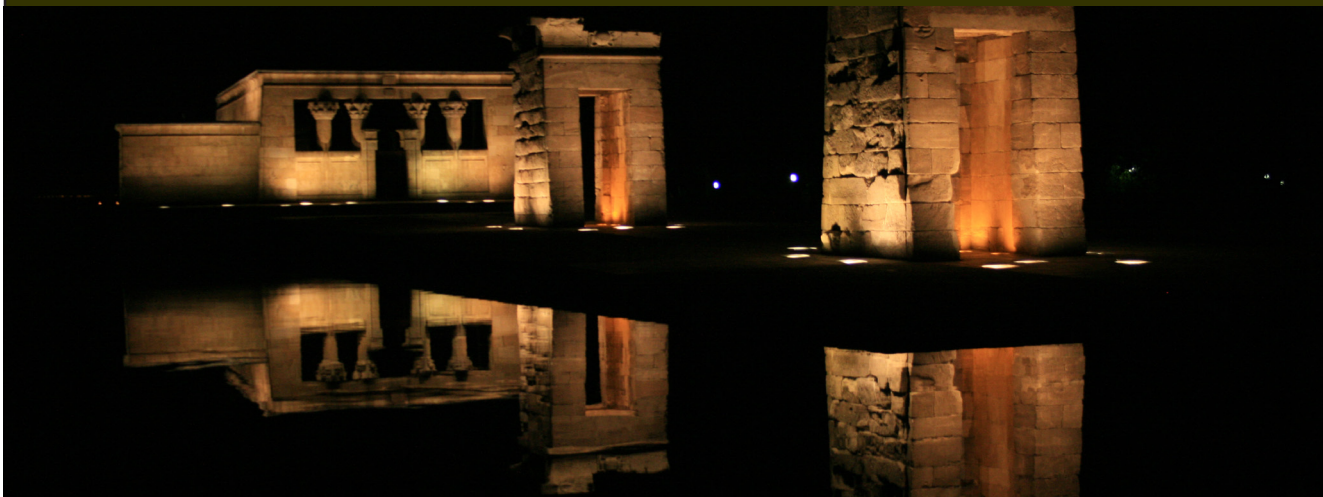


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EDITORIAL

A bridge too far close

Jaime ALMANSA SÁNCHEZ, Editor
JAS Arqueología S.L.U.

Year by year, editing the journal becomes more complicated with the increasing load of work. Old and new projects interfere with a process that is time-consuming, especially for only two people. When this adventure started in 2010 we saw this as 'a bridge too far', but it turned out to be too close. Despite the delay in publishing this volume, we are out with new, quality content and plans for a brighter future.

This year has been special for us. Our friend journal Public Archaeology has been listed by the ISI Journal Citation Index, upgrading our discipline considerably. Brazil is back in business with Arqueología Pública, and a new Journal of Community Archaeology and Heritage will see the light of day in a few months. Besides, the first Italian public archaeology congress took place last autumn (see Zuanni's review), and the Public Archaeology Group (the PAG) has organized its two first sessions for the VI JIA and the 19th EAA Meeting, while it also headed the setting of a new working group within the European organization with the aim to promote a better public archaeology, clearly defined and organized, within which we all can share and improve our activities.

In the meantime, AP Journal volume 3 is the consolidation of a project that can now look ahead with clearer ideas and goals. The first one is a new concept of the forum; we want it to be an essential part of the journal and thus we will open more interactive channels for comments and participation through the blog, while we will also combine current topics with long-term debates. This year, we open the debate on looting with a first block of papers on metal detecting and looting. The debate will continue in the years to come.

The first paper looks at the press coverage of the Nile mission during the building of the Aswan dam in Egypt, a remarkable moment in the history of heritage protection and the birth of rescue archaeology. The way we communicate, the value we give to certain sites, and the role of archaeology in the context of vast infrastructure works are some

of the topics that arise from the paper, which was initially intended to feature in a special volume that failed to be completed.

Again in Africa, Bertram Mapunda offers an essential work attempting to answer what happens when engagement fails and communities do not share the value we give to archaeological remains. We are used to sharing success examples, but working with the public does not always end as we expect. This paper is a great starting point to reflect on our role in engaging communities and the way to develop better strategies for the protection and value of archaeological heritage.

Back in Europe, the third paper presents a very interesting project in Vignale (Italy), whereby the archaeological site becomes a 'movie' as part of the documentation and communication strategy. Such initiatives give us the opportunity to get inspired and think about new ways of doing public archaeology while working on the field.

One of the central topics of this volume is cinema. The last paper delves into the concept of 'time travel', analyzing how this was treated in recent (2010 and 2012) Oscars award winning films. Dystopian futures (and pasts) are a reflection of our imagined time, and cinema is the showroom of the public (and intellectual) perception of the world. This is a rather uncommon and risky topic in archaeology, but one that we find both extremely interesting and useful.

But fiction does not end here. This year's 'Points of You' comes from Lancaster Williams, the main (fictional) character of an innovative novel recently published in Spain (yes, by us, in Spanish, but soon in English too). In the previous volume we reviewed another great work: *Death by Theory*. Now we want to bring literature to life with the words of a real archaeologist that lives in a novel.

The reviews start with the chronicle of the Italian congress of public archaeology. The second review is about cultural heritage protection in armed conflicts. The third review brings us an essential work on public archaeology: the result of a working session in the framework of the Archaeology in Contemporary Europe (ACE) project. Finally, this section includes three works on heritage management, which were initially intended to be included in the aforementioned failed special volume about public archaeology in vast infrastructure works.

That is all for this year, but we already have some material for the next volume and two special volumes are on their way to be published in the next few months. We would like to take the chance to thank

all the people who helped this journal grow. We would also like to announce the promotion of Elena Papagiannopoulou to editor and the opening of some vacancies for assistant editors to help improve the journal. We will spread the call soon. Meanwhile, enjoy volume 3.

Before closing this editorial, we should once again make 3 fast announcements:

1. Call for debate:

Up to now, we do not see our Facebook page very open for debate, and our experience in creating debate on the web has not been very positive except few occasions. But sometimes debates happen online. That is why we would like to encourage you to participate in debates, wherever the action is, and if you find a topic interesting, bring it to the journal.

Moreover, the blog offers some space for participation and we will upload all the forums there so that you can follow the thread and comment on topics that we find very interesting.

2. Call for papers:

After Volume 3, Volume 4 will be published in 2014. We still have an open call for papers, which you can submit whenever you prefer. As publication in January seemed a utopia, we set March as the publishing month. As this seems a utopia too, we intend to grow the editorial team, to try meeting deadlines instead of delaying publication year by year. In any case, we need to keep the deadline for submissions in autumn in order to have enough time, especially if the number of papers received keeps increasing. We hope to receive new papers as soon as possible, which will give us time to work patiently and get things done in a timely, consistent manner. In case you have any suggestions, questions, or doubts, please feel free to email us.

3. Call for donations:

As long as JAS Arqueología is alive, it will take care of this journal. As you already know, AP is a free-access and not-for-profit journal. Thus, maintaining it is expensive, in terms of both money and time invested. The philosophy of the journal is to provide the

widest access at the lowest cost, but in order to not only improve the quality and efficiency of the content but also continue its publication there is a need for funding. Donations of any amount will be truly appreciated. This year we would like to express once again our sincere appreciation and gratitude to our donors, hoping the list will grow.

The future of this journal depends on you. Your contribution will make a big difference.

Remember there are two ways to contribute:

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

FORUM

The looting of archaeological heritage

Last year, 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. 5 – 2015) Beauty and money: a market that feeds looting.

PART IV (vol. 6 – 2016) 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 I

BEYOND METAL DETECTORS: AROUND THE PLUNDERING OF ARCHAEOLOGICAL HERITAGE

The use of metal detectors is an important issue in the management and protection of archaeological heritage. However, metal detectors have been generally tagged as a tool for looting more than a tool for research or protection. Their use has evolved in a way that is now considered a problem in many countries, and each country takes a different path to tackle it. From prohibition to indulgence, there is no clear idea of what is the best way to deal with this problem.

The forum at hand is a starting point for a debate on the topic of looting; it presents several perspectives on the use and misuse of metal detectors and the consequences for archaeological heritage, together with a broader perspective on looting in those countries where metal detectors are not a fundamental tool for finding archaeological remains.

We deliberately avoided to include the well-known system that is being used in England through the PAS (see latest, Campbell 2013), as we preferred to present other, lesser-known examples from Europe and America; cases from Spain, Moldova, Flanders (Belgium), Estonia, Mexico, Bolivia, and Peru provide different viewpoints and examples, as well as the latest developments. This is only an outline of the forum, and we welcome new papers from different countries as well as answers to those included in this volume.

Responses

Ignacio RODRÍGUEZ TEMIÑO

Fighting against archaeological plundering on land and underwater sites in Spain.

The loss of what we know as archaeological heritage can be directly attributable to the continuous human occupation of the same places for thousands of years, which increases with population growth and economic development. But the loss of archaeological heritage due to looting is something else entirely. In non-legal terms, looting is defined as the loss of archaeological goods and its associated information,

caused by art theft and removal of soil for artefacts to supply the illicit antiquities market. This concept of looting implies damage done to a site, with its special stratigraphic and depositional settings, or other any archaeological entity. This is the meaning of the term looting that will be used in this paper.

In Spanish legislation, looting has a broader meaning. According to Article 4 of the Ley de Patrimonio Histórico Español, or the Spanish Historical Heritage Act, looting refers to any act or omission that prevents or disrupts the social function of cultural property.¹ Since the 19th century, Spain has undergone all sorts of plundering. At the end of that century, and the beginning of the 20th, many of the objects excavated or found by chance ended up abroad. This led to strong social reactions that eventually materialised in laws governing archaeological activity that also banned the export of such goods. However, these good intentions were frustrated by the lack of interest of public authorities in preserving cultural heritage, evident in the absence of effective legal and bureaucratic systems specifically dedicated to the protection of these goods, until very recently.

The map of cultural plunder in Spain can be roughly divided into two areas. In the north, the main mode of plundering is stealing artwork, usually of a religious nature, while in the south, archaeological looting is usually related to the use of metal detection devices. Add to that underwater cultural devastation, which began in the 1960s and was perpetrated by sport divers on coastal wrecks. Today, technological developments have enabled access by remote control to mesopelagic depth. This possibility has been used by treasure-hunter companies to reach shipwrecks of the so-called Carrera de Indias and its sunken treasures. It should be noted that at least eight out of ten wrecks located in waters under Spanish jurisdiction have been wholly or partially removed.

According to the analysis of the number of complaints related to unauthorised use of metal detectors in the Guardia Civil (Civil Guard), Andalusia has been accumulating more complaints than the other regions of Spain. This picture has been corroborated by studies

1 Under this law, spoliation is understood as any action or omission placing all or any of the values of the property comprising the Spanish Historical Heritage at risk of loss or destruction, or the prevention of it from carrying out its social function (Article 4, LPHE).

carried out by the Instituto Andaluz de Patrimonio Histórico (Andalusian Historical Heritage Institute), which lists surface archaeological looting (i.e., looting carried out with the use of detectors) as the second most destructive cause of the loss of sustainability of archaeological sites.

Unlike other neighbouring countries, such as Italy, which experienced significant damage to archaeological sites and necropolises due to the use of heavy equipment, or South American and Asian countries, in which graves or works of art are stolen directly from the ruins or ancient cities, metal detectors are a key factor in the looting of archaeological sites in Spain. These detectors are not only used to locate items close to the surface, but also burial structures with metallic goods contained within, that are subsequently dug up without the use of archaeological methodology of any kind.

These devices, which are used for locating archaeological objects, were introduced into Spain by American metal-detecting enthusiasts who worked on joint-use Spanish-American military bases in Rota (Cadiz) and Morón de la Frontera (Seville). Their use soon extended to local erudite experts, seeking to develop their individual collections. Somewhat later, they were employed professionally in the search for artefacts and the extraction of grave goods destined for sale as part of the illicit trade in antiquities. Archaeologists showed little interest in them as instruments for improving archaeological work, which led to a considerable rejection of their use.

Legislation concerning historical or cultural heritage in Spain (18 in total, one general and one with specific application to each region) have regulated the use of metal detection devices to locate archaeological goods. This regulation, however, is not homogeneous throughout Spain. While some regions require prior authorisation for the use of metal detectors anywhere within the autonomous community, authorisation is only required for recorded archaeological sites in others, which leaves unknown or unrecorded sites without any protection. Additionally, these laws state that any find of archaeological value automatically belongs to the state, regardless of on whose property the item was found. Moreover, the Código Penal (Penal code) of 1995 lists a number of offenses for damaging archaeological sites, but its application is only reserved for severe damage.

With reference to the use of metal detectors, the main difference between the administrative and the criminal systems is that the former has a preventive aim. It punishes the conduct, i.e., the use of detectors without prior authorisation, without requiring the results of that conduct, i.e., the location of the archaeological object, to be disclosed. In criminal law, meanwhile, it is more the existence of a result, i.e., an archaeological site damaged by the removal of deposits without proper archaeological methodology, regardless of the choice of apparatus, e.g., a metal detector, used to locate archaeological items.

A reform of existing regulations within the Código Penal has been requested, so as to include an article criminalising archaeological looting—with no results thus far. But despite this relative lack of adaptation, the Spanish cultural administration has attempted to resolve the plundering of terrestrial and underwater archaeological heritage. The main means used to combat this threat on the archaeological heritage have been the administrative sanctions to those who have been reported for unauthorized use of detection devices, as well as police operations against looters and traffickers in illegal antiquities. This results of this move vary according to each autonomous region. While some autonomous communities have barely done anything, other regions, such as Andalusia, have achieved a wide decrease in looting—so much so that the image of the wanton detectorist searching for ancient coins in the countryside has been consigned to memory. Where underwater archaeological heritage is concerned, there has been greater cooperation between cultural authorities and the Navy in defending existing wrecks in the waters under Spanish jurisdiction on the one hand, and on the other, the legal defence of Spanish rights over state-owned ships in the courts of third countries.

The first legal response was, in all likelihood, deemed necessary to restrain the growth of archaeological plunder and the feeling of impunity among those involved in the illicit trade of artefacts; today, however, new means to deal with this issue are being explored—such as the decriminalisation of the use of detectors on beaches, as well as the incorporation of detectorists in archaeological research projects. Both policies are indeed necessary and must be complemented by educational programs that emphasise the social value of archaeological heritage, but it is still naïve to consider the fight against plundering to be truly over.

Donna YATES

*The theft of cultural property in Bolivia:
the absence of metal detectors*

It seems surprising at first that the popularity of metal detecting has not spread to much of South America. The pre-Conquest cultures of the Andes are, perhaps, best known for their metal work. Furthermore, throughout the Colonial and into the Republican periods, the region was extensively mined for a number of metals, most notably silver, and Bolivia was a centre of coin production. Despite the potential for metal detector finds, nearly no reports exist of metal detectors being used on Bolivian archaeological and historic sites.

In this piece, I will offer some reasons of why I think that illicit metal detecting is not a significant problem in Bolivia, followed by a discussion of the type of looting of metal heritage objects that the region does experience.

Why isn't detecting popular in Bolivia?

The Law

Personally, I do not think that the criminalisation of illicit removal of heritage objects from Bolivian archaeological and historic sites is what discourages people from engaging in metal detecting. However, it is worth noting that this is not a grey area in Bolivian law.

Although physically sweeping a metal detector over the ground is not illegal in Bolivia, the intentional removal of archaeological and historic objects from the ground on both private and public land is. In 1906 the Bolivian government declared itself to be the rightful owner of all archaeological material from the Inka period and before, and banned the unauthorised removal of objects from all archaeological sites (Law of 3 Oct. 1906). By 1938, national ownership of all archaeological material was added to the Constitution (BOL. CONST. 1938, art. 163). This claim of complete ownership, accompanied by the need for a Ministry of Cultures permit for all excavation, has been supported by all subsequent Bolivian heritage legislation and has been expanded to include all objects dating to before 1900.

According to Title XII, Chapter 1, Article 326 of the 2010 Bolivian Penal Code, theft from an archaeological or heritage site is considered to be 'especially serious' and incurs a prison sentence from three months to five years. Furthermore, Article 223 of the 2010 Penal Code states that the punishment for destroying, defacing, or exporting objects archaeological or historic patrimony is one to six years imprisonment.

Poverty

Despite the stiff penalties, people are willing to break the law and remove heritage objects from the ground. Bolivia has experienced a significant amount of looting at heritage sites, yet metal detector use does not seem to be a factor. I believe that the primary reason that individuals who are willing to engage in illegal digging in Bolivia do not use metal detectors is, quite simply, poverty.

According to household surveys conducted by the Political and Economic Analysis Unit (UDAPE), 5.17 million Bolivians lived in poverty in 2010, meaning that roughly 50% of the population of the country lived on less than \$2 a day. Roughly half of those in poverty live in extreme poverty. Around 65% of the rural population, a group made up almost entirely of Indigenous subsistence farmers, are considered to be in poverty and 45% of them are considered to be in extreme poverty (down from 87% and 75% respectively in 2002). The majority of archaeological sites are located in rural areas where poverty is most concentrated.

With 65% of the rural population of Bolivia earning less than \$730 a year, it is not surprising that few choose to devote an entire year's income to the purchase of a metal detector. Even a motivated individual would not reasonably be able to come up with the money needed to buy a metal detector. It is a rich man's tool.

But what about the rich?

Not everyone is poor in Bolivia: some people are really quite rich. The income divide between the rich and the poor in Bolivia is one of the widest in Latin America. If we consider metal detecting to be a hobby accessible to the few who are able to buy a metal detector, why don't we see more of an uptake of metal detecting use among Bolivia's elite?

Wealthy metal detector users in Bolivia interested in heritage objects would be required to not only willfully break the law, but would

also need to cross significant social and racial boundaries. They would need to enter into the largely indigenous areas of the country where metal-producing archaeological sites are found. They would also need to negotiate their detecting with communities and land owners who, at least stereotypically, have a profound distrust of elite Bolivians, especially elite Bolivians with an interest in their land. In a country where trespassers and thieves are regularly lynched, to nighthawk would be akin to suicide. I would imagine that a wealthy Bolivian would not think it was worth it.

Bolivian metal artefacts are looted

Despite this lack of metal detector use, the theft and trafficking of metal objects is one of the most common types of heritage looting in Bolivia. Throughout much of the 16th through 18th centuries and into the 19th century, a significant amount of the silver in global circulation came from Bolivia. Perhaps because of this local availability of silver, the churches that are scattered throughout the small communities of the Bolivian highlands are filled with silver ecclesiastical objects. These objects, although owned by the Catholic church (or, arguably, the community they are in), are considered to be the cultural patrimony of Bolivia, thus they cannot be easily sold, can never be exported, they have been catalogued by the Ministry of Culture (as per the requirements of Bolivian law) and their theft results in the stiffer penalties mentioned above. The churches themselves are usually in poor condition and are insecure due to lack of funding for security or preservation.

No metal detector is needed to locate a Bolivian church and metal ecclesiastical heritage objects are regularly stolen. At least 34 church thefts and 1 attempted church theft have occurred in Bolivia in the last five years (2008 through 2012). Many of these churches have been robbed in the past and a few were robbed multiple times during this five-year period. In almost none of these cases were the thieves apprehended by the authorities. However, in 2012 two individuals who were allegedly caught robbing one rural church were lynched.

Silverwork was the most common type of item stolen from these churches (324 items) with other metal objects (13 items), goldwork (1 item) and gilt wood (35 items) representing smaller portions of what was stolen. A preliminary survey of international sales of this type of material indicate that a portion of these items may have entered the illicit antiquities market, however there is a distinct possibility that

some of these objects, particularly larger silver pieces, have been melted down and sold as scrap silver.

It is unclear what can be done about the theft of metal heritage pieces from churches and my research into the regulatory and social issues surrounding these occurrences is at an early stage.

Closing Thoughts

It is easy to dismiss illicit and illegal metal detecting use at heritage sites as a first world problem. While that may not be a fair characterisation of this sort of archaeological site looting globally, it appears to be the reality in Bolivia at the moment.

Pieterjan DECKERS

The past, present and future of amateur archaeological metal detecting in Flanders

Archaeological metal detecting by amateurs in Flanders stands at a turning point. Earlier this year, the first steps were taken towards the approval of a new Immovable Heritage Decree that effectively lifts a 20 year-old ban on the hobby. This change of direction did not come out of the blue; rather, it is the culmination of a long, gradual shift in attitudes and policy. And neither is it an end-point, as several challenges can still be identified.

As with countries neighbouring Belgium, metal detecting was first introduced in Flanders in the 1970s. It was only in 1993, in the wake of the Valletta Convention, that the first Flemish legislation² specifically aimed at the protection of archaeological heritage was drawn up. It explicitly prohibits the use of metal detectors other than as part of licensed archaeological fieldwork by professionals (Archaeological Heritage Decree, Article 9). As far as can be ascertained, however, this difficult-to-enforce ban had little effect on metal detecting activity in the field, other than creating a rift between the hobby community and the archaeological establishment.

² Belgium is a federal state. The responsibility for heritage management is relegated to its constituent regions, e.g., Flanders.

More recently, the government's Flanders Heritage Agency adopted a more pragmatic viewpoint and instigated talks with representatives of the metal detecting community, resulting in a mutual agreement on a deontological code for metal detecting in 2006 (Ministerie van de Vlaamse Gemeenschap, Afdeling Monumenten & Landschappen, *Cel Archeologie* 2006).

Further steps towards closer cooperation were halted after a looting incident involving a number of detectorists (Archeonet Vlaanderen 2009). Nonetheless, the Flanders Heritage Agency maintained an unofficial policy of tolerance, emphasising the legal obligation to report archaeological finds (Archaeological Heritage Decree, Article 8), rather than the prohibition of metal detecting. This ambiguity has been a significant factor in the controversy following a number of exceptional metal detecting finds, and has been the subject of occasional debate in Parliament (see Deckers 2012).

It needs to be noted that agricultural land, which is often characterised by a mixed and disturbed topsoil layer, represents 62% of Flanders' unbuilt area.³ As such, the potential damage to the archaeological record from responsible metal detecting is relatively limited. Furthermore, it is clear from experience that a significant group of detector users are both well-informed on the legal and deontological ramifications of the hobby, and are primarily motivated by historical rather than financial interest. In recent years hobbyists have helped to identify eroding sites that are in need of further fieldwork (e.g., Verhoeven 2012), and have put their expertise at the disposal of archaeologists in the field, often on a voluntary basis (Ribbens 2011). However, such involvement happens mostly on an ad hoc and individual basis, and usually through personal contacts between detector users and professional archaeologists.⁴

Finds reporting on a structural basis is less frequent, however. A comparison with the English/Welsh reporting rate shows that up to 85% of finds from Flanders may currently be going unreported (see Table 1), while anecdotal evidence supports the notion that many archaeologically significant finds remain unknown (Deckers, forthcoming).

3 Based on statistics for 2011 from <http://statbel.fgov.be> and <http://lv.vlaanderen.be>.

4 Most notably the battlefield archaeology projects at Oudenaarde (Project Casus Belli) and Lafelt (Vanderbeken e.a. 2013, 55).

	England and Wales		Flanders
Arable land area (1000 ha)	5.028		224
Reported finds (E/W: arable land only)	49.568 (2007)	66.745 (2010)	Ca. 450 (2010)
Finds/year/1000ha	9,86	13,27	Ca. 2,0 (any land use)

Table 1: Comparison of reported metal detection finds in England/Wales and Flanders⁵

A lack of knowledge of the legal requirements to file a report or the channels to do so may be one reason for this discrepancy, and ill intentions another. However, the good intentions and the responsible conduct of much of the detecting community suggest that there are other reasons still. In particular, the legal grey zone results in an apprehension to report finds, as strictly speaking this implies self-incrimination even if the risk of prosecution is virtual. In addition, despite the aforementioned shifts in the attitude of the archaeological establishment towards metal detecting, there is still a degree of mutual distrust which may cause hesitation in reporting finds.

Lastly, the lack of incentive for filing reports can be lamented. Reported finds are added to the Central Archaeological Inventory maintained by the Flanders Heritage Agency (Van Daele et al. 2004). This database is not publicly accessible and usually, no other feedback is provided on reported finds. Conversely, the aforementioned studies as well as the success of larger-scale structural approaches abroad⁶ demonstrate how active outreach is crucial to engaging the detecting community and producing information.

As for the impact of lifting the ban, the legislative framework for heritage management in Flanders will change significantly in the near future. On 3 July 2013, the Flemish Parliament approved the new Immovable Heritage Decree, which is expected to come into force by the start of 2015. Details on the implementation are as yet unavailable,

⁵ Data derived from the Department for Environment, Food and Rural Affairs (www.defra.gov.uk), the Welsh Government (<http://wales.gov.uk/docs/statistics/2011/110622was09ch1ency.xls>), Studiedienst van de Vlaamse Regering (http://www4.vlaanderen.be/sites/svr/Cijfers/Exceltabellen/landbouw/areaal/landbouwa_reaal.xls), PAS Annual Reports (Lewis 2009: 278; 2011: 25, 27), and unpublished information courtesy of CAI.

⁶ Notably in England/Wales (Portable Antiquities Scheme) and Denmark (Axboe 1994; Henriksen 2006).

but the new decree envisions the establishment of a scheme of metal detecting licenses (Vlaamse Regering 2013, Article 3.6.1).

In some ways this new decree represents a sea change—it lifts the metal detecting hobby from clandestinity and resolves the grey zone which formed one of the obstacles for an effective exchange of information. Furthermore, it offers an incentive for responsible detecting and finds reporting, as these would be the main requirements for periodic extension of the license. The prospect of practising the hobby in a law-abiding way will undoubtedly attract many detectorists. However, it remains to be seen to what extent the raise of the maximum fine from €7.500 to €300.000 (Article 11.2.6) will be an effective deterrent against unlicensed and irresponsible detecting, given the practical difficulties in closely monitoring the activities of detector users—quite literally—in the field.

Other challenges lie ahead as well. In Flanders, metal-detected objects are by definition intentional (as opposed to accidental) finds, and therefore the rightful property of the landowner, not the finder (Burgerlijk Wetboek, Article 552). Typically, detector users have at best an oral agreement with the landowner on whose property they search, and the latter is often unaware of the exact nature of the finds collected on his land. This is no new issue, but once such finds become licit the problem of ownership will be cast in a sharper light.

Furthermore, there are the often substantial collections of archaeological objects collected over the years by many detector enthusiasts. The illicit nature—strictly speaking—of many of these finds and the conditions in which they are stored are valid concerns, but also the fact that the first generation of detector users, who have been involved in the hobby for up to 40 years, are reaching old age. Their collections and any associated information, such as finds locations, therefore become vulnerable to dispersal and loss.

Lastly, Flanders is small and occupies a central position in Western Europe. With its rich archaeological heritage, including remains from both World Wars, it is an attractive region for detector users from neighbouring countries as well as Eastern Europe.⁷ How will policy makers address the loss of information, or worse, the damage to the

⁷ Based on an as yet unpublished survey amongst the Flemish metal detecting community by the author.

archaeological record their activities cause? Perhaps an international approach is needed to monitor the cross-border flow of metal-detected finds, whether or not many of these are objects of little financial value collected by good-intentioned, responsible hobbyists.

Once it comes into force, the new Immovable Heritage Decree will be an important step towards a more consistent and pragmatic metal detecting policy in Flanders. However, it will form neither a watershed change for the practice of the hobby, nor a conclusive solution for the problems that arise from it. The most important benchmark test for the Decree, as far as metal detecting policy is concerned, will be the following question: does it result in an increased flow of qualitative data that will help us better protect and understand our archaeological heritage? The proof of the pudding is in the eating, but in the author's opinion it is unlikely that the license scheme in and of itself will be sufficient for this purpose. Continuous dialogue with the metal-detecting community, preferably on a structural basis, will have to become a crucial element of an effective heritage management policy.

Acknowledgements

I wish to express my gratitude to Dr Suzie Thomas for proofreading this text.

Henry TANTALEÁN

*Detectors and Sondas:
Brief comments on Huaqueo or plundering in Peru*

When my colleague Jaime Almansa requested that I write something related to detectors of archaeological pieces, I did not consider it to be too daunting a task—after all, as someone who has seen people on Spanish Mediterranean beach using these devices, or who has visited the necropolis of the Bronze Age in Andalusia and witnessed the spoliation very likely caused by these same instruments, I was

familiar with the subject matter. Upon returning to my home country of Peru, however, I was struck by how different everything had become. And although one would think that this would have something to do with Peru not enjoying the same levels of technology transfer of a 'developed' country, it is a fact that developing countries are the main importers of technology (both good and bad). The truth is, however, that the case of Peru is not too far removed from that of other countries that still contain artefacts to plunder.

What I observed in Spain is that the use of detectors only 'appeared' to be a weekend hobby; but a little scratching beneath the surface revealed that detectors were not so much used to find coins or rings on the beach, but more to systematically plunder archaeological resources, which pays off enough to allow the perpetrators to call this plundering 'work.' Beyond fetishists, it is an undeniable fact that there is a looting market that has—to paraphrase Gramsci—no nationalities. For example, there was the recent case of archaeological objects from the Paracas Society (800-1 BC, a society that I am researching) being sold by an auction house, like any other common art object.

This is made worse by the controversial debate—sometimes involving fellow archaeologists, but mostly involving those from outside the collective—who point the finger at archaeology itself as the cause of spoliation. To *huaquero* or regular looters, the last part of the 'operational chain' of spoliation is symbolised by the advocates of archaeological heritage. Others, who are more involved behind the scenes, recognise the existence of a market for antiquities for collectors and auction houses. Others still apportion blame to diplomatic relations between countries, in terms of unfulfilled treaties.

As an archaeologist, one develops a working ethic that is continually instilled over time. But this ethic is an abstraction; in the real, capitalist world, however, things work a little differently. In a world where everything can be bought and sold, artefacts are often treated as just another commodity. It is therefore very important to keep track of the means by which looting occurs—especially the tools that are used, such as detectors, or the *sonda*, a long metal bar that allows *huaqueros* to poke at the earth and discover tombs—to see if any actions can be taken to alleviate the situation.

In the case of *huaqueros* in Peru, it must be explained that *huaquear* refers to the removal of parts, especially ceramic vessels (*huacos*) and metallic objects from archaeological sites (*huacas*). This practice has been historically documented, and dates back to the arrival of the Spaniards in the 16th century, and possibly even further. *Huaqueros* were even required to pay taxes for their finds during colonial times. Obviously, a lot has changed today, not only in terms of looting no longer being considered illegal, but also in terms of the *huaqueros* working the Peruvian coast no longer being seen as romantic figures. As Peru grew into an independent republic, and when the idea of a cultural heritage began to exist, the romantic *huaqueros* lost their aura, and started being tracked down by the state. This is because the evolution of Peru's cultural heritage also brought with it a series of laws to put a halt to the plunder—both the looting and the sale of archaeological artefacts—based on certain precepts drawn from more developed countries.

But as an archaeologist who travels throughout Peru and sees the reality up close, one thing worth noting here is that regardless of ethics and legality, spoliation and plundering still exist. There are a number of reasons for this. First is the lack of a relationship between subjects, namely the identity of the *huaqueros* and the archaeological objects that they plunder. What this implies is that the cultural heritage project is not working. One solution for this problem is providing the general public with information on digs and archaeological artefacts. This value is, of course, limited, since it is rendered an abstraction for most. But it works nevertheless—workplaces with high instances of looting have been quick to address the situation: by opening up workplaces to the public, since nobody 'eats' cultural heritage. Of course, images such as the villagers of Sipán talking to the archaeologist Walter Alva and being surrounded by policemen is rarely replicated, and have now been replaced with general visits to sites designated by the Peruvian government, which along with the criminalisation of the activity, has reduced the looting as a whole.

But as is often the case, police measures have failed to materialise as actual penalties. And so, spoliation becomes something that everyone has to live with every day—especially independent archaeologists and researchers, who end up becoming the last barrier between predators

and the institutions that defend cultural heritage. Given my experience with the Peruvian state (in the former National Institute of Culture, or the present-day Ministry of Culture), it is frustrating to see sites continue to be destroyed, despite the existence of a legal 'apparatus'. Although it cannot be denied that a handful of looters do get penalised by the state, more steps should be taken to empower local communities to ensure that spoliation does not increase, and that our shared cultural heritage is protected.

Again, I believe that the distribution of information that archaeologists carry out, either directly or indirectly, is the only realistic way out of this situation. Moreover, archaeologists and cultural resource managers in Peru need to take into account the actual needs of the communities and people directly linked to the sites—as opposed to the more disrespectful method of academically theorising their needs. Over time, hopefully, communities will play an active role in the maintenance and reproduction of archaeological sites and objects, and integrate it into their world. This will ensure that spoliation is kept to a minimum.

