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EDITORIAL

Consolidating the model

Jaime ALMANSA SÁNCHEZ, Editor

Elena PAPAGIANNOPOULOU, Editor

As we are about to bid farewell to 2015, we must admit that this past year has been interesting regarding the academic publishing sector. In September 2014 we presented a poster at the EAA Meeting in Istanbul to celebrate our journal's first five years. One of the points highlighted in our poster was our commitment to provide a completely free service to both authors and readers. This academic publishing model is by no means innovative. It has been established in Spanish archaeology since 1998 with *ArqueoWeb* and, during the past few years, most institutional journals have been uploaded under the OJS (Open Journal Systems) platform. In the case of public institutions, Open Access is understood as part of their academic responsibilities and its standard costs are incorporated in the general budget for publications. In our case, JAS Arqueología S.L.U. supports the small material costs of the journal, while our team works voluntarily for the project.

Then, is *AP Journal* a loss-making endeavour? Of course it is. With zero returns it is practically impossible to make any money. The point, however, is not making profit but sharing public archaeology, and this is what distinguishes us from any other editorial. Once the web hosting service is paid, the material costs of the journal are less than 100€ per year, which is affordable for the company if donations to the journal are low. However, the financial costs are only one part of the equation. The other critical part is the time spent and effort put into the whole project. Obviously, we all have other work—and life—related commitments and responsibilities, but still we are willing to commit to the project in our spare time, although the latter is sometimes hard to find. We (Elena and Jaime), as founders and editors of the journal, have the responsibility to do it, but should thank again (and always) the rest of the team for their hard work and for sticking with us. Together we spend several dozens of hours handling and copyediting papers, communicating with authors, reviewers and publishers, managing our social media, holding online meetings, producing each volume, and publishing content that is steadily increasing and getting better.

In March 2015 we submitted an application to be considered for inclusion in Scopus, just to try and see what would happen. Up to now, the application status is still "Submission received" (i.e. the first out of seven steps). Meanwhile, Latindex (from UNAM, Mexico) listed us with 32 out of 36 criteria[1] met in less than a week and ISOC (from CSIC, Spain) did so in two days. It is a pity that only ISI (Thomson-Reuters) and Scopus (Elsevier) are valuable for the academic system, but we do not care about our submission's outcome or its timing as we firmly believe that the value of the journal must be measured by our readers and authors, and that the peer-review system is a first step to ensure its quality. The real challenge, however, is to survive (and thrive) in an environment where internet journals are still undervalued and authors prefer to publish in indexed journals to increase their h-index (which deserves its own editorial). If one day Scopus decides to include us, we can be sure of one thing: the number of papers received would increase exponentially in weeks. Hopefully this entire model will have collapsed by then and we want to be part of the reform.

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1 Two of the criteria do not apply to us, as they are meant for Spanish/Portuguese publications that should offer Abstract and Keywords in two languages. A third one will be readily met, starting with this volume (i.e. adding dates for reception and acceptance of papers), and the fourth, technical criterion will be addressed as soon as we find a way to include it, as it will also be useful for other repositories and search engines.

We said it has been an interesting year for the academic publishing world, also because Maney Publishing has been acquired by Taylor and Francis Group. As you probably know, Maney was the publisher of the journals *Public Archaeology* and *Journal of Community Archaeology and Heritage*. As a result, the annual subscription fee for both journals recently rose from 188€ to 236€. We are worried because the rising costs of journal subscriptions are another example of how academic research and publishing is still extremely commoditized. Nevertheless, we sincerely hope they carry on with quality content for those who can afford a subscription. For those of us who are not linked to an academic institution with funds to pay subscriptions, affordable prices and Open Access are the only ways to access research. This is why we want to consolidate our model and be an alternative to the market. This is why we kindly invite you to take part in this quest and enjoy the benefits of publishing in open online journals like ours. We will only state one: everybody can read you.

Regarding the current volume and its contents, this year we had a slight change of plans: due to recent events and other internal issues, we took the decision to postpone the third part of our looting forum for next year. At present it is our pleasure to bring you a collection of papers that we believe you will find useful. Volume 5 opens with a research article, signed by Festo Gabriel, in which the author examines local communities' perceptions of archaeology and cultural heritage resources in the Mtwara region of Tanzania. The paper is revealing as to the chasm between local communities views and conventional practice, which combined with the lack of community involvement in heritage management can have repercussions for the protection of cultural heritage. Indeed, community involvement is key to effective heritage management and a holistic approach from which local communities can benefit is the only ethical and sustainable path. In our second article, Alicja Piślewska explores the relationship between archaeology and society in Poland, providing an overview of the latter throughout the 20th century, discussing public participation while giving a detailed account of the role of archaeological museums, festivals, re-enactments, and reconstructed sites, and closing with a critical discussion on digital public archaeology. Next, Johan Normark examines the 2012-phenomenon, presenting his personal experience in dealing with it as an academic blogger, and provides a critical discussion on the ways archaeologists tackle fringe 'archaeologies' through traditional and social media. Our fourth paper takes us to present day Albania. The authors of this research paper, Francesco Iacono and Klejd L. Këlliçi, study the public perception of the material heritage of the country's recent dictatorial past and discuss how, in the case under study, notions of 'difficult heritage' can be problematic if often neglected aspects other than trauma are not taken into account. In our final article, signed by Colleen Morgan, 'punk archaeology' and the relation of archaeology with DIY practices and anarchy are under investigation.

There is a common thread running through most of this volume's articles. Public perceptions of archaeology and cultural heritage should be seriously taken into account, if increasing the public's involvement and engagement with the past when practicing public archaeology is a priority. Bridging the gap between society's needs and conventional practice is not only still relevant today in numerous contexts but also of utmost importance.

In this volume you will also find our regular *Points of You* article. Helen Stefanopoulos reflects on why alternative and more inclusive approaches to archaeological heritage management in Greece should be adopted and points out the necessity of re-evaluating existing policies. Finally, we are pleased to also share with you a series of book reviews, representing some of the most interesting publications of the last couple of years and covering most of the topics that pertain to public archaeology, from illicit trade of antiquities to popular representations of the past, and from theoretical approaches to management and community engagement. We are doing our best to provide what we consider to be an essential tool for the critical analysis of current trends in the field and would like to remind you that we are waiting to review your titles in the future. As for the blog, we would like to remind you that we regularly publish reviews of events as well as links to Open Access theses. Remember, you can send us the link to yours and we will be happy to share it.

This year we participated for the first time in the Day of Archaeology, an important digital public archaeology project that grows each year, with a post by Elena (http://www.dayofarchaeology.com/ap-journal-its-journey-and-my-day-of-archaeology/). Hopefully we will get more involved in the coming years and encourage you to do so too.

There are different approaches to public archaeology in different countries, but with public archaeology slowly shifting away from the definition debate towards a more reflective and critical outlook and discussion of both theory and practice, we feel optimistic that true progress can be achieved. We want to be part of this, and we want to do it with you. Last but not least, we wish to make a few announcements:

1. Call for Debate:

We welcome guest blog posts on a wide range of topics related to public archaeology as well as event reviews. You can send your posts in a Word document with image files attached to our email. We also encourage your feedback and comments, after visiting our blog, as well as discussion via our other social media (i.e. Twitter, Facebook, Google+). If you have any specific topic in mind that you want to write about, we are open to suggestions.

2. Call for Papers:

Volume 6 will be published in 2016. The deadline for submissions is 31 March 2016. As the number of papers submitted is steadily increasing, we wish to receive papers for our next volume as soon as possible so that there will be enough time to get things done in a timely, consistent manner. For more information about the submission procedure, please visit our website. In case you have any questions or doubts, please feel free to contact us.

3. Call for Special Issue Proposals:

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

4. Call for Donations:

As previously mentioned 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 always an issue. Keeping the journal an open-access and ad-free publication means its future depends on your support. So if you find any stimulation in AP Journal, please consider a modest donation. We will be grateful for your support and donations, no matter how small the amount, make a big difference.

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

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

Local Communities' Perceptions of Archaeology and Cultural Heritage Resources in the Mtwara Region of Tanzania

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Abstract

This paper examines local communities' understanding of archaeology and cultural heritage resources. This study was conducted among the Makonde communities of the Mtwara Region of south-eastern Tanzania. The paper presents and critically discusses local communities' views upon the meaning of archaeology and cultural heritage resources in general. The study used community-based methods by use of interviews, archaeological ethnography and focus group discussions. The results of this study reveal that the local communities in the Mtwara Region are not aware of the meaning of archaeology regardless of the number of archaeological researches that have been conducted in the region. Their understanding of the past is very much confined to intangible cultural traditions which are inherited and practised from one generation to another. Some conclusions are provided which undoubtedly indicate that according to the local communities' perceptions cultural heritage resources are mainly characterized by intangible cultural practices and beliefs. As this study unveils, in this case tangible heritage resources have less importance to the local communities. This is contrary to the professional or academic conceptions which provide a dual focus on conservation and protection of tangible cultural heritage resources.

It is only very recently that we see some studies being conducted focusing on intangible cultural heritage resources.

Keywords

Archaeology, Cultural Heritage, local communities, Tangible heritage, Intangible heritage

Introduction

The recognition of cultural heritage resources as having universal importance was first granted in the 1954 Hague convention which affirmed that "damage to cultural property belonging to any people whatsoever means damage to the cultural heritage of all mankind, since each people makes its contribution to the culture of the world". It thus introduced into international law the notion that cultural heritage is of general importance to all humankind, irrespective of where that heritage is situated. This recognition established a conceptual basis for subsequent UNESCO conventions. The World Heritage Convention is based on the premise that "parts of the cultural and natural heritage resources are of outstanding interest and therefore need to be preserved as part of the world heritage of mankind as a whole". The destruction or deterioration of cultural heritage constitutes a harmful impoverishment of the heritage of all the nations of the world (Forrest, 2007). In 1997, Tanzania launched its first cultural policy with provisos on language, arts and crafts, cultural heritage management, recreation, culture and community participation, education and training as well as the management and financing of cultural heritage activities (Karoma, 2005). The new policy, which was prepared by the Ministry of Education and Culture, was launched in Tanzania's administrative capital, Dodoma, on 23rd August 1997. Shortly after its official launch, the Antiquities Unit of the Ministry of Education and Culture (recently the name changed to Ministry of Education and Vocational Training) was shifted to the

Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism (MNRT) together with those aspects of the new Cultural Policy which dealt with movable and immovable tangible cultural heritage. Involved in this shift were phenomena such as paleoanthropological, archaeological, as well as historical sites, including buried and above-ground structures and features, artefacts, monuments, antiquities, interred remains, cemeteries, and others (Karoma, 2005).

