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Jaime Almansa Sánchez & Elena Papagiannopoulou

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INDEX

EDITORIAL

Growing

Jaime ALMANSA SÁNCHEZ, Editor
Elena PAPAGIANNOPOULOU, Editor

As the journal is steadily growing, so are we along with it, not only in terms of age or experience but also in terms of people. For quite a few months we wanted to expand our editorial team and the right time finally came after publishing Volume 3, which has been rather successful in terms of submissions and readership. Since last winter, the team has grown from just two to seven. Thus, before anything else, we would like to express our warmest thanks to the new team members who have been working with us for the last nine months, helping us cope with the increasing workload more efficiently and making us confident that the journal is taken to the next level: Dom, Amanda, Kaitlyn, Alexandra, and Alejandra, there are no words to describe our gratitude for your work and commitment. We consider ourselves fortunate to have been joined by such a skilled and professional group of people.

Similarly, we wish to warmly thank Kerry Massheder-Rigby and Dominic Walker for editing our first Special Volume which was published earlier this year and constitutes, together with Volume 4, a big step for AP Journal towards keeping its promise and fulfilling its commitment to ensure more quality content. Although we had planned the release date for Volume 4 for the summer, we decided to push it back to autumn in order to give the Special Volume adequate time in the front page. Volume 4 opens with the continuation of our forum series on looting, which this year focuses on conflict. This volume also includes a forum entitled "Archaeology as a tool for peace". Unfortunately, the leading paper has been withdrawn; however, we could not let go of the topic as a whole, especially since this second forum had already been set around it. Conflict and looting was going to be the focus of the first forum, and we wanted peace to be the focus of the second, especially after the latest events in Gaza, which we must also condemn. As professionals of archaeology, we have a lot to say and do about this unsustainable situation. You can find more details below, in the introductions to the fora.

This volume also includes four papers that can be grouped in three broad categories of topics: activism, visitor and/or community engagement with heritage sites, and the public image—and illusion—of archaeology. Alexandra Ion, delves into the case of Roșia Montană, a huge mining compound that has been controversial in Romania. Ignacio Rodríguez Temiño presents the results of a digital engagement project from the Facebook page of Conjunto Arqueológico de Carmona, Spain. Marxiano Melotti reflects on the relation between myth and archaeology in public attractions that use evoking images of the past. Finally, Jaime Almansa Sánchez analyses the image that porn holds up regarding archaeology and the past.

Our Points of You this year has Occupy Museums as its starting point. This continuing movement started three years ago as an offshoot to Occupy Wall Street and has since grown in different fields. Yannis Hamilakis questions whether or not it should permeate archaeology. Reviews are usually undervalued in the academic world; do not miss ours though, as they can offer more than a book summary. We really hope they are useful for you, reader, to choose and reflect on. The quantity of books received is increasing year by year, so we will try to make a good choice and offer variety and topicality. From now on, we will only publish a selection of eight book reviews per volume, but we will link them with the new reviews section of the blog, where other events (and even more books) will be reviewed.

As far as the blog is concerned, this year we also launched two new sections with the aim to offer more timely information: First of all, a link to PhD theses about public archaeology that are available online. Please tell us about yours if it is not in the list and you want to share it. Secondly, an events calendar where we (and you) can share upcoming public archaeology related events taking place worldwide. If you are attending any, share it with us and remember you can also review it.

We are proud to present you a range of topics that we hope will be of interest to you as much as they are to us. We really hope you will find this new volume both useful and stimulating, and invite you to participate in the journal. We are sure you have great stuff to share with the world. Enjoy Volume 4!

****

Finally, before closing the editorial, we should make a few announcements:

1. Call for debate:

We will link all the forums in the blog so that you can follow the thread and comment on topics that we find very interesting and do not deserve to die with the publication of each volume. We still want debate to go on during the year and believe this section of the blog will make that happen.

We hope that more of our readers will engage with our online platforms (i.e. Twitter, Facebook, Google+, and, of course, our blog) through comments, guest blog posts and participation in debates when they arise. If you have any specific topic in mind that you want to write about, we are open to suggestions.

2. Call for papers:

Volume 5 will be published in 2015 and the final deadline for submissions is set for 31 January 2015. Since the number of papers received keeps increasing, we wish to receive papers for our next volume as soon as possible so that there will be enough time to work patiently and get things done in a timely, consistent manner. In case you have any questions or doubts, please feel free to contact us.

3. Call for donations

JAS Arqueología will continue to take care of and publish this journal for as long as it exists. The philosophy of this journal—and of its editors—is to provide the widest access at no cost for both authors and readers. AP is—and will remain—a free-access and not-for-profit journal, thus, sustainability is an issue; the journal costs, in terms of both money and time invested. By enlarging the team we took a step in the right direction. The rest is up to you: our readers.

Keeping the journal an open-access and ad-free publication, which is to us as important as it is to you, means its future depends on your support. Should you wish to support AP Journal, you can do so either directly, through donations, or indirectly, by buying a hard copy of any of the existing volumes.

So if you find any stimulation in AP Journal, please consider a modest donation. We will be grateful for your support and donations make a big difference, no matter how small the amount. At this point, we should warmly thank and express our gratitude to our donors.

We remind you that there are two options:

1. Direct donation via PayPal on our web page.
2. Purchase of the hard copy. There is a 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 in the forum. 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 II

CONFLICT AND LOOTING: ALIBI FOR CONFLICT… AND FOR THE LOOTING OF ARCHAEOLOGICAL HERITAGE

Conflict is not just about war. When Jaime first went to Ethiopia, one of the sites he was working on had been vanished due to religious beliefs. This can be also seen in the case of the Bamiyan Buddhas, not that long ago, in Afghanistan. Purely political beliefs affect cultural heritage in many countries, in what can be described as a conflict with no weapons but with a large social impact. However, we cannot help to sadly recall all those military conflicts which, combined with other reasons, are causing pain and damage all around the world. A world in constant conflict, where people—and heritage—suffer. A world where people suffer for heritage!

This is the reason why this forum starts with a paper in which there is no looting… The Ayodhya conflict in India is one of the most widely known conflicts related to heritage, and deserved a spot in this forum. Next, avoiding military conflict and looting, a topic about which a lot has already been written, we will explore the abuse—and plundering—of both heritage and communities by the mining business in two cases that bring us to Romania and Argentina. Finally, this forum covers a postcolonial debate that has been hot in Nigeria for the past few months: the conflict generated between local and foreign archaeologists, including strong accusations of looting.

Responses

Sabita NADESAN

The Politics of Ayodhya

One of the most pivotal incidents of religious violence between Hindus and Muslims in modern-day India occurred on December 6th, 1992, when *kar sevaks*, hard-line Hindus who belonged to the VHP (Vishva Hindu Parishad) organization and the BJP (Bharatiya Janata Party) political group, tore down the Babri Mosque in the north Indian town of Ayodhya. The *kar sevaks* believed the mosque

had been built over a temple belonging to the Hindu deity Rama in proclamation of his place of birth. Seventy-five thousand people rioted at what began as a peaceful demonstration, eventually demolishing the mosque in a single day. The event sparked nationwide violence and led to the deaths of more than 2,000 people. In a statement to the press, the BJP claimed 'moral responsibility' for the mosque's destruction (Rao 2006, 156).

Ayodhya is a place of significant importance to both Islamic and Hindu cultures. The events of that December riot may be interpreted as an example of the exploitation of a cultural heritage site for political gain. The VHP and BJP parties used the history and tension of Ayodhya as a platform to promote a Hindutva agenda, or Hindu Nationalist movement, and re-energize the Hindu identity in India. A peacefully planned procession was heightened by emotions and led to the eventual destruction of the mosque. As a result, religious tensions between Muslims and Hindus intensified for more than two decades.

The town of Ayodhya lies on the banks of the Sarayu River in the north Indian state of Uttar Pradesh. The Archaeology Survey of India (ASI) reports that the earliest record of human habitation occurred in the 13th century BCE (Shrivastava 2010), though this date remains uncertain. Originally known as Saketa, it was believed to have been renamed Ayodhya when the capital of the Gupta dynasty shifted from Pataliputra to this area in the 5th century BCE. Ayodhya is most well known as the birthplace of Rama, or Ram Janmabhoomi, an incarnation of the Hindu god Vishnu. He is also the main protagonist of the Hindu epic, the *Ramayana*, written by the poet Valmiki in the 4th century BCE. The *Ramayana* tells of Rama, heir to the throne of Ayodhya, his wife, Sita, and his brother, Lakshmana, who are forced into exile for fourteen years to live in the wilderness. Sita is kidnapped by King Ravana of Lanka, with the bulk of the story narrating Rama's pursuit of her and the battles fought between Ravana and Rama, the future king of Ayodhya. This, alongside the *Mahabaratha*, are two important epics in the Hindu religion, and various versions of the tale are important cultural and religious elements in many Southeast Asian countries, including Cambodia, Indonesia, Thailand, Laos, and Myanmar.

Two years after establishing the Mughal Empire in 1528 CE, the Muslim king, Babar the Great (*ca.* 1483-1530), ordered the building of the Babri Masjid, also known as the Babri Mosque. It was built

upon Ramkot Hill (Rama's Fort), one of two mounds in Ayodhya, where it is presumed to have functioned as a fully operational mosque. Why it was constructed on this particular mound, and whether it was built on top of a previous structure such as a temple, is still heavily debated. Shrivastava (2010) suggests the mosque may have been built on Ramkot Hill because the second mound, Kuber Teela, was most likely occupied by a temple, perhaps the controversial one belonging to Rama.

Peace is said to have existed at Ayodhya up to the 1850s. According to the District Gazeteer, Faizabad of 1905, "It is said that up to this time (1855), both Hindus and Musalmans [Muslims] used to worship in the same building" (Ghosh 1987, 24). The first documented religious violence between Muslims and Hindus over the site occurred in 1853. Further disputes were most likely resolved by the British in 1859 when they divided the area: the inner courtyard of the mosque was given to the Muslims while the outer courtyard and constructed platform *(chabutra)* to the Hindus. Thereafter, in 1885, a Hindu holy man filed a petition with the court to build a temple on the platform in the outer courtyard, which was already being used for worship. It was denied, though it was most likely the beginning of the long history of petitions filed with the court by both sides.

According to Noorani (1989, 2461), Islam and Hinduism coexisted at Ayodhya without any further major conflicts until 1949. In December of that year, Ram Lalla idols mysteriously appeared inside the mosque, which was considered an act of desecration to the Muslims (*OOS No. 4 of 1989 (Reg. Suit No. 12-61)*). To Hindus, the sudden appearence of these idols likely lent credence to the idea that the site was originally a Ram temple, though on-duty police reported that the idols were brought to the site in the middle of the night by Hindu worshippers. To mitigate the situation from further escalation, the local magistrate locked down entry into the compound.

For nearly thirty-five years, there were no major developments in the dispute over Ayodhya. In 1984, however, the VHP -- translated into English as the World Hindu Council -- took interest in the matter. The Hindu right-wing organization, founded in 1964 with the goal of consolidating Hindu society in India and protecting Hindu Dharma, or way of life, believed the Mughals had destroyed a Ram temple that had previously stood on the site and wanted recovery of the

temple for Hindu worship. The VHP spearheaded a committee to build a temple in honor of Lord Rama and was heavily supported by the BJP political party, whose roots lay with the Bharatiya Jana Sangh, founded in 1951, and was the amalgamation of two political parties also associated with the Hindutva movement.

Two years later, a district judge ordered the gates of the structure to be opened and allowed Hindu devotees to perform poojas. Arun Nehru, a member of the Indian National Congress, said in an interview, "In early 1986, the Muslim Women's Bill was passed to play the Muslim card; and then came the decision on Ayodhya to play the Hindu card. It was supposed to be a package deal." (Noorani 1989, 2461 via *The Statesman* on August 17th, 1989).

The unlocking of the gates in 1986 for Hindu worship encouraged continued campaigns to construct a Hindu temple at the Babri Mosque. As requested by the VHP's Shilannya Puja program in 1989, *kar sevaks* from all over the country began bringing *pujan shilas* (bricks) to the site to help the VHP lay the foundation for a new Ram temple on land adjacent to the mosque. A year later, VHP volunteers damaged the mosque's walls and domes by climbing on them to hoist flags. In December of the same year, a botched bombing occurred at the site. Following this, negotiation attempts by the Indian Prime Minister failed to resolve the dispute. This was not the last major bomb threat. Twenty years later, in 2005, six heavily-armed terrorists tried to storm the makeshift Ram temple at Ayodhya.

In 1991, the BJP came to power in Uttar Pradesh, most likely riding on the popularity of their Hindu nationalist movement. Consequently, the Government of Uttar Pradesh was given possession of Ayodhya on orders of the High Court, though construction of permanent edifices remained prohibited. Finally, in December of 1992, the religious dispute over spiritual and physical control of the site reached its climax. At a symbolic brick laying ceremony to demonstrate the Hindu nationalist desire for the construction of a temple, participants turned violent. The Babri Mosque was destroyed. More than 2,000 people were killed in riots that spread between the religious communities. Many believe that the Mumbai bombings a year later were partly in retaliation to the 1992 riot, as were subsequent communal outbreaks of violence in which thousands more died.

Despite the violence, the VHP continued its pledge to build a Hindu temple at Lord Rama's purported birthplace in Ayodhya. From 1998 - 2004, a BJP-led National Democratic Alliance (NDA), comprised of a coalition of parties, formed the national government of India, for which their 1998 Manifesto re-committed itself to the "construction of a magnificent Shri Ram Mandir at Ram Janmasthan in Ayodhya" as it "lies at the core of Indian consciousness." The VHP set a deadline of March 15th, 2002 to build a Ram temple, for which Hindu volunteers gathered at the site. Soon after, a train in Godhra, Gujarat, carrying Hindu activists returning from Ayodhya, was attacked and 58 people were killed. Between 1,000 and 2,000 people were again killed in proceeding riots. Rao (2006) writes that in 2002, the BJP did not commit itself to the construction of the temple in its election manifesto for the Uttar Pradesh assembly, perhaps due to these violent outbreaks. However, this hesitation lasted only two years until 2004, when the Indian National Congress party was elected as the central government and the BJP, in the opposition, again proclaimed unwavering commitment for the building of a Ram temple.

Simultaneously, in 2003, the High Court of India began hearings to conclusively determine ownership of the religious site. The court asked the ASI to excavate the area to see if a Hindu temple had previously existed and also ruled that seven Hindu leaders should stand trial for inciting the destruction of the Babri Masjid in 1992, though no charges were ever brought against L.K. Advani, the future home minister and deputy prime minister (2002-2004) who led the BJP at the time of the December 1992 campaign.

Controversially, the completed 2003 ASI Report indicated the possible discovery of a Ram temple under the Babri Mosque in its final chapter, despite previous chapters that made no mention of such findings. The conflicting results were first written about by esteemed Indian archaeologist B.B. Lal, whose own reports changed over the span of his career. In an excavation of Ayodhya from 1975-76 and in the journal *Indian Archaeology: A Review* (1977), he made no mention of any evidence found of a Ram temple at the site -- which was the common conclusion of many similar excavations of that time period and later. However, in 1990, in a Hindu nationalist publication titled Manthan, Lal wrote of the discovery of brick and stone pillars to the south of the mosque, suggesting they were the likely remains of an unclarified previous

structure. The only photograph of the pillar was published in *New Archaeological Discoveries* (1992), a book by scholars with Hindu nationalist associations. His comments were interpreted to conclude that a temple did in fact exist before the mosque, with features that had been incorporated into the Muslim edifice. From that time on, and then again after the publication of the ASI Report, controversy in the academic world erupted, with many researchers wondering why Lal had not declared such findings in official reports earlier and why evidence for the existence of a temple was only reported in the last chapter of the ASI Report.

The ASI documents also suggested the presence of a temple or shrine-like structure below the 'C' floor of the mosque. According to Shrivastava (2003), however, the short time interval between construction of the possible shrine-like structure and the mosque's 'C' floor -- and with no definitive knowledge of the shape of the structure below -- made it incredibly difficult to determine whether a shrine or temple had actually existed prior to Babri Masjid. Therefore, it is still debatable as to what lay below.

In 2009, the Liberhan Commission, which had been tasked to investigate the riots of 1992, submitted their report to Parliament. Seventeen years after the riot, the report condemned high ranking political officials of the BJP for their involvement in the destruction of Ayodhya. As the report states, "These leaders have violated the trust of the people and have allowed their actions to be dictated not by voters but a small group of individuals who have used them to implement agendas unsanctioned by the will of the common person" (Liberhan 2009, 166.12). It also suggested that the symbolic protest of 1992 was actually a well-coordinated and pre-planned action (Liberhan 2009, 132.3).

A year later, the Allahabad High Court ruled the site be split. It stated that the Muslim community should control one third, another third – the main disputed section – to go to the Hindus, and the last third to the Nirmohi Akhara sect. Hindu and Muslim groups appealed, leading the Supreme Court to suspend the decision. Currently, the ownership of the site continues to be under dispute in the courts.

To this day, political parties use Ayodhya and other culturally significant landmarks as provocation to re-energize the Hindu identity of the country. In 2003, the VHP threatened to reclaim

30,000 Hindu temples and shrines, which they declared had been converted to mosques, if "they [Muslims] do not 'reconsider' their statements or 'change their mindsets' on the Ramjanmabhoomi issue" (*The Telegraph* 2003). This included the Gyan Vapi mosque in Varanasi, believed to be built on the site of the Kashi Vishwanath temple, and the Idgah mosque in Mathura adjacent to the Krishnajansmathan, considered the birthplace of the Hindu god Krishna. In addition, the extent to which the Ayodhya conflict is still alive politically in the eyes of the BJP is evidenced by the BJP Manifesto of 2014, which "reiterates its stand to explore all possibilities within the framework of the constitution to facilitate the construction of the Ram Temple in Ayodhya."

Ironically, Ayodhya translates in Hindi as "a place where there is no war." Since 1853, however, controversy has surrounded it, resulting in violence, rioting, and death. Evidence to support the claim that a Hindu temple dedicated to Lord Rama once stood at the site is still uncertain. Yet, because the belief is so strong, it is nearly equivalent to tangible, physical evidence. When coupled with the rise of political groups attempting to come to power in a nation home to so many different religions, ethnicities, and communities, archaeological and historical claims can be used to fuel ideological zealotry, often resulting in needless bloodshed.

Despite the structural controversy and conflict over history and ownership, it is hard to contest Ayodhya's use as a political tool to reinvigorate the Hindu nationalist identity of India and bolster ideological support for this movement. While many political parties have gained support from these actions, there have been no real benefits for either the historical integrity of Ayodhya or Indian culture as a whole, as would occur if monuments and areas of land were protected and preserved for future generations. In fact, this very statement is touched upon in the Constitution of India, Part IV, Article 49:

> *"It shall be the obligation of the State to protect every monument or place or object of artistic or historic interest, declared by or under law made by Parliament to be of national importance, from spoliation, disfigurement, destruction, removal, disposal or export, as the case may be."*

Ayodhya holds significant meaning for many of the communities

that make up the Indian nation. It is rich in heritage and history, though overshadowed by controversy and dispute. Ayodhya is not the first site to face harmful political exposure and, sadly, it will not be the last. Hopefully in the future, however, communities and governments can act to preserve and protect such important cultural heritage sites before they are exploited and used as tools for political gain.

The recently concluded 2014 Indian national election has given the BJP a clear mandate to form the government. How they will implement their Manifesto aims regarding Ayodhya and how this will impact the site and India remains to be seen. Only time will tell.

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Ivana Carina JOFRÉ LUNA

Modes of Cultural Production of the 'Mega-mining Reality' in the San Juan Province: The Role of Contract Archaeology and Local Responses to the Global Order

Introduction

The present study focuses on the relationship between cultural heritage and mega-mining[1], and aims to show how contract archaeology—linked to mining projects through the patrimonialisation of indigenous places of memory—is part of a complex network of hegemonic actors that contribute towards the institutionalisation and naturalisation of a neo-extractivist developmental model. This

1 Sometimes called transnational mining or large-scale mining.

model is implemented regionally in South American countries as well as the Global South, where socio-cultural, environmental, political, and economic circumstances preclude a decolonisation model. In this study, patrimonialisation processes in the context of mega-mining projects are examined based on the assumption that economic, environmental, and cultural conflicts are part of the same dynamic, in that they originate from and overlap with the 'colonial difference' (Escobar, 2011).

From a macro perspective, it can be said that mega-mining is a model of modernisation—in that the normative path of development for flexible capitalism is sustained by the mineral extraction industry, particularly in the natural reservoirs in the regions peripheral to metropolises. Mega-mining involves extraction companies being assigned titanic projects to extract minerals for the purpose of commodity production (i.e., primary products), such as gold, copper, silver, and other metals for industrial and technological use. As a scientific/technical discourse with social and cultural impact, the archaeological production that is at the service of mega-mining exhibits a symbolic efficiency, at both the local and global levels, as the semiologist Mirta Antonelli notes: she defines mega-mining as "discourse-forming biopolitics" that link together notions of security, territory, and population (2012). Accordingly, this study addresses some of the characteristics of the cultural interventions brought about by mega-mining in the San Juan Province, Argentina, where 43 mining projects are now in operation.

The role of contract archaeology in archaeological patrimonialisation within the context of transnational mining

Generally, the processes of archaeological patrimonialisation produced in the context of mega-mining in Argentina are shaped by the context of the country having a reprimarised economy. Despite being strongly dependent on the global financial market, it has at the same time helped set up new scenarios, such as the recruitment of professional archaeologists and anthropologists. This refocused economy also caused the patrimonial administrative state management landscape to change, as did the role of

universities as sources of scientific and technological knowledge. It was instrumental in further legitimising the neo-extractive development model, and therefore, the dispossession and plunder of vast territories and populations. This modernisation project has also affected the economic, cultural, social and political life of the San Juan, since not only private sector businesses, but also the policies of State institutions gravitate around it. All cultural institutions and policies at the local level are permeated by mining interests.

According to Provincial Patrimony Law 6801, the Direction of Cultural Patrimony, under the Ministry of Tourism and Culture, is the State board in charge of granting licenses for projects of archaeological research in San Juan. It also deals in the issuance of permits, and the evaluation of archaeological impacts studies (AIS) conducted by professionals hired by environmental consultants or mega-mining companies. The Direction of Cultural Patrimony is composed of a Director (a political appointment usually occupied by an architect) and a Provincial Council (composed of representatives of public and private museums, universities, municipal delegates, NGOs, and representatives of indigenous peoples). To date, the agency has only two archaeologists serving as external consultants who evaluate projects and AIS presented to the Direction.

Usually, research authorisation cases filed before the Office of Cultural Heritage by professional archaeologists are met with seemingly endless bureaucratic obstacles—despite the investigators working on the project being renowned, or endorsed by universities and recognised national scientific agencies. However, mega-mining permit applications are commonly met with a very different fate. These applications are backed by formal presentations of environmental consultants and mining companies, and are first passed through the Ministry of Mines of the province, one of the most important and influential bodies in the current State government. The review process for these applications is also accelerated, as it responds to a string of presentations articulated in various ministries, and as it represents the sector considered most 'productive' in the chain of social actors.

Over the last decade, independent archaeological research in San Juan has stagnated, as has local archaeological scientific

production. This is consistent with the historical setting of academic and scientific isolation of the discipline of archaeology in San Juan from the 1960s until today. However, there has been an upsurge in the number of AIS related to mega-mining projects, that includes comprehensive archaeological inventories and technical reports of rescue tasks. These reports are commonly left unpublished, and is often characterised by theoretical and methodological frameworks informed by a conservationist and seemingly depoliticised scientific narrative (Jofre and Biasatti Galimberti, 2011). AIS are evaluated with very low standards of scientific quality, to encourage 'flexible' state assessment, and therefore the approval of areas for mining. Furthermore, there is a notable strengthening of the collective of small corporate groups of archaeological researchers, both local and external, that are favoured by state policies, because of their contracts with private companies. In the province of San Juan, contract archaeology associated with mega-mining projects often employ professional archaeologists who position themselves ideologically as "opposing…processes of indigenous resurgence" and "anti-mining environmental social movements."

Given the forced absence of independent archaeological research projects, or those not linked to contract archaeology, a "protectionist fiction" has also developed—one that places mega-mining companies in the protective role of patrons of local archaeological heritage (Jofre, Biasatti and González, 2010; Jofre and Biasatti Galimberti, 2010). This can be seen in the remarkable spread of news items in the media linking companies and the provincial state to patrimonial activities in locations inside and outside mining areas, or training activities organised through partnerships with local educational institutions. These activities form part of the narrative of 'sustainable development,' where mining is seen as 'a sustainable activity' undertaken by 'socially responsible companies.'

The above situations point to the self-exclusion of the state from its role as protector of provincial heritage (imposed through the legal system, i.e., Law 6801). In this case, the provincial state delegates to corporations the responsibility, work, and cost of memory activation through cultural heritage, and in doing so, designates itself as the 'meta regulating State' that exerts control over these private sector interventions. In other words, this is a case of 'mining

privatisation' in places of memory, partimonialised by the meta regulating State through inventories and interventions, seemingly carried out to evaluate archaeological impacts in mega-mining projects. The memory locations are converted to archaeological sites through the archaeological scientific narrative offered by these reports. This nominally designates these sites as 'artefacts', given that physical access is not open to the public, but only to a select group of company employees. The 'mining privatisation' of places of memory—converted to provincial and national cultural heritage—underlines the fact that they are located within mining sites, permissions for which are granted in the form of long leases to mining companies (depending on the mining code). Projects under the Binational Mining Covenant between Chile and Argentina, for instance, saw the national sovereignty of high Andean peaks being surrendered to transnational mining companies. On the Argentine side, the Pascua-Lama and El Pachon projects, operated by Barrick Gold Corporation and Glencore Xstrata Copper respectively, have full territorial sovereignty over the areas to exploit. Additionally, although mining companies and the State insist on emphasising transparency in the communication of their activities, access to the reports of the professionals preparing the AIS is commonly limited to a narrow bureaucratic circuit, or is considered exclusive and confidential business information.