Since looting and collecting have always existed, it is safe to assume that they will continue to do so. What is necessary is to keep the levels sustainable, so that a people's historical memory is not completely extinguished. If the current levels of spoliation in Peru are not kept in check or controlled soon, the *huaqueros* will only grow in sophistication. For the sake of archaeological sites and objects that, after all, are a big part of the historical memory of a people, I hope not to see people with metal detectors in the near or distant future in Peru. What I do hope is that this future will also see looter's detectors and probes as archaeological objects displayed in museums.

Ingrid ULST

*Combating Illicit metal detecting in Estonia***Introduction**

Estonian archaeological sites have faced several cases of looting in recent years. Only a limited number of these cases have ended with legal proceedings, and yet their solutions have not been helpful from the perspective of the protection of archaeological sites. This allows concluding that laws and state authorities were at some point unsuccessful. Next to the legal side, it is important to consider ethical, social and economic aspects. The self-justification and effrontery of looters have been occasionally deepened by the false images created in media. Thus, the general public does not often perceive the actual contents and legal boundaries of the activity of looters. All this facilitates looting and makes it more difficult to apply laws efficiently. On the basis of 4 case studies, this paper addresses the major problems of the protection of archaeological heritage in Estonia with regard to legal regulation, ethical conflicts and economic interests.

1. Regulatory Tools

The protection of archaeological finds in Estonia is regulated by the Heritage Protection Act (HPA)⁸. Any excavation work on immovable monuments and in heritage conservation areas is prohibited without the permission of the National Heritage Board (NHB)⁹. The finder of an archaeological object is required to preserve the place of the finding in an unaltered condition and to notify the NHB or the municipality promptly of the finding¹⁰. When it comes to legal sanctions with regard to the unlicensed use of metal detectors and the destruction of sites, intentional acts are punishable and the sanctions vary between misdemeanors and criminal offences¹¹. The liability is stipulated both in the Penal Code¹² and in the HPA.

8 "Muinsuskaitseadus", signed 27 February 2002, Riigi Teataja (RT) I (2002) No. 27, 153; (2011) 21.03.2011, No. 4 (in Estonian) (hereinafter "Heritage Protection Act").

9 Art 24 (1) 11 and Art 25 (2), Heritage Protection Act.

10 Art 32, Heritage Protection Act.

11 Classifying an act as misdemeanor or criminal offence depends on the punishment provided in law. In case an act is punishable by a fine (measured in fine units) or detention (up to 30 days), it is qualified as misdemeanour. In case an act is punishable by pecuniary punishment (measured in daily rates) or imprisonment (more than 30 days), it is qualified as criminal offence.

12 "Karistusseadustik", signed 6 June 2001, Riigi Teataja (RT) I (2001) No. 61, 364; (2011) 29.12.2011 No. 1 (in Estonian) (hereinafter "Penal Code").

Metal detecting is prohibited on registered monuments unless justified by the methodological purpose of official archaeological fieldwork. In addition to these rules, which have been in effect for quite some time, the HPA was supplemented in 2011 by new provisions regarding the use of detectors on unprotected sites.¹³ Respectively, the use of a search device in searching an item of cultural value outside the areas of registered monuments requires a license. In order to apply for the license, the applicant must be at least 18 years old and must have completed his/her education in archaeology or a respective training.¹⁴

A find of cultural value is considered an ownerless object which belongs to the state regardless of whose property it was found on. The finder of an object of cultural value is entitled to receive a fee up to the full value of the object.¹⁵ The fee is based on the natural, historical, archaeological, scientific, art or other cultural value of the object, as well as the circumstances of finding and handing over of the object. The size of the fee shall be determined by the NHB.

2. Major Cases of Illicit Detecting

Illicit excavations and trade are the major challenges for heritage protection in Estonia. Additionally, it is important to view such issues as problems with administrative capacity and control mechanisms, low public awareness and initiative. To illustrate these challenges, let us briefly look at the lootings of the hoards of Lauritsamäe, Keila, Ubina and Vaivara.

The case of the Lauritsamäe hoard serves as a good example of the lack of administrative capacity in heritage protection in Estonia. Although it dates back to 2004¹⁶ and despite the fact that the situation has somewhat improved since then, administrative capacity remains an issue. The case goes as such: Three persons were suspected of having excavated 10 coins dating from the first half of the 14th century until the first half of the 18th century, having cleaned and separated them from the hoard. The location of the coins was unknown. The NHB claimed that their removal supposedly damaged the site and the

¹³ The provisions regarding the use of metal detectors in Estonia became effective on 1 June 2011.

¹⁴ Art 30¹ (1) and (4), Heritage Protection Act.

¹⁵ Art 33 (1), Heritage Protection Act.

¹⁶ The case was eventually solved in Harju County Court only in the beginning of 2007. The court ruled for the persons subject to proceedings on the basis of expiration because the misdemeanor had been committed more than 2 years before the day of making the court decision.

completeness of the complex.¹⁷ The looters successfully contested the misdemeanor proceedings of the NHB in court, basing themselves on the lack of evidence and the violation of procedural rules by the NHB. With regard to the latter, their key points were the application of expiration and reference to the different treatment of persons who had supposedly committed the same misdemeanor together.

Although my personal view is clearly against looting, these problems cannot be disregarded and in this respect the looters did make a point. In the course of handling the case, the NHB had annulled the proceeding against one of the looters. Different treatment of persons that participate in the same misdemeanor contradicts the principle of uniform application of law¹⁸. This indicates that the understanding of its role as the processor of misdemeanors on the part of the NHB is very important in combating illicit detecting.

The case of the Keila hoard brought the issue of finding fees into the agenda. The case dates back to 2004, when 446 silver coins from the 14th century were excavated by the same persons responsible for the looting of the Lauritsamäe hoard. The coins were removed, cleaned and taken to the Estonian History Museum only some three weeks later. Although the looters had committed a breach of law, they applied for a finding fee. At the first stage, the NHB decided not to pay the fee because the excavation and removal of coins had been unlawful according to the provisions of Art 32 of the HPA¹⁹. However, the looters brought an action to court and the NHB surprisingly made another decision: to pay the looters a finding fee. This completely surprising change of positions ended the proceedings in court and enabled the treasure hunters once again to get away with an advantageous solution, also reflecting the challenge to set finding fees.

According to the HPA effective at the time of the proceedings, the size of the finding fee was ½ of the value of a find. The value is usually determined by the respective expert opinion. In addition to antiquity

17 The regulation of prohibitions with regard to the destruction of sites and removal of found archaeological objects was contained in Art 30 (2) and Art 32 (1) and (2) of the HPA. See also Harju County Court decision of 31 January 2007 in misdemeanor case 4-06-407 (in Estonian).

18 This principle assumes a thorough analysis of court practice and should also apply in misdemeanor proceedings, provided that the earlier application of law in similar situations has been carried out without major errors.

19 According to Art 32 of the HPA the finder is required to preserve the place of the finding in an unaltered condition and immediately notify of it. A found thing, if removed from the place where it was found, must not be damaged by cleaning, refurbishing, breaking or in any other manner, or by severing parts from the whole.

value, the treatment of a find by its finder is also taken into account. This means that the more complete the find and the more accurate the information about its context, the higher the value of the hoard and the fee (Kiudsoo 2008). Although the value of the coins of the Keila hoard was initially evaluated by one of the leading Estonian numismatists to amount to 96,000 kroons, the NHB decided to pay a fee of 53,400 kroons, arguing that according to auction prices the total value of the hoard could be even some 300,000 kroons. Moreover, two of the coins were very rare because there are only two such exemplars in the world (Kärmas 2005). The law clearly defined the basis for a finding fee, but it was possible to contest the determination of the value on which the size of the fee depends (Pärna 2004).

I believe that it is important to take into account the fact that the fee is designed to be an incentive for an honest finder. On the other hand, it should not be too big in order to avoid the hunting of treasures becoming a separate source of income. The case of the Keila hoard is particularly cynical because, eventually, the looters considered the fee appointed to be paid to them by the NHB too small, indicating that it would not even cover their direct costs of searching (Eesti Ekspress 2005).

Another major problem with the Keila hoard is that the NHB excluded potential misdemeanor proceedings by its decision to pay a finding fee to the looters and thereby accepted the lawfulness of the find. It would have been possible to objectively prove the violation of legal provisions which prohibit the excavation and removal of a find. Even the fact that the coins were handed over some weeks later would not have excused the violation because the find was in any case removed without the permission and three weeks is not a reasonable period for 'immediate' notification. In this light, a problem with media involvement should be mentioned. The looters ensured adequate media coverage, blaming the NHB for intentionally seeking to avoid the payment of finding fees (Kärmas 2005). Yet, archaeologists were given only limited possibilities to comment on the case and draw attention to the breach of law. Although from the legal perspective the looters committed the violation of the HPA, the focus of the case was shifted to finding fees and no sanctions were eventually applied.

The third case is that of the Ubina hoard, dating back to the spring of 2005 when archaeological excavations took place in the historical settlement of Ubina. The excavations resulted in finding a silver hoard in the remains of a Viking Age building, which contained 277 coins, 5

silver adornments, 4 silver lumps, and 5 silver plates.²⁰ Since the find was a very rare silver hoard both in the Estonian and in the European context, the archaeologists kept information about the site a secret from the first day.²¹ Nevertheless, a number of black holes were discovered on the same site just one day after the start of official excavations, which indicated possible attempt of looting. After the incident, excavations continued under surveillance and were completed by the summer.

Later, the scientists of the Estonian History Museum received information from their German colleagues²² that some coins assumingly related to this hoard were to be sold at the coin auction of Dortmund. It was thanks to the German police that 42 out of 108 coins were confiscated from the auction. Their estimated value was 8,175 euros (Pöld 2008). Criminal proceedings were promptly initiated against the Estonian citizen who had arranged the auctioning of the coins. He was charged with destruction of a monument and theft of objects of great scientific, cultural or historical significance belonging to the Republic of Estonia.

This case, which ended in a final binding decision of the Supreme Court, is the first significant piece of positive case law in heritage protection in Estonia. Although there was no direct linkage of the accused person to looting²³, he was found guilty of destruction of the site and embezzlement according to Art 204 (1) and Art 201 (2) 4 of the Penal Code, based on indirect evidence. The case of the Ubina hoard is a good example of a successful fight against looting and cooperation between heritage protection and justice, but it also indicates that heritage protection seems to be more efficient in case of criminal proceedings (and related professional prosecutors involved) rather than simple misdemeanor proceedings on the part of the NHB.

Last but not least, a recent important case is that of the Vaivara hoard. The case dates back to the spring of 2009 and is an example of challenges for heritage protection as far as cross-border issues are concerned. Through his web page (<http://metaldetectingworld.com>), a Russian man originating from Estonia but living in the USA invited

20 It was a very unique find, as there are only 7 such finds known in the whole world. Moreover, 4 of these treasures have been found in Harju County, 1 in Viru County and only 2 outside of Estonia (see Tamla et al. 2006).

21 Application of the National Heritage Board of 7 July 2005 for the commencement of criminal proceedings.

22 Such information exchange is usual when important items originating from the Baltics or Scandinavia are to be auctioned in Germany.

23 The accused person was reached through the confiscation of coins and he was not caught in direct action of looting.

detector users to go to the Eastern part of Estonia where one can discover many interesting heritage sites. As an example, he uploaded to the page a story and numerous photos of his own recent discovery. The map on the web page indicates that he had excavated close to the location of the destroyed Vaivara parish church in East Estonia (county on the border with Russia). He had found and removed a hoard consisting of 2700 Russian coins and an icon dating to the period of the Livonian war back in the mid-16th century. Criminal proceedings were initiated in 2010 and are still in progress. However, the page was still active at the moment of publication of this paper.

In spite of the ongoing criminal proceedings and the fact that the potential looter's web page contains many photos in which he is clearly identifiable with a detector and coins in his hands, there are problems concerning this case. First, it is not certain whether such excavation actually took place, and even if it did, whether all the coins shown in the photos originate from that location. Moreover, the looter is allegedly a foreign (non-EU) resident, which makes it difficult to hold him responsible. Even if the police investigation identifies the person behind the web page, it would be practically complicated to initiate and carry out successful and timely proceedings against him. There are, of course, legal means (including extradition) but their practical implementation is complex and time-consuming. As archaeological heritage has always been and will continue to be subject to cross-border interest, this case serves as a good example of such challenges for heritage protection.

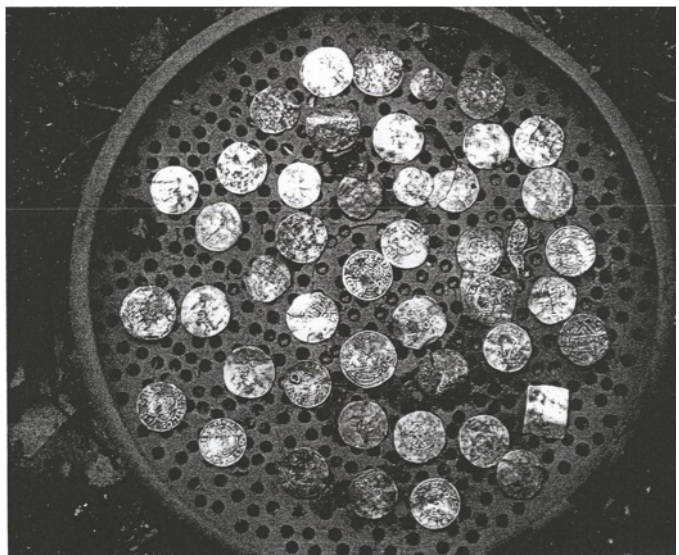
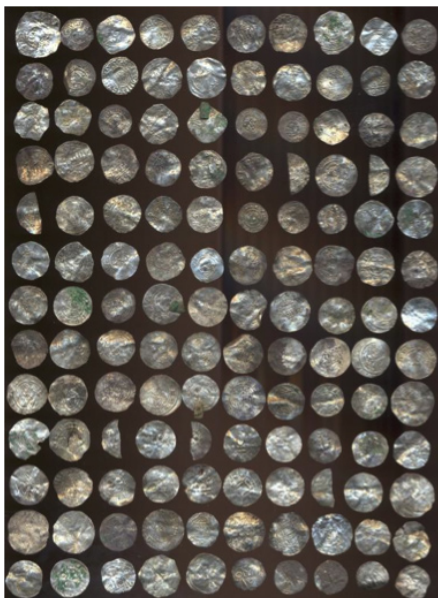
Conclusion

The major cases of illicit detecting in Estonia allow drawing the following conclusions. Firstly, Estonian laws are in accordance with international principles, but it is necessary to increase the applied administrative capacity. There are three important factors in order to ensure the consistency of cases and set the common principles which are to be followed throughout the processing of cases: the full understanding of the role of the NHB as an extrajudicial processor, proper intra-board cooperation and enhanced competence with regard to punishment regulation on the part of the NHB. Moreover, one would expect more active involvement from local governments in dealing with the situation in their territories. Secondly, the case of the Keila hoard points out the problem with media intervention: the focus of the case

was shifted from the actual violation to the issue of finding fees. On the other hand, the use of the advantages of mass media and the raising of public awareness could also contribute to the enhanced protection of archaeological heritage in Estonia. Better knowledge would help people differentiate between official archaeologists and treasure hunters and boldly react in case of doubt. When it comes to the economic aspect of 'black archaeology', the size of finding fees is an issue: it should not decrease the finder's motivation to hand over the find but at the same time it should not intensify the treasure hunt as a separate source of income either. Current regulation is practical enough, but to avoid debates it would be reasonable to specify the methods for determining the value of a find. Finally, it can be concluded that heritage protection seems to be more efficient in case of criminal proceedings rather than simple misdemeanor proceedings.

Annexes

1. The Ubina Hoard



2. The looter of the Ubina Hoard covering his face at court session.



3. Photos in relation to the Vaivara Hoard (from metaldetectingworld.com)



Pedro Francisco SÁNCHEZ NAVA

The looting of the past: Mexico's case

It is necessary to initiate this reflection by emphasizing that the plundering of archaeological sites has its origins in the collecting phenomenon, a pastime which is inherent to humankind, even if the urge to stockpile all types of objects has various motivations and a wide range of aims. It is highly possible that this custom dates back to the prehistoric times and originates from primitive propitiatory rituals where the Shaman used objects which belonged to the category of fetish and allowed him to bind himself in a harmonious way to the already existing hostile environment.

For archaeologists it is not strange to find in explored contexts, in particular the funerary ones, collections of objects originating from cultures that do not pertain to the one being studied, in terms of both space and time. Collecting relics was not an unknown practice for the great ancient empires and were maintained by the colonial powers, especially the European ones, until the past century.

This phenomenon appeared in America since the Spanish conquest of the countries we now know as Mexico and Peru, when the plundering of cultural goods started. Most of these goods are now exhibited in great museums worldwide. The practice of 'gathering' these goods, which involves illegal methods, has manifold consequences such as the looting of archaeological sites, the destruction of contexts and scientific information, illegal buying and selling of pieces and their trafficking, frauds, punitive actions, and even suicides. One could argue that the display of these objects in museums that show the way of life in ancient foreign cultures could represent extenuating circumstances. This would make no sense, since nowadays there is the possibility of having temporary exhibitions of collections borrowed from other museums on a regular basis.

Nevertheless, I believe that, at present, the majority of cases of collecting has to do with the desire of owning, in some occasions illegally, what is considered to be exotic, unique and unrepeatable, which gives value to an object that a man cannot have and entails a personal enjoyment, without reflecting upon the damage that such actions can cause not only to the heritage and historical memory of the damaged country but also to scientific knowledge, a damage equivalent to destroying the pages of a book not fully read so as to keep for

oneself a 'beautiful' painting that illustrates the text (Sánchez Nava and López Wario 2012: 32-35).

This way of collecting has originated from the essence of the constitutional legacy of nations whose culture is a product and becomes a commodity waiting to be purchased by the highest bidder.

In Mexico, the archaeological remains, both furniture and buildings, are considered by the National Property Law Ministry to be inalienable and indefeasible (INAH 1972: 5). This feature has its origin in various legislations; some even have a New Spanish origin. The need to consolidate Mexico as an independent nation after its emancipation from Spain in the first third of the 19th century implied looking for common identity references that would support the legacy of the pre-Hispanic culture, which was developed more than three thousand years ago in what we nowadays know as Mexico.

Another aspect that should be part of the analysis in hand is the archaeological wealth that defines the Mexican territory. This is reflected in the number of archaeological sites registered in the Public Monuments and Archaeological, Historic and Paleontology Zones Register that has reached up to 48,724 (Technical File of DRPMZAH), and includes all types of archaeological remains: sites with graphic cave paintings, workshops of lithic tools, accumulations of shells, immerse heritage, hunter/collector camps, and of course great major cities such as Teotihuacán, Chichén Itzá, Monte Albán or El Tajín, the extents of which can reach up to 2000 or more hectares. In these cities, there are thousands of buildings, most of which lie beneath the contemporary rural settlements that generally have a precarious economy.

It is within this context that the analysis of and reflection on the alteration and looting of archaeological sites should be understood. Remains are mostly affected by changes in the uses of the ground: farming practices and infrastructure development (e.g., roads, reservoirs, urban and tourist centers, gas pipelines, mines, and hydrocarbon deposit explorations among others) are activities during which archaeological remains appear, such as pottery and lithic pieces, bone remains, metal tools, and other furniture objects. From my experience of more than 30 years as an archaeologist and being an expert in the Federal Tax and Administration Court, I consider that, although present in Mexico, the professional or systematic plundering of archaeological remains is not the main problem that the authorities in charge of their protection have to face.

As already mentioned, archaeological heritage is mainly affected by agricultural practice and infrastructure development. In the first case, it is common for farmers to keep the pieces they find while preparing the land, and, if the opportunity arises, to sell them to tourists or local collectors, earning money worth several days of work.

With regards to the impact of infrastructure constructions on archaeological heritage, it is important to note that the most significant sites go through an archaeological feasibility verdict and, if the verdict is positive, an archaeological investigation is implemented for the systematic recovery of the archaeological information at risk. Nevertheless, it is clear that in many infrastructure constructions which are not reported, either by omission or because they are minor works, it is usual to find archaeological objects, the destination of which is an office or a constructor's display cabinet. But even in these cases, selling remains is not very significant, since there is always a resource to register and conserve the pieces in custody (INAH 1972: 14).

Last but not least, we have the field of professional plundering, carried out by a group of people dedicated to the looting of pieces that form part of the black market of cultural goods. Part of these gangs are labour workers who were at some point hired as auxiliaries to assist in an archaeological project and thus know the exact location of funerary deposits or building offerings. That is why we have not found any evidence of specific use of remote sensing equipment such as georadars or metal detectors. On the one hand, the abnormality reflected in the graphics obtained should be interpreted by technicians, which means that specialized knowledge is required. On the other hand, we should bear in mind that in Central America the use of metals was restricted especially in the west region of this great cultural area. Thus, the looting of objects such as stelas (commemorative monuments) or altars implies a major effort. The cases that have been documented show that looting usually takes place in the southeast of the country (Mayan Area) and in regions at the borders with Guatemala and Belice, where the circumstances facilitate the illegal traffic of goods. Another region subject to looting is the west of Mexico, famous for the 'tumbas de tiro' (shaft tombs) where one can find pottery pieces offered to the inhumated body, and thus being in an exceptional conservation state. In these cases, the knowledge that farmers have of their surroundings is more relevant than the use of sophisticated equipment.

It is worth pointing out that, in spite of the business that this despicable practice represents for the great auction houses, there are

actions that have helped to inhibit this looting of the past, such as the public registration of archaeological goods, campaigns so that the communities accept responsibility for their heritage and contribute to its preservation, poll tax for the customs agents in the cultural goods identification, international agreements to prevent the trafficking and sale of such objects, as well as broadcasting the implications that collecting has for scientific information and the heritage damage that lingers on the history of the affected towns. There is a lot to be done before we manage to put an end to this crime, but the above mentioned actions are being undertaken with this aim in mind.

Sergiu MUSTEAȚĂ

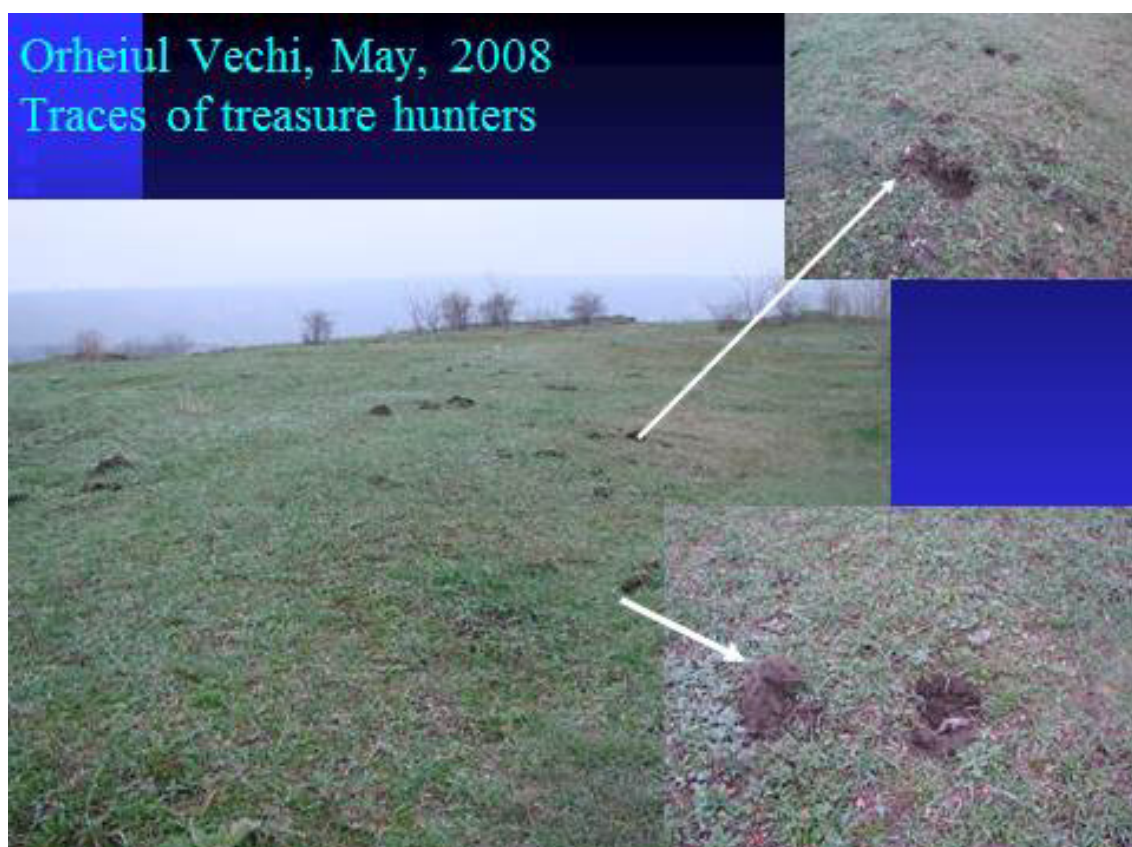
Metal detecting and treasure hunters in Moldova

Illegal or black archaeology is common for most countries; however, it is highly developed in the poor ones. The Republic of Moldova is not an exception of these practices (Musteață 2009). Modern methods and tools are largely used in modern archaeology, but this does not mean that the state is freed from its function of control. The European Convention pays special attention to the way in which metal and other types of detectors (ultra-sound and radar machines) are used in archaeological research and requires prior authorization according to the national laws (Valletta 1992: Article 3, iii). This obligation relates to the domestic law, but is also based on the need to establish some control over individuals and the way in which such equipment is used, and is meant to prevent vandalism.

Until 2011 the Moldovan Legislation did not include provisions regarding the use of metal detectors, but the Law on archaeological heritage preservation includes, since 2010, provisions previously missing from the legislation, such as the prohibition of unauthorized use of metal detectors and other remote sensing equipment in areas with archaeological heritage and of the trade and unauthorized possession of illegal metal detectors and other remote sensing equipment (Law 2010, art. 5(18), art. 47 (b, c); Musteață 2012).

This is extremely important for Moldova as, in recent years, there have been dozens of cases of unauthorized persons (treasure hunters) that have used metal detectors illegally for the purpose of discovering archaeological objects, especially coins at Orheiul Vechi, Costești, etc.

More than 20.000 coins and metal goods from Costești, dating from the Golden Hoard period (Picture 1), have been illegally excavated and sold on the black market (Gilan 2009: 111). These activities violate different laws and codes (Law of Property, Criminal Code, etc.). Nevertheless, the local and central authorities have made no attempt towards stopping or at least preventing such acts of barbarism. In this context, there is a vital need to ensure a regulated use of such equipment by law and a vigorous control and sanctions against law violators. It is true that the use of metal detectors officially and in accordance with the research methodology makes the job of archaeologists more effective; this should, however, be done within the legal framework.



Picture 1

Although in the case of archaeological sites and all other monuments the law does not allow the use of metal detectors without written permission (authorization) from the Ministry of Culture, the reality is completely different. In recent years, one can see treasure hunters with metal detectors more and more often and in more historical places on the territory of the Republic of Moldova. I personally have witnessed

at least two cases of illegal use of metal detectors. The first happened in broad daylight on September 8th, 2007, when an international (Moldo-Italian) team was looking for cultural goods in the center of the Medieval Citadel *Orheiul Vechi* without any permission (Picture 2). The second case took place on September 21st, 2009, at 7.30 a.m., when a person with a metal detector undertook searches in the area of Sântana de Mureș, Černjahov Culture (Picture 1), which was guarded by a policeman across Chișinău-Orhei motorway (Picture 3). It is true to affirm that, instead of being stopped by the police, the amateurs of illegal archaeology are protected by the employees of the Ministry of Internal Affairs. This situation speaks for itself: there is urgency for the Government of the Republic of Moldova to take steps to prohibit unauthorized use of metal detectors and to ensure the application of penal regulations provided for the case of damage and destruction of historical and cultural monuments.



Picture 2



Picture 3

In the flight magazine *Open Skies* (Air Moldova 2009: 64-66), I was 'impressed' to read that one of the biggest private collectors of cultural goods from Moldova, P. Costin, vice-director of the Chisinau Customs Service, had a dream in the night of New Year that he discovered a treasure of antique battle axes in a precise and well-known place. The next morning he reached the place from his dream and began to excavate, and was very surprised to see that his dream became reality as it indicated the existence of the treasury with great precision. Only after he had finished excavating did P. Costin inform the specialists from the National History Museum. Let's just imagine what would happen if everyone who has such 'dreams' would try to excavate! Everybody should know the law, first of all private collectors. The state bodies have to pay more attention to such cases.

We do not have any official data concerning the number of metal detector owners in Moldova. But a publication from 2009 reveals that in the Republic of Moldova there are about **1500 owners of metal detectors**. The most popular metal detector model is Garret Ace 250,

commonly called by hunters "Asja", which costs about 250 euro (Gilan 2009: 109, 111). In the same article, it is mentioned that hunters are specialized in different periods and goods, such as from Gets, Dacians, Sarmathians, Roman period, Golden Hoard sites, with the most popular sites being those from the 19th century and battle places from World War II (Gilan 2009: 110). Before doing any excavations, some hunters study the related archival documents, chronicles and maps. In October 2012 I discussed with a person from Soroca, a town in the northern part of Moldova, who mentioned that there are many people in that region who use metal detectors to hunt archaeological goods. He showed me many stolen artifacts from ancient sites – Greek and Roman coins, fibulas, earrings, etc.

As we can see, illegal archaeology is very well-organized and works in close partnerships with 'colleagues' from other countries, such as Ukraine, Russia, etc. On the Moldovan Treasure Hunters website you could see the links of the 'partners' Kladoiskatel' – Ukraine www.detector.kiev.ua or <http://forum.violity.kiev.ua/index.php>. Russia - <http://www.reviewdetector.ru/> Moldova - <http://metaldetectormd.blogspot.com/> (last access 08.04.2013). Only in 2002, more than 20 treasure hunters organizations from Russia, Ukraine and the Baltic States organized an international meeting (Diskussii 2002, 72). Moreover, during the last decade the number of such organizations has increased. So, illegal archaeology became not just a national, but an international denouncement of cultural heritage. Consequently, state bodies should take urgent measures to fight this phenomenon.

Conclusions

Even if the actual legislation concerning archaeological heritage preservation in the Republic of Moldova prohibits the use of metal detectors, the problem of black archaeology is far from being solved. The phenomenon of illegal excavation and antiquities looting is flourishing. Actions with a positive impact might be the monitoring of archaeological heritage by state bodies, regulation of the sale of metal detectors, registration of detector owners, authorized use of detectors in restricted areas, excluding archaeological sites and historical monuments, etc. This kind of regulation could be compared to the one regarding weapon owners, who cannot use their guns except for hunting during specific periods of the year and only according to permits that clearly state the place, species and number of birds or

animals to be hunted. At the same time, it is necessary to organize public awareness raising campaigns that will emphasize the importance of protecting archaeological heritage and the danger it faces if illegal archaeology is to be tolerated. Maybe the Romanian case could be an example of monitoring the sale, ownership and use of metal detectors. Romanian legislation prohibits the use of metal detectors before their registration. Each county police office has to register and monitor metal detector owners. We could illustrate the situation giving an example from Constanța County, one of the richest archaeological areas. During 2004-2010 36 detectors were registered, but after that the number of owners increased annually: 2011 – 22; 2012 – 33; and only during the first 3 months of 2013 – 10 (Dobre 2013).

The state institutions have to be very careful in monitoring and fighting the illegal activities against archaeological heritage, because the hunters are very flexible and very well informed. For example, after the entrance into force of the Law on preservation of archaeological heritage in Moldova in March 2011, the hunters' web page <http://www.kladoiskateli.md/> was closed and a new one was launched: www.oldstory.info. In the two years following the adoption of the Moldovan Law on archaeological heritage preservation, the Government did not establish any control or registration of metal detectors.

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Ignacio RODRÍGUEZ TEMIÑO

Metal detectors and beyond: Some final considerations

1. Archaeological heritage is a finite resource that suffers a problem called the 'tragedy of commons', that is, the depletion of a shared resource by individuals, acting independently and rationally according to their own self-interest, despite their understanding that said depletion is contrary to the group's long-term best interests. Between the many threats besetting the archaeological heritage, looting has a special significance, because the archaeological plunder only benefits a few.
2. It must be reiterated that looting, in effect, represents not only a bleeding of goods with public interest into private hands that is unacceptable within many legal frameworks, but the merciless and planned devastation of the archaeological wealth of a country in order to bolster the illicit antiquities market, all for the benefit of a mere few individuals.
3. Archaeological looting is a global complex phenomenon, but its full-scale impacts are the same everywhere: the loss of archaeological items and associated historical information as a result of the plundering of archaeological sites, including wrecks and other kind of underwater historical remains. The chain of looting begins with plunderers, and ends with the laundering of smuggled objects for entry into the international antiquities market.
4. The reasons for plundering, and even the very concept of archaeological looting, vary depending on where it takes place, given the differing contexts of poverty, war, ignorance, lack of identification with the past, and, of course, economic profit. On the other hand, however, only aims of economic gain and prestige motivate dealers, auctions houses, private collectors and cultural institutions, all of whom are very aware of the damage they cause. Some authors justify trade in antiquities in the name of universal rights to culture or cultural cosmopolitanism, but always in the name of rich, developed countries.

