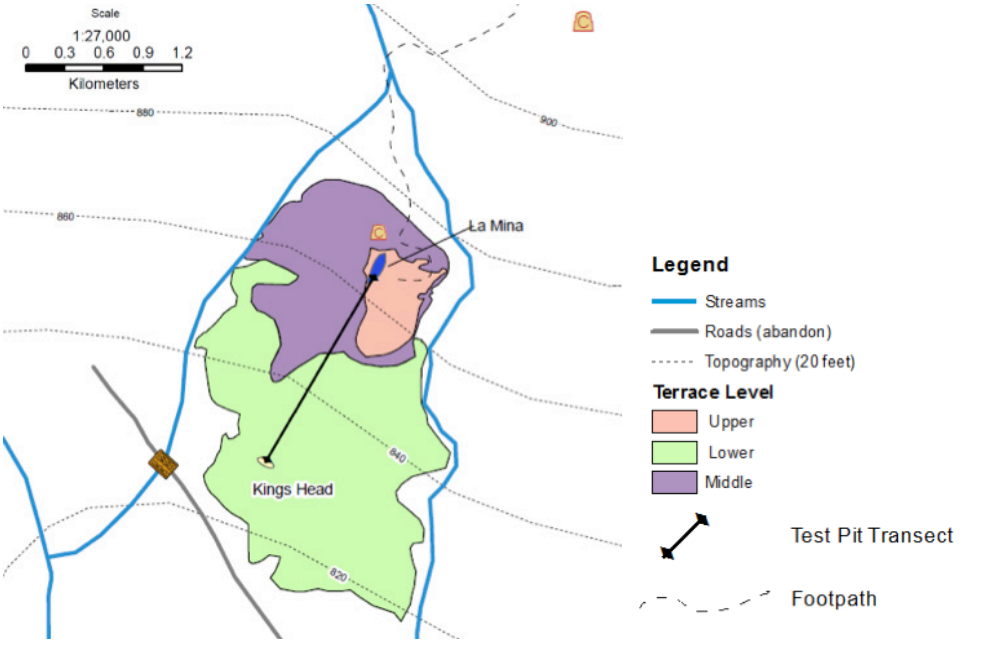
1. Photographic documentation of the existing petroglyphs within the site terminus;

2. A reconnaissance survey involving mapping the surface characteristic of Terrace 1, 2, and 3 using both GPS receiver/

GIS points and tape and compass measurements (geological components of this project are described in the further below);

3. Assessing subsurface composition by test pitting along a 49 meter transect from La Mina to the Chief's Head Glyph (Transect 1 included below without test pit labels); and

4. Collecting surface and sub-surface samples for interpreting the site's age and function which are now curated by Victor Torres, Cueva del Indio Site Archaeologist.[1]



Caption: La Mina site map (courtesy of James Schuetz, 2015)

The major focus of the survey consisted of mapping the three terraces of the site and test pitting along Transect 1. We also spent time engaging with the general public by speaking with locals about what we were finding, sharing information with tourists traveling in the area, and taking a few locals on a site tour.

1 Schuetz Note: As indicated in the image, Terrace 1, the highest elevation of the site and location of the La Mina boulder, lay at the center, while Terrace 2 included remnants of the possible fallen cave behind the La Mina boulder and the adjacent water ways; Terrace 3 included Chief's Head boulder and the site terminus, which appears to have ended at the historic milling road.

Due to the dense foliage at the site, we elected to employ a non-probabilistic sampling method throughout. In addition, along the transect we made surface collections on all three terraces and along the two streams surrounding the site. For all test pits along Transect 1, soils were screened through ¼ mesh over plastic sheeting. Boulders prevented us from digging much beyond 5-40 cm down, which inhibited our ability to find artifacts sub-surface. That said, we did find a few artifacts[2] close to the surface along Transect 1 including shells and what appears to be a carved crystal-like gem transported to the area. Along the waterway just south of the small cave, we also found two hand-wrought nails, a contemporary modern tile, and modern debris. Nothing of note was discovered associated with the La Mina site in our survey collections.

That said, the connection between archaeological site formation, petroglyphs carved on both the La Mina and Chief's Head Glyph boulders, and surface-subsurface relationships is undeniable. The lack of visibility at the site could indicate that additional features may exist below the current leaf/debris coverage. All glyphs currently visible on both the Chief's Head Glyph boulder and the La Mina boulder were drawn to scale on clear plastic using Roe's (2005) petroglyph drawing methodology. Photographs were taken with a high resolution camera by co-Principal Investigator, Rex Cauldwell, at the site in order to document additional petroglyphs not visible to the survey team while on site. Video of the site was also shot using a Zoom Q2HD Handy Video Recorder. Older photographic records were also consulted for this project in order to assess deterioration of glyphs over time. It is important to note that one portion of the site terminus was not fully studied, the Upper Cacique Cave. On the second to last day of the survey, Sr. Rodriguez, a local community member and project consultant, informed us of the Upper Cacique Cave and its local ethnographic history. He mentioned that many locals believe it to be the home site of the local provincial rule, the Cacique of La Mina. Due to limited time remaining at the site, photos and a GPS point were taken, but no sub-surface work was conducted. We hope to return to this cave for another field season

2 It is unknown if these artifacts are naturally occurring at this point without further test pitting at the site.

to further document this area; however, this is very dependent on its accessibility, post Hurricane Maria.

Initial Project Findings

Based on the Phase I survey and our tentative analysis of the petroglyphs at this site, we have tentatively determine the La Mina site was primarily used during the Early Elenan/Late Chican Ostionoid occupation (~600-1200 A.D.) and later reused by the Taino as a religious location for the Cohoba Ceremony, post Spanish contact (Cauldwell 2015.) We noted a clear connection to water as indicated by the channeling and focus on water within the glyphic elements.

Caption: Water flow on La Mina Boulder (courtesy of Rex Cauldwell, 2015)

In reference to petroglyphic research, there is ample evidence to connect spirals and other geometric designs to hallucinogenic ceremonies which, in turn, are immortalized into the boulder

(Faulkner, 1989; True, 1954; Fett & Fett, 1979; Ferg, 1979; Kennedy, 1973; Lewis-Williams, 2012.) Interestingly enough, the phallic glyphs on the La Mina Boulder intentionally connected to the channel of running water along the top edge (labeled above), which then connected to the entrance of the collapsed La Mina cave a few meters below. This is important since research in native cosmologies indicate that caves, sinkholes, and watering holes were portals to the spirit world as well as ritualistic representations of the birthing process (Healy, 2007; Brady, 1997; Hudson & Underhay, 1978). Thus, these specific glyphs were not created for art's sake as some believed; these glyphs represent a specific thought, idea, or purpose, and should *not* be called Boulder *Art*. We believe a new classification for this type of glyph is needed. Additionally, we believe that, based on the symbolism and location of components, this could be a symbolic representation of the birthing process—the La Mina collapsed cave, the birthing cavity, and the phallic glyph located on the boulder itself. This may indicate a convergence of male and female fertility (cosmic dualism). However, we need to further investigate if this was associated with a larger religious and/or royal complex to substantiate our claims above.

Issues with Preservation and Deterioration of La Mina

The La Mina survey was only part of our story, our experiences illustrate that factors and lack of resources in Puerto Rican archaeology can lead to contention that impedes the progress of scientific research in the region. However, some of these issues can be avoided by engaging the local community in the process, our ability to construct a large scale archaeological and geological study in this site and its surrounding areas still seems nearly impossible under current conditions (i.e., the economic, political, and academic limitations current in Puerto Rico). As noted in the sections below, weathering of the La Mina boulder is a major deteriorating factor at the site and is likely to continue, causing the loss of more glyphs. This weathering could significantly affect the ability to interpret the glyphs in a relatively short period, which, when considering the limitations previously discussed, represents a loss of history if not properly studied and archived. The main issue is that Puerto Rico lacks funding to support large-scale preservation projects like the

one required at La Mina. So what can we do to prevent this and other losses to the record? We would argue that more financial efforts need to be earmarked by both the US and Puerto Rican governments in order to preserve sites like this one. As we have seen post Hurricane Maria, US financial support is critical under Puerto Rico's current territorial status and in its current financial crisis. Our hope is that with the publication of this article and subsequent book on the topic that we can encourage a discussion about this before it is too late.

Personal Reflections

Insights regarding challenges of conducting scientific research in an environment of socio-economic instability, little to no funding, and lack of academic research are provided as a means of information sharing to future researchers. The following narratives include individual experiences during the research to expose difficulties and resolutions to the work environment as well as, hopefully, demonstrate the need for an increase in academic and financial support.

Rogers Reflects

Though I have been regularly traveling to Puerto Rico for over a decade, I had never conducted archaeological work on the island. My archaeological career, until that point, had focused on the Maya of the Northern Maya Lowlands, the Aztecs of Tenochtitlan, and tribal archaeology in the Southeastern United States. Somewhat serendipitously, while vacationing near the El Yunque rainforest in the summer of 2014, I ran across a flyer indicated that there were daily petroglyphic tours. It was then that I met professional photographer and petroglyphic tour guide Rex Cauldwell (co-author of this paper.) During our time together, Rex took me to a variety of archaeological and petroglyphic sites around the Barrio Cubuy and El Yunque, but I found nothing quite as impressive as the La Mina boulder.

Caption: La Mina Boulder (courtesy of Rex Cauldwell, 2015)

After spending quite some time at La Mina, I was shocked to learn from Rex that it, aside from local knowledge, had never been systematically studied (a fact that I later confirmed during my desktop analysis in 2014/2015). Even more interesting was that other scholars had seen the site, including some academics recently from the University of Puerto Rico-Mayaguez, but none of them had decided to pursue it as a research topic or publish about it. I found this odd since, in all of my time working in Mexican archaeology, I had never come across an intact carving that had not be published about— let alone one that was covered with carvings. On the contrary, most Mexican archaeologists went out of their way searching for intact Maya and Aztec stelae, because of not only their rarity but also these discoveries could make a person's career. Since this did not match my prior experiences, it made me even more curious as to why no one had published this finding before. Was there something I was missing about doing archaeology in Puerto Rico? I was committed to finding answers to this question.

Another intriguing part of this first encounter was that it was (and still is) an *active site*, meaning that the carvings were and are constantly changing/weathering due to its location in the rainforest. Rex and I were specifically intrigued by the changes occurring to the boulder; as a result, I took a series of photos in 2014 and sent them to a geologist colleague of mine in Buffalo, James Schuetz (another co-author of this paper), and asked his opinions about the weathering process and geochemical accretions Rex noted at the site. We were all interested in the impacts of this weathering process on the petroglyphs themselves and how much longer they would last before the symbols disappeared. I felt it imperative to study this site before the glyphs were lost to history.

Caption: Spiral on La Mina Boulder with geochemical accretions (Courtesy of Rex Cauldwell, 2015)

Once I returned from vacation, I began the long process of building a viable research design. Between 2014 and 2015, James, Rex, and I developed the following research question and objectives: "What is the cultural context and significance of the La Mina petroglyph site?"

Based on this question, we developed the following research objectives. Our hope was to:

1. ***Understand*** and/or construct a localized geological, historical, and archaeological chronology for the La Mina site and its surroundings;
2. ***Identify*** the cultural and temporal phases of the represented boulder art and classify their symbolic and stylistic elements; and
3. ***Determine*** how La Mina fits into the greater archaeological boulder art sequence for Ancient Puerto Rico.