Although international declarations on human rights for indigenous peoples ratified by Argentina establish respect for cultural diversity, as well as free and informed consultation as a necessary precondition of the execution of these projects, mega-mining projects in San Juan do not comply with these treaties. Consultation mechanisms with local, indigenous, or non-indigenous communities, are only performed at the beginning, and not at all project stages, and in any case, do not meet the requirement for prior free and informed character (see Claps, 2011). Furthermore, reports from studies and AIS ideologically fed the illusion that the control and monitoring of the socio-environmental impacts of these monstrous mining works is possible (Colectivo Voces en Alerta, 2011; Jofre, and Biasatti Galimberti, 2010). Or rather, they feed the fantasy that scientific studies and state control over these large-scale works in its different phases—exploration, construction, operation and closure of the mine—are geared to protect the

interests of citizens, and not the interests of the companies. What needs to be clarified here is that the interests of mining companies do not always coincide with state interests, since—as described above—the objective in South America is to adopt a neo-extractivist developmental model, and to convert local economies to the measure of the global economy. Science and technology are in the service of this new project of neo-colonial modernisation, as can be seen in the arguments raised against the acceptance of funds from the mining company Yacimientos Mineros Agua de Dionoso (YMAD). In this socio-political context, the role of contract archaeology, both within and without Argentinian universities, cannot be other than to facilitate exploitation.

Concluding remarks

Jöel Candau argues that "heritage is a result of a work of the memory that, as time runs by, and according to very varying criteria, selects inherited elements from the past to be included in the category of heritage objects," which is why heritage "works effectively as an ideological apparatus of memory" (Candau 2002, pp. 89-90). In my previous studies, I have argued that archaeological patrimonialisation is an act of memory, within which forces of political struggles are involved, and whose purpose is the production of a significant heritage for provincial and national states, through which certain social actors seek to preserve special memories of their past (Jofré, 2011, 2013a, 2013b). I have referred to 'patrimonialisation processes' as those practices and institutionalised mechanisms through which these acts of memory occur. In the case of San Juan, I contend that archaeological patrimonialisation does not ignore the 'mining reality' installed by appliances and devices of state control, and related to this, contract archaeology is just an effect, not a cause, of this neo-colonial resetting of the territory and the memory—turned into heritage—in the transnational context.

Following from my argument of heritage as hegemonic construction, I understand that cultural heritage (as part of archaeological heritage), participates in the formation and strengthening of collective cohesion of groups as well as ethnic, national, provincial, and regional identities; at the same time, however, it inherently

suppresses other symbols and meanings, excludes differences by replacing them or reproducing them in the name of certain national and global projects. In this case under study, the expansion of the neo-extractive developmental model represented by mega-mining in the province of San Juan, offers an opportunity to understand how these and culturally disciplining devices obey strategic patterns previously delineated by the objectives of global financial capital, and end up shaping singular modes of production of new transnationalised sovereignties. Archaeological patrimonialisation processes are an active part of this socio-cultural machinery, and correspond to a general reorganisation of glocal cultural production, of its modernising speeches and tools of inclusion in the capitalist world system through the production of negotiable merchandise.

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Sam HARDY

The politics of archaeological work in structurally weak places: Frankfurt in Nigeria

Archaeometallurgist Bertram Mapunda (2013) previously reflected upon the conflicts of expectations (primarily) between archaeologists and local communities in Tanzania, the consequent resentment, and the resulting harm to site protection, conservation and management. Grounded in my blogging on professional conflicts (Hardy 2012a-2012f) and the illicit antiquities trade (Hardy 2012g), this article will consider conflicts of expectations, and other negotiations, amongst professionals who work on the archaeology of Nigeria.

Background

The plunder of the material history of West Africa itself has a very long history; and, due to poverty, corruption and insecurity, it became far worse in the second half of the Twentieth Century than it had been in the first (Brodie 2000: 14; Darling 2000: 18; 2001). Perpetuating that loss, Nigerian cultural heritage workers have had to limit their campaigns for restitution of looted cultural property, in order not to lose Western support for work to preserve the cultural property that remains in Nigeria (Brodie 2000: 14; Opoku 2012b).

So, some negative expectations are to be expected, especially when thousands of blood antiquities/conflict antiquities remain in the same countries from which foreign archaeologists originate (cf. Opoku 2012a), and when the profits from the illicit digging

and trafficking of antiquities continue to encourage looters and 'compromise' archaeologists (Gundu and Assa 2009). However, some conflicts seem to be actively produced in order to advance certain causes. This piece considers the politics surrounding collaborative or otherwise international projects in structurally weak places; it considers how archaeologists might be able to manage those conflicts, though it is not confident that there is an answer.

Imperialist plunder or ethical engagement?

Early in 2012, the President of the Archaeological Association of Nigeria (AAN), Dr. Zacharys Anger Gundu (also written as Zachariya Gundu or Zachary Gundu), launched a miniature media tour to campaign against a collaborative German-Nigerian archaeological project (e.g. Gundu and APA 2012; Gundu and Fred-Adegbulugbe 2012; Gundu and NAN 2012); the AAN (2012) later supported the position of its president, in a letter by its president (see also Hardy 2012c). Dr. Gundu's allegations were reported in national and international print and online media, and republished or highlighted on international professional news sites and discussion lists (see Hardy, 2012b).

Apparently, based on complaints from the Ham Community Development Association and the Kpop Ham Malam (King of the Ham), Gundu alleged that archaeologists of the German Research Foundation (Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (DFG)) were arrogant, unethical cultural imperialists, who had participated in, funded and driven illicit digging in their fieldwork area; that the German construction company Julius Berger had funded plunder; and that corrupt elements within the (Nigerian) National Commission for Museums and Monuments (NCMM) collaborated with the Germans in the looting of archaeological sites, and sold off half of the national collections and replaced them with fakes (Gundu and APA 2012; Gundu and Fred-Adegbulugbe 2012; see Hardy 2012a).

In fact, "the Germans" had designed the project to rescue sites from looting, to provide economic alternatives to subsistence digging, to establish infrastructure for local development and to build capacity for cultural heritage work through professional training and employment. The Germans had worked in partnership with the NCMM and the local communities; had used their public platform to campaign against looting; and had paid locals who identified sites for scientific excavation, on which those locals were trained and employed, but had refused to rescue antiquities by buying them from looters, precisely because that would have

funded the illicit digging (Breunig, Neumann and Rupp 2012; see also Hardy 2012a; 2012b).

Public relations

In fact, Gundu had never visited or contacted the project itself, and had ignored the project's personal invitations (Breunig, Neumann and Rupp 2012). Nonetheless, his claims spread. Unfortunately, part of the reason that the claims spread is that they went unchecked by archaeologists as well as 'churnalists' (journalists who recycle published material); the project had been plainly explained and accessibly published both in German (e.g. JWGU 2012) and in English (e.g. Atwood 2011; Schulz 2009).

Some German-speaking archaeologists tried to stop the spread of misinformation through the English-language professional community. For example, archaeologist Guido Nockemann (2012) summarised the most recent German-language information for the English-language professional audience, which he introduced with a cynical analysis of the problem: 'someone was not paid enough…. [T]he [G]erman archaeologist transported some artefacts for an exhibition in [Germany]…. [T]hey will go to [N]igeria afterwards…. [T]hey have an agre[e]ment with some officials about this.' But it is impossible to tell whether these interventions were effective, or whether the damage was already done.

When I blogged about the case in an attempt to identify the truth and expose any wrongdoing, Gundu categorised me as a colonialist 'attack dog for the Germans' (2012a), refused (even privately) to provide any material evidence or eyewitness for his claims (2012b), and refused to provide a copy of the public memorandum of understanding between JWGU and the NCMM for ethical and legal review (2012b; see also Hardy 2012d).

Truce

The ethical justifications for and changes from Gundu's positive proposals were not immediately apparent. The Ahmadu Bello University archaeologist proposed that Goethe University should collaborate with Nigerian universities, which it had already been doing for years, but 'especially our members at the Ahmadu Bello University [ABU]' (Gundu and NAN 2012), 'particularly Ahmadu Bello University' (paraphrased by Sowole 2012).

In the end, JWGU, the NCMM, the Ham Community Development Authority, representatives of the local community, ABU and others held a stakeholders' meeting and achieved a supposed 'truce';

but immediately after the meeting, Gundu again accused JWGU of 'unethical' and 'illegal excavations' (Sowole 2012; see also Hardy 2012f). And the seeds of doubt that he sowed did take root.

When I (2012e) asked journalist Tajudeen Sowole *how* Gundu had 'substantiate[d]' his accusations, Anonymous (2012) suggested that he 'may not have proven his allegation', but that he had 'raised a very important issue: how does a country like Nigeria, which has not got the right expertise and technology know if her Nok terracotta taken to Germany are returned as genuine as they were taken away?'

Rephrased from another perspective, how does an archaeologist prove a negative? How does an archaeologist predict and manage negotiations for access to resources – archaeological sites for them, project funding for their partners – when one or more of their negotiating partners is (comparatively) local, well-known, trusted, and able to exploit a community's historical experience to advance their own interests? Should an archaeologist try to win the trust of a distrustful gatekeeper, or try to bypass them – even if they are an elected professional representative – and earn the trust of the community?

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FORUM

ARCHAEOLOGY AS A TOOL FOR PEACEMAKING

Shortly after publishing Volume 3, a colleague submitted a very interesting paper about the value of archaeology as a tool for peace between Israel and Palestine. As it passed the review process, we thought it would be interesting to open the topic for debate and discussion in order to support what we understand as a fair cause. Thus, we created this second forum in close relation to the main topics (looting and conflict) and asked for contributions by different authors. Three of them responded and that was enough for us to open a discussion on a very relevant topic for public archaeology based on a critical experience of current interest.

Weeks passed by and just as we were trying to close Volume 4 this summer, the main paper was withdrawn: the author was not sure anymore about the content of a paper that had already passed the peered review—and the forum was built on it—and decided to withdraw a contribution that we, as editors, found extremely interesting.

The paper aimed to delve into the current situation of archaeology in the region and its ideological use, as well as the shift could/should be made in order to use it as a tool for peacebuilding and local development. Some ideas and examples where shown and the answers in this forum with offer some more light about them.

Timing is essential in research and June was the beginning of a very difficult time in the region this forum focuses on. We are not going to question the reasons for this withdrawal, but we need to take a moment to explain why the responses are still here and why we want this topic to be part of the journal, especially at this time.

Public archaeology is a political tool: We are not objective, we do not want to be objective, and this is a Social Science with an agenda. When Stottman asked if archaeologists could change the world (Stottman 2010) we answered YES! The use of archaeology

as a political tool is older than archaeology itself. The past serves a purpose and we have a word in this as professionals (McGuire 2010). The conflict between Israel and Palestine has been constantly escalating since the foundation of the new state in the 1940s, causing only destruction and death for both sides.

All of us in the editorial team wish to condemn this violence in the region and state that education and archaeology are one of the very few tools for understanding the conflict and helping towards a peaceful solution.

In the following texts, you will find the views of three researchers with expertise in the topic, in relation to the main paper that, unluckily, you will not be able to read, and due to respect to the withdrawal we will not reproduce further. There is no need for more context than the news and the fact that we, as public archaeologists, have a responsibility to the present. However, have a look at this video, if you have not done so yet.

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http://vimeo.com/50531435

Using Archaeological Information to Promote Peaceful Co-existence in Israel/Palestine

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The issue of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and role of archaeology in helping sustain it has been thoroughly discussed, especially in the last decade. The social, ideological, religious and cultural dissonances present in today's Israel/Palestine are important contributing factors behind this intractable conflict. Some of these disparities are closely linked with issues of archaeology, history, and cultural heritage. Ongoing ideological and political clashes to control the present and the past of this region have had direct implications for archaeological remains, practices and management. For example, archaeological sites are strongly affected by large-scale looting, as well as by the construction of the separation barrier, military operations and smaller-scale vandalism. The definition, protection and preservation of archaeological and heritage sites are also influenced to a great extent by political instability, poor law enforcement and ambiguity in management responsibilities. The management and interpretation of archaeological sites may also suffer from 'cultural appropriation' and biased presentation to the public.

The coexistence of diverse historical narratives and different prioritisations and valuations of cultural heritage has had a substantial impact on how archaeology and heritage are perceived and interpreted—and too often archaeological convictions are used as weapons in the fight for historical legitimacy. However, archaeology does not always have to drive a wedge between Israelis and Palestinians—it actually has a great potential to do just the opposite, and create a positive change towards reconciliation. Various ways to use archaeology to bridge gaps between both sides and to promote peacemaking in the region have already been suggested and implemented in the past. These include, for example, community archaeological projects, alternative tourism, and joint archaeological groups engaging in discussions on archaeology. There is yet another aspect of archaeology that can transform the

way in which local communities perceive and understand it, and that is archaeological data, information, or knowledge.

Archaeological data has been systematically acquired in Israel/Palestine since the nineteenth century. The region has been extensively surveyed and excavated mainly by European and American archaeologists, to be followed by Israeli and Palestinian ones, resulting in a series of listings and descriptions of numerous archaeological sites. Many of these archaeological inventories, or databases, are conceived to sum up our knowledge on the archaeology and history of the region. And, just as other facets of archaeology have been affected by the political atmosphere and the socio-political reality, so did data collection and the creation of archaeological inventories.

In order to understand just how the creation of archaeological knowledge has been influenced by the political circumstances in Israel/Palestine, it is important to consider the context in which archaeological data collection has taken place in the region since its inception. In the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, archaeological practice took place in a colonial fashion—almost always by Western foreigners, and according to what they considered important or interesting to investigate. In the case of Palestine, the main interest was the bible—the Old and New Testaments—and any archaeological sites that these scriptures may have referred to. As such, cultural knowledge production has been a reflection of powerful, modern, Western societies who remained unaware of the priorities of indigenous communities, minority groups and less well-resourced societies. The dominance of Western archaeologists has had significant implications for archaeological practice, and is also well reflected in the types of data prioritised to be collected—creating and sustaining an imbalanced control over archaeological knowledge production.

This historical imbalance between the colonisers and the colonised has been gradually inherited by today's Israel and the Occupied Palestinian Territories. Jewish archaeological societies and institutions had been active since the beginning of the twentieth century, to be followed by Israeli ones after the establishment of the State of Israel in 1948. Israeli archaeologists have been working in the West Bank since its occupation in 1967, conducting exhaustive archaeological

surveys and hundreds of excavations—endeavours which entailed mass collection of archaeological data. Many of these projects have been conducted with Israeli interests and agendas in mind—namely the research of biblical (Bronze and Iron Ages) and Jewish (Persian, Hellenistic and Roman periods) archaeological sites. Large-scale Palestinian archaeological and cultural heritage projects have been taking place primarily since the mid-1990s, after the establishment of the Palestinian National Authority. Some of these would try and shift the prevalent focus on biblical archaeology, and concentrate instead on Islamic remains or the archaeology and ethnography of the more recent past, combined with research on local traditions and ways of life. However, to this day, there is still an evident asymmetry between the sheer quantities of data collected and interpreted by Israelis and Palestinians, and each side has limited access to archaeological data generated by the other.

In today's Israel/Palestine, both nations practice archaeology in isolation. There is no collaboration, no partnership, and no data sharing, in a region that is geographically, historically and archaeologically continuous. While archaeological projects and other cultural heritage endeavours generally adhere to high scientific standards and professional methodologies, the nature of these projects, their objectives and motivations, may greatly vary. Since many of such projects, namely archaeological surveys and excavations, include data collection and the creation of inventories, these too are affected by certain agendas and research priorities. And in turn, these seemingly 'final' corpuses of archaeological knowledge have a significant impact on their audiences.

One way to try and amend this reality and create a positive change using archaeology is, in my view, through the re-consideration of archaeological knowledge. When it comes to motivations, methodologies and outcomes of different types of data collection practices, it is highly important to encourage reflexivity, transparency and accountability. The glaring imbalance of power between Israeli and Palestinian institutions should be addressed in various ways, by a re-examination and re-evaluation of disciplinal practices such as research, surveys, excavations, interpretation and presentation of archaeology and cultural heritage, in order to ensure the inclusion of different narratives and cultural values.

While today's archaeological practices are generally more reflexive and self-critical than they used to be, this should be expanded to the more specific practices of documentation and recording. Professional archaeologists should be aware of their role as mediators and interpreters of cultural knowledge, as they shape heritage records and have a significant impact on the information being passed on to posterity. Archaeological inventories can never be objective—it is impossible to collect data 'objectively', as choices and decisions are always being made in the process. However, being transparent about one's own research agendas and interests is taking an important step towards trust building.

Another step in this direction would be promoting accessibility to information—making archaeological data as accessible as possible. There is a general conviction that archaeological and heritage knowledge is universal and belongs to everyone, and the prominent and the popular movement of 'open data' also asserts that data should be available to anyone for free and without restrictions. Therefore, by facilitating access to data, and by promoting the exchange of archaeological and cultural heritage information, we will achieve higher levels of transparency and accountability, and encourage mutual understanding, respect and trust.

Archaeologists and heritage practitioners are capable of transforming data collection and dissemination practices into positive socio-political driving forces, by taking more inclusive, responsible, critical and ethical approaches towards the study and interpretation of the past. Particularly in a region such as Israel/Palestine, professional archaeologists should be more aware of their ability to promote mutual confidence and trust and to encourage dialogue between Israeli and Palestinian organisations and communities. Archaeological and cultural heritage knowledge is indeed a resource that can facilitate a peaceful co-existence, and I am hopeful that archaeologists in the region would use this resource in a positive and constructive manner.

Palestinian archaeology between political conflicts and peace process

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Although many archaeologists would like to believe that separating archaeology from ideology and politics is achievable, reality indicates something else. It is almost impossible to separate them, particularly in countries where political conflicts are hotspot issues, such as in cases concerning the Holy Land. The question is how to tackle this matter? Do we need to exploit archaeology to prove or disprove the right of existence for different ethnic groups or religions? Do we need to be a part of expanding the conflicts that already exist in the Holy Land, and thus create more hatred and distrust for generations to come? In this brief discussion, I will reflect around this disputed matter and on how we can use archaeology to build bridges instead of barriers.

Archaeology as victim

The influence of colonial and nationalistic archaeology has shaped cultural heritage in the Holy Land throughout the past century. After the establishment of the state of Israel, the history of Palestine has been rewritten to adequately fit into the Zionist agenda. Some Israeli archaeologists have paid more attention to certain archaeological layers and neglected others. Some of them have not been interested in preserving the complete cultural heritage of the country as a record for all humanity, and have instead focused only on the remains relevant to Jewish history and traditions. Those in political power have maneuvered the cultural heritage of the country as they wish, without taking into consideration the vast majority of the native inhabitants who still live in their homeland.

Palestinian archaeology

During the past two decades, a new generation of Palestinian archaeologists has emerged and is fostering awareness and spreading knowledge among Palestinians (see Sayej 2010). These archaeologists, however, are divided into three major groups: academics, NGOs and governmental bodies. Instead of working towards a common goal, these groups tend not to cooperate well, most likely due to the fact that they consider each other as competitors for funding and power.

Thus, it is very important to work hard in order to achieve a common goal of protecting the cultural heritage of Palestine as a universal heritage and not as a source of income for different organizations.

Furthermore, the Palestinian territories are divided into three major parts: Gaza, which is under the control of Hamas; Areas A and B of the West Bank, which are under the control of the Palestinian Authority; and the rest of the West Bank (Area C and East Jerusalem), which is still under the control of Israel.[1] The current political division of the Palestinian territories reflects negatively on the cultural heritage of the entire nation. Those who are in the Gaza Strip have almost no contact with their counterparts in the West Bank and vice versa. The Palestinian Authority in the West Bank has no control over the vast majority of the West Bank, which is controlled by the Israeli Authority. The Staff Officer for Archaeology of the Civil Administration of Judea and Samaria, who controls all archaeological sites and activities in most of the West Bank (area C), does not cooperate with the Palestinians. In this lack of political stability, looting of archaeological sites has flourished and is therefore one of the major challenges to the cultural heritage of the entire country. Another major problem is Israeli settlers who are using archaeology as a tool to prove their roots to the land.

Subsequently, how can we overcome all these obstacles, or at least find a way to get out of this downward spiral? It seems to me that we as archaeologists and social scientists need to do the following:

1 The political division of the West Bank has been discussed elsewhere (see Sayej 2010).

1. *Political divisions among Palestinians*

Palestinian archaeologists need to cooperate together beyond the geographical and political divisions. We need to be more open and talk to each other to establish a common understanding regardless of who is controlling what and who gets more funding. We need to consider each other as partners in order to achieve our common goal of protecting the cultural heritage of the Holy Land, not only as our own heritage, but also as world heritage. The abundance of technology today links people together regardless of where they live in the world, and thus the geo-political barrier is not an excuse anymore.

2. *Political divisions between the Palestinians and the Israelis*

This issue is even more problematic due to the fact that archaeology has been used in Israel to support the current occupation of the West Bank (e.g. Trigger 1989: 183-184). In a neighborhood of Jerusalem called Silwan, a right-wing Jewish settler organization called Elad controls most of the archaeological excavations in the old city including the Silwan neighborhood. This organization is led by ex-Israeli commando David Be'eri, and has the backing of the Israeli Prime Minister's office, the municipality of Jerusalem, and the vaunted Israeli Antiquities Authority (IAA). The organization's aim is best expressed in a religious website's 2007 interview with development director Doron Speilman. He gestures toward Silwan and says: "Our goal is to turn all this land you see behind you into Jewish lands" (McGirk 2010; also see Greenberg and Keinan 2007, 2009). This kind of archaeological activity is destructive and should be stopped sooner rather than later.

Other Israeli organizations, such as Emek Shaveh, have a wide reach and are working for advocacy and to raise awareness (withdrawn paper). This organization has very high ethical standards and is well accepted locally and internationally. These kinds of organizations are welcomed by both nations and can contribute to building bridges toward a common understanding of protecting cultural heritage and using archaeology as a tool for co-existence between the two nations.

3. *Looting*

Archaeologists should play a positive role in preventing looting and illicit trade in antiquities. Generally speaking, one could say that if trade in antiquities is outlawed, then dealers are less able to operate freely. Looting from archaeological sites will decrease if looters lose the motivation to dig. Archaeologists are the bridge between the past and the present and can work to change perceptions and actions for future generations to come. The goal of archaeologists should be to make local societies and governments understand the importance of cultural heritage.

When we are able to do so, then we can stand together against those who are using archaeology as a tool to fit their agenda.

Conclusion

Cultural heritage among both Israeli and Palestinian societies should transcend ideological concerns and emphasize the protection of archaeological materials as a common heritage. Archaeologists can protect the heritage of the Holy Land when they accept the coexistence of other ethnic groups and religions in the region, not only in the present day but also while documenting the archaeological record. Archaeologists can use their expertise to create a mutual understanding of the past regardless of ethnicity.

This part of the world has been a passage to the old civilizations and dozens of ethnic groups and nationalities have been part of creating its rich history. It is about time to realize, therefore, that no ethnic group or sole religion has the right to live in prosperity and suppress other ethnic or religious groups. Both Israeli and Palestinians, have to realize the right of existence for the counterpart. When future generations will cooperate with each other to build a common future, then we have achieved our goal, not only as archaeologists, but also as citizens of our respective nations.

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Is archaeology a useful tool for peacemaking in the Palestine/Israel conflict?

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THIS PAPER HAS ALSO BEEN WITHDRAWN AS A CONSEQUENCE OF THE ORIGINAL AUTHOR'S REQUEST.

ROȘIA MONTANĂ

When heritage meets social activism, politics and community identity

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Abstract

"Archaeology for Whom?" A situation where this question gains particular importance is the case of rescue archaeology projects, especially those facing big economic projects. It is the purpose of this article to propose a reflective attitude towards our practice. Thus, I will focus on the case of the site of Roșia Montană (Romania). Here, the contentious topic of a proposed cyanide gold mining exploitation brought forward a series of relevant questions: what is heritage, for whom it is meaningful (and in what way), and what is the relationship between heritage and sustainable development of a contemporary community.

Keywords

Rescue archaeology, Heritage, Landscape, Roșia Montană, Mine

One of the fundamental questions in archaeology still remains the one asked thirty years ago by Rebeca Panameño and Enrique Nalda (1979, apud McGuire 2007: 10): "*Arqueología para quien*? (Archaeology for Whom?)". Archaeology, like any other discipline, creates a certain kind of knowledge, designed for a certain audience and presupposing a specific ethical and political attitude towards the world. In the last decades, archaeology has been faced with feminist, post-colonialist and post-modern deconstructivist critiques, all trying to highlight the need for archaeologists to reflect on the consequences of their work within the contemporary world.

A situation where this question gains particular importance is the case of rescue archaeology projects, especially those facing big economic projects. We are undergoing times in which economic and political decisions are affecting large communities, changing old ways of life and shaping new landscapes. In this context, the traces of the past (heritage and archaeological sites) are caught in the middle and what happens with them in turn affects, destroys or reshapes the way communities' identities are imagined (through the sense of place, shared history, traditions, values etc.). Therefore, archaeology can become a powerful tool for understanding the world, our own identity within it and critically reflecting on how communities want to have their future shaped.

This article will focus on one such situation, the case of Roșia Montană (Romania), by exploring the issues pertaining to the fate and interpretation of heritage when confronted with large industrial projects.

What happened at Roșia?

In September 2013, Roșia Montană, a site in the Apuseni Mountains, western Romania (Transylvania), hit the international media, through journals such as the Huffington Post and The Guardian or through the BBC channel. The contentious topic of a proposed cyanide gold mining exploitation in the area of this Romanian village was introduced by titles such as: "Protests continue in Bucharest against gold mine plan in Rosia Montana" (Wong 2013)[1], "Romania's struggle for democracy is encapsulated in a village" (Ciobanu 2013), "Who is Roşia Montană? - or the Dawn of A New Generation" (Romocea 2013) etc.. At a glance, the concepts of "democracy", "a new generation", "economical solution" have been used along "heritage", "identity" and "sustainable future", illustrative for the complex local and national ecological, heritage and social implications of such a significant economic project.

It is not the intention of this text to draw a full analysis of the situation, as it encapsulates several levels of analysis, problems and ramifications. What I would be presenting is a brief overview of why studying, protecting and understanding heritage in such a context is a complex matter, one that involves choices regarding

1 In the peak days of protests, up to 35.000 people took part in the streetsaccording to media reports.

three issues: what is heritage, for whom it is meaningful (and in what way), and what is the relationship between heritage and sustainable development of a contemporary community.