5. Archaeological looting reflects world's economic, social and educational imbalances. In this regard, it is of vital importance to be aware of the full-scale impact of looting on heritage conservation. It is equally vital to examine looting as a whole phenomenon, rather than focusing on, say, the tools of the trade—metal detectors, *sondas* or heavy equipment—as these mostly reflect habits or differences in purchasing power.
6. There are different imbalances in treasure hunting. On the one hand, there is an imbalance among looters themselves, according to the place where they live and carry out the plunder. On the other, there are also different social situations affecting plundering activities—even within the same country—between who plunder and those who benefit from the plunder.
7. While many experts call for stronger measures to stop the looting, they often settle for the application of ethical codes and international agreements to regulate the black market for antiquities, which are always incomplete and advantageous to developed countries,.
8. Despite the above considerations, it should be emphasised that although plunder is still occurring, and that efforts to fight this plague must certainly take place on the ground, the ways in which it is handled should vary according to different circumstances. In any case, these measures should combine, in required proportions, legal and administrative, economic, as well as social concerns, so as to promote the engagement of landowners and farmers—who may comprise the main looters in developing countries—with archaeological heritage preservation. Nevertheless, it must be stressed again that only the regulation of the international market of antiquities, the prohibition of the purchase of archaeological objects without clear and legal provenance, and the exercise of punitive measures on those who attempt to launder these items, will result in a significant decrease in looting.
9. The relationship between archaeologists and metal detector users has been based so far in a mutual distrust (with exceptions, of course). The main consequences of this distrust is of a legal nature. For instance, the concerns of the European Council over the devastating effects of the widespread accessibility of metal

detection devices, as expressed in Directive 921 (1981), was again reiterated in the Malta Convention (1992). In some countries this international concern has led to domestic regulations on matters related to the usage of metal detectors, but most governments have been unwilling to act on treasure hunting, and do not seem to grasp the seriousness of the new threat on their own archaeological heritage. Some countries also lack constraints on the recovery of archaeological items, the ownership of which commonly lies with the owner of the land on which they were found. This resulted in virtually nothing being done to stop the use of metal detectors on archaeological sites from the 1970s to the 1990s. At the same time, the mass availability of a wide range of efficient metal detectors resulted in metal detecting becoming a popular hobby, with thousands of practitioners across Europe.

10. From the 1990s onwards, cultural administrations and even archaeological institutions tried to cope with the new situation depending on the different ideas about the role of the state in defining and maintaining 'common interests'. As a result, two major models were settled upon. The first, represented in this forum in the cases of Moldova, Estonia and Spain, is based on a handful of legal assumptions, and mostly involved the prohibition of the unauthorised use of metal detectors at any archaeological site, under new heritage acts. The aim of these authorisations is to prevent treasure hunting, so that the amateur would find it difficult to obtain a metal detector, as they do not have the requisite archaeological skills and qualifications, and are not commonly motivated by archaeological research aims. The unauthorised use of those devices is considered a violation of legal constraints, which is then punished with fines. Any archaeological object found either by chance, or as a result of deliberate searching, belongs to the state. The second model, represented here by the new Flemish Decree, contains fewer legal restrictions, allowing freer use of metal detectors, except in specially protected sites, but in return encourages detectorists to declare their findings to the relevant cultural authorities.
11. Obviously the models described here in summary form are not rigid, and do change in accordance to new social situations. So

it is out of place to make value judgments about which model is better or worse, since they respond to social models with different legal frameworks. It would probably be best to highlight the main weakness of both models, as revealed in the cases presented in this forum: the lack of real interest shown by cultural authorities in enforcing the law. These cultural authorities seem more interested in responding to particularly serious cases with extensive media coverage, without paying much attention to lower profile cases.

For better results in the fight against looting, it is necessary to dramatically shift the priority that governments place on archaeological heritage. Achieving this goal requires not only a change in the specific governmental responses to matters related to treasure hunting, but also in the public approach to archaeology as a whole. Looting and illicit trade make less and less sense when a society demands respect for the vestiges of their own history.

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Rescue Archaeology and Spanish Journalism: The Abu Simbel Operation

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"The formula of journalism is: going, seeing,
listening, recording and recounting."

— Enrique Meneses

Abstract

Building Aswan Dam brought an unprecedented campaign to rescue all the affected archaeological sites in the region. Among them, Abu Simbel, one of the Egyptian icons, whose relocation was minutely followed by the Spanish press. This paper analyzes this coverage and its impact in Spain, one of the participant countries.

Keywords

Abu Simbel, Journalism, Spain, Rescue Archaeology, Egypt

The origin of the relocation and ethical-technical problems

Since the formation of UNESCO in 1945, the organisation had never received a request such as the one they did in 1959, when the decision to build the Aswan High Dam (Saad el Aali)—first planned five years prior—was passed, creating the artificial Lake Nasser in Upper Egypt. This would lead to the spectacular International Monuments Rescue Campaign of Nubia that was completed on 10 March 1980. It was through the interest of a Frenchwoman named Christiane Desroches Noblecourt and UNESCO—with the international institution asking her for a complete listing of the temples and monuments that were to be submerged—as well as the establishment of the Documentation Centre in Cairo that the transfer was made possible.

In those 20 long years, the monuments, temples, churches, rock art, and archaeological sites that were likely to be flooded were

studied in situ. Some of these monuments were declared impossible to dismantle, like the temples of Abu Oda and Gerf Hussein, or the chapel of Qasr Ibrim. Others were reassembled out of their natural, cultural and archaeological contexts, such as the temples of Taffa in Italy, Ellesiya in the Netherlands, Debod in Spain, and Dendur in the United States. For the temples of Abu Simbel, three options were considered: protect them in situ, which was the idea that most archaeologists were happiest with, but also the most difficult, since the ground water level impinged directly on the voluminous mass of sculpted sandstone; cut and move them entirely; or cut them into blocks and rebuild them in a higher and dryer location. The third option was chosen in the end.

If we take the Spanish RAE Dictionary definition of the word *rescue*—recovering for use an object that has been forgotten, broken or lost—then we can consider this project a joint Nubian Rescue operation, which was a first in terms of international cooperation, development aid and competence. This rescue operation prevented the Archaeological Complex from being submerged in Nile water, to ensure that it can be studied, used, and enjoyed by future generations. Additionally, the rescue operation also prevented this particular aspect of African cultural heritage from going the way of many Nubian artefacts—i.e., disappearing into oblivion.

It needs to be noted that cooperation in this sense did not involve bilateral aid; rather, the rescue operation was built upon the multilateral support of hundreds of countries—in terms of financial, technical and human capital—that responded to the call of UNESCO to safeguard the cultural heritage of Egypt and Sudan. Needless to say, these artefacts had been submerged in sand for millennia, and were gradually being destroyed by wind erosion, trapped particles due to wind storms (*hamzin* or *haboob*), abrasion, temperature differentials (+30 °C in some seasons), as well as acts of plundering and vandalism.

It was almost as if a non-governmental organisation was set up in Nubia—in essence, a veritable Archaeologists without Frontiers—that comprised prehistorians, anthropologists, Egyptologists, Coptologists, Arabists, ethnographers, folklorists, architects, and engineers, as well as the local workers, managers, translators, administrators, etc. Due to their involvement in this rescue operation, all of these personnel were then transformed into Nubiologists, i.e., specialists in Nubia. Of course, the contribution of each constituent member (as well as constituent countries) were not homogenous; there were countries that were more involved than others, mostly due to budgetary reasons. And accounts shows that the 'happy face' of the cooperative effort belied extensive

and heated discussions and differences of opinions (Almagro 1967: 280), which is not surprising, given the political clout of some of the stakeholders involved.

The narrative of the transfer of the Abu Simbel temples of Ramses II and Nefertari's temple occupied many pages of the Spanish press in the 1960s. This stands in stark contrast to the treatment of the fiftieth anniversary of the entire Nubian Rescue operation—which was held in March 2009 by UNESCO in Aswan—which was virtually ignored in the Spanish press. A search in 2009 for news on the engineering of the operation yielded almost no results, save for a number of interviews conducted by Anton Jacinto for *El País*, with the headlines "I wish I lifted a mummy" (April 23, 2009), or "120 years of the Spanish mummies" (December 14, 2009). Even the anniversary celebration held that year at the Cairo Museum—with a dedicated exhibition summarising Spanish archaeology in Egypt—seemed insufficient.

This is particularly grating as modern Spanish archaeology is a direct descendant of the Nubian Rescue, with the archaeological work carried out in the 1960s opening the way for current archaeological concessions—such as the excavation carried out on Heracleópolis Magna. But as much as the coverage of the fiftieth anniversary of the Nubian Rescue was weak, it nevertheless eclipses the attention paid to other archaeologists working in other geographical regions, such as the Near East—so much so that Juan Luis Montero Fenollós declared that he was sick of the media attention being paid to discoveries of new mummies, especially when they reveal no new data (*El País*, 11 November).

We have been stressing the lack of attention paid by the Spanish media to archaeologists not working in Egypt for a number of years now, which is possibly due to them being the most noticeable group of archaeologists working out of the country. Nevertheless, attention still needs to be paid to the significance of Abu Simbel.

Curious, travellers, dilettantes and tourists

The travellers who were seduced by the charm of Abu Simbel are too extensive to name in full in this article, so only a brief summary of their names and related works will be listed here. The site, which is located on the Western bank of Lake Nasser, and which was declared to be a UNESCO World Heritage Site in 1979, and an Open Air Museum

(UNESCO, s.a.), has for centuries been a focus of Western artists, travellers, scholars, and writers, much in the same way as Petra, the pyramids of Giza, or Isfahan were—leaving behind numerous artistic, historical, archaeological, epigraphic and philological works.

In truth, the Nile Valley as a whole has long captivated Western tourists, with documents dating back to the 18th century reporting visits to Egypt and Sudan. The Danish naval officer Frederik Ludvig Norden, for instance, engraved Nubian monuments and towns in his travel *Voyage d’Egypte et de Nubie* (1755), which was produced on the request of King Christian VI of Denmark. The fascination of the West increased in the next century, which was a veritable Golden Age for the documentation of Nubia—with hundreds of images, watercolours, drawings, engravings, lithographs, paintings, pictures, and photographs being produced. Among the most notable historiographical works of the 19th century were produced by Jean Louis Burckhardt, who reported in 1813 that he had discovered Abu Simbel. Giovanni Battista Belzoni visited the region in 1815, and in 1817 partially cleaned the entrance to the interior. Both reached the bottom of the temples, and would remove some of the sand that covered one of the heads of the king and the entrance respectively.

Other travellers include the eminent Egyptologist Jean François Champollion, who visited the complex along with his pupil, the Italian Egyptologist called Ippolito Rossellini, as well as Alexander Keith Johnston, whose *I monumenti dell’Egitto e della Nubia disegnati dalla spedizione scientifico-letteraria toscana in Egitto* (1828) features drawings and coloured lithographs of Ramses II hunting on his chariot, which were extracted from the walls of Abu Simbel. Another notable series of lithographs—248 in total, in six volumes (see Roberts 2000)—was produced by the Orientalist David Roberts. The first three of these publications were dedicated to the temples and monuments of Egyptian and Sudanese Nubia, which have been reproduced by watercolour artists and printmakers. The French architect Hector Horeau also produced a series of watercolours of Abu Simbel. In the same century, an official mission was sponsored by the Kaiser, and was led by Karl Richard Lepsius. In his *Denkmaeler Aegypten aus und nach den Zeichnungen Aethiopien von der Koenige Seiner Majestät dem von Preussen* (1849), written on behalf of His Majesty Frederick William IV, Lepsius related what he saw and painted what he observed.

Two notable female writers who wrote on their travels to Egypt and Sudan include Isabella F. Romer, who wrote *A Pilgrimage to*

the Temples and Tombs of Egypt, Nubia, and Palestine (1846), and Amelia Edwards. Edwards was also the first writer and journalist to document the architectural features of the temples and its surrounding environment:

Every morning I waked in time to witness that daily miracle. Every morning I saw those awful brethren pass from death to life, from life to sculptured stone. I brought myself almost to believe at last that there must sooner or later come some one sunrise when the ancient charm would snap asunder, and the giants must arise and speak.

...It is fine to see the sunrise on the front of the Great Temple; but something still finer takes place on certain mornings of the year, in the very heart of the mountain. As the sun comes up above the eastern hill-tops, one long, level beam strikes through the doorway, pierces the inner darkness like an arrow, penetrates to the sanctuary, and falls like fire from heaven upon the altar at the feet of the Gods. (qtd. in Precourt 2004).

The reason why the 'grandeur' of Egyptian monuments made Egypt a favoured travel destination in the 19th century was because of "rich tourists" who could afford to pay the high fares to the exotic Orient, and visit Abu Simbel (Anderson 2012). This was made even more apparent with the aid of modern transport, as well as series of photographs—produced by photographers who were influenced by artists and engravers such as Roberts—contributing to its popularity (Golia 2010: 28-9). For instance, Abu Simbel was photographed in 1850 by the French writer Maxime du Camp, whose calotypes were published in *Égypte, Nubie, Syrie: Paysages et Monuments* (1952), and are collected at the Metropolitan Museum (<http://metmuseum.org/Collections/search-the-collections/190014945>). Du Camp was able to capture memorable images from Abu Simbel, such as the iconic sand spit which covers most of the main temple, that L. A. Christophe believes occurred 2,500 years ago (1965: 26). Although another French photographer, Felix Teynard, also used calotypes to capture Abu Simbel, which was published in *Egypt and Nubia* (1858), nevertheless his work is often overlooked by the better-publicised Du Camp (Golia 2010:17). Ending the 19th century, the geographer Alexander Keith Johnston left behind intricate cartographic material of the region in his *Map of Egypt, Arabia, Petraea, and Lower Nubia* (1893).

The beginning of the 20th century saw the emergence of modern photographic reports on Abu Simbel, produced by James Henry Breasted. Between November 1905 and April 1906, Breasted participated in the First Epigraphic Campaign of the Oriental Exploration Fund (see Figure1), having passed 40 days graphically recording and documenting the Egyptian complex. At present, the whole set of historic photographs are kept at the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, which was founded by Breasted. Other photographs during this period were taken by the Italian photographer Felice Antonio Beato. No less important were the efforts of the Italian engineer Barsanti, who cleaned the entire facade of the great temple, and the watercolours of Abu Simbel by Robert Talbot-Kelly, an English Orientalist landscape painter.

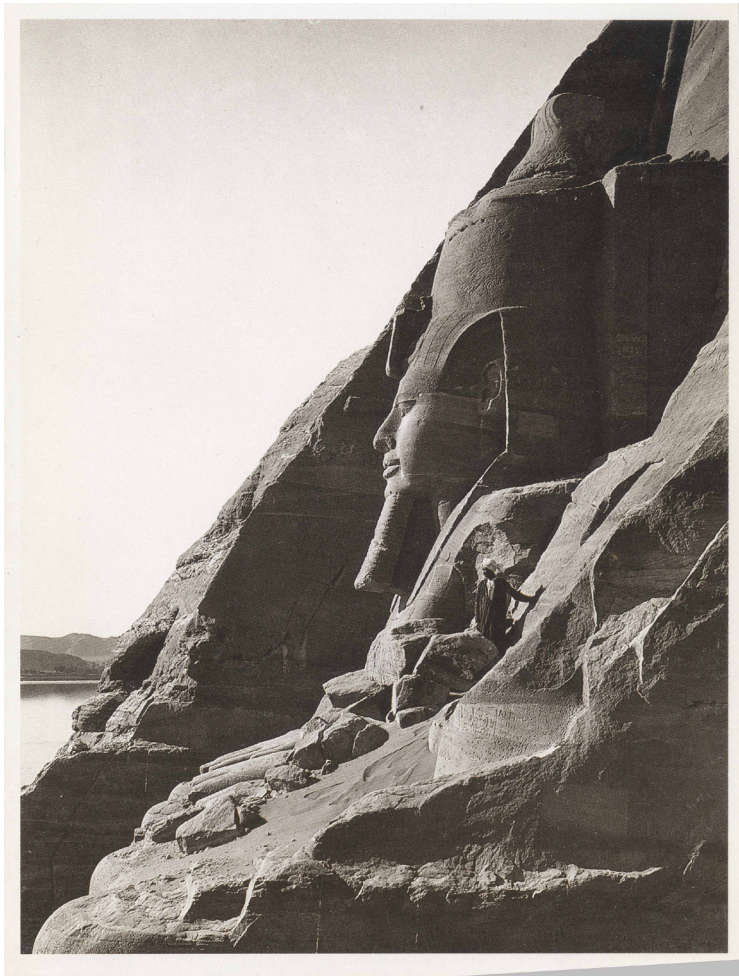


Fig. 1. Side view of the huge head of Ramses II. Abu Simbel still in its original location photographed by Henry Breasted on the name of Oriental Expedition Fund. 1905-1906 © OEF

Possibly one of the most important works that appeared on Abu Simbel during the first half of the 20th century was Ernest Alfred Wallis Budge's *A History of Ethiopia, Nubia & Abyssinia* (1926). It was only decades later that the temples and its relocation attracted the full attention of the media. The relocation was the focus of numerous newspaper and magazine articles, such as in the "Moving a 15.000 ton treasure" *Life* magazine cover article dated 23 October 1965 (see Figure 2). *National Geographic* followed suit on 5 May 1969, when it published the now-famous image of what Golia describes as the "gigantic face of Ramses II at Abu Simbel [that] was severed and captured hovering above its monolithic body, its nose alone as big as a man." (2010:126).

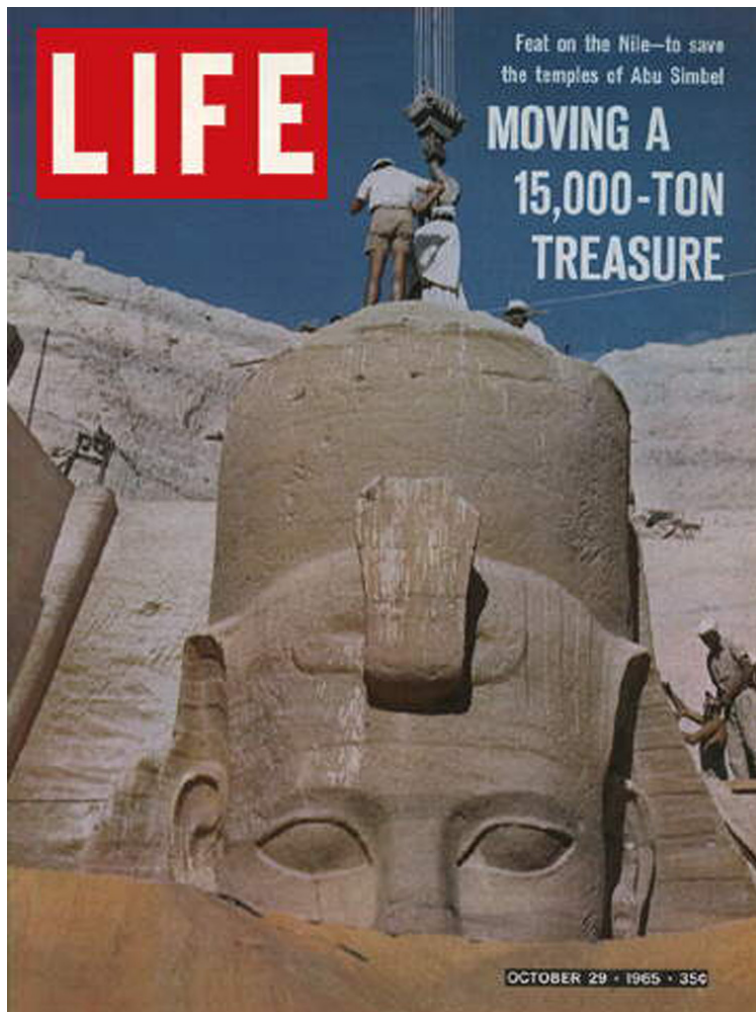


Fig. 2. Cover of *LIFE* magazine reporting about Abu Simbel and its new location. Taken of: © LIFE.

Removing the earth: Abu Simbel temples raised higher

The construction of the temples dates back to the 19th dynasty, at the beginning of the reign of Ramses II. Construction began around 1284 BC, and finished 20 years later. The well-planned and calibrated architectural programme would remain half-hidden in the sand until the intricate civil engineering operation that took place between late 1963 and early 1964, to its re-opening in September 1968. The project ended with the movement of the monuments some 200 metres downstream and 70 metres higher in altitude, so as to avoid the floodwaters that would engulf anything below 180 metres above sea level.

The stunning 30 metre-high and 35 metre-wide façade hints at Ramses II's intentions to illustrate the extent of his power—it would have reminded anyone coming down the Nile from Kush, Yam, Elam, or Iret, exactly who rules over the united Egyptian empire. The dominance of Abu Simbel is hieratic, as the religious power inscribed in its sculptures are inextricably tied to the power of the Pharaoh. The purpose of the temple was to impress Egypt's neighbours to the South, and strengthen the influence of Egyptian religion in the region, in as much as the fear of God is synonymous with the fear of the Pharaoh (Fitzgerald 2008). As Desiree (2006) notes, Ramses II used all the skills at his disposal to oversee the construction of these monuments. The facades, the Hypostyle Hall with Osirian pillars, the side rooms, the lobby, and even the shrine were excavated in sandstone in a studied and deliberate direction—the East-West axis, so the sun would twice a year illuminate the statues of Amon, Ramses II and Ra-Horakhty. It is often erroneously assumed that this phenomenon relates to the birth or coronation of Ramses II; rather, as Timothy Kendall (1997a, 1997b) notes, it relates to the Heb Sed festival, that had great prestige among the Meroitic kings and Nubian pharaohs, who came from as far as the fourth cataract of Napata (Sudan) and the sacred mountains of Jebel Barkal.

Prior to the dismantling process of the relocation programme, an exhaustive and controlled documentation and registration task with geological reports was carried out (UNESCO, 1959), which encompassed conservation damage reports, architectural consequence reports, and many others. Numerous measurements, calculations, drawings and photographs were produced, so that they could be consulted in case of any problems arising during the re-erection (Berg 1968: 28). The relocation and reconstruction project was carried out through an international tender at the suggestion of Egypt. It was advertised in the

press (see Figure 3) as early as 1962, to allow for sufficient dissemination among partner states in the Nubian Rescue Campaign. Experts visited the site and considered different hypotheses, possibilities, and of course, budgets. They presented their proposals at the beginning of August the same year, to allow work to begin in February 1963 and end in late 1967 as planned. The chronogram was delayed, however, which caused the 'Abu Simbel Operation' to commence a few months behind schedule.

CONCURSO PARA EL SALVAMENTO DE LOS TEMPLOS DE ABU SIMBEL

MINISTERIO DE CULTURA Y ORIENTACION NACIONAL DE LA REPUBLICA ARABE UNIDA

De conformidad con la campaña iniciada por la UNESCO, el Gobierno de la República Árabe Unida se complace en anunciar por la presente nota la convocatoria de un concurso para la ejecución del Proyecto de Salvamento de los dos Templos de Abu Simbel, al objeto de evitar que queden inundados al llenarse el embalse de la gran presa actualmente en construcción cerca de Assuán.

Los templos poseen fachadas ornamentales de gran valor histórico y artístico y encierran grandes naves y salas, excavados en su totalidad en la roca arenosa. El proyecto comprende la separación de la roca de dos grandes bloques de piedra arenosa, conteniendo cada uno de ellos los templos aludidos, así como su subsiguiente elevación, por medio de ascensores o elevadores hidráulicos, hasta un nivel superior al futuro nivel del agua en el embalse.

Las obras que habrán de efectuarse, con arreglo a la contrata, serán las siguientes:

- 1.—Construcción y desecación, en el interior, de un dique de mampostería, de unos 400 metros de longitud y 34 de altura.
- 2.—Excavación, sin utilizar explosivos, de unos 350.000 metros cúbicos de roca, situada encima, alrededor y debajo de los bloques de los templos.
- 3.—Reforzamiento de la roca, mediante barras de apeo o tirantes de anclaje y cables de acero pretensado, en orificios perforados, de unos 30.000 metros de longitud.
- 4.—Encajonamiento de los bloques de los templos, mediante unos 50.000 metros cúbicos de estructura de hormigón, en parte pretensado.
- 5.—Elevación vertical, en unos 65 metros, de los bloques de los templos, utilizando elevadores o «gatos» hidráulicos, de una capacidad total de unas 450.000 toneladas.
- 6.—Construcción, simultáneamente con la elevación antedicha, de unos 250.000 metros cúbicos de estructura de apoyo, en hormigón.
- 7.—Reposición, en torno de los templos, una vez ya en su posición elevada, de una colina de piedra arenosa, similar a la existente, y conteniendo unos 6.000.000 de metros cúbicos de relleno de roca, recubierta con unos 300.000 metros cúbicos de hormigón o mampostería.

Se prevé que las obras de construcción empezarán en el mes de marzo de 1963. Los preparativos para la elevación habrán de estar terminados en marzo de 1966, y la elevación hasta el nivel definitivo deberá quedar realizada a finales de 1967.

Los contratistas interesados en concurrir a esta licitación deberán dirigirse, presentando sus documentos acreditativos, con referencias sobre su experiencia y competencia, a los Ingenieros Asesores del Ministerio,

Sres. Vattenbyggnadsbyran (VEB),
29, Humlegårdsgatan. Estocolmo
(Suecia),
no más tarde del 5 de marzo de 1962.

En el mes de marzo de 1962, estos contratistas o grupos de contratistas recibirán información y datos adicionales, que les permitirán estudiar el proyecto y visitar su emplazamiento. Si en abril de 1962 hubiera aún algunos contratistas interesados, se invitará a un determinado número de ellos a presentar sus propuestas, antes del 1.º de agosto de 1962, como máximo. La documentación final y definitiva sobre este concurso estará disponible a partir del 1.º de mayo de 1962.

Fig. 3. Advertisement of the tender. Abu Simbel was about to be transferred. Inserted Announcement February 28th, 1962. © Arriba.

On the whole, the relocation of Abu Simbel involved more than just a removal of the grounds; it required moving a mass of stone that had to be preserved with the utmost care. Initially, the French engineers André Coyne and Jean Bellier proposed to build a large stone dam coated in river silt to waterproof the temples, which were to be high enough to withstand the rising of the Nile. The advantage of this would be to have the temples remain in their original place, but this would have also required water to be filtered through the dyke, and pumped to the rocks. The Italian architect Piero Gazzola proposed instead a complete block-by-block detachment and placement in a cement box on a mobile platform. Given the enormous tonnage, however, this cement box would have to be raised 60 metres above ground using hydraulic jacks, and would have also required the construction of two rock hills. The third option was proposed by the Polish architect, Certowitz who planned the construction of a concave concrete structure that would surround the temples as a barrier. This option is based on the electro-osmosis method that manages the moisture of rising water by reversing the upward humidity through capillary action. Although this option seemed the least expensive and would have allowed the temple to remain as is, the concrete structure was deemed to be too disruptive to the aesthetic harmony of the site. Furthermore, it would only work on the level of Nile water rise before the construction of the Aswan High Dam, and not after.

As such, different options using both hydraulic and mechanical strength were considered. The most worthwhile alternative to Coyne and Bellier's proposal—which seemed from the very beginning to be the most feasible—was the Gazzola project (Figure 5), that would raise temples cut from a single block. Although the Gazzola project was approved in 1961, subsequent costing exercises put the value of the project at 80 million, which sent experts back to the drawing block to consider a less expensive method. New proposals subsequently rolled in, with the Polish engineers Dabrowski and Poniz suggesting the construction of a mini dam with concrete, or covering the block stones with a kind of glass screen. And in 1962, another proposal was put forth by the British engineer William MacQuitty, who suggested the complete immersion of the temple in water, which would have made it similar to modern day aquarium displays. In 1963, the tables were once again turned with more French proposals. The engineer Albert Caquot daringly suggested the elevation of the temple using the Archimedes Principle, while Hermès suggested elevation by way of a mechanical system—similar to Gazzola, but without the use of hydraulics. And

finally, in the year 1963, the German architect Voight sought to utilise the vertical pressure of water with the temples moored, and emerging on the surface, which would make transport to another location very easy. In short, numerous engineers and architects attempted to come up with the most imaginative ways to relocate the temples, that would require the least expenditure of time and money.

In the end, the solution came by way of a proposal that could be executed with the 40 million dollars channelled through different banks to the 'Nubian account' in London. It required a formal rethinking exercise of a proposed concept, and was conducted by an Egyptian Committee and Swedish specialists of the Vattenbyggnads Viran Company (VVB). The solution can be seen as the middle ground between the Gazzola draft and the cutting of the monuments into large blocks. Once a new place was chosen, an artificial hill would be created, and coated with a texture similar to sandstone. The hill was cut according to the natural cracks on the rock, so as to prevent further damage and to have less impact on the monumental heritage work. The blocks were cut about 80 centimetres each, and were strongly anchored to cranes during the elevation.

Among the documentation kept at the National Archaeological Museum (Zurinaga 2010) in Madrid there are some photographs of the works in Abu Simbel—copies, not the original—showing the retaining of the wall that was to be built to could work without water, transfer of earth and scaffolding, sheds, pawns and tools.

IV. Coverage of the Transfer of Abu Simbel¹

"Archaeology plus journalism is bad enough, but if you add politics, it becomes a little too much."

- Arthur Mace, curator of the tomb of Tutankhamun

In Chafik Chamass's article "Sixty Years of Beauty" (2005), he notes that the relocation of Abu Simbel in the 1960s brought Egypt "advantageously on the front page: books, magazines and memoirs related this story of an emerging conflict between culture and human

1 We have already studied the Journalism done in Spain in late Francoist regime in the research "*Treatment of information Nubian Salvage Campaign in the Spanish press. 1959-1975*" in 2009. In the first subsection of IV Chapter entitled "*The Mass-Media. 1959-1975*" p.: 116-123 we explaining the characteristics of this news journalism that began in the 50s and would be consolidated in the 60s with the so-called journalism of explanation, or journalism of interpretation.

development.” Before analysing media coverage on Abu Simbel in the 1960s, it is worthwhile to note the Spanish journalist Tomas Alcoverro’s (2012) vision of the foreign correspondent:

The foreign correspondent enjoyed a certain social aura. During the Francoist regime, there were few who could travel abroad, or speak any other language like French or English. A crippling inferiority complex crushed the little Spanish who dared walk the world. Correspondents were privileged citizens...What was most attractive about this trade was the ability to write freely and travel away from the country, especially in a place that many Europeans felt was the beginning of Africa (Alcoverro, 2012).

These foreign correspondents are largely responsible for bringing Abu Simbel to the forefront of public consciousness. These correspondents represented news agencies such as Europa Press, AP-Europe, EFE, and photography companies such as CIFRA, Contreras and others. During the course of writing this article, we learned of the death of the Spanish photojournalist Enrique Meneses on 6 January 2013. In an interview with Victor Amela, Meneses was asked to describe the most beautiful thing he had ever photographed. He replied: “The temple of Abu Simbel. I lived for a week at his [statue of Ramses II] feet, which were buried in the sand. The solitude of the night was breathtakingly beautiful. He was later moved” (Amela 2009). Meneses’ contribution to the popularity of Abu Simbel cannot be underplayed: “His reporting on the Paris Match helped safeguard Abu Simbel, one of the most the impressive temples in southern Egypt” (Castro 2013). As Meneses noted,

With revenue from Canal traffic and help from Moscow to make his controversial Nasser Aswan High Dam, Saad al Aali, who created the giant Lake Nasser, was forced to raise the temple of Abu Simbel to save it.” (Meneses, 1964: 68)

In this respect, it is safe to say that the early chronicles relating to the archaeology of Nubia formed the basis of what would later become archaeological journalism in Spain. This sort of journalism is necessary to translated the more technical aspects of archaeology to the general public, and raise awareness of the conservation of ancient artefacts. In this respect, Villarrubia Mauso (2005) finds this journalism to be a subgenre of science journalism, and contextualises its generalisation and development in the 1980s and 1990s, and its consolidation in the 2000s.

Based on our analysis, news reports on Abu Simbel can be grouped into three categories: (1) the archaeological and the artistic; (2) the technical and management-related; and (3) the chronicles. The first category, the archaeological and the artistic, encompasses writings on the aesthetics of Abu Simbel, and the meaning of its iconography (i.e., its relation to the life of a king). The second deals with purely technical or administrative actions, engineering, official data on the announcement of the tender, course of the work, earthwork, and the economic cost of work. The third which encompasses that which deals with religious and folk significance, and which can sometimes be considered lax journalism. Using another set of criteria, we were able to group articles into six categories: (1) news from the early 1960s, which highlight the proposed engineering projects; (2) news related to techniques and methods used in the project; (3) general information on the temple and its historical context; (4) news that is a mixture of fictionalised chronicle and serious news; (5) news from the mid-1960s on excavation campaigns that involved Spanish archaeologists; and (6) news from the late 1960s regarding the completion of the relocation, and the resulting dam with its hundreds of cubic meters of water.