During the desktop analysis, I began to realize how little information was known about this region of Puerto Rico and La Mina site specifically, save for a few sixteenth century chronicler's notes and Rex's own research.[3] I continued to be intrigued by this

3 The PI, Dr. Rhianna C. Rogers, completed the initial desktop analysis for the Phase 1 La Mina project between August 2014 and September 2015. Resources utilized for this research included a preliminary collection of ethnographic data from locals living in the area (Summer 2014), a review of scholarship about Caribbean and Puerto Rican boulder art (Pinart 1890; Frassetto 1960; Roe 1980), a review of the National Register of Historic Places, a review of online Puerto Rico State Historic Preservation Office and *Instituto Cultura Puertoriquena* records, a review of the 1988 USGS maps of Puerto Rico, and a review of available Puerto Rico GIS layers. The search results indicated that four (4) sites were listed on the National Register for Historic Places in the Municipio of Naguabo where the La Mina site is located. Of those sites on the NRHP list, only one was archaeological, the Icacos Petroglyph Group (#15000855). During this search and in subsequent ethnographic interviews with locals, no known historical structures were located on the La Mina site; however, we did observe a historical milling road no longer in use at the southeastern terminus of the site. The current landowner, Alex Lopez Rodriguez, indicated that the road was over 100 years old and was once used during the plantation phase of La Mina.

site and attempted to find out all I could by reaching out to the Universidad de Puerto Rico and Universidad del Turabo as well as the Division of Archaeology at the Instituto de Cultura and the State Historic Preservation Office of Puerto Rico (Oficina Estatal de Conservación Historica – OECH.) Unfortunately, I learned very little from the University of Puerto Rico system and never received any responses from the government institutions. It is worth noting that on most projects that I have been a part of in Mexico, it is customary to have in-person meetings to secure support for projects. In the past, I would reach out through contacts or directly to offices to secure meetings and fly down to meet people. Once there, I would schedule more meetings with locals in the area (e.g., community leaders, property owners, provincial mayors, cultural leaders), since they too represent different stakeholder perspectives in this project. However, in this case, I had extreme difficulty reaching anyone in formal government. For months, I attempted to contact individuals in government offices in order to secure permission to work on the island to no avail. It was not until I had two conversations in early 2015 with a former Puerto Rican archaeologist and a former state employee that I learned this behavior was typical. They both indicated that, due to severe financial issues on the island, many archaeological-related offices lacked funding and were severely understaffed. Additionally, when political parties changed, they indicated that many of these employees were "let go" or moved to new positions, making the continuation of former work and seamless transitions between workers even harder. The former state employee informed me that he lost his job because of a political change in the government and that some of his projects were discontinued. He said that this practice was quite common across divisions of Puerto Rican government, meaning that if someone was to leave in the middle of work, things most likely could be lost (like my emails). He continued to say that before he left his position, he knew of only two regular office workers in the OECH overseeing and reviewing all work – CRM and academic archaeology combined. Supporting these claims, the former state archaeologist informed me that work was prioritized based on need and project size (usually CRM projects went first since they involved the most money and prestigious stakeholders) and that, due to time constraints, many smaller projects fell to the wayside. Having spent

a decade traveling to Puerto Rico, I understood how economic and political issues were affecting people on the island, including major rises in unemployment and the "brain-drain" of young intellectuals, but I did not know how it directly was influencing archaeology until these conversations. It took me some time to figure out an ethical alternative to complete this work, given that I could not rely on the proper government channels to submit a project proposal. I still wanted to make sure that the Puerto Rican authorities would be aware of this work, but I was unwilling to abandon this project for fear for of further degradation of the La Mina site. I emailed *OECH* another copy of my project design in mid-2015 and then went to work with Rex, who lives near the La Mina site, to secure permissions from the private landowners, the town of Cubuy, and the nearest state archaeologist in the area, Victor Torres, Director of the Cueva del Indio site in Las Piedras. I also insisted that if anything was found, that it would be turned over to Sr. Torres for safekeeping and recording. Having done this, we elected to begin work at the site in the summer of 2015. Without these conversations and quick thinking, I am not sure that this project would have ever been conducted.

Adding to the difficulties above was our issues with securing funding for this work. As a professor in Buffalo, New York, working on a site in Puerto Rico was not cheap. Not only did I need to fly down to this site, but I also wanted to bring my colleague James Schuetz to study the geological findings. In addition, working outside of my normal research area with both an amateur archaeologist and geologist made it difficult for me to convince my regular funding channels to support this work. After looking for new funding opportunities and partnerships with other Puerto Rican archaeologists, we found that few were interested in this site; many did not know it existed, and funds on the island were earmarked for more well-known sites and archaeologists. This made us make a critical decision – continue the project unfunded, delay the start of the project while looking for funding elsewhere, or abandon the project entirely. Thinking about this for some time, James, Rex, and I discussed our options and we decided to continue the project, funding it primarily ourselves. I applied for a small grant of $500 from my college, purchased the tools for the work, and reserved rooms to stay near the site. Despite working on a minimal budget,

James, Rex, and I pooled our resources and were able to: 1) map the site terminus using GPS and compass, 2) test pit a transect (Transect 1) and the La Mina and Chief's Head Glyph boulder , 3) draw representative petroglyphs using Roe's (2005) drawing methods, 4) take nearby GPS points at known archaeological sites in the vicinity of La Mina, and 5) analyze our findings in the "lab" (aka Rex's garage.) Needless to say, our expenses well exceeded the $500 grant from my college, but our commitment to this work illustrated our belief that the site was worth it. I have known many scholars who have passed up research projects based on lack of funding, but our willingness to focus on the preservation of this site more so than how much grant money we could get for our work is something I think more scholars should take into consideration.

Cauldwell Reflects

Since moving to Puerto Rico 15 years ago, I became increasingly interested in the Puerto Rican petroglyphs. I have always enjoyed photography and began to photograph ancient glyphs and rock art throughout the island. During this time, I began to note how rapidly they were disappearing. Out of a personal desire to preserve this knowledge for future generations, I took it upon myself to find, photograph, and log as may petroglyph locations throughout the island as I could. I told OECH what I was doing and they gave me their blessing to photograph glyphs. Over time, I developed a group of local informants who told me about commonly known and unknown glyphs on the island. This is what led me to the La Mina boulder.

I first became aware of the La Mina site through Robin Phillips, a local in the Cubuy area. He knew nothing about it except that it was a large boulder with glyphs all over it somewhere in the jungle. At that time, the local growth was so thick you could only see a foot or two into the jungle, making anything hard to find; however, after two years of searching, we re-found it. Robin stated that he had showed a few archeologists its location over the years, but all they did was admire it for a few minutes and leave--never making it into a study. I, however, recognized its importance immediately and began to study it myself. Fifteen years later, I developed my own interpretations of the glyphs and began to share them locally

with others. However, as an amateur archaeologist and interpreter, I did not have a formal platform to share what I had learned. That changed after meeting Rhianna and eventually James. In 2015, I decided to present my findings in a paper I delivered at the *International Association for Caribbean Archaeology Congress* in St Martin. While writing this conference paper, I consulted both of my co-authors for input. The presentation was the first to highlight the importance of this site and it was well received by both academics and nonprofessionals alike. During my research at the site, I also discovered the Chief's Head Boulder further into the jungle, which had also never been documented. As I continued to search the area and I found several owl glyphs a considerable distance downstream and, in late 2015, I found a large monkey glyph and a carved stone head high up the La Mina Mountain. These new discoveries were co-presented by my co-authors in February 2016 as part of the New York State Archaeological Association-Houghton Chapter speaker series at the Buffalo Museum of Science (Rogers, R. C., Schuetz, J. & Cauldwell, R, 2016.)[4]

As previously mentioned, one reason this petroglyph boulder is unique is that it is *active*: it was designed to do something specific and *is still doing it today*. The most obvious is that it channels water. The top of the boulder sends water into a groove cut into the knife-edge bow (it is worth noting that some of the knife-edge bow could be a natural formation). As the rainwater flows down the groove it pours into various glyphs where the sides of the channel have been ground out. Given that few intact boulders like this still exist, I feel that this singular attribute may make the La Mina glyph boulder one of the most important representatives of this type of site in the Caribbean. The reason for the water channeling appears to be related to Taino, pre-Taino, and Igneri religious beliefs about water. My research and information points to the fact that native peoples believe water was magical. In the Rio Cubuy, a short distance down the mountain, additional evidence of water channeling in the igneous boulder can be found. There are locations around the world that have what some call water glyphs

4 Rogers note: It is worth noting that there is a tension between professional, amateur, and academic archaeology. Some academics will not support professional and amateur research, no matter its accuracy and quality. I have found in a lot of research in and out of the US that this bias has greatly limited scientific knowledge in areas, especially in regions with little to no funding opportunities for academics.

or water/cup glyphs—in particular, the Southwest United States—these do not seem to be related to these specific glyphs (Terlep, 2012). An issue we have encountered with this knowledge is there is a very limited amount of publications in this region of Puerto Rico, meaning we have little to compare our findings to or ways to know if other boulders like this exist in the area. Our hope is that we can continue to locate and make connections with other similar sites in the Caribbean in order to build up the archaeological record and verify this interpretation.

Though lack of resources has hindered parts of this project, including its preservation, the lack of knowledge about this site has been its overall savior. The isolation of the boulder and its location on private land has kept vandals away. This coupled with the fact that the boulder is not on Puerto Rico's list of known petroglyph sites, has kept this site relatively private.[5] Additionally, the artwork itself has helped with its own preservation process. The cuts in the rock were so deep in the La Mina boulder that weathering has influenced some, but not all of the glyphs. This is not the case with the Chief's Head boulder a small distance away. Many glyphs that were obvious 15 years ago are now worn away to an extent that they can only be seen in old photos or a macro lens of a camera. Fortunately, I have been photographically documenting them as a personal way to preserve the site for future generations.

I also encountered issues regarding securing permissions from stakeholders. Like Rhianna, prior to the formal survey of the project, I spoke with a number of locals (e.g., landowners in the area, community leaders, archaeologists, and officials) to let them know about this project and determine the best approach to proceed. It took a large amount of time to find the owner of the property and get permission to study the site. With a lot of land still under the old Spanish land grant, system (created between 1500-1900) and without a modern survey of the region, many of the property lines around La Mina were questionable. Not to mention that some

5 Cauldwell Note: In addition to La Mina, a large number of glyphs, some known by archaeologists, but never studied, are approximately 15-minutes away in and along the Rio Cubuy, Rio Icacos, and Rio Blanco rivers. With this large proliferation of glyphs in the area, I believe that a large village with one or more dance courts may have been present. However, since most of these sites are located on private property, as with the glyphs themselves, no study has ever been made to study this assumption.

properties have been abandoned in the area and records of former owners were not well documented. In addition, many local informants and property owners could not identify where one property ended and another began. Despite my efforts to look up official records in Cubuy and San Juan, I was unable to definitively determine property lines for La Mina in the local township. Meaning, inadvertently, we could have been working on more than one property, but there would be no formal way to tell. Even house locations are in question since the system is so outdated; for example, some houses are listed on one person's property and taxes were assessed to that plot of land, yet in reality the house is located on another person's property and local agreements have been made to adjust lines to compensate the inaccuracies on file with the government. This, obviously, leads to extreme confusion and is some cases houses and land cannot be sold. What is worse is that even with accurate, modern surveys, some properties like these cannot transfer custody since many local agreements are never formalized in writing. These issues made it even more difficult for me to find and secure permissions for the site. After numerous conversations with community officials, I ultimately was led to speak with Alex Lopez Rodriquez who the community determined owned the parcels of land that contain both the La Mina and Chief's Head boulders.[6]

In addition to these issues, there was also the fear-related issues of outsiders entering local properties without proper permissions and seizing lands. For example, my job was made harder because just before we did our study in 2015, a group of people (allegedly from a national organization) were walking through the mountains looking for something--without permission from any local property owners. The actions of these other individuals raised concern about our project and our true intentions. My redeeming feature was that I live in the area and locals assured others on the mountain that I was one of the "good guys" and that I truly had an interest in preserving petroglyphs for future generations and nothing more. I believe that without my local connections we would not have been able to proceed with our work at this site.

6 Rogers note: Based on the permissions we decided to stop surveying when we reached clear property line markers. These markers included a historic mill road, fences, and dense foliage. It is possible that the full extent of the site was not included given the fact that we stayed within Sr. Rodriguez's property lines.

Schuetz Reflects

The significance of this project, beyond the documentation of previously unrecorded petroglyphs at this site, is the anecdotal (non-scientific) observation that La Mina carvings are slowly disappearing, likely due to dissolution weathering associated with precipitation. The rate of this weathering may be faster than anticipated due to high amounts of precipitation and potential biogeochemical processes including precipitation and organic tree litter from its proximity to the El Yunque National Forest. This enhanced dissolution exasperates the need to study and archive the site. As an approximately 8 meter-long and 3 meter-high heavily petroglyph-covered surface, the La Mina boulder offers a glimpse into the lives of the people of this region. As previously mentioned, this documentation utilized a field method developed by Roe (2005) for drawing petroglyphs on heavy-gauge clear plastic affixed to a feature, in this case La Mina boulder.

Caption: Drawing Petroglyphs using Roe's (2005) methods (courtesy of Rex Cauldwell, 2015)

As part of this study, we used high-resolution imagery, Global Positioning Systems (GPS) Geographical Information Systems (GIS) (with ESRI ArcMap), and field sketches to provide a detailed analysis of the site. Furthermore, specific procedures were adopted to geologically characterize the site without disturbing the archaeological integrity. For all geological rock samples and descriptions, a non-destructive technique was developed for rocks proximal to La Mina that compared weathering patterns and outside surfaces with fresh rocks of similar type from distal locations of La Mina. In both cases, as few fresh samples were observed as possible which minimized modern changes to the site. Furthermore, a surrogate rock type was developed, such that, a fresh sample (broken with a small 5-pound boulder hammer) was comparable to La Mina, Chief's Head and adjacent rocks without impacting the archaeological site. Small samples, from outside the site, were photographed and logged. Much of this information was used to determine if a cave could have existed while the site was in use. (As indicated in the tentative interpretation below, we used these geological features to propose an archaeological religious function and/or Cohiba Ceremony site.)

From my own experiences, being part of this process was unique, in that it gave me the opportunity to work across disciplines and beyond traditional scientific processes. I could clearly see how my geological interpretations could be used to interpret human behaviors at the site. Working directly with non-geologists (archaeologists and non-scientists) provided a unique perception into how the geological data are interpolated and communicated. This allowed for a more broad introspection into science, geology, and my relationship to other disciplines and the public.