It all started in 1997 (see RMGC. Project History), when the Euro Gold Resources company (transformed in 2000 in Roşia Montană Gold Corporation) advanced a project to exploit the gold deposits from Roșia Montană (a site with a long mining tradition). The exploitation would affect an area of four mountain massifs (see "Technological process in the Roşia Montană Project"). Consequently, according to the Romanian law, they needed an archaeological discharge certificate for the area of the future exploitation. In 2000, archaeological prospections started (with the financing of RMGC Gold Corporation), gathering archaeologists from the National Union Museum of Alba Iulia and the Projection Centre for the National Cultural Patrimony (Damian 2003: 9). In 2001, the Ministry of Culture and Cults initiated the "Alburnus Maior" National Research Program with the aim of "evaluating the archaeological potential and conducting rescue excavations" and surface archaeological research in the area of the Roşia Montană "on Valea Cornei...,Cârnic, Orlea, Ţarina, Văidoaia, Cetate, Carpeni mountain massifs" (Damian 2003: 9). This program involved the participation of several interdisciplinary teams of archaeologists, speologists, topographers, geologists, etnographers, historians, architects, IT experts, from 12 institutions from across Romania and a French one (see Damian 2003, 28).

The research program led by the National History Museum lasted for six years, up until 2007, a period in which an area of 700.000 sqm was covered by archaeological research (Damian 2003: 9). Throughout this period what was brought to light was a heritage "in layers", material remains spanning more than two millennia: pre-roman discoveries, vestiges of the "Alburnus Maior" Roman mining settlement founded during the rule of the Emperor Trajan (with dwellings, tombs, sacred areas, and an underground mining sistem, "part of the largest, most extensive and most important underground mine complexes within the Roman Empire. It is, in this important respect, unique."- Wilson *et al*. 2011: 7), traces of medieval occupation, and of mining activities during the Austrian empire (18th-19th centuries) (Bâlici 2013). All in all, there have been uncovered more than 150 km of "galleries, extraction chambers, vertical workings, shafts, drainage channels" (Bâlici 2013: 206)

from all historical periods (up until the communist era), with their above ground counterparts - roads, wooden trackways, reservoirs, a processing plant etc. (Bâlici 2013: 206). To this, one can add the architectural and intangible heritage from Roșia, with several historic churches of five denominations, significant vernacular architecture etc. (see Bâlici 2013 for a great overview of the built heritage and ARA 2009, Fig. 03 for a map of the distribution of heritage in space).

Understanding heritage

What should happen with this heritage? Is it worthy of being studied further or should it make room for the economic "development"? (The unspoken question being: Whom will serve archaeology and heritage protection in each case?). In Romania, there have been three main answers to these questions: one coming from the "Alburnus Maior" archaeological Program, one from the investor and one from other academic bodies.

The "Alburnus Maior" Program was followed by 2 certificates of archaeological discharge, both contested in court by some of the local people grouped around the Alburnus Maior Association (see http://www.rosiamontana.org/) (the first certificate being cancelled by court in 2008). This decision has also been met with virulent reactions from a part of the academic community (Alexandrescu *et al.* 2002, Ciugudean 2012, Piso 2003, The Romanian Academy 2013) who claimed that the heritage, especially from Roman period should be preserved due to its unique quality. There are two things which should be noticed.

Firstly, at Roșia, the archaeological program was designed as a rescue archaeology one ("excavations were performed in order to archaeologically discharge the area outside Roşia Montană, West of the Cetate massif", Damian 2003: 9), which by definition is an endeavour which uncovers partially, and with a deadline in mind, the designed area[2]. The focus on Roman vestiges and on the more spectacular ones was chronologically fragmented, as critiqued by Piso or Ciugudean, with little interest in the archaeological research of modern times or the Habsburg and communist periods

2 This is in no way a critique of the hard work and commitment of the archaeologists who took part in the Program; it is meant just as an evaluation of the interpretative framework in which it was designed.

as highlighted by Wilson et al. (2011; 2013: 9). In addition, the expanse of archaeological research covered only a small area ("0.2% of the 1,100 ha for which RMGC sought the archaeological discharge", according to Piso in O'Hara 2004: Part II, Para. 22, or 4% of an area of 100 ha according to the president of the Romanian Academy, Haiduc 2004).

On the other hand, the topic of the exceptional quality of some individual discoveries which appeared in either pro or against exploitation (Jennings 2013) positions is insufficient for understanding the heritage from Roșia. Following the same line of "unique" qualities, even the investor proposed the conservation in situ of some monuments (http://www.rmgc.ro/proiectul-rosia-montana/patrimoniu.html) while altering the rest of the landscape through mining activities. Even though such a focus might be understandable given the importance of the outcome of the debate (the extraordinary/unique quality of dicoveries possibly turning them in reasons to stop the exploitation on the one hand, and getting across the arguments to the public on the other hand), an archaeologist can go further. Roșia presents the opportunity of reflecting on the workings in/through the landscape's resources throughout history, to experience different ways of being in the world (of mining and living in the same place for over two millenia).

As the Wilson *et al.* 2011 document states, Roșia is a great case of cultural/historical landscape. Thus, heritage does not mean just "ancient archaeological remains, sites and historic structures" against a setting (the landscape) (Waterton 2005: 311), something which can be replicated/selectively preserved or overlooked. Rather, heritage equals landscape, a process rather than a static amalgam of material remains (Waterton 2005: 311). Roșia Montană is a palimpsest of mining exploitation from roman up to communist times (see Cauuet *et al.* 2003, 2004, Ciugudean 2012), and should be understood as "a sequence of traces of the past that have been built up, written over and rewritten" (Muir 2000 apud Holtorf and Williams 2006: 237). Such a landscape-as-heritage can also be described as one of "retrospective memory" (Holtorf and Williams 2006: 237), one which embodies memories of past practices and world views.

If one applies this interpretative framework, of the biography of place (see Anschuetz *et al*. 2001 and Samuels 1979), engaging with the landscape-as-heritage pertains not only a physical or

economical dimension, but also a social and symbolic one (Waterton 2005). In this context, any archaeological endeavour should take into acount the implications beyond the material remains, to treat the remains as of equal focus in order to understand how the past or present identities have been shaped along the alteration of the landscape. This landscape, with its mines, trees, roads, Hapsburg churches and communist era machines, creates a sense of place for a community, a historical landscape in which/around which communities have been built. In this process nothing was left out, nature and culture shaped each other; even the "natural" features are deeply marked by human agency, bearing memories of mining activities: from artificial lakes, "tăuri" (Tăul Secuilor, Tăul Cornii), to suggestive toponyms, Cetate (Citadel) Massif, Gauri area (Pits) etc.

> *"A unique light...is sieved in the Roman-Catholic cemetery around a cathedral-like church...; and then the climb towards Tăul Mare lake leaves you breathless, slips you through the mountain homes, most having...tall gates and windows highlighted by neoclassical Victorian stucco...among the old schools' buildings (German and Hungarian)"* (Grancea 2011).

Surprisingly (or not), those who have taken explicitly this approach of the landscape biography in their quest for protecting the heritage have been mostly architects, especially the ARA association (through the use of the "cultural landscape" concept in ARA 2009, exhibitions, press conferences[3]), along the efforts of other bodies, such as the Romanian Academy, the EAA (TEA 2003), ICOMOS, and few Romanian archaeologists (see Dragoman 2013a, 2013b). This way, certain aspects of the heritage will not get displaced (and selected for conservation or study due to their "unique" character), like selectively taking away pieces of a puzzle, rather than gaining meaning only in relation to each other.

Final thoughts

Roșia Montana can make an interesting case study for the archaeological and cultural resources community as well, as it

3 http://www.privesc.eu/Arhiva/18548/Conferinta-de-presa-cu-tema--Exploatarea-miniera---un-act-de-vandalism-cultural--despre-studiul-expertilor-britanici-asupra-patrimoniului-de-la-Rosia- , 24 October 2013

provides the perfect environment for applying the idea of "a praxis of archaeology that involves knowing the world, critiquing the world, and taking action in the world" (McGuire 2007: 10). After all, who would benefit from the destruction/conservation of heritage? The investor, the nation, the community? Romania's economy is trying to develop on capitalistic principles and even though economic projects need to be done, can they happen by endangering and displacing a sense of identity and of shared values? What is the role of heritage in the sustainable development of Romania? In this light, what does sustainable development mean? At a local level, part of the community fights against being displaced (with a focus on the heritage which is most significant to them, their dead being moved, the fear of houses being abandoned and left in ruins, and of the churches in danger of being destroyed), which "is contrary to the demographic growth policy of Țara Moţilor and to the requisites of the area's sustainable development" according to the Romanian Academy (2013: 4). At a national level, voices are opposing the project given the place's unique situation—not of unique pieces, but of unique pieces living together, within the context that gave birth to them.

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Using Facebook to build a community in the Conjunto Arqueológico de Carmona (Seville, Spain).

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Abstract

When the Conjunto Arqueológico de Carmona (Seville) was inaugurated as the first open-air archaeological museum in Spain in 1885, the institution enjoyed a local community of people interested in archaeology, but this community lost strength over time. One hundred years later, the institution has the goal of being a participative museum, and rekindling a special relationship with the local population, to form a new community of users which complements visitors. This article presents the preliminary results of a descriptive and exploratory study involving Facebook use to find out the demographic characteristics of people interested in the Conjunto Arqueológico de Carmona, as previous research to form a local community interested in archaeology and cultural heritage. Special attention is paid to the role played by education through archaeology as a means to improve social empowerment.

Keywords

Archaeological Site Management, Community Archaeology, Conjunto Arqueológico de Carmona, Facebook, Online Community, Online Education, Social Networking Sites.

Introduction

After several years of archaeological excavations carried out by Juan Fernández López, a pharmacist and local scholar, and George E. Bonsor, an Anglo-French painter who was to become one of the most influential amateur archaeologists in Spain at that time, on 24 May 1885, the Necrópolis Romana de Carmona (Roman Necropolis of Carmona) was inaugurated. The Necrópolis Romana de Carmona changed its official name in 1993 to Conjunto Arqueológico de Carmona (Carmona Archaeological Ensemble, hereinafter CAC).

The CAC turned part of the western necropolis of the ancient Roman *municipium* of *Carmo* into an open-air museum. This archaeological site is characterized by a type of burial consisting of cremation ashes kept in urns placed inside family-unit hypogea chambers accessed by a rectangular dwell-like opening (Rodríguez Temiño *et al.* 2012). These funerary complexes are dated from the end of the first century BC to the middle of the second century AD.

It was the first time that an archaeological site was opened to the public in Spain and one of the first cases within Europe. Fernández López and Bonsor had conceived a series of actions to support this museification of the Necropolis Romana de Carmona such as acquisition of the land where the ruins were located, the building of an on-site museum to show the archaeological objects found inside the Roman tombs, and the creation of a garden-like setting with paths to facilitate access to the tombs. The main pillar of the project was to be the establishment of the Sociedad Arqueológica de Carmona (Carmona Archaeological Society), a cultural platform that brought together the best of the local intellectuals and members of the Madrid and Seville Royal Academies, whose principal task was historical-archaeological research on Carmona (Maier Allende 1997). The Carmona Roman Necropolis continued as a private initiative until George E. Bonsor, shortly before his death, transferred ownership to the State on 28 July 1930.

As a museum, the CAC has the goal of being a participative institution, which means that visitors can create, share, and comment with each other about the content (Simon 2010, iii), but we are still far from being a fully participatory institution in

the way Nina Simon defines it, although we take this endeavour seriously enough to develop strategies with objectives, outcomes, and assessments to address those goals (Rodríguez Temiño *et al*. 2014).

One of these strategies is to break down the public into different categories according to their demographic characteristics, educational capital,[1] or motivation of the visit (Basset and Prince 1986), so that it is easier to adapt the message and communication to all kinds of audiences. In the broadest sense, the CAC public may be divided in two main groups for the aims of this paper: visitors and users. The difference between them is determined by how often they come to the CAC. Although the CAC receives an average of 35,000 visitors annually, the CAC lacks a stable community of users, aside from those who are family-activities consumers.

Certainly, at the time when the Necrópolis Romana de Carmona was inaugurated, there was an important local community surrounding it. Bonsor and Juan Fernández set up a guest book on the first day the Necrópolis Romana was opened to the public, where visitors could leave their signature and impressions of their visit to the ruins. The CAC's archives store five of these guest books. Upon studying these documents it is clear that during the first twenty years (1885–*circa* 1905) in the life of the Necrópolis Romana de Carmona, this site was visited by tourists from many Spanish cities and foreign countries as well as by a large part of Carmona's residents, but what is interesting to highlight now is the fact that some of them became *users* rather than merely *visitors* of the Necrópolis Romana de Carmona. They probably shared not only friendship with the owners of the Necrópolis but a common interest in archaeology and local historical studies too. There was a range of activities at the Necrópolis in which these users took part, such as those to commemorate the sixty years of the reign of Queen Victoria, organized by the only British national in Carmona at the time, George E. Bonsor, on 22 June 1897, during which readings of archaeological reports were followed by traditional dances.[2]

This community built around the Roman Necropolis of Carmona began losing strength over time. During the second decade of the twentieth century there is no trace of this community or new people to replace them. As more years passed, the people from Carmona

barely felt any linkage with the Necrópolis Romana de Carmona, considering it only as a resource for tourists.

One hundred years later, we think we should go back and rekindle a special relationship with the local population, to form a new community of users which complements visitors, and with whom we can develop a special relationship in the understanding of archaeology and archaeological heritage care.

We think that building a community of users around de CAC fits in with the idea of how community archaeology is intended in the United Kingdom and beyond (Moshenska and Dhanjal 2011), because of the desire of promoting active participation and the engagement of a local community with archaeology and the archaeological heritage to develop experiences that are more valuable and compelling for everyone. The main difference is about the role played by archaeological excavations. In the United Kingdom excavation forms an intrinsic and vital component of community archaeology, although it is not enough to involve local people in some community archaeology projects, as there is a lack of participation in subsequent non-excavation activities (Simpson and Williams 2008); while in Spain, legal restrictions make the involvement of members of the public in archaeological excavations difficult. According to cultural legislation, excavations must be carried out by professional archaeologists.

There are, however, strong similarities between community archaeology projects in those countries and what we do at the CAC: an emphasis in public empowerment through a two-way dialogue between archaeologists and the locals involved, enabling active participation and multiple interpretations.

But, before discussing the approach to the delimitation of the community any further, it is essential to explain the role we attribute to education in this process. This is a crucial starting point in understanding our view of public empowerment.

As a museum, the CAC's aims are educational in nature, but we try to replace, as far as possible, the traditional linear manner of presenting knowledge by other communication models in which information is devised, discussed and interpreted in a circular

process, allowing the audience to move from passive to active roles. Our educational purpose is not exclusively addressed to fill the gap between archaeologists and the lay-public in Roman funeral rites, Romanization process, and similar topics, as this kind of knowledge better fits in a formal educational setting. We think that it would be more appropriate to use those topics to develop activities aimed at enhancing positive attitudinal knowledge (Roberts 1992) of the past that helps citizens to form and keep a positive, and indeed the right, opinion about issues on archaeological heritage of public concern (Bartoy 2012).

In contrast to what happened one hundred years ago, a local community around the CAC nowadays should not exclusively be composed of people living in Carmona who come to take part in CAC onsite activities. It is possible, and desirable taking into account the possibilities offered by the internet, and especially by social networking sites, to expand our search of interested people and to combine the 'real world' and cyberspace to form a community. In fact, when we started working on this project, not only did we assume a certain degree of delocalisation of this community but also that the internet was going to be a fundamental tool because, as Kozinets (2010: 15) has stated, the use of the Internet may empower and enable the formation of communities (though see Richardson 2013; Walker 2014)

Nevertheless, it is probably inadequate to name all fans of a website or social networking site as an online community when they are merely virtual social aggregations. The term community appears appropriate only to refer to a group of people who share some sustained social interaction and a sense of familiarity between them (Kozinets 2010: 10; Varik and Oostendorp 2013: 454). Many people who visit a website or click the *like* button in a networking site do not later maintain any kind of engagement with those pages.

Building an online community between the CAC and its followers means sharing information with one another, repeated contact and promoting a feeling of familiarity and membership. It has not happened yet in our case, but we are trying to use Facebook, the most popular networking site, as a tool to approach an identification of demographics of that community. It is not within the scope of this paper to discuss psychological issues on why, or who, uses

Facebook (Ryan and Xenos 2011, Nadkarni and Hofmann 2012), however attention has been paid to the quality of the posting as we were aware that Facebook favours quick clicks on the *like* button and emotive responses to postings, rather than cognitive ones.

Museums and Facebook

Fifteen years ago, although digital interactivity was maturing, only a few museums showed interest in exploring that way as a channel with which to communicate with the public; but now the recent proliferation in the use of social networking sites has resulted in a new avenue through which museums can communicate with their audiences. Social networking sites are defined as internet-based services that give individuals three major capabilities: a) the ability to construct a public profile; b) the ability to identify a list of other users with whom a connection is shared, and c) the ability to view and track individual connections as well as those made by others (Nadkarni and Hofmann 2012).

Facebook, mainly used by people to build an online presence, is the most popular social networking site. According to Facebook Inc., the number of monthly active users was 1.11 billion at the end of March 2013, which means that 665 million people are connected to Facebook daily. In light of figures such as these, it is not surprising that an overwhelming majority of museums maintain presence on Facebook (Bonacini 2011: 141–143). This social network is no longer a mere conduit for friends to stay connected; it now also plays a pivotal role in showing museums' popularity.

Museums usually have their own web pages as the main way to communicate to their public, because websites permit hosting and provide many useful resources, so that Facebook is only an added extra for their online strategy. The main reason for the massive presence of museums on this social network is that Facebook offers the possibility of being in contact with millions of people and to increase their virtual audience (Pett 2012: 91–92; Schick and Damkjær 2010: 37).

Not being present would mean museums that wanted to have some social influence would be missing out.[3] Especially for small

museums, Facebook can indeed play the role of web 2.0 platform due to its easy-to-use interface.[4]

As previously mentioned, the reason for Facebook usage by museums is, above all, to be viewed online. The strategies followed to reach this goal go through posting news and useful information about events that take place in the museum or spectacular photos of the collections with links to the museum's website, but without much interactivity. Possibly this is the main reason why many museums, despite a large number of Facebook fans, have in fact low levels of engagement. By this it is meant proportionally few active users (Schick and Damkjær 2010: 37–38).

CAC's Facebook page

After joining Facebook on 18 May 2010, the CAC's page has more than 2,932 *likes* at the time of writing. This amount of fans is very far from that of the major international museums, such as the Louvre with more than one million fans, the British Museum, with numbers exceeding four hundred and twenty thousand or the Prado National Museum, boasting an excess of two hundred and ninety thousand, and monuments such as La Alhambra with more than one hundred thousand or the Tower of London with more than sixty-four thousand. But the number of CAC's online fans is consistent with real visitors of the museum and the socio-demographic characteristics of the province of Seville. However, while, generally speaking, the statement that no museum can be popular online without having some level of popularity offline is true, the number of followers on Facebook, and any other social networking site, is also proportional and dependent on the degree of interaction with users.

The CAC created a Facebook page to improve its online presence and to keep in touch with its physical visitors and potential visitors. To achieve those goals, the CAC staff has been feeding this page with posts (status updates, photos and videos) whose contents were mainly related to news, events (guided tours, children's activities and so on), pictures of the Roman tombs in the CAC, and a small amount of information about ancient Roman funerary rites.

Of course, this model of communication, even in a social networking environment, does not enhance participation, because the message source is always the CAC and the content of the post does not encourage responses. That is why, although the CAC's page has gained fans, followers' contributions were few and trivial, as in many of the other museums' Facebook pages (Schick and Damkjær 2010: 36). Even though it seems to be normal that only a small portion of the people that visit an online community become active, around one per cent according to some authors (Nielsen 2006; Varik and Oostendorp 2013: 456), after several months, we decided to focus our activity on Facebook more on engaging with online audiences rather than on promoting events.

This lack of interaction means that users do not see what the CAC uploads on Facebook, because the news feed is a blend of top stories, your friends' recent stories and pages you *like*. By default Facebook uses an algorithm, called EdgeRank, to discriminate which posts you see on your wall. They come more from the friends and pages you interact with the most and less from those you do not. These findings can be consistent with the differences between the two most important types of information processing on internet: searching and surfing (Kim *et al*. 2014).

Fig. 1: People who like CAC's Facebook page, according to Facebook's statistics

Demographic characteristics of CAC's page followers

Before the beginning of the *Hidden Treasures* activity, which we refer to below, the Facebook demographic statistics show some characteristics of the followers of CAC's page (Fig. 1). First, the 18–24 years old demographic (of both men and women) represented barely 8% of the total of people who *liked* the page, however this demographic accounts for 32.3% of all Facebook users. Second, the CAC's page mainly drew its fans from the 25–34 year old group (48% women and 48% men), with women of 25–34 years being the group with the highest rate of users at 17%, five points above the average ratio for that group in all of Facebook. Third, women of 25–34 years were the group of people who rated the highest among those who saw the page (21%), although this group represents only 17% of all the group's followers. The next group, composed of 35–44 year old women reached up to 16%, scoring higher than its proportional representation of CAC's fans (13.8%). Groups of men of the same age range comprised only 13% of people who saw the page, equal in proportion of their ratio between CAC's followers. Fourth, it was possible, through Facebook, to be able to outline the geographical realm of the CAC's followers. So we knew that the province of Seville (which includes Carmona) with almost seven hundred followers was the place where most of the people who *talk* (i.e. to generate a story from a post) about the page were from.

Hidden Treasures of the Necropolis of Carmona

In order to encourage the interactions between the CAC and its Facebook fans, we decided to carry out a typical museum activity with educational goals, but online. We wished to give this activity a double purpose. On the one hand, to disclose unpublished objects, providing information about them with interpretative language, with the same educational role predicable of mass communication displayed by museums through exhibitions; that is, with an informal educational purpose (Alt and Griggs 1984; Asensio Brouard and Pol Méndez 2002; Hooper-Greenhill 1999). This means that, when this activity was designed, our purpose was not to provide data and assume that the Facebook users would learn new facts about the Roman funeral rituals, but rather to motivate them to make

meanings that would lead to the interpretation of these objects, from a constructivist perspective. Of course, if we lower our expectations in the light of a full understanding of what is possible to achieve in the real museum setting, on the internet our expectations were even lower.

Fig. 2: "Hidden Treasures" starting post in English.

On the other hand, we tried to assess the *reach* (in Facebook terminology, the number of people who see a post) and the type of responses we might get from posting something requiring more thought from our fans. In this way we directly addressed the delimitation of the interested community in archaeology and archaeological heritage around the CAC (i.e. the main goal of the activity).

On 3 October 2012, the online activity *Hidden Treasures of the Necropolis of Carmona* began (Fig. 2). As we said in the presented post, we wanted to share on Facebook some pieces of great interest not on display, but guarded in CAC stores to ensure their conservation: "Objects that permit us to reconstruct the history of the graves of this Roman necropolis and bring us to the most intimate details of their dwellers".

The activity consisted of the monthly presentation of a piece in two steps: first, showing a picture of the object with a question to encourage responses, and second, publishing an album with some photos and an informative text of two or three paragraphs about the object explaining the question, a few days later.

To boost virtual interactivity, at the beginning, two versions of each post, in Spanish and English were uploaded. But these bilingual posts only lasted for the first four publications. In total, twenty-one posts have been published: the presentation and seven pieces, plus their responses (seven of them in both Spanish and English). The pieces (most of them about grave goods), questions, and topics we wished to explain were the following:

- A bronze mirror with the question, "Why would the dead need a mirror?" to explain the sense of grave goods (Fig. 3).
- An urn with an inscription dedicated to a slave, and the question, "What made it so special to this slave*?*" The main idea was talking about the ancient social classes.
- A phallic amulet and the question, "What are you looking at?" to explain the popular tradition of the *evil eye* (Fig. 4).
- An ivory nit comb and the question, "*¿Qué le picaba a esta mujer?*" to highlight the successful design of this object that remains substantially the same even today.[5]

- A golden *bulla* with the question, "*¿Cumplió el oro su cometido?*" to talk about the protection against childhood diseases.[6]
- A wall painting depicting an erotic scene with the question, "*¿Te parece apropiado para una tumba?*" to explain funeral wall painting of necropolis Carmona tombs.[7]
- A modern inscription and the question, "*¿Dónde estaba colocada esta piedra?*" to explain the beginnings of the site museum of the Necrópolis Romana de Carmona.[8]

Fig. 3: The "Why would the dead need a mirror?" post.

Fig. 4: The 'What are you looking at?' post.

Methodology

As Facebook is a new phenomenon, there is relatively little empirical research on it and its members. Most of the existing research is devoted to exploring the role of personality in Facebook usage or its limits as an educational tool for college students since it has become nearly ubiquitous at universities (Tess 2013). But contextually rooted discussions of the real value of this social network as an educational tool for museums are rare. We could not access any studies, so far, devoted to investigating similar issues.

It has been preferred to base our considerations on a mix of quantitative and qualitative data, although quantitative data only plays a secondary role in this research because the main interest of this research is to gain a deep understanding of the meaning of educational action online in the case of a local museum.

To deal with qualitative data, an adapted version of netnography has been used. Netnography, or ethnography on the internet, adapts ethnographic research techniques to study the communities that are emerging through computer-mediated communications (Kozinets 2010). Netnographic data collection and analysis is mainly a market-oriented methodology, but we think that this way of understanding the discourse, and interactions of people engaging in computer-mediated communication, can be successfully applied to other social topics providing trustworthy interpretations.

As far as the privacy settings of each Facebook profile have allowed, a database of users (people who interact at least once with any post belonging to the activity *Hidden Treasures*) has been made to gather some of their personal characteristics. Special attention has been paid to their educational level,[9] whether or not they are archaeologists or work at any museum, whether they are archaeological hobbyists or have cultural interests, and finally the place where they live. All of these features have been drawn from the personal information disclosed in the *About* tab, the analysis of their photos, timeline cover photo or by reading some comments, visible groups of which they are members, and events to which they have been invited. Although, as any online entity, Facebook itself permits its users to display their idealized, rather than accurate, personalities through their profiles, what has been referred to

as the 'idealized virtual identity hypothesis'. Some research has suggested that users usually express and communicate their real personality rather than promoting idealized versions of themselves (Leng 2013: 687; Nadkarni and Hofmann 2012: 246–248). To preserve the privacy of the users, this database was coded, no names were included and the data has since been deleted after this research.