Generally, the monitoring of news reports on Abu Simbel was uneven, in terms of some reports being over 2,000 words long (e.g., international news reports), others (e.g., teletypes) being only 30 words long, and others still a mixture of text and photography (e.g., the reports of Meneses). It needs to be noted however, that similar studies utilised slightly different content. For instance, the conclusions reached by Zurinaga (2009a) pointed to a homogeneity in terms of content, but this is likely due to the study material either being press releases or direct issues from UNESCO through its correspondents—which would make the material being studied less strewn with errors in terms of archaeological interpretation. The material used in this study ranged between news on the transfer, and the news about the difficulty of the operation, making it impossible to get a full picture—such as that published in *Arriba*, with Abu Simbel in its original location (Figure 4).

Our analysis of the first category of the news, the archaeological and the artistic, shows that the chronicles studied consisted of pieces detailing admiration for ancient Pharaonic culture. Paraphrasing Almansa and del Mazo (2012: 420), a sense of 'Egyptappeal' was evident in contemporary Spanish press as a whole—a situation which had never before been seen, save for the coverage on the discovery of the tomb of Tutankhamen in 1922. In short, archaeological news reached its high

point in the 1960s with the Nubian Rescue Campaign. The level of interest was informed by the 'romantic' Orientalist halo surrounding culture from the near East, especially Egypt. This is still reflected today, with over 80% of Spanish press reports on archaeological news being related to Egypt. Although strictly related to graphic media, this is also reflected in Mauso's *Egyptomania* (2005).

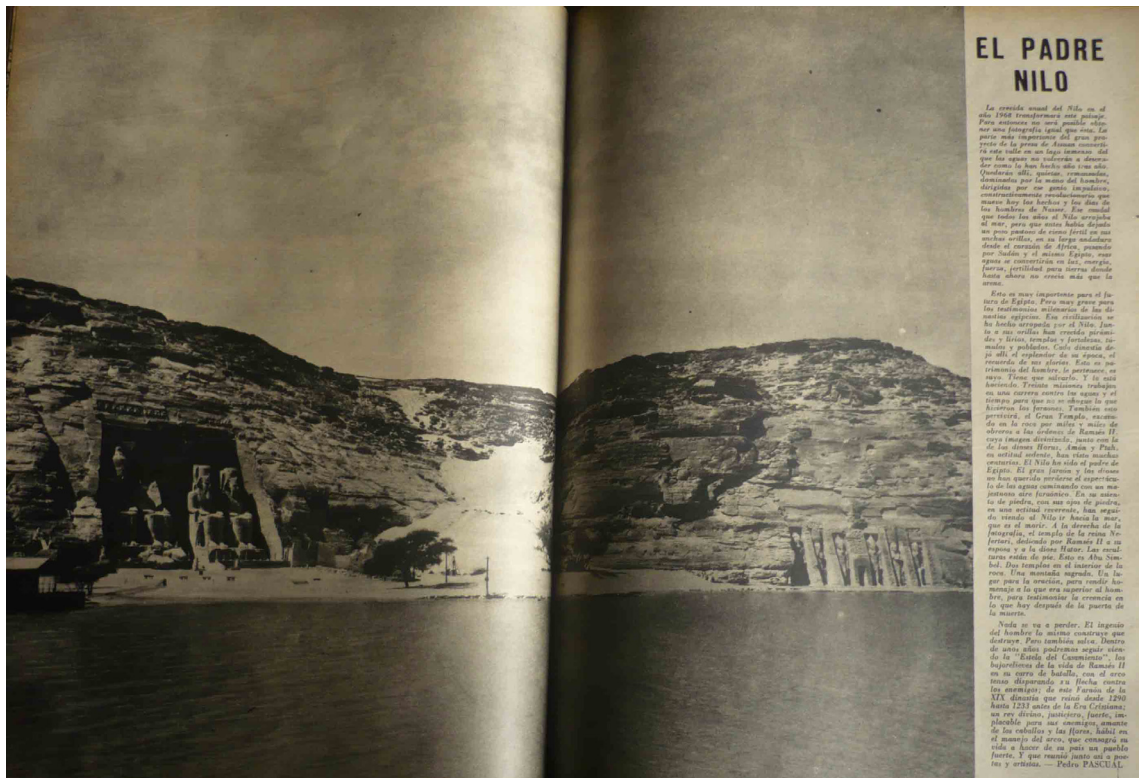


Fig. 4. Headline "The Father Nile" opening an extensive report about the future of Abu Simbel. Pedro Pascual. Sunday, July 7th. P. 15 © Arriba.

Other news from the early 1960s highlighted the proposed engineering projects. The first step in the Nubian Rescue Campaign was the presentation of the project. The Gazzola project was presented to international audiences in fundraising conferences (Figure 5). His proposal was to raise the temples at a height of 60 meters above sea level using hydraulic jacks, and rebuilding the hill to preserve the environment and its sacredness. The estimated duration was six years—which was exceeded by one and a half—and the estimated cost \$60 million, compared to the cost of building the dam, which stood at \$80 million. Newspapers loyal to the Franco regime, such as

*Arriba*² and *El Alcazar* (both of which are now defunct), as well as the conservative newspaper *ABC*, ran numerous and lengthy stories on the Gazzola project. Gazzola had lectured everywhere on the project, and it clearly seemed like the 'winning horse'. The Spanish press came to highlight the construction of the dam, that would place the Egyptian government within 15 kilometres of the first dam built by the British, and which would raise the lake and its waters from 122 to 180 meters in elevation.

EL PROFESOR PIERO GAZZOLA, EN EL CONSEJO SUPERIOR DE INVESTIGACIONES CIENTÍFICAS

En el salón de actos del Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas y en sesión organizada por el Colegio de Arquitectos, disertó el ilustre arquitecto italiano Piero Gazzola, encargado por la U.N.E.S.C.O. del rescate y conservación de los monumentos egipcios de Nubia. Presidió el acto don Manuel de Solá-Morales, presidente del Colegio, acompañado de los cónsules de Italia y de la R.A.U., miembros de la Junta del Colegio y otras personalidades.

El prestigioso conferenciante expresó que después de una larga labor sobre el terreno y del análisis en el laboratorio de las muestras de roca tomadas en la expedición, en noviembre de 1960, el profesor Gazzola presentó a la U.N.E.S.C.O. y a los Gobiernos de la R.A.U. y del Sudán, los proyectos correspondientes.

Para el proyecto de Abu Simbel, no obstante que la U.N.E.S.C.O. y la R.A.U. hubiesen ya dispuesto el proyecto de un dique para aislar como dentro de un pozo los dos templos para separarlos de las aguas del lago circundante, Gazzola ideó la solución de sobreelevarlos.

Por razones de ambiente, de su carácter sagrado y de asegurar su conservación en el tiempo, la solución del dique no podía tranquilizar al profesor Gazzola, que, llevado por su profundo amor por los monumentos tomó con el mayor em-

ABC. VIERNES 28 DE ABRIL DE 1961. EDICIÓN DE LA MAÑANA. PAG. 61

AERONAUTICA

**ven de la ciencia mé-
n el siglo XVI por el
padre Acosta**

«Trescientos setenta años
ta describió por primera
sobria y magistralmente
el "mal de la Puna",
ología de alta cota, fun-
parte de la medicina
ial.

ir el padre Acosta, cuan-
na andina, sufría y des-
la Puna, que su recuer-
o para nosotros en esta
do vive pendiente de las
del hombre en las al-

ha fundado la Sociedad
El 24 de este mes de
escritorio de la reunión
cialistas en esta materia:
filósofos, físicos, to-
ra a esta hora histórica
enzo de una nueva era.
ará presente. Quizá sea-
o estamos seguros de que
castellano ha de darnos
dignamente en las filas
res que están empeñados
científica espacial.
ta-años han pasado des-
gigantesca e inaudita de

modesto avión de transporte. El doctor No-
telius, piloto alemán de la Gran Guerra, cayó
en el campo de Adierhoff en plena experi-
mentación de medicina aeronáutica. Ni
ejemplós ni muertos le italian a esta joven
rama de la medicina para ser perdurable.—
Luis DE LA SERNA Y ESPINA. "Ae-
rospace Medical Association".



VIDA CULTURAL

**Proyecto del profesor Piero Gazzo-
la para salvar los monumentos de
Nubia**

Formando parte del ciclo organizado por el Colegio Oficial de Arquitectos de Madrid, el arquitecto Piero Gazzola ha pronunciado una conferencia en el auditorio del Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas sobre el tema "Un Problema di Civiltà. Il Salvataggio dei Monumenti Nubiani".

«El Gobierno de la R. A. U.—dijo—ha previsto la construcción de un gran dique de quince kilómetros al Sur del actual, para elevar el nivel del lago ya existente desde una cota de 122 metros sobre el mar hasta una nueva cota de 180 metros. A consecuencia de ello se prevé la inmersión de todo el territorio de la antigua Nubia, rico en testimonios de antiguas y lejanas civilizaciones.

El profesor Piero Gazzola fue llamado por la U. N. E. S. C. O. en 1959 para expresar una primera idea sobre el problema de los monumentos de Nubia, amenazados de inmersión a consecuencia de la construcción del gran dique de Assuan. Presentó su informe en octubre de 1959, y su plan obtuvo la aprobación unánime.

La Vanguardia Española, 1961

ABC, 1961

Fig. 5. Two cuts. On the left, chronicle of a lecture by Professor Gazzola. © LVG April 26th, 1961: 25. On the right, Piero Gazzola talk at the conference entitled "Un problema di Civiltà. Il salvataggio dei Monumenti Nubiani". ABC. April 28th, 1961: 61 © ABC.

As for the second category, the news related to techniques and methods used in the project typically used terse journalistic language in their coverage of the agencies involved, and other technical issues. Beyond this were news reports that emphasised a more 'Christian' fictional take on the temple and its historical context. A number of chronicles in this vein were collected for analysis. Possibly the best example of this mystic journalism can be found in the chronicles of

2 From here I want to express my gratitude to the librarian of INSALUD, Mrs. Paloma Casanovas who during the years 2010 and 2011 and over several months gave me access to view the full background of the pre-constitutional daily paper *Arriba*. To consult direct the paper save time and streamlined the gathering of information allowing me further to its photographed.

Cristóbal Tamayo, working under the pseudonym Joaquín Navarro Cristóbal, who was a correspondent for *La Vanguardia Española*. Tamayo accompanied Martín Almagro Basch in Nubia (as well as the Middle East and Greece) to cover the news as a correspondent. Tamayo had a baroque lexicon, in that his descriptions were often flowery.

The eyes, full of beautiful images with millennial patina, are dazzling in the grandeur of Abu Simbel. These statues, which stand twenty feet high, are the meeting of megalomania and mysticism, and represent the zenith of human religion—the three major gods of Egypt and Ramses the Great, who ruled over humankind for forty centuries by the banks of the Nile...The later pyramids of Khufu, Khafre and Menkaure, also represent the ascent of man to divinity, but also its irradiation from a vertex above, like a foreshadowing of monotheism. Abu Simbel is another achievement in human religion. (LVG 1962).

When asked about the Nubian population in a later interview, Basch noted, somewhat paternalistically, that they should be converted to Christianity: “[The Nubians] are very good. They have the sweetest character. We can only think how much sweeter it would be if they were introduced to Christianity” (LVG 1963).

The fourth type of news report mixed ‘Christian’ chronicles with serious news. The inherent Catholicism of the Spanish newsrooms of the time, as Zurinaga (2009, 2010, 2011) claims, was adapted to the sociocultural context of the time and was manifested in Francoist discourses of power. What this means is that instead of speaking of Christianity per se, the sense of religiosity was transposed onto Nubian archaeology by journalists under the watchful eye of the dictatorship, and resulted in sanctimonious news reports.

The fifth type of report encompassed news from the mid-1960s on excavation campaigns that involved Spanish archaeologists. This includes a report that was published in the monarchist and conservative *ABC*, who termed the XII Session of the Executive Committee of UNESCO as a “call to the civilised nations of the Earth.” Needless to say, such a brazenly colonial statement could not be made today. This was accompanied by a graphic map (Figure 6), which was probably included due to the presumed naiveté of the reading public on the scope of work in both African countries.

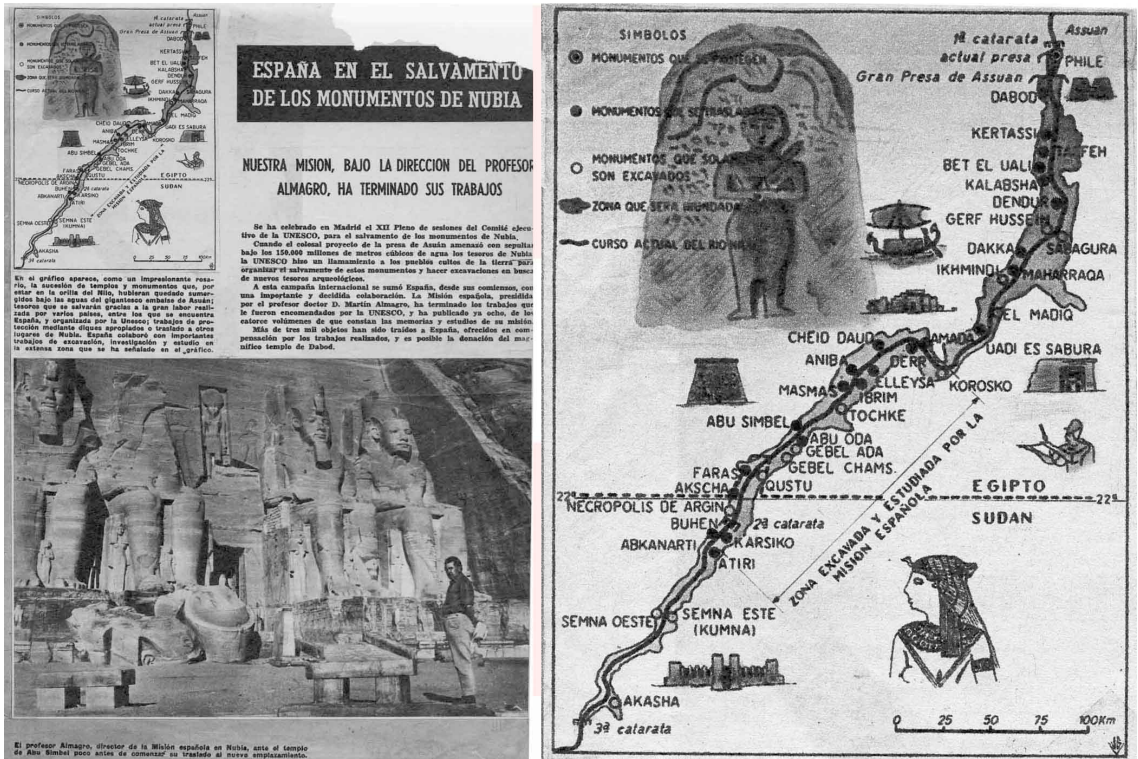


Fig. 6. Cut of newspaper and zoom of the map showing the dispersion of the Nubian temples intervened in the work of Nubia. Of course Abu Sibel is marked. © ABC.

The sixth and final group includes news reports that concerned the completion of the relocation works. As noted in a 1966 report published in ABC:

Technicians and workers from four countries—Italy, Germany, France and Egypt—in harsh working conditions and temperatures, sawed the monument in 1,200 blocks of 20 to 30 tonnes each, and using powerful cranes, moved these blocks to a height over 60 meters so as to allow water to fill the Aswan Dam... the materials used are made of sandstone, which has greatly facilitated the tares of the Italian operators specialising in sawing and cutting stone blocks...once completed, the reconstruction of the temple will cost over 2,000 million pesetas. The enormous sum is graciously devoted to the archaeological conservation of a piece of 'live' ancient history" (ABC, 14 May, 1966: 104).

Descriptions of the transfer and restoration of the temples were accompanied by a sense of the dramatic—newspaper articles were littered with terms such as "drama," "rescue," and "relief," and phrases

such as “the temples of Abu Simbel have caused much concern...” “the drama in Nubia stems from other previous more painful dramas...”. There were even very exaggerated sentences that most objective reporters would avoid, such as de Meneses’ phrase “The temple of Abu Simbel is one of those marked for death” (*ABC*, 20 August 1960: 32), which constitutes a clear example of yellow journalism. Another example of this is the reportage on Spanish archaeological teams being involved in the reconstruction of the Temple of Daka—despite no Spanish archaeologists nor members of the Spanish mission being present at the site. Just as erroneously, the relocation of Abu Simbel made the cover of the Catalan daily *La Vanguardia Española* (or *LVG*, see Figure 7), although there was no news of any relocation activity in the same period in the centralist press.



Fig 7. Cover where on the tail appears the headline “The relocation of the temple of Abu Simbel”. © LVG. September 22, 1966.

The iconic image of the face of Ramses being suspended by a crane was heavily popularised, in both black and white and colour (Figure 8); for many, the image aptly summarised the entire project of reconstructing the religious complex. As a UNESCO report of the tense moment states:

At nine o'clock on the morning of September 21, 1965, this huge stone face of Rameses II (weighing 20 tons) was lifted from the façade of the Great Temple of Abu Simbel. Dismantled and reassembled entirely on a plateau high above the new water level of the Nile (raised by the construction of the Aswan High Dam), the temples of Abu Simbel were inaugurated in their new setting on September 22, 1968. The UNESCO International Campaign to Save the Monuments of Nubia was launched in March, 1960 (Nevadovic 1969:38).



Fig. 8. Different moments and sequences of different stages of current work. Operators are fitting the face of Ramses II. 1963 © Arriba.

It was on that day that the world was furnished with the details of the reconstruction, specifically the number of blocks that were cut—which as Arriba (1968) notes, was “nothing less than 1035”—the tonnage of the blocks, and the height of the new site. The façade was supported by a large dome, which fits inside the hypostyle hall and other aisles, and which is in turn embedded in the artificial hill. The end result of the project is, of course, well-known. Although the Spanish press ran numerous reports on the powerful and iconic architectural structures of the temples, almost nothing was published about the rich interior of the nave and sides, as if the relocation project was just a ‘front’. Nor was any reference made to the very serious conservation problems the project presented. All published images at press showed the façades, none exhibited the decorative paintings within (Shank 2009), not the sculpted interiors, such as those contained in the Temple of Ramses II. Instead, the propaganda told stories of the Battle of Kadesh (Pérez Largacha, 2009: 54), of the marriage of Princess Maathorneferure, daughter of Hittite King Hattusili III, to the Pharaoh, which sealed an Egyptian-Hittite peace treaty, or even of the dedication of the Temple of Nefertari to the goddess Hathor.

The conservation of the temples of Abu Simbel

There were three major issues affecting the architecture of the monuments, which were not reflected in the Spanish press. The first was the reconstruction itself that constituted a special case of anastilosys (Japelli 2012: 40); the second, the obvious problem of water; and the third, wind erosion. Where the first issue is concerned, the conservation of the temple was only touched upon lightly by the Spanish press, although the ‘official’ specialised publications of UNESCO (such as *The UNESCO Courier*) addressed the issue at length. In 1961, the first paper concerning the reconstruction was published, “Abu Simbel Now or Never” which also contained a graphic map of all Nubian temples and their proposed relocation (Figure 9). This was followed by a number of reports which only tangentially dealt with the conservation of monuments. And where the water issue was concerned, there appeared in 1965 an article by Harold Pleinderleith, who suggested the application of electro-osmosis methods to avoid the problem of capillary rise on the walls of the temple, such as was carried out by Cebertowicz in Warsaw to prevent the Santa Ana Church from being consumed by a similar problem (Pleinderleith 1965: 10).

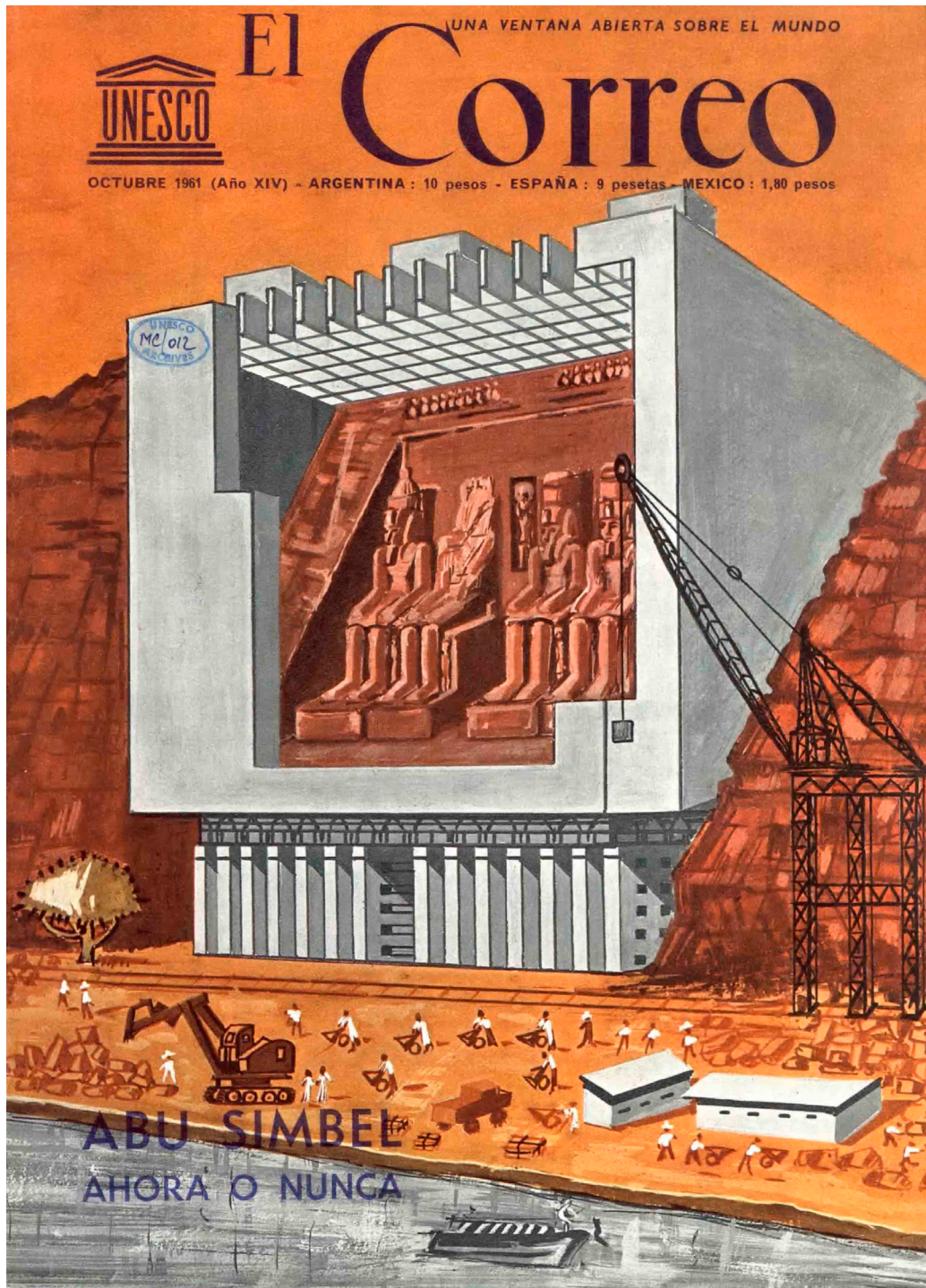


Fig. 9. Special number completely devoted to Abu Simbel published in the early year of 1961 by UNESCO. The title. "Abu Simbel: now or never" does not need explanation. AÑO XIV. N° 10.

Of course, the other issue that affected Abu Simbel then (and now) is the erosion caused by aggressive wind action and sand particles crashing into the façades. As Fielden (1982) notes, "After the reconstruction of the Temple of Abu Simbel in Egypt, a violent windstorm driving little stones lifted from the ground in front of the temple severely damaged the face of one of the figures on the façade." (111). In connection to this, Fielden also states that the reconstruction itself is only justified in terms of global interest. Other than that, the reconstruction could potentially heighten the degradation process. To Fielden, the transfer of entire buildings entails a total loss of essential culture value, since it generates new environmental risks. What this means is that the resolution of the problem—i.e., the water—increases the average exposure to wind erosion. He concludes on a sad note, noting that the very process of saving these monuments deprives them of their original meaning: "...they lose their poetry and artistic value" (269).

But despite these critical voices, general opinion still considered conservation problems arising due to relocation and reconstruction as less of a worry than just allowing Abu Simbel to succumb to the restful waters forever. This is evident in an article by Lennart Bergen titled "The Salvage of the Abu Simbel Temples" (1978), wherein he describes the step-by-step process of the operation, and contextualises engineering, architectural, archaeological and financial issues related to the reconstruction. Nevertheless, only minimal technical information such as that provided by Berg trickled down to newspaper reports. Spanish news reports at the time almost completely overlooked the complexity of the process, favouring it less than the undeniable beauty of the monuments—much like an archaeological oasis making them forget everything else.

Another conservation issue that is pertinent to be mentioned here is that of biodeterioration—specifically, the exhalation of carbon dioxide by visitors to the temple, which causes fungal outbreak. Given that 12 percent of Egypt's gross domestic product comes from archaeological tourism to the Nile (Villarubia Mauso 2005: 62), it is somewhat ironic that there even are tourists who travel to Abu Simbel to see the degradation that occurs—which, of course, further exacerbates the problem. It is also worth noting that more news reports emerged after 1968, which was related to US rapprochement with Egypt after the 1967 war. Most of these occurred during the inauguration of the two reconstructed temples (*LVG*, 20 September 1968: 12, *ABC*, 19 September 1968: 39) and the successful completion of the works (*ABC* 4 October 1968:

15). Possibly the last mention of Abu Simbel in the press during the period occurred in 1969, when the Czech professor Federico Prockl of Brno deliver a public lecture, which was reported by *ABC* (9 May 1969: 9). A somewhat more offbeat reference to Abu Simbel even occurred of late in advertising for residential blocks in Madrid. The advertisement shows picture of the colossi of Ramses II at Abu Simbel, with a tagline that reads: "3,000 years have passed. Same quality, different tools." (Figure 10).

han pasado 3000 años...

la calidad es la misma
aunque los medios son distintos

EL PARQUE DE LAS AVENIDAS
EN SU ULTIMA FASE
ES UN NUCLEO URBANO DOTADO DE LOS MAS MODERNOS SERVICIOS
C.I.O.H.S.A. CONTRATACION E INFORMACION: ELOY GONZALO. 27
TELEFONO: 224 64 20 • 224 64 26 • 224 86 43 • 224 86 68
INFORMACION EN EL PARQUE DE LAS AVENIDAS
AVENIDA BRUSELAS, 53 TELEFONO: 256 96 16 ***

Fig. 10. Building company benefits of fame of Abu Simbel for advertised themselves as the best builders in a new extension of a quartier in Madrid. Wenesday, February, 9th 1966. Back cover © Arriba.

To summarise, the transfer of the Abu Simbel complex was reported in the Spanish press, but in largely diffusive manner. The specialised and technical information was left to dedicated archaeological magazines and journals, while news reports largely consisted of aesthetic appreciation, sometimes laced with mysticism. In a way, this 1960s reporting style lay the foundation of 'archaeological journalism' in Spain—which due to a lack of knowledge of the field, is still presented as more of an adventure, and less of a science. This is not to say, however, that the reportage was negative; the drawings, photographs and engravings were shared with the world through the democratisation of knowledge offered by the press, and made the relocation of Abu Simbel a popular issue.

The journalism of 60's in Spain start the way to the nowadays consolidate "archaeological journalism" despite this long career we still think that journalist who works with chronicles on Archaeology should have much knowledge about our discipline because they still continues projecting it as an adventure not a Science. Whether drawings, photographs and engravings opened Abu Simbel to knowledge, the Press democratized it access, popularizing his image.

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GET OFF MY LAND!

Towards mutual understanding in archaeological field conflicts

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Abstract

Genuine community participation in research and conservation projects is crucial for sustainable protection, management and development of archaeological sites, especially in sub-Saharan Africa where the scientific value of such resources is less appreciated. Local people often become suspicious of and discontented with field researchers who do not inform them of what they are doing around their courtyard, just as they are displeased with government officials who impose conservation projects upon them. Their discontent often comes for good reasons: either the given research or project is not a priority to them or its objectives differ from theirs. As a result, a conflict of expectations emerges, often leading local communities into disliking the project and hence investing little or just superficial commitment to it. Such feelings may be expressed verbally in formal or informal gatherings or through indifference, resentment, or vandalism, all of which are detrimental to the proper management of the heritage resource in question. Using specific cases of researchers/administrators-villagers differences and conflicts of expectations experienced in various places in Tanzania, the paper discusses causes of such differences, critically examines the Community Participatory technique exposing its strengths and weaknesses, as well as suggests solutions and outlining potential benefits should villagers be genuinely incorporated in such undertakings.

Key words

Conflict, Tanzania, Communication, Community Participation, Commitment

INTRODUCTION

The past is perceived differently by different people as dictated by factors such as socio-cultural background and level of education. It is therefore important when archaeologists present the past to any given audience, say for purposes of public archaeology, to take such factors into account. This has been nicely put by Collin Renfrew and Paul Bahn who say:

When we ask what the past means, it is implicit in the question that we are asking what the past means for us, for clearly it means different things to different people. An Indian, looking at the great monuments of Moghul rule, may see things differently according to whether he or she is a Hindu or a Muslim, and a European tourist will look at these buildings with different eyes again. In the same way, an Australian Aborigine may attach a very different significance to fossil human remains from an early site like Lake Mungo or to paintings in the Kakadu National Park, than a white Australian. Different communities have very different conceptions about the past which often draw on sources well beyond archaeology (Renfrew and Bahn 1996:509).

Presumably, there is no contention regarding what Renfrew and Bahn postulate above; many people would agree that there are multiple perceptions upon any given phenomenon, be it archaeological, historical, anthropological or of any other discipline. It is, therefore, scientifically enriching and ethically laudable to tolerate other peoples' viewpoints as a means for enhancing socio-cultural forbearance and at the same time testing the validity of the viewpoint that one believes in. This needs to apply among scholars as well as between scholars and lay people.

Several times during field research I have encountered lay people who, through discussions, appeared to possess brilliant ideas regarding archaeology; ideas which, if adopted, could contribute significantly to the protection and conservation of heritage resources. Unfortunately, these people, most of whom are elderly, lack literary ability to translate the knowledge they have into a medium that can be accessed by a wider audience. Stranded as they are, without knowing where to take their ideas or whom to contact, such people become overjoyed when a researcher approaches them for information. This paper has been prompted by an incident of that kind which happened in Kondoa, Central Tanzania, in 2001. While inquiring about indigenous ironworking in the

area, I conducted five one-to-one semi-structured interviews. One of them, with Mr. Ibrahim Mruke (aged 73 then), ended up being extra interesting in several ways. First, the old man, who already knew that I would be coming, broke into tears of joy upon my arrival. The reason for his extreme joy was finding someone local (a Tanzanian) and young, being interested in understanding about iron technology, a subject he had tried in vain to influence his children and grandchildren with. "Who are you and where are you from?", asked Mr. Mruke in exclamation coming amidst tears and smiled after I had introduced myself to him and told him the purpose of my visit. "None of my sons and grandsons wants to hear about such things [indigenous iron technology]; they say the past is useless." He then thanked me for visiting him and promised to tell me whatever I wanted to know. This left me wondering, why was the old man so excited and pleased to have someone to share his knowledge with?

Second, the old man's expectation of my research objectives differed from mine, which became a disappointment to both of us. Routinely, at the end of a formal interview, I give the chance to my informant to ask me questions that he or she may have to quench his or her curiosity regarding the study in question. I did the same with Mr. Mruke, and he asked me about the end use of the information I was collecting. It was a familiar question, asked by most informants; and for that I reproduced my regular response:

I am collecting this information basically for documentation purposes so that future generations get to appreciate our past since the people of your generation, who know about ironworking are very few and are passing away very fast; soon we shall have no one to ask. But, once we put the information in books it will be there for years to come (authors' field notes).

No sooner had I concluded than I learned from Mr. Mruke's face that he was not pleased and satisfied with the answer. After a brief discussion, I understood what his wishes and expectations had been. He had expected that I was a government agent, seeking information for the purpose of re-establishing ironmaking technology using modern equipment so that our youth, including his grandchildren, get employment. He said:

Wazungu [White men] stopped us from producing our own iron because they wanted us to buy their iron, and today we

are independent, but still continue buying iron from them. Why don't you guys start factories, producing iron and selling it to Wazungu? When you establish factories our grandchildren will get jobs, they are becoming loiterers (authors' field notes).