Final Thoughts

As previously stated, Puerto Rico is an important island for understanding the succession of cultural occupations in the Caribbean; however, lack of support and funding have prevented it from influencing the scientific community as much as it should. These issues are further compounded by the limited government infrastructure on the island and lack of external funding supports

from the US and abroad. Despite these issues, we hope that other scholars and amateur archaeologists understand the importance of the sites and the need to preserve them. We feel it is part of our ethical obligation to preserve these sites for future generations, even if it may cost some personal expense to do so. Additionally, we hope that our reflections also highlighted the importance of community when working in underfunded areas like Puerto Rico. Since many of these sites are being preserved by locals, many times without support from outsiders, their beliefs and practices should always take into consideration and cultural sensitivity should be practiced when working on these sites. Working in a region or culture that is different than your own requires an understanding of local beliefs and a respect for local customs and practices. If we did not take into account the narratives of former government employees, the feelings of the local community, and our own concern for the preservation of this site, this project would have never happened. Our hope is this knowledge will help others in similar situations have successful projects of their own.

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POINTS OF YOU

Community engagement through archaeological ethnography: learning in situ with a field school in Gonies Maleviziou, Crete.

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Philioremos means ‘friend of the solitary’. And when on top of this Minoan peak sanctuary, which dates back to c.1800BC, you can feel why. A hill much lower than the imposing Ida Mountains in the south, it nonetheless commands an impressive 360° view of the surrounding mountain valley. Standing on top, usually ducking to avoid the strong, cold wind, you have the impression of being at a distance from everything. The sounds of sheep bells, fragments of speech, the howl of the wind, a passing car in the distance, a dog barking somewhere, village bells, gradually surround you and make you turn inside, to the sound of your beating heart and your panting breath. It is a sense of solitude that contrasts the criss-crossing networks and flows of people, objects, animals, memories, stories, and official bodies that make up this site. These immaterial flows often make no sound that can be picked up in the natural soundscape of the area. But as one draws near the village, the fragments of sound turn into a profusion of voices.

Gonies used to be a large and strong village up until the 1960s. It is now home to less than 180 inhabitants, mostly elderly. Walking its narrow alleys, may give a first impression of abandonment. Getting to know its people, the Goniotes, however, begins to tell a story of resilience.

We got to know this place through the archaeological lens. Invited to do ethnography as part of the "Three Peak Sanctuaries of Central Crete" archaeological project (https://www.facebook.com/ThreePeakSanctuariesProject/), we hoped to bring up the connections of this group of people with the Minoan past. Traces of human presence in the area since the deep prehistory abound: place names of antiquity, fragmented ancient material culture, important Minoan landmarks, all surround the daily lives of the Goniotes. It soon became evident that the locals were fully aware of the deep past of this place and expressed it in many ways. However, they did not draw a sense of identity from this past. The stories they tell of themselves are stories of mobility and settlement in the past few centuries. They know this place is ancient, but they do not believe they were always here. They are the current stewards of this place's past rather than being a community of Minoan descent. To our persistent questions about the ancient past, they replied with more and more histories about recent events. This was what was important to them. So, the project gradually turned its attention to what the community wanted to know about itself, its history and heritage.

This shift of focus broadened the scope of our project and made it more inclusive of the community interests, as well as more participatory. In a sense, the community took control over the production of knowledge and turned it into a collective process. It is this collaborative venture that prompted us to create a field school that enables the locals to teach their own history and heritage to students from all over the world.

We opted for the form of a field school rather than a lecture-based one to open up the process of collective ethnographic learning. On a daily basis, students, scholars and locals share experiences, discussions, celebrations, mournings, and stories, for a month every summer since 2014, contributing this way to the creation of a community-controlled archive of knowledge.

The simple act of having a local point at a wall and tell its story, give a guided tour of the village, describe the process of recognising his own sheep from those of others, and commenting on the effects of urbanization and development, broadens the

gamut of educators in the village. Everybody can be a teacher. The subjects discussed are chosen by the speakers themselves. We usually give prompts, discussing the subject of each year's school with people in the village.

Locals impart knowledge we do not and cannot have, the embodied experience of dwelling in this landscape for decades. And we impart our own experience of dwelling in a space that is sustained by the pull of theoretical activity in academia and the realities of being in the field. Knowledge production, collaborative research is a more encompassing praxis. It involves talking to people, forging and maintaining relationships, resolving conflicts. For some people in the village, the summer school is a highlight of their seasonal life, an encounter they look forward to. An occasion when the village resonates with voices, when some houses in the neighbourhood have lights on again at night. We create a multidisciplinary space between history, archaeology, art, museum studies, archival research, and oral history that leads to incredibly rich research contexts.

From the very beginning, our work was geared towards improving the livelihood of the people in the village either directly or indirectly. In the first season of our field school (2014), we collaborated with the Technical University of Crete, Department of Social Work, to provide a detailed census of the medical provisions and the needs of the village inhabitants. This census helped the social services of the Malevizi Municipality to plan better the health care for the village inhabitants, who on a weekly basis visit the elderlies' home (ΚΑΠΗ), used for physiotherapy and occupational therapy sessions, gatherings, creative activities and small feasts.

Simultaneously, during the first year of our field school, the archaeologist-artist Vasko Demou collaborated with us to implement a public art installation. It was based on ethnographic information provided by the locals about pastimes, landmarks and habitual practices, and gave us the opportunity to express this collectively created knowledge in forms beyond the conventional ethnographic ways.

This art installation, that took the form of a mapped itinerary in the village, was expanded in the following years into a trail that incorporated several interesting stops along the way, which reflected the embodied knowledge of the locals. Retracing the guided walks that the locals gave to us and the field school students, the trail was a way to transmit this knowledge to the visiting public. A communally created map was an opportunity for underplayed aspects of local heritage to be presented on an equal part with more male-dominated understandings of history when, for example, village ovens and the village's springs were put alongside the heroic feats of 19th century brigands, thus creating discussion in the village about how exactly their heritage works.

Engaging the locals in the production and representation of ethnographic and archaeological knowledge finds fertile ground in community art projects, such as the one we implemented in 2015. The archaeologist Celine Murphy, specialising in Minoan clay figurines, in collaboration with the experienced potter Vasilis Politakis implemented a three-week workshop that involved locals and visitors in the collection, preparation and working of clay.




Within the framework of experimental archaeology, participants were asked to emulate the possible techniques used to make clay figurines. Embodied memory appeared to be a very important parameter of this workshop because a number of elderly Goniotes showed us the clay working techniques they used in their childhood in order to make their toys and utensils.

The artefacts created by the locals were presented in an open-air exhibition, which added to the already-existing path in the village, with the ultimate aim to turn the village into an open-air museum.

Art practice helps us create uncommon research situations by setting up hubs in the village that bring together individuals of different generations and backgrounds, and evoke embodied memories and techniques as well as personal narratives and stories, while they result in the creation of a communally produced work of art.

In 2016, the artist in residence, Aleka Karavela, and one of our former students and curator, Katerina Konstantinou, transformed a room in the abandoned school into an open studio with looms donated by the village. In the "loom project" men and women of all ages collectively weaved a cloth.

At the end of the field school, instead of making a presentation about the project's outcome, we chose to put words to a traditional motif sung for the first time by Nathenoyannis and recorded in the village by the Swiss ethnomusicologist Samuel Baud Bovy in 1953-1954. This song was sung during the feast closing our research season in the village.

Alongside the weaving project, in the 2017 field season landscape was also a topic for exploration. Having experienced first-hand the locals' relationship with their natural surroundings, we did not conceive landscape as a mere geographical space but as a cultural concept and a set of values significant to the local inhabitants. Some of the older ones, who know the area very well and have been walking it since childhood, gave our team a series of guided walks on what used to be the old paths that connected Gonies with the valley. In these walks we managed to acquire a sense of the landscape as a social and cultural construct modelled and embodied by the people who use it, live off of it and experience it on a daily basis. This unique natural, social and cultural entanglement helped us create a series of interpretive panels and signs, setting up a cultural heritage trail inspired by local knowledge and based on local narratives.

The ethnographic information we collected about knowledge on raw materials, techniques and local produce made us want to explore further the relationship of memory and material culture in the 2017 season. Memory in the village is often carried through material objects and artefacts. From a small handmade leather sack, the so-called sakadelo, that contains the utensils necessary to the shepherds' everyday needs, spring not only objects but stories, reminiscences, sometimes even songs.

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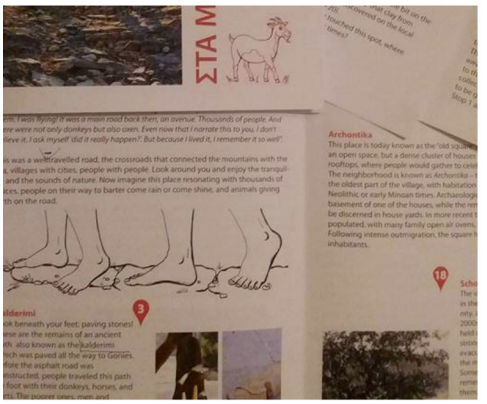
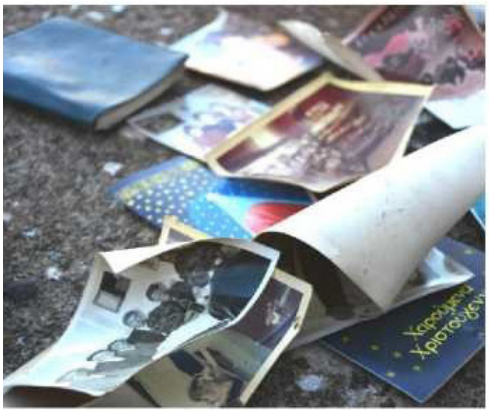


Unpacking the family trunk is like a stratigraphy of layered personal and historical memories. The 2017 season focused on exactly that: the materiality of things and their anchoring of memory.



Introducing, for the first time, visual documentation into the study of material culture and memory, we created a series of interviews on camera with the aid of our photographer in residence, Manolis Kandanoleon. This resulted in the creation of the community's oral history archive, which we will continue to enrich in the following field school seasons.

Everything we collected this season relating to memories, visual images and material culture were great sources for the design of a small-scale exhibition as part of the closing ceremony of our field school. The exhibition comprised of various daily life objects kindly donated to us by the Goniotes, a number of oral narratives, artistic drawings and video projections.

There were times in the process of the exhibition design that it felt odd to be so self-referential, seemingly attempting to display to the village inhabitants elements familiar to them, closely relating to themselves and their lives. We often wondered what the purpose of such an exhibition would be, especially because our aim was not to simply display the tangible and intangible elements they shared with us but to present our ethnographic information and our experience of their own life experiences in new interpretive ways. Working and thinking in a self-reflexive manner is a core part of ethnographic research and thus it soon became clear to us that the exhibition could act as a field that voices the merge of our own contextualisation with the contexts that the locals communicate to us, relating to gender issues, love, emotion, belief, reminiscences, and practices.

Within the framework of Greek archaeological research, the fields of public/community archaeology and archaeological ethnography are two largely underdeveloped research arenas, mainly due to legal and institutional entanglements. Rather than perpetuate this problem, in the international field school we acknowledge local communities as integral constituents of the field, since they directly or indirectly influence our research questions as well as the processes and progress of our study. By co-producing and co-managing approaches of the ancient or more recent past with the local community, we end up with richer, less clinical, and more locally relevant results.

We would like to express our gratitude to the Community and the Cultural Association of Gonies, all the village inhabitants, our artists in residence and the participants in the field school. Without them, this project would not have been materialized and enriched, allowing us to further our engagement with the village community in the years to come.

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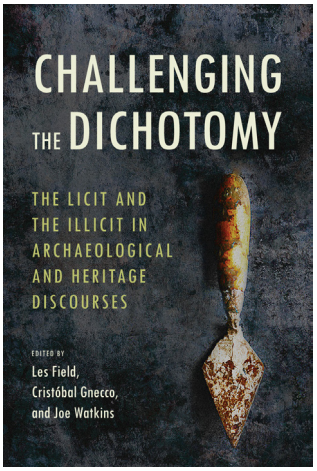
REVIEWS



Ignacio RODRÍGUEZ TEMIÑO

Challenging the dichotomy. The licit and the illicit in archaeological and heritage discourses

[Ed. by Les Field, Cristobal Gnecco and Joe Watkins]

University of Arizona Press
ISBN: 9780816531301
216 pages

Postmodern archaeology with a dash of magic realism

Challenging the Dichotomy: The Licit and the Illicit in Archaeological and Heritage Discourses (hereinafter, *Challenging the Dichotomy*) gathers the talks from a workshop entitled "Illicit Excavation, Archaeology, Communities and Museums: An International Workshop on Complex Relationships and Future Perspectives", held in Bogotá and Villa de Leiva (Colombia) in 2011 and funded by the Wenner-Gren Foundation.