Quantitative data from the Facebook page's administration panel has been gathered in order to complement this netnographic data.

After completion of the activity, a questionnaire was designed to investigate users' perceptions on the activity. This was sent by email to some of the CAC Facebook page's active and inactive followers to prompt a wide participation.

Data analysis from *Hidden Treasures*

When the *Hidden Treasures* activity started, the CAC Facebook page's number of fans was 1,813. According to the data supplied by Facebook, the first post (the presentation of the activity in Spanish) aroused an unprecedented interest among fans and non-fans of the page. This post had a relatively wide scope of *like*, *share*, *comment*, and stories generated from it, but we also noted that on the same day it was published the number of *likes* rose by forty-one; the highest amount of *likes* we have had in any one day so far.

Sorted by their organic reach, the twenty-one items that comprise this activity, the range is distributed among the 2,361 people who saw the wall painting with the erotic scene photo and the three hundred and thirty people who saw the post presenting the activity in English. In general terms, for the diverse range of posts, we found that the responses to albums have been more widespread than the posts with questions, although it was in these that the largest number of comments were produced. The activity has been gaining broad reach as time has progressed, which is consistent with the increase of fans during the nine months that the activity lasted. However, despite the interest in reaching an international audience, there has been a very small increase in non-Spanish

speaking fans, and in general the CAC Facebook page has a very low number of followers with non-Spanish names.

If we compare the number of users who have created a story from each post with the number of people who theoretically have been reached,[10] it is clear that there has been a very low interaction. For example, the first post was seen by 4,896 people, but only six hundred and eighty generated a story from it.[11]

Six hundred and thirty-five users have taken part in the *Hidden Treasures* activity. From them only about four hundred and thirty were CAC page followers; the rest took part via shared posts by followers, mainly showing they *liked* the photo with a question or the album with a response, but after that they did not visit the CAC page or if they did, they did not like it.

While it would still be considered inappropriate to name this whole group of people an online community, there is a continuum of participation for some of them so they may resemble a 'geeking' community. That is an online community where the sharing of information, news and stories about a particular topic is the community's *raison d'être*. The mode of interaction of these communities is mainly informational (Kozinets 2010: 36), although in this case, the proprietor generated content that has an overwhelming weight on the threads of messages.[12]

According to the data gathered, out of those six hundred and thirty-five users, four hundred and sixteen (65.5%) have a university degree, one hundred (15.7%) have high school education, seventy-four (11.6%) have elementary school education, and in forty-five cases (7%) it has been impossible to deduce their educational level (Table 1). It must be noted that not many users are self-reported as university students, although Facebook is virtually ubiquitous among college students, and the *Hidden Treasures* posts have been shared with undergraduate students in Archaeology Facebook groups. This could support the conclusion reached in many papers that students do not see social networking as a learning tool, but as a means of increasing their social capital (Junco 2012; Tess 2013).[13]

Users	Educational Capital
416	University
100	High School
74	Elementary School
45	No Information

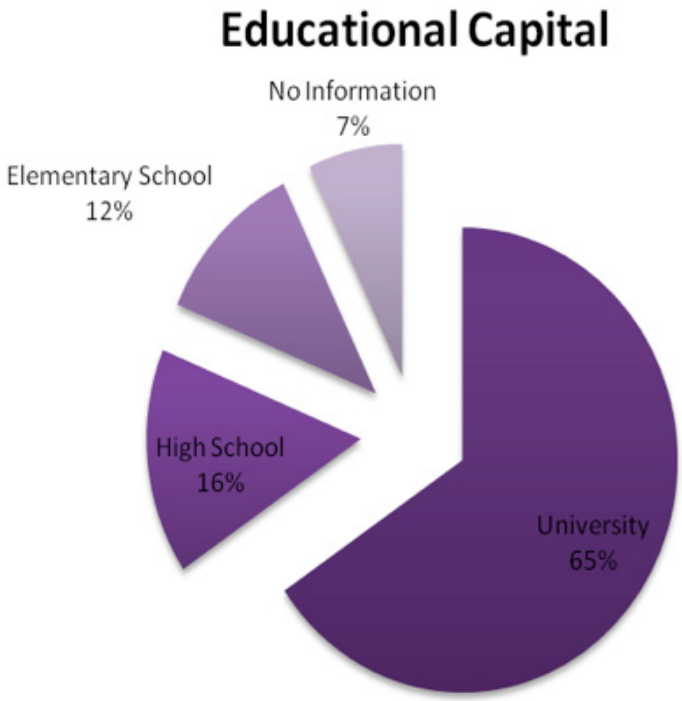


Table 1: Users + Educational Capital

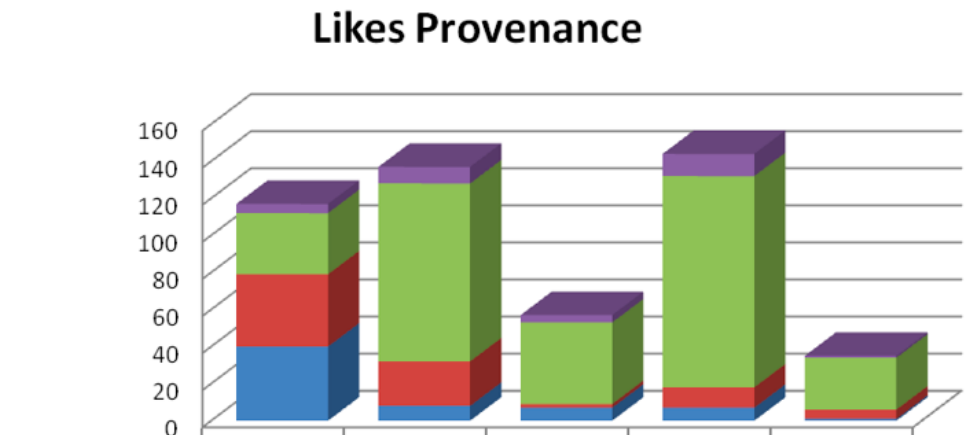
Of greater interest is the data showing the degree of engagement between users and the activity *Hidden Treasures*. This interaction is shown, above all, by three actions: *like*, *share*, and *comment*. Taking into account only users who have done more than one of these (excluding CAC staff personal profiles), we have one hundred and eighty-six users who have *liked, shared* or written a comment more than once, although this figure is reduced to one hundred and forty-seven unique users. However, this participation rate and the total number of comments are considerably higher than those achieved by other similar projects, but using platforms other than Facebook and in more socially compact communities, a few years

ago (Affleck and Kvan 2008: 273). In Kozinets' terminology they can be labelled as 'devotees', because of their focal interest in and enthusiasm for the consumption activity but having relatively shallow social ties between them and with the CAC (Kozinets 2010: 33–34). They form the target audience of educational activities.

The first finding is that for the actions demanding a greater degree of involvement (*like*, *share*, and *comment*), the greater proportion of people come from Carmona. Crossing information on educational level and provenance, in order to draw a closer picture of the educational goals of the activity, we discovered that the people from Carmona—but with an elementary and/or a high school level of education—participated more in terms of clicking *like*, than their counterparts from other areas. Statistically speaking, those coming from other areas such as Seville, the rest of Andalusia, the rest of Spain or from abroad were users with a higher level of education (university level). Correlations can be established between the total *likes* and the social-demographic variables broken down by educational levels. The average between them is more than double in Carmona, and tends to be closer to one as the distance from that town increases (Table 2). Significantly, the highest proportion between the number of unique users and total *likes* is observed in the segment of people with elementary education living in Carmona.

Posts of the *Hidden Treasures* have been shared one hundred and sixty-three times by seventy-nine unique users (excluding CAC staff). The act of sharing a post has a similar pattern to the *like* one, but it has significant differences too.

On the one hand, statistics show that people from Carmona still constitute the core of followers who share posts of the activity, with the highest repetition rate, however a minor number of unique users who share posts compared to Seville. In this group from Carmona, the strong presence of people who lack university degrees still continues. That feature is lost as the place of residence of the followers turns away from Carmona.



	Carmona	Seville	Andalusia	Spain	World
No Information	5	9	4	12	1
University	33	96	44	114	28
Hihg School	39	24	2	11	5
Elementary	40	8	7	7	1

Table 2: Likes provenance

These findings mean that members of the main stakeholder group live close to the CAC and engagement with the CAC is weaker as the place where followers live is further away from Carmona.

To achieve an interpretation of the reasons why there is a high percentage of *shares* between followers from Carmona, an analysis has been conducted adding to the educational level of the users another variable not taken into account so far: profession. The results have been compared with the responses to the questionnaires sent via email.

The largest group of followers from Carmona that shared posts more than once is comprised of people with an elementary or high school educational level, and they are not necessarily related to museums or historical heritage. In response to the questionnaire sent by email, in which we ask for the reasons why he/she usually shared posts of *Hidden Treasures* activity, the most common explanation showed a certain satisfaction from being able to show everyone the importance of objects with archaeological interest existing in Carmona, because probably many people do not know it.[14] The second largest group cosists of both Carmona's institutions

specializing in the promotion of tourism and other museums. The replies to the emailed questionnaire emphasize their obligation, as part of their jobs, to promote the CAC and its activities online as a way to promote Carmona.

Sharing a post means not only agreeing with its content, which may be manifested by clicking the *like* button, but also local pride and satisfaction from seeing something relevant from Carmona online. In this regard, we think that it is not important whether people share posts from their personal profile or from a public one, nor that the educational level is key.

In order to understand why some individuals outside of Carmona shared posts from the Hidden Treasures activity, an additional factor should be considered on top of the aforementioned factors: the positive image of the educational aims, pursued by the CAC with this activity, held by colleagues in other institutions. In fact, a large group of people and institutions outside of Carmona that shared posts have professions—or goals when they are public or private institutions—related to archaeology, museums or heritage care. Sometimes, the shared posts were customized by adding messages that encouraged participation. For example, one person who works at the largest museum in Seville, when sharing the posts with a picture of a phallic amulet and the question, "What are you looking at?" added the message, "*Otro enigma... se admiten hipótesis... y para saber la solución, mirad en la página del Conjunto dentro de unos días*".[15]

Amongst the most frequent reasons explained in the answers to the emailed questionnaire is, "*Estoy encantado de apoyar una actividad educativa con un solo click de ratón*".[16]

Without any doubt, text has been the best way to incite an active participation in the *Hidden Treasures* activity. In order to lay out a foundation for discussing the interactivity between CAC's staff and Facebook followers through posting messages, some points about posting text on Facebook must be highlighted before analyzing the statistics.

Messages posted in that activity have been classified into two main types, according to the authorial source: proprietor content

(generated by CAC's staff) and user-generated content (contributed by CAC's followers) (Walther and Jang 2012: 3–4). But it should be noted that proprietors and users have different attributions regarding messages, not only because of the position that CAC's staff maintains on the page (clearly shown by the hierarchical situation on the timeline), but also because of the authoritative image we have as experts on Roman funerary rituals, especially when using the CAC logo to post.

It is not surprising that this different role deeply affects the nature of the interactivity, as interaction does not happen between peers. That is why we used our own personal profiles to post short messages enhancing participation, as well as the CAC's, and people knew we belonged to the CAC.

As a proprietor or administrator of the page, CAC's staff has editorial privileges over the content of followers' contributions, even the ability to remove unwanted messages, although we never used that privilege.

From the variety of communication tools provided by Facebook to broadcast messages (i.e. status updates or wall text posts) we decided to upload manipulated photos as starting posts due to their powerful and attractive qualities. Photos tend to minimize cognitive effort and the time to process information.[17] By uploading photos, our intention was to promote discussions but avoiding quiz games. The topics were carefully chosen to fulfil some prerequisites: they needed to take into account previous thoughts that people have about antiquity, and be able to connect the past and the present. In fact, the Roman necropolis of Carmona was considered a side-topic.

According to Facebook statistics, the total number of comments in the *Hidden Treasure* activity amounted to three hundred and seventeen, but because of the users' privacy settings only two hundred and eleven can be seen on the CAC's page. One hundred and seventy-one of them have been posted by sixty-eight unique CAC's followers, excluding the CAC itself, i.e. Ignacio Rodríguez Temiño, and Daniel González Acuña.

Sorted by topic, although comments on the same topic are distributed in several threads, as some of them have been written

in a shared post, they range from ninety-nine comments on the amulet photo with the question, 'What are you looking at?' (only sixty-five visible) to zero. One topic has no comments: the English version of the photo of an urn with an inscription dedicated to a slave and the question, "What made it so special to this slave?" The album's responses on the phallic amulet question in English had only one message posted by the CAC's staff on the album itself, but no comments by the users. Here again it is clear that the English versions of photos and albums are the least commented on. There is not one comment written by an English native speaker, and only one by a foreign person using English on a thread started from a shared post, although this is not his native language.

Looking at these numbers, we have probably been unsuccessful in acquiring and retaining consecutive posts, and the thread content does not have many messages; but, as far as we know about similar activities carried out by other museums on Facebook, the number of messages is similar to ours.

Upon analyzing the thread's comments and messages several observations can be made. As it has been suggested, on social networking sites, users detect and differentiate responses to subcategories of peers online, such as laypersons, self-proclaimed experts, and experts who are credentialed by third parties (Walther and Jang 2012: 7). As all of the CAC's activity threads were started by the page's administrator posting a photograph with a caption and question, the original poster was considered an expert credentialed by his belonging to a museum, thus creating a perceived hierarchy among readers and posters. All comments and posts were directly related to answering the question and to the original photograph. There was no interactivity between the posters, with all of them reacting solely to the thread's original post.[18] The only case in which there was any interactivity between the users was when shared posts started a new thread on a user's personal Facebook profile. Obviously, in that situation, the hierarchical relationship is replaced by others between equals.

Users' posts were moderated by the page's administrator but in a way which avoided any perceived hierarchy. In order to promote a level of equality, the moderators used their own profile pages, rather than that of the CAC, bearing the CAC's logo. The rationale

behind moderating in this way was the constructivism theory as well as netnographical methodology.

As mentioned above, throughout the *Hidden Treasures* activity, two hundred and eleven messages in total were posted by both the CAC' staff and the public. Such posts fall under three categories, the first being commonplace, trivial content messages (e.g. "*Buena pregunta*",[19] a comment posted by one user on the post with the question: "Why did the dead want a mirror?"). During the *Hidden Treasures* activity there were twenty-six messages of this type posted, most of them in threads started from the shared posts with photos of objects or paintings with sexual connotations.

The second category of posts could be classified as motivational messages aiming to encourage users' participation and involvement. Twenty-seven of these were made in total during the course of the activity, most of them composed by the moderators. The final type, considered the most important in this activity, was the enlightening messages. These include all the suggestions and responses made by users. In total, there were one hundred and seventy-eight messages of this type.

From the seventy unique users (including the authors of this paper, the only CAC staff members who took part in the activity, either using our personal profiles or behind the CAC logo) it has been possible to gather personal information from up to sixty-eight people. The results of the information crossing about educational level and residence first show a predominance of people with university degrees commenting on the activity over those without a degree (Table 3). Logically, Seville has scored high in people with university degrees as it is the closest capital and hosts two universities offering studies in archaeology. However, despite this relative advantage, compared to the percentage of professional archaeologists out of the total number of people with university degrees who have posted comments, it appears that Seville represents 30%, somewhat lower than the median of these two variables in the rest of the places of residence (37%), except for Carmona where this percentage is even lower (25%). This shows that the further away the residence is from Carmona, the greater the participation of archaeologists is in the activity. Emails asking for the reasons why they had not taken part in the activity were sent to

five archaeologists from Seville, friends of the CAC's Facebook, who had *liked* the activity but did not post any comment. The responses emphasized that, although they thought that the activity was very interesting, they felt they were not part of the target audience, so they chose not to interfere with posting comments. Furthermore, they emphasized that their use of Facebook was private and not professional, so they did not pay much attention to activities related to archaeology. During a phone interview, this explanation was corroborated by a professor of Archaeology at the University of Seville, who had participated with two trivial comments in a thread that started from a shared post.

	Carmona	Seville	Andalusia	Spain	World
Elementary	6	3	3	0	0
High School	2	0	0	4	0
University	8	16	6	13	7

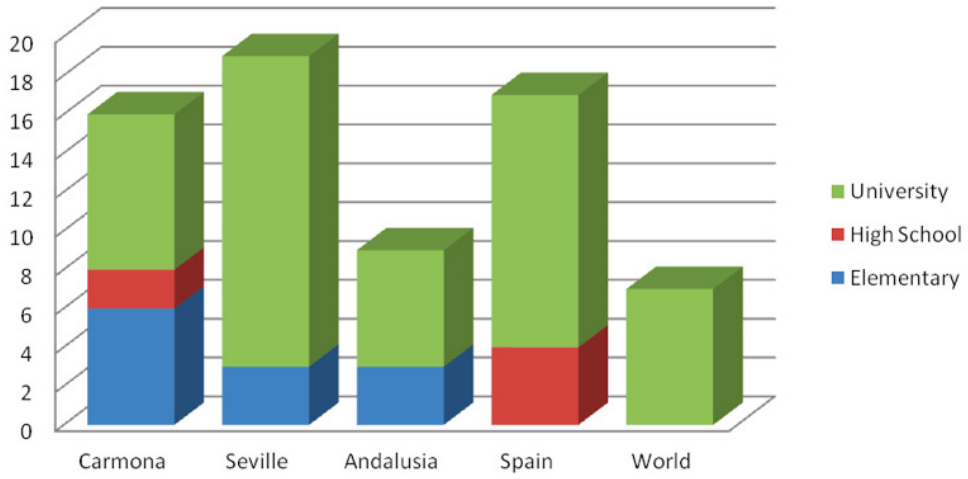


Table 3: Comments: educational capital + provenance

The other notable feature of the crossing of information is that users without university degrees who wrote messages not only live near Carmona, but also many of them are archaeology hobbyists, mainly metal detector users. In response to the questionnaire emailed, they said that they enjoyed the opportunity offered by *Hidden Treasure* activity to learn more about antiquity.

Cultural interests not especially related to archaeology were reported from nearly 90% of the rest of the posters.

Thirty-two emails have been sent in total, and twenty-five have been replied to. In all of these responses the activity has been evaluated positively. Nineteen of them asked for new activities like *Hidden Treasures*, despite that request not being included in the questionnaire.

Of the people who have written more than one post in a single or multiple threads, the number of people residing in Carmona is nearly 50%, excluding the CAC's staff.

As expected, most comments are made in the posts that ask questions rather than the response albums. The ratio of comments with trivial content is higher between people with university degrees than between non-university degree colleagues. An overwhelming majority of 'enlightening messages' focused upon replying to the questions displayed on the start posts. Those messages are characterised by a combination of imagination and prior knowledge of archaeology. It is important to note, for the purposes of the activity, that they do not contain short answers, but rather texts of three or four lines long to justify their suggestions. In the case of comments on response albums, they stressed the interest of the information offered, or gave new insights on the topic, or just expressed a sense of local pride in Carmona. Overall, it may be noted that in most of the enlightening messages an interest in the chosen topics and a desire to know more about them is expressed.

In contrast to the role of the expert played by identified staff members of the CAC, it has been observed that comments made by other archaeologists have gone unnoticed by the rest of the public (they have not got any *likes* and their content was not extended to other posts). Perhaps this behaviour is due to the lack of interaction between the users, as we have already mentioned.

In relation to the comments made by other experts, it should be noted that there has been little discussion or debate, and only a small number of comments of a debating nature have occurred in the CAC's threads. It should also be noted that all messages have been textual, with no images uploaded, whereas in other posts

outside the activity, there have been debates where it is normal that images were uploaded to support the textual contents, an option allowed by Facebook from the comment box.

Research on the psychological factors that influence posting messages in social networks has raised awareness of impulsive responses (i.e. quick comments with not much thought) (Leng 2013). We have seen a good example of this behaviour in the *Hidden Treasures* activity. In the post with a phallic amulet photo and the question, "What are you looking at?" our purpose was to talk about the 'evil eye',[20] without giving any importance to what the object is. At a point of discussion on what would be the utility of the amulet, one user posted a short question comment, "*Pero vibra???*".[21] The following flurry of comments seemed never ending (according to Facebook they reached up to ninety-nine). Facebook deleted most of them because their contents were considered undesirable.

Final comments

From this analysis of the *Hidden Treasures* activity, what can be concluded? Clearly two points, at least. First, that the demographic characteristics of engaged online visitors are quite different to those of physical visitors. Many of the CAC's engaged online audience is composed of those who live relatively near the CAC, have an elementary education level, and some of them maintain an offline relationship with the CAC, mainly as consumers of family activities. The demographic characteristics of the online followers of the CAC became more similar to those of regular museums visitors in Spain,as we moved away from Carmona. So the comfortable evolutionary extension of CAC's activities into the digital realm has geographical and sociological limits so far, despite the globalization of the internet. Although the number of fans on CAC's Facebook page continues to grow, the community that could be formed around the CAC remains rooted in the neighbourhood and in physical contact with the institution. They form the raw material for a future CAC community, a micro-public sphere that works like a laboratory in which new experiences are invented and popularized (Keane 1995: 9–11).

Some ethical issues arise when communicating through social networking sites, especially Facebook. Although they are confirmed as a key to maintaining interaction between museums and their audiences, '[e]thical practice must be determined according to a museum's particular mission and circumstances' (Wong 2013: 25). In our case, we are aware of the artificial division among the public due to the use of the internet as a fundamental communication channel, and because of the so-called 'digital divide', especially in dealing with local people. That is the reason why we are promoting other communication channels to contact local people through activities where physical presence is essential, although we have to overcome other sociological barriers that divide museum visitors and those who are not visitors (Rodríguez Temiño *et al*. 2014: 124–127).

Secondly, trying to assess the educational outcomes of an open activity such as *Hidden Treasures of the Necropolis of Carmona*, is absolutely out of place, as several hundred of the CAC's page friends, all with different educational and demographic characteristics, have participated in it. Especially if by educational outcomes we mean the acquisition of meaningful and lasting conceptual knowledge. Such an assessment was not the goal of the activity either. In this way, the effectiveness of *Hidden Treasures*, as a means to empower users through education, must be directly related to the ability of this activity to increase user engagement with the CAC's Facebook page. Modifying the original definition of student engagement cited by Junco (2012: 188), engagement would be defined here as the amount of time and psychological energy that a user has devoted to the activity.

Using explanations borrowed from psychology, it can be argued that when involved users found a new *Hidden Treasures* post on their Facebook profiles' *walls*, they probably assimilated information more effectively than if they were less motivated. This motivation is crucial in determining cognitive or emotional responses.

Taking into account all these observations together, it could be said that this activity has been positive for some motivated CAC's followers, even if they were *lurkers* (i.e. users who did not contribute to the activity by posting texts, but clicked the *like* button, shared a post, or did not do such actions, at least read the posted messages), as well as for the building of the CAC's online profile.

Facebook is not a tool to drive new physical visitors to the CAC, but to communicate with anyone who wishes to keep in touch, and is able to do so. This communication has different effects depending on the motivations that tie them to the CAC. While for most it will be a mere source of information, at best, for a micro-public we wish that every act of communication is goal-oriented and will help to build a future local community of people interested in archaeology and archaeological heritage care. Future efforts will have to concentrate on broadening the sociological bases of this community.

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(Endnotes)

1 Cultural capital is a sociological concept defined as a "theoretical hypothesis which made it possible to explain the unequal scholastic achievement of children originating from the different social classes by relating academic success, i.e., the specific profits which children from the different classes and class fractions can obtain in the academic market, to the distribution of cultural capital between the classes and class fractions" (Bourdieu 1986: 243).

2 '1885–1906. Carmona. Libro álbum de firmas'. CAC Archive III.1.3. leg. 1, lib. 4, 90 ff., [12 ff.].

3 Metrics to measure museums' success offline (i.e. the yearly number of visitors) have played the same role in Facebook's museum pages. Effectively, generated by Facebook, the number of likes that the museum has appears under the cover photo. Because this feature is immune to manipulation, visitors can draw an inference about the success of the page.

4 Web 2.0 refers to online platforms whereby content and applications are no longer created and published by individuals, but instead are continuously modified by all users in a participatory and collaborative fashion.

5 "What stung this woman?".

6 "Did gold fulfil its purpose?".

7 "Does it seem appropriate for a grave?".

8 "Where was this stone placed?"

9 Probably the sociological concept of academic capital is better suited for our propouses, rather than educational level, or similar, but finding out that kind of personal information was beyond the scope of, and the means available for, this research.

10 Facebook defines this variable as the number of unique users who like a page, poste to a page's timeline, like, comment on or share one of a page's posts, answer a question posted, respond to events, mention a page, tagg a page in a photo or check in at a location.

11 This is the only one where calculating the number of people who saw the post is possible, as the following posts were published in both languages on the same date, so we can not dissociate the reach of one from the other.

12 Proprietor is used with the meaning given by Walther and Jang (2012: 3).

13 According to Pierre Bourdieu, social capital is the sum of the resources, actual or virtual, that accrue to an individual by virtue of possessing a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition (Bourdieu 1986: 245).

14 In some replies it seems that people have forgotten that shared posts are only shown on the friend's timeline, not *urbi et orbe* to the millions of Facebook users.

15 "Another enigma… hypotheses are welcome… and to find out the answer, look at the CAC's page in a few days".

16 "I was delighted to support an educational activity through a simple click of the mouse".

17 Researchers have found that when a 'topic starts' (the first post in a thread) with a clear question the chances of a response are increased by between 6%–16.4% (Varik and Oostendorp 2013: 457).

18 Interactivity occurs when a message relates to one generated by a different user, the like button is clicked on a message written by another user, or one user is tagged in another comment.

19 "Good question".

20 This name refers to the pernicious influence that a person could have on everything around him/her without carrying out any ceremony or ritual magic, sometimes even without being aware of it. Eye contact was seen as the main means of transmission of this evil influence. According to popular tradition, the evil eye could destroy not only the individual but also their property and, in general, everything that was dear to them. Above all, its influence on children was most feared, and was worse than on adults, according to popular belief, probably due to

the incidence of disease in early life. To protect yourself from this terrible threat, if evil was inoculated through the eyes, it was necessary to surround oneself with amulets that served to detract the gaze away from the transmitter. Objects, which by nature are indecent, ridiculous or aggressive can neutralize these evil feelings. Without a doubt, the most represented in these amulets was the phallus, regarded as a symbol of fertility and the best defense against the evil eye.