It is not the intention here to explore in detail the policy statements guiding cultural heritage resources in Tanzania but rather to highlight a few which are in tandem with the objectives of this study. A focus has been given to evaluating the kind of cultural heritage resources mostly stipulated in the policy provisions against what is commonly understood by the local communities. Part of the policy provisions states that "Cultural heritage sites shall be used as educational resources and tourist attractions". The realization of this statement will entail the scheduling of more sites than those currently being used for touristic and educational purposes. This will in turn necessitate substantial investment in research, curriculum development and production of educational materials in the form of booklets, site guides, brochures, books, pamphlets, films, videotapes, photographs and posters. Juma *et al.* (2005) note that heritage sites are endowed with great educational value. This intrinsic knowledge and the policy knowledge geared toward making the public appreciate the need to conserve the heritage can be organized to deliver long-term results.

Study Area

Mtwara Region forms a part of the Swahili coast which also includes the offshore islands of Comoro, Zanzibar and Pemba as well as northern parts of Madagascar (Chami, 2005; Horton, 1996). It borders Lindi region to the north, the Indian Ocean to the east and is separated by the Ruvuma River from Mozambique in the south (Figure 1). To the west it borders Ruvuma Region. The region occupies 16,729 sq. km or 1.9% of Tanzania Mainland area of 945,087 sq. km (Tanzania Tourist Board, 2012). The majority of the indigenous people of the region are of Bantu origin. The most dominant groups include the Makonde of Newala, Tandahimba, Masasi and Mtwara Rural. Other groups included are the Makua of Masasi and Mtwara Rural, and the Yao who also live in Masasi (Tanzania Tourist Board, 2012). The Mtwara Region, particularly the three districts of Mtwara - Mikindani Municipality, Mtwara Rural and Masasi, is among the fastest growing regions in Tanzania and currently there are plans by the government to transform it into an industrial region, especially after the discovery of gas and oil reserves in the region.

A number of development projects are being directed in the Mtwara Region by the government in collaboration with foreign investors. Apart from its wealth in gas and oil resources which have created investment opportunities, Mtwara Region is becoming attractive to many other industrial investments, including Dangote cement industry, fertilizers industry, and Mtwara Corridor Spatial Development Initiative (SDI), aiming at promoting trade and investment in the region. The initiative will potentially transform southern Tanzania and adjacent northern Mozambique. The SDI is being promoted by the governments of Tanzania, Mozambique, Malawi, Zambia and South Africa, and hinges on the development of the deep-water port of Mtwara and the road to Mbamba Bay on Lake Nyasa. There are many other infrastructural investments in response to socioeconomic growth taking place in the Mtwara Region, all of which endanger cultural heritage resources. The establishments of these projects pay little attention to salvaging cultural heritage resources available in Mtwara Region. They also come with some restrictions that ostracize the custodian communities from accessing their cultural heritage resources.

Consequently, most of the cultural heritage resources available in these investment zones are in a danger of disappearing due to lack of rescue measures during the operation of these development projects.

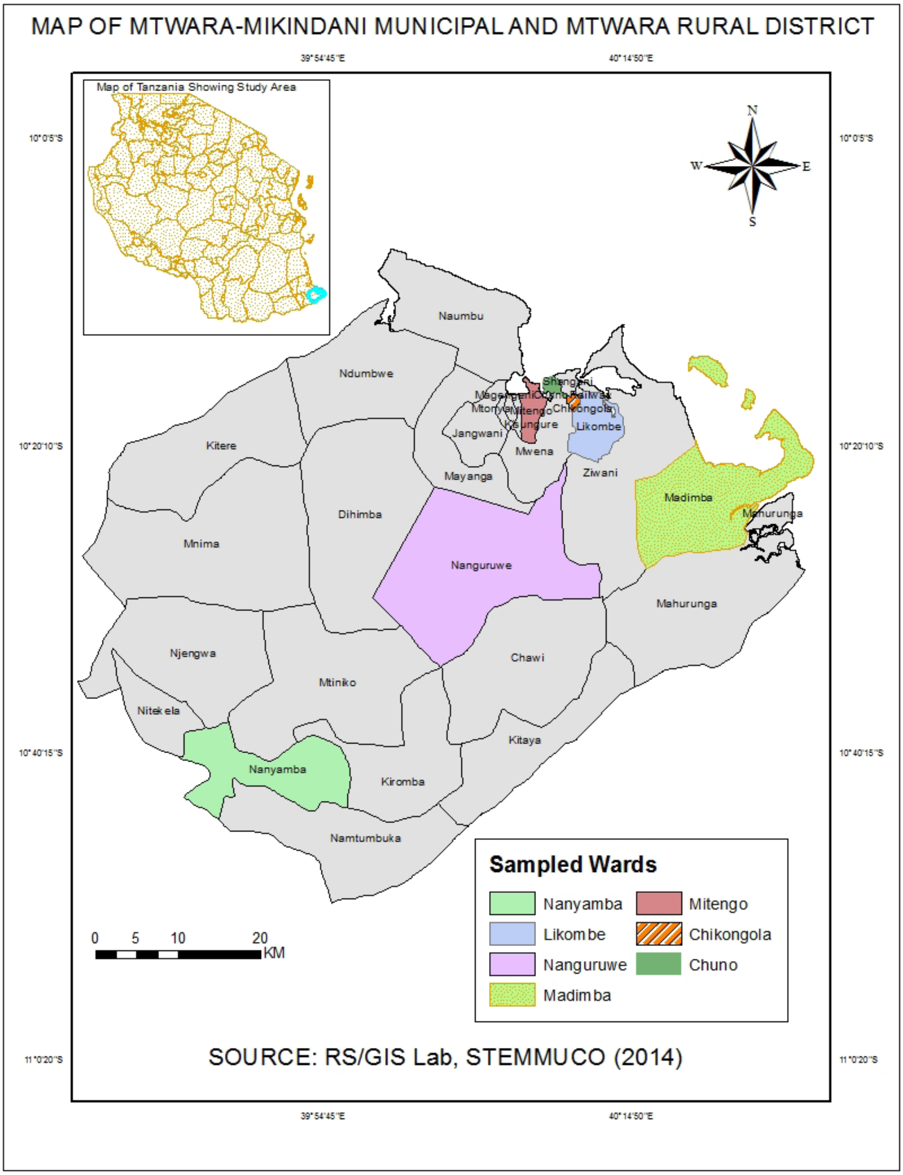

Figure 1. A Map of Tanzania showing the location of Mtwara Region. Source: GIS Unit – Stella Maris Mtwara University College (STEMMUCO)

Cultural heritage potentials found in the Mtwara Region, particularly the research area, include the Mikindani historical site monuments, the colonial legacy heritages such as the colonial economy infrastructural remains like the railways from Nachingwea in Lindi to the Mtwara port. Others are Mikindani old – harbour, monumental remains such as the Mvita graveyard, old mosque, and other architectural mounds. There are also remains and narratives related to the Mozambique Liberation Movement legacies, such as tombs and campsites at Naliendele, and many other traditional and ritual practices. This study was conducted in selected areas of the Mtwara municipality and Mtwara rural.

Theoretical Approaches to Community Archaeology

The theoretical approach of this study is based on the premise that archaeology is a colonial enterprise (Smith and Wobst, 2005) where "local communities have been systematically excluded both from the process of discovering their past and in the construction of knowledge concerning their heritage" (Moser *et al,* 2002: 221). In general practice, indigenous archaeology employs all of the basic elements of archaeological theory, namely those associated with culture-historical, processual, and post-processual approaches. At the same time, its character has been influenced by the broadening discourse in anthropology and, somewhat later, archaeology that began to take shape in the late 1970s (Nicholas, 2008). Given the multi-faceted nature of archaeology as a discipline, this study was guided by two theoretical approaches, namely critical theory and constructivist theory.

Critical Theory

More recent philosophical developments have produced debates among post-processualists, who emphasize the political and public aspects of archaeology, and the more traditional empiricists. The proponents of the post-processual 'critical theory' argue that when the past is interpreted and becomes history, it tends to become ideology (Leone *et al*., 1987). In this vein, public interpreters realize that the meanings they impose on the past are particular to their own cultural and social background. With this awareness, they can help their audiences appreciate that many, if not all, of their preconceived notions about time and space are actually part of their own, modern, historically-based ideology. Thus, audiences can appreciate that knowledge about the archaeologically-revealed past is useful in giving meaning to the present.

However, some American archaeologists, such as South (1997), have reacted to the critical theory approach by calling it an 'anti-science fad.' South (1997) warns archaeologists against going too far in accepting the conclusions of critical theorists, that there are no facts or truths in archaeology, and that the past is not knowable with any integrity. If the past has no integrity, he says, then anyone's interpretation is as good as anyone else's and the interpretation would be open to anyone's political or ideological whims. This study adapted critical theory by providing an open engagement of the community in reconstructing the past by equally incorporating their perceptions in the interpretation and conclusions of the findings of this study.