As indicated by the book's title, the editors consider the included works to be united by a common desire to question the dichotomy between the licit and the illicit. They further consider this dualism to be the product of the establishment of the modern order. This order is characterised by the link between the academic development of archaeology as a discipline and the legal system governing the objects and artefacts that fall within its scope of interest, i.e. "archaeological heritage". This organisational approach leaves ancestral practices lacking academic support outside the legal order, rendering them "illicit".

In response to this exclusion, the editors note that some of the outlawed actions related to archaeological objects and the past reflect forms of logic and connections other than those hegemonically imposed by modernity. They further argue that such practices should not be labelled illicit, but rather should be recognised as subject to a different legitimacy/legality.

In countries of colonial origin, such as the majority of those analysed in *Challenging the Dichotomy*, this situation has resulted in a conflictive dichotomy of legalities with their corresponding legitimacies. In linking archaeology and archaeological heritage, modernity has created a legitimacy that determines a portion of what is legal. However, the indigenous societies that predated the arrival of Europeans benefit *de facto* from a legitimacy based on their ancestral rites, on a communion with their roots. This legitimacy empowers them to dictate their own legality, different from that of the West. Given the existence of this dual legitimacy/legality, the descendants of the colonised are just as entitled as the descendants of the colonisers to consider academically sanctioned practices illicit.

In their introduction, the editors warn of the harmful impact archaeology has had on the dichotomy between modern and pre-modern legitimacies. The discipline has made objects the core of its research, thereby contributing to reify the past. Ethnology, in contrast, places the emphasis on people, on their ancestral rights and folk culture. This revitalises the past by incorporating it into the present. The editors also turn to ethnology to deconstruct modern heritage discourse, which is based on the classic actions of stewardship, protection, conservation and dissemination (or communication). Ethnology makes it possible to identify who benefits from historical heritage narratives, in what is (self-) described as "critical [cultural] heritage studies".

The book consists of twelve chapters, each by a different author or authors. The editors have divided them into two broad parts. The thrust of Part 1 is to expose the complex relationships between nation states and the institutionalisation of archaeological truth, which is a product of the aforementioned tie between the discipline and law. In this part, Nick Shepherd examines the state of play in South Africa, during apartheid and in the recent post-apartheid

era, through specific cases centred on the historical and present-day treatment of the human skeletal remains of the aboriginal populations. In his chapter on *guaquería* in Colombia, Wilhelm Londoño contrasts reality and the law. Lena Mortensen describes this same conflict in Honduras. In that country, archaeological objects are in the public domain, regardless of whether they are currently held in private collections, yet this does not prevent them from being commodified. She presents the case of the Copán site by way of example. Joe Watkins focuses his analysis in the US, on the relationship between the Indian nations and state and federal law on archaeological heritage. Ioanna Antoniadou turns her gaze to Greece. She argues that the condemnations of looting issued by the professional archaeological establishment in that country are problematic because they marginalise narratives other than those deemed appropriate during the constitution of the nation state. Part 1 concludes with a chapter by Khaldun Bshara that seeks to expose the utter disregard shown by both Israeli and Palestinian authorities for popular architecture in the occupied territories of the West Bank.

The chapters in Part 2 examine specific cases in which this dichotomy of legitimacies comes into play. Julie Hollowell analyses the origin, causes and consequences of the excavation of small walrus ivory sculptures by native Eskimos in the Bering Strait, on both St Lawrence Island and the American and Russian shores. Her analysis places special emphasis on the roles played by traders, collectors, researchers and public authorities. Cristóbal Gnecco and Juan Carlos Piñacué discuss the division between the licit and illicit at the Tierradentro Archaeological Park (Colombia). They describe how it pits the popular rites of local residents with regard to the *guacas* against the guidelines of the Instituto Colombiano de Antropología e Historia (Colombian Institute of Anthropology and History or ICANH), the government body responsible for their conservation. Alejandro Haber focuses on the same dichotomy between indigenous populations and public authorities in Catamarca (Argentina). Les Field uses the Colombian Museos del Oro (Gold Museums), especially the one in Bogotá, to examine the co-existence of *guaquería* and archaeology, a co-existence that challenges the division between the licit and illicit. He also compares the reifying effect of archaeology on gold objects with wampum,

the shells used by North American Indians to make adornments. Unlike, gold, wampum is regarded as an historical object. Finally, Paul Tapsell analyses the evolution of the integration of traditional Maori rationalities into the law and management of cultural artefacts in New Zealand.

As this brief summary shows, *Challenging the Dichotomy* fits perfectly within the framework of postcolonial archaeology. The defence of indigenous legitimacies, or those of other historically alienated minorities, is indisputably an essential enterprise for archaeology. The field thus joins other social and humanistic disciplines in denouncing the perpetuation of intellectually colonial situations.

Archaeology has joined this trend in terms of theoretical development (Hawley 2015) and through the implementation of practices affecting both the research of historical periods and, especially, how we understand and manage archaeological heritage (Lydon and Rizvi 2012). It is a deconstructive process *à la Derrida* to break the Western hegemony over the indigenous reality and its past.

An in-depth discussion of postcolonial archaeology lies beyond the scope of this review. Suffice it to say that, personally, I consider legitimate the call to decolonise the discipline, to return artefacts held by museums and other institutions acquired by Western powers during the colonial era. It is a call for an ethical commitment to respect ethnic minorities and, thus, the breadth and legitimacy of views on the meaning of the archaeological record that differ from those traditionally considered academic.

Challenging the Dichotomy offers examples of this dichotomy between the licit and the illicit from almost every continent. However, it pays most attention to a specific form of relationship with the past, typical of the lands of the Tahuantinsuyo, namely, *guacas* (or *huacas*, depending on the country). This relationship's illegal status under modern law bears clear witness to the conflict of legitimacies the book sets out to explore.

The word *guaca* (or *huaca*) comes from a complex concept, related *in extenso* to the sacred, that is present in both of the main Andean languages: Quechua and Aymara. The modern

transliteration would be *waqa* or *wak'a*, respectively. Following a process of semantic bleaching, which will be discussed below, today the term *guaca* is understood to refer to non-archaeological excavations of pre-colonial funerary structures or places of worship for the purpose of extracting any movable property they might contain for collection or sale. A *guaquero* or *huaquero* is someone who engages in this practice. In the Andean world, most *guaqueros* are indigenous (Yates 2013). In this regard, it is different from Europe, where detectorists travel to rural areas to conduct their searches.

Challenging the Dichotomy offers a very convincing narrative on *guacas*. However, underlying the sweeping rhetoric are problems of several orders that incline me to disagree with the book's stance. I am concerned by its possible alignment with a certain current that tends to downplay the impact of looting (Hollowell-Zimmer 2003; Proulx 2013; Thomas 2016). Advocates of this view tend to identify looting exclusively with the aim of supplying the international black market. They thus often ignore so-called "low-end looting". This latter type of looting is defined as undocumented excavations in which the finds are sent not straight to the international art or antiquities market, but rather to less lucrative and often less visible markets or sometimes to no market at all. It would include metal-detectorists. In the US, there has been a shift away from condemning collectors of archaeological artefacts and warning of the irreparable harm they do (Mallouf 1996; Barber 2005). Instead, they are increasingly defended and their motives are examined and rationalised as "social practices" that provide individuals with "ontological security" (Hart and Chilton 2015). In this view, looters and collectors are alienated minorities, victimised by the preponderant position of professional archaeology and its ethical imperatives.

Challenging the Dichotomy takes no position on whether the decolonisation of colonial archaeological research through the practice of traditional forms of relating to the past, such as *guaquería*, should be allowed to exhaust a country's cultural resources for the sake of international collecting. This lack of red lines feeds back into the logic of "low-end looting". Whilst the editors distance themselves from actions of severe looting in their introduction, I am afraid that that formality is not enough.

Despite what the editors claim in the introduction to *Challenging the Dichotomy* concerning the authors' unity of thought with regard to the central idea of the workshop that gave rise to the book, the content of the chapters is not so unanimous. They could have chosen to divide them up differently, separating those authors who propose overcoming the current dichotomous situation, usually through the recognition and integration of a certain degree of autonomous management of archaeological artefacts by native communities, from those who seem content to demand indigenous legitimacy.

In this regard, Hollowell presents a paradigmatic case. In her chapter, she very clearly shows how protective state intervention on the integrated coast of the former USSR has enabled the conservation and knowledge of the history of the native populations living in the Bering Strait. This stands in contrast with the systematic looting conducted by the Eskimos residing on the Alaskan coast and the island of St. Lawrence, which is driven by commercial interests and collectors.

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One aspect of *Challenging the Dichotomy* that drew my attention was precisely the lack of a clear distinction between things that, in my view, are not comparable. This reminded me of magic realism, the well-known literary device that seeks to eliminate the red lines that separate reality from the extraordinary. One of its primary practitioners, Gabriel García Márquez, claimed he sought inspiration for the novels he set in Macondo in the stories his grandmother had told him, which seamlessly intermingled real and fantastical characters.

In this book, the arguments used to support positions are often drawn from the experiences of the authors themselves (Haber's case) or from ethnographic interviews (Antoniadou's case). There is nothing wrong with this approach except, in my view, the ease with which anecdote can be mistaken for category. A deeper analysis of the data is lacking, a Geertzian "thick description" (Geertz 1998) that goes beyond mere opinions or the superficiality of supposedly ancestral customs.

I mention these authors by way of example, but this recourse to magic realism can be found in others as well (Gnecco, Piñacué, Watkins or Shepherd), when they mix data sources of highly unequal reliability in a single text without a moment's hesitation. I understand that they are seeking to provide an account of the past and of heritage practices reached by consensus with the native populations to whom they lend their voice. However, I believe much stands to be lost in such trade-offs, through concessions on aspects that are crucial to understanding what happened or is happening, why, and why we want to know about it now.

This does not strike me as a trivial matter. Voltaire argued that it was necessary to replace the memorialist chronicle with rationality to ensure that history provided a plausible account of the past (Arouet [Voltaire] 1765). True, the French philosopher was speaking of the truth, but as that concept triggers no small reservations in me, I have taken the liberty of referring to plausibility instead. Perhaps the participatory aspect should lie not so much in defining the data or the means used to learn what happened or is happening as in how we return to it and use it in the present.

The need to rid ourselves of the arrogance of professional historians, their refusal to relinquish their monopoly on the truth, cannot be left to the chance of any conception of the past. On the contrary, methods exist (and are used) to strip the experts of that monopoly, taking into account the opinion of the citizenry (indigenous or otherwise). This is what is known as "cultures of anyone" and collaborative knowledge, which generate states of opinion capable of setting the agenda of both the experts themselves and the public authorities (Moser *et al.* 2002*,* Moreno-Caballud 2017). To achieve this, one need not transgress the limits imposed by the common interest. This form of subversion of the monopoly of experts is also related to the models of scientific creation and communication (Lewenstein 2003).

In Antoniadou's chapter, one of the people interviewed, a practitioner of illegal digs, questions his methods when he briefly comes into contact with an academic research project. This fact made me reflect on the equality of legitimacies the author establishes between the two practices. Non-academic practice seems to be built on ignorance of the methods and purposes of

academic practice. Ignorance is a very tenuous red line; when it is crossed, it gives rise to an ethical reconsideration of the earlier illegal digs. This same experience is common amongst metal detectorists in Spain (Rodríguez Temiño and Matas Adamuz 2012). When the comparison of two positions reveals that one has such an exceedingly fragile glass ceiling, it is only through the use of magic realism that they can both be assigned the same epistemological and ethical status.

The Greek cases presented by Antoniadou include an underlying issue of education that the author does not address. I am not referring to an elitist interpretation of education in the sense of access to university studies and, thus, to the right to unearth the past and own its remains. That issue too often involves a line of thought I find to be deeply neo-conservative (Cuno 2008, English 2013). Rather, I am referring to the processes of co-generation of knowledge. I know this is a thorny issue for postmodern criticism, as it hides content that could easily be labelled classist. However, posing the question in terms of the right to access the material remains of the past does not help to solve it. In my view, the key lies in the purpose of the intervention and its impact on the common interest (Rodríguez Temiño 2016).

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I believe that the dichotomy expressed in *Challenging the Dichotomy*, between the licit and the illicit, is best understood from philosophical perspectives that are not explicitly addressed in the book. It is not my intention to artificially enrich this review with scholarly quotations or sociological studies on postmodernity. Rather, I hope to shed light on the central theme of *Challenging the Dichotomy*, as a better understanding of the phenomenon will allow us to look for solutions. That is in no way trivial. The very lack of possible ways of overcoming the dichotomies exposed in some of the chapters of *Challenging the Dichotomy* exudes a disturbing sense of resistance to change. It is as though some of the authors delight in merely exposing the conflict, barring the way to any possible resolution.

Even when episodes that empower indigenous peoples to a certain extent are deemed acceptable in *Challenging the Dichotomy*,

these paths are not explored. Nor are scenarios proposed to facilitate understanding between the opposing positions. As we will see, that is one of the main risks of postmodernism: its latent neo-conservatism, an intransigency that positions it as a mere intellectual fad that ultimately serves to justify the prolongation of unjust situations.