21 “But, does it vibrate???”

In Search of Atlantis: Underwater Tourism between Myth and Reality

Marxiano MELOTTI

Abstract

In post-modernity, the millenarian search for mythical sites has become a tourist attraction and the process of culturalization of consumption has created and is creating a new global heritage. Places already celebrated for leisure have been reinvented as mythical and archaeological sites. A good example is the Atlantis Hotel on Paradise Island, in the Bahamas. Here, Plato's mythical Atlantis has inspired an underwater pseudo-archaeological reconstruction of a civilization that most likely had never existed. The myth-making force of the sea transforms the false ruins and affects how they are perceived. This is quite consistent with a tourism where authenticity has lost its traditional value and sensory gratifications have replaced it. A more recent Atlantis Hotel in Dubai and another one under construction in China show the vitality of this myth and the strength of the thematization of consumption. Other examples confirm this tendency in even more grotesque ways. At the core of this process there is the body: the tourist's and the consumer's body. The post-modernity has enhanced its use as tool and icon of consumption.

Keywords

Atlantis, tourism, diving, archaeology, post-modern society, Bahamas, Bimini, Dubai

The search for mythical sites

"Welcome to Atlantis!". It must be very gratifying to be greeted with these words while a smiling bellhop hastens to take your luggage. For centuries, humanity has been avidly searching for the lost continent, above and below the sea, from the abysses of the Azores to the volcanic cliffs of Santorini. It is truly rewarding to find it without any trouble, disembarking comfortably from an airplane or a yacht. After all, modernity has some advantages! Myths, even the loveliest ones, like Atlantis, are now commodities that can be sold like any other, without embarrassment or hesitation, and unfortunately often en masse and without imagination. One

can certainly think that selling a trip to Atlantis requires much courage. But voyages in search of mythical sites have long been an important part of tourism (Casson 1974; Leed 1991; Melotti 2007a), from the pilgrimages to the plain of Troy in ancient Greek and Roman times to the Grand Tour of Italy by English and German travellers seeking the rocks of the Sirens or the entrance to Avernus. Atlantean tourism is merely the latest step in a long process of transformation of a myth that has been with us since the times of Plato. Its metamorphoses testify to its vitality and to the tendency of all myths to conform to new cultural contexts. Contemporary society, ever more 'liquid' (Bauman 2000, 2005) in its destructured nature (open as it is to virtuality and digitization and characterized by a profoundly iconized visual culture), feeds on myths, whose immaterial quality seems quite apt to it.

A new heritage beyond the glass: The Atlantis Hotel

The Atlantis Hotel on Paradise Island, in the Bahamas, is a typical example of post-modern culture. Indeed, it is a theme hotel where leisure culture is accompanied by the pleasure of the historical and archaeological reconstruction or, better, since we are dealing with Atlantis, of the pseudo-archaeological invention of a civilization that most likely never existed. But we live in an age when the concept of authenticity has undergone a thorough re-examination and has increasingly become more relative (Knudsen and Waade 2010; Wang 1999). Authenticity and pastness "are constructed in each present" and "they are not properties inherent in any material form" (Holtorf 2005: 130). Media culture and digitalization have contributed to make acceptable new hybrid forms of authenticity and heritage mixing present and past, culture and market, 'real' finds and reconstructions, material objects and immaterial elements, such as lights, sounds and perfumes (Melotti 2011; 2014).

In Western societies, which show a strong blend of consumptions and emotions and suffer a deep loss of historical knowledge, authenticity and heritage seem to acquire a new emotional and experiential character. Paradoxically, objects and relics are no longer necessary, since authenticity and heritage can be based even on mere atmosphere. In such a context the relations between solid,

material, concrete aspects, such as stones and other archaeological elements, and immaterial aspects are more and more 'liquid'. We are facing a new age of easy and fast mythopoeic production where heritage is not only continuously reshaped but becomes a useful instrument of mediation between the needs of the market and those of the individuals. The 'thematization' assures the effectiveness of this process. Thus, one can provide an archaeological foundation to a myth, introducing it into the material world of history. Tourism, like myth, gives life to dreams and illusions (see Strachan 2002 for the Caribbean area). Themed spaces of consumption, such as hotels, complete the process. This way the lost world of Atlantis can come to life with a solid archaeological aspect, which does not imply the presence of any real archaeological object but is able to assure the effectiveness of the experience of leisure and consumption. During your stay, you may consume the atmosphere of the myth and so you directly experience the myth, which acquires reality.

Figure 1: 'Archaeological finds' in the Aquarium of the Atlantis Hotel, Paradise Island, Bahamas (photo by Jerrye and Roy Klotz MD).

Consistent with the 'history' of the lost continent, the Atlantis Hotel has a hybrid fantastic nature that goes far beyond the usual barriers. The hotel, opened in 1998, is in some way both above and below the sea: an enormous mass-tourism beehive (with over 2300 rooms) mellowed by reliefs and decorations on the Atlantis theme, with sculptures of seahorses and references to the cult of Poseidon, the Greek god of the sea, as well as a myriad of swimming pools, tanks and underwater corridors with large glass walls allowing views of fishes and tortoises and, above all, archaeological specimens from the ancient lost civilization.

"It's remarkable how they get the artefacts looking right", commented an admiring photographer and traveller, James Hoagland (2006) in his blog. It would be interesting to know why the Atlantean amphorae, statues and other objects that populate the hotel are considered well-made and authentic-looking by the guests. Given that there are no models, since an Atlantean civilization did not exist or at least is quite unknown, there cannot be specimens that are more or less authentic-looking. However (and here we find a clear mark of Western civilization and its way of thinking), when a mythical sign takes on a concrete form and becomes an object (even if in an entertaining leisure context), the new material nature historicizes it and renders it comparable with any other object, in this case with true archaeological specimens. Materialization of the myth is a form of represented authenticity that the user immediately tends to confuse with any other form of staged authenticity in modern culture. A miracle of Father Pius is neither more nor less true than the myth of Atlantis and its archaeological finds. What counts is the iconic force of the experience: the Atlantean world of the Atlantis Hotel is "visually stunning", as noted by the enthusiastic traveller mentioned above.

However, another factor comes into play in this specific context and, with all its symbolic power, contributes efficaciously to this mechanism of tourist myth-making: the sea. This element, which not only surrounds the hotel but, among tunnels, tanks and lagoons, invades and pervades it, acts as a distorting lens: the heavy concrete reality of the hotel, a temple to the excesses of contemporary leisure-construction, is filtered and refined by the waters, and the structure returns to being, like the ancient Atlantis,

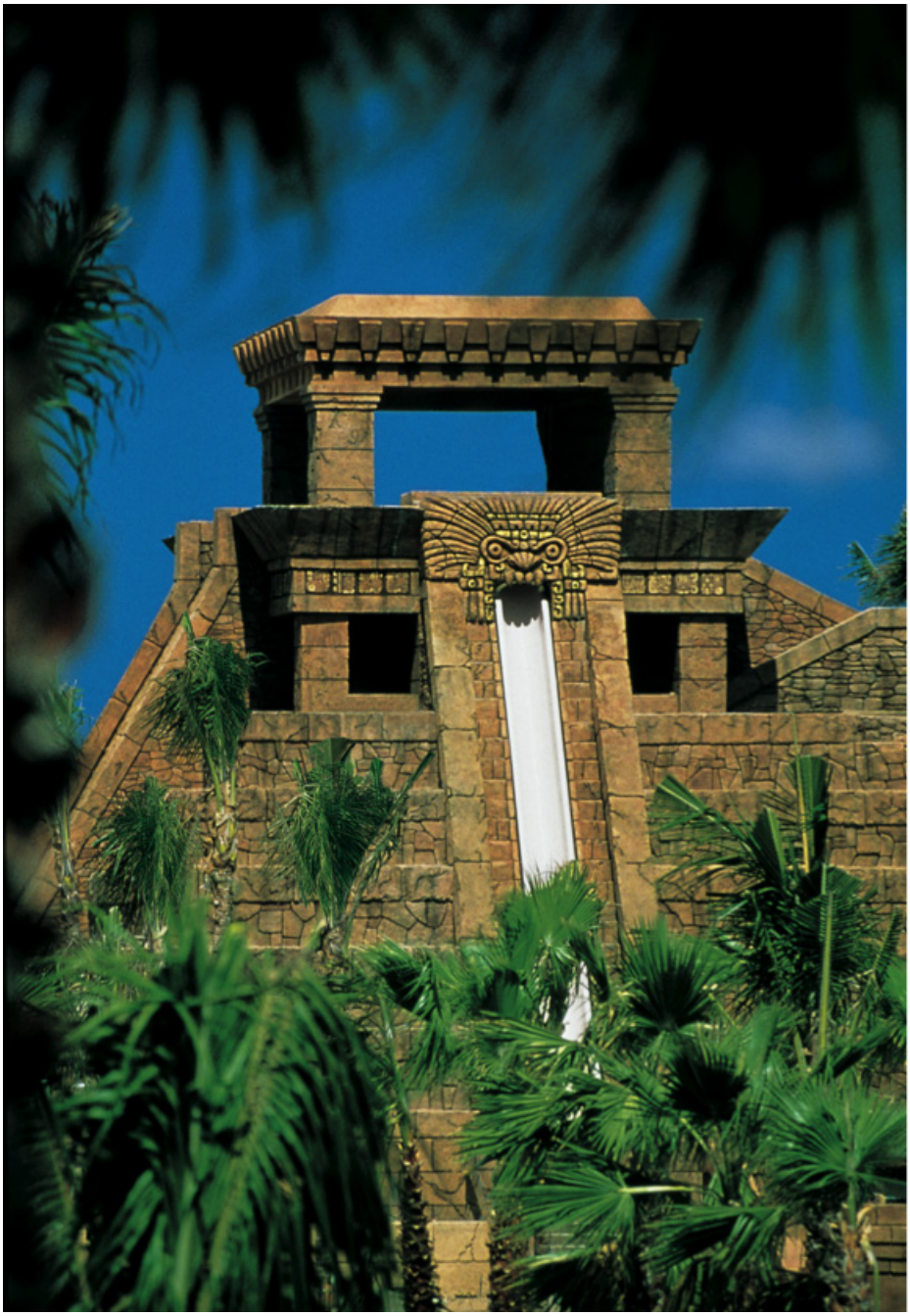

Figure 2: New ruins with toboggan. The Maya Temple in the Atlantis Hotel (courtesy of Atlantis, Paradise Island).

the sacred reign of the sea god. In fact, the pseudo-Atlantean artefacts, from the decaying stairway with disquieting sculptures of tauriform creatures to the monuments and anthropomorphic statues in vaguely pre-Columbian style, assume authenticity owing to their inclusion in the marine tanks that enliven the hotel. The museum-like effect of the glass-walled tanks, which indeed resemble museum showcases, is amplified by the water: to the visitors, the objects, immersed in the artificial sea of the tanks, appear to be in another space. The same occurs when the tourists dive with wetsuits and snorkels to swim among fishes and artefacts in a unique experience of underwater archaeological tourism.

The satisfactory results of the Atlantis Hotel in Paradise Island, both for its guests and its owners, have induced its international company to create something similar in Dubai, a country outside the Atlantic area but quite involved in the processes of globalization. Here, on its reclaimed artificial island, you may find the luxurious hotel Atlantis The Palm, a 'mythical' resort opened in 2008. During its construction, according to its official website, a complex series of passages were uncovered, "thought to have been buried for thousands of years by the waters of the Arabian Gulf": "Upon further investigation, an ancient street system was discovered and the theory came into being that these were in fact remains of the Lost City of Atlantis". "Such an exciting discovery", continues the site, "has raised many questions about Atlantean civilization and culture, some of which will never be answered. However, it seems that this network of streets has revealed artefacts from a very civilized people possessing an incredible level of technology". Guests can live out their own "Atlantean adventure" at The Lost Chambers Aquarium, where they can "see the mysterious ruins of Atlantis, lost for thousands of years deep beneath the sea, […] surrounded by 65,000 marine animals" (Atlantis The Palm 2014).

A new archaeological world.

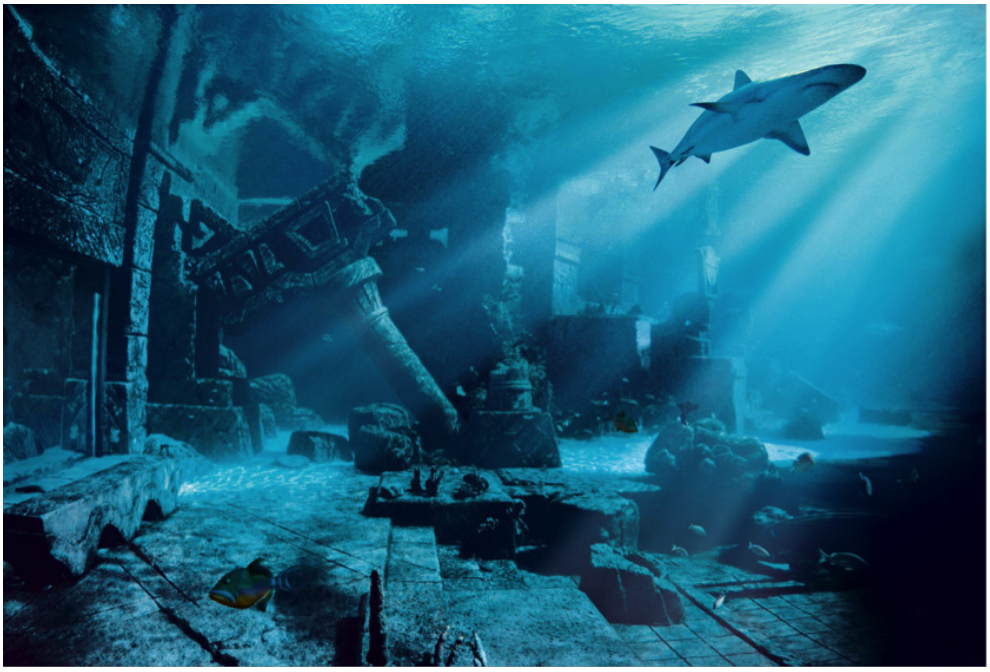

Figure 3: The "Lost Chamber Aquarium" in the Atlantis The Palm Hotel, Dubai (courtesy of Atlantis The Palm).

The bombastic style of this website reveals the touristic character of this activity. In any case, archaeology is now a successful brand (Holtorf 2007) and may be used to culturalize experiences of consumption and to make them more complete and satisfying (Melotti 2011). However, in a global and globalized society, where, especially in the Western countries, the knowledge of history has become increasingly feeble and based on edutainment (Melotti 2013a), the text proposed by Dubai's Atlantis Hotel is a 'narrative' with experiential strength and media appeal, which, as a successful movie, may compete with the 'traditional' history and archaeology. On the other hand, these big hotels, real microcosms of post-modernity, are monuments in themselves and form a sort of self-supporting heritage. Even the fact that the same kind of theme hotel appears in two different parts of the world confirms the new scenario: in a planet largely based on homogeneous models of consumption even the models of culturalization are largely global.

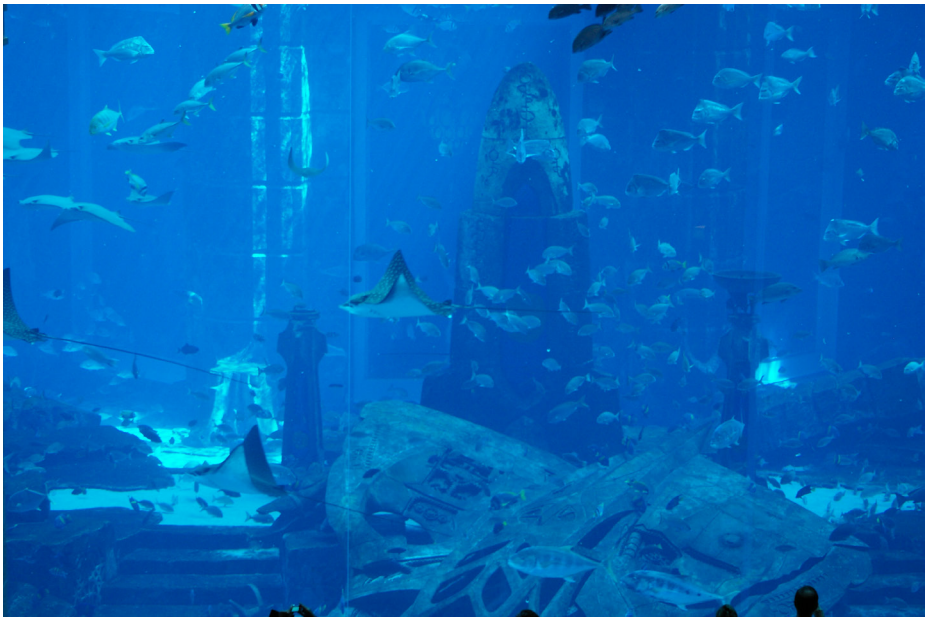

Figure 4: Ruins in the Aquarium of the Atlantis The Palm, Dubai (photo by Rokaszil)

Tourism constitutes a new global civilization and, therefore, it needs its own new heritage. The myth of Atlantis, the lost civilization supposed to be at the basis of all civilizations, at least according to modern reception and popular culture, appears particularly effective. The super-national nature of the lost continent is consistent with the global identity of contemporary consumers. Tourists, obsessively embedded in international mobility, are the new inhabitants of this "lost" continent, which, through leisure, tourism and consumption, they may find in any part of the world. At the same time the mythical and liquid identity of the lost continent appears to be a good one for countries, such as the Bahamas and the Emirates, which use tourism to build their heritage and identity.

Not by chance a new Atlantis hotel is under construction in Sanya Island, China, where an international luxury hotel company "has confirmed the discovery of artefacts from the lost civilisation of Atlantis" (Atlantis Sanya, 2014). Here "holidaymakers from across the globe will uncover a mysterious and captivating world as they explore the myth and wonder of Atlantis". The same narrative for the

same marketing and, probably, the same tourist experience. "The find in the South China Sea has revealed a new understanding of the Atlantean civilisation: the resort's new design combines regional architectural hues and the aquatic theme that is synonymous with the two existing Atlantis Destination Resorts in The Bahamas and Dubai". A new global heritage is under construction, and Atlantis has recovered its ancient super-national identity.

Atlantis: otherness and identity

Atlantis for the ancients, or at least for Plato who invented it, was a space with a strong connotation of alterity, due to its profound link to the world of the sea and its god. Indeed, for Plato, Atlantis was a perfect kingdom, owing not only to the geometric, and thus political, rigour of its inhabited spaces but also to its isolation from the rest of the human world: it was an island separated by the 'otherness' of the ocean. Yet, the insidious symbolic duplicity of the sea also struck down Atlantis: such a space, so strongly incorporated in the fatal and infertile marine world, could only meet a miserable end. Atlantis is the 'other' country par excellence: the enemy whose alterity undermines our culture and our political system. According to Plato, Atlantis waged war on Greece and, we would say today, on the West: a war useful to create a new sense of belonging and a new identity in the victims, as does the modern clash of civilizations (Huntington 1996). Nevertheless, Atlantis, an expression of a perfect political idea but also an incarnation of absolute evil, could not avoid disappearing and Plato had it swallowed by the same sea that had given it life. Atlantis was born to be the 'lost continent', but, paradoxically, its myth implies that it is forever being sought, and its political and cultural efficacy depends on this. Humanity cannot bear perfect utopias and needs to corrupt them by dragging them into immanence and materiality. Or, perhaps, it is only a sign of human weakness that generations and generations have hoped that the dream of Atlantis could be reality.

Throughout the centuries, the myth of Atlantis has assumed an identity value (Ellis 1998; Janni 2004; Jordan 2001; Vidal-Naquet 2005; Hale 2006). Indeed, for Plato it was the first great civilization and a model of political and military organization.

Giving archaeological substance to this myth meant establishing a precise line of descent that, by combining the mythical past with the historical present, could have attributed or justified desired hegemonic roles, from colonial expansionism to the most sophisticated forms of cultural imperialism. The Nazis looked for traces of Atlantis in the cold waters of the Baltic Sea and among the glaciers of Nepal, in search of a common but very Germanic Aryan origin for the civilized West. The French, in their literary and cinematic creations, looked for it in the deserts of Africa, a modern and sought-after space of alterity of their colonial imagery. The Greeks, perhaps wishing to bolster a weakened role of paternity of Western culture, attempted to locate Atlantis in the Aegean Sea, looking for it among the submerged ruins of the ancient Elide and in the waters of the Santorini caldera (Marinatos 1939). More recent reports include that of a Sardinian journalist who, with a touch of local pride, identified it with Sardinia (Frau 2002). It is curious that almost all the Atlantis seekers justify its existence by referring to the authority of Plato, the only ancient source of this myth, but then contradict him and point out his inaccuracies, regarding them as due to a writer of the pre-scientific era, when his story does not agree with their theories. It is by this mechanism that the continent that sank below the Atlantic Ocean is systematically sought among the emerged lands of all continents.

In such a context, the identification of the Bahamas as an extreme end of the ancient continent is not even one of the oddest ideas. The Atlantis Hotel in Paradise Island is an expression of the ironic commercial cynicism of large companies specializing in tourism and entertainment, which has replaced the political and nationalist spirit of the previous Atlantis seekers. Post-modernity, with its potent engines of globalization and consumerism, could not avoid dragging Atlantis into one of the new identity spaces of global mass tourism.

Yet, even this hotel (unknowingly) has its roots in the same self-referential frenzy of traditional nationalism. Atlantis arrived in the Caribbean well before that hotel and mass tourism. One of the most famous Atlantologists, Ignatius L. Donnelly (a member of the Congress of the United States active in the second half of the nineteenth century), situated the lost continent in the centre of

the Atlantic Ocean, halfway between the Old and the New World. According to him, Atlantis was at the origin of both the Egyptian and Peruvian civilizations: a view in sharp contrast with the traditional idea of the old Europe as the epicentre of Western culture (Donnelly 1976 [1882]).

Similarly, on the eve of the Second World War (which was to confirm the new American centrality), Edgar Cayce, a clairvoyant who claimed to operate in a state of hypnotic trance, prophesied that the ruins of Atlantis would resurface between 1968 and 1969 in the area of Bimini, in the Bahamas (Cayce et al. 1988). This seemed to provide a sort of revenge of the American and Anglo-Saxon culture over the European one of Greek and Roman ancestry.

The ways of the myth are endless and astonishing. In the year indicated by Cayce's prophecy, the fateful 1968, two imaginative seekers, Robert Ferro and Michael Grumley (1970), under the effect of marijuana and with the aid of tarot cards, identified the ruins of Atlantis in some underwater rock formations near Bimini. That 'archaeological' discovery had a large echo (Valentine 1976; Zink 1978). Thus the myth became history: Plato's utopian story seemed to assume a concrete archaeological basis. Yet, the Bimini 'submerged road' is proof not of the existence of Atlantis but merely of our perennial need to give substance to dreams and to channel our imagination. Despite the commendable efforts by some heroes of fanta-archaeology and pop-culture, such as Graham Hancock (2002), the Bimini rocks are natural formations. However for decades they have been the focal point of a thriving underwater 'archaeological' tourist industry: the paradoxical result of the unique encounter between the conservative prophetism of the forties, the rebellious spirit of the sixties and the new hedonistic culture of the eighties. As in the glass-walled tanks of the Atlantis Hotel, the sea seems to attribute authenticity to what cannot be authentic. However, the hotel's plastic specimens belong to a hyper-tourist culture that ironically jokes with authenticity and exploits the public's ambiguity, perhaps also its ignorance and certainly its desire for amused complicity.

The Bimini rocks, instead, are sharper and more perilous. Stone is always 'true' and 'ancient', and thus it becomes difficult

to question its authenticity and archaeological appearance. The sea acts as a filter that amplifies the alterity of the submerged objects: underwater, everything is veiled by a magic 'otherness' and paradoxically everything seems truer simply because it has less reason to be there. In underwater diving, we are the extraneous elements, not the things we see: as a result of this psychological process, everything underwater immediately appears true, or at least truer than we are. The Bimini rocks are not an archaeological fraud but true pieces of stone that testify to the concreteness of a dream.

The sea between nature and culture

The archaeological and tourist myth of Bimini is a good example of the myth-making force of the sea and the persistence of the symbolic mechanisms of the ancient Mediterranean world. In the dichotomy between nature and culture, the sea is in a complex and ambiguous position: it is a natural space that by its sterility and dangerousness contrasts culture, but it is also a space of communication and commerce and a ritual initiation instrument, able to ensure and enhance it. In the sea, nature and culture conflict and coexist. The Bimini rocks are proof of this: they are purely natural objects, which, however, can be interpreted as fragments of a past that has formed our historical and cultural identity.

The sea transforms the objects it contains and the way they are observed. Western culture, with its origins in the ancient Mediterranean civilizations and their mythical and symbolic systems, has for centuries viewed the sea as a perilous and contradictory space of alterity: at the same time a bearer of life and death, a source of food and wealth, a place of saline sterility and deadly shipwrecks (Melotti 2007a). It is an infertile space, in strong contrast to the inland waters, which ensure life, and to the lands of agriculture, material basis of all great ancient civilizations. Mythology has crystallized this otherness, rendering the sea an autonomous world, dominated by its god, who assumes the features of the lord of the underworld and becomes confused with him. In fact, the sea is an infernal world that changes the ontological status of whoever submerges in it. The castaways can meet their death

there, abandoning the world of the living; the voyagers discover new worlds and new cultures, potentially dangerous because different; the initiants, with dives, ablutions and crossings, exploit it as a magic and ritual space, which leads them to temporary detachment from the world of culture and allows them to pass through an experience of alterity, from which they eventually return to social life more mature and enriched with new knowledge.

The myth of Ulysses, castaway and eternal initiant, crystallizes this image and this function of the sea. The monsters, often sea creatures that the hero encounters in his trip through the Mediterranean, express all the contradictory forces of the marine space, a refuge of monsters that nonetheless allows him to rediscover his identity. The tourist, a castaway from modernity but also a voyager and initiant in search of experiences and alterity, is merely the last of the many incarnations of the figure of Ulysses.