Social Constructivist Theory

The central argument by constructivists is that knowledge arises from people's social, cultural and historical experiences. No knowledge is neutral, objective and absolute or value-free (Dei, 1996). Social constructivism emphasizes the importance of culture and context in understanding what occurs in a society and constructing knowledge based on this understanding (MacMahon, 1997). The implication of a constructivist approach (Ballantyne, 1998; Copeland, 1998) is that individuals are constantly constructing and reconstructing meaning as they interact with the world, negotiating thoughts, feelings and actions. A constructivist would assert that events do not exist 'out there' but are created by the person doing the construing. Something exists, but we cannot perceive it completely objectively. Hence, there is no such thing as an independent reality which we can know, describe and communicate in an absolutely true sense. What we experience is a dynamic interaction of our senses, perceptions, memory of previous experiences and cognitive processes which shape our understanding of events. Individuals actively create experience and meaning which contribute to a form of personal construction of the world (Copeland, 2004).

Statement of the Problem

The cultural heritage of a country constitutes what has been invariably categorized in numerous UNESCO documents as the cultural heritage or property of a country. The underdevelopment of archaeology in Africa has meant that the newly emerging discipline of cultural heritage management is also underdeveloped. The discipline aims at both the protection and preservation of cultural heritage and ensuring that the planning and undertaking of socio-economic development activities does not result in the destruction of both identified and unidentified cultural heritage resources (Mturi, 2005). Tanzania is endowed with abundant and diverse archaeological and paleontological resources, spanning from the Pliocene to the present. These cultural heritage resources have been underdeveloped, mishandled, mismanaged and underutilized (Karoma, 1996; Mabulla, 1996; and Mturi, 1996).

Furthermore, the general public, which is the primary custodian of these resources, has been denied their cultural right to participate in the management of cultural heritage resources (Mapunda and Msemwa, 2005). Instead, the conservation and protection of archaeological and cultural heritage resources in general seem to be the task of archaeologists and cultural heritage professionals. In these conservation and protection endeavours, the intangible cultural heritage resources have been neglected in favour of tangible cultural heritage resources. As a result, the cultural heritage wealth embedded in intangible cultural heritage practices and beliefs, though highly appreciated by local communities, receives unnoticeable attention from professionals. This study investigates local communities' perceptions regarding archaeology and cultural heritage resources and uncovers how local communities' knowledge and experiences are of utmost importance to understanding the past.

Research Questions

This study was conducted under the following guiding questions;

(1) What were the local communities' perspectives on the archaeological research conducted in the Mtwara Region prior to this study? – This question was asked on the assumption that sometimes archaeologists do their research out of communities' knowledge. By asking this question one could get to understand local people's awareness and perceptions upon archaeological research particularly in the Mtwara Region.

(2) What do you understand by the concept 'cultural heritage resources'? – There are various scholarly meanings attached to cultural heritage resources (Msemwa, 2005; Mturi, 1996; Pikirayi, 2011). This question sought to get the meaning of cultural heritage resources from the local communities' viewpoint in order to see whether their views merge with or diverge from the existing professional meaning of the concept. The question was also designed to determine the manner in which local communities in the Mtwara Region value cultural heritage resources.

Methodology

The methods of data collection used in this study were in favour of both primary and secondary data. Primary data was collected by way of interviews, archaeological survey, ethnographic observation, and focus group discussions. The secondary data collected includes information from published articles related to cultural heritage resources from different journals, reports, brochures, magazines and newspapers. The internet was another source of information with a valuable contribution to the secondary data. This study depended on multiple sources of evidence but is mostly rooted in the views of the local communities of the Mtwara Region of Tanzania. Generally, the case study method results in fruitful hypotheses or questions along with the data which may be helpful in testing or answering them, and thus enables the generalized knowledge to get richer and richer (Kothari, 1990). To enhance effective investigation into the research problem, this study used the case study method.

Data Collection Procedures

The construction of a research instrument or tool for data collection is the most important aspect of a research project (Kombo and Tromp, 2006). This is because anything you say by way of findings or conclusions is based upon the type of information collected, and the data you collect is entirely dependent upon the question you pose to your respondents. This research project intended to investigate the state of community archaeology and cultural heritage resources in the Mtwara Region with specific focus on local communities' perceptions of tangible and intangible cultural heritage resources. To achieve this objective, multiple data collection techniques were used, namely oral interviews, archaeological ethnography, focus group discussions and archival sources.

Interview Schedule and its Conceptualization

This study adopted the personal interview method which requires the interviewer to ask questions face-to-face with the other respondent or respondents (Kothari, 2004). This kind of interview had to take the form of direct personal investigation, with the interviewer collecting the information personally from the sources concerned. A semi-structured in-depth interview method of collecting information was used to elicit information from key informants. These interviews entailed a set of questions used to guide and focus the data collection process. This went concurrently with recording all information by use of interview schedule form, field-notebook and digital tape recorder for future retrieval and triangulation. The purpose of the interviews was to elicit information along the main lines of inquiry: local communities' perceptions on cultural heritage resources. This was the main guiding theme in the interview process to solicit answers to the research questions.

Sixty (60) informants were interviewed either individually or as a group depending on the nature of the appointment and the type of the information needed. For example, interviews in households were held with groups of family members. In some cases, interviews were conducted with a group of local community leaders. Thus, apart from individual interviews, interactions with more than one informant at a time are present.

Archaeological Ethnography

Archaeological ethnography, as Lynn Meskell notes, is a holistic anthropology that is improvisation and context dependent. It might encompass a mosaic of traditional forms, including archaeological practices and museum or representational analysis, as well as long-term involvement, participant observation, interviewing and archival work (Meskell, 2005). The ethnography that is carried out in relation to archaeological locales needs to be multi-sited (Marcus, 1995) and engage with multiple stakeholders. It needs to examine the intersections between local and global economies and to find ways of engendering long-term sustainable change through the use of the materiality of the past, in partnership with varied local interest (Hodder, 2003).

It was conceived in this study that for archaeological materials to 'speak' reliably and in an understandable language, the descendant local communities of a culture concerned should not be ignored in the identification and interpretation processes of the archaeological materials and the past in general. Archaeological ethnography in this study was undertaken with full involvement of representatives from local communities in the research area. Archaeology may now be defined not as the study of the material remains of the past, but rather as a particular mode of inquiry into the relationship between people and their pasts, and in this case engagement of local communities is mandatory (own emphasis). The aim is to listen to and incorporate local voices. Archaeological survey and local communities' participation in the interpretation of archaeological materials enhanced mutual interpretation of cultural heritage resources for interactive knowledge creation rather than reactive approach.

Archaeological ethnography provided space for cultural heritage site visits in which a number of archaeological sites and other cultural heritage attractions were studied. These include the Mikindani historical site monuments (Figure 2), the Mvita graveyard (Figure 3), the Naliendele cemeteries for the Mozambique freedom fighters (Figure 4), and other traditional performances (see Figure 5). Ritual places and other symbolic traditions and places with cultural values were surveyed, recorded and equally discussed as part of primary data alongside the interviews. Multiple conversations were held with local communities, while engagement, interventions, and critiques centred on materiality and temporality. This space encourages the downplaying of the distinction between past and present, and between diverse publics and researchers of equally diverse backgrounds (Hamilakis and Anagnostopoulos, 2009).

Figure 2. Monumental ruins at the Mikindani Historical Site in a deteriorating state.

Figure 3. A graveyard (a) and a mosque ruin (b) at Mvita ancient settlement attached by vegetation.

Figure 4. The Mtwara Regional Commissioner Hon. Joseph Simbakariya during a visit to the Naliendele cemeteries in which the Mozambique freedom fighters were buried.

Figure 5. Makonde women (a) and men (b) performers during a traditional dance.

Results and Discussion

This study used community-based approaches under which local communities of the Mtwara Region were potential stakeholders in the research process. Their participation in the study was of paramount contribution from data collection procedures to data interpretation. The results of this study unanimously reveal how community engagement is a key requirement in the reconstruction of the past. It is through community engagement that one gets not only local communities' perceptions but also a platform to educate the local communities on matters related to archaeology and cultural heritage resources in general. For example, when asked to define the concept 'cultural heritage resources', the local communities had dialectical perceptions probably different from what is conceived in the professional meaning of the concept.

Local Communities' Perceptions on Archaeological Research

A majority of the respondents could not understand what archaeology is and they were not aware of the archaeological research conducted in the region. This implies that conventional archaeology has left little impact on local communities' understanding of archaeology. Conventional archaeological approach, which has been a common practice by professional archaeologists in Tanzania, has been isolative to the local communities. As a result, local communities remain alien to the field of archaeology. To overcome this isolative tendency, collaborative research approach is a necessity as it is both an investigative and educative approach which could lead to a better understanding of the past. The ultimate goal is to create open collaboration whereby goals are developed jointly, information flows freely, stakeholders are fully involved and "voiced", and the collaborative effort recognizes not only the differences between scientific and other – particularly local or traditional – belief systems, but also the way mutual goals and dialogue can emerge from the research enterprise (Watkins, 2000).

In one incident, local communities strongly resisted archaeological excavation in their area. Some of them were suspicious of a hidden agenda behind the research project and were worried that the research was meant for precious materials or to confiscate their land. Local communities were suspicious that the archaeological research was in connection with a gas project which they were against. Regardless of having all necessary official research clearance documents and the prior consultation with the village government officials, all efforts to convince the local populace went astray. After a long discussion and negotiation, one of the local communities' ring leaders suggested that the excavation work stops and give time for local communities to convene a meeting with the researchers.

After ten days, a meeting was convened for further discussion on the intention of the research as well as responding to some questions from the audience while educating them on the importance of conducting this research. This conforms to some scholarly opinions that "Archaeological information can be technical and so it requires special techniques and efforts to make it understandable by the general public. Those of us who have been entrusted with the care of cultural heritage resources have an obligation to raise the level of knowledge to local communities. This can help them understand and realize the merits of scientific research in order for them to support archaeological conservation programmes. The past is not an exclusive preserve of professionals; the lay people also have the right to know about their past and even to be involved in research programmes" (Juma and Hamis, 2005).