In the field of archaeological theory, the adjective "postmodern" tends to be equated with that of "post-procedural". However, in this case, I prefer to keep the term "postmodern", as it better reflects the assumption of some of the currents of thought that underpin the so-called "postmodern condition" (Lyotard 1989).

Postmodern philosophy has given a place of honour in its line of argument to explaining the markedly discontinuous way in which the use of the prefix "post-" with the term "modernity" should be understood. Although it has established itself as a contemporary fad, especially in the world of art and architecture, postmodern thought is not a form of snobbery. It is a sensibility that has been present in Western society since the end of the last century that seeks to rehabilitate the subject, rescuing it from the state of deferral in which the rise of reason had left it. Today, its advocates include philosophers, sociologists, and other intellectuals who, above and beyond their (more or less *prêt a porter*) adherence to certain currents of thought, are characterised by their use of instruments left by Nietzsche, Heidegger, Benjamin or Wittgenstein, amongst others, to deconstruct the edifice of modernity. Postmodern thought is not unique, nor is it set in stone; it changes and evolves, although certain constants remain.

Here, I am interested in three aspects of postmodern thought for their ability to explain what I consider to be the tacit keys underpinning the dichotomous vision espoused in some chapters of *Challenging the Dichotomy*. The first is the decline of modern metanarratives and the prominence of "language games" as an explanation of the various opposing positions. The second is the preterition of history in the postmodern narrative, in this case, combined with a kind of disciplinary struggle between history and ethnology. Finally, the third is the radical anti-modernity deployed in certain chapters, which likewise encompasses the institutions emanating from the state.

I believe that the conflict described in *Challenging the Dichotomy* between the competing conceptions of archaeological heritage, whether *guacas* or human skeletons, held by native peoples and academic archaeologists or anthropologists can be likened to the postmodern concept of "language games". Such a comparison makes it possible to understand not only the nature of each position, but also its consequences. For Jean-François Lyotard (1989), the fall of modern metanarratives has led to the emergence in present-day society of myriad "language games", whose flexibility enables better adaptation to each situation or interest group. Obviously, *guaquería* in Andean populations (and Latin America in general) did not emerge as a result of the abandonment of universal metanarratives. Nevertheless, this abandonment did influence the importance given to those vernacular modes in academic discourse. We will return to the role of these intellectuals below.

These "language games" consist of statements whose legitimacy stems from rules agreed by the players of the game itself, without any reference to a higher moral order. In this scenario, all "language games" are equally valid and are comparable because they have the same legitimacy. This would include the "language game" used by indigenous peoples and the intellectuals who represent them in academia through their defence of a centuries-old practice. It would also include the "language game" used by archaeologists in their demand for expert treatment of the remains of the past as a tolerable formula for managing them. Therefore, both are recognised as having the same interpretative capacity in their respective spheres. As Londoño writes in his chapter, the two worlds mutually ignore each other. This equality of conditions circumvents any hierarchical ordering between them. Justice is limited to preventing the delegitimisation of either of the parties to the *différend* (difference, in the sense of a dispute). Lyotard considered the imposition of points of view by those in positions of power to be "terrorist behaviour"; hence, the constant demands for the recognition of other legitimacies found throughout *Challenging the Dichotomy*.

However, the free competition of Lyotardian "language games" is somewhat naïve and dangerous. If the rational ability to reach a consensus, which, as noted, is largely unaddressed by some of

the authors in *Challenging the Dichotomy*, is left unexplored, what emerges first is a highly cynical pragmatism that considers the hegemonic option to be a central category in the political order, with the consequent exclusion of the non-dominant alternative. From this perspective, social objectivity is established through acts of power (Laclau 1996). The case presented by Khaldun Bshara about events in the Israeli-occupied territories in the West Bank is a clear example of this logic.

The recognition of indigenous legitimacy as an impregnable fortress, with no exploration of the option of consensus, leads to an aporia. If there is no possibility of reaching shared ideas about the meaning of truth, justice, ethical discernment or rational preferability, what possibility is there of escaping the barbarism or violence of the more daring faction? The extreme autonomy of the participants in different "language games" ends up placing those guided by whim and those guided by rational criteria on an equal footing (Mardones 1990). The only solution postmodern thought seems to offer in the case of conflict is perplexity yet not the tools to remedy or alleviate it.

The second aspect of the postmodern influence I detected in *Challenging the Dichotomy* is a blatant distrust, in some of the authors, of archaeology as a historical discipline. This ethnological (sometimes even ethnographical) bias against archaeology sprinkled throughout the book reduces the discipline of archaeology to the search for and recovery of objects, which has not been true for decades. Today not only is archaeology a branch of knowledge that has benefited from extensive theoretical and practical developments in the field, it also has a multifaceted relationship with the public and its practitioners care about the ethics of their behaviour vis-à-vis the rest of the population (Scarre and Scarre 2006). Many of these dichotomies between archaeology and ethnology are fuelled by the third characteristic I will discuss below, an anti-modernity that manifests as a mistrust of one of the main achievements of modernity, namely, government bodies.

Dichotomies such as those proposed by Shepherd in his chapter on the events that took place on Prestwich Street in Cape Town during the preliminary excavations for the construction of a shopping complex strike me as highly contrived interpretations. In

any case, they might reflect a practice of urgent urban excavations influenced by a wide range of situations, regardless of discipline and of the identity of the practitioners. There are countless cases of professional archaeologists who have fuelled social movements for the conservation of remains that the government had initially written off.

Piñacué, Gnecco, Field, Watkins and Haber advocate the internal logic of *guaquería*, stressing that it reflects a system of indigenous values of a symbolic nature involving magical-religious dimensions and socially instituted rituals. As I am not a specialist in Andean archaeology or history, I cannot argue with that view, which I accept as valid. However, I do find lacking historiographical references on the origins of this practice and how it has evolved over time. Only Field addresses these points, and only quite cursorily. The other authors refer to its contemporary practice, which they link to a customary practice, seemingly without any problems. It would seem that little or nothing has changed in hundreds of years. That may be true, but there are certainly other researchers, primarily historians, who do not share that view. Curiously, the contributions to *Challenging the Dichotomy* hardly mention this. Although the contributions to a collective work are necessarily limited in length, this choice may be depriving potential readers of *Challenging the Dichotomy* of a different view, which could at least be indicated through bibliographical references.

Personally, I find the work of Susan E. Ramírez (1996) and Rocío Delibes Mateo (2012) on the practice of *guaquería* (in these cases, more accurately, *huaquería*) in Peru following the conquest quite revealing. To understand the importance of this, it should be noted that this practice was rare in the precolonial Andean world. It was the Spaniards who spread it throughout the lands of the Tahuantinsuyo. The reasons were twofold: to use the gold and to eradicate idolatry. The brutality of the culture clash and the increasingly forceful imposition of the conquistadors' values are neatly summed up in the term used at the time to refer to the evangelisation campaigns, namely, the "eradication" of idolatry.

According to the research of Ramírez and Delibes Mateo, the response of the indigenous population was complex and tended to renegotiate meanings and its own universe of values, which had

been drastically affected. This is not the place to elaborate on these issues. I would only note, as those authors do, that the semantic field surrounding the concept of *guaca* (or *huaca*) changed from the original field in Quechua and Aymara, as recorded by the first Spanish chroniclers, to one limited to treasure-seeking, which it soon became due to the aforementioned Spanish efforts. In this mediation, the active involvement of Indian chiefs and caciques was decisive. The so-called *compañías de huacas* (*huaca* companies), dedicated to the systematic looting of Peruvian *huacas*, would not have been possible without that involvement, which was moreover performative, i.e. not only, or merely, passive but active. The many lawsuits filed over rights of discovery and exploitation of *huacas* that were settled by the viceregal authorities offer data on this involvement and the evolving role of these tribal leaders. The lawsuit over the Yomayoguam *huaca*, in the former Chimú capital of Chan Chan, in 1558, is quite illuminating with regard to this mediation. In that case, the chief of the entire valley of Chimo, Antonio Chayguac, played a very active role.

Today, *guaquería* is a multifaceted activity. On the one hand, along with other illegal acts, such as drug cultivation and trafficking, it has become another form of financing guerrilla and paramilitary movements (Yates 2015). The case of the Malagana hacienda in 1992, which Field explores in this work, exemplifies this new development well. On the other, the Facebook groups of *guaqueros* and treasure-hunters, with their modern detection equipment, or those who sell pieces on eBay do not seem to fit the archetype drawn by the authors who address this issue in *Challenging the Dichotomy*. On the contrary, they exhibit the same attitudes and goals as many other kinds of European looters.

In any case, what I would like to emphasise about this historicity of *guaquería* is its evolving content, its progressive adaptation to the circumstances. The ancestral nature of the indigenous values with which the practice seems to be endowed today is the product of the native people's symbolic negotiation at each moment in the past. This means that *guaquería* has never been immutable and that, therefore, today it can (and perhaps should) change, too, if we expand the field of vision the activity entails in the contemporary world. Obviously, this change cannot be effected from outside

the negotiation process with the indigenous actors themselves. However, recognising their legitimacy does not necessarily mean, as these contributions maintain, that we must ignore or trivialise legality and illegality in the rule of law.

Here a subtle question comes into play that has gone unremarked by the authors who deal with the issue of legitimacy. Is establishing the source of legitimacy just as important as understanding the difference between legitimacy and legality? In *Challenging the Dichotomy*, the source of legitimacy seems to be membership in a different culture, which reproduces the dynamic of autonomous "language games". As explained above, that dynamic strips everyone of the possibility of looking for points of agreement and convergence. In contemporary societies, legitimacy can no longer be *ex tunc et erga omnes*; it must be the product of explicit or implicit pacts. Although there is clearly a need for a new legal and political scenario able to accommodate indigenous demands, it cannot be achieved without that process of convergence around clear principles.

This brings us to the third aspect of the influence of postmodern thought on *Challenging the Dichotomy*: anti-modernity expressed as a confrontation with the government bodies responsible for the stewardship of archaeological heritage or with the academic discipline of archaeology itself.

Without a doubt, if there is a common enemy of indigenous legitimacy in many of the contributions to *Challenging the Dichotomy* it is the various government agencies responsible for protecting archaeological heritage. Clearly the actions of the ICANH, or similar institutions in other countries, are not always guided by sensitivity to or empathy with the interests of the native populations. It is worth recalling that the US government initially came out against the recognition of indigenous rights established in the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous People, adopted by the UN General Assembly in 2007, although it later modified its opposition to the agreement (Den Ouden and O'Brien 2013).

It is not my aim to discredit the versions of the specific cases presented by the authors of *Challenging the Dichotomy*. However, judging from other information, some of their

approaches do seem to be somewhat biased or, at least, subject to other interpretations.

Antoniadou, Mortensen and Haber question the formative process of the legal systems governing archaeological heritage in their respective countries. In this regard I partially agree with the criticism these authors make: the instruments and mechanisms of all legal systems, in particular those concerning this matter, could be improved and refined. This area of the law has moreover proven reluctant to expand participatory processes and embrace co-management techniques with civil society. At best, such processes materialise individually in specific instruments, but that is always the exception; the rule is to reinforce hierarchy and verticality in decision-making.

However, it is questionable whether the entire regulatory process has really been so eminently damaging. In my view, the authors are using a somewhat tendentious Foucauldian "archaeology of knowledge" to explain the current situation. What I find tendentious is the biased analysis of the consequences of the link between archaeology and law to protect archaeological artefacts.

The case of Greece is striking. Antoniadou looks for the origin of the self-proclaimed right of official archaeology, the right that swept away local scholars after the birth of the modern Greek state and imposed collective symbols of an obvious nationalist bent. Here, it is sufficient to note the anachronism involved in judging past actions from a contemporary point of view, whilst ignoring factors from the historical context under study.

Following its independence from the Ottoman Empire, the only way the young Greek state could be organised was through the nationalist movement, with all the benefits and drawbacks that entailed. At the turn of the 19th century, anything else would have been unthinkable. Antoniadou seems to neglect certain facts that would lead to very different assessments from those she sustains with regard to the formative process of Hellenic law.

Briefly, in the wake of its independence, Greece faced a need to put a firm end to the "marble fever" of the European powers (Hoock

2007). It thus took measures to impede antiquities trafficking. The 1834 law addressed this issue from two complementary perspectives. First, it broadened the concept of historical and artistic heritage used by the law. Second, it set restrictions on the right of ownership with regard to antiquities. Article 61 of that law provided that all ancient objects were manifestations of Greece's past and, therefore, belonged to all Greeks. No ancient object could be exported without authorisation. As for the right of ownership in the case of accidental finds, half the value of the find belonged to the person who owned the property and the other half to the state. The legislative framework became stricter in the late 19th century (Moschopoulos 2008; Voudouri 2010). Whilst the effectiveness of these measures and their implementation in practice no doubt left much to be desired, the Greek case was no different from that of the rest of its neighbours. On the contrary, as I have noted elsewhere (Rodríguez Temiño 2015), the 19th-century Greek law was the *bête noire* of the politically conservative Spanish regime at the time, which considered it radical.