The modern and technological approach to the underwater world, with masks, cylinders and powerful torches, is only apparently more sophisticated. The mask magnifies what we see underwater and thus provides us a distorted image of reality, while the torch creates colours not existing in the sea: all in the illusion of seeing better and more accurately an underwater reality that is quite different. Underwater tourism feeds on an immersive virtual image of the underwater world via a mythopoeic operation (Melotti 2007b). However, skin and scuba diving conserves the initiatory and alienating value of the ritual bathing of the ancient Mediterranean peoples. The diver seeks a strong sensory experience of alterity via temporary union with a world that is profoundly extraneous to us and that remains extremely dangerous despite the advanced equipment. It is a temporary plunge into the world of death.

From this point of view, underwater archaeological tourism, in all its various forms, has strong sensory value, since it amplifies this intrinsic sense of strong proximity to the world of death. The fascination of death plays an important role in the general tourism experience: skeletons, mummies, places where the worst atrocities were committed (from concentration camps to battlefields) exert an irresistible attraction (Melotti 2013b; Sharpley and Stone

2009). Of course, the presence of death is an essential element in archaeological tourism, nourished by necropoleis and devastated cities (Melotti 2011). Underwater archaeological tourism enhances this feature greatly: the tourists move at their risk in a perilous space, historically imbued with negative connotations, and seek submerged traces of a past that usually belongs to someone who perished at sea. At Bimini and at the Atlantis Hotels this macabre symbolic aspect is only latent but it is predominant in many other underwater tourism experiences.

Diving tourism and the morbid fascination of corpses

Wreck diving is the most obvious example of this: submerged wrecks, more than curious and intriguing tourist spaces, are really places of death. Indeed, this type of tourism is a form of funerary pilgrimage that satisfies our voyeurism. The sea renders this relationship unreal and almost immaterial: the wrecks often lie on the seabed veiled by a strange light or, in Mediterranean waters, emerge from the obscurity taking form almost unexpectedly. The silence and slow-motion atmosphere of the sea bottom create a particular sensory framework. The presence of death is implicit: breaches, signs of an explosion, detached structures suggest the tragedy at the heart of their history. Often, however, the signs of death and violence are explicit, as in the case of wartime wrecks, which are true monuments steeped in death. Yet, the sea succeeds in crystallizing the more macabre effects in a suspended and hedonistic atmosphere of visual and sensory gratification, in which history loses its concreteness, is reduced to image and finally to myth. It is another conquest of post-modernity and hyper-tourism: the 'liquid' society dissolves in the face of death and the sea (it is not a play on words) makes this relationship even more 'liquid'. The culture that invented concepts like surgical bombing and collateral damage or that delights in the plastic models used in television to reconstruct places where atrocious crimes were committed can have nothing but an immaterial, television-like and touristic concept of death. Horror is often exorcized through the archaeological musealization of evil. Thus, the concentration camps and the house of the infanticide in Cogne (Piedmont), which was so long in the spotlight of the Italian

mass media, become archaeological sites to explore via maps and virtual reconstructions. Likewise, the waters of Truk Lagoon in Micronesia, containing 39 sunken battleships and 270 shot-down aircraft, no longer constitute the objective vestige of a massacre but assume the more diffuse and reassuring image of a large fascinating marine archaeological park, where funereal voyeurism takes the form of cultural tourism or a recreational sporting activity.

Once more, however, the myth-making force of sea intervenes. The submerged wrecks quickly become rich and vivacious underwater habitats. The cold aspect of steel or rusted iron, which logically should appear as cultural elements extraneous to the natural seabed, gives way to complex natural concretions. Life and death, culture and nature appear indissolubly bound. In short, the usual distinctions diminish below the sea.

This alteration of traditional symbolic categories can also modify our perception of time. All that the sea swallows, grasping it from our normal experiential space, seems to leave the phenomenal world and enter a new dimension. It is the initiatory power of the sea, well known to the ancients. What is submerged no longer belongs to our world: it abandons the present and becomes part of the past. A wreck, independently of its age, is an archaeological object or, rather, an object perceived as such exactly because it is 'other' with respect to the phenomenal reality of the cultural present. The sea enshrouds it, just as earth covers an archaeological site. It is not necessary to wait a hundred years after the sinking, asset out in international conventions, because a submerged artefact is usually regarded as an ancient and archaeological object.

A wreck resting on the bottom is a piece of history, a piece of the puzzle, albeit an unfortunate one, useful to understand human culture. However, the sea crystallizes it in an atemporal, vaguely past, dimension, which detaches it from any contact with the present: the historical specimen thus becomes a fascinating archaeological object. Yet, modern society reappears with its paradoxes. The wartime wrecks of Truk Lagoon, although less than a century old, effectively constitute an archaeological park where, as at Pompeii, historical value, macabre voyeurism and aesthetic sublimation form an indistinct whole. This is still traditional tourism, in which the sea

decontextualizes the objects from their historical framework and suffuses them with an alienating beauty. Nonetheless, a battleship or an airplane has incontestable material authoritativeness: pieces of history that forcefully impose themselves on our imagination, accustomed to treating tools and weapons with archaeological respect.

Figure 5: Post-modern archaeo-diving in Dubai (courtesy of Atlantis The Palm).

Towards a post-modern heritage: Toilets, tourism and consumerism

What about a toilet bowl, however? Does it deserve the same respect? Or, better, could we make a cultural pilgrimage to a toilet and admire it just like an artistic object housed in a museum? When, in 1917, Marcel Duchamp created his urinal, now exhibited in the Centre Pompidou in Paris, he was probably seeking to answer this question, trying to demystify the traditional view of artwork. All the more so, because he was working in the dark days of the First World War: he opposed the rhetoric of war with an ironical exploit. In 1961, Piero Manzoni wished to go further and created his famous merdes d'artiste, today highly sought-after by collectors even though they were born from criticism of the art trade and the culture of mass production. In both cases, however, these were intellectual provocations, which often elicit the disdainful reactions of those who feel derided by the evident commercial nature of these supposed criticisms of the system.

The mythopoeic force of the sea has arrived, instead, where those two artists did not manage to arrive. Yolanda Reef, in the marine park of Ras Mohammed on the Red Sea, is well known to underwater tourists on account of its unusual treasures. In 1980, a Cypriot freighter transporting sanitary fixtures and bathtubs sank in that area. The wreck gradually slipped to the seabed and now lies at a depth of over 200 metres. However, its load remained in shallow waters and has become the destination of a vivacious and symptomatic underwater tourist industry. Internet blogs are full of photographs of the Jolanda wreck and its white sanitary fixtures. "Helen Sitting on the Toilet" is the title given by Greg Brock (2006) to one of these photographs.

Figure 6: Post-modern heritage at the Jolanda wreck, Ras Mohammed Park, Egypt (photo by Greg Brock, courtesy of author).

The iconic and photographic obsession of post-modern tourism, like its desperate experiential character, leads to paradoxical results. The photograph of the diver sitting on the toilet in the Red Sea is the equivalent of St. James' shell that the faithful used to exhibit as proof of their pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela. The sea, with its mythopoeia and without the rhetoric of Duchamp and Manzoni, has modified the status of these toilets. Merely owing to their inclusion in the special underwater space, they have become true specimens, archaeological signs of modernity to see, consume and photograph. These specimens remind us that most 'true' archaeological finds are nothing more than mass produced objects, if not even refuse. Indeed, archaeology is also based on the garbage of antiquity, although such a constitutive relation between heritage and archaeology is often conflicting when applied to the contemporary society (Burström 2009). 'Garbology', conceived as a study of consumer behaviour, may be thought as an archaeology of the present (Majewski and Schiffer 2001; Rathje 2001). Moreover, these toilets, like the plastic statues of the Atlantis Hotel on Paradise Island, remind us that now tourism can also feed on mass-produced industrial objects. In the consumer society, even toilet bowls can become works of art and objects worthy of tourist attention.

The photograph by Greg Brock is an extraordinary conceptual synthesis of the imagery and practices of contemporary tourism, which can help us to understand some of the underlying mechanisms that govern our society. In the transition from modern to post-modern society an industrial object of intimate everyday use becomes a decorative and aesthetic element of paradoxical kind, totally unrelated to its original function. The consumption itself, even in its most brutal forms of bodily dejection, can become a metaphorical tribute to a society that is based on quick consumption and on the continuous supply of new goods and, therefore, also on the fast elimination of 'old' ones, which become 'archaeological' finds and sometimes objects of tourism.

The sea simplifies, accelerates and consolidates this process, providing experiential and emotional scenery of leisure and mythical fascination, where even the most obvious industrial goods may be re-semanticized as 'natural' or 'cultural' objects. Owing to this

mechanism the pseudo-archaeological finds in the Bimini sea are subtracted from a strong national and identity function and enter into a new 'liquid' post-modern dimension, oriented to leisure in a de-intellectualized way, according to the tourist gaze, which is usually distracted, fast and, at most, edutainment-oriented. The pseudo-objects of Paradise Island are even 'produced' with this character by the post-modern industry of tourism and edutainment, which is based on forms of relative authenticity and 'culturalization' of consumption.

At the core of this process there is the body: the tourist's and the consumer's body. The late post-modernity has exasperated its use as tool and icon of consumption. The body has been rethought as a glocal fact, that is, a hyper-individualist local reality, concentrated in an experiential dimension of consumption and leisure that is increasingly immersed in the process of global homogenization of patterns of behaviour and consumption. The underwater tourists may be seen as an extreme expression of this process: their bodies are totally immersed in an autistic and self-referential practice of hyper-experiential and multisensory consumption. In this context, even the toilet bowls of the Jolanda wreck can become an irresistible attraction for tourists, who, more or less unconsciously, perceive them as existential monuments of our civilization.

The toilets of the Red Sea, as Claude Lévi-Strauss would say, are "good for thinking" about our society and its tourism.

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The Past is a Horny Country: Porn Movies and the Image of Archaeology

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Abstract

Do you watch porn? Most people lie when answering this question. The pornographic industry would not be as big as it is if nobody consumed it. As with other cultural expressions, archaeology and the past are also represented in porn movies, affecting the public image of our discipline as it does advertising, literature, or cinema. This paper explores and analyses the multiple references to the past and our profession found within the context of pornographic movies and other erotic products, highlighting the potential of pornography as another tool for informal education.

Keywords

Porn, Eroticism, Archaeology, Image, Perception, Education

Parental advisory: Explicit content

I believe everyone recalls the oft-quoted opening line from L.P. Hartley's *The Go Between* (1953): "The past is a foreign country: they do things differently there." Archaeologists will also recall the homonymous book by David Lowenthal (1985). For me, Lowenthal's book has been essential in shaping my idea of public archaeology, and more specifically in understanding the implications of the past in the present. This paper is a tribute to that book, which Cambridge University Press is going to "revisit" soon (Lowenthal

2015). And without intending to sound disrespectful, I believe pornography is one of the primary sources for the study of public perceptions of archaeology. After all, pornography and sex are essential expressions of humankind that we need to make less taboo (Attwood and Smith 2014).

Laughing with the past

Those of us who grew up watching *The Flintstones* or *Captain Caveman* are very familiar with two of the main stereotypes about the prehistoric past; there were rude, dirty, and underdeveloped human beings adorned with bones and fur… and there were dinosaurs. Fun as this genre was, cinema became deluged with an interminable list of movies from which we learnt that the best way for a prehistoric man to have sex was to club a cavewoman on the head, grab her by the hair, and drag her back into the cave. Simple as that. I cannot recall the number of times I have seen this image, or even in the reverse, when a cavewoman grabs the caveman by his penis.

Fig1. Quando gli uomini armarono la clava e... con le donne fecero din-don (1971)

Popular humour often takes ideas, sometimes obscene, from the past and archaeology. One of the first archaeologically-themed dirty jokes that comes to mind is, of course, the term *Homo erectus* itself, which was recently used in a monologue for the FameLab Spain science and engineering competition, as well as in the title of a pornographic movie. Again, simple as that. Academia has also faced this issue, although not in any serious manner. The huge amount of pornographic materials we inherited from the past contributed to the writing of two books by Paul Bahn and Bill Tidy; *Ancient Obscenities* (1999a) and *Disgraceful Archaeology* (1999b), which I still do not know if are the same. The popularity of these books indicates that sex is so taboo in certain contexts that they become part of the game, as it were. The gender roles and stereotypes inherent in this sort of humour speak not only about archaeology or the past, but also about our society today. Recent feminist critiques (i.e. Soler 2012; Querol 2014), for instance, quite rightly point to the fact that images of women and their traditional roles in representations of the past impact upon gender equality today. It is indeed worrying when we laugh at fictional cavemen using a club to dominate women and have sex. But what also requires examination is the easy synonymy with the prehistoric past and sexual roles; even the television show *Family Guy* utilised this concept in an episode ("Quest for Fur") which showed one of its main characters, Lois Griffin, on a porn movie set that was meant to look like the prehistoric past.

Advertising bodies

In my recent monologue for Famelab Spain (http://youtu.be/_IsVjJ0zK08), I used the example of Angelina Jolie's body in the *Tomb Raider* movie as a determinant factor for many in being interested in archaeology. Because as cool as Harrison Ford is, he is not cool enough for heterosexual young men. Since I first used it

in a presentation at the 2008 EAA Meeting, it has worked as a joke; people laugh at it. But the reason why I used this joke is because Lara Croft was designed to attract young gamers in the first place. As we all know, advertisements commonly use this role of woman-as-object to attract heterosexual male consumers through eroticism, which has long been denounced by feminist groups and intellectuals (Barthel 1988; and a good overview at Blloshmi 2013). But it is also problematic that when targeting women or gay consumers, advertisements also employ a man-as-object perspective (Craig 1992). All in all, the number of eroticised images in traditional product advertising—whether explicit or not—are endless, from the gorgeous woman trying to convince you to buy a perfume to smell (and look) like her, to the beautiful man who becomes irresistible to women wearing the same kind of perfume, or the muscular man selling gym subscriptions.

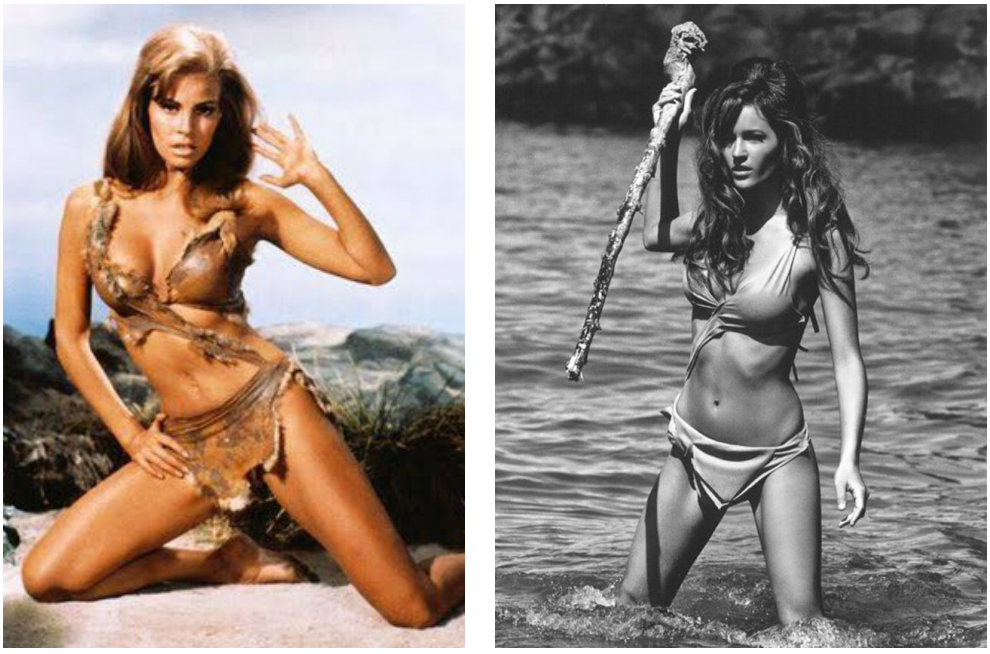

Fig. 2: Rachel Welch & Malena Costa (©GQ)

Fig. 3: Some sexy costumes (from the internet)

Movies are no different, with casting frequently being a type of advertising in itself. The iconic image of Raquel Welch in *One Million Years B.C.* endures, as does that of 1968 Playboy Playmate of the Year Victoria Vetri in *When Dinosaurs Ruled the Earth*. In 2013, a special volume on iconic bikini poses in movies in the Spanish edition of the fashion magazine *GQ* had the famous model Malena Costa wearing—what else?—the fur bikini of Raquel Welch and holding a club. The only saving grace of that photo shoot was that they left the dinosaurs out (Fig. 2). Beauty in the movies is a must for most blockbuster products, and this applies to both women and men. Can you imagine Indiana Jones starring John Goodman or Woody Allen? The latter is not even the protagonist of his own *The Purple Rose of Cairo*.

Television shows continue this tradition, with the new generation of cable shows capitalising on the lack of censorship to make sex part of the plot, such as in *Rome* (HBO) or *Spartacus* (Starz). The British comedy *Plebs* (ITV2), which is set during Roman times, at least presents an erotic plot with no explicit sex. In *Spartacus*, sex is in truth not essential for plot progression, but is merely a ploy to attract more viewers. *Rome* and *Plebs* show the reality of sex from a 'historical' perspective. The former highlights the cruelty of humanity by weaving rapes, prostitution, complots, and affairs in the plot, which are essential to understand the characters' interactions and personalities. *Plebs*, meanwhile, is about two young citizens who recently landed in ancient Rome and their quest for sex. Although I have in the past only referenced the present article as a joke, it does bear repeating in light of the above: if sex did not sell, there would not be so much of it.

Fig. 4: Plebs (ITV) and Rome (HBO)

We don't do dinosaurs!

http://youtu.be/Ln5W1EbYAW0

*Thank you Adobe for making it impossible to embed online videos with the latest version of your software.

Have you seen this video? ArchaeoSoup Productions bring us some of the smartest and funniest reflections on archaeology. Undoubtedly, dinosaurs are one of the topical themes of our conversations with the non-archaeologists we occasionally meet.

- *So, what do you do for a living?*

- *I'm an archaeologist.*

- *Oh! So cool! Have you found any dinosaurs?*

- *…*

I believe we have all had this conversation at some point in our lives. Movies and TV series like the ones mentioned above show humans interacting with dinosaurs, projecting the image—and sending out the message—that human prehistory was full of them. There are even some pseudo-archaeological phenomena, such as the Ica stones in Peru, which also try to pair us with dinosaurs in some lost prehistoric era.

While I was researching this article I came across some disturbing images, videos, and even books that I could hardly imagine existed. The 'softest' of these was gay dinosaur cartoon porn, because it involved no human beings. But humans are involved in the new literary genre made popular in the mass media: 'dinosaur porn' (Beck 2013). Obviously influenced by the Japanese 'monster porn' phenomenon, some folk in USA decided to write erotic stories in which dinosaurs are somehow copulating with women.

Fig. 5: Curious? Have a look at some of the covers!

Following the success of the dinosaur porn pioneers on Amazon, other authors decided to cash in, even producing Spanish versions of these stories. Sex is obviously on display in these novels, but here, the sex happens between male dinosaurs and female humans in a way I hardly understand and find distasteful. Not even *The Flintstones* porn parodies I have found (besides the comics) have dinosaurs so central to the plot. Of course, these stories are not situated in a specific historical moment or period, and there is lack of context. But context never really matters in porn.

That said, I have to admit that the now infamous video of three Pterodactyls having sexual intercourse with a woman has been really successful in every social gathering I have attended lately. But it also makes me wonder if we are actually that twisted. I will not embed the video in this article, but you can Google it if interested. I will just add that this video has become an Internet meme, and even has its own entry in *Urban Dictionary*.

Can we learn anything about archaeology by watching porn?

I quoted Paul Bahn at the beginning of this article and I will quote him again now. His latest book with Bill Tidy, *Dirty Diggers* (2013), has enough sexual anecdotes to plot some porn movies. It appears that we have a promiscuous profession, so why not our own porn genre?

The past as plot: All excuses are good for sex

It is said that there is no need for plot in porn. Normally, scenes occur for no apparent reason. However, some genres appear to be more successful in response to traditional sexual fantasies (Barker 2014). As a matter of fact, some porn movies offer a quite elaborate plot; sex still happens for no reason but there is, at least, a background story.

I have already commented on *The Flintstones* and other television shows or movies in which dinosaurs and humans are supposed to coexist, which I of course consider to be pure fiction (if any of the other movies could be tagged as non-fiction). So the classic *Homo erectus*, together with other movies and movie scenes in which actors play Palaeolithic humans. Unfortunately, I cannot offer any statistics on the topic, as the nearly fifty videos of movies and scenes I have collected is just a small sample of the total that

may exist. But judging from these alone, cavemen and cavewomen feature quite prominently. The actors' outfits are exactly the same as in other productions, such as documentaries, and respond to the image most people have of cavemen and cavewomen. It might be an easy period to perform—but because there are no dinosaurs around, and if you overlook the silicone, these movies are at least of *more* historical value than other Hollywood productions like *10,000 B.C.*, where the plot has no historical sense at all.

Egypt is another popular setting. Films like *Cleopatra*—the inspiration behind this article—or *The Pyramid* are now porn classics too. In these movies, plots go wild with nonsensical stories of resurrection and sex, but the markers of this genre are clear: the mummies, pharaohs, and even museums. The props are very similar to those shown in any other movie or documentary, although there are some low budget productions that just paint some kind of hieroglyphs in the paper wall, and adorn their actors with shiny paper headdresses and a white bed sheets. The Greek-themed porn movies feature mythological stories, where Hercules, Ulysses, and other gods and goddesses copulate in stories with no plot. But these movies manage to employ decent props, especially in the remarkable porn parody of *300*.

For the Iron Age, I only found an XXX parody of *Asterix and Obelix*. But the Roman age is especially popular, second only to the Palaeolithic and Egypt, with several productions of great quality. *Rome* and *Gladiator* are two three-part productions with an excellent setting and a solid plot. *Caligula* has an XXX version too, with a very similar look to the original show. In all these cases, one can actually see some interesting details about daily life in Rome that are hardly found in some blockbuster productions from Hollywood.

The tendency is similar in other pornos with historical settings—they all present some stereotypes and some fantasy adorned with

cheaper replications of Hollywood props. However, after watching all of these movies, I began to wonder: can we actually learn something from these porn movies? I remember watching *La guerre du feu* in school; but I feel that some tiny changes in the plot of *Homo erectus* would make it just as educational as the former (excepting the porn, of course). The same is true of *Rome*.

The professional in the plot: How do we look?

I began a recent article on archaeology and daily life by noting "I wish I was Harrison Ford" (Almansa 2013a). It would be too easy a joke to say I want to be like one of the actors in a porn movie, so I will stay with Harrison Ford. Archaeologists are highly appreciated characters in popular culture, and the *archaeo-appeal* (Holtorf 2005: chapter 9) of the profession is a reality we all have experienced. It is, in all probability, this same archaeo-appeal that causes the past to feature so prominently in porn movies, and also why the character of the archaeologist appears in so many of them.

As expected, most of these movies feature derivations or parodies of Indiana Jones, as the character has become a pop culture icon. This means that the figure of the archaeologist that appears in pornos and other mass media forms is based on fiction—adventurers with hats, brown explorer clothing, and sometimes whips—rather than the more mundane reality of actual professional archaeologists.

Remarkably, the closest depiction of actual archaeological activity in the movies I have researched is a visit to Egypt and a museum. Except for *Road to Atlantis* (2004), which shows two archaeologists engaged in an 'excavation'—that is, digging with their hands until they get a small artefact—there is, oddly enough, no sign of archaeology around the archaeologists. The two parodies of Indiana Jones I found, *Carolina Jones* (2008) and *Indiana Mack* (2000 and 2001), are more adventure-themed pornos than anything else.

Guy 1: *Hang on! This is a discovery, let's do a little research on our own first… Hey! Someone is coming over.*
Antiques: *Good afternoon gentleman. Working hard I see.*
Guy 1: *Are you with the dig?*
Antiques: *Not exactly… My card […] I specialize in ancient art. I pay very good.*
Guy 1: *But this is a university sponsored dig.*
Guy 2: *Yes, everything we excavate belongs to the Greek government.*
Antiques: *I sometimes find cash can be a benefit for young men like yourselves.*
Guy 1: *It is guys like this, they rob the tombs and sell the stuff in the black market. You think our discovery is safe?*
Road to Atlantis (2010)

"*This belongs to the museum*
My father is Indy Jones
Hey you got a pussy, don't you? Use it or lose it"
The thoughts of Carolina Jones before sleeping…
Carolina Jones (2008)

Smuggling Sexpedition (2012) deserves special mention, however. The movie is about a group of looters who are being pursued by the police. There is a clear establishment of good and evil in the plot, which ends in a spectacular pursuit featuring a helicopter. Although there are no archaeologists in the story, the message was still clear: looting is bad.

Despite these erroneous depictions, however, it must be noted that we ourselves hardly shun the 'adventurer' in our professional lives. In truth, when we analyse the image of archaeology and archaeologists (see any of the already quoted works on the topic), we can focus on different issues, depending on our own research interests. For instance, if we want to evaluate the knowledge of a period, we will try to see how this period has been understood

and represented. From the time I started writing papers (Almansa 2006), I have always been interested in the image of the profession and the professional, and this article is admittedly biased by this perspective.

Learning about archaeology by watching porn

So we need to ask ourselves whether anyone can learn anything about archaeology when watching porn. The porn movies with archaeological themes described above are too varied in their plots and production values to discern any one message, especially because they are being analysed by a single researcher with a singular point of view. It is for this reason that I propose a controlled study of these movies by non-archaeologists, who might be better able to offer a non-biased analysis of the contents and the learning possibilities of porn for archaeology.