Local Communities' Understanding on Cultural Heritage Resources

The data from this study indicate that the local communities' viewpoint is mostly centred on intangible heritage resources. For example, one finds that from the local communities' viewpoint cultural heritage resources have been perceived as cultural practices and identities which are inherited and transmitted from one generation to another. This is revealed by local communities' responses to the question that required them to explain what they understand of 'cultural heritage resources'. To a large extent the local communities' awareness of cultural heritage resources is rooted in their inherited intangible cultural and traditional practices. What they consider to be cultural heritage resources include cultural practices such as *Jando* and *Unyago*, traditional dances, traditional beliefs such as witchcraft and sorcery, as well as many other cultural norms.

Some traditional beliefs were associated with cultural landscape including natural environments such as ritual trees, some rivers, forests, rocks, rock shelters and mountains as manifestations of sacred places. These features often serve as places of worship and other forms of ritual practices. God and the divinities are worshiped through sacrifices, offerings, prayers, invocations, praises, music and dances (Mbiti, 1969, 1975). These traditional practices were basically dominant elements in the meaning of cultural heritage resources according to the local communities' perceptions. This contravenes the conventional understanding by professionals whose viewpoint on cultural heritage resources favours both tangible and intangible heritage resources. For example, cultural heritage resources according to some scholars comprise some kind of inheritance to be kept in safekeeping and handed down to future generations. It is a linkage with group identity and it is both a symbol of the cultural identity of a self-identified group, be it national or people, and an essential element in the construction of that group's identity (Blake, 2000).

Responses from the informants ascertained that the local communities' meaning of cultural heritage resources mostly favours intangible cultural heritage resources in expense of tangible heritages. This is different from what is seen in the professionals' conception where both tangible and intangible cultural heritage resources are taken care of with emphasis given to the conservation of tangible cultural heritage resources. For example, professionals view heritage as "tangible, immovable resources, (e.g. buildings, rivers, natural areas); tangible movable resources, (e.g. objects in museums, documents in archives); or intangibles such as values, customs, ceremonies, lifestyles, and including experiences such as festivals, arts and cultural events" (Watkins and Beaver, 2008).

Contrary to this professional conception, the local communities' meaning of cultural heritage resources includes all intangible cultural practices that are known to, appreciated, owned by and presented to the local communities from one generation to another. It is from these two conceptions that this study conceives that cultural heritage resources must have both tangible and intangible cultural indicators with emphasis given, though not limited to awareness, appreciation, ownership and presentation characteristics. In other words, cultural practice becomes a heritage given its transferability from one generation to another. However, it becomes a resource only when there is a sense of awareness, appreciation, ownership and presentation among the custodian communities. It is so unfortunate that the Antiquities Act of 1964 (amended in 1979), which is the basic legislation for protecting and preserving Tanzanian cultural heritage resources, provides less consideration to intangible cultural heritage resources. The Act does not recognize heritage sites identified only by living heritage values, such as sites of spiritual or religious significance. The Act only covers and gives protection to the physical features and objects in these sites, hence its limitation (Bwasiri, 2011).

Both tangible and intangible cultural heritage resources were recovered in the study area and each of them had a significant cultural meaning to the local communities. Most of the tangible cultural heritage resources, apart from having intangible cultural attachments, also present historic emergences of the study area. The study findings also unveiled a number of intangible cultural practices with different cultural embodiments. For example, initiation rituals played a significant role in shaping adolescents in many Tanzanian ethnic groups despite colonial regimes fighting against what they termed as 'uncivilized traditions'. After being circumcised, Makonde boys aged between nine and sixteen years were taught basic life skills which are comprised in a model of initiation rituals popularly known as *Jando*. Another set of initiation rites known as *Unyago* was also practiced to celebrate the coming of age of girls and during weddings. Older women spent weeks on teaching the young ones about basic life skills including sex and conjugal life. Both models of initiation rituals were accompanied by folk music. This traditional way of mentoring youths is still in practice, the only problem being that today it is too much occupied by Western influences hence lacking the traditional meaning and authenticity.

It has been discovered in this study that some cultural heritage resources in the Mtwara Region are in deteriorating state due to lack of rescue measures. For example, the Mikindani historical site is in a danger of deterioration due to stone quarrying vandalism in the area. The data on initiation practices show that the circumcision rite has changed to a great extent. In the past, it was purely done under traditional principles but presently it is affected by modern inventions. A number of factors were noted to have influenced this transformation of initiation practices: First, it was noted that medical technological innovations are among the driving factors that have transformed the circumcision rite. Due to the emergence of communicable diseases such as HIV-AIDS, the traditional practice of circumcision rite has been discouraged to avoid infection, as the practice would involve the same circumcision instruments among the initiates. Second, globalization has been mentioned as another cause of the transformation of traditional initiation practices. Due to the diffusion of Western cultures, most of the traditional principles and practices have been absorbed by new inventions. For example, in the past, traditional dances and rituals were solely practiced and dominated in all initiation ceremonies. Today, the practice has taken a new form whereby Western-based dances are also performed during the initiation ceremonies. Third, ignorance of the traditional practice of initiations has been considered to be another cause of embracing modern practice of initiation. This is due to the fact that most people are fond of Western cultures to the point of losing interest in their traditional cultures. Consequently, they adopt a new form of cultural practice which is neither traditional nor Western. This has caused cultural downturn whereby traditional practices have lost their authenticity at the expense of Western cultural practices. Special attention needs to be given to these precious cultural heritage resources, if our dream is not only to sustainably conserve them for our own sake but also to induce the cultural wealth of the past to the present and future generations.

It is worth noting that cultural heritage resources can be well understood and sustainably managed only if local communities' awareness, appreciation, sense of ownership and presentation are promoted and emphasized. The cultural performances and ritual practices which were observed in this study are indicators of the local communities' awareness, appreciation, ownership and presentation of cultural heritage resources. Collaborative efforts are needed to rescue cultural heritage resources by sensitizing local communities to adhere to the traditional principles of cultural practices.

Conclusion and Future Direction

Looking at the Tanzanian context as revealed by the results of this study, one finds a plateau of missing links between professional archaeological practitioners and the local communities' understanding of archaeology and cultural heritage resources. There has been a great disparity in the undertaking of archaeological research in Tanzania in terms of themes, paradigms and spatial coverage. It is at this point that the statement of the problem for this study was anchored. Community-based archaeological programmes are at their early stage in Tanzania, as the majority of the local communities have not been involved in the archaeological research programmes. This calls for a need for multiple community-based archaeological researches in Tanzania, through which local communities' knowledge shall be part and parcel of the reconstruction of the past. Community archaeology is based on the premise that better archaeology can be achieved when more diverse voices are involved in the interpretation and presentation of the past. This does not mean compromising the scientific nature of archaeology, but rather simply realizing how research integrates with society (Pardoe, 1992; Tunprawat, 2009) and that it can be used to challenge the inequality of dominant historical paradigms (Schmidt and Patterson, 1995). A thorough investigation is needed into the impact of the conventional archaeological approach on the local communities' understanding of archaeology and cultural heritage resources in general. Experiences from the Mtwara Region through this study have shown that most of the local communities are not aware of what archaeology is all about. This may — among other factors — be due to the lack of a collaborative and informative approach when conducting archaeological research. Community involvement in archaeological research early on and throughout the process is essential for awareness purposes and sustainable conservation of cultural heritage resources.

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Archaeology, Politics, Entertainment and Dialogue: Polish (Digital) Public Archaeology[1]

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Abstract

The following article addresses notions of communication of archaeology and communication between archaeology and society in Poland—past and present. The examination of these two issues begins with a presentation of their historical background, rooted in a political, economic and sociological context. Through reaching back to the past of the Polish state some trends in presenting archaeology to the public can be easily traced. Particular ways of communicating archaeology to the general public are deeply connected with tradition and the wider social and political context, all of which have an undoubtful impact on the reception and perception of archaeology—as a science and as a profession. New technologies, through which communication between archaeologists and society takes place, are definitely used in Poland nowadays, however, the ways in which information is constructed should refer to the existing experience. What should be found is some common ground on which new technologies and traditional ideas of presentation of archaeology could work together and create the most efficient presentation.

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Keywords

public archaeology, Poland, history of archaeology, digitalization of archaeology, digital public archaeology, public outreach

Introduction

The present paper describes ways through which communication of archaeology and communication between archaeology and society are currently organized in Poland. It presents a historical background of the relation between archaeology and society within a general political, economic and social context, in order to detect some trends which can be visible in current ways of presenting archaeology to the public. Tradition is the key element of the public's approach towards many aspects of life, including archaeology and comprehension of the past. Based on this assumption, the concept of digitalization and digital public archaeology, which are believed to identify contemporary social needs, will be presented.

Firstly, it should be clearly stated that public archaeology does not exist in Poland in all of its theoretically possible aspects, since only cases of popularization and education are contemporarily being raised. This derives from the fact that Poland has a different background of archaeology, i.e. a Continental-European tradition which, for many years now, has been trying to align with the Anglo-American one. Reaching back, both types of archaeology had been developing around different philosophical concepts. Continental-European archaeology (which embraces Polish archaeology) has been mainly focused on creating classifications, typologies of artefacts, and, on that basis, reconstructions of the past. Very characteristic of Continental archaeology was a common belief that material remains of past cultures reflect an actual ethnos, which may be traced linearly even from the 1st millennium AD to presently existing nations and countries. Such understanding fostered political dependence of researches which were used as arguments in political struggles. Continental archaeology served mainly to create narratives about sequential events, thus exhibiting its attachment to history and humanities, and its background deriving from diffusionism theory (Trigger 2006).

On the other hand, the Anglo-American concept of archaeology, established under the umbrella of anthropological science, was rather focused on the then newly created, so-called 'new archaeology' (processualism). The new archaeology assumed a systemic approach towards past cultures, within which cultural processes, understood as anthropological construct, were looked for (i.e. Minta-Tworzowska 2002).