Without again appealing to magic realism, it is worth asking whether this whole long struggle against private property for the sake of the common interest can be questioned on the strength of an anecdote. Antoniadou, for instance, offers an account of a farmer's wife who destroyed a sculpture her husband had accidentally found for fear of the consequences. For this author, the act proves the existence of other forms of excavation, with their social complexities, their various economic implications, and their own moral codes.

I do not deny it, but in reading this statement, I cannot help but wonder whether all moral codes are equally ethical. Morals govern the behaviour of people in a particular society. They are based on the traditions and values of a given context; that is why morality is a descriptive discipline. In contrast, ethics systematises the concepts of good and evil from a rational point of view, transcending the idiosyncrasies of each society. Ethics has a normative value, whereas morals are of a personal nature. The question is whether there is an authority transcendent to the moral codes themselves, the purpose of which would be to mitigate the social damage. As we have already seen, in Lyotardian "language games" there is

not. However, in my view, this transcendent authority, which will be examined below, should exist.

Antoniadou and Mortensen question the utility of government techniques such as making public the ownership of archaeological artefacts or rewarding the handing over of accidental finds. That is not an easy question to answer. I can only note that Spanish jurists take a favourable view of the provision of the 1985 Law on Spanish Historical Heritage that considers all archaeological artefacts appearing subsequent to that date to be public property (Barcelona Llop 2000). Its contribution to the fight against archaeological looting is indisputable (Morales Bravo de Laguna 2015, Yáñez Vega 2016). Logically, it entails a clearly progressive regulatory commitment. For Antoniadou, the concept of a cash reward for reporting accidental archaeological finds evokes ambiguous messages in term of the antiquities' connection to capital and commercialisation. I can thus only imagine what she might think of the measures adopted under the 1996 English Treasure Act or the practice of the Portable Antiquities Scheme led by the British Museum (Bland 2004).

In Londoño's account of a case that reverberated beyond the Colombian borders, the anti-institutional tone is clear. He describes the 2013 controversy sparked by the desire to fly certain sculptures from the San Agustín Archaeological Park, located in the southern regions of the department of Huila, to the Colombian National Museum in Bogotá. There, they were to be featured in an exhibition called "The Return of the Idols" intended to pay homage to studies on Ullumbe culture.

Most of the data are drawn from articles and accounts published in the magazine *Arcadia* (Revista Arcadia 2013). According to these accounts, the local community opposed allowing the sculptures to be sent to Bogotá for three main reasons. First, the local community had not been consulted in the planning of the exhibition. Second, they feared that the sculptures would not be returned. Finally, third, the sculptures were part of a cultural landscape, so their removal and transfer, even if temporary, would alter the balance of energies at the site. Londoño uses these arguments to bolster his thesis regarding the quasi-dictatorial centralism governing the administrative work of the ICANH, which disregards any local reality not included in the legitimacy born of the link between archaeology and law. For

Londoño, the violent attitudes that ultimately prevented the statues' removal did not take away from the legitimacy of the claims of the Yanaconas, the indigenous community that led the protests.

Little does it matters that the ICANH, which was responsible for the exhibition and the transport of the pieces, noted that the sculptures had been taken to exhibitions and returned on prior occasions without incident. Nor does it seem to matter that, in fact, the Yanacona Indians had only been in San Agustín for twenty years and, therefore, could hardly claim to be descendants of the sculptures' makers. It is similarly of little import that most of the pieces selected for the exhibition came from the collection of the local Luis Luque Gómez Museum and thus had no bearing on the site's balance of energies.

Other academics also intervened in this debate, to reproach, as interested parties do, the relative lack of work conducted at the site to explain and incorporate local points of view on the sculptures' transfer. This would seem to reinforce Londoño's idea regarding the conflict of legitimacies.

However, a Huila journalist, unrelated to the parties to the conflict and seemingly knowledgeable about the controversy, has also published an account of the events, to supplement that provided by *Arcadia*. According to these new data – which Londoño omits – the reason for the Yanaconas' discontent was not the sculptures. Rather, the protest masked political demands, including that unkept promises made to the group in the past be honoured. The social unrest had been promoted by certain individuals, half-hidden behind the name of an association (Comité pro Defensa del Patrimonio Ancestral or the Committee for the Defence of Ancestral Heritage), and had only mobilised a group of 80 or 100 people, out of a population of close to 40,000. Furthermore, the association used populist assertions to achieve this mobilisation, claiming that the ICANH had already sold the pieces and would return replicas in their stead or that the exhibition was solely for the enjoyment of oligarchic *rolos* (a derogatory term for people from Bogotá). Some of the self-proclaimed guardians of the Agustinian heritage were known *guaqueros* in their own right, who had no problem selling looted archaeological objects to collectors, but who, in this belligerent situation, emerged as defenders of local heritage.

Again, it is not my intention to make value judgments about who was right in this case. I am simply trying to show how reducing the conflict to a mere confrontation of legitimacies distorts a much more complex reality in which it is not at all easy to assign simplistic roles. Nor do I agree with the decision to elevate the poor functioning of an institution to the level of category when it is an ontologically contingent question. Undoubtedly, in this case (and possibly many others) public bodies could (or should) have done better and been more empathetic towards the local population. However, that should not be taken as something immutable, that is, as these bodies' intrinsic way of doing things. Institutions change and improve their procedures. To deny that is indicative of the marked anti-institutionalism of Londoño's position.

Field's anti-archaeology stance should also be addressed. For him, the association between archaeology and nationalism is responsible for looting, insofar as it reifies its preferred object of attention, which, in the case of Colombia, is gold. *Guaquería* would be the result of the transformation of the symbolic value of gold, in precolonial times, into a material value as a result, first, of Hispanic greed and, later, of the academic interest in these objects.

Field discusses the evolution of *guaquería* over the course of the 20th century and its role in economically supporting political movements such as guerrillas or paramilitary groups. The Malagana hacienda disaster exemplified this new trend. There, thousands of people from all walks of life who had never before engaged in *guaquería* came together, intent on digging for gold objects. It was not long before the brutal violence exerted at the site by those who also controlled other forms of trafficking and criminal violence came to light. There was little the government could do in that context, beyond thwarted attempts to undertake digs and open new branches of the Gold Museum.

Despite this complexity, for Fields, archaeology has served to "whitewash" the illicit origin of many of the gold objects retrieved through *guaquería* once they enter the Gold Museum, a symbol of prestige and national pride. Archaeology has come to play this role by helping to expunge the symbolic value the gold once had for the natives.

Finally, he supports that thesis by contrasting these events with what happened with wampum in the US. Objects made from these shells have also ended up in museums. However, unlike gold, he explains, they are considered historical rather than archaeological objects. Consequently, no *guaquería* of wampum ever substantively developed, whether as a plunder of the past or a commodification.

Personally, I think such Foucauldian genealogies of the evolution of the enunciative function and conceptual framework of mechanisms of control and power require more precise investigations. They call for a thick description that the introduction of Marxist concepts here fails to replace. Again, this is not the place for a more detailed discussion of the reifying nature of archaeology. Suffice it to say that this view does not accord with the reality of how the discipline is currently practiced.

The comparison between gold and wampum strikes me as inapt. Unlike wampum, gold already had a long history as a commercial item, which was part of the scenario of the conquest. If the comparison is made instead with American bison skins, for example, which, regardless of how the tribes used the North American plains, could be integrated into the new market established by the settlers, the results of the comparison would be more similar. By the late 19th century, the American bison had been driven practically to extinction. As Williams T. Hornaday (1889) said, the main cause of this massacre was a clash of civilisations, one of which was not only more technologically advanced than the other, but also greedier.

In any case, the anti-institutionalism of some of the authors of *Challenging the Dichotomy* contrasts with the defence made by others, although this defence is not presented as such in the editors' introduction. Hollowell's chapter on the fate of objects made from walrus ivory by the Eskimos on either shore of the Bering Strait clearly comes down in favour of the Russian side. There, professional excavations have been conducted to discover the best sites to date the cultural sequence of the region's millennia-long occupation. This stands in contrast to the sporadic archaeological activity carried out on St. Lawrence Island and at other Alaskan enclaves, largely replaced with a commercial incentive for indigenous peoples to loot their past. In a deregulated environment

with no intervention by the public authorities and a long tradition of commercial incentives to sell such objects to museums and private collectors, the establishment of a local Eskimo council was not enough to mitigate this disastrous situation. The Council granted permits to professional archaeologists and those seeking objects to sell on the black market alike.

Hollowell also introduces another element, which is missing from the book's other chapters: the consequences of this approach. When the first exhibition on Eskimo art was held in 1986, 70% of the pieces came from the illicit trade and were decontextualised. The result of this "cultural cannibalism" is a loss of knowledge about the culture's history which may not currently seem to matter to the Eskimos, but which they may, perhaps sooner than later, come to regret.

I agree with the doubts Hollowell raises regarding the effectiveness of strictly academic means of combating the plague of unconscious looting and illicit trade. Mere exhibitions are not enough. First, they do not reach the Eskimos, who are the parties directly affected, and whilst they may impact public opinion in the artefacts' host countries, the effect is fleeting. Second, these exhibitions tend to have the perverse effect of driving up the price of the featured pieces by making them fashionable.

Both Bshara and Tapsell advocate turning the recognition of singularities, of native legitimacy, into a reform of the current regulatory environment. In this regard, Tapsell applauds the steps taken in this direction by New Zealand with respect to Maori culture. Even Gnecco and Piñacué, in their account of the complex relations between the Nasa Indians and the government authorities in Tierradentro Archaeological Park, point to the consensuses reached to include the indigenous Life Plans in the park's management plans as an ideal scenario. Although this defence does not give rise to a defence of the ICANH itself, there is an explicit assessment of the planning instruments—one of the greatest achievements of the state institutions.

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As I explained at the start of this commentary, I was struck by the fact that many of the contributions to *Challenging the Dichotomy* seem to settle for exalting the right to difference, to one's own legitimacy, without exploring what this confrontation between legitimacies leads to, let alone examining the link between legitimacy and legality. This aspect requires a brief, prior analysis. Certainly in the West, legitimacy and legality are associated with each other but the two concepts differ (Bobbio 1985). Legitimacy has pre-legal foundations. Not only must it be justified, as some of the chapters in *Challenging the Dichotomy* claim; it must also be based on consensus and built on the common interest as recognised by all members of a society. In multi-ethnic contexts, the broader this consensus is, the greater the legitimacy of the representative bodies and the laws emanating from them. The principle of legality is related to de facto power and is based on the legal system. In this context, it is hard for me to conceive of a legitimacy to destroy the common heritage of the past, potentially usurping the will of generations to come.

Tradition or cultural identity is not always a source of indisputable legitimacy for all cultural practices. The reaffirmation of some customs or traditions clashes with other social values. The prohibition in French public schools since 2004 of the *hijab* and other garments that meet the requirements of the *Shari'ah* for female attire bears witness to the existence of certain principles (equal human rights) at the very heart of the debate that make it more than a mere struggle between legitimacies. This is despite the fact that, as Laborde (2008) critically shows, republican principles must also evolve to address cultural fragmentation and the ethos of contemporary liberalism more empathetically and efficiently.

I recognise the right of indigenous peoples to defend their own legitimacy. However, it worries me when it is done in a way that adversely affects archaeological heritage, when the chronological tie to ancestors is intertwined with the basest forms of looting, aimed at meeting the collection needs of public and private institutions. Ultimately, that means depriving all people, native and non-native alike, of the right to culture.

This right is not satisfied with the mere ownership of objects, nor is it resolved by determining who has greater legitimacy to

access archaeological artefacts, as proposed by ideological neo-conservatism. It is an inherent universal right in all human beings to enrich their own personality, their ability to think about the present critically through the verified study of what happened in the past. As some of the chapters in *Challenging the Dichotomy* suggest, in many indigenous environments there may not currently be an awareness of the usefulness of these artefacts beyond their commercial exploitation. However, one wonders whether their grandchildren will see things the same way. The rational management of archaeological heritage begins with its conception as a non-renewable legacy that we have the obligation to transmit to future generations. That principle is not at issue in critical studies on cultural heritage. Actions of stewardship, which the editors undervalue in their introduction to the book, should be aimed precisely at guaranteeing the preservation of both the resource and its social function, which is not merely to serve as a tourist attraction—a place where postmodern thought comfortably situates it (Rodríguez Temiño 1998).

In this regard, I detected a certain resistance in the authors who addressed the issue of *guacas* in *Challenging the Dichotomy*, related to the methodological preference granted to ethnology. This view is explicitly stated multiple times throughout the book, but it is also noticeable in other devices, such as the use of autoglotonyms to refer to indigenous languages. This, of course, is in no way reprehensible, and I mention it only as an example of the aforementioned identitary bias of some of the contributions.