The current figures for porn consumption, straight and gay, masculine and feminine oriented ones are astonishing (just see *PornHub Insights Stats* for one single online site: http://www.pornhub.com/insights/category/stats/), although there is still a lack of research (Voss 2012). This means that the opportunities inherent in using porn as an educational tool—if we can use the word 'education' here—are enormous. We usually talk about audiences, the public, communities, etc., and forget the fact that most of our work is geared towards a section of the public that already values archaeology and engages with it. As well as other audiovisual cultural products that have been understood as informal education, pornography has the capacity to reach an audience that is significantly broader than any notion of 'audience' that we might envision. And so, depending on the goals we are trying to achieve, using porn can actually help change some stereotypes and preconceived ideas about the past, about archaeology, and about

archaeologists. However, in order to do that, we need to take part in the process.

Epilogue

Shall we get involved in the porn industry? When we do not even have any real impact in the production of other, more conventional cultural products that reference archaeology, trying to establish a base here might sound idealistic. However, where the developers of cultural products once occupied a different world, they are now part of ours—so our involvement may just be a matter of need and time. We tend to think about innovation in terms of technology, but work niches can be innovative too. If there is an opportunity, we should take it.

While I write these lines, a colleague has just entered a discredited TV show to look for a couple in Spain. This show is more popular than any in its timeslot, and her explanation of what archaeology is in the first two minutes of the show will probably be more successful in terms of public education than any of our efforts this year. Also, an April Fool's Day prank about archaeology was nominated as best radio comedy in Germany this year. Archaeologists in collaboration with a German radio station prepared it, and thousands of people listened in (Scherzler 2014). We, from JAS, are currently supporting a radio serial with a background context of archaeology (García 2014), and publishing a novel about preventive archaeology (Guerra 2012). Why not going further?

The lack of real specialists consulting for mass media productions and cinema is a fact that we should try to address, and porn can be seen as another avenue. The fact remains that the current image of archaeology, archaeologists, and the past that is depicted in porn movies does not differ much from that depicted in other conventional media. So whatever space there is for improvement

should be capitalised upon. In the same way advertising overuses the term 'heritage' (Almansa 2013b), we should also try to have our say. Because overlooking porn for any reason entails overlooking millions of porn consumers as a potential audience that could be positively influenced to value and understand our work.

Writing this text I have imagined several plots for successful porn movies with a strong archaeological message. The past is a horny country, and our lives are quite evocative too. If we have any opportunity in any context in which archaeology can be made to look good to members of the public—in porn or otherwise—then it would be remiss not to take it.

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POINTS OF YOU

The forum that could not wait for a year to happen

#OccupyArchaeology

Yannis HAMILAKIS

Friends asked me to elaborate on my suggestion for an Occupy movement, not only for art museums and galleries but also archaeological museums, archaeological sites/projects and other culture/heritage institutions that rely on cheap, un-insured, non-unionised labour, or on sponsorship from corrupt corporations.

We in archaeology, art and heritage domains have been for far too long, oblivious, tolerant, if not complicit to a regime of work and political economy which is not sustainable; they tell us about expansion, new markets, new wings for our museums, new museums elsewhere, mega-projects with hundreds of specialists which are going to last for a quarter of a century, and we think: great! Lots of jobs for us and others, more heritage, more culture, more archaeology, that's good all round, right?

Well, no it's not right: who is building that museum, heritage center or your university branch in the Gulf country ruled by a dictatorship? What are their conditions of work and pay, and how many have been killed in workplace accidents, and why? And once that museum or university branch has been built, how can they establish a culture of critique and open dialogue, how can they challenge power and authority, in a context where even the most basic rights of free expression are denied?

Why is beneficial for archaeology and for society to stage mega-field projects relying on the funding by corporations such as Shell, with its own dismal record of environmental destruction, and human rights abuse? And how much potential archaeological knowledge has been lost elsewhere (due to oil drilling, and the destruction of habitats), for the archaeological knowledge gained in one specific site?

Why is it great for art and archaeology to stage blockbuster exhibitions at the British Museum or the Tate (and I say this as a

member), sponsored by BP and other similar companies, with their logos prominently exhibited everywhere? Why are we allowing archaeological and art objects to act as participants in this gigantic theatre of green-washing and complicity?

Where are the new creative, life-transforming and challenging ideas going to come from, if we dance to the tune of our sponsors, and design our research questions, our discussion frames and our rhetoric according to their profile and philosophy?

How many more volumes do we need on "religion" in the Near-eastern Neolithic, all funded by the Templeton Foundation?

These are extra-ordinary times. They demand extra-ordinary actions. Hence my suggestion. Occupy Museums in the US is already making a difference. Occupy in archaeological and art museums, galleries and archaeological projects is the next step.

Francesco IACONO

The recent experiment brought about by activists at the Guggenheim Museum represents an interesting attempt and a model for future forms of activism within cultural institutions.

The action/boycott was aimed at making visitors aware of the new expansion plans fostered by the Guggenheim which included the realisation of a new museum in Abu Dhabi that, according to Hyperallergic activists, will be constructed through the use of infamous debt peonage agreements.

The initiative is beyond any doubt laudable; an excellent starting point which can be fruitfully repeated in other Museums and/or cultural institutions. Yet, at the same time, while effective for very specific aims (Guggenheim direction felt immediately the need to respond to protests and clarify the position of the institution), this kind of action falls short of addressing some basic issues that cultural workers really need to start to tackle. In my view the main point is, to put it bluntly, the amount of resources that are allocated to culture. As long as within national budgets of countries public expenditure for culture continues to stay at the current level (e.g. in European countries 0.55% is the current median value attested) infiltration of 'corporate logic', so to speak, will ineluctably (but not

without responsibility) drive policy of cultural institutions toward the kind of misbehaviour denounced by activists.

This is the real elephant in the room. Can we lobby and together push to have greater public resources for culture within modern 'democratic' states? I believe that as long as we do not address this, problems similar to those addressed by activists will cyclically emerge. With this, of course, I am not stating that we have to cease to work on the specific, but rather that along with commitment on individual issues, we need to start to deal also with the set of conditions from which these problems stem. To this extent, the first step is to create a real class-consciousness among cultural workers. Whether archaeologists on the field, curators, museum workers, gallery assistants and so on, we are all part of a broad cultural sector with many common interests, and above all, we are all too aware that the amount of resources allocated to culture is growing increasingly scarce. Such a class-consciousness, in turn, needs to be able to win a large consensus and hegemonise public opinion in broader international settings as well as, more traditionally, within each state. Cultural workers must start to address policy-making and advocate for greater resources. Or else they will perish and/or the whole sector will become increasingly the court jester of corporate power.

In short, what we need, I think, is some sort of global campaign aimed at making people aware of how much culture matters in their life and, at the same time, a transnational organism able to influence states and supra-national institutions alike about the fundamental need for more resources (a good old-fashioned syndicate?).

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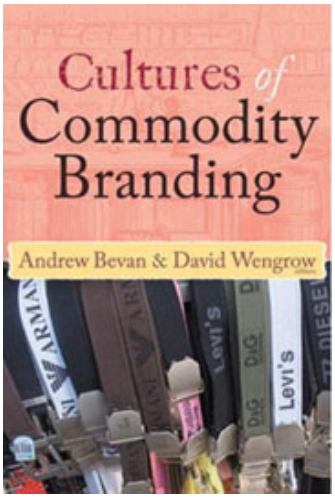
REVIEWS



David ANDRÉS CASTILLO

Cultures of Commodity Branding

[Andrew Bevan & David Wengrow]

Left Coast Press
ISBN: 978-1-59874-542-9
2010, 267 pp.

"The brand is where you believe it to be."

Rosana Pinheiro-Machado

Cultures of Commodity Branding by Andrew Bavan and David Wengrow presents two different worlds that usually have not been related. This compilation is a refreshing approach to an unusual topic in archaeology: brand marketing and mass media related with the possibilities of public archaeology, understanding public archaeology as a way to study a concrete field in order to improve our knowledge and develop the environment and the community around the object of study.

Unfortunately, archaeology is not a well-known discipline to the general public and sometimes its field of study is confined only to ancient history or prehistoric times. As a matter of fact, the public gets informed about archaeology mainly from films and novels, full of stereotypes, which does not help, and sometimes the latter contribute to creating myths about this science and its specialists.

I began reading this book with the eyes of a semiologist and, to be honest, I enjoyed this work and was introduced to a new point of view about one of my favourite topics: the semantics of branding. The articles in this book are divided in

two categories: the first one consists of the studies about the History of Branding (Ch.1-2-7-8-9) and the second one (Ch. 3-4-5-10) includes articles about the way the brand functions and how the values of the products represented are shown. Completing this selection is the excellent *Introduction* by David Wengrow, who explains why it is necessary to study this topic from an archaeological and anthropological point of view:

> *Contemporary branding strategies should not be studied merely as part of the long-term history of commoditisation, but also as part of its opposite: that is, the history of decommoditisation, on a continuum with techniques of gift-giving, ritual, and sacrifice, which have long been a focus of research in archaeology and anthropology* (30).

The above is followed by a piece of advice which we should take seriously:

> *There is a lesson here for archaeologists who would minimise the role of consumer demand in premodern economies, and equally for experts in contemporary marketing who would identify consumer manipulation of brand values as a recent trend, contingent upon technologies such as the Internet* (28).

The book's starting point is Naomi Klein's *No logo,* with a clear objective: to demonstrate that the origin of brands is not in the 19th century but dates further back, and it can be traced in different periods and far away cultures.

Andrew Bevan reflects on the origin of brands and how the production of standardised objects began in "Making and Marking Relationships: Broken Age Brandings and Mediterranean Commodities". This article proves how brands were a consequence of a regular and regulated market. By the same token, we can also consider "Commodities, Brands, and Village Economies in the Classic Maya Lowlands" by Jason Yaeger**.** This article analyses *utilitarian goods* and *prestige*

goods, and establishes a comparison between the Ancient World and the Mayas with interesting conclusions about their system of values and their point of view of commercial relationships based in local achievements in Central America. It is particularly useful to think about the fact that the Mayas' production and acquisition of goods was different, for example, from that of the Mediterranean cultures, and influenced the manufacturing of commodity products and the mechanism of standardisation.

After this review of Antiquity, we jump to Preindustrial times and the ways of branding explained in the article "Of Marks, Prints, Pots, and Becherovka: Freemasons´ Branding in Early Modern Europe" by Marcos Matinón-Torres. This work shows the Freemasons´ Branding as the link between the industrial era in terms of Branding and merchandising and how a brand that is nowadays popular in the Czech Republic and Slovakia uses medieval symbology to recreate the values implicit in its logo, which is fascinating in terms of the semantics of logotypes and products.

The explanation of the semantic behaviour of the object was a popular topic during the 60's and 70's, and it is possible to find excellent works by Eco (1979, 1992), Baudrillard (1972, 1981), and Barthes (1964, 1970), that incorporated in their theories a critique of the political economy of the sign and the simulacrum of the object. From the 60's until Klein´s new perspective, the critique centred its interest mainly on semantic questions about the object, the target, and the mental impression people had.

This special relationship between the product, the consumer, and the brand has been amply studied following an occidental point of view and sometimes forgetting emerging countries and their position in these arenas. Brands and logos are not only products made by designers but also marketing labs. It has always been a usual reaction to the commercial process: a new product needs to be known, to be desired, and to be sold. Logos and brands can be connected with the idea of magic and irrational thinking because they are not only objects,

but also a way to get the promise of the seller, permitting a transference of the properties located in the advertisement.

Jean-Pierre Warnier gives us an excellent example of how a culture can transform old patterns to new ways in "Royal Branding and the Techniques of the Body, the Self, and Power in West Cameroon". In this article, ancient rituals between the king of small realms and subjects are described through the simple application of lotions and body creams. The *magic* and *power* of these rituals are now included in some popular brands that, thanks to marketing techniques, have gained a social prestige.

We can also appreciate the work by Alison J. Clark: "The Second-Hand Brand: Liquid Assets and Borrowed Goods" refers to the new system of merchandising offered in the Internet era, a new world that challenges the traditional methods of analysis and the typical conception of how the market works and why we are experiencing new habits of consumption.

Another article I found provoking is "The Work of an Istanbulite Imitasyoncu" by Magdalena Crăciun because of the paradox it contains: fake brands not only are not a problem for the Turkish, but they also power the capitalist machine due to the increasing capability of brands to develop power to arrive to a potential target without being a problem for the final target. This happens because the fake not only copies the standard object, legally designed and registered with copyright, but also tries to assume the properties of the original. The paradox is that the standardised model itself makes possible a faster and cheaper fake that can compete with the *real*.

"The Attribution of Authenticity to Real and Fake Branded Commodities in Brazil and China" by Rosana Pinheiro-Machado continues in the same vein. In this article, this notion of real or fake for the countries more specialized in the illegal commerce of fake brands in the world is the main topic. There is a reflection about what makes the brand and its proprieties, and how it is or it is not possible to separate them from the original:

> The important thing was the simulacrum itself, and, in this sense, the fake item was a good strategy to acquire brandy goods. "Look at my Louis Vuitton/Rolex…," some informants told me, pointing at their replicas. In these situations, the question that remains is: Is the brand attached only to the genuine piece? (126)

The common points between the two articles are an evidence of the power of global trends and global advertising, and what's more, an analysis of how an occidental concept is understood in emerging countries where the majority of the population is not familiar with concrete commercial strategies and advertising values.

In this regard, the work "The Real One: Western Brands and Competing Notions of Authenticity in Socialist Hungary" by Ferenc Hammer also offers a vision about this phenomenon in a socialist country and its evolution in the course of decades, using a study based in the relevance of the *jeans* in this historical context and how this type of clothing was loaded with values and social connotations.

To sum up, in my opinion, *Cultures of Commodity Branding* is a complete reflection of the History of Branding and offers a good panorama for new studies in Semantics of the Sign. Last but not least, I also appreciate the fact that this book presents archaeology in an unusual and attractive way, linking the mass media and pop culture with serious and rigorous articles on modern anthropology in order to help us understand better the world where we live.

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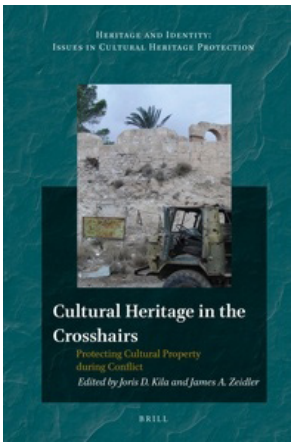
REVIEWS



Ignacio RODRÍGUEZ TEMIÑO

Cultural Heritage in the Crosshairs
Protecting Cultural
Property during Conflict
[Joris D. Kila and James A. Zeidler (Eds.)]

Brill
ISBN: 9789004251427
2013

> Think what's happened in our cities when we've had riots, and problems, and looting. *Stuff happens!* But in terms of what's going on in that country, it is a fundamental misunderstanding to see those images over, and over, and over again of some boy walking out with a vase and say, 'Oh, my goodness, you didn't have a plan.' That's nonsense. They know what they're doing, and they're doing a terrific job. And it's untidy, and freedom's untidy, and free people are free to make mistakes and commit crimes and do bad things. They're also free to live their lives and do wonderful things, and that's what's going to happen here (DoD briefing release, 4/11/03, emphasis added). (Kila and Zeidler, pp. 360)

After reading a quite complacent press release, U.S. Secretary of Defense, Donald Rumsfeld had to face some questions about the looting of the Iraq National Museum in Baghdad that televisions were broadcasting worldwide in April 2003. Although he tried to downplay the seriousness of the facts, he could not put out the fire caused by the lack of interest in avoiding the damage of cultural institutions, after the capture of Baghdad by U.S. troops. The image of the U.S. around the world was mortally wounded and no laughing or dismissive remark by Rumsfeld or any other representative of the Department of Defense in the press room would restore it.

These actions and events triggered a negative reaction all over the world, not only in those countries deemed responsible for allowing such looting to happen, but in the cultural preservation community (composed of archaeologists and other cultural heritage specialists). One of the main outcomes from this process has been the publication of dozens of books and papers discussing issues about protecting cultural property in conflicts.

The book edited by Joris D. Kila and James A. Zeidler follows this track. Both Kila and Zeidler have an outstanding background in Cultural Property Protection (CPP) in armed conflicts issues. The former has undertaken several assessments on cultural heritage missions under different international organizations' umbrellas in countries such as Iraq, Libya, Egypt, and Mali; and the latter has a long history of training U.S. troops in CPP.

Having overcome debates focused primarily on discussing ethical issues related to whether archaeologists were right to collaborate with the military, CPP practitioners have put their all into developing the military's capabilities in dealing with cultural properties. CPP has a predominantly case study-based methodology, as is common in recent research fields, and this volume is an example of that methodology. In its first chapter, the book is devoted to discussing the different approaches to CPP in the military, and the rest of the chapters show cases of CPP training, CPP military planning, and historical perspectives on CPP.

I believe that there is an underlying debate about CPP that is not explained in the book, but this is worth pointing out because it can explain some of the underpinning topics surrounding CPP. CPP practices are based on the *ius in bello*, especially with the rule that has to do with discrimination between combatants and non-combatants. This is one of the Just War Theory principles; those precepts demand that wars are fought according to the moral standards usually accepted by the international community, even if the enemies do not share these values. But international law depends on wide acceptance and adherence by members of the global community for it to be efficient and effective. That is one point, while some national military forces already strive to prevent damage to cultural property during armed conflicts, not all actors show the same restrictions. Indeed, as Kila exposes in his chapter, cultural resources have come to constitute a target for belligerents. The case pointed out by Kila about Mali and the *ʻAnsār ad-Dīn* group represents an outstanding example.

It seems that a revolutionary transformation of warfare has taken place in some countries. And now there is a division between

international law abiding and non-international-law-abiding countries. If we accept this, it not only could explain why all the cases recorded in CPP publications are presented by more or less the same countries, but it would put the geopolitical limits of the reach of the requirements for protecting cultural heritage in conflict too. Going beyond this limit seems to be almost impossible.

However, despite the supposed revolution of moral concern, in the reality of war such proper conduct seems to be lacking. Even liberal and developed states are more focused on war damages committed against their own cultural property than those committed by them.

Modern wars, characterized by being *dés-étatisée* and *dé-militarisée*, are so different from principles of wars in the past. Yet one of the past principles remains inalterable: that war is fueled by emotion, which always becomes a hatred for the foe (as described by Carl von Clausewitz, 1780-1831). Hate produces atrocities from both sides in a reciprocal upward spiral. This means that wars are *dé-civilisée* and, by their basic nature, drive onwards to extremes. So, once *the dogs of war* have been released, doubts concerning the effectiveness of the training received by the military in CPP can arise, as countries involved in armed conflicts are resistant to moral evaluations.

But there is a growing optimism among cosmopolitan people toward the transformations of international relations based on human rights, so that meeting moral standards is a demand for developed countries in armed conflicts. It embraces CPP as well. From the maelstrom of images generated by the invasion of Iraq, among the most disturbing were those of the damage to archaeological sites and cultural institutions. Probably more so than those scenes of coalition forces vainly searching for weapons of mass destruction. Why? Perhaps not only because we are more familiar with human suffering than cultural looting, but because the U.S. troops were the forces responsible for creating a situation in Iraq that allowed for easier access of looting and impacting cultural material. The army, being responsible for such damages, is an important issue in the public response. For example, what is happening to great monuments in Syria, reported daily from the ground by journalists and cultural heritage specialists, does not have the same effect on the audience as it does in Iraq. I think that the main reason for the difference in the real political impact of those sets of images lies in a subconscious perception: people expect armies of developed and liberal countries to behave according to the internationally accepted outstanding code of conduct. Although the U.S. Government tried to justify their failure to react to stopping the looting of Iraq's

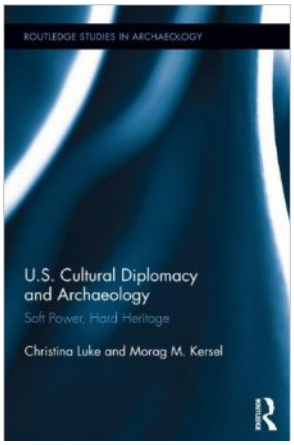
cultural institutions, they noticed the disastrous damage caused and did what could be done to correct the negative image they were projecting.

Thus, due to the importance of public opinion in forcing states to follow moral codes, a chapter devoted to this topic in the book edited by Kila and Zeidler would be a welcome addition. By the same token, it must be stressed that military training in CPP should not only be focused on giving abilities to the troops to deal with cultural property, but on moral behaviour and ethics as well, as many of the chapters are about experiences on how to integrate CPP training packages into pre-existing elements of cultural awareness when training military personnel.

It is difficult to make successful appeals to the military to start implementing the Hague 1954 Convention, but there is probably a better chance of it when armies are deployed in peace support operations than when they are involved in combat. The creation of international cultural emergency assessment teams (not necessarily military or militarized, I think), as claimed by Kila, should be seriously undertaken by international agencies. They could be an important tool to inform the public opinion on what is happening to the cultural property during conflicts, and force the parties to agree on some restrictions. To do so, those teams should be regarded as impartial, and that is why I disagree with the proposed militarized character.

The book is full of goodwill suggestions and valuable experiences but it shows the present gap existing between goodwill and the real world, and that there is no quick answer to match all the challenges and threats that CPP in armed conflicts must face in the next few years.

REVIEWS



Ignacio RODRÍGUEZ TEMIÑO

US Cultural Diplomacy and Archaeology
Soft Power, Hard Heritage
[Christina Luke and Morag Kersel (Eds.)]

Routledge
ISBN: 978-0-415-64549-2
170 pages, 2012

The book by Christina Luke and Moreg Kersel is in line with the U.S. Department of State's new interest in promoting cultural diplomacy to replace the narrow lens focused on the Global War on Terrorism, and to overcome the negative images of the Iraq and Afghanistan invasions. Cultural diplomacy had been relegated to the margins of international relations because it was regarded as a lesser tool of foreign policy, but now it forms the core of 'smart power'.

If power is the ability to influence the behaviour of others to get a desired outcome, hard power (military and economic strength combined) enables countries to wield carrots and sticks to get what they want, and soft power is the ability to attract people to one's side without coercion; smart power is neither hard nor soft power, but the skillful combination of both. Soft power involves culture, political values, and foreign policies. Given that the military alone cannot defend America's interests around the world, the authors' assertion is that the U.S. Department of State's cultural diplomacy should take center stage, alongside defense and economics, to preserve the American preeminence.

The book is devoted to explaining how archaeology and the care of archaeological heritage both have a role to play in a soft power strategy, which leads towards giving the U.S. the smarter power it needs to tackle a tough global challenge over the next few years.

After offering useful definitions in the first chapter, chapters two to six are dedicated to explaining the main means through which hard and soft powers are developed. The first of these means is composed of those legal and political means which target short-term goals in support of the protection and security of other countries' archaeological heritage in danger, while the second one is composed of human and material resources aimed at maintaining long-term policies focused on demonstrating the U.S. concern with cultural relations, the exchange of ideas, and preservation initiatives.

The book discusses the usefulness of the American institutions abroad as an important element of cultural diplomacy. The authors highlight the contribution of these institutions during the last century to foster mutual understanding between local communities and archaeologists, as an example of a small but vital diplomacy. Another major initiative is the 1983 Convention on Cultural Property Implementation Act, and the Memoranda of Understanding, to supply the disassociation of the U.S. from UNESCO. The strategic use of funding programs in archaeological heritage by the U.S. Department of State is also discussed, regardless of their specific content (e.g. the Iraq Cultural Heritage Project and the Cultural Antiquities Task Force—related to 'hard power'—and the Ambassadors Fund for Cultural Preservation as the main example of those named as 'soft power'). However, the important issue is that these policies work better when they do not endorse political agendas, according to the authors' opinion.

This is not a naïve or self-eulogistic book; the authors know that the cultural policies have never been independent from the realm of diplomacy, because the U.S. has used economic power to serve strategic political objectives, and still does so. In spite of the real situation, Luke and Kersel's book defends that a much larger and more fluid cultural policy is needed: "one that moves beyond current political agendas to support a mosaic of U.S. citizens, working and researching on a global scale in various cultural settings, with the common outcome of demonstrating that

the United States is committed to cultural relations, the exchange of ideas, and preservation initiatives" (130).

Luke and Kersel are critical of the current situation of cultural affairs in relation to political agendas, and I think they are especially sharp in questioning the usefulness of the Large Grant Ambassador Funds for Cultural Preservation Projects as they went directly to specific national governments, instead of local communities and NGOs, but one misses a bit more criticism about important issues. For example, the authors say that the period between 1984 and 2003, when the U.S. withdrew from UNESCO, were not years of complete disassociation from the UNESCO principles and its global mission. They highlight this statement especially in relation to the 1970 Convention on the Means of Prohibiting and Preventing the Illicit Import, Export, and Transfer of Ownership of Cultural Property. The U.S. passed the 1983 Convention on Cultural Property Implementation Act that allows certain import restrictions of cultural goods, if the country they came from has negotiated a Memorandum of Understanding with the United States of America. But the geography of these bilateral agreements not only shows their political use and the destination of funding projects (especially in Latin America), under the Convention on Cultural Property Implementation Act, but also that they have not stopped the traffic of illicit antiquities laundered in auction houses (for example from Italy).

The U.S. did not rejoin UNESCO until 2003, when the Bush Administration wished to clean up the international image of the U.S., which was seriously damaged after the invasion of Iraq. The U.S. also used UNESCO as a political tool again in 2011 to show its protest against the recognition of the Palestinian Authority by the agency.

The book is full of smart reflections that do not leave the reader indifferent, whether one is for or against them, although it is not explained why archaeology is more important than other fields of cultural activities abroad, such as English language teaching, for American diplomacy. The book is also underpinned by the assumption that America must lead the world, and I would prefer a book clearly rethinking the place of American leadership.

REVIEWS

Rafael GREENBERG

Archaeological Intervention on Historical Necropolises. Jewish Cemeteries

[Laia Colomer ed.]

Museo D'Historia de Barcelona
ISBN: 9788498504323
445 pages, 2013

This well-produced volume comprises a complete, tri-lingual (Catalan, Spanish and English) record of the seminar held on 15 and 16 January 2009 in the Barcelona Museum of History. It includes twelve full-length papers and five transcribed round-tables and debates with 31 discussants, ending with a brief joint declaration signed by the specialists invited to the seminar.