Such different approaches lie behind the divergent development of two types of archaeology. This led to the creation of public archaeology on Anglo-American ground, while in Poland, following the Continental-European approach, such a concept has not yet wholly emerged.

This article will, at first, describe the concept of public archaeology in general, which is contemporarily used to describe the relation between society (the public) and archaeology. This particular relation is recognized in actual activities regarding presentation of the past and archaeology itself. After introducing general understandings of the concept of public archaeology, I will try to find out whether public archaeology may be detected in past and contemporary Poland or not. Next, I will briefly discuss the history of archaeology from the restitution of the autonomy of the Polish state in 1918 until now. Finally, I will present contemporary ways in which archaeology is presented and communicated to society, and delineate well-established trends deriving from tradition and rooted in a variety of nationally gathered experiences. I will also focus on new concepts such as digital public archaeology, where I will refer to Web 2.0 concepts in terms of their usefulness in the case of Poland.

Public Archaeology: A Theoretical Background

Public archaeology may be defined as a general, one-term consolidation for community archaeology, heritage, public education, politics and archaeology, media and archaeology, performance, museums, tourism, civic engagement, and cultural resource management (CRM). All of the above are easy to number, but a closer examination reveals diversity. For example, according to CRM specialists, public archaeology community projects are a subset of their practice rather than an individual working method (Tringham 2009: 2-6). There are also differences connected to particular regions and countries, where tradition is a key factor determining diversity on a sociological level, with the general political context influencing it from the institutional side. Nevertheless, public archaeology involves engagement of a wide variety of public spheres, as it is predetermined to be working for the public and with the public.

Nick Merriman (2004: 5) underlines the discussion about archaeological heritage as a key factor bonding public archaeology as a conceptual whole. Public archaeology thus embraces all actions generating from the professional archaeology side towards public outreach, as well as discussions concerning archaeological resources among non-professional groups who are stakeholders of archaeological heritage. According to Tim Schadla-Hall, the term ‘public archaeology’ means “any area of archaeological activity that interacted or had potential to interact with the public” (1999: 147). He emphasizes the need for an active role of society itself in the following words: “We should consider not only public interest in terms of protecting and recording the past but also ways in which we can both involve the public and make it possible for them to engage in many of the issues which we too often debate without reference to them” (Schadla-Hall 1999: 156). On the other hand, Neal Ascherson sees public archaeology as an effect of archaeological activities played in a world of economics and political struggle, concluding: "in other words, they are all about ethics" (2000: 2). Barbara Little proclaims that the term 'public archaeology' is much broader in its scope; it embraces, besides attempts to share publicly results of archaeological research and the obvious fact that archaeology is mostly funded through public resources, also "archaeologists' collaboration with and within communities and activities in support of education, civic, renewal, peace and justice" (2012: 396).

Public archaeology is contemporarily a fast developing branch of archaeological academic discourse. Inner discussions concentrate on the methodology of popularization, emphasizing the aspects of proper communication, and, as far as projects are concerned, the actual practice, thus case studies and their outcomes. Public archaeology is about satisfying social needs to comprehend the past through different means, such as popularization via education, exhibitions or publications, and participation of the public in developing archaeological knowledge through mutual contact between archaeologists and the communities within which they work. Thus, by necessity public archaeology developed few theoretical models based on which most of the popularization and participation projects may be examined. According to Merriman (2004: 3-4), two theoretical models to approach public archaeology may be distinguished, namely 'deficit model' and 'multiple perspective model'. The deficit model implies a common social need for better comprehension of science. It points at education as the best possible way for archaeologists to interact with society. Education in this model means spreading scientifically approved knowledge based on the relation between educator/lecturer and student/listener (i.e. Fagan and Feder 2006). The deficit model is, however, widely criticized by social scientists, who accuse this approach of being rather authoritative and too little society-oriented (Meriman 2004: 5-6). Therefore, due to wide criticism of the deficit model, the 'multiple perspective model' emerged. This communication-based approach focuses on feedback archaeologists collect following educational activities. According to the multiple perspective model, there is no reason for exclusion of non-professionals from debates about the past. The argument goes even further by contending that they should be welcomed and encouraged to make their own statements (i.e. Holtorf 2005; Högberg and Holtorf 2006).

Cornelius Holtorf (2008), on the other hand, came up with a different division of approaches to the relation between archaeology and society. He distinguished three theoretical approaches, namely the 'educational model', the 'public relation model' and the 'democratic model'. The educational model assumes that society must be enlightened by archaeologists and the knowledge they spread. It assumes there is one proper vision of the past, which can be created only by archaeologists and presented only during their lectures. According to the author (Holtorf 2008: 150), this model has been most widely used in the past, and still is. The next approach, the 'public relation model', refers to the general tendency to commercialize heritage in order to revitalize tourism in a region. In this approach, emphasis is put on economic benefits rather than on educational and heritage protection values. This model also concerns improving the image of archaeology and creating a positive relation with the media for the purpose of collecting funds for further research (Holtorf 2008: 155). Finally, the democratic model reflects attempts of commutation of negative elements from the two previous models. It supports transmission of reliable, scientifically argued interpretations of the past, but does not exclude, rather engages the public in scientific discussions. It also supports scientific responsibility and sustainable development (Holtorf 2008: 157; Matsuda and Okamura 2011: 1-18).

Public archaeology is then obliged to address social needs, encourage self-realization, and stimulate reflection as well as creativity (Merriman 2004: 7). Consequently, archaeologists should create proper environments for adequate and effective communication, which assumes not only sending a message but also receiving it back in the form of feedback (Craig 1999). What counts the most is creating space for discussion between professional archaeologists and non-professionals.

Although the above presented approaches embrace many important aspects of public archaeology, they keep silent on communication via the Internet which, thanks to its gaining popularity, is becoming of particular importance to archaeology (e.g. Kensa et al. 2011; Zdziebłowski 2014). The web provides new possibilities for popularization, wider access to research results, and creates space for a vivid dialogue between society and archaeologists via blogs and social media. Digital public archaeology aspires to answer the contemporary needs of society, which expects that high-technology should be engaged in transmitting and presenting knowledge of any kind[2].

To sum up, Public Archaeology discourse has given birth to several theoretical approaches designed to create the chance to discuss advantages, disadvantages and classification of particular cases. Nonetheless, the models ─namely educational, public relation and democratic model according to Holtorf (2008), and deficit and multiple perspective model according to Merriman (2004)─ are not considered to be definitive classifications with strict, impassable barriers, but rather concepts serving proper evaluation of some undertakings and approaches presented. Digital pubic archaeology is quite a new idea which has just started to emerge, but is already recognized as a very important agenda in the popularization of archaeology in general.

2 The concept of digital public archaeology will be presented in later on.

A Historical Background of the Relation between Archaeology and the Community in Poland

In order to describe contemporary relations between Polish society and archaeology, it is important to research experiences gained in the past. The context in which individual people exist has great impact on their actions, thoughts and decisions. Similarly, the context must be taken into account in the case of bigger groups, like societies or nations, in order to identify reasons for particular social behaviours and lack of others at the same time. Poland has undergone many different political changes, all of which have been influencing present social behaviours and choices. Past events changed the ways in which archaeology was being communicated in order to meet changing social/down-top and institutional/top-down needs and demands. Thus, I will briefly discuss how archaeological undertakings have influenced popularization and communication of archaeology to the public.

The context of archaeological popularization in 20th-century Poland

As it is already mentioned, contemporary ways of organizing communication between archaeology and society are rooted in experiences of the past. The beginnings of archaeology as a fully-fledged academic discipline are connected with Józef Łepokowski, who in the 1860s gained the very first professor title in archaeology in Poland, at Jagiellonian University, which was the very first stage for Polish archaeology in general (Kostrzewski 1948: 11, 35; Abramowicz 1991: 41). The turn of the 19th century and the first decades of the 20th century are connected with the beginnings of bigger openness of science towards society. Back then, well prospering museums and the high popularity of archaeological exhibitions were the main means of communication between archaeology and society.

Revival of the Polish state: From 1918 to WWII outbreak

After the end of WWI in 1918, Poland was established as a new and free country. However, liberation of the Polish nation called not only for the establishment of a new government and administration, but also for a new education system. As a result, archaeology emerged as a separate academic discipline, and was included in the educational offerings of the most important Polish universities, such as University of Poznań (Abramowicz 1991: 105-106) where Józef Kostrzewski[3], a professor of pre-history known as a founder and father of archaeology in Greater Poland, taught.

After WWI, there were many different ways of communication between archaeology and society, i.e. due to Józef Kostrzewski's involvement, such as the revival of periodicals and the conduction of excavations on a very important and perfectly preserved site at Biskupin[4]. Besides wide interest in prehistoric museum exhibitions, Poles also paid great attention to archaeological periodicals, such as *Z otchłani wieków*, and short press notes and announcements spread by radio broadcasts regarding the newest findings and their interpretations. It is worth pointing out that most of the excavations carried out in those times were sponsored by individuals or archaeological associations and companies. Moreover, associations'

3 Józef Kostrzewski was born in 1885 under Prussian domination. Through his buoyant activity he managed to have a great impact on archaeology not only in its academic facet but, more importantly, also on society, through communication and open dialogue. He was engaging himself in many dissemination activities of archaeology, which are represented through a great amount of published texts, as well as in reviving periodicals such as *Przegląd Archeologiczny* or *Z otchłani wieków*. His many public appearances, as well as his participation in loads of conferences and organization of innumerable excavations, show that Kostrzewski must have understood that the power of success and persuasion exists in public, not in a closed academic milieu. He also made his mark on the pages of history by introducing many new means of scientific researches, such as movies or the utilization of belletristic literature, which he seemed to take as marginal activities, yet nowadays they are taken very seriously by such first-class archaeologists as C. Holtorf or M. Shanks (Kobiałka 2014).