These contributions place *guaquería* in the set of cultural traits making up the identity of the native peoples who inhabit the lands of what was once Tahuantinsuyo. This is a sort of essentialist nativism resistant to change on which anthropologists have the final word (Liebmann 2008). It is an archaeologising ethnology managed with simplistic concepts of what does and does not fit in the ideal phenotype of the native, wholly immunised to reality.

I do not mean to trivialise identity issues, but rather simply to warn that their fossilisation, by researchers, gives rise to idealised types that have little to do with reality. Allow me to digress briefly to explain this point.

Without going into any more detail than is needed, I believe there will be a certain consensus that one hallmark of traditional culture has been the search for remedies for health issues. However, when people who were brought up on home remedies and the mediation of healers to deal with illness and physical discomfort move to other social environments, they only turn to these remedies in extreme cases, when medicine offers no solution. Even elderly people who are used to such traditional means do not use them instead of medicine when they move to places with better healthcare services, but rather only to supplement it (Keefe 1981; Sánchez Mayer 1989). People change in accordance with their circumstances.

The case of the so-called "struggle for recognition" of the Indian nations in the US offers another example worth considering. On the one hand, they call for a sovereignty that was violently taken from them; however, in practice they admit that independence from the US is unthinkable (Deloria 1969). Therefore, they focus on the recognition of their cultural singularity. This is no mean feat as it involves a highly unfair procedure for the Indian nations, since it is the descendants of Europeans who must judge whether or not certain ethnic groups are pure natives. This has given rise to a struggle for this process to accept that Indian nations today need not be a faithful replica of what they were in the 19th century: there have been substantial changes that do not detract from their nativism (Den Ouden and O'Brien 2013). The Indian nations are seeking their place in contemporary society, facing new challenges to continue existing as living groups. The controversies arising from the introduction of casinos on land administered by federally recognised Indian nations and a special tax agreement with the US government show that this adaptation faces opposition from those who continue to think that it will lead to the loss of essential and genuine aspects of Indian culture (Porter 2002, Cattelino 2010).

The theory of communicative action (Habermas 1987) offers a rational alternative to nihilism as the sole possible outcome of postmodern thought. Habermas put into play a new theory that allows for rational communication in the service of conflict resolution. The communicative action he theorised takes the form of an intersubjective dialogue to reach agreements with a

normative content: guidelines and moral rules on which to base social coexistence. He defines it as the interaction of at least two subjects capable of language and action who establish an interpersonal relationship. Communicative action is guided by binding intersubjective rules, i.e. rules that are understood and accepted by the subjects of the action. In his view, dialogue should be guided by rational principles aimed at mutual understanding. It is not enough to recognise the legitimacy of the subjects to engage in it; communicative reason is immanent to the use of language when the aim is to achieve mutual understanding.

However, there can be no consensus without the will to achieve it. If the defence strategy is to relativise everything so as not to give value to anything at all, we will find ourselves dealing with parasitic actions that hinder the will to engage in dialogue.

Rational dialogue on agreed bases would be the optimal way to bridge the gap between the two groups, i.e. archaeologists and *guaqueros*. A certain analogy can be found in this case with the problem of the lack of communication between archaeologists and metal-detectorists in Europe, for which I have also proposed this path of dialogue (Rodríguez Temiño and Matas Adamuz 2012 and Rodríguez Temiño 2016).

Habermasian communicative action offers an alternative to those who champion the recognition of an innate legitimacy, inherited by birthright, to access archaeological artefacts through digs that disregard both proper recording methods and the social purpose of those artefacts. Specifically, it offers a formal principle, a procedure to control and validate which norms deserve to be universalised and accepted as legitimate. It also serves as a critical authority; any social norm that cannot be generalised or is guided by non-generalisable interests cannot be considered legitimate. This approach breaks the stagnation of the Lyotardian "language games" and their exclusively self-justifying function. Moreover, as we have seen, the path of negotiation and consensus is more productive in reality than pure confrontational protest. Logically, the will to dialogue must be mutual, and both parties must be recognised as valid interlocutors. Some of the examples cited in *Challenging the Dichotomy* stem from a lack of recognition of the other party and its rights, or even outright denial of its existence

as such. In my view, that is where we must investigate further. Obviously, in the case of the Israeli-occupied territories in the West Bank, the issue is much more complex, and the situation remains far from ideal for starting a reasonable dialogue.

However, recognising the need for dialogue is not enough; first the bases for it must be laid. As I have noted elsewhere, the key lies in determining where the common interest of these artefacts lies. It seems difficult to refute that it may lie beyond the benefit it represents for the group in its broadest sense. When indigenous communities are involved, determining what should be understood by common interest requires a special approach to accommodate both the recognition of traditional forms of relationship with the past and their *aggiornamento* to the current situation and the preservation of this cultural legacy, amongst other things.

For very obvious reasons, I am not the right person to determine where the foundations for this dialogue should be laid. Based on what I have read about archaeological looting and the illicit sale of artefacts abroad (Boone 1993; Agurcia 1998; Gilgan 2001; Luke and Henderson 2006; Levine and Martínez de Luna 2013; Tantaleán 2013; etc.) or the comments found in metal-detecting forums (given the increasing use of such equipment in the search for archaeological remains), contrary to what has traditionally been assumed (Yates 2013; Sánchez Nava 2013), the *guaquero* and collector community is much broader and more complex than the one described by the authors who deal with the issue in *Challenging the Dichotomy*. Nor is it limited to natives. This is, of course, in addition to the fact that, as in many other countries, one of the main drivers of the sale of these objects is poverty (Hollowell 2006). In light of this reality, any mere regulatory prohibition that does not address the underlying problems will be ineffective. In other words, identifying these bases for a dialogue that, in any case, will always involve specific groups rather than broad communities, will not be easy.

This is where the role of experts, of intellectuals, to borrow a term from Zygmunt Bauman (1987), comes into play. In that experimental work, in which he still uses the term "postmodern", which he later abandoned in favour of the coinage "liquid modernity", Bauman analyses the role of intellectuals, the contemporary heirs

of the *République des Lettres*, today. He identifies two different roles: one modern and the other postmodern. The difference is not a question of temporality, but rather depends on their ability to serve as a nexus. Although Bauman prefers the term "models of order" to the Lyotardian term "language games", their content is similar. Whereas modern intellectuals are characterised by their role as legislators, i.e. handing down or passing judgement on each model's governing norms, the postmodern attitude is to seek to serve as a connection between the various models of order, to act as an interpreter.

Curiously, it is the authors of *Challenging the Dichotomy* whose positions are, in my view, most influenced by postmodern currents who take on the role of the modern, i.e. in Bauman's terms, of legislators. However, encouraging dialogue between native *guaqueros* and archaeologists or cultural managers and contributing to the renegotiation of their role both for the common good and in relation to the heritage of the past (which also belongs to future generations), calls for the presence of interpreters, not legislators.

The relationship between academic (a.k.a. scientific) archaeological knowledge and the public is structured in communication models (Lewenstein 2003). Based on the cases presented in *Challenging the Dichotomy*, the model followed by the main heritage institutions in the countries explored, as in other places such as Spain, seems to be the so-called "deficit model". This model is based on the idea that the public has a large deficit of specific knowledge that must be remedied through the supply of information in the proper doses. This model reinforces the sense of a hierarchy and mistrust, if not outright disgust, on the part of the public. Needless to say, there are alternative models based on integrating the public into the very gestation of research and knowledge-transfer processes, as well as the co-management of archaeological heritage and culture. Latin American countries are home to an endless supply of innovative experiences in this area. In my view, that is the path to academic decolonisation.

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In writing this review, I set out to adhere to the old saying from the Wild West: don't shoot the piano player. I would not be surprised if many of the authors of *Challenging the Dichotomy* do not identify with the view or consequences I draw from what they have written. I should point out once again that the responsibility for this may lie in the lack of red lines delimiting what is said of its less desirable consequences. Continuing with the metaphor, I would say that I have focused on explaining what the music I have heard suggests to me. Obviously, I was not overly fond of some of the things it evoked. However, that has nothing to do with the music itself, but rather my tastes and ideas; anyone else would have a different view of this work. It is debate that allows us all to progress.

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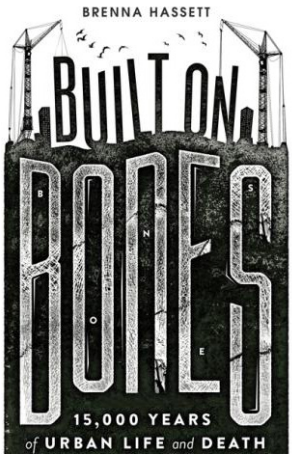

Marianne Hem ERIKSEN

Built on bones: 15,000 years of urban life and death

[by Brenna Hassett]

Bloomsbury Sigma
ISBN: 9781472922939
320 pages

I will start this review with a confession. Upon agreeing to review a book on urbanism, bodies, and the long-standing conundrum of *why* humans became sedentary and eventually urbanised — when all evidence indicates that life expectancy, health and other hallmarks of a good life sharply deteriorated — I did not realise that this was in fact not a research monograph, but a popular science book. The book is part of Bloomsbury's Sigma imprint, a series that according to the website "has something to feed everyone's inner scientist".

I must admit it was quite difficult to (attemptedly) put my archaeological training aside and approach a book of this kind as a layperson, but at least I have the questionable asset of not being trained in osteology. Overall, I found Hassett's book to be informative, full of jokes and anecdotes, and knowledgeable. The author has not made life easy for herself, writing a book for the general public from a bio-archaeological point of view that spans 15,000 years. The style of the book is highly personal — we are treated to details such as Hassett's college diet, the fact that she accidentally destroyed a 9,000-year-old wall when visiting Çatalhöyük, her exasperation with the British plumbing system with one hot, one cold tap (shared by many foreigners to the UK,

I can confirm), and the fact that she in the 1990's stalked Pamela Anderson every morning at a Starbucks in California.

The writing style will probably be a love-or-hate aspect of the book. It certainly does not read like the dry deliberations of many a 'popular' archaeology book, and I both chuckled and laughed out loud upon reading. But the tone can, at times, perhaps be a bit too cute. For the average reader picking up a volume with the promise of looking at 15,000 years of urban life and death from the perspective of dead bodies, I wonder how much the table of contents would be a deciding factor in whether to buy the book. Consisting entirely of song titles stemming from Monty Python to Red Hot Chili Peppers, chapter titles such as 'Tainted Love', 'What's New Pussycat', and 'Karma Police' do not provide much indication about what the book is about. More informative subtitles after the pop-cultural references would have helped the reader grasp the topics and structure of the book.

In fact, the book is well-structured, with an introduction, thirteen chapters and a conclusion successively and to a large extent chronologically tackling questions such as the beginning of sedentism (chapter 1); changes in subsistence practices and neolithisation (including a precise debunking of paleo diet, chapter 2); the domestication of animals (chapter 3); and the Neolithic revolution seen through key Anatolian sites such as Çatalhöyük and Aşıklı Höyük (chapter 4). The book next tackles a range of social and political questions, including urbanism and social inequality (chapter 5); interpersonal violence (chapter 6); systematic suppression and violence against groups such as subordinates, children, women, criminals, and outsiders (chapter 7); and warfare (chapter 8). The subsequent chapters consider the fatal consequences of living in highly populated, urban societies. Chapter 9 discusses infectious diseases such as leprosy and tuberculosis; chapter 10 reveals Hassett's fondness for the plague; and chapter 11 deals with the outcome of that tainted love; syphilis.

The final chapters deliberate urban forms of labour and how e.g. craft specialisation and intensive physical labour marks the body (chapter 12), and, as a case study of sorts, a discussion of early modern London (chapter 13). Finally, the conclusion weaves some of the strands together in an, again, personal discussion on

where we are going in an increasingly urban world. Hassett is a self-proclaimed optimist on behalf of cities, if only we can find a way to manage the socio-economic inequality "that has picked us off huddled mass by huddled mass" (p. 311-312). This self-proclaimed pessimist would say 'good luck with that'; but the conclusion nonetheless ties the topics of the book together with contemporary social and political challenges, such as structural and domestic violence, asymmetrical power relations, and pandemics and large-scale migration, showing the reader why a book on sedentism, health, and violence is important.

Ideally, I would like to have seen some of the points of the conclusion raised in earlier chapters of the book. For instance, with reference to Ucko's seminal *World Archaeology* paper (1969), Hassett rightly stresses the numerous ways people have dealt with the physical remains of the dead across time and space — surely a vital point in a book based on bodies. Moreover, it is not until the conclusion that Hassett acknowledges that she really has not defined urbanism in any way (although a perfunctory discussion of cities can be found on p. 94). Related to this, there is an unresolved tension in the book between the focus on the Neolithic, especially the famous Anatolian sites that are used extensively as examples, and *urbanism* as a phenomenon. Are Çatalhöyük and Aşıklı Höyük really urban sites? The literature seems to indicate that this is a much-discussed issue, a discussion Hassett could have included in her book. It would perhaps also have been possible to draw on a recent debate in *Norwegian Archaeological Review*, where Bisserka Gaydarska (2016) explores how urbanism is embedded in an evolutionary line of thought, and more or less rejects the term, with replies and commentary from other urbanists. Possibly, the book's title would have reflected the content better if it were '15,000 Years of *Settled* Life and Death'. In addition to defining what she means by urbanism, Hassett could also have noted at the outset that her story of the development of urbanism naturally would be skewed — a 300-page book cannot cover all areas and sites, but a stronger statement about *why* she has chosen to focus on the sites and regions she covers would probably have been helpful for the reader.