The immediate catalyst to the conference was the controversy surrounding a proposed landscaping and development project impinging on the ancient Jewish burial ground of Montejuïc, a largely neglected hill dominating the southwest quarter of Barcelona. It comprises, however, a much broader discussion of the ethics, politics and legal issues surrounding the excavation of medieval Jewish cemeteries in Spain, with case studies from Sagunt, Tàrrega, Lucena and Seville. The ramifications of the debate clearly extend beyond these particular cases, since cemeteries often serve to crystallize issues of heritage, empowerment, identity and ethnic rights. This makes the volume a significant contribution to an ongoing debate on the treatment of historical human remains (Stutz 2013).

While several papers focus on the nature of the archaeological interventions themselves and on planning and development issues,

the main interest for a broader readership relates to the politics and ethics of excavating historical cemeteries, particularly in places where demographic continuity has been interrupted, as in the case of the expulsion of the Jews from Spain. This is the focus of the leading papers in the collection, as well as that of the debates recorded in it.

Laia Colomer's excellent introduction spells out the main themes: the role of knowledge and the circumstances of its production; the standing of secular law and legal institutions vis-à-vis religious practice and political exigencies; the question of the ownership of heritage—whose heritage is at stake: that of the local community, the religious community, the nation, or indeed of the world?; and finally, the responsibilities that accompany heritage custodianship.

Reviewing the state of affairs in Israel, where tempers have often flared over archaeological interventions in ancient cemeteries, Renee Sivan introduces a thread that runs through many of the presentations in the volume, particularly those offered by archaeologists: politics and ideology (often construed by specialists as expressions of ignorance) are a threat to scientific practice. This contrasts rather markedly with the approach taken by Neil Silberman. In a typically wide-ranging and thoughtful essay that builds on decades of experience at the interface between archaeology and community, Silberman takes politics and values as given, and seeks a way out of the zero-sum game that typifies the confrontation between 'science' and 'tradition'. He places civil society at the center of the discussion: the obligations and rights of all who would be partners in civil society require us to set up procedures of consultation that will balance the pursuit of knowledge, the preservation of the past, and development for the future: "Gone are the days when scientists had unchallenged power to treat human remains as mere laboratory specimens… [or] when national administrations could assume themselves total control over a nation's antiquities". Calling for a fundamental restructuring in the treatment of human remains, Silberman seems to be suggesting that everyone must take a step back and recognize the multiplicity of coexisting value systems in modern society.

Max Polonovski reviews the complexities of defining the true heirs to Jewish cultural continuity in Europe, ultimately taking

a catholic position which partly echoes that of Silberman, citing French minister of Culture Catherine Trautman who said, "Just as the cathedrals of France belong also to the Jews of France, the Jewish heritage is not only the heritage of the Jews but the heritage of all".

Archaeologists, planners and legal experts provide the contributions to the middle part of the volume: Matias Calvo and Vincent Lerma on Sagunt, Anna Colet and Oriol Saula on Tarrega, Daniel Botella on Lucena, Isabel Santana on Seville, Oriol Clos and Ferran Puig on Montjuïc and Gemma Hernandez on the Catalan legislative framework for dealing with cultural heritage. Though brief, the archaeological reports convey the importance of the sites themselves for the reconstruction of a Jewish existence obliterated by expulsion and religious suppression. At the same time, the limitations of salvage work conducted under severe constraints are painfully evident. This raises a possibility that is hardly mentioned in this volume: is preservation without excavation ever an option?

The transcribed discussions are well worth reading. They range far and wide, touching on issues of cultural continuity and representation, the authority of law and science, the value of consultation, the creation of ad-hoc coalitions for establishing ethical practice, the imposition of limits on archaeology, empowerment through research (knowledge pursued and deployed), and the definition of 'dignity'.

For the most part, the locus of significant discussion in this volume is within professional discourse; the public is present only as an external entity. This is most clearly reflected in the immediate product of the seminar, the Barcelona Declaration on Ancient Jewish Cemeteries. The declaration focuses on what may be termed 'professional best practice', privileging the values embodied in scientific archaeology and physical anthropology. In contrast to the statements made by some of its signatories, it makes virtually no reference to any process of consultation with the public at large concerning the excavation of cemeteries and effectively begs the question of 'respect'. After all, much of the debate about the excavation of cemeteries revolves around differing conceptions and perception of that loaded term.

None of this detracts from the value of this volume, which constitutes a major contribution to a global discussion on presence and absence, memory and forgetting. Whether expressly stated or merely implied, the debate is very much about the agency and the rights of the dead, as construed by their self-appointed advocates.

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REVIEWS

Xurxo AYÁN VILA

Arqueológicas.
Hacia una arqueología aplicada
[David Barreiro]

Bellaterra
ISBN: 978-84-7290-616-7
2013, 252 pages

Like a ridiculous narcissist, I will start this review writing about myself, before the author of the book. I know this probably does not fit the criteria of scientific objectivity expected in a scientific review, but it is useful to help the reader understand the context in which this new volume of *Arqueológicas* appears. I was a researcher at INCIPIT (the Institute of Heritage Sciences at CSIC, Spain) in Santiago de Compostela from 1997 (then known as the Research Group of Landscape Archaeology) to 2012. During these years, I came to know first-hand the making of my colleague David Barreiro's PhD thesis, which he defended in 2005 and sets the basis for this book.

David, a technician with a position at INCIPIT since 2006, started his research in the mid-90s, having a background in archaeology and geography. It was then that he encountered a still persistent problem in Spain concerning territorial planning, environmental preservation and Galician cultural heritage: the introduction of wind farms in mountains of high natural value. In this context, the author helped design a theoretical-methodological framework to conduct a correct environmental impact assessment of the then initiated Galician Wind Plan (Barreiro 2000; Criado et al. 2000). I must say this was a pioneer work in Spain. The first field test of this know-how was the wind farm of Caretón (Barreiro and Villoch 1997), where I had my first job as a trainee archaeologist. This experience set the basis for the improvement of the methodology available to the sector since the very beginning. Moreover, within

the framework of the postgraduate specialization courses held in 2000, 2001 and 2002, young archaeologists from Spain and South America conducted their training on different projects of environmental impact evaluation and correction across Galician wind farms.

All this fieldwork, and perhaps also its socialization side, made the author formulate the questions this book addresses. Those years clearly revealed two conflicting and intense situations: On the one hand, most of the academia did not acknowledge the university's involvement in public works (it was not considered research, good old days!). On the other hand, several political organizations and ecology groups opposed the energy policy promoting wind farms. Ethics, morale, corporatism, activism or just technical work; those were the dilemmas in a context of *modernization* (Barreiro 1997). The author faced this panorama and, as a result, wrote the first chapter of the book. From a critical archaeological perspective, inspired by the Marxist tradition and Bourdieu's theories about science, David describes the highs and lows of the three main archaeological stakeholders involved: commercial professionals (either self-employed or in companies), administration and academia.

This is one of the main values of this book, from my point of view, as it constitutes a strange self-criticism on the part of the academia (CSIC in this case, see Barreiro 2011). Moreover, the author not only diagnoses and critiques the situation, but also proposes alternatives by consensus (Barreiro 2001). David leads by example and has conducted several activities, such as a debate workshop for the commercial archaeological sector (Barreiro 2004), focused on the archaeological activity for the last 15 years (Parga Dans 2009).

Barreiro's proposal (complemented with another book in this collection; Criado 2012) focuses on the defence of archaeology as a "technoscience" (Echeverría 1999, 2005), that is to say a technique for the integral management of cultural heritage combining basic research and applied research (conceiving archaeology as social practice in the present). This applied archaeology is presented in Chapter 2, where an epistemological and axiological extension of archaeology is claimed as a tool for a complete socialization of archaeological heritage. Here, what is especially interesting for non-specialist readers is the concept of *technical rationality*, summarising in plain language the critical theories of authors such as Weber, Lúkacs, Habermas, Adorno, and Marcuse, that influenced the author's thesis.

Chapter 3 addresses the ethical dilemma that archaeology faces: being a tool to critique the system (capitalism, market, and predation) from outside of the system, or a tool to transform the system from the inside. Barreiro articulates a *critical pragmatism* on the latter (Barreiro 2003, 2012). As a practical example, he analyses its application to a technocratic fear, such as sustainable development. These pages offer an excellent overview of the origins, development and application of sustainable development policies in archaeological heritage. His comments on the different critical approaches articulated by authors over the past 25 years are remarkable.

Critical pragmatism is the option selected by Barreiro to act sustainably in a system characterised by the lack of planning, political authoritarianism, electoral optimization, personal interests against the collective, short-term benefits, territorial disruption, and dependence on foreign economic interests (147-8). These pages masterly describe the situation in Galicia before and after the economic crisis.

Chapter 5 shows the applied archaeology developed by Barreiro's research team - in and from Galicia, chosen to try rationalizing the management of archaeological heritage in the described context. Through different socialization projects, the author calls for a *chain of value* as the basis for integral management (Criado 1996; Criado and Barreiro 2010). This is one of the main contributions to archaeology from Spain, fundamental in recognised projects such as the restoration of the old cathedral in Vitoria-Gasteiz (Azkarate 2010) or the Galicia-Uruguay joint project in Tacuarembó (Giannoti et al. 2010).

These five chapters compose an honest book that does not try to dogmatize from ivory towers or coffee rooms, but gives a solid basis to the proposals of a two-decade research trajectory. In essence, it is more a proposal *from* than *towards* an Applied Archaeology. The strength in Barreiro's proposal lies in a correct critique to the system developed before the crisis (for a previous one see Vigil-Escalera 2011).

My only criticism is the late publication of a text that basically composes a PhD from 2005. Despite the effort to update the contents, some of the ideas still lag behind the changing reality of current archaeology.

Besides that, I believe that this book offers a very useful critical reflection, becoming a plea (paraphrasing Barreiro's admired Bourdieu) in defence of a committed archaeological knowledge.

This can be seen from the very first line and its radical truth:

> *Archaeology that only focuses on historical knowledge, and is unconcerned about its production, management and socialization, is insufficient archaeology.*

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REVIEWS

Doug ROCKS-MACQUEEEN

Breaking New Ground: How Professional Archaeology Works

[Kenneth Aitchison]

Landaward Research
2013 Kindle Edition

The first thing a reader will notice about this book is the lack of a hardcopy or softcopy editions. That is because the author, Kenneth Aitchison, has forgone the slower process of print publication and has jumped into the exciting new world of digital publishing. This piece is completely digital and can be downloaded from Amazon currently at £2.87. Though do not let the medium or the price lead you to believe that it is not a quality publication because it is.

The book covers the development of commercial archaeology in the UK, with specific emphasis on the time period between 1990 and 2010. As the author describes, it is an examination of contemporary history or at least some of the readers' contemporary history—many of the current batches of undergraduate archaeology students in the UK will have been born after 1990, the start date for the contemporary history of the book. However, it is these students who should read this book, as they will be the ones who can get the most value out of it.

After his first chapter, which introduces the book, the author devotes a whole chapter to reviewing the history of archaeology in the UK, leading up to 1990. It plots out the development of Rescue Archaeology and RESCUE. We learn about the first archaeologists with the Council for British

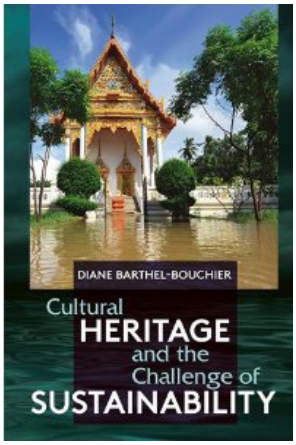
Archaeology and how the UK tried to come to grips with the massive loss of cultural heritage because of post-war development—an element of history that is unfortunately lacking in most archaeology programs in UK Universities.

Moreover, because the book covers more contemporary history, it will help new archaeologists understand the current system. The final two chapters of the four-chapter book, covering the periods of 1990-2007 and 2008-2010, are especially important for students to pay attention to as they review Rescue Archaeology in its more recent form: polluter pays Commercial Archaeology. Each chapter has a series of case studies that look at the wider themes on a local level. These case studies cover many of the more famous or infamous Archaeology projects, such as the Rose Theatre or Heathrow Terminal 5. These are projects that new diggers will hear about when entering the profession, but that most will be clueless about. While there is no end to the number of case studies, one could say there is a limit to one's patience to read about them all, which the author acknowledges by picking some of the more important ones to focus on and reviewing them.

Some of the case studies look at individual organisations that are involved in Commercial Archaeology. It is very helpful for those who might be employed by these organisations to understand how they were formed and their remits. Though these case studies tend to focus on the larger commercial units, such as Oxford, Wessex, York Archaeological Trust and Museum of London Archaeology, case studies of smaller units or self-employed archaeologists are left out. That being said, no book can cover everyone's needs and the case studies do cover the major employers in Commercial Archaeology.

As someone who has only joined Commercial Archaeology in the UK in the last few years, I found this book incredibly insightful. It fills in the blanks for many of the projects and organisations I have heard about in the site hut. I would personally recommend anyone considering undertaking work in UK Commercial Archaeology to read it, as it will give you a better understanding of why Commercial Archaeology is undertaken and how the system has developed. In my personal opinion, it should be required reading in all Archaeology Courses in the UK.

REVIEWS



Jaime ALMANSA SÁNCHEZ
JAS Arqueología S.L.U.

Cultural Heritage and the Challenge of Sustainability
[Diane Barthel-Bouchier]

Left Coast Press
ISBN: 978-1-61132-238-5
235 pages

Sustainability. Since I finished my MA thesis I tremble just by listening to this word. It has been a while since I wrote it and my perspective is now a little bit different than it was back then. It sounds obvious that we need to seek for sustainable management in order to survive as a species, whatever sceptic reactionary ultraliberal thinkers say (what an insult here). When I say management I mean everything, and among this 'everything' we find cultural heritage. Is this the premise of the book? Well, not only.

I have to start by saying that Diane Barthel-Bouchier writes a sensational piece about the need to conserve (not preserve) cultural heritage and the threats that climate change and unsustainable management bring.

It is said that we are never happy with the weather. If it rains, we complain. If it is hot and sunny, we complain again. For the English expression "we can't please everyone", in Spain we say "it never rains to everyone's liking". The problem is not the weather, but the timing. We just have to watch the news to see how droughts or floods affect people… and cultural heritage.

Why am I always saying 'cultural heritage'? I do, because the book starts with a reflection about cultural heritage as a human right. We started constructing the idea of 'heritage' over memory and history. Soon, international organizations applied outstanding values (even universal) to protect and preserve some places. Nature was easily understood, but culture has been more complex and, in some cases, a failure from our perspective as managers. Chapter two delves into the concept of value. Chapter three overviews the role of different NGOs, closing the circle of what is probably the most interesting part of the book, even if you disagree with the author in some terms.

Chapters four to six expose natural threats related to climate change: sea level rise, river flooding, desertification, deforestation, polar melting and (green) energy. These issues should not sound strange to us, especially when dealing with public archaeology. There are plenty of examples showing that these threats have already become real and there are more to come. However important it is to be aware of these issues, the most important point of this block of chapters is in chapter 5 with the underlying idea of 'the other', a classic debate in anthropology that raises Western guilt about the problems of these hundreds of 'tribes' (and other 'others') directly affected by our impact, thousands of people living under natural threats triggered by our unsustainable way of living.

Chapter seven deals with tourism, a topic that is especially interesting when it comes to sustainability. This was actually the topic of my MA thesis and other further works. Perspectives are different depending on the experience and maybe the author lacks some of them, but the core of the discourse is very similar to what I would have expected and said; a raw critique of international institutions and the fake expectation of economic growth. Tourism is a very sensitive topic, mainly when talking about World Heritage. Without the real involvement of all stakeholders (private and public, international and local) and a well-planned management, it is easy to fall into bad habits. While I am writing these lines, a national newspaper in Spain denounces how a 30% of Spanish soil is protected as a natural reserve but a large amount of these extensive declarations are violated for the benefit of the Capital (Sevillano 2014). Cultural heritage suffers from the same problem.

Finally, the last chapter recapitulates the main ideas of the book with some final thoughts. I would like to highlight a sentence, "If Marx drew our attention to the social relations of production we need now also to pay attention to the social relations of conservation" (189), and a reference (Collins 2008).

Many researchers say that a book can be judged by its bibliography. As a sociologist, Diane Barthel-Bouchier offers us some new interesting texts to take into account as public archaeologists (or sociologists of archaeology). That is, per se, an important point to take into account when we are absorbed with archaeology.

But coming back to the topic of the book, I would like to focus this review on two aspects: the value of cultural heritage and the threats of sustainability. We are again debating whether what we do is backed by society. 'Value' is a complicated concept that we normally associate with economy. However, even apparently useless things happen to be essential. Cultural Heritage is a broad topic that covers archaeological remains of the ancient past, but also multiple representations of our present societies. As a changing matter, culture evolves into very different things, creating conflicts. Where do we stop? Or what is more intriguing… where do we start? Maybe climate change is a cultural product too and we have to 'conserve' it. These radical thoughts come from the mouth of an archaeologist that has seen how contemporary heritage is often destroyed in seeking for past remains. But Collins' article reminded me of my own experience in Ethiopia (Almansa 2013), or more likely, the experience of local communities affected by our interest in cultural heritage. The sustainability of cultural heritage is sometimes unsustainable for people.

This step beyond the book brings us back to a real problem affecting cultural heritage and society. My concern is not the destruction of an archaeological site, but the consequences of this same threat for the local communities living around it. The Human Right is not enjoying the site, but living. This is probably my only critique of the book, and I am sure the author agrees with it. In our specialization we tend to defend our subject of study. I, as an archaeologist, will always feel responsible for an

archaeological site over other conceptions of culture. However, as a public archaeologist, my devotion is not to heritage but to people. This is probably the best definition of public archaeology I have ever written.

In sum, those of us who get paid to manage, research or protect cultural heritage need to be aware of this book and the topics represented in it. Sustainability is a challenge we have to face today, not in the future. The consequences of climate change are affecting us now and, if there is a positive conclusion to draw from all this, it is that we can work together to combat this growing threat. Our primary goals will probably be different, but the result will be good for everyone. This is not a book to read; it is a book to adopt, reflect upon and put into practice.

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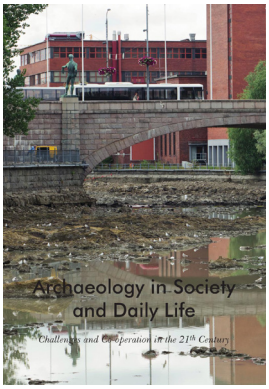

Dawid KOBIAŁKA

Archaeology in Society and Daily Life
Challenges and Co-operation
in the 21st Century

Pinkanmaa Provincial Museum
ISBN: 978-951-609-713-1
2013, 100 pages

The presented book is an outcome of a session entitled *Archaeology in Society and Daily Life* organised during the 18th annual meeting of the European Association of Archaeologists in Helsinki (Finland) in 2012. The book editors are Ulla Lähdesmäki, Sami Raninen and Kerkko Nordqvist: the same researchers who organised the session. Due to the fact that each of 11 chapters is written by a different author, the book touches upon many issues of public archaeology and heritage management. This is the reason why only some aspects of otherwise interesting ideas will be highlighted in this review. It is impossible to discuss each chapter in detail; I will rather focus only on chapters that I found especially worth analysing.

At the most elementary level, the book is about the ways in which the past is manifested in the present and how archaeologists interact with society. Indeed, this is one of the burning issues of contemporary archaeology that has been discussed already for some decades. All authors would agree that the strength and relevance of archaeology does not simply lie in the past itself. The past is always *for itself*, as Hegel would have put it. It is mediated by the present and contemporary society. That is why the past should be used to benefit contemporary people.

The unquestionable value of *Archaeology in Society and Daily Life* is the discussion on the different perspectives of public archaeology and heritage management in various European (Finland, Spain, Belgium, the Netherlands, Greece, Estonia) and non-European (US and Egypt) countries. I hope that it is *not* my utterly subjective opinion but contemporary archaeology, including the fields the book touches upon, is dominated by – let us call it – Anglo-Saxon archaeology. Of course, it is true that many interesting things are going on in the UK; however, this book highlights the valuable work of archaeologists in other countries.

For example, Mieke Smit, Corien Bakker and Willem Derde in their chapter "Archaeology in Everyday Life: A Blessing or a Curse?" make a very interesting observation. According to them, the implementation of the Treaty of Malta caused a very paradoxical situation. The intention of the Treaty was to find better and more effective ways of preserving heritage from which the present-day and future society could benefit. However, instead of becoming part of contemporary society, the professionalisation of archaeology (so-called commercial archaeology) created a gap between archaeology and society which has never been wider. Post-excavation reports dripping with incomprehensible jargon are useless for contemporary society. It is a pity, because, as the authors of this chapter try to account for, society is fascinated by observing and experiencing the work of archaeologists and their results. I fully agree with what the authors claim. Nonetheless, I do not think that 'useless' knowledge is really in every case – to put it simply – a bad thing. In the history of science, it is easy to find examples showing that, those who were working on useless knowledge, made the greatest discoveries and wrote the most important books in the end. I am even tempted to claim that useless knowledge is what should really define humanities. What for the authors is a curse has its own dialectical reversal: *a blessing in disguise*. This insight should be developed a bit further.

All the contributors of *Archaeology is Society and Daily Life* seem to share one more conviction: there is a gap between archaeology and present-day society. Without any doubt, this is a valid observation and deeds filling in this gap should be undertaken. This is the issue that the authors try to account for, and I fully agree with such a perspective. However, "There is nothing more deceptive

than an obvious fact," said Sherlock Holmes in one of the novels to his good friend, John Watson. Thus, one should keep in mind an old dialectical lesson: every gap separates things but also every gap is what binds things together. This second perspective and its consequences for public archaeology are evidently overlooked by the contributors.

Jaime Almansa Sánchez, in his chapter "A Problem of Value? Public Perceptions of the Past and Daily-life-archaeology in Spain", takes an approach in the vein of Cornelius Holtorf when he analyses different references to archaeology, heritage, and the past in general in contemporary popular culture, taking the situation in Spain as a case study. It has always been surprising to me how archaeology can be *recontextualised* in the present, as Michael Shanks would have said. The author does not complain that archaeology is simplified by popular culture and so on. Quite the opposite, the Spanish archaeologist accurately points out that "The daily presence of products like these [e.g. products that make clear references to archaeology and the past in general – D.K.] is an opportunity to consciously increase the presence of archaeology in social debates" (p. 29). He also refers to a well-known event that happened during the summer of 2012 in one of the Spanish churches. An old woman, who was asked to clean the church, took her tasks too seriously. As it is known, the woman decided to 'restore' a small fresco of an *Ecce Homo* (Fig 1).

Almansa treats the story and its popularity in the media around the world as another example of making fun of heritage. Of course, he is right but in my opinion, it is more productive to treat the fresco as if it was a Freudian symptom. Is the woman not really like every good archaeologist who endlessly fights for the preservation of heritage? We all do something similar to this: try to restore, improve, and preserve the past. And this would be my critical comment towards other contributors of *Archaeology in Society and Daily Life*. Sometimes destroying heritage (e.g. the quite ordinary fresco of an *Ecce Homo* by the old woman) really is meant to give a life to another one: the 'restored' fresco has become a famous heritage object of its own, visited by thousands of tourists from around the world. Who knows, perhaps it is the time to destroy heritage a bit instead of preserving it?

Fig 1. A meme of the 'restored' fresco of an *Ecce Homo* (author unknown)

Also, the so-called metal detectorists are usually treated by archaeologists as a threat to archaeological heritage. They are the subject of a very interesting chapter ("Responsible Metal Detecting as a Tool for Enhancing the Protection of Archaeological Heritage") written by Ingrid Ulst. The Estonian archaeologist accounts for responsible metal detecting, relying on data gathered from several countries, including Sweden, Latvia, Denmark and Finland. According to her, strict official regulations are not sufficient. It would be more productive for the fields of archaeology and archaeological heritage to make friends with metal detectorists rather than enemies. Both can contribute to science and society. In addition, detectorists are part of society and looking for metal artefacts is their way of making heritage relevant for them. The task of archaeology is to make metal detecting useful to archaeology as well.

Another way of making heritage relevant for local communities is allowing people to 'adopt' monuments. Frankly, I like this idea very much. It allows people to actively experience heritage as a part of their lives. Indeed, the issue is approached by Aino Nissinaho in a chapter entitled "Experiences of the Adopt-a-Monument Programme in Finland". The author describes the ways this project has been applied by Pirkanmaa Provincial Museum (Tampere, Finland). What is especially worth highlighting apropos the program is the fact that the museum staff discern heritage from more than just the ruins of the medieval church. The same attention is also paid to some defence systems built during World War I or even old transformer buildings from circa the 1950s and 1960s. In short, *heritage is everywhere* and should be practiced in different ways. Without any doubt, the adoption program is an interesting perspective on making heritage meaningful for present-day people.

Relying on my own experiences in archaeology and heritage management in Poland, I used to claim that sometimes the worst thing that can happen to heritage is an archaeologist, a heritage conservator, or a heritage manager. The same insight seems to be shared by Sara Kayser in her chapter "Can the Egyptians' Close Relationship with Archaeology be Used to Enhance Preservation of Sites and Monuments?" Egypt is one of these countries where one can encounter old heritage almost around every corner of a city and village. From one point of view, this is a blessing for Egyptians and

the Egyptian economy because millions of tourists visit the country every year. Tourism and the heritage industry enable millions of Egyptians to earn a living. From another point of view, this blessing is a curse. Tourism has been such an important source of income that politicians were mainly concentrated on making Egypt an even more attractive destination for foreigners. However, this attitude overlooks the fact that the heritage of Pharaohs belongs also to contemporary citizens of Egypt. As Kayer shows, the authorities create obstacles for Egyptians to experience their own heritage: for example 'ordinary Egyptians' are not allowed to hold picnics by the pyramids (p. 95). Tourism might be then a true curse to heritage. That is why the Egyptian archaeologist claims: "Whatever the form, any effort to bring Egypt's archaeology back into the lives of ordinary Egyptians, beyond tourism revenues, could do much to enhance the chances of its preservation in the future" (p. 99).

To summarize, I recommend this book to everyone who is interested in the interconnections between public archaeology and heritage management. Although the book does not offer any sophisticated archaeological theory on the role of the past in the present, this is not necessarily a weakness. The contributors rather discuss more practically-oriented archaeological engagement with present-day society. The past is always present and books that deal with this are always welcome in archaeological discourse.

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Touloupa, S. A 30-year retrospect of the Greek Ministry of Culture educational programmes: an insider's insight - 25 April

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