4 Biskupin is an archaeological site, discovered in 1933 by Walenty Szwajcer, a local teacher who reported it to Kostrzewski. Since 1934 the site was excavated by Poznań University's employees. Due to the extremely well preserved constructions of a wooden settlement, Biskupin soon became very famous and began to attract lots of interest which was strengthened by the life-size reconstructions of the buildings.

plenary meetings played an important role in serving as a space for nationwide discussion between professional archaeologists and society (Abramowicz 1991: 118).

Archaeology of interwar was deeply influenced by politics, especially in times closely preceding the WWII outbreak. All of the interpretative power of German and Polish archaeologists was focused on the ethnogenesis of Slavs and Germans, both of which ancient ethne where argued to inhabit disputed, border territories. At the threshold of WWII, Polish archaeology flourished, only to come to an end with immediate German aggression, justified by, among other things, archaeological 'proofs' regarding German rights to the Polish lands (Kristiansen 1993).

After WWII

The end of WWII brought a new political system in Poland imposed by the Soviets, namely communism. In the very first decade after WWII, Polish archaeology was dominated by the cultural-historical paradigm, with the general assumption that scientists actually have the ability to reconstruct the past as it was. Thus, researches on the ethnogenesis of the Slavs continued. Further introduction of socialism had a huge impact on the ways of perceiving archaeology and the past. Due to an overriding philosophy introduced with communism, humans became a centre of all scientific interpretations.

Numerous excavations were carried out in the 1950s in the cities ruined during the war where destruction was so severe that complete reconstruction was necessary. On the other hand, the excavations which took place in smaller cities and their vicinity served the economic activation of local communities. Archaeological research programs contributed to the creation of place and space for dialogue between archaeologists and people working on excavations. This is also a period during which numerous archaeological rescue excavations were conducted, crucial in preparing great, national economic investments. What should definitely be mentioned is the fact that archaeology was a discipline for the overriding communist ideology, due to its clear underlining of a materialistic approach to life (through examination of material residues of past societies). This particular feature of archaeology was also echoed in museum exhibitions, where past materialism was to be staged (Abramowicz 1991: 158-159).

The next decade brought an extremely important date for the Polish nation, namely the 1000th anniversary of the national baptism and the establishment of the Polish state in 966 AD, both by prince Mieszko I, the first ruler. In both cases, archaeology played an incredibly important role yielding inevitable proofs of past times. In conjunction with the national anniversaries, many so-called Millennium Researches were undertaken, all focusing on the very beginnings of the Polish state and Christianity. These huge hitherto Poland undertakings embraced excavations in the most important sites connected to the beginnings of the country, such as Poznań, Gniezno, Szczecin, Płock, and Gdańsk. The process of unearthing itself needed a workforce of local labour, favouring the formation of a special relation between field archaeologists and local communities. Local participants of those excavations became much more interested in the examined past than before. Participating in fieldwork activities and helping or simply inviting archaeological teams over gave local communities the opportunity to express their national feelings and learn something about their own past from the very source (Maciaszewski 2011). The following decades tarnished this special relation created during the Millennium Researches between society and archaeology. After the millennium program had passed, archaeologists began to shut themselves off, into their own professional milieu, and ignoring society and their needs. Such behaviour had a very strong impact on the public perception of archaeology and, unfortunately, through this lens, also of the national past. People, who were totally engaged in excavations during the Millennium Researches era, felt betrayed by the lack of interest from the side of professionals, who abandoned them and excluded them because of the fulfillment of their own professional ego (Abramowicz 1991: 192-193). Such behaviour of archaeologists is commonly referred to as enclosing archaeology in an ivory tower (i.e. Kristiansen 1993, Marciniak 2011: 187-189). Nevertheless, the 1970s and 1980s were times of development for archaeological discourse. The decades just before the fall of communism in Eastern Europe were times when nations of the socialistic block tried to distinguish themselves from the soviet domination. For example, the then newly established museums, such as Dymarki Świętkorzyskie (since 1967) in south Poland, underlined national traditions and serving at the same time as touristic attractions and sources of entertainment. Such actions supported public educational purposes and positively affected the relation between society and archaeology (Czopek 2000).

After 1989 – Changes

The last decades, starting from 1989 and up until the present day, are times of great changes in Poland as archaeologists had to make their way through a new political and economic system. Due to the socioeconomic shift after 1989, the well-established communist-run system funding scientific researches collapsed, which resulted in the reduction of state sponsorship of numerous university departments. Moreover, developers began to take full responsibility for funding rescue excavations held in place of future construction sites. As a result, archaeologists had to focus also on legal matters and conservation tasks. The socioeconomic transition contributed to the establishment of new university departments which offered education in archaeology and resulted in an enormous number of well-educated students which exceeded available work places. On the other hand, change in the common archaeological *lingua franca* from German towards English allowed better communication with the broader archaeological community (Marciniak 2011: 183-184).

Socioeconomic changes led to an intensification of infrastructural development which threatened numerous archaeological sites. General awareness of the need to preserve cultural heritage resulted in a great amount of rescue excavations. The biggest projects, i.e. highways and expressways improving trans-country connection, were connected with construction of the pipeline which was to transport gas from Siberia to Western Europe. Those huge projects needed a large number of archaeological research executors, which combined with the socioeconomic transition of the state led to establishment of private companies specialized in rescue excavations (Marciniak 2011: 185).

Over the last two decades, a change in the public use of archaeology has become visible. It shifted from being politically used, serving nationalist agendas by using archaeological heritage as a collective memory tool, to being focused on society as stakeholder of the past (Marciniak 2011: 191-192). After 1989, the shift from communist towards a free-market economy and expanded privatization caused commercialization. This is visible not only in the deterioration of professional archaeological excavation conductors into many of the small private companies, it is best exemplified in the expansion of public outreach programs, which are mass audience-oriented. Archaeological festivals, picnics, events, fetes, historical reconstruction activities, and archaeological workshops of experimental archaeology are activities that serve educational and public large-scale goals and additionally let local communities earn their living. Another good example is open-air museums and reconstruction sites which often host such happenings and work year round on a daily basis as touristic attractions. These are the most influential ways in which archaeology has been presented to society for the past 25 years.

Archaeological museums

Museums are commonly known to be places where material culture is presented to the public. In the case of archaeological museums, they offer exhibitions comprised of only selected pieces, possibly the best preserved ones, which were excavated during archaeological research (Brzeziński 1998: 148). In Poland, any archaeological finding belongs to the state, so museums, as state institutions, are obligated to store all of the findings. This means that only a tiny portion of all artefacts stored are presented to the public. Archaeological museums are located in almost every big Polish city and archaeological exhibitions may be found in regional museums as well. Presently there is a visible tendency to attract visitors through rearranging already existing exhibitions in a modern way. For example, the Archaeological Museum of Poznań decided to give up traditional information boards in favour of audio guides for individual visitors and guides for groups. This decision was supported by the fact that a contemporary visitor is more open to sound and image than to written information (Brzeziński 1998: 150-151). Additionally, museums offer courses which are rather practical, during which participants learn, for example, how to make clay vessels (Brzeziński 1998: 151). Museums are very important national institutions, responsible for public outreach and knowledge dissemination. It goes without saying that the old-fashioned idea of monuments behind the glass has to be modernized in order to attract viewers. Therefore, many museums carry out digitization of their resources and exhibitions, as well as many public outreach programs in order to address their present audience’s preferences for museum stock presentation (Chowaniec and Tavernise 2012).

Archaeological festivals

Archaeological festivals are outdoor events, organized for a mass audience, where different past arts and crafts are presented. According to M. Pawleta (2011), they are a part of 'the past industry'. In his reflections he refers to 'The Heritage Industry' by R. Hewison (1987) in which the author describes the process of adaptation of heritage for tourism, characteristic for Great Britain at the end of the 20th century. The process, motivated by social nostalgia and political factors, is, according to Hewison, rather negative. For Pawleta, however, the 'past industry' idea reflects contemporary European societies and ways of accommodating places of the past to the needs of the present, which has a positive social impact.

Archaeological festivals were, are, and surely will be the most massive undertakings in the area of popularization of archaeology. These events usually take place once a year, attracting public attention, even though their offer is mostly addressed to children. The best-known Polish archaeological festival, a must-see for every child, is the one that takes place every year in September in Biskupin, a tradition that dates back to 1994.

Archaeological and historical festivals help their visitors become familiar with some fractions of the past. They serve the purpose of learning through fun, of which the second part is most surely achieved. School and family trips give the opportunity to get in touch with the past to children and young people who seem to be the main beneficiaries of such festivals. A very important part of archaeological festivals is presentations of ancient arts and crafts, which may be examined in terms of experimental archaeology for the public. Experimental archaeology is one of the means of archaeology popularization that is regarded as scientific, even academic. During such workshops visitors are able to learn how to make flint weapons and pottery. There are, however, also larger projects, such as house building and village building, or construction of means of transport, such as boats and carriages. Workshop participants can later test hand-made objects in real life. Experimental archaeology is believed to help better understand past human behaviour (Coles 1977; Bakas 2014; Brzeziński 2001; Migal and Barska 2003). The first archaeological festival in Biskupin, back in 1994, was based on experiment performances, simultaneously carried out by 200 people in order to serve nearly 40,000 visitors. Its undeniable success contributed to eager creation of similar events.

Another example, having now a very wide, international range of visitors is the Vikings and Slavs Festival held in Wolin. Besides workshops or presentations of everyday life in the past, it includes a very big reconstruction of an early medieval battle which attracts crowds[5]. The *Dymarki Świętokrzyskie*[6] festival is another example. The event takes place on an archaeological site where reconstructed buildings, characteristic for the region, are located. All reconstructions were built using ancient techniques, which is frequently pointed out as an advantage in terms of doing experimental archaeology.