Regarding formalities, the author and/or publishing house have made the choice not to include references in the text (nor in the jokey footnotes), but simply note that an electronic version of the reference list can be accessed online. I wonder if general readers would not have been happy with a brief 'Further reading' section towards the end of the book, and as an archaeologist, I certainly would have liked to see in-text references to a lot of the facts, evidence and issues raised, as it would be relevant to identify what discourse Hassett is writing herself into and leaning upon. This is, however, to some extent solved through naming key figures in various discussions, and, again, an academic archaeologist is probably not part of the core target audience of the book.

These critical comments aside, there are numerous highlights in Hassett's nuanced approach to archaeological evidence and bioarchaeological methods. She expertly touches on meta-archaeological topics such as androcentricity, research bias, and tautological reasoning, often through on-point anecdotes. As a non-bioarchaeologist, I thoroughly enjoyed the entertaining ways a lot of osteological topics were raised, and gained a better understanding of issues I was only vaguely familiar with. I found the chapter on structural violence to be perhaps the most important chapter of the book, including deliberations of child abuse in the past, evidence of domestic violence (40% of women from the site of Jinggouzi in Neolithic China had broken noses, according to Hassett), and contemporary and past violence against people perceived as deviant. I have rarely seen such a synthesis of crucial topics many archaeologists seem to find outside their interpretative or scholarly remit.

In one of the numerous humorous footnotes, Hassett asserts that all academic disagreements are "passive-aggressive and privately devastating. See for instance", she writes, "the reviews of this book". I hope that this review, at least, proves her wrong. Despite this reader's critique of some unresolved tension between urbanism and sedentism, occasional exasperation over the writing style, and the wish for a stronger introductory framework, I would warmly recommend fellow archaeologists to buy Hassett's book as a present for those relatives who cannot understand what you are really doing with your life (especially the ones into paleo dieting).

After your relatives are done with the book, read it yourself. Perhaps you will, like me, end up hoping that your path will cross Hassett's one day, when you can buy her a pint and get to hear some of her many stories in person. In the end, there is no question about it; Brenna Hassett certainly is both knowledgeable and entertaining, as is *Built on Bones*. *15,000 Years of Urban Life and Death.*

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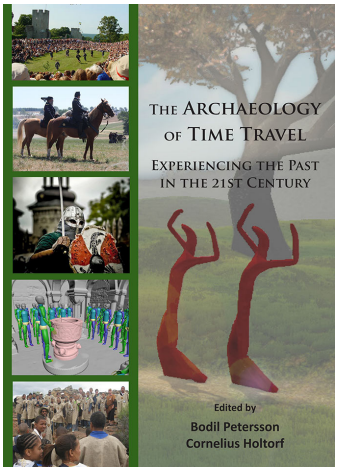

Clara MASRIERA-ESQUERRA

The archaeology of Time Travel. Experiencing the past in the 21st Century

[Ed. by Bodil Petersson and Cornelius Holtorf]

Archaeopress
ISBN: 9781784915001
318 pages

"The Archaeology of Time Travel. Experiencing the past in the 21st Century", edited by Cornelius Holtorf and Bodil Petersson by Archeopress, is the outcome of the project "The Archaeology of Time Travel" (2007) developed by Lund University (SE). The main focus of the project was to present and discuss how people experience the past with all their senses (virtually, through augmented reality, in varieties of role-play, or through other immersion techniques). Indeed, it can be considered a handbook of this experiential-centred approach to people's connections to the pasts.

The structure of the book contributes to a kaleidoscopic treatment of the theory and practice of the archaeology of Time Travel from different perspectives from the same topic and rich discussions. The notion of diversity is the guiding thread of the volume, where it is possible to read a diversity of experiences and various uses of the past. Formally, the book is divided into five parts, each one with two chapters and two comments, discussing the following topics related with Time Travel: the virtual scheme, time travel as educational method, experiencing travelling in the past (reenactment and archaeological open-air museums), the

past on the screen and the past within the present). It is also interesting to know the different perspectives of Time Travel concept from different scholars from different disciplines: archaeology, sociology, education and ethnology.

The archaeology of Time Travel shows a high presence in Northern Europe in a wide range of disciplinary and professional realms; one of the most rewarding results of the project has been the creation of a network of more than 50 researchers and practitioners in Sweden, Scandinavia and across Central and Northern Europe interested in archaeological time travel. Probably the time has come to expand these innovative and thought-provoking proposals to analyse (and apply) experiences of the past to other archaeological traditions and to prove its potential in new cultural contexts.

The three strong ideas from the book are 1) that the interpretation of the past and of the future reflects on the present times' stereotypes and interest topics; 2) the use of the past as a tool to create identity; and, probably the most distinctive feature of the Archaeology of Time Travel is 3) the relevance of holistic experiences of the past through the body and its senses. The last idea can be linked to the pedagogical theory of the American professor Howard Gardner about multiple intelligences. Gardner criticizes the traditional narrow notion of intelligence, and describes seven distinct intelligences through which we can learn, teach and communicate. What we can see in this book is also a range of ways – if interacting with the past beyond the verbal and linguistic – in which other kinds of human capacities, like the Gardner's bodily-kinesthetic intelligence, expand and enhance the diversity of humans' relations with the past, the present and the future.

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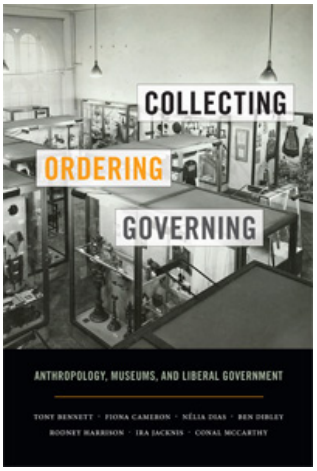

Alexandra ION

Collecting, Ordering, Governing. Anthropology Museums and Liberal Government

[by Tony Bennet et al.]

Duke University Press
ISBN: 9780822362531
360 pages

"In their bodies is the record of their brotherhood"
(Bennett et al. 2017, p. 256)

This collective volume is an addition to a recent large body of literature which discusses the legacy of colonial encounters, and the ways in which anthropological practices of collecting have been embedded in political or scientific power relations (e.g. Baker 2010; Conklin 2013; Edwards 2012; Redman 2016). In this case, the analysis is placed at the cross-roads of museum studies and history of anthropology, with case studies spanning around 50 years. The reader is taken from the 1898-99 Torres Strait Island expedition, through the displays at Musée de l'Homme, or the Maori Ethnology Gallery (Dominion Museum, 1936), to the mid-century 'The Race Question' declaration on the fallacies of the race concept — and the subsequent critical reactions. The seven authors of this book try to develop an original perspective in exposing the specificities of the 'museum phase of anthropology', by understanding how in these different settings the cultural conceptions of difference have been articulated as a result of particular power configurations. By moving the focus between anthropologists in the field, to exhibitions, between biopolitical framings of local groups to international scientific networks, from photographs to texts, the authors propose

a rethinking of the role of anthropology in 'mediating the relations between the collecting practices of fieldwork, the ordering practices of museums, and the practices of social governance' (p. 255).

The broad chronological and geographical framework offers the readers an interesting comparative perspective on the topics discussed. After an Introduction which presents the general theoretical framework, as well as the aims of the volume, Chapter 1 delves into the history of anthropological practices through four 'vignettes' organised around emblematic museum exhibits: the one imagined by Baldwin Spencer at the National Museum of Victoria, Franz Boas's Hall of the Northwest Coast Indians at the American Museum of Natural History, the Senegal vitrine at the Musée de l'Homme, and the Maori displays at Wellington's Dominion Museum. Chapter 2, one of the most interesting reads in the volume, presents contrasting 'rationalities of governance' in two Australian administrated territories — spaces in which anthropological inquiries have led to very different governing measures. In the next chapter, the authors look at a different and thought-provoking case-study, that of 'anthropology at home': the ethnographic surveys of the UK between 1892-1899, and 1937-1945. Chapter 4 focuses on Franz Boas, and collecting practices in Africa, Oceania and Asia in a USA context. The following study takes the readers to New Zeeland, and provokes them to view this space as a 'distinctive anthropological assemblage', while in Chapter 6 we are back on the European continent, surveying anthropology in France. The volume ends with a text in which traditional conclusions are replaced with a reflection on the legacies of these past anthropological practices, by discussing more recent preoccupations with the concepts of indigeneity, culture, or race.

While the ambitious aims of this volume and the vast range of resources analysed, from historical information to archival documents, are to be applauded, unfortunately the arguments throughout are rather hard to follow. The strength of the volume definitely lies in its comparative perspective, and the fine-grained cases which paint a nuanced story of anthropological encounters. Though these historical case studies are interesting and rich in potential, the theoretical apparatus seems to hinder the flow of the argument. In order to build a bridge between the multiple levels of the

narrative, and to bring together museums, objects, and individuals, the authors based their analysis on a range of sociological, and material culture studies inspired concepts, such as: Bruno Latour's oligoptic technologies, Michele Foucault's 'transactional realities', 'laboratories of governmentality', and biopolitics, Jacques Derrida's (and others) assemblage theory, and many more. While using such concepts can be a valid and even fruitful approach at times, here this theoretical apparatus seems overpowering, making it difficult to follow the links between the many different concepts employed — 'extractive colonialism', 'transactional realities', 'epistemic circulation', 'fieldwork agencement', 'object-types', 'frontier sexuality', 'immutable and combinable mobiles' etc. —, sometimes in the same section:

> Oligoptica function through the associations made possible by the existence of multiple, overlapping visual spaces that facilitate rigorous inspection of the parts as a whole. Building on this notion, Otter (2008) has charted the history of the development of a Victorian oligoptic visual economy, in which the liberal subject became increasingly implicated in practices of self-observation, alongside the development of a series of materially heterogenous technologies of illumination and visibility that facilitated interconnected practices of collective, individual, and practical inspection. (Bennett et al. 2017, p. 109).

In such instances, it does not feel that such theoretical excursus add value to the general argument. Maybe for the clarity and strength of arguments the authors could have picked just a handful of concepts and follow them through the book. In doing so, the links between the chapters could have also been deepened.

Even though the book is presented as a collective authorial endeavour, the chapters read more like stand-alone pieces. In this respect I feel that the authors were not fully successful in their attempt to overcome the fact that some of the texts have been previously published as standalone pieces. To create a more flowing narrative, it might have helped if, in their effort to place the visual culture of science within the wider political networks, the authors had chosen a focal point — e.g. the museum —, and

to follow throughout its 'role in essentialising difference' had they quoted Lynch and Alberti (2010, 14). Along the same lines, though the book is clearly eruditely written, at times it is harder to follow for someone who is not very familiar with the characters, or the historical episodes discussed, as there is very little background historical information given. However, it should be mentioned that the case studies themselves are amply discussed.

It would have also been interesting to see a more in depth narrative on the rich repertoire of photographs, as the analysis of the visual cultures of collecting seems to be one of the strengths of the volume. Reading through the extended photographs captions definitely makes an entertaining, educative, and thought-provoking read: from 'Normman and Norma, the average American boy and girl' – two naked plaster sculptures which were meant to depict the ideal body type of the average American as a testimony of progress and culture (p. 168-169) – to the photo of a suspended costume which sat next to three mounted skulls, black and white photographs, and metal implements, and meant to showcase in a scientific manner the Senegal at Musée du quai Branly (p. 18), or the diorama at the American Museum of Natural History (p.14) showcasing an Indian family involved in domestic activities, and surrounded by material culture.

All in all, this volume can bring useful information to anthropologists, museum specialists, and historians of anthropology, provided that they are already familiar with the general outline of the histories of anthropological collecting. Maybe the most important contribution of this work to the wider academic and social discussions on anthropology and colonialism is its balanced and nuanced approach. In the current landscape in which the label 'Anthropology is a white colonialist project' seems self-sufficient, and oftentimes even marks the end of the conversation (see Hage's 2017 critique), this book takes an informative and refined approach by showing how, when viewed from the ground, many of these stories are more complex, and varied. In this respect, the discussions around 'The Race Question' declaration, Chapter 2, or the analysis of a photograph depicting the mural at the entrance of the Wellington Government Court (part of the New Zealand Centennial Exhibition, 1940), which might first appear as a 'classic

statement of assimilation', though at the time the Maori actually viewed it as a sign of identity and independence (p. 207), are but a few illuminating examples.

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