It is this second part which was more interesting to me. First, I became disappointed with my answer which displeased my passionate informant; and second, I learned that our informants and the public at large have their own priorities in the matters that we, researchers, undertake. Unfortunately, we rarely bother understanding, let alone incorporating their ideas in our studies. Of course it is difficult to accommodate everything they long for, but that should not be used as a blanket excuse for ignoring their inputs. For instance, in this case, Mr. Mruke, speaking on behalf of his community which is hard-pressed by poverty and unemployment, expected researchers to conduct applied research that could help alleviate his people from their economic hardship, including unemployment, as opposed to conducting basic research. While this cannot be adopted wholesale, given that basic research is equally important, it is worth understanding the public's viewpoint that can contribute positively to the way we conduct our research. For example, a researcher recruiting field assistants from the village would probably be more appreciated by the local community than one who would import laborers from outside the village. In terms of research methodology, one can also learn from this instance the best questions to ask, the answers to give and which ones are likely to cause irritation and thus to be avoided, etc.

Influenced by this incident, this paper examines a selection of cases of dual expectations, philosophies, and perceptions experienced in archaeology and related fields in Tanzania. Often, these conflicts occur between villagers on the one hand and researchers and conservators on the other, although the latter two sometimes clash between themselves. When appropriate measures are not timely taken such conflicts tend to impact negatively upon site protection, conservation and management, as they exacerbate destruction through apathy, neglect, and vandalism.

CASES OF CONFLICTING EXPECTATIONS

There are various forms of conflicts that occur in the field between researchers and conservators on the one hand and local communities on the other. In this section we observe some cases randomly selected

to demonstrate forms and patterns of mismatched expectations. Most of the narratives used in the case studies derive from the author's own experience in the field or result from his interrogations with local people while conducting research in various places in Tanzania.

1. Re-excavating Excavation Trenches

Excavation is one of the most common methods archaeologists use to retrieve data buried under the ground. Where exactly one locates the trench depends on the objectives of his/her research, though more often than not researchers select places with high concentration of archaeological materials. The actual process of excavating is a meticulous one; it involves step-by-step study of materials of archaeological interest *in situ* before they are picked, bagged and labeled, and taken to the camp for cleaning and analysis. Sometimes the process involves photographing as well as drawing wall and floor plans. In addition, excavated soil is subjected to screening through wire meshes for retrieval of small objects such as beads and seeds, or sometimes the soil is subjected to flotation process for microscopic materials such as pollen grains.

The amount of care and rigor deployed in the process convinces many lay people that the researcher is looking for something very important; perhaps as important as, or more important than, precious stones or minerals—because artisan miners, who happen to be commonly known in some rural areas, *e.g.*, of Tanzania, are far less thorough and careful compared to most archaeologists. It therefore does not convince any reasonable mind that archaeologists are looking for dirt—including broken pottery, flaked stones (claimed to be Stone Age tools), beads, rusted metals, *etc!* Worse still, sometimes people who come to the dig to observe archaeologists in action collect materials from around the site similar to those unearthed by archaeologists and bring them to the researcher. But instead of appreciating the assistance, the latter would decline the offer for such excuses as “sorry, those are out of context.” Worst of all, archaeologists are disinterested with even brand new stuff (pots or beads) from the shop, claiming that they are not historical.

Both the care and rigor on the one hand and the refusal of materials submitted by local people on the other, subject the local people into a state of mistrust and curiosity. To rescue themselves from this state of affairs, bold and daring local people resort to digging the archaeologists' pits at night (after the archaeologists have left for

the day) or re-excavating back-filled pits, or places with marks (e.g., datum points), after the archaeologists complete works at any given site. When they do so, we archaeologists mourn for the destruction and lament and curse the ignorance of these people.

This kind of problem often occurs where researchers do not bother to inform the local people of their missions and goals. So long as they have research permits and they have introduced themselves to the various levels of authorities, the researchers consider that to be enough; other social and/or cultural obligations are none of their business. By the time they leave, villagers are as uninformed of the archaeology of their place as they were before the researchers arrived. On top, they are left with more questions than answers. For example, they would be wondering, who those people were, where did they come from, what were they looking for, what were they collecting in the bags, why have they marked some points, what do the marks mean and so forth. These and many other questions dominate talks, discussions and often prompt hot debates in *pombe* (drinking) places and other social gatherings in the village during and after the research.

Unlike cultural anthropologists, particularly those doing participatory observation who get compelled by their research methodology to intermingle with villagers in the evening clubs and thus get the advantage of detecting the villagers' feelings early enough, most archeologists are not so interactive. They usually spend their evenings in their tents writing notes or cleaning, cataloguing, and analyzing their findings; and if they need to drink, they have their own beer stocked at the camp. All in all, they miss the opportunity to hear the complaints from the villagers.

It is these debates which prompt daring villagers to excavate or re-excavate "our" sites. They do so in order to find out what we have been doing and hence, supply informed answers to their colleagues when they next meet or simply quenching their curiosity. However, what we need to bear in mind is that when the villagers do this digging, they, in principle, conduct their own research in the sense that they search for what they believe to be secretive materials archeologists find or bury in those places. It is through such digging that the local people quench their curiosity, erase confusion and test the trustfulness of archaeologists. While we archaeologists call this "site destruction" they call it "research"! Who is right and who is wrong, and who is to blame?

Archaeologists take the 'research' conducted by the curious villagers as destruction because it destroys "their" sites, and especially datum points which are generally assumed by the villagers to be markers of buried treasures, whether minerals or currency (Mapunda 2001). But for the village intellectuals, the digging out of datum points and sites is proper research strategy no less correct than that of the archaeologists. It is conducted for a good cause: to understand what the "strangers" had been doing in their land. The responsibility of minimizing or eradicating this mistrust is in the hands of the researchers. We need to engage local communities more closely with the research that we are doing by recruiting some of them in our work, inviting them to the site to witness what we are doing, providing explanations at the sites of what the research is about, showing them the materials we collect in the pits, giving them satisfactory reasons as to why materials collected out of context are useless in archaeology, and finally establish and show them how they relate to the site in question, be it scientifically, historically, socially, culturally or otherwise (see also Mabulla 2000, 2005; Mabulla and Bower 2010; Mapunda and Lane 2004), in order for them to appreciate its value and respect and protect it.

Evidently, not every archaeologist is good in public archaeology which requires, among other things, tolerance, patience, diplomacy, as well as mastery of local language, culture and norms. On account of that, it is advisable for a field researcher to have a designated public relations member among the crew. This would enhance the mission and save time as he or she would be handling public education while others concentrate on the core work. As Mike Pearson and Ramilisonina (2004) would argue, it is of added advantage if this person is local to the area. Apart from fluency in language, he or she would be familiar with the customs and interests of local people, hence knowledgeable of what, when and where to speak, and to whom. In addition, it would be easy for the local people to trust him/her rather than a stranger.

2. When Site Protection is Considered to be Wastage of Resources

Tanzania not only is one of the Third World countries but also ranks as one of the poorest countries in that group. "Even after four decades of independence," wonders Jehoveness Aikaeli (2011: 99), "Tanzania continues to be among the poorest economies in the globe (ranking 152 out of 179 countries recorded in the UNDP human development report, 2008)". This is attributed mainly to low income, especially in the rural

areas where more than 80% of the country's poor people live (Aikaeli 2011). The majority of the rural dwellers find it difficult to afford basic needs such as food, education, health services, and shelter without support from the government, NGOs, friends or relatives (URT 2010).

Ironically, Tanzania is endowed with abundant economic resources both natural and cultural, which if exploited strategically could alleviate the scorching poverty within a short period of time. Among the resources are minerals, forests, game parks, and heritage sites of world value such as Olduvai Gorge, Laetoli Footprints, and Rock Paintings of central Tanzania, and the built heritage along the coast including Kilwa, Bagamoyo, Kunduchi, Stone-Town Zanzibar and Pemba. For the cultural resources to be economically viable and sustainable they need heavy investments in terms of conservation, protection, and publicity.

However, evidence from various places in the country indicates that efforts to conserve and protect heritage sites by the bodies responsible for the tasks are received with different feelings by the communities living around the sites. For example, when conservators put fences and construct shelters to protect sites, villagers, the majority of whom live below poverty line, consider these measures as wastage of resources or at most inversion of priorities.

The situation stated above can perhaps be better exemplified by a case of rock painting sites of Kondoa, central Tanzania (World Heritage Site since 2007), where rock painting sites have been noted to vanish at an alarming rate due to both natural and cultural factors. The former include animal droppings, rainwater, seepage and exfoliation, whereas the latter include graffiti, touching, splashing with local brew (for ritual purposes), illegal excavation in the rock shelters, dusting and soot. In order to minimize destruction, especially that caused by direct contact with the paintings, such as illegal excavation, graffiti, touching, and splashing of brew, the Antiquities Division of Tanzania carried out a major conservation project between 1965 and 1968 (Antiquities Division 1965; Bwasiri 2011; URT 2004). The project concentrated on the rock-art cluster of Kolo-Kisese, focusing on a total of 14 sites considered to be at a high risk of destruction. In reality, it involved construction of cages of wire mesh on a timber framework resting on a stone foundation (URT 2004). These were constructed in such a way that they would allow people to see and photograph the paintings without entering the shelters (Mturi 1996). Emergency entrances were put in place in case of need to access the paintings directly, say for conservation purposes. Construction of protective cages was followed

by the opening of the sites to visitors through the construction of access roads and employment of guides (Antiquities Division 1965, 1980).

However, the project suffered heavily from vandalism from some members of the local community. Much of this had to do with poor operational approach. The philosophy governing the *modus operandi* of the project was the top-down model, by which government conservators, who “knew it all”, came to the site with their tools, constructed the cages and, finally, instructed the locals on what to do and what not to do and off they went. As a result, within a decade, the project was reported to have been wastage on account of vandalism. In its Annual Report of 1976 and 1977, the Antiquities Division admitted that, “The acts of vandalism which included the removal of wire, nuts, timber and locks from the protective cages and the removal or destruction of signposts continued unabated” (Antiquities Division 1980: 8). Hence, the fragile paintings have, since then, been once again exposed to all sorts of dangers (Plate 1).

Unfortunately, none of the wrongdoers has ever been apprehended as the mesh and other materials used for the project were not different from those sold in regular shops for other purposes. But during general public interrogations people admitted that the stolen wire mesh would be used as window mesh or for grilling meat. The local people claim that the stealing was prompted by poverty. They argue that it is quite tempting to see that the wire, an expensive commodity in their standards, “is left to rust for nothing in the bush” (Simon Materu, the Chief Conservator of the Kondoa Rock Art site, in a personal comment on July 2012). The villagers’ response shows clearly that site conservation is not a priority to them; that is why they do not appreciate the government’s justification for spending so much money on the protection of heritage sites; hence, interpreting the project as wastage of resource.

However, we cannot undermine the fact that the local community was not fully involved in the project. As Mturi once noted, the local people in the area were completely ignorant of not only the project but also the tourism and educational role of the rock-art around them.

Because of deficiencies in the educational system, the rock-art of Tanzania and its significance as a cultural and tourist resource are unknown to the inhabitants in the areas with rock-art sites and to the public at large. Even at primary schools situated near rock-art sites, teachers and pupils were unaware of the existence of the sites (Mturi 1996: 187).

One other strange, yet real, philosophy ruling among the villagers is that vandalizing or stealing government (public) property is a light offence because they always have grudges with the government, claiming that it does not care about their needs. In addition, they believe that the government is so rich that it would not feel the loss of materials of such a low cost as the wire mesh (Simon Materu, pers. comm., July, 2012).



Plate 1: A wall stump that once was the base of a framed protection wire mesh at Site B1, Kolo (Photo by the Author, July 2012)

However, that does not mean that the rock shelters in general have no meaning to them. They do. They use them for ritual purposes. Some shelters (e.g., Mungumi wa Kolo) are held in oral account to be sacred and people still today offer sacrifices of animals, local beer, and other materials when faced with socio-cultural problems such as drought, chronic illness or infertility (Bwasiri 2011) (Plate 2). But unfortunately, as Bwasiri laments:

"...the present management system and legislation fails to recognize traditional practitioners (traditional healers, diviners and rainmakers) as having any rights to use the site for sacrifices to their ancestors. Failure to involve traditional practitioners and to honour and support their connection with

the site is presently causing conflicts in the management of this World Heritage Site” (Bwasiri 2011 :61-62).

Thus, from the villagers’ point of view, putting fences around the shelters means denying them access and implicitly undermining their religious beliefs. Thus, their vandalism is a form of protest. It should be noted that even though the locals continue with rituals at the sites, they do it secretly and hastily in fear of the conservation officers. Bwasiri notes that, “In the past, ritual ceremonies at Mungumi wa Kolo lasted a whole day, but nowadays they last a few hours for fear that the Antiquities officers at the Kolo office may take them to court if they are caught performing rituals” (Bwasiri 2011: 62).



Plate 2: A close-up photo (bottom) of a cooking hearth (above) recently used for ritual purposes at Mungumi wa Kolo site (Photo by the Author, July 2012)

This means of expressing discontent is not unique to Kondoa. N.J. Karoma had noted the same from the Maasai communities living around Olduvai Gorge (Karoma 1996). Explaining vandalism that took place at the Douglas Korongo (DK) site, Olduvai Gorge, in the late 1980s where some people stole the roofing corrugated iron sheets, Karoma says: "In the case of Olduvai, arguments have been advanced that the destruction there is not a simple case of vandalism but that those responsible for the destruction were making a political statement" (Karoma 1996: 199). According to Antiquities regulations, "the Maasai are forbidden to take their cattle into the gorge" (Karoma 1996: 200) in order to control soil erosion and destruction of archaeological materials, especially bones commonly found at the site. Like the Irangi people of Kondoa who were denied the right to perform rituals in some rock shelters, the Maasai interpreted this restriction as an infringement on their traditional grazing rights, hence vandalism for protest.

In both cases one fact is clear; the worldview and interests of the local communities had not been fully incorporated into the projects. Consequently, the projects came to be viewed as alien intervention, imposed by the government without integrating them into the villagers' socio-cultural and economic milieus (Mapunda 2001).

3. Display of wealth

Field archaeologists have almost always been thought of as treasure hunters. It often takes tons of energy to reverse people's viewpoint that archaeologists are for cultural remains. There are several factors which lead local people to this belief. The first is the perception local people have about the material remains that interest archaeologists. These are old, and by ordinary standard garbage or useless waste materials. Worse still, archaeologists would not be as interested with freshly made, good and fashionable materials as they are with the same of the archaic type! The second factor, which probably is more tantalizing, is that the "garbage" is sought after using huge amounts of resources often including a fleet of expensive jeeps; tented camps with expensive/imported foodstuff; relatively well-paid laborers; expensive equipment most of which may be unfamiliar to the local people such as total stations, magnetometers, flotation gear, etc. All these demonstrate clearly that the projects the archaeologists are engaged with are expensive. It, therefore, follows logically that archaeologists must be getting super profit (monetary) in return; they

cannot be investing such huge resources for nothing or for the sake of science alone, as they claim.

The third factor relates to data retrieval techniques: archaeologists are systematic, orderly and meticulous in collecting their data, and especially during excavation, as noted above. Retrieved materials are handled with the utmost care. They do this on the grounds that excavation is by nature destructive. Once a stratigraphic context has been disturbed through excavation it cannot be reconstructed. It is therefore important to record every detail so as to document the original (pre-excavation) context as closely to reality as possible.

However, the local people perceive the extra care archaeologists deploy during data collection differently. For them, it is another clear demonstration of economic worthiness of the materials in question. They believe that the materials which seem to be garbage must have some value known to archaeologists, who in turn do not want to make it known to the local people lest they become competitors in this mysterious yet real "business". There are times when local people collect and bring archaeological materials to camps for sale. Instead of showing positive response to the "commodities" brought at their doorway, archaeologists would contemptuously discourage the business with the excuse that the materials are out of context. And sometimes, naively one would request that he or she is shown the place where the "vender" got his/her precious commodities. The disappointed "vender" would often take such answers as yet another proof that archaeologists are not telling the truth, and that their request to be guided to the primary context would be interpreted as a cunning way of tricking people into revealing to them the location of the materials so that they go and get them in their own time.

The famous Early Iron Working site of Limbo, located 100 km south of Dar es Salaam, was found in 1987 through a local, Mr. Issa Salum Abdallah, who brought a piece of slag from his farm to the field school camp for sale. He landed his trust upon this author, who by then was a first year undergraduate student of the University of Dar es Salaam. After a lengthy sensitization education and discussion which was held in confidence, Mr. Abdallah was convinced that slag was a cultural material and that it had archaeological and not economic value. He led this author and the field school leader to the source area. The place had a high concentration of slag, mixed with tuyere fragments and pottery. The latter were typical Early Iron Age ceramics with thickened and beveled rims, which made the discovery an exciting

one for it was, and still is, the first Early Iron Working site found along the eastern African coast (Chami 1988; Schmidt *et al.* 1992).

Since then I have learned that we were lucky to be taken to the site by a curious informant. Usually, once one's expectations are declined he or she turns hostile (resulting from mistrust of researchers) and naturally becomes reluctant to show researchers where exactly he or she got the materials. It is for this that Mr. Abdallah has never stopped regretting his decision to show archaeologists the Limbo site. As more and more researchers visit the site, he more and more believes that it was a mistake to believe that slag is monetarily valueless! "People around here are laughing at me, saying how comes that I am not rich while rich people come with cars to my homestead every year" Abdallah lamented during a field excursion with postgraduate students in 2011. "On top" he continued, "you guys come to work in my land, you pay those who work on my land a lot of money, but I get paid nothing!"

Another example is drawn from Pemba Island where during a field school at Kaliwa, north of the Island, in 2004, we faced a tough conflict with one of the land owners of the area. After having spent the first two days of our arrival on formal introduction and reporting to the Sheha (local religious cum political leader) and setting up our camp, the third day was for actual work. The team of 14 students was split into two working groups, and each was assigned a separate area, to the north and south of the site respectively, about 200 m apart. We started excavating immediately because a survey had already been done two years before, so the site was known. While the southern group proceeded smoothly, the northern one did not. As soon as they completed laying out the plan of the trench, one old man came, introduced himself as the land owner and firmly asked the students to pack and get off his land. When this happened I was with the southern group. The student group leader attempted to inform him that they were students whose interest was to learn field techniques and that all necessary procedures had been followed to allow the team to work there. The man, whom we came later to learn his name as RB, insisted that the students should stop immediately and leave the place, and that he was not ready to listen to any lies. "Last time you came here [this was 2002, during survey, and completely different people] collected treasure [pottery thought to be treasure] from my land and left. This year you are coming back, digging in my land and you think I am a fool, I am not; I know exactly what you are after [treasure]. I want you to get off my land, now" demanded the old man.

The students were tantalized and did not know how else to educate and calm Mr. RB, while on his side Mr. RB also did not understand why the students were not obeying his orders. At this juncture he left and the students resumed work in the anticipation that Mr. RB had understood and consented. One student came to report the incident to me. I instructed that they should continue with work and in case he came back with the demands they should let me know so that I intervened. Half an hour later, the old man came back with a machete and looking fiercer than before, shouting that he would rather go to jail for murder than allow stubborn thieves steal treasure from his land in daylight while he watches. The students ran for their lives, some to where I was and called for my help.

I had no choice but to face Mr. RB. After a lengthy discussion and negotiations, I managed to calm him down, but asked students to temporarily suspend the work until the matter was completely resolved. Mr. RB and I agreed to postpone the discussion until the next morning when we would involve the Sheha. It did not take long for the Sheha the next day to convince Mr. RB that he erred by overreacting and interfering with legally permitted researchers. Mr. RB understood and apologized. However, I asked the Sheha to call a public meeting for informing his people about what we are doing in order to avoid recurrence of the incident. This was done in the afternoon of the same day, and the following day, Monday, we resumed work in Mr. RB's land, and the rest of the eight-week long field school proceeded peacefully.

4. Archaeologists as Victims of Coincidences

We have already noted that archaeologists often have difficulties in convincing people in places they conduct research that they are what they say they are, despite the efforts invested in explaining the truth of the matter. While often they are stated to be treasure hunters, there are also times when they have been confused with other groups of people, who often are negatively perceived in the given community. This association, which almost always is based on rumors, tends to impact negatively upon archaeologists, sometimes leading to serious interruption of the work plan or even total cancellation of the intended research. A few incidents can illustrate this.

While on research expedition to Mitomoni, along the Tanzania-Mozambique border in 2002, I was denied access to the village despite my having permit and letters of introduction from the Regional and

District authorities. I arrived at the village office with my crew of four members at around 4.00 pm, but we were told by the people living around the office that the Chairman had left the office some minutes prior to our arrival and was aware of our coming but did not want to meet with us. The villagers did not know why he avoided us. We were astounded. I sent a messenger for him to come for the routine introduction and handing him the regular documents. He sent back the messenger, saying that we were not accepted, we should leave. I sent back the messenger asking him to give reasons in writing as to why we are not accepted so that I can report the same to the District and Regional authorities who had granted us permit to conduct research at the village. It did not work. We then appealed to the Village Executive Officer (VEO) who, fortunately, allowed us to stay and promised to come the next day to sort out the matter.

When we enquired the villagers about the matter, after we had established the camp and invited people to come forth for job interviews (cooks, watchmen and field assistants), we learned that there had been a skirmish in the village about two weeks prior to our arrival involving army officers and some villagers and one of the officers was injured. So, when the Chairman saw us coming he thought that we had come to investigate the case. Even when the messenger told him that we were researchers he took it to be a plain lie; we were undercover investigators coming to apprehend malefactors of the skirmish, among whom the Chairman. The VEO allowed us in because he had not been involved in the fracas. Two days later, after assuring himself that we were really researchers and not undercover policemen, the Chairman surfaced, revealed the reason for the decision he made, apologized and asked if we could recruit his nephew as field assistant!

Very similar to the aforementioned incident, is a case which befell Edward Pollard in July 2012 when surveying around Kiswere Harbour, Lindi Region, in southeastern Tanzania. Edward, a maritime archaeologist presently based in Scotland, has uneventfully led several research expeditions along the coast of Tanzania, during the past ten or so years. Previously, he had concentrated his research in the areas of Kilwa and Bagamoyo, a World Heritage Site (WHS) and a potential WHS respectively, where the locals are much more used to the presence of researchers. During the time in question, he came for a one month follow-up research on several locations in the southeastern coast of Tanzania.

When he arrived at Kiswere village, the villagers needed a lot of convincing that he was not an investor. It should be noted that the conflicts over land between villagers and investors are commonplace in Tanzania today. Most of these investors get permission and title deeds from the top authorities at national level, often without the consent of the villagers at the site. When the villagers complain, the government officials do not attend to their queries because they know that they are the source of the problem. On account of this, some villagers decide to fight on their own against any form of land acquisition by foreigners on the grounds of investment.

Coincidentally, Edward became the victim of three incidents during his survey around Kiswere Harbour. First, a few months prior to his arrival, a white man (investor) had come to Kiswere village looking for land to build a hotel; his request was denied. Hence, Edward was easily taken to be of the same mission and archaeology was thought to be a mere pretext. Second, mining activities for cement had taken place during the last century near the village, from which the villagers reported that they had received little benefit. Therefore, even if his interest had been investment, they were not interested. Edward was informed that his usual transport means of boat hire to survey the coast and inter-tidal zone around Kiswere Harbour would cause further problems from suspicious villagers since it was unusual for a foreigner to use such means of transport. Lastly, politically, some villages are generally in favour of the opposition party. Edward experienced this at Jiwe la Mzungu village, about 12 km from Kiswere village, where the villagers did not like to be served with research permits along with a letter of introduction from the central Government in Dar es Salaam and turned him away. He, however, had a pleasant reception at the nearby Ruvu Bay village. He suspects the reason to be a political one; the village supported the ruling party.

It is worth noting that suspicion continued in Kiswere village despite villagers accompanying surveys and test pit excavations. Mr. Elgidius Ichumbaki, an Assistant Lecturer with the University of Dar es Salaam, who was leading a field school about 100 km south of Kiswere, visited the expedition and suggested that an open day should take place to show the villagers the equipment used, the finds, what can be learned from the material and what was going to happen to the finds after completion of fieldwork. Although this open day, which took place at the school, received a lot of local interest, there seemed to be some confusion and disappointment as some villagers thought it was

going to be a meeting where the researchers would be telling them what they found and that they would give them something in return for taking these artefacts away. After the open day, the villagers were still not completely convinced and the Kiswere Head teacher accompanied the researcher to Kilwa where the artefacts were to be left with the Antiquities Office. While discussing with the Head of Antiquities in Kilwa, the school master appeared happier that the researcher was not running off with, and profiting from, the artefacts. Fortunately, he reported this to the villagers so that future research can take place with less mistrust (information based on pers. comm., Edward Pollard, supplemented by Elgidius Ichumbaki, October, 2012).

A third case is drawn from Androy in southern Madagascar, where an incident similar to those narrated above is reported by Mike Pearson and Ramilisonina:

There is a powerful social norm of hospitality throughout the south but people are very suspicious of outsiders. Retsihisatse's [a local archaeologist] participation in the project enabled us to break through this barrier. We have come across many stories of misunderstandings and confrontations between Tandroy and outsiders, both Malagasy and European, which have occasionally resulted in murder. There have long been tales of how 'foreigners', especially white ones, will steal hearts, livers, and tongues. In 1993 a new rumour began that white people were head-hunting to extract brains in the search for an AIDS cure. The rumour started in association with two Frenchmen in a red car ostensibly on a fact-finding mission into primary education – of which there is none. Within this climate of suspicion it was only a matter of weeks before the description of the suspects matched our team and Landrover—the head-hunters were now pretending that they were looking for old pottery... (Pearson and Ramilisonina 2004: 230-1, emphasis added).

What all these cases have in common is that the archaeologists came to these places at the wrong time —coinciding with happenings that they had nothing to do with but still had difficulties exonerating themselves from. Worse still, one is taken by surprise, and self-defense usually has very little chance of success, especially when one

is a foreigner. There is no doubt that the difficulty is exacerbated by the nature of the disciple. As narrated in the cases No. 1-3 above, people find it difficult to believe that old pottery is all the researcher is interested in; there must be something more substantive than that. And he or she cannot prevent the speculations emerging on account of his/her arrival. The best solution in such cases is the deployment of local intellectuals as the go-betweens (see the case of Retsihisatse the Madagascan case above).

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

There are a number of lessons we can draw from the cases narrated above that can help us minimize conflicts and therefore improve research performance and enhance site protection, conservation and management. One fundamental lesson learned is that the conflicts often emerging in the field are avoidable. The solution lies mainly in understanding the root cause of the problem at hand. For instance, we have noted that vandalism is not always an expression of ignorance of the value of the respective heritage resource on the part of the one who commits it. It may as well be a political or ideological statement. A villager or villagers may vandalize a heritage asset in order to express their discontent against decisions made by higher authorities or researchers without either their consent or their full knowledge of the significance of the given project. In either case, the appropriate mitigation measure would not be apprehension and imprisonment of the perpetrator, but rather identifying and addressing the statement the villagers are making.

The obvious solution that one would suggest today for problems related to vandalism, reserved cooperation, indifference, and other actions committed by the community in expressing their dissatisfaction with a given project is community participation. This commonly requires involving the community in planning and execution of the given project. But this is easier said than done. The technique is more complex than is generally conceived. For example, its *modus operandi*, which requires the local community to be educated on and/or sensitized to the respective projects prior to implementation, is inherently biased. It operates under the assumption that researchers and conservators are the “know-all” and the local community is *tabula rasa*, hence should be educated by the “know-all” group. Concepts such as *public sensitization*, *public education*, or *public awareness*, etc., which in fact imply public

dormancy, dominate this line of approach. This encourages the “know-all” group to impose rules and regulations on the community on the pretext that the latter lack knowledge, awareness, and expertise. There is no intention here to argue that local communities in space and time possess the same level of knowledge of heritage resources as formally trained archaeologists and conservators, but rather to advocate for balance. Education and sensitization should go in either direction. Archaeologists and conservators should also be prepared to adopt ideas and views from the local communities.

Another weakness is that the would-be educators/sensitizers, i.e., heritage officers, are people with vested interest in the project. Hence, both content and paradigm governing the teaching tend to be biased in favor of the trainers. In this way, community participation remains a lip service and is bound to be fruitless. A genuine participation has to assume the two sides as equals and that each has a substantive intellectual input into the project and therefore education and sensitization should be a two-way traffic.

Heritage officers responsible for community-based projects should be prepared to learn from the community in question very much as they are ready to educate. The cases above have shown clearly that it is not only the basic information that drives people’s decisions and actions in favor of or disfavor against a heritage project or site but also their worldview. A one-hour or a half-day sensitization seminar, which is all that the heritage officers often can afford (due to limited resources or time), is not enough to repeal a life-long paradigm or line of thinking the local communities would have. Instead, the methodology should consider integrating not only ideas but also the attitude of mind of the local communities into the projects and researches done in their area. The easy way to do that is to work as a team of equals, both contributing and agreeing upon objectives, operational procedures, and potential uses or benefits of the project.

Additionally, we have learned that economic hardship has a major stake in the conflicts that researchers and heritage officers have with local communities. When it comes to research, the latter are interested more in applied than basic research. In other words, they want research that can help them solve their economic problems, today and not tomorrow. More often than not villagers consider researchers’ and conservators’ goals to be irrelevant to them simply because they do not aim at alleviating poverty. Therefore, the least a researcher should do is to recruit as many paid laborers as possible from within

the research area. One should avoid recruiting casual laborers such as guards, cooks, and field assistants away from where the research is conducted.

Conservation projects should try as much as possible to include components of tourism that are likely to generate income and efforts should be invested in ensuring that income is generated and people benefit directly from it. Although many people would like to receive monetary dividends, this should not be encouraged. Instead, contributions should be made to projects in the village that require financial and/or material input from the villagers, so they can be relieved from the financial or physical burden. Therefore, these contributions would relieve them from either financial or labor input into the village-based projects.

Finally, researchers should learn to be patient and tolerant. One needs to understand that the villagers, as land owners, have the primary right over the land they occupy whether customarily or secularly. A researcher opting for confrontational measures on the grounds that "I have the papers; I am [therefore] right and they are wrong", tends to exacerbate rather than resolve problems. It is important to note that developing and maintaining a healthy relationship with the local people is a pertinent prerequisite not only for the success of the research in question but also for the subsequent sustainable conservation and management of the sites and materials found through the given research. Differences are bound to happen, but the choice of the appropriate step to be taken is very important for a field researcher. The case of Mr. RB of Kaliwa, Pemba, can be emulated for amicable solutions for researcher-villager(s) conflicts.

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EXCAVA(C)TION IN VIGNALE

Archaeology on stage, archaeology on the Web

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Abstract

As an orchestra or a rock star, archaeologists have their audience too. This paper wants to highlight an integrated approach between fieldwork, its account and its dissemination to the public in different ways, including social media. This potential integration has come to life in the 2011 excavation of the Roman mansio of Vignale (Italy) and it has been named "Excava(c)tion". It doesn't mean a new way of digging but another way of approaching the excavation, an approach integrated toward and with the public, both on site and on the social Web. "Excava(c)tion" conceives the site as a stage and digging as a performance, through a continuous dialogue between archaeologists and the public. Archaeologists share their work in the form of guided tours (live, theatrical-like performances), communicative diaries and videos (edited, motion-picture performances) and on a blog (www.uominioceseavignale.it). They receive back comments and oral accounts from the local community about the main themes of common interest. "Excava(c)tion" means engagement both of archaeologists and the public in the pursuit of a global multivocality during archaeological excavation.

Keywords

Excava(c)tion, Vignale, performance, multivocality, archaeologist

1. **Excava(c)tion: from wordplay to communication strategy**

Vignale is an archaeological site on the coast of Tuscany, opposite the Elba Island, near the well-known ancient city of Populonia. Vignale, whose ancient name is unknown, was a Roman farm in the 3rd and 2nd centuries BC, evolved into a larger *villa* in the 1st century BC, and later became a *mansio* on the major Roman road Aurelia/Aemilia Scauri from the 1st to the 5th century AD. A team from the University of Siena has been carrying out excavation campaigns since 2004, in collaboration with the Direzione Regionale per i Beni Culturali e Paesaggistici della Toscana. Both authors have been part of the team since 2007. The latest report is that of Giorgi and Zanini (Forthcoming).