Nevertheless, present processes regarding heritage and its social display are also easy to study through the lens of the rules of the market. They refer to commercialization and 'commodification' of heritage, which certainly leads towards creation of social approaches to the past (Pawleta 2011: 10). Archaeological festivals play a significant role in contemporary society, being linked to ludic, entertainment and commercial culture, which seems to be an answer to contemporary social needs. Theoretical approaches to these phenomena oscillate between their educational and science popularization values. Education at any level, from primary schools to Third Age Universities, is widely believed to be crucial in terms of engaging the public and disseminating the

5 See more: http://www.jomsborg-vineta.com/xviii-festiwal-s%C5%82owian-i-wiking%C3%B3w.html [24.04.2015]

6 See more: http://www.dymarki.pl/ [24.04.2015]

conviction about the shared responsibility to preserve the mutual past (Brzeziński 2001).

However, archaeological festivals are facing criticism too. It is questioned whether archaeological festivals actually serve the purpose of social education. In fact, festival organizers pay much attention to profits, overlooking spatio-temporal consistency of the event, which is, amongst other common misinterpretations, regarded as the main disadvantage of festivals in general (Brzeziński 2000; Dominiak 2004; Pawleta 2011). The merchandise surrounding the events, offered on souvenir stalls and via gastronomic infrastructure, is used as a channel for commercial undertakings, helping sponsors market their names and make people aware of their brand.

To sum up, commercialization, despite of its faults, plays an important role in archaeological festivals, as it meets the demands of the contemporary society looking for entertainment more than knowledge (Pawleta 2012a; Szalbot 2010). Archaeological festivals are often, like in the Biskupin case, a quite important source of income for local communities, so, in order to increase their income, they need to play by the rules of the market and be able to stand on competitive touristic offers of the region.

Historical re-enactment

Historical re-enactment may be defined as an activity which serves visual presentation of the past (i.e. either specific events, such as battles, or scenes from everyday life). Re-enactments are based on scientific knowledge about the presented period. Such events are prepared in order to amuse and educate their public, being mostly hobby activities, able to serve scientific research. Re-enactors believe that every effort must deliver presentation of the reconstructed period in the most thorough possible way (Bogacki 2010; Rojek 2009).

M. Bogacki (2006) divides historical re-enactment into historical battle reconstructions and performances of everyday life. However, most of the battle reconstructions are accompanied by performances of everyday life from the epoch in order to create a more 'real' arrangement. Thus, such a division seems, in my opinion, quite artificial, serving only classification needs. People taking active part in re-enactment performances are mainly members of associations such as 'Centrum Słowian i Wikingów Wolin-Jómsborg-Vineta'[7] or 'Polskie Stowarzyszenie Walk Rycerskich'[8], amongst many others.

The history of battle re-enactment in Poland is commonly said to begin with the first Grunwald battle reconstruction in 1997, but it is known, that the re-enactment movement was brought to Poland by Zygmunt Kwiatkowski, who organized a first (modern) knight tournament in 1977 (Rojek 2009: 5-6).

Even though oversights do occur, historical re-enactment performances have an educational, scientific and experimental background, and such a description will always be found in any particular event (Bogacki 2010). As such, historical re-enactment is believed to be a way of 'teaching through play' about the past, linked with entertainment and the ludic sphere of life, where sometimes economic benefits override scientific and educational values (Pawleta 2010, 2012a, 2012b). Such an approach on the part of organizers is believed to derive from cultural changes and socio-economic transformations in Poland of the last two decades (Kobiałka 2013: 110, Marciniak 2011).

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7 http://www.jomsborg-vineta.com/ access 8.04.2015

8 http://www.pswr.pl/ access 8.04.2015

Reconstructed and constructed archaeological sites

Most of the archaeological festivals, historical re-enactments and experimental workshops take place within surroundings that reflect living conditions of the past. Most of the Polish archaeological fetes are located in spaces created in order to offer the possibility to perform and re-enact the past. Their aim is to give spectators a glance into past ages, and possibilities to experience past conditions and empathize with the predecessors.

Reconstructions appear to be of two different kinds: they are built either in the place of the original ancient site, being faithful to the original (e.g. Biskupin[9]), or in any other place, having no archaeological origins, where the goal is to depict past ways of constructing buildings of a particular period in the surrounding area (e.g. Centrum Słowian i WIkingów Wolin-Jómsborg-Vineta[10]). The first example legally operates under the name of 'archaeological reserve', which corresponds with a quite strict protection of the area, where no modern building investment or any other intervention, such as ground or environment interference, is permitted. The overriding goal of archaeological reserves is to protect heritage and its natural surroundings, as well as popularize knowledge and show heritage to the public. The second example refers to archaeological parks, named also open-air museums, the main goal of which is to provide entertainment but with no exclusion to educational and scientific values (i.e. Paardekooper 2012). However, those two categories often overlap, making definite categorization not possible.

Nowadays, physical reconstructions of past settlements serve as year-round open centres of popularization of archaeological heritage, commonly put on the regional touristic map. Thanks to

9 See more: http://www.biskupin.pl/asp/pl_start.asp?typ=14&menu=298&strona=1 [11.11.2014]

10 See more: http://en.polska.pl/The,Village,of,Slavs,and,Vikings,11709.html [24.04.2015]

that, their existence has important impact on the economy of the region (Pawleta 2012b: 373). Another very well prospering example of an archaeological reserve in Poland, besides the aforementioned Biskupin, is 'Karpacka Troja'[11], where visitors can find a reconstructed rampart and two gates leading to the stronghold. In the reserve, spectacles of 'living history' are also played, arranged in reconstructed dwellings. Similarly, a stronghold located in Sopot[12] is a place where reconstructions also serve as a stage for different touristic attractions. Those examples are just a drop in the sea of reconstructed archaeological sites in Poland. Open-air museums and *in situ* reconstructions are a perfect background for archaeological festivals and re-enactment performances. Reconstruction sites offer space for individual contact with presented interpretations of the past (Brzeziński 1998: 152-155). They encourage imagination by playing with the senses, which, as a whole experience, can lead spectators to the feeling of communion with the past and, as C. Holtorf calls it, to experience travel in time (2009).

Whether archaeologists like the way in which archaeological museums, open-air museums, archaeological festivals, or historical re-enactments present scientific knowledge or not, what remains is the fact that they were, are, and surely will remain in the nearest future the main means of communication of archaeology and the past with the public. It seems that society most eagerly takes part in events which, besides new knowledge and experience, provide them mainly with entertainment. This fosters the archaeo-touristic movement, attracted by the fragility of the past and the possibility to experience it. However, archaeotourism may lead to over-commercialization of heritage and have devastating consequences for archaeological sites and historical monuments. Thus, it should be organized under the aegis of sustainable development and heritage

11 See more: http://www.karpackatroja.pl/skansen_14_0.html [24.04.2015]

12 See more: http://www.archeologia.pl/grodziskosopot/skansen.html [24.04.2015]

protection in the first place[13], and only followed by entertainment (see Silverman 2002; Porter, Salaazar 2004; Hoffman, Kwas, Ratkowska 2010; Abu Tayeh and Mustafa 2011; Comer, Willems 2011; Pawleta 2012b; Bracz and Cieślewicz 2013).

Seeking New Horizons: Digital Archaeology Perspectives

Modern ways of popularization of archaeology, with the emphasis on digital projects, are presently discussed in reference to the ways of interpretation, preservation and presentation of archaeological data and knowledge (i.e. Kansa et al. 2011). The dissemination of archaeological record via the Web gives relatively beneficial results, generating worldwide access to such content. Digital and virtual archaeology are two separate (regarding technological methods of implementation) sides of the coin: Digital refers to visualizations, reconstructions (2D and 3D) and digital publishing of scientific research, which may all be described as digitalization of archaeological data in order to transfer it via the Web or reproduce it with the use of computer and know-how to operate with it (see Lynch 2002; Pavidias 2007; Oberländer-Târnoveanu et al. 2008). On the other hand, virtualization of archaeology concerns creation of common content recognized within assumptions of Web 2.0. Access to such is unlimited, easy and available for anyone who is able to use a computer and the Internet. Such a contribution is possible through the development of social media platforms, blogging and mailing lists, and other commonly created content in the Web (Kansa and Deblauwe 2011; Richardson 2013).

The past few decades saw substantial development of computer devices and World Wide Web (WWW) services. It seems impossible today to imagine the public image and even the existence of institutions responsible for cultural heritage protection, promotion

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13 http://www.archaeological.org/pdfs/AIATourismGuidelines.pdf [24.04.2015]

and research without the use of the internet, which is responsible for their virtual visibility[14]. Museums and libraries especially have recognized the need of digitalization of their collections. Their undertakings regarding the creation of common spaces for access result in wide popularization of knowledge and growing historical and archaeological awareness. Visualizations of museum collections (e.g. 3D reconstructions of single artefacts or even whole sites) help attract public attention (see: Chowaniec and Tavernise 2012). Easier to be consumed, visual communication is more efficient for the modern public and thus more likely to be chosen over traditional communication means (Boguni-Borowska and Sztompka 2012, Ogonowska 2012). But popularization of knowledge via the Internet has many methodological restrictions, such as difficulties in distinguishing reliable, scientific content among irrelevant spam information, anonymousness, information overload, and simple junk and advertisements, which provoke disinformation and misunderstandings (Kansa 2011: 1). Web 2.0, besides creating space for wide communication between archaeology and society, is also the way to support the digitalization process through popularization of its undertakings and achievements via social media.