Early in 2011, when it was time for students to start applying for fieldwork, we decided to promote the next excavation campaign in two ways. The first one was the traditional flyer with photographs of archaeologists and ancient remains, a short text highlighting the main archaeological features and research topics, e-mail addresses and our website URL (<http://www.uominioceseavignale.it/>). The second one was something new, more like a marketing campaign. The 'marketing campaign' was focused around "Excava(c)tion", and included two steps to attract students. During the first week, several flyers were placed on faculty blackboards, featuring only 'fancy' slogans such as "*Excava(c)tion*", "*Much more than an excavation*" and its Italian version "*È molto più di uno scavo*", without any further indication or visual resemblance to our well-known graphic identity, such as the project logo and the almost-standard fonts and layout. Our aim was to make people curious and create expectations for something that was going to happen. The following week, the same slogans were put again on display together with QR-Codes pointing to a promotional video on YouTube. QR-Codes are 2-dimensional barcodes, capable of storing several hundred characters and typically used to provide direct links to web pages and apps for smartphone users, saving them from typing potentially long URLs and, thus, avoiding mistakes. All smartphones can be easily equipped with a QR-Code reader application, and the adoption of QR-Code based on advertising is increasing. Judging from our personal experience, at least half of the students potentially interested in joining the excavation had a smartphone capable of reading a QR-Code and following a link to the YouTube video. Based on our three-year experience in archaeological video-making (described in more detail below), we had assembled a one-minute video with fast-paced music and scenes from fieldwork and daily life at the excavation house, very much in line with current popular TV advertising.

The video was then uploaded to our YouTube account as a hidden item, that is to say an item visible only to those users who know the full URL (in this case: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=EGLMXjkZsfU>), but neither listed on our account page nor available among the search results. The idea was to bring about prospective participants to see this video, but only if they were curious enough to solve our riddle.

Flyers that promote excavation campaigns are usually quite serious. They convey a conventional and stereotyped image of activities taking place at an excavation, focusing on the archaeological features that make it unique. On the contrary, the 'riddle flyers' explicitly bring communication to the foreground, and prospective students may want to choose the medium over the message, or at least that was what we had been expecting.

We were expecting around one hundred views of the video, based on the number of flyers and on that of both undergraduate and graduate students in our department. Unfortunately, our expectations proved to be completely wrong, and the video only had 7 views in one week after the 'launch'. Adding a human-readable URL to the flyers did not bring any improvement. We had to come to the conclusion that either our students were not curious enough, or the communication strategy we adopted was flawed. We eventually analysed our strategy, and identified some weaknesses that we have been trying to avoid since. These weaknesses have mostly to do with QR-Codes, that are not as well-known as we were hoping: most smartphone owners either do not know or do not care about QR-Codes in general. Secondly, there is *too much* advertising on faculty blackboards, and undergraduates are well known for missing events if they are not solicited via other means such as e-mail. Furthermore, all students tend to concentrate on notices about lectures, class timetable changes and house renting, and even those who engage regularly in social media do not think of them as an appropriate way to approach their (early) academic life, that is to say they rather keep their social life separate from their academic life.

Apparently, we had been too optimistic about the engagement of our students with social media technology, largely misled by the assumption that our department has a reputation for being among the most advanced in Italy in the field of archaeological computing, applied informatics and social media (see on this last point Valenti and Zanini 2011; Massi 2011).

2. **Excava(c)tion – Archaeology as performance**

The second and more relevant stage of “Excava(c)tion” story takes place during the 2011 Vignale fieldwork season. The delusion of the communication strategy described above did not affect our ideas for the new field season, because there were no common features between the two.

What we did in Vignale was neither another riddle nor a new way of digging, but another way of approaching the excavation. An integrated approach is used with the public both on site and on the social Web. “Excava(c)tion” conceives the site as a stage and digging as a performance, through a continuous dialogue between archaeologists and the public, supported by different types of performance. First of all, archaeologists gave live performances: they acted at the site as if they were at the theatre, in order to involve a wider public. In this way, they were able to make more understandable a very poorly preserved site where the repeated ploughing carried out for centuries has damaged in an irreparable way the ruins of the site. Walls are not preserved in height, floors are cut, the site as a whole is not easily understandable. For these reasons, such shows are needed to involve people and make the work of archaeologists more clear. Performances are also a good way to catch the attention of children and engage them with the site. For example, archaeologists showed the arrival of horses and horsemen at the *mansio* (Picture 1), and tried to reproduce the arches of a kiln (Picture 2). Performances and live excavation experiences are not simple, especially for children, but we concluded that it was the most promising way of involvement, thus, we focused on that. Secondly, there was the communication performance. It was neither a guided tour, nor a scheduled tour. Instead, when people visited the site and asked for some information, like all tourists do, archaeologists shared something about the work they were doing as a work in progress, and invited them to visit the site again in the following weeks. This is a way of involving the local community in fieldwork, encouraging locals to follow it. Laracuate (2012) has stated that this kind of live performances cannot have a proper follow-up because it ends when the experience ends. Therefore, Laracuate has proposed the use of social media in order to offer an enduring understanding and involvement. In Vignale, interaction with the so called “free-choice learners” (Laracuate 2012: 85) was achieved by showing our work and answering questions on site. Blogs and social media are useful as secondary tools.



Picture 1: Archaeologists show the arrival of horses and horsemen at the mansio.



Picture 2: Archaeologists try to reproduce the arches of a kiln.

Beyond live performances, "Excava(c)tion" also included pre-recorded performances: one of these was a motion picture. We produced a series called "Una giornata sullo scavo" (A day on the excavation, available at <http://www.youtube.com/user/UominieCoseaVignale/>). Through this series we wanted to show what the various groups were doing on the site. In this case, the site was always the acting stage but, in order to use video as our medium, there was a post-production work, and therefore a pre-recorded broadcast. As in the previous excavation seasons, in 2011 we recorded a docudrama too, "Morte a Vignale" (Death in Vignale) (available at <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=i7fa5uBQRGI>), with the aim of enhancing our communication strategy in a narrative way. The so-called "democratization of technology" permitted us to experiment and develop new ways of communicating through video (Tringham, Ashley Lopez 2001).

The third and last type of performance took place on the Web, and more precisely on our blog (<http://www.uominiecoseavignale.it/>). Instead of using the blog to tell a standardised story of our daily work, all students were in turn asked to write a blog post about their activity, as part of their duties. The outcome is a perhaps obvious example of multivocality. Older members of the team tend to think in terms of things to do, achievements based on their own objectives, extremely detailed stratigraphic problems, excavation strategies and so on. Newcomers have instead a hard time trying to articulate their interests with respect to the general aim of the project, but feel excitement for being able to perform archaeological tasks on their own ("I have cleaned this surface and it is now clear that the deposit of orange soil is on top of the others"), or for special and not-so-special finds ("my first Roman coin!", "the burial of a woman... let's give her a name"), and in general they think the most important thing they can do is to learn how to do something. Strategies, finds, learning, excitement, achievements: all of these matter to those who like and love our work, and there is no reason to present only half of it. Using our blog was a successful experiment of narrative in archaeology, and a way for students to learn by doing and obtain a basic education about public archaeology, that is entirely missing from current educational programs of Italian universities (a detailed account is made by Zuanni in this same issue of AP).

3. **Archaeologists as main characters**

In “Excava(c)tion” the site is the acting stage while the main characters are the archaeologists, who perform. The archaeologists of Vignale must engage with a local audience, composed mainly of inhabitants of the nearby village Riotorto and local scholars interested in archaeology. Every year this community of people becomes larger and more diverse, and therefore we must interact with all community members in order to find the best way to involve each and every one of them with our work.

Why is the role of the archaeologists so important? As they are those who actually dig the site, no one knows the site better than the archaeologists and, at the moment of the excavation, no one but them could tell what they are doing. In that moment, it is their responsibility to tell the public what is under their feet. In order to be successful, a variety of performances is needed and archaeologists have to be prepared for several types of activity, as we described above.

In general, an archaeological excavation is a difficult place to carry out activities that are typical in outreach projects, especially when children are involved: after all, an excavation is first and foremost a working site, with strict requirements in terms of health and safety procedures (Italian law 81/2008) that are far more complex than those applying to a ‘still’ archaeological site. From our experience, this is a big difference, but it is not necessarily negative: when the excavation is on, the public is not primarily interested in learning something about the history of the site, but rather wants to take part in our project as it happens. A similar process in a museum environment is described by Rodriguez Santana and Correa Guimerá (2011).

Amongst the archaeologists of Vignale, those who actively play “Excava(c)tion” know the general information about what we are collectively doing: the archaeology of the site and the history of archaeological research, the main themes of interest and some logistic information (i.e. the period of the excavation season). At the same time, those archaeologists have to keep in mind what they are digging, in order to choose the best performance in each moment. The archaeological site of Vignale is situated along the “Aurelia”, a major local road, so many people stop and ask for information during the day. Of course, in this situation, it is rather difficult to perform live because this would require the frequent interruption of work. Therefore, we concentrate more on the communication performance, leaving the live one for scheduled visits or guided tours.

With regard to the “Excava(c)tion” communication performance, this is a very good way to involve visitors without interrupting the work which is presented as a show to them. The local audience is engaged and has an opportunity to talk with the archaeologists: it is not a guided tour and the archaeologists do not have a prepared speech but decide what to talk about depending on the questions and the interests of the audience. During the 2011 campaign, the youngest students were also accompanying visitors. This was possible because they knew what to say and how, as they had been watching and listening to older staff members doing the same. The fact that a lot of visitors came to the site alone or in small groups allowed students to practise their communication skills in relative calm. More importantly, they understood the necessity of communication in archaeology.

Moreover, the communication performance requires no interruptions of work for all but one person. The other archaeologists at work are part of the ‘show’ the public expects to see. That is why they do not have to interrupt their work to make the view of the remains ‘clear’: archaeologists are part of the site as much as the remains. Thus, every area where archaeologists work can be considered as a sort of micro-acting stage. After asking about and listening to some general information about the site, visitors usually ask about the work of archaeologists in the different areas of the site. Generally, if possible, visitors should be accompanied by an archaeologist working in the specific area they are visiting. This way, visitors can get better information and listen to multiple voices while archaeologists, relieving each other, can carry on their work.

Regarding the “Excava(c)tion” pre-recorded performances, archaeologists are the main characters in these ones too. In the series “Una giornata sullo scavo”, the archaeologists are those who speak in front of the camera and, in the same clip, those who are digging in the field. The title of the series (i.e., A day on the excavation) focuses not so much on what we have found in Vignale but rather on the daily work of the archaeologists. The local community plays a rather active part in supporting our research and the most interested people often want to learn more about how we work. In the series, which is made of three short clips, we tried to give people an idea about the main activities that kept us busy during this excavation season.

Finally, archaeologists are the main characters of the docudrama “Morte a Vignale”: both in the scenes recorded on site, where they act as themselves, and in the re-enacted scenes, in which they embody

plausible men and women who would dwell in Vignale in the Roman period (for some earlier examples of re-enactment, see Appleby 2005). Our experience in docudrama started in order to diversify and broaden our communication strategy, but the double role gives the archaeologists another advantage: by talking about what they are digging, advancing hypotheses and bringing them to life with the re-enactment, they help structure the knowledge process (Zanini, Ripanti 2012).

4. **From broadcasting to engagement**

The communication strategy we envisaged for the 2011 excavation campaign in Vignale was different from that of previous years while maintaining some elements that we deemed positive, based on a thorough review of the ideas and issues summarised above. Two elements did not change between 2010 and 2011. The most important is our position, at the border of a major local road (only a few meters away, literally – the archaeological site actually spans on both sides of the road). This gives us a great visibility, although mainly from car and truck drivers who are unable to stop. The second element, that was envisaged to take advantage of the road traffic, is a big plastic banner featuring our general research project name, “Uomini e cose a Vignale” (a similar experiment in Jeppson 2012). What we did differently in 2011 was in first place to increase accessibility to the site, marking the outer, safe parts more clearly. Similarly, the website was changed from a one-way, broadcasting type (with long texts, possibly too boring for the public) to a two-way communication channel, adopting the now widespread practice of using excavation blogs to show the daily activity, enabling comments and questions. This change was relatively easy thanks to the WordPress platform that we were already using. The YouTube channel is tightly linked to the website and allowed us to publish rich accounts of our work alongside the text and photographs. Blogs need updates to keep visitors happy, and authors need visitors to be happy.

As archaeologists, it is visitors to the *archaeological* site and not to the *web* site that make us happy. Therefore, our two main objectives were to tell a wide range of stories and have people come to the site and see our work. The blog became a step in the ‘discovery path’ leading visitors to Vignale, rather than being a destination on its own. Literally thousands of cars travel across Vignale every day. Some drivers see us working and, after seven years, almost every local knows that we are archaeologists digging a Roman villa. Still, they want to know more and look for us on the Web, to obtain updates, more detailed information

and, most importantly, confirmations of their ideas about the site itself (some think it spans further to the South on the grounds of 19th century accounts, while others unsurprisingly look for mysteries).

Looking at the web statistics collected during the campaign, it was immediately clear that a lot of our web visitors were looking for us using the project name as a keyword: in other words, the basic element that helped visitors look for more information was the huge plastic banner. Very few used "*vignale scavi*" or "*riotorto scavi archeologici*" as keywords (Riotorto is the modern village just a few hundred meters away from the site); most of them typed "*uomini e cose a vignale*", exactly as it is written on the banner. Unlike the QR-Codes described above, the banner perfectly fulfils its role in facilitating contact because it provides a clear and immediate link to our work. Moreover, we meet expectations by making the website easily found under the same wording. Those who type "*uomini e cose a vignale*" in the search box have a desire to know more about what we find and how it relates to their knowledge of the site, but what they find is not just a summary of our archaeological research; we offer them not only what they were expecting (e.g., accounts of the site history over the eight centuries of its life, the Roman remains, the finds, etc.) but also stories from everyday life at the site and a direct invitation to come and visit us. Some of them find the time to actually come. Unfortunately, the site is closed on weekends, and that is probably a huge barrier for those who do not have time during the week. Nevertheless, this last year visitor numbers have risen significantly and we made a special effort to accommodate school group visits for all levels of education.

5. **Conclusions**

"Excava(c)tion" is a relatively new approach to fieldwork that wants archaeologists to take care of the public not in scheduled hours of the day but constantly, all day long, with a wide range of performances. This role of communicator is not reserved to specialists or supervisors, but rather it is open to the undergraduates who dig the site. This is feasible because what we tell is not "what we have found" but "what we are doing", favouring narration over interpretation. All archaeologists, from the site director to the youngest archaeologist, are involved; everyone contributes in their own way to enact "what they are doing" with words or live performances, both of which are processes through which we reconstruct narratives of the past (Joyce 2002: 81). In order for it to work, this approach requires an adaptation to the context: in Vignale we take advantage of the road. Other

sites should use other unique features to attract their own public. From the archaeologists' point of view, the change brought by "Excava(c)tion" has been quite remarkable. There is a notable difference between narrating the site to large groups of people and narrating it to small ones during fieldwork hours. Younger archaeologists need to pay more attention to what they are doing because they have to tell visitors about it. Thus, they also need to learn the main themes of research at the site. Moreover, for most of the younger archaeologists it was their first experience with a blog about an ongoing archaeological fieldwork and, while it was not easy for them initially, the division in groups clearly allowed them to form and exchange their opinions in a more direct way.

Why did we do all this? The wider local community of Vignale and Riotorto did not give us any money in order to carry out the excavation, but we received invaluable subsidies such as accommodation and food, and also general logistic help from the local authorities, every year since 2005. The community expects something back from us; in the first place, they expect the restitution of a piece of ancient life in their native landscape, fulfilled by the excavation. However, as archaeologists, we also have the equally important responsibility of communicating what we are doing, and we decided to undertake this responsibility with Excava(c)tion. We tried to structure and develop a sort of "Democratic model" (Holtorf 2007: 157-161) where the community offers something and asks for something back in an osmotic way. The archaeologists responded to the community's requests according to the information available to them but in a more involving and innovative way (i.e., the various performances). However, whenever possible, we avoided a top-down relationship between archaeologists and the public, that is characteristic of the anachronistic "Educational model" (Holtorf 2007: 150-154). On the contrary, Excava(c)tion is about rejecting the distinction between primary research and secondary dissemination, placing the fieldwork and the media produced as a way of mediation and engagement with the public (Shanks 2007: 274), keeping a promise and, eventually, generating trust (Erickson 2011: 50-51).

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TIME TRAVELS IN ARCHAEOLOGY

Between Hollywood films and historical re-enactment?

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Abstract

One of the recently most popular ways of experiencing the past is time travelling. It is 'an experience and social practice in the present that evokes a past (or future) reality' (Holtorf 2009: 33). In this article, I mainly discuss the political aspect of time travelling. I focus on cinema as a medium which closely links archaeology with the time travel phenomenon. Two Oscars galas, of 2010 and 2012, are scrutinised as case studies. The text is a political intervention to start dreaming dangerously, to contribute as an archaeologist to the critique of the utopia of capitalism (see also Hernando 2005: 75).

Key words

Time travel, archaeological open-air museums, historical re-enactment, cinema, capitalism, utopia

Over the last three decades, the number of open-air museums (Magelssen 2007; Paardekooper 2012) and historical re-enactment events (Halewood & Hannam 2001) has rapidly grown. This observation applies especially to Western Europe. The process is usually linked to cultural changes and socio-economic transformations (Hewison 1987). Tourism has become a global activity (Goeldner & Brent Ritchie 2009). The same applies to cultural heritage and the public's fascination with the past (Lowenthal 1985, 1996). All of the above fields are of special interest to archaeology (Holtorf 2010a). Archaeology can offer important observations about contemporary relations among tourism, the past, and cultural heritage. This is especially valid when one takes into account that contemporary archaeology is more and more about the present, not the past alone (e.g., Holtorf 2010b).

Lately, time travel is one of the most popular ways of experiencing the past. Time travel should be conceived as a certain experience and social practice which evokes experiences of a past or future reality (Holtorf 2009). Without a doubt, time travel is a fantasy of the contemporary world. But a fantasy is never just a fantasy, so to speak, a 'superstructure' of day-to-day life ('base') of human beings. Fantasy is what structures and gives coordinates of our reality. Accordingly, without fantasy there is no real, 'naked' reality (Žižek 1997).

How the process of time travelling relates to archaeology was closely discussed by the contributors of *Lund Archaeological Review* 15-16 (Åkesson 2010; Holtorf 2010; Narmo 2010; Paardekooper 2010; Petersson 2010; Sandström 2010; see also Westergren 2006). In this article, however, I would like to draw attention to the phenomenon of time travelling in cinema and especially emphasize its political aspect.

The demand for archaeology

Archaeology has become a global brand (Holtorf 2007). According to Cornelius Holtorf, people are more interested in all the clichés that archaeology evokes than in the scientific results of doing archaeology. However, this may not be the problem but a blessing in disguise; such an understanding of archaeology presents an opportunity to actively participate in and shape the present and the future (e.g., González-Ruibal 2006, 2007).

The motivation of this text is based on the fact that during the last three or so decades Western societies have been in transformation. The German sociologist Gerhard Schulze (1993) describes this transformation as the emergence of the Experience Society. Luc Boltanski and Ève Chiapello (2005) call this process an emergence of *The New Spirit of Capitalism*. Arguably, the American economists Joseph Pine and James Gilmore write about the Experience Economy (Pine & Gilmore 2011). In short, businesses and other practices will need to offer experiences to people if they want to be competitive in the market (see also Comendador *in press*). Consider, for example, Starbucks: it is no longer that Starbucks simply delivers the best coffee and muffins in the world. Today, drinking Starbucks coffee means to be part of and – what is so crucial – experience the so-called coffee culture. Fascination with the past, cultural heritage and tourism may work similarly. People want to actively experience the past. Here, the human body is no longer a passive receiver of external experiences,

but rather an active medium through which human beings are, as it is often stated, in a 'direct' contact with the past (e.g., Petersson & Narmo 2011).

The way the emergence of the Experience Economy affects archaeology has been thoroughly discussed (e.g., Holtorf 2010; Petersson 2010). People's fascination with the past, going back to previous epochs and experiencing different ways of living there, has become a widespread social phenomenon. Cornelius Holtorf and Bodil Petersson describe it as time travelling. From an archaeological perspective, such a process is important because archaeological open-air museums and different historical re-enactment events are seen as a context which enables a direct travel in time. Taking the above into account, one may claim that the future belongs to the past, to archaeology. People dream about living for a moment in a distant time. Therefore, experiencing the past can bring benefits to both society and archaeology. Going back to the past helps people find meaning in life (Holtorf 2010: 45-46).

Although archaeological open-air museums and historical re-enactment events are only a small sector of the world's tourism market, they have already made a significant contribution to Western societies (Magelssen 2007; Paardekooper 2012). However, their contribution is not only in economic terms but also touches social and political issues, which need a closer analysis.

China does not travel in time

The year of 2011 was the 90th anniversary of the Communist Party. In the very same year, SARFT (State Administration of Radio, Film, and Television) banned the production of films and TV dramas based on or related to the time travel motif (Landreth 2011).

The official statement claims that time travel films disrespect history. Of course, the idea behind this ban is clear: time travelling fantasy into the past is dangerous for communism in China. Instead of dreaming and thinking of alternative realities, the Chinese citizens should blandly accept the harsh communist reality. It is worth pointing out that such a presupposition stands in clear contrast to the *spirit* of Karl Marx (e.g., 1990) and Frederick Engels' work (e.g., 1989). If anything, communism was precisely a dream of a better world and *not* acceptance of a harsh reality. Before the ban, there was a very popular

time travel drama called *Myth (ShenHua)*. The plot was about a hero visiting the past and finding a better life there. The lesson of such films and TV dramas is obvious: there are not only different pasts, but also different presents and futures, and the communist world is only one of them. Such reasoning is what SARFT is so worried about. As the official guidance says: "Producers and writers are treating serious history in a frivolous way, which should by no means be encouraged anymore" (Landreth 2011).

As it is known, the Chinese government relies on scientific Marxism and, consequently, Hegelian philosophy cannot be unknown to them. A short reference to Hegel can be of some help to understand the ban of time travel (see also Comendador *in press*). According to Hegel, repetition is one of the basic coordinates of history as such (Hegel 2002; Žižek 2011). If something happened once, it still can be considered as an accident, an irrelevant event. However, when the story goes on, when the very same event happens a second time, repeats itself, there is an underlying historical necessity of it. The German philosopher uses the example of Napoleon and his defeats. The first one, when Napoleon was defeated at Leipzig, could still be considered as an accident. The defeat at the Battle of Waterloo was the sign that he was already dead; his era was over. How does this relate to the event in China?

Jonathan Landreth (2011) highlights in his short article the broader context of time travel films in China. He points out an interesting fact: the last Chinese time travel film which was released in cinemas all around China was *Iceman Comenth* (1989), based on *Highlander* (1986). It was the very same year that the communists violently crushed a pro-democracy spirit of students at Tiananmen Square. Thus, time travel fantasy, dreaming about different presents and futures, is a political act. And the Chinese government was well aware of it. By banning time travel films, communists wanted to avoid a repetition of the event of 1989.

The ban stands in clear opposition to what is happening in the West. Hollywood has been bombarding us over the last few decades with films about time travelling: *Beyond the Time Barrier* (1960), *Escape from the Planet of the Apes* (1971), *Back to the Future* (1985, 1989, 1990), *Terminator* (1984, 1991, 2004, 2009), *12 Monkeys* (1995), *The Butterfly Effect* (2004), *The Time Traveler's Wife* (2009), *Hot Tube Time Machine* (2010), *Lopper* (2012), *Men in Black III* (2012), just to name a few, and TV series such as *Quantum Leap* (1989-1993), *Sliders* (1995-2000), *Lost* (2004-2010), or *Heroes* (2006-2010).

In the same vein, the logic of time travelling is assumed by archaeologists and the cultural heritage industries. One can visit a Stone Age village, become a Viking for a moment (Figure 1), be a fearless Slav, and taste a delicious Early Middle Ages meal. In accordance with such trends, some re-enactment events promote themselves as being literally time machines (e.g., II Historical Picnic organised by the Historical Museum in Gdańsk, 29 October 2012, Poland). Nevertheless, the popularity of time travelling is worrying. Why?



Figure 1. *One of the contemporary Vikings, Grzybowo, Poland 2009*
(Photo by Agnieszka Łukaszyk).

The Slovenian philosopher Slavoj Žižek spoke to the Occupy Wall Street protesters on 10 October 2011. His critique of contemporary capitalism was based on, among other things, a reference to the Chinese ban of time travel films. He claimed:

In mid-April 2011, the Chinese government prohibited on TV, films, novels and any stories that contain alternate reality or time travel. This is a good sign for China. These people still dream about alternatives, so you have to prohibit this dreaming. Here, we don't need a prohibition because the ruling system has even oppressed our capacity to dream. Look at the movies that we see all the time. It's easy to imagine the end of the world; an asteroid destroying all life and so on. But you cannot imagine the end of capitalism (Sarahana 2011)¹.

The above quote needs a detailed reading because Žižek condenses in it some simplifications of his otherwise sophisticated reasoning. The first thing to note is the fact that we *can* still imagine the end of capitalism. There are many films which precisely are about it, such as *Planet of the Apes* (1968), *The Day After* (1983), and *Terminator 2* (1991), just to mention a few. Nonetheless, the problem with these films is their spontaneous identification of the end of capitalism with the end of the world itself. The underlying idea is that usually after a nuclear war, few people survive and one can observe what is left of it; dystopia. Nuclear war is a metaphor for the end of capitalism, after which there is no positive vision of the world (see also Comendador 2012). The same metaphor was also seen recently in Hollywood productions such as *In Time* (2011), *Total Recall* (2012), or *The Dark Knight Rises* (2012). A telltale example is the Occupy Wall Street protesters themselves. Often asked by journalists 'what is your alternative', the answer was simply 'I don't know'. Thus, it can be said that we dream but we don't know what these dreams are about.

This is how Žižek's words about how the ruling system has oppressed even our capacity to dream should be read. Do politicians not blackmail us when they claim that, although capitalism is not the best, every other system is much worse? The following point of Žižek apropos of China should be understood along these lines. The ban of time travel films is a good sign because it highlights the political edge of time travelling and the fact that it is taken seriously by the communists, as something that can even contribute to the end of – what is so poetically called – capitalism with Asian values in China. However, what one sees in Europe is that a proper political sphere disappears. What was once a domain of passionate politics is now more often than not left to the cold decisions of technocrats.

Žižek often needs to be read against his own reasoning. This is the way to understand his ideas. There is at least one good thing about the financial meltdown of 2008, which is that capitalism becomes once more the problem. The title of the very last book of the Slovenian philosopher illustrates it: *The Year of Dreaming Dangerously*. The book is an analysis of the desire to confront capitalism once more, to think/dream of an alternative.

Unfortunately, I don't see such a desire to *dream dangerously* in the context of archaeological time travelling. For example, the sad fact about the historical re-enactment milieu is that it is deeply right-winged and often, at least in Poland where I conducted research on this subject, nationalistic. That is why, the very possibility and popularity of archaeological time travel are a symptom of its opposite; of not being able to *truly* travel or dream about alternative realities (futures). To put it simply, archaeological time travel lacks its critical and political edge. We, in the West, can time travel whenever we dream of it because these dreams are seen as harmless, in contrast to China. This issue should, however, be rediscovered, brought to life once more.

Therefore, the problem of Hollywood and its ideological aspects will be discussed the following pages.

Cinema and archaeology

Jacques Lacan (2006: 376) used to say that "truth has the structure of a fiction". This almost proverb of Lacan's followers has been read in many different ways. One of them refers to Sigmund Freud and his analysis of the slips of the tongue and dreams. What at first sight seems to be simply an error (e.g., a famous president's statement about closing the sitting instead of opening it) is the truth of the unconscious desire (Freud 1999: 3150). A contemporary critique of cinema by Lacanians can be read along these lines:

So when even products of the allegedly "liberal" Hollywood display the most blatant ideological regression, are any further proofs needed that ideology is alive and kicking in our post-ideological world? Consequently, it shouldn't surprise us to discover ideology at its purest in what may appear as Hollywood at its most innocent: the big blockbuster cartoons. "The truth has the structure of a fiction" – is there a better exemplification of this thesis than cartoons in which the truth

about the existing social order is rendered in such a direct way which would never be allowed in the narrative cinema with "real" actors? (Žižek 2010a: 66)

Cinema is no longer conceived as just an imaginary medium which interpolates *naïve* ordinary spectators. Recall the famous, supposedly critical thought of Theodor Adorno from his *Minima Moralia*: "Every visit to the cinema leaves me, against all my vigilance, stupider and worse"(2005: 25). The figure of Adorno is a paradigmatic example of a critic whose job is to not allow the spectator to just enjoy the film. Worth pointing out is the fact that this is the approach taken by those archaeologists interested in how Hollywood misperceives archaeology and its object of study (e.g., Gowlett 1990; Russell 2002a, 2002b; Fowler 2007).

Today, cinema still works as – to use Luis Althusser's term – a part of the Ideological State Apparatuses (Althusser 1971). However, it is exactly because a film tries to hide things, and interpolate the spectators, that it also shows the cracks, holes and inconsistencies of the contemporary world and ideology. In other words, a film by trying to hide things allows them to be discernible. This simple observation is one of the elements of works of film theorists such as Joan Copjec (e.g., 1994, 2002), Žižek (e.g., 2001a, 2001b), and Todd McGowan (2008, 2011). Žižek even goes so far in a documentary entitled *The Pervert's Guide to Cinema* (2006) as to claim that:

In order to understand today's world, we need cinema, literally. It's only in cinema that we get that crucial dimension which we are not ready to confront in our reality. If you are looking for what is in reality more real than reality itself, look into the cinematic fiction.

So, it can be said that cinema plays today exactly the same role as dreams for Freud: it is the royal road to the unconscious, a place where social fantasies and desires are projected. That is why cinema is such an important medium to understand today's world, and archaeology too. There are already a few archaeological works which have taken cinema seriously and tried to use it in doing archaeology (e.g., Shanks, Pearson 2001; Holtorf 2007; Marwick 2010; Kobiałka 2011).

At this point, archaeology coincides with time travelling. Both themes are very popular in Hollywood. Cinema and TV are the main media that shape people's understanding of what archaeology is about (e.g., Holtorf 2007). The same applies to time travels, as stated above. This observation is a starting point to approach the relation between Hollywood films and their ideological aspects with regard to time travelling and archaeology. As case studies, the two Oscars galas of 2010 and 2012 will be scrutinised.

Oscars 2010

A film is a medium which does not try to give a truly 'objective' account of reality. Or more precisely, the result of watching a film is an experience of a fictional aspect of reality itself. Let me refer here to one of my favorite examples: *The Matrix* (1999), Wachowski brothers' blockbuster, presents a story in which the world is controlled and dominated by computers and machines. The whole world, the reality experienced by the heroes, is just an illusion. However, let me ask you: what was your first experience/reaction after the film ended? Was it not something like: *Oh my God, what if my day-to-day reality is the same as in the film? What if what I experience is just an illusion created by the computers?* *The Matrix's* argument can be interpreted more generally too. It also evokes Plato's Cave allegory or a shamanic journey. The protagonist, Neo, is an initiate driven by the shaman, Morpheus, to the underworld. A red pill alters Neo's state of consciousness, so he enters into the domain of metaphysical doubt (trance).

The lesson of the film is that it offers a chance to experience the fiction of reality itself, so to speak (Žižek 1997). And *mutatis mutandis*, the spectator is confronted with the reality of fiction. How can the idea of the reality of fiction (itself) be understood?

Žižek claims that the reality of fiction should not be seen within the duality of commonsensically understood reality and fiction. It is neither reality, nor simply fiction. The reality of fiction is a feature of the art of cinema. It is an idea which is usually invisible in a daily life. Cinema has an ability to exaggerate and project cultural and political phenomena; to show *what is more real than reality itself*.

Let us take into account the Oscars gala of 2010. The most prestigious award category of the Oscars is that for the best film of the year. The favourite film was *Avatar* (2009), directed by James

Cameron. The film is a 3-D production telling the story of a planet called Pandora, where native creatures live and, of course, are to be conquered by the *bad* Americans. Almost everything in the film is the result of computer programmers' work. The cost of the film was, as it is said, 500 million US\$. Surprisingly, *Avatar* won only 3 Oscars, and all of them of less prestigious categories (Best Achievement in Art Direction, Best Achievement in Cinematography and Best Achievement in Visual Effects). The winner of the gala was *The Hurt Locker* (2009), directed by Kathryn Bigelow. This low-cost production about honest and *good* American soldiers who try to help the poor Iraqi people won 6 Oscars, including the AFI (American Film Institute) Movie of the Year. Some of the critics were pleased. The Oscars' jury once more appreciated the real actors, the art of acting, not the computer programmers' illusions. The Academy members saw the values of true actors but not so much those of virtual characters. And this obviousness of the critics' satisfaction should be rendered problematic. Žižek points out in one of his articles the *ideological* aspect of the film in the following words:

Its [The Hurt Locker's – D. K.] depiction of the daily horror and traumatic impact of serving in a war zone seems to put it miles apart from sentimental celebrations of the U.S. Army's humanitarian role, like in John Wayne's infamous Green Berets. However, we should always bear in mind that the terse-realistic presentation of the absurdities of war in The Hurt Locker obfuscates and thus renders acceptable the fact that its heroes are doing exactly the same job as the heroes of Green Berets. In its very invisibility, ideology is here, more than ever: We are there, with our boys, identifying with their fears and anguishes instead of questioning what they are doing at war in the first place. (Žižek 2010b)

Hollywood is not an objective medium to deliver people a particular vision of the world. Every choice, every Oscar, presupposes, consequently, a certain ideological point of view. This observation especially applies to the most prestigious categories of the Oscars: the AFI Movie of the Year and Best Writing, Original Screenplay. Following this insight, an interesting ideological vision is to be found in the Oscars gala of 2012, which will be discussed below.

Oscars 2012

It can be said that the Oscars gala of 2012 should be of special interest to archaeology. For the AFI Movie of the Year, 9 films were nominated: *The Descendants* (2011), *Moneyball* (2011), *The Tree of Life* (2011), *The Help* (2011), *War Horse* (2011), *Extremely Loud & Incredibly Close* (2011), *The Artist* (2011), *Hugo* (2011), and *Midnight in Paris* (2011), but only the three latter had a real chance to win.

What needs to be highlighted is the fact that the three front runners for the Movie of the Year are different versions of the same 'problem': time travelling. *The Artist*, which won the Oscar, is the story of a silent film star (George Valentin) who is threatened by a revolution; the arrival of talking pictures in Hollywood in the late 1920s and early 1930s. Similarly, the action of *Hugo* takes place in Paris in the early 1930s. The plot is based on a cinematic revolution and the 'magic' of cinema. By the same token, both films are meta-films; they are films about films. What both of them also share is a vision of the *good old* times of cinema, when cinema was *truly* art. Therefore, one can claim that these films are time travelling into a nostalgic past. And this is the basic weakness of them both: they are nostalgic, reactionary. The underlying message is the following: in an era when films are becoming the work of computer programmers, the only way out of this deadlock is to go back to the past, to show the *good old* times of cinema. To use Marx Weber's old idea (Weber 1971), *The Artist* and *Hugo* are a dream about the 're-enchantment of the world' (e.g., Landy & Saler 2009).

It can be claimed that the same presupposition is at work in archaeological open-air museums, historical re-enactment events and, in short, in all archaeological time travelling. The logic is more or less the same: in the contemporary world, which means capitalism, where *all that is solid melts into air*, in a rootless context, one of the ways to maintain a sense of life is going back to the past, becoming a fearless Slav or a Viking, etc., for a while. After that, one can calmly contribute to the system which causes the very same troubles that one tries to forget for a second, instead of confronting the very system.

There are other points to make apropos an alliance between historical re-enactment events, archaeological open-air museums, and today's capitalism. It is a fact that all of them share a conviction that the *exploited*, the working class, disappeared. During my research, I met and interviewed historical re-enactors. Some of them were craftsmen, warriors, knights, chieftains, monks, etc., but there was not even one

person who was *just* a peasant. When asked why it is so, the re-enactors gave a predictable answer: 'it is boring to be just a peasant. I want to be someone more...'. It is as if archaeological open-air museums and historical re-enactment events were the fulfillment of capitalism's dream: *not* that there is no longer a working class, but rather the opposite; that everyone is an *exploiter without the exploited*.

There is a story that Freud was once visited by a certain man as part of his therapy. The man described a recurring dream in which the unknown woman kept appearing, but he was convinced that, whoever she may have been, she was *not* his mother. How did Freud interpret the case? Of course, his answer was more or less that it was precisely his mother of whom he was dreaming (see also Kobiałka 2013: 17). Is this not precisely the matrix according to which one should interpret the alliance between archaeological open-air museums/historical re-enactment events and capitalism? Is it not a fact that more and more we are all becoming *the exploited* without knowing the names of the *exploiters* (e.g., Zweig 2012)? Archaeological open-air museums and historical re-enactment events present this but in an inverse way.

Now back to Hollywood, the original screenplay of *Midnight in Paris*, which won the Oscar for best writing, is at first sight very similar to those of *The Artist* and *Hugo*. Woody Allen's film tells the story of a screenwriter (Gil Pender) who is thinking about becoming a novel writer. That is why, among other reasons, he visits Paris with his *fiancée* and her parents. Gil tries to write a novel which would take place in Paris in the 1920s. At some point, when he cannot find the way back to the hotel, a stranger asks him to get in the car with him. All this happens at midnight. The car is a metaphor for a time machine. He travels back in time to his beloved Paris of the 1920s. There, he meets such personalities as Ernest Hemingway, Pablo Picasso, Salvador Dalí and Gertrude Stein. He also meets a girl named Adriana, with whom he falls in love. When they take a walk together, all of a sudden a carriage appears and Gil and Adriana are asked to get in. This carriage is a time machine as well. Now they go back to the 1880s, the 'golden era' of Paris according to Adriana. They chat with Paul Gauguin and Edgar Degas². Then, one can hear a long - very typical of Allen's universe - wonderful dialogue between the main characters which hits the nail on the head of time travelling into the past:

- *Let's never go back to the '20s!*
- *What are you talking about?*
- *We should stay here. It's the start of La Belle Époque! It's the greatest, most beautiful era Paris has ever known.*
- *Yeah, but what about the '20s, and the Charleston, and the Fitzgeralds, and the Hemingways? I mean, I love those guys.*
- *But it's the present. It's dull.*
- *Dull? It's not my present. I'm from 2010.*
- *What do you mean?*
- *I dropped in on you the same way we're dropping in on the 1890s.*
- *You did?*
- *I was trying to escape my present the same way you're trying to escape yours, to a golden age.*
- *Surely you don't think the '20s are a golden age!*
- *Well, yeah. To me they are.*
- *But I'm from the '20s, and I'm telling you the golden age is La Belle Époque.*
- *And look at these guys. I mean, to them, their golden age was the Renaissance. You know, they'll trade Belle Époque to be painting alongside Titian and Michelangelo. And those guys probably imagined life was a lot better when Kublai Khan was around. You see, I'm having an insight right now. It's a minor one, but it explains the anxiety in the dream that I had.*
- *What dream?*
- *I had a dream the other night, where it was like a nightmare, where I ran out of Zithromax. And then I went to the dentist, and he didn't have any Novocain. You see what I'm saying? These people don't have any antibiotics.*
- *What are you talking about?*
- *Adriana, if you stay here, and this becomes your present, then, pretty soon, you'll start imagining another time was really your, you know, was really the time. That's what the present is.*

The film ends when Gil returns to 2010.

To put it simply, Allen clearly shows the political dimension of time travelling. The hard thing to do is to travel to our own present and start dreaming about alternative futures, because there is no such thing

like the *golden age*, or *good old times*. Fredric Jameson's book entitled *Archaeologies of the Future* presupposes in a way close relations between archaeology and utopian thinking (Jameson 2005). The idea of utopia is not only a dream of the future. Today, a spontaneous *a priori* identification of the word *capitalism* with the word *world* means no more but *capitalism is the world*. However, this is a true dream; *utopia*, a belief that things will work forever the way they do now (Žižek 2012).

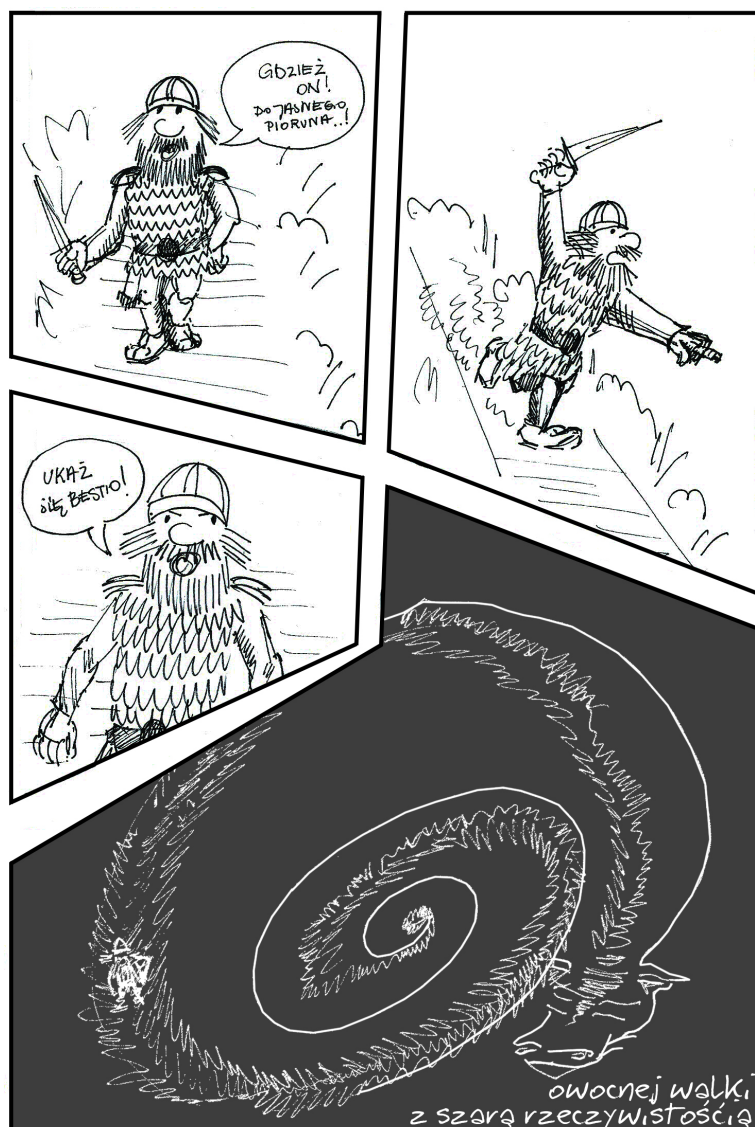


Figure 2. One of the many cartoons presenting a historical re-enactor who dares to confront his grey reality symbolised as a dragon (Drawn by Anna Frąszczak).

One of the crucial lessons of the Freudian psychoanalysis is an observation according to which dreams and fantasies are never just that and are dangerous. They give coordinates to human life. Dreams disturb reality. And here archaeologists have a lot to do and should rethink archaeology in the context of time travelling. Archaeologists should start *dreaming dangerously* about the future too, and their dreams should affect the public. Archaeological open-air museums and historical re-enactment events could be a good context in which this idea could be applied. Even more, perhaps the contemporary context is a good one to start thinking about the archaeological open-air museums and historical re-enactment events of the future beyond capitalism (Figure 2)?

Conclusion

To sum up, there are some issues worthy of closer analysis concerning archaeological open-air museums, historical re-enactment events, and in general the public's time travelling into the past. The predicament is not that they simplify, play in the past, but rather that they do not see the *magic* of the contemporary world, unfamiliar aspects of their familiar (e.g., Buchli & Lucas 2001).

It is often stated that historical re-enactors dream about the past. However, the problem is the opposite: these dreams are a symptom of not being able to truly think of the future, to *think dangerously*. Instead of time travelling into the past (Holtorf 2010), the public needs to address the problem of their very present, of capitalism itself. It is the day-to-day reality which is deeply problematic and unobvious. The recent political and economic events (e.g., Greece, Spain and the USA) call for alternative dreams, new futures.

As it is well-known, it is much easier to play, to act as another person rather than oneself. Let me exemplify this claim with a reference to Polish politics. 2010 was a year of presidential elections. The right-wing candidate (Jarosław Kaczyński) was criticised for using actors in a TV spot, instead of ordinary people and his voters. However, Kaczyński was, unfortunately, right. You cannot directly present reality as it is. Ordinary people appear to be *fictional, unreal*. There is always a need for actors who, due to their skills, show *the reality of a fiction, what is more real than reality itself*. And this can be the crucial lesson to be drawn from the time travelling phenomenon. The responsibility of archaeologists is to show and participate in these fields of fascination

with the past, which can help say something as much about the past as about the present and the future. Nonetheless, by taking part in historical re-enactment events and by visiting archaeological open-air museums, it can be equally argued that time travelling is a profound need in the present. It offers an embodied and human world rather than an alienated life with mind-body split and therefore lets people experience a utopian society in a much more profound sense than the Chinese communists' narrow-mindedness.

People usually know very well that the experienced past is a utopian vision (Comendador 2013). What they do not know is that, actually, capitalism is exactly the same dream, utopia. They are ready to *dream* about the past. The time has come to *dream but dangerously* of the present and the future.

Acknowledgements

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Notes

- 1 Worth mentioning is the fact that the Slovenian philosopher is not quite right here. Literature based on the time travel motif is still not prohibited by the communists (Landreth 2011). Communist leaders see most likely literature as harmless *petit bourgeoisie* practice.
- 2 Of course, the story goes on: the great Gauguin also believes that the Paris of his time is in decay and dreams about the *true* golden age, the Renaissance.

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POINTS OF YOU

From a book to the raw world of archaeology

Lancaster WILLIAMS

My name is Lancaster Williams and I am the main character of the Spanish novel *El Hallazgo* (*The Finding*). Someone might ask, "why the hell is a fictional character writing in a journal?" Well, it is a matter of poetic license, but also a reality slap.

My story is, in a way, sad. After gaining my PhD I managed to start working in an archaeological company. My main duty was to control the earthworks on a highway. It was, of course, hard to get used to it after an academic life but, once I did, I started enjoying it. However, this feeling did not last long; where I found a unique site, now there is just an empty highway. The crisis, the impotence I felt during the process and a bit of rage made me give up archaeology and start working as a florist, a good way to waste a title and a career.

Sometimes I wonder if my life would have been different if I had continued an academic career, or if that would have even been possible. Archaeology has always been a vocation for me and giving up was a hard decision. Today, when I think about it from a distance, I realise that working among flowers did not kill that vocation and I can just keep the good part of it. I don't have the pressure of publication or excavators anymore. But can I still consider myself an archaeologist?

Chatting with friends around a beer shows more than any congress does. This is how I remained connected to archaeology, suffering with the problems of others as if they were mine. Now that I work in a shop, basic rules like supply and demand look simple. Why is archaeology so different? People usually blame laws, companies, developers or even the public. The model is corrupted and we do our best for nothing. I used to think that too. Now I am sure it is us to blame after years of navel-gazing in a mud tower.

My rant goes to my friends, other colleagues and the collective: Wake up! People do not care about us, not because they do not value heritage, but because we have been selfish children playing with stones and pottery. We tag ourselves with trendy theories and say we are post-this or post-that while we keep doing the same our professors

did years ago. We despise our friends out of envy or hate, hurting the image of a collective that I sometimes doubt it exists. Now that I am outside of it I see it clearly; we are the problem of archaeology and it will only get worse if we do not change ourselves.

But not everything is negative. It has been years since many colleagues started doing something different, making archaeology important to people and heritage valued and lived. I just came back from the SOPA congress in Spain and it was amazing to see so many good initiatives to socialise heritage and practise a different archaeology.

Laws are sometimes hurting us, but we write most of them. Bureaucracy is overwhelming, but we run most of the offices. People do not know what we do... Did we even try to explain? Archaeology is still a young discipline and we have made many mistakes. Commercial archaeology has not probably been an example of good practices, but we have the opportunity to change it. We are in control of our future and it can be bright. I know many colleagues will suffer the same situations I did. I know the road is full of bumps. But do not give up. I say I am a florist now, but I am still an archaeologist. I will always be one. After all, as Flannery said, archaeology is the most fun you can have with your pants on.

[Lancaster Williams is the main character of *El Hallazgo* (JAS Arqueología Editorial, 2012). He lives in an undetermined country at some moment in the recent past. His story is the story of many archaeologists. His words are too, although sometimes we do not want to listen to them.]



REVIEWS



**Archeologia
Pubblica
in Italia**

**Primo
Congresso
nazionale**

Chiara ZUANNI
The University of Manchester

**Archeologia Pubblica in Italia. Primo Congresso Nazionale
Florence 29-30 October 2012**

The first Italian Congress of Public Archaeology was held in Florence at the end of October. It was promoted by the University of Florence and the Florence City Council, and organised by Chiara Bonacchi and Michele Nucciotti. As the organisers argued in their introductory speech, public archaeology is not something completely new to Italy, but still lacks a sound theoretical framework and a thorough evaluation of the diverse contributions of archaeology to the social, economic and cultural life. Therefore, the Congress aimed to be 'an action of public archaeology in itself', besides constituting a moment of reflection on the current relationship between Italian archaeology and society.

The first keynote speaker was Giovanni Maria Flick, a former member of the Italian Constitutional Court, who approached archaeology as a jurist. Flick highlighted that the public is fascinated by archaeology. However, archaeology can cause a disturbance when it is not understood and can be seen as an 'obstacle' to development. He emphasised that in the current financial crisis each country should revert to its resources, and as archaeology is the Italian 'oil' it should be protected. In fact, he reviewed the history of the Italian legislation on cultural heritage protection, emphasising that there is no protection without valorisation. Flick also stressed that the understanding of the past is essential in order to comprehend our contemporary world, and the past should also be taken into account to plan a sustainable future. As archaeology and the past not only are associated with the environment but also contribute to build it, transforming a mere container into an interconnected landscape, Flick argued that the space of museums and the space of life should be merged.

The Congress consisted of six sessions, each session focusing on an important aspect of the relationship between archaeology and the public: Archaeology and cultural identity; The archaeologist today: role and formation; Archaeology communicates with the public; Archaeology and local development; 'Archeonomics': from archaeological research to economy; Archaeology: from the Constitution to legislation. Thirty-seven speakers in total presented their points of view and their experiences, covering a wide range of public archaeology initiatives and debates in Italy and beyond. Moreover, many posters were presented and will also be published in the Congress proceedings.

The first panel, *Archaeology and cultural identity*, was chaired by Guido Vannini (University of Florence), who noted that in a Congress on public archaeology aiming to promote new professional roles, contribute to the research in this field, react to the economic crisis and place archaeology in a more relevant position within the humanities, it is essential to start the discussion with some examples of the contribution of archaeology to shaping local and national identities.

The first speaker, Serge Noiret, recalled the evolution of public history, from its origins in the 1960s with Raphael Samuel and its developments in the US in the 1970s, to its contemporary framework, emphasising how collaboration and sharing of experiences are important, not only within Public History itself, but also providing good examples for public archaeology. The other speakers of this session discussed the contribution of archaeology to shaping local identities in

Italy (i.e. Angela Corolla spoke of Salerno as the City of Arechi II and Lidia Decandia presented a community project in Gallura, Sardinia), as well as national identities (i.e. Khairieh 'Amr, introduced the Jordan Museum, a new national museum, its planning and its outreach programme), especially in war areas (i.e. Carlo Lippolis, focused on Iraq, especially Babylon and Hamlet Petrosian, presented the many issues raised by the excavations of Tigrankert, during the Armenian – Azerbaijani conflict).

The second panel on the role and professional formation of archaeologists was chaired by Giuliano Volpe (University of Foggia) who argued that archaeology is now a multifaceted profession, requiring specialists in many fields. However, none of the new courses after the Bologna process provides a valid training in public archaeology. In this session, Stefania Mazzoni and Ettore Janulardo emphasised the role played by Italian archaeology abroad, while Stefano Valentini presented a new specialisation course in archaeological heritage management. Finally, Andrzej Buko gave an international perspective discussing the role of archaeologists in the former Polish – Kiev Rus' frontier, where different cultures (i.e. the Byzantine and Roman world) and different identities share the same archaeological heritage.

The third panel, *Archaeology communicates with the public*, was opened by Chiara Bonacchi (University College London) who presented a theoretical and methodological approach to the dissemination and communication of archaeological information. The other papers dealt with a wide range of projects carried out in the Italian context: Paolo Liverani discussed the experience of the FastiOnLine and AIAC websites. Laura Longo introduced the new museological project for the archaeological excavations of Palazzo Vecchio in Florence, the site of the Congress itself. Maria Letizia Gualandi presented the Mappa Project, developed by the University of Pisa, which makes all the archaeological data of the area of Pisa available online, as open data. The interests and needs of the public were also considered by Marinella Pasquinucci who discussed the growth of museums dedicated to underwater archaeology, while Valerio Massimo Manfredi reflected on the balance between scientific authenticity and public understanding in archaeological communication. Finally, Nicoletta Volante and Marco Valenti, from the University of Siena, examined the contribution of experimental archaeology and of augmented reality applications to archaeology, focusing specifically on the work of Archetipo, the digital archaeology spin-off of the University of Siena). In conclusion, Piero Pruneti, chair of this session, remarked

again the relevance of publishing and disseminating the results of any archaeological research and the importance of communicating them in an effective way to the general public.

After the debate, Daniele Manacorda was invited to give a keynote speech, which considered all the topics discussed during the first day of the Congress. He noted that as archaeological research is always a dynamic process between identity and alterity, archaeologists should learn to communicate within each context and with a coherent narrative, avoiding an excessive simplification and without being afraid to remark its complexity. Moreover, archaeologists should be confident in giving meaning to the past, without an excessive sacralisation of the past itself. At the same time, as far as the managerial process is concerned, archaeologists should be aware of the conflicts between protection and valorisation. Furthermore, those concerned by the legislation and management of heritage should reflect on the public of this heritage and the use it is made of it.

The second day opened with the keynote speech by the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Firenze, Marco Bellandi, who emphasised the value of public archaeology, connecting it to the outreach missions of universities.

The panel on *Archaeology and local development* was chaired by Isabella Lapi Ballerini (Regional Directorate of Tuscany) who argued that Italian heritage is so strongly connected to the landscape that the boundaries between museum and territory are not as obvious as in other countries: the museum expands beyond its walls and landscape penetrates heritage. Michele Nucciotti compared two projects, one in Jordan and one in Tuscany, emphasising how public outreach was included in archaeological research from the start and how these two developed alongside in collaboration with local communities. Giovanna Bianchi discussed the creation and management of the Archaeological and Technological Park of Colline Metallifere (Tuscany), while Sabino Silvestri presented the case of Itinerario Canosino (Puglia) and Paolo Peduto evaluated the case of Castel Lagopesole (Basilicata). Chiara Molducci gave the point of view of an archaeologist who is also engaged in the local city council. Finally, Anna Patera discussed how public archaeology and rescue archaeology are related.

The panel on *Archeonomics: from archaeological research to economy* was chaired by Massimo Montella (University of Macerata), who introduced the topic discussing the notion of value and how

archaeology can be made relevant to different stakeholders, considering all its values. Paul Burtenshaw offered a theoretical approach, while Silvia Guideri discussed the management of the Archaeological Park in Val di Cornia. Paolo Giulierini presented the experience of the Museum of Cortona, and Giuliano Volpe the approaches of territorial planning by political entities (in this case, Regione Puglia) in relation to archaeological evidence and sites. Finally, Amjad Yaaqba discussed how archaeology and restoration have become an important economic source for some Jordan communities.

The last panel was dedicated to the realisation of the constitutional principles in the actual legislation, and the chair Andrea Pessina (Superintendency of Archaeology in Tuscany) summarised its history and development in Italy. Carlo Francini focused on the management of the city centre of Florence, which is a World Heritage Site; Maria Pia Guermandi presented the preliminary results of the ACE (Archaeology in Contemporary Europe) survey, twenty years after the Malta Convention; then, Elena Pianea, Gabriella Poggesi and Lucia Sarti gave examples of the administration and legislation of archaeology museums and sites in Tuscany.

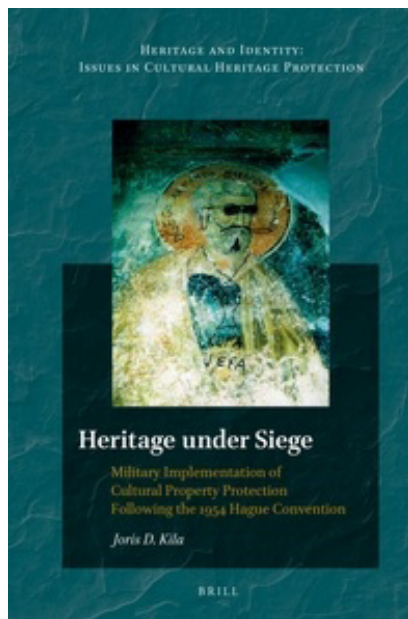
The final speech was given by Giuseppe Curatola, who summarised the issues debated during this two-day meeting and stressed once again that there cannot be development without archaeology and vice versa, and therefore archaeologists should learn to balance their research interests with public interest for archaeology.

Overall, the Congress was a great opportunity to discuss and compare many initiatives carried out in Italy as well as issues raised by the work of public archaeologists abroad. It was also the starting point for an Italian network of public archaeology, while the next national Congress of public archaeology is scheduled for 2015.

Links

<http://www.archeopubblica2012.it/>

REVIEWS



Ignacio RODRÍGUEZ TEMIÑO
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**Heritage Under Siege.
Military Implementation of
Cultural Protection Following
the 1954 Hague Convention**
[Joris D. Kila]

Brill
ISBN: 978-90042156-8-9
318 pages

The destruction of works of art and antiquities as a result of armed conflicts has always been present throughout history. For a long time it has also been seen as a reward of the winning side. From the nineteenth century, the concept of cultural heritage has become something socially rooted; the devastating effects of wars on cultural heritage will try to be mitigated. The protection of the Prado Museum treasures during the Spanish Civil War, followed later by the actions of a military unit called «Monuments Men» during the Second World War, is a manifestation of this change in attitude in the first half of the twentieth century. This concern about the conservation of cultural heritage in wars will reach its peak in the Unesco Convention for the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflicts, signed at The Hague in 1954.

This convention based its recommendations on past war experiences that were already obsolete when signed. The characteristic air raids of the Second World War had given way to the nuclear threat of the Cold War. The fall of the Berlin Wall and bloc politics paved the way for other military confrontations where the ghost of a nuclear planetary holocaust was replaced by the crude reality of genocidal extermination of the enemies.

The bloody dismemberment of Eastern Europe, with the Bosnian war in the background, and later on the invasion of Iraq and Afghanistan and the civil wars in Libya, Syria and Mali, are the best-known episodes of armed conflict at local level, in which the ethnic or religious components have had a transcendent weigh in its genesis, or have served to mask underlying political and economic interests.

In this new scenario, military confrontation does not seek to subdue the enemy, but its moral and physical elimination. The goal is to erase any trace of his memory, including the material remains that identify him or serve to keep his memory alive.

This deliberate pursuit of total genocide shall be added to the effects of collateral damage, as well as the opportunity offered by the war chaos to increase the plunder and theft of antiquities and works of art destined for the markets of developed countries.

The 1954 Hague Convention sought to adapt to these post-Cold War threats on cultural heritage in wartime through the Second Protocol, signed in 1999. However, there has been little interest in the international community to follow the rules and recommendations of this Second Protocol.

The so-called 'Arab Spring' has added new threat scenarios for cultural heritage, as riots and popular uprisings are used by some groups to plunder and damage cultural property, as happened in Egypt, according to Kila.

In accordance with this brief description of conflict, the role of the armies has also undergone some changes. In many cases, the armed forces involved in the field are not combatants, but carry out humanitarian missions or peacekeeping, under the umbrella of the United Nations or other international organizations.

Among experts there is great concern about the relationship between the military and cultural property. Concern that has had its epicenter in the destruction of cultural centers and archaeological sites, and the looting of antiquities that accompanied the invasion of Iraq by a multinational contingent of troops led by the United States and the United Kingdom in 2003.

This issue has led to a broad international debate through forums, journals and books. In this respect, the position taken by the World Archaeological Congress (WAC is a non-governmental, not-for-profit

organization, and is the only elected international body of practicing archaeologists as well as one that places particular emphasis on archaeological ethics) before a possible invasion of Iran in 2008 or the recent episode in Mali, calling on the parties in conflict to avoid war and seek other, nonviolent ways of resolving problems, should be highlighted ("The view here is that providing advice and expertise to the military during the war planning against Iran would offer cultural credibility and respectability to the military action", said Professor Claire Smith, President of the WAC at that time). During the WAC-7, met in Amman in February 2013, a draft of a Declaration on the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict has been submitted to the Assembly for consideration, in order to enhance compliance with the observations of the 1954 Hague Convention.

The book by Joris D. Kila falls squarely in the heart of this international debate from a perspective based on personal experiences, but no less complete and comprehensive. The book is divided into three parts: a preface, four chapters, which include a number of case studies, and appendices with documents relating to the protection of cultural property during armed conflict. An important part of this book is devoted to describing the main issues relating to the protection of cultural heritage in conflict areas or during popular riots, offering each of them a useful set of key concepts which not only establish definitions but also provide an accurate picture of the theoretical and practical complexity embedded in them. These theoretical considerations are illustrated through several case studies in which the author has been involved or known from the bibliography.

The key idea, present throughout the book, is to increase the interest and ability of armies to protect cultural heritage in order to prevent further episodes of destruction and pillage like the one in Iraq during the occupation of 2003. Kila summarizes the total lack of sensitivity to the protection of cultural heritage with Donald Rumsfeld's response to widespread looting in Baghdad: "Stuff happens". To improve these capabilities, it is necessary not only to raise awareness of the importance of cultural heritage, but also to promote specific training, field work in which the author has worked in recent years.

For Kila there is a responsibility for archaeologists and other cultural heritage specialists to attempt to mitigate the damage done to cultural heritage wherever there is conflict, as this cultural heritage could be an essential building block of the aftermath reconstruction process.

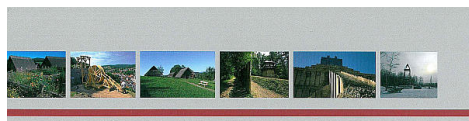
However, in practice, military commanders are often not very convinced about the need to implement the capability of the armed forces in the protection of cultural property, neither in theatre nor during previous training. Awareness of the implications of the Hague Convention of 1954 should be considered a key aspect of military preparedness to undertake the necessary transformation of the armies' mentality that must shift from justifying or consenting to the cultural plunder to participating actively in its preservation. This low priority over the protection of cultural property is the main cause of the destruction occurred in recent times and that could be prevented, according to the author, if the proper training had been provided.

It is surprising that Kila criticizes international agencies, mainly the UNESCO. Kila complains about not only its politicization, but also its slow response to specific crises, such as the recent ones in Egypt, Libya, or Syria. This criticism reflects the tension between agencies already established, such as UNESCO, with broad interests in education and culture, and new ones, more specifically devoted to the central theme of the book: the protection of cultural property during armed conflict, such as Blue Shield or the International Military Cultural Resources Working Group (IMCuRWG), of which Kila himself is Chairman.

In this regard, it should be noted that the book has a strong personal component. This is not the place to highlight the achievements of UNESCO in the field of cultural heritage protection, but its support and endorsement in any of the areas that are subject to statutory interest is a guarantee, essential to make a success of any initiative or project. The difference between the results of Kila's expedition during the Egyptian revolution and those from the subsequent visit of representatives of UNESCO is a clear example of the importance of this United Nations body in the international arena. This does not mean that there can be an agreement with Kila on the need to streamline the administrative bureaucracy of UNESCO and wean the organization off its political interests. But nothing and no one guarantees that other agencies, such as those mentioned above, are exempt from the same political interests, taking also into account that their work is more opaque than that of UNESCO or openly pro-military, as MCuRWG.

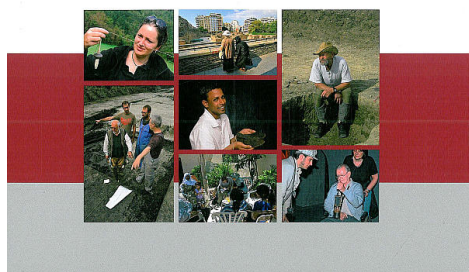
Ultimately, this work by Joris D. Kila is undoubtedly interesting because of its stimulating and enlightening content, even if not fully agreeing with its principles.

REVIEWS



Integrating Archaeology Science – Wish – Reality

Social Role, Possibilities and Perspectives of Classical Studies



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Universitat de València

Integrating Archaeology **Science - Wish - Reality** [Ed. Nina Schücker]

Römisch-Germanische Kommission
ISBN: 978-3-00-039661-8
254 pages

Summary: *The book is a compilation of papers presented in the Conference "Integrating Archaeology: Science - Wish - Reality" that took place in Frankfurt in June 2012, and offers different approaches on relations between archaeology and society. Experiences across Europe are shown in order to demonstrate how archaeology can become a useful tool in dealing with sociocultural, political and economic realities.*

It seems clear that, step by step, archaeologists are becoming more aware of their social responsibilities. Archaeology is not only about knowing and interpreting the past and sharing this knowledge with the audience. Archaeology has the chance to influence -even change- reality according to the needs, expectations and desires of different groups in our society. From this point of view, social value has become an important aspect in the theory and practice of archaeology, and many collectives, institutions and organisations are taking it into consideration. The papers in this book are a good example of the changes happening in Europe.

The book: As mentioned above, "Integrating Archaeology: Science - Wish - Reality" is the result of a Conference organised by the Roman-Germanic Commission (RGK) of the German Archaeological Institute as part of the project "Archaeology in Contemporary Europe: Professional Practice and Public Outreach" (ACE), a long-term project whose aim has been to understand and analyse the social significance of archaeology.

Right from the beginning, the book is clear about its main goal; the challenging title suggests the idea of *integrating* different approaches aimed at the *integration* of society and archaeology. Indeed, the central issue of the 44 papers presented in the book is the social role of archaeology and its potential in a wide range of fields, ranging from encouragement of multiculturalism to promotion of work integration, including consideration of the diverse meanings of heritage, therapeutic benefits of archaeology, cultural consequences of new media in public engagement, etc.

The book is divided into seven parts, each defined by a key topic, although boundaries among them are sometimes vague. The first part, "Community and the Public", gives some examples on different ways in which social implication can be understood and applied in archaeology. Most papers presented here talk about practical experiences: the city and its heritage as a tool for the integration of different groups and the construction of identities, as shown in Thessaloniki (Greece) and Saint-Denis (France); the mutual benefits of working with volunteers as an active part of a dialogue with archaeology, seen in the examples of Spessart-Projekt (Germany) and the excavation in Dünsberg *oppidum* (Germany); the role of an association in transferring knowledge and experience to post-graduates, with the particular case of *Archäologie in Rheinessen und Umgebung e. V.*; archaeology as a way to promote consciousness and critical attitudes towards reality, as shown in the interesting paper of Xurxo M. Ayán on the hillforts in Galicia (Spain); or the involvement of local communities in interpreting the past in order to enrich the value of heritage, either by collecting oral histories, as exemplified by the experience at Tell Balata (Palestine), or by accepting and integrating the diversity of contemporaneous meanings in the case of Pomeranian stone rings (Poland).

There are also two interesting theoretical reflections about public engagement in this first part of the book. On the one hand, the paper signed by Raimund Karl gives an overview of the concept of the 'public' and claims for the diversity of its meaning, criticizing how archaeologists have avoided, through different mechanisms, any attempt to compete with the 'official' vision of the past. On the other hand, Cath Neal's paper about community archaeology in the UK is probably one of the most interesting contributions in the whole volume. The author argues that

public engagement requires professionalism and reflective evaluation of its social, political and economic implications. She also states that there are doubts in the real degree of empowerment given to local communities and makes reference to the idea of passiveness and the creation of the illusion of participation. To some extent, this reflection invites us to think about the experiences presented in the book and the ways in which social engagement and participation are understood. And, not surprisingly, a wide range of possibilities can be found, from the more theoretical and distant to the more active and participative, depending, in some cases, on the predominance of scientific or social benefit.

Section 2 integrates, under the generic title of "Different Approaches", miscellaneous papers on topics such as living history, novels, digital reconstructions, temporary-and-amateur-archaeologists, and virtual archaeology, as different ways and formats in approaching and understanding the past.

Part 3, "All ages", is devoted to the educative role of archaeology and heritage in relation to different age groups, mainly young and old people. Its possibilities are shown through some experiences implemented both in schools and museums. As far as schools are concerned, Peter Lautzas reviews the potentiality of archaeology in the German education system, while Miriam Sénécheau and Kostas Kasvikis provide two striking papers on how politics influence the image of the past in textbooks from France, Germany and Greece. Regarding museums, successful age-adapted programmes of the *Badisches Landesmuseum Karlsruhe* and the *LWL-Industriemuseum*, both in Germany, are presented.

Economic issues connected with archaeology are assessed in part 4 of the book. Generally speaking, archaeological heritage has been mainly considered as a source for tourism development, so that local groups have taken benefit from it in an indirect way. Without minimizing the importance of this approach (see Franz Schafranski's and Katrin Wunderlich's text about the project LIMEs), some papers in this section show how archaeological projects can go further and promote work integration for unemployed citizens, offering training programmes to better facilitate the acquisition of a permanent work position. Good examples of this tendency are the *Archäologisch-Soziale Initiative Niederösterreich* - ASINOE (Austria), the Gabreta Archeopark (Germany) and the *Keltischer Ringwall Otzenhausen* project driven by the Terrex company (Germany).

At a more theoretical level, Maria Theresia Starzmann reflects on neo-colonialist practices of German institutions in the Middle East, manifested in the relationship between local workers and foreign archaeologists.

In "Excluded groups", the next part of the book, two different experiences expose the sociotherapeutic potential of archaeology when working with socially marginal groups. An archaeological project implemented in Creglingen (Germany) gave a group of young offenders the chance to take part in the reconstruction of a Celtic house, with the aim of improving their skills and contributing to their reintegration in society. Of particular interest is Rachel Kiddey's experience of approaching contemporary homelessness from an archaeological point of view.

Part 6, "Ethnic groups", offers insights into the role of museums as places for cultural dialogue. According to New Museology, museums have social and political responsibilities, so they must interact with their context and contribute to change realities. Dealing with multiculturalism is one of these responsibilities, and the papers presented here show different initiatives to this end: the European project "Museums as places for Intercultural Dialogue" (MAPA); the *Museum für Islamische Kunst* (Berlin) and its inclusive programme, promoting the diverse meanings in an exhibition of Islamic objects; or the initiatives of the *Museum für Kunst und Kulturgeschichte* (Dortmund), the *Reiss Engelhorn Museen* (Mannheim), and the *Kölnisches Stadtmuseum* (Cologne), aiming to integrate different cultural groups with a migration background. In all these projects, the people involved are not considered consumers but active participants in the construction of meanings and discourses, promoting the dialogue and, as Maria Pia Guermandi argues, trying to go from multiculturalism to interculturalism.

The last part of the book assesses the interplay between new media and social engagement. The papers in this section stand for the potentiality of Web 2.0 and Wikimedia projects in spreading knowledge and facilitating the dialogue in archaeology. Especially suggestive is Diane Scherzler's text "On humility, power and cultural change", where the author states that Web 2.0 requires an attitude change; it is not just a different way of communicating, but a different way of constructing and sharing knowledge, a cultural change that breaks the traditional top-down relationship between the experts and the audiences.

Conclusion: "Integrating Archaeology. Science - Wish - Reality" accomplishes an important goal: to illustrate with real cases the possibilities and limitations of socially oriented archaeology. It is, in this sense, a really good complement to theoretical work concerning public archaeology, and can serve as an inspiration for future projects. However, some limitations need to be considered. Leaving aside the division of the volume into different parts that, in my opinion, are not equivalent at all, I would have found it interesting if I had seen more papers in which the idea of integration would have appeared in a plural sense. For example, in the chapter "Integrating archaeology:

all ages", experiences are focused on specific and separate age groups -mainly young or old people- and not on the interaction among these different age groups -and others. Only Bernd Werner Schmitt's paper "Archaeology. A meeting of generations" expresses this idea.

This idea of integration should also be applied in other parts of the book, such as "Excluded groups", and even others that are not considered in this volume. Most papers in "Ethnic groups" manage to do so, although sometimes the idea of dialogue is understood to be held between a particular ethnic group and the museum, and not among different ethnic groups working together in the museum, in the sense of multiculturalism that Maria Pia Guermandi claims for.

In other cases, what is missing is more variety in the experiences presented. Although the volume consists of 44 contributions on different topics, chapters such as "Ethnic groups" are quite homogeneous -what does not diminish the interest of every experience.

In my opinion, the main weakness of the book is the lack of examples of initiatives from below (Faulkner 2000). Most papers are focused on institutions such as museums, universities and other professional organizations. Without a doubt this is a positive development, since it implies a change of mentality in official institutions. However, it would have been interesting if the book also included examples of projects promoted by popular initiative, in collaboration with experts but leaving aside the top-down guidance. That is why I have found really interesting Cath Neal's paper on the need to rethink public engagement and its consequences, and Diane Scherzler's text on the challenges of the Internet on hierarchies and authoritative roles in archaeology. As the author asks at the end of her article, "*are we ready for a new understanding of power and dialogue?*" (239).

Nevertheless, it is important to point out that "Integrating Archaeology. Science - Wish - Reality" succeeds in showing how things are changing in archaeology, heading for a more socially engaged discipline and becoming more aware of its social, political and economic contexts. Principles of Public Archaeology -both in theoretical and practical spheres- are becoming common across Europe, with a very wide range of people and in a very wide range of settings; it demonstrates, without a doubt, that the integration of archaeology and society is moving, little by little, *from wish to reality*.

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REVIEWS

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Archaeologist



Negotiation Basics for Cultural Resource Management [Nicholas Dorochoff]

Left Coast Press
ISBN: 978-1-59874-095-0
133 pages

"Conflict is the gadfly of thought. It stirs us to observation and memory. It instigates invention. It shocks us out of sheep-like passivity, and sets us at noting and contriving... conflict is a sine qua non of reflection and ingenuity."
John Dewey (1922)

Summary:

Anyone in the cultural resource management world will tell you that much of the job is successfully negotiating consensus on a course of action between various stakeholders. Brief, practical, and geared specifically for cultural resource managers, consultants, and other interested parties, the author slices the negotiation process into its various component parts and steps. In a workshop fashion, Dorochoff takes the reader through the negotiation process, showing where conflicts can arise, how they can be solved, and how a clear understanding of negotiation strategies can lead to successful resolutions. (back cover)

As Nicholas Dorochoff himself suggests in the introduction to his book *Negotiation Basics for Cultural Resource Managers*, archaeologists and preservationists are fatally uninformed and uninterested in negotiation. Dorochoff, who has a long corporate background, did not get involved in preservation until his forties. This background is not only manifest in the style and content of his short work; it is the very reason why he wrote it in the first place. It became clear to him, he argues, that preservationists tend to take "an 'us-versus-them' approach and [...] they would rather not engage at all rather than attempt to work together with those whose values differed from their own." (p. 7) The result of this approach is much more harmful than helpful to their goals, and prevents them from saving countless sites that could be saved with even elementary knowledge or interest in negotiation. The aim of his project then, is to rectify this situation. The book is a summary of relevant business negotiation basics aimed specifically at preservationists, attempting to introduce the latter to the tactics and procedures that would allow them to argue their cases in business terms. Since negotiation is a large part of preservation, this book fills an important niche that - in spite of this work - remains largely untouched.

In his approach to negotiation, Dorochoff places heavy emphasis on preparation, organisation and communication. He separates the procedure into five clearly defined stages, the first of which, what he calls investigation and preparation, takes place before any actual discussion begins (second stage). The remaining three phases of connection, interaction, and integration occur once the first two stages have been accomplished, and the talks begin. He also identifies six "negotiation contexts" most commonly encountered by resource managers, which he organises as well into a neat grid based on the level of formality and the need for agreement: *Number of parties*, *Communication method*, *Communication mode*, *Need for agreement*, *Nature of the resolution*, *Negotiation type*. Public hearings, consultations and contracts are all very formal contexts for negotiation, but have an increasing need for agreement, with contracts being the most demanding of all. Unstructured and persuasive writing tend to be rather informal, but while the latter requires little to no agreement the former generally does. The bulk of the monograph (i.e., chapters three to seven) is taken up by examining chapter to chapter each negotiation stage in detail, and assessing how they apply individually to each of the six negotiation contexts listed above. The chapters are introduced with definitions, and include real examples of negotiations in preservation and cultural resource management.

Just as each chapter begins by defining the stage it is outlining, the second chapter introduces the chapters to come with a definition. "Negotiation is communication that allows two or more parties with differing goals to arrive at a resolution" (p. 16). The author comes back to this description nearly in every chapter, often more than once. If Dorochoff's need for definition and order is not obvious to the reader at this stage, it becomes clear as the book progresses. Each stage has its unique purpose and structure, often involving a model or a number of distinct points to be addressed. In chapter three, for example, which focuses on identifying the goals and motivations of all negotiating parties, Dorochoff lists three motivation types: There are those motivated by power who are generally uninterested in maintaining relationships or making concessions; those who are motivated by achievement and will thus be willing to make enough concessions, at least as far as this will allow them to move their goals forward; and those who are motivated by affiliation and are most interested in maintaining networks and connections, therefore making the most concessions. He also returns to these variations often in the chapters that follow.

Reading between the lines, Dorochoff clearly gives the impression of taking negotiation very seriously and giving much importance to formalities. He not only suggests that it is unwise to stray from the procedure or the considerations he lists, but also asserts that it is necessary to adhere to them completely. In chapter six, he introduces a "problem solving cycle", which illustrates the circular path a negotiation usually follows. In black and white he lists that during communication both parties should review the situation, reconsider their goals, refine their positions, present and discuss them, and begin the cycle again, *ad infinitum*, until an agreement is reached. In chapter eight, which discusses roadblocks, he asserts his view that every time a negotiation breaks down, one of the steps in this problem solving cycle is neglected. Usually, he argues, negotiation breakdown is the result of a failure of communication. If it is the result of an "output problem," that is "one of the parties is either incapable of adjusting their position or simply refuses to do so" (p. 102), new goals and concessions must be brought to the table or one of the parties has to walk away. For Dorochoff, it seems to be as simple as that.

The author presents a very organized and easy to follow guide to negotiating preservation and resource management. The book reads very much like a textbook, and is indeed intended to be read as such. No prior knowledge of the subject is required from the reader, and the

rigidly defined formula for negotiation presented can be taken as a guideline for beginners. Many of the points may seem rudimentary - seems obvious to say that the way in which information is presented is crucial for success - and many indeed are, but considering the stages and the steps involved in them does encourage one to take negotiation more seriously. In this way, Dorochoff does achieve his goal. In presenting the basics of the negotiation procedure, to which many of his intended audience's negotiation counterparts adhere, especially those somewhat allergic to the business aspect of communication, he gives them the opportunity to communicate on their terms.

Dorochoff's work is, overall, a good resource for beginners in cultural resource management. However, its rigidly outlined method and sometimes obvious advice may not appeal to more seasoned preservationists. Many might enjoy the same benefit from reading an article-length version of the monograph and find many of the expanded explanations unnecessary. For such readers, however, the organization and headings of the book make reading through the main points easy and painless. The extensive bibliography is also a useful resource, no matter the reader's experience. Just as well organized as the main body of the book, the bibliography gives a wide range of sources in cultural resource management, various aspects of business communication and the negotiation process, as well as strategies and tactics that preservationists will find useful. In this way, *Negotiation Basics* can be useful to experienced and inexperienced negotiators alike, and, all in all, achieves its goals well.

Nevertheless, the text is missing an explanation of why culture needs different negotiating strategies. As recorded in his text, Kiram points out: "The behaviors that negotiators from a culture characteristically use to enact a negotiation strategy are related to other features of that culture including its values and norms. The following features of culture seem to be related to the variability in negotiation strategy across cultures: Individualism Vs Collectivism; Egalitarianism Vs Hierarchy; Low-Context Vs High-Context Communications". (Kiram, 2005) In that sense, the work of Salacuse (1998) is very telling, the author asked 310 people to participate in a survey asking them to rate their trading style analyzing ten factors of the process. Its aim was to assess the effects of their origin (8 different occupations, and 12 countries) on its strategy when starting a negotiation. "Various cultures differed on the interpretation of what constitutes a deal. To some, the deal is the contract that will be relied upon when new situations should arise.

Other culture groups view the contract as an instrument that outlines general principles versus detailed rules" (Horst, 2007, 25) Although it may be considered that the sample in the experiment is small, it can be concluded that each actor in a negotiation process leading to their own frames of reference are those of culture, character, interests, gender, etc. The study demonstrates that in some culture the negotiating process is meant only as a battle to win, while others include a priori rule that combines losing and winning as the process route.

Although some of the examples in the text refer to heritage, this issue is not theorized. The question of the development of cultural heritage is part of the conflicts that contemporary trends of globalization generate. Globalization holds within it aspects of homogenization and cultural heterogeneity. It is in the context of these conflicts, the national and local identities in which cultural creation and development of the cultural heritage of the people turns out to be a key factor. The strength of 'the outside', driven by globalization, can lead to an underestimation of the national (or the local, or the group) for the benefit of the global (or rather, of the hegemonic forces in cultural production at an international level).

"Heritage conflicts that can arise out of land possession, structure extensions, services, infrastructure, inhabitation, non-compliance to the regulations/municipal byelaws" (Nitin, 2007) But that list can be added such controversial issues as inheritance claim subtracted by governments at war, claims on human remains found in archaeological sites and deposited in museums, shipwrecks, etc., repeated anywhere in the world.

"The disputing party can be individuals, group of inhabitants or the community inhabiting the heritage buildings. Even as the civil cases get sorted out as per the due process, the parties apparently become more hostile to the structure. An historic building, which is a matter of pride, is now seen as a cause of the ongoing problems. This situation becomes more volatile over time and the community tends to neglect the historic building and loses concern". (Nitin, 2007) There are many ways to approach the conflict, some may argue that it is aware of the laws and it is not easy to understand the guidelines imposed on heritage management. Others understand that their rights have been violated. In any case we do not speak of a single law or a single scenario, so the conflicts are not easy to solve and the figure of mediation and expert existence is so necessary. The scope of conflict resolution is wide.

We should not forget that, in addition to negotiating, there are other methods of conflict resolution well-studied in the abundant literature son las referencias de la bibliografía: (Cohen 1997, Moore and Woodrow 2004) but absent from the book:

- Early Neutral Evaluation is a process by which a non-binding, reasoned evaluation is given to the parties, based on the merits of the case, from an experienced, neutral third party.
- Arbitration is a private determination of the controversial issue by a neutral party, who can make a binding award. When arbitration is combined with another type of alternative dispute resolution process, such as conciliation and mediation, it is termed Hybrid Arbitration.
- Consultation is the process of seeking, discussing, and considering the views of others, and, where feasible, seeking agreement with them on how historic properties should be identified, considered, and managed.

A challenging reality awaits archaeologists and other heritage workers in the new century, in which openness, dialogue and negotiation (understood as influence, persuasion, compromise, and learning, both as a process and as a structure) will probably be our best methodological tools. However, no negotiation is possible if the archaeologist is unable to make a self-criticism of his own position and discourse (as a specialist), which is crucial to try to understand the public's relationship with the past and, eventually, develop solutions tailored to that public.

The conflict resolution techniques are more often than not used after a dispute has arisen. However, anticipation of future forms of conflict would be very important for conflict resolution, taking into account that there are also *productive conflicts* which are characterized by the sharing of mutually beneficial ideas, acceptance of multilateral sources of information, an array of solutions, integrative negotiations, etc.

Finally, it is obvious that good practices and ethics favor negotiation and that the only road to a successful negotiation is persistence, despite the obstacles that stand in the way.

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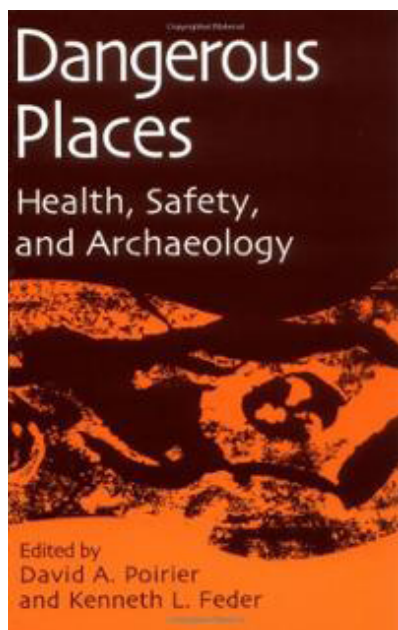
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REVIEWS



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Dangerous Places
Health, Safety and Archaeology
[Ed. David A. Poirier
& Kenneth L. Federer]

Bergin & Garvey
ISBN: 978-0897898010
264 pages

Safety is often taken too lightly; the recent death, in 2010, of Canadian archaeologist Mario Bergeron proves this. Thus, a book like *Dangerous Places: Healthy, Safety, and Archaeology* by David A. Poirier and Kenneth L. Federer, is a necessary text to be aware of the risks and implement practices for a safer work environment. The editors of this book have selected a group of papers which altogether constitute an important overview of unrecognized dangers in archaeology, providing an insight into develop the improvement of basic safety and health practices during field and laboratory work that will be of use to students, as well as of interest to professional archaeologists. The fifteen chapters in this volume have been clearly structured according to biological and chemical hazards, giving specific examples of the archaeological practices in North America from prehistoric and historical contexts.

I can assure that with this book many readers, as I did, will remember the times when they did not use the proper equipment. I remember that, during my work in Panama, in a rock shelter called "Cueva de los Vampiros" which was full of bats, an engineer, specialist

in occupational health and safety, rebuked me for not wearing a helmet and a mask to protect myself from a disease from guano. While I was an undergraduate student in archaeology or during my doctoral studies, I never had a class or seminar covering topics related to safety except recommendations from project directors each field season. This book was published in 2001 as a result of the lack of information related to occupational hazards associated with archaeological work. For Spanish-speaking countries, there is still little information related to occupational hazards; there is a tendency to borrow procedures and safety measures from the health, oil, and geology industries. Occupational hazards similar to those archaeologists face are described for conservators and curators at museums but these are unique environments (García et al 1994, Genoways and Ireland 2003).

Thanks to this book, the fundamental points are clearly stated in the introductory chapter by the editors and are not new: refuting the romantic view of archaeology and showing that, just as every other professional, archaeology students, academic archaeologists, CRM archaeologists and the public interested in heritage issues are exposed daily to dangers resulting from the nature of fieldwork and archaeological materials. Throughout the chapters, specific cases are explained and each author is extremely clear in making and supporting an example.

The first eight chapters of this book describe bio-hazards. Nicholas Bellantoni, using a case study of the lower Connecticut River valley, offers an introduction to tick-borne disorders of North America, in particular Lyme disease, and suggests some tips to prevent the illnesses caused by this insect. Morganti and Tart look closely at the issue of rabies virus: its meaning, transmission, vectors, symptoms, treatment, and prevention standards using statistical material from the United States.

Fink and Komatsu and their chapter on Valley Fever - Coccidioidomycosis- , Ferguson and his chapter on Hanta Virus, and Sledzik's chapter about molds, fungi and spores, show how archaeologists are being exposed through dust to fungal spores and viruses. These authors describe contexts where these pathogens are found, their symptomatology, and offer recommendations for prevention especially during fieldwork but also during activities at museums and laboratories. Leslie Hunt Driscoll introduces in her chapter many factors that contribute to the spread of parasitic diseases during fieldwork which are caused by the food and water that people use. Additionally,

she suggests specific precautions to be taken to prevent illness caused by worms, ticks, flies and mosquitoes.

The following chapters of the book are grouped in relation to the risks of archaeological work with chemical materials, especially in historical and industrial contexts. Konefes and McGee describe safety implications for archaeologists working at sites where arsenic is present due to burial and embalming practices. The authors suggest precautionary measures to be taken when working with remains that may contain toxic elements.

Furthermore, Hatheway in his chapter not only discusses how to conduct archaeological studies at abandoned industrial sites, but also includes health and safety considerations for working in sites with gas-production residuals. In the next chapter, Roberts outlines the risks that archaeologists face during fieldwork in urban settings, such as collapsing walls, bird-bone diseases, machine-related accidents, radiation, and chemical hazards. However, the emphasis of this chapter is placed on making archaeologists aware of the toxic by-products generated in historical factories that have contaminated the land.

In the next chapter, Linck and Van provide information that helps archaeologists who conduct investigations in areas with unexploded ordnance, mines, and arms. Not only do they inform us about the artefacts, the methodology for clearing the area with explosive devices and its limitations, but also they present the safety procedures that should be followed, in case of finding artefacts, during excavation and handling in the laboratory. Likewise, Reno, Bloyd, and Hardesty, and Saunders and Chandler, using as an example their archaeological work in a site on the Carson River (Nevada) and summarizing multiple cases respectively, illustrate hazardous conditions and toxic materials, mainly mercury, lead, and cyanide, common in ore-processing plants, as well as tools, paintings and currency used by prehistoric people. The authors not only explain the nature of the waste but also include symptomatology when somebody is brought into contact with the chemicals and the precautionary measures to be taken in order to avoid health risks.

The final chapter by James Garman sums up in a didactic way the issues presented in the previous chapters, the legislation, risks, symptoms and preventive measures when conducting field and laboratory work in archaeology. It is the educational intention of this book to develop a framework and knowledge which will provide archaeologists with

a safe working environment. As clearly stated in the paper, security concerns arose back in the 70s with the rise of contract archaeology. Contract archaeology meant that archaeologists interacted with other professionals and handled risk prevention procedures. In sum, there is a change in the nature of archaeological practice, not as an academic discipline but as a profession.

The participants in this book agree that the majority of risks associated with excavation and fieldwork can be alleviated, although not entirely avoided, with careful planning ahead. This preparation can help protect the health of all site personnel and also save time and money. Both authors and editors emphasize on the necessity to obtain information about previous uses of the land, which can be useful in order to prepare the project's safety and health plans.

The publication of this book raised awareness within the archaeological community, as it shared knowledge about the risks in the fieldwork, resulting in the development of health and safety booklets, standard procedures, and legislation for archaeological work, as already observed in Europe and the Americas (BAJR 2005, BCAPA 2009, FRCG 2011, UCL 2012). However, there are some limitations within the scope of this book, as it does not cover a number of issues because its main geographical focus is on North American case studies and some of the risks, such as skin cancer, wild animals or poisonous plants, can be prevented using common sense (Langley and Abbott 2000).

Although the many biological agents that are dangerous to archaeologists are discussed at great depth, the book lacks cases from other parts of the world. For example, diseases like malaria, cholera, dengue, and chagas, common in environments such as the tropical lowlands, are not fully discussed. Moreover, there is no mention of the preparation needed in case of natural disasters such as earthquakes, hurricanes or floods, particularly in fieldwork conducted in a remote location or working under extreme weather conditions, and safety considerations such as the Arctic and extremely cold environments (Langley and Abbott 2000, PWGSC 2012). Another issue that is not fully discussed are pesticides and fungicides, which are often applied to agricultural fields. These are also a risk factor during archaeological fieldwork and can have effects on both humans and the environment. Another hazard not covered by this book is the oxygen-deficient atmosphere in confined or enclosed spaces (FRCG 2011).

Furthermore, there is no discussion about ergonomic issues which archaeologists face day-to-day in the field, especially chronic illnesses, musculoskeletal disorders and cumulative trauma disorders (MacEachen2005). Many of us or our colleagues have localized pain syndromes from repetitive motion, including carpal tunnel, joint bursitis, back pain, and tension. Other safety topics not developed in this book but covered in depth by other specialists in forensic archaeology and underwater archaeology are pathogen hazards, excavation of trenches and test pits, the use of heavy equipment, and nitrogen narcosis which are similar to those occupational hazards for health practitioners, the general construction industry and divers (Bowsens 2009, Galloway and Snodgrass 1998, NIOSH 1993).

Surprisingly, this book does not discuss the use of alcohol or any recreational drug during fieldwork. Both can impair job performance, hinder labor relations, lead to health problems such as dependency and cause danger to others.

Finally, although there is a lot of work to do with regard to healthy and safe work environments, this is a seminal book that collects risk and prevention procedures in archaeological fieldwork. This text should be a required book in undergraduate archaeology courses and field schools for both students and professional archaeologists, to avoid taking a casual attitude towards the risks involved in fieldwork.

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REVIEWS

Archaeology & Cultural Resource Management

Visions for the Future



School for Advanced Research Advanced Seminar Series

Edited by Lynne Sebastian and William D. Lipe

Contributors Pat Barker, Sarah T. Bridges, Susan M. Chandler,
David Colin Crass, Hester A. Davis, T. J. Ferguson, Julia A. King,
William D. Lipe, Douglas P. Mackey, Jr., Lynne Sebastian

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Archaeology & CRM Visions for the Future

[Ed. Lynne Sebastian
& William D. Lipe]

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345 pages

This book addresses issues old and new in public archaeology, heritage management, legislation, compliance and dissemination in the United States, where up to 90 percent of archaeology is carried out by private companies and government agencies within the field of Cultural Resource Management (CRM). In the United States, CRM in advance of federally-funded development has had a far-reaching impact on the archaeological record, and affected the education and development of the profession as well as the level of involvement of indigenous people and the public in heritage issues. The editors of this volume have chosen contributions that serve both to review past success within CRM and encourage debate on present and legacy issues, and to offer suggestions for change that address present difficulties. The contributing authors represent a broad sample of archaeological careers within private contract, academic and federal government archaeology organisations. This wealth of experience and expertise provides a solid ground for the volume's concentration on how and

why CRM archaeology is undertaken. The authors emphasise the need to put issues of economic pressure, providing value and public benefit at the heart of American CRM archaeology, and this stance on public archaeology is a thread throughout the book. As Charles R. McGimsey III notes in the foreword, "there is no such thing as private archaeology [...] Archaeologists must at all times endeavour to derive maximum public benefit from their research" (XV).

The volume consists of 12 chapters by 10 contributors, each addressing issues specific to archaeology, and develops the authors' "vision for the future" of the profession (p. 12). In chapter 1, the volume's co-editor Lynne Sebastian summarises the underpinning CRM legislation in the United States and her goals of bringing CRM "back under the intellectual guidance of the archaeological profession" (p.14). In chapter 2, Hester A. Davis focuses on the federal legal framework and public policy developments that gave birth to the practice of CRM from 1906 to the present, with a useful summary of lessons learned during the 100 years of the development of the archaeological profession. In chapter 3, written by co-editor William Lipe, the author calls for a "productive rethinking of US archaeological resource management ends, means and practices" (p.63) and discusses the concept of value – preservation value, cultural heritage value, educational value and economic value, within a context of social construction of archaeological resource values.

Chapter 4, written by Pat Barker, explores the implementation of cultural resource planning models and regional approaches to preservation planning in advance of development. Chapter 5, the second authored by Lynne Sebastian, explores the process of categorisation and management of archaeological resources deemed of value, and calls for creative, efficient, forward-looking strategies to focus the use of public monies on CRM for the greatest return in public benefits. Chapter 6, by Susan Chandler, analyses, through a series of case studies, the pros and cons of alternative and innovative approaches to mitigating damage to natural and historical resources, and calls for an increase in publication and dissemination of this type of innovative projects, also within professional archaeological societies. Chapter 7, by Julia A. King, discusses the challenges of data collection, collation and the dissemination of grey literature. Chapter 8, by T.J. Ferguson, explores the ethical and cultural shifts in CRM, touching on the issues of multi-vocality, cultural sensitivity, and collaboration, and addressing the changes needed to work in partnership with Native Americans

and descendant communities. Ferguson emphasises the need to work towards more inclusive practices, the inclusion of these communities in archaeological education, research and the planning and management of site interpretation.

Chapter 9, written by Doug Mackey, examines the public and intra-disciplinary perceptions of CRM and identifies areas that could be improved to ensure CRM remains relevant, professional, ethical and valued as a growing discipline. In Chapter 10, author Sarah Bridges reviews the dominant ethical standards and principles from state, national and regional professional archaeology organisations and suggests areas of education, common values and standards that could benefit ethical standards within CRM practice. Chapter 11, written by David Colin Crass, explores the issues of public understanding of archaeology as a distinct discipline and the impact of misunderstanding and confusion on public support for CRM. Crass states that it is critical to engage with the public within CRM, and provides a media relations 'primer' for communication with the public. His emphasis on teaching archaeological communications during undergraduate and graduate education is innovative and utterly essential. The final chapter is an exploration and roundup of the future vision for CRM archaeology, as expressed by the volume contributors.

For a European audience, this volume provides an interesting insight into the issues involved in CRM in the United States and highlights a number of similar problems that exist on both sides of the Atlantic. The perceived lack of preparation for contract archaeology work during undergraduate education, much debated in the UK and beyond, is reflected in Davis' critique of academic education in Chapter 2. The exploration of issues such as data preservation, access and dissemination in Chapter 7 will resonate with archaeological audiences, most recently highlighted during the recent 2012 'Open Archaeology'-themed volume of *World Archaeology*. The disciplinary commitment to ethical standards and principles are globally applicable and Chapter 10 is a useful introduction to these issues.

Many of the authors write positively about the need for greater involvement of non-professionals with archaeological resources, better provision of heritage education and the fostering of a wider sense of stewardship of the past by the general public, not least to encourage public economic support for the continued funding of archaeological research by archaeology professionals. The book is certainly a useful introduction to the legislative background and current discussion of

CRM for a North American audience, but is also a comprehensive introduction to specific and common issues in public archaeology for those outside the CRM experience.

The volume summarises and imagines a future for CRM that would improve and innovate, encourage public involvement, support more collaborative work with indigenous and descendant communities and re-envision the CRM discipline as a trans-disciplinary resource and practical application of social accountability. However, the presentation of the possibilities, associated with changing legislation, as outlined by Davis, Sebastian and Chandler, are perhaps over-optimistic, and some realistic assessment of the difficulties would be a valuable addition to the text. As McGimsey writes in the foreword, "what is most needed now is for the discipline of archaeology to become a unified force of acknowledged professionals... so essential if the profession is to successfully confront other entities and get them to modify their ways appropriately". (p.xvi) An apt stance for those of us working in the archaeological discipline, within pressurized economies across Europe, where heritage organisations, museums and archaeological services are the 'low-hanging fruit' for austerity-programme cuts.

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