Digital Public Archaeology

Crystallization of the so-called 'digital public archaeology'[15] was possible due to the rapid development of internet technologies, which allowed formation of new opportunities for archaeologists to create space for communication with society[16]. Digital public archaeology

14 http://arxiv.org/ftp/arxiv/papers/1205/1205.5611.pdf [24.04.2015]

15 The term 'pubic archaeology' received for the first time widespread attention when Ch. R. McGimsey published *Public Archaeology* in 1972. However, the author underlined that archaeologists must cope with two audiences: their professional colleagues and the public (McGimsey 1972: xiii, after Schadla-Hall 1999: 147-148)

16 However, Dawid Kobiałka (2014) argues that engaging the public and seeking opportunities

is an answer to a rising social need for easy and unlimited access to scientific data. Archaeologists, standing in front of the challenge to digitalize their work, carry out their new duties with dignity and a scientific approach, although difficulties arise while considering the reliability of internet published information. Archaeological knowledge is believed to have a cumulative character, and creation of new theories is almost prohibited without referring to authorities (Boast and Biehl 2011: 120). This issue is widely discussed, because the overwhelming anonymity of the Internet makes all users equal and having the same rights to claim their opinions, regardless of their actual knowledge and experience (i.e. Dimitrovska 2008; Boast and Biehl 2011; Kansa and Deblauwe 2011; Richardson 2013). Nevertheless, new digital public undertakings emerge all over the world, offering the possibility for regular discussions between archaeologists and non-professionals interested in archaeology from various places on the Earth. It all fosters mutual interest and favours international collaboration (Richardson 2013).

Digital technologies, which enable digital public archaeology development, are all tools of the so-called Web 2.0 (Kansa et al. 2011). Social media services such as Facebook and Google+; blogs and microblogs such as Twitter; communities of contents, namely YouTube, Vimeo or Wikipedia and wikis, are considered useful for knowledge dissemination and communication with the public. The same applies to services where users may share their pictures and comment on them, such as Flickr and Instagram or platforms like Pinterest, which enable users to create a network of interesting subjects described or depicted on different websites. Through the content of archaeology-oriented sites, the public may take part in discussions, ask questions, seek for participation in projects, and first of all gain knowledge in their chosen direction, through individual research, not enforced through a top-down approach

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of communication with people is not an answer, as many archaeologists see it, for all of the issues and problems of archaeology.

(Richardson 2013). The hypertextual[17] content of archaeological social media websites lets their users move freely from one topic to another, allowing choosing those topics which happen to be the most interesting for a particular individual at a particular moment. It also fosters spreading noteworthy news and information, which may be shared through the social media so that they become visible for other users (Kansa and Deblauwe 2011). Hypertextual connections and sharing links favour self-teaching and exploring data similarly to how archaeologists explore archaeological sites.

Digital public archaeology is a great opportunity for both the public, who may actively participate in archaeological discourse, and archaeologists, who gain interest in their work, and social acceptance for conducted research. However, even though society has an easy access to archaeological content via Internet websites and social media services, still only a tiny percentage of all users is eager to contribute his/her feedback through a comment or share. Moreover, measuring the actual interest in archaeological websites, expressed in number of visits, is very complicated, and in some cases (without proper algorithm implementation) even impossible (Richardson 2013). Thus, archaeologists actually do not know exactly with whom they are dealing with as their public, or the actual range of their digital undertakings.

(Digital) Public Archaeology in Poland

Presently, digitalization of Polish national heritage is in progress (Chowaniec and Tavernise 2012). Museums are using new technologies to modernize exhibitions and digitalize their archives in order to facilitate their use. As Boast and Biehl (2011: 121) claim, the so-called 'new museums' have shifted their main goals

17 Hypertext is a word or phrase that links to other information, allowing users to move from a currently visited page to another, that refers to the word or phrase which were a link in the previous site.

from being centres of research and collecting institutions towards being educational units. A good example is the Archaeological Museum of Poznań[18], which over the past few years has changed into an actual educational institution, remaining at the same time a traditional exhibition, being collection and research oriented, unit. Nonetheless, it is visible that public support, gained i.e. through active promotion on the website and social media, resulted in growth of offered attractions and events undertaken with cooperation from other heritage institutions from the city of Poznań (e.g. ICHOT[19] or Genius Loci Reserve[20]). Together they create attractive events which are organized in order to present heritage from many, sometimes surprising and unpredictable, perspectives (e.g. evening/night guided tours, city games, quests, themed tours, or sightseeing involving the senses of touch, hearing or smell). Similarly, such events and touristic offers are created in other Polish cities, such as Wrocław, Kraków or Waszawa. Kraków, the former capital of Poland, has many archaeological and touristic attractions. Amongst them, there is an archaeological exhibition worth-seeing located under the main market of Kraków, where many modern solutions are used. Warszawa, which is the present capital of Poland, also offers the possibility to see exhibitions in the district of Wilanów.

There are too many different places where people can see archaeology oriented exhibitions and participate in events to count them here. Those activities are located in different places, showing various things, but have the same general and technological assumptions. Most of them show quite well the proper understanding

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18 http://www.muzarp.poznan.pl/ [24.04.2015]

19 http://bramapoznania.pl/ [24.04.2015] ICHOT Brama Poznania is an interactive center. Its exhibition tells the story of the Polish state from the early medieval beginnings until present days.

20 http://www.muzarp.poznan.pl/rezerwat/ [24.04.2015] Genius Loci Reserve is a sub-institution of the Archaeological Museum of Poznań. It offers its visitors the possibility to see the reconstruction of an archaeological dig with a profile of early medieval city wall, very characteristic for the early ages of Polish state settlements, accompanied with a very well-told story about the archaeology of Poznań and the beginnings of the Polish state.

and recognition of social demands regarding ways of presentation of the past. As such, the past is expected to be presented in interesting, sometimes surprising and mysterious, ways. New propositions of well-established institutions are appreciated because the public is used to believing the that knowledge transmitted by them is trustworthy. Digital technologies are welcomed as helpful tools in presenting heritage to the public during physical (real) events. Cultural and heritage institutions eagerly use social media, such as Facebook, and regularly update their websites in order to provide their audience with up-to-date information regarding organized events.

Digital public archaeology is mainly used as an additional and helpful tool in promoting and advertising public archaeology projects. Nevertheless, many new undertakings emerge, i.e. virtual-only projects, but being very new ideas, they are rather addressed to young people. For example, there is a brand new Polish archaeological blog, established by PhD students of archaeology at Adam Mickiewicz University, called *The biography of archaeology*[21]. This blog was created to be a virtual space for archaeologists (especially young) to share new perspectives and individual researches, a space for exchanging information and discussion between professionals and non-professionals who are simply interested in archaeology. Time will show whether interest in archaeological texts published there will grow further to include the broader public and not only archaeology professionals (as is the case currently). Such activities are not very common in Poland. Websites are commonly owned by institutions aiming to gain virtual visibility and additional advertisement. Virtual-only projects are probably not so widely known, but this is very difficult to measure.

A very interesting new venture will be carried out this year on the 24th of July, having a virtual-only character. The Polish edition of

21 http://biografiaarcheologii.pl/ [24.04.2015]

the Day of Archaeology is organized by archaeologists from Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań. Outreach of this undertaking is yet to be known, but the initiative itself is well established in the present schema of digital knowledge dissemination and public engagement in science. The Polish Day of Archaeology follows a British[22] version of the event, which will be held this year for the fifth time. The Day of Archaeology is an annual, 24-hour virtual event which embraces adding posts on the website. Those posts must serve public insight in archaeologist profession, archaeology and social understanding of the past. The Day of Archaeology in Poland is a completely new undertaking, but may turn out into a very interesting large scale event.

On the other hand, social media services are overloaded with numerous fan pages dedicated to archaeological subjects. Any institution respecting social media's impact on contemporary society runs its own fan page. Moreover, people interested in archaeology also have their own fan pages, create virtual events, and so on. Those sites, mainly created on Facebook, are run by very different authors, but careful examination of published content shows that they mostly share the same or very similar information. Thus, they actually are an extension to information published in other media and virtual services.

Social media is very new but incredibly influential. However, the communities using them are, in their vast majority, only passive users, while only a tiny percentage of all users are considered as actually active ones. Thus, the real impact of archaeological fan pages on the public of social media is definitely very high but, on the other hand, extremely difficult to measure and absolutely impossible to control. Because of that, incorrect but extremely surprising, mysterious and interesting information is very often published, drawing great attention. Social media is a powerful

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22 www.dayofarchaeology.com [24.04.2015]

tool in spreading information which can be passed very quickly to the worldwide audience. Nevertheless, people tend to doubt unbelievable messages found via the internet much more often than if they see the same one on the pages of a newspaper or a book. And this is good, because curiosity and doubtfulness makes people look for the right answers, however, most often on the internet.

The projects presented above are just a drop in the sea of digital public archaeology undertakings of archaeologists and heritage and cultural institutions in Poland. They may serve as a presentation of general trends in using the Internet to communicate with the public. The major concern, however, is how to measure the actual feedback to those projects, and the general interest in such undertakings. As virtual reality becomes more and more important, sometimes even replacing reality, internet is becoming the most sufficient means of dissemination of archaeological knowledge. People are also more eager to express their opinion under the mask of internet anonymity, so archaeologists should definitely take closer notice of what is published via the internet in order to get the most desired feedback for their work.

Conclusions

History and its events becomes a general, but very influential background for the present needs of archaeological knowledge and how it should be presented. Looking back to the last century, it is evident that different political and economic occurrences had great impact on national recognition and understanding of the past. Archaeologists have always tried to show results of their work in museums, and later on in archaeological parks and reserves. During the past few decades, as entertainment became more important, archaeology also had to learn how to become an attractive touristic product, but with respect to scientific values. And so fetes, picnics, festivals and historical re-enactments began to draw attention of a mass audience, giving people the possibility to experience the past, empathize with their predecessors and learn through play. Presently archaeologists are looking to open a dialogue with society about the past and archaeology. For this purpose, they begin to use the internet and its tools, such as social media, websites with commonly created content, blogs, or regular websites, where everyone can speak their minds. Internet seems to become more and more important in presenting everyday life so, in order to engage the public in discussion about archaeology and the past, it must be taken into account very seriously.

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Blogging about the End Times: Dealing with the Fringes of Archaeology

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Abstract

The 2012-phenomenon is based on the idea that something important was expected to occur on December 21, 2012, a date associated with the ancient Maya Long Count calendar. Even though the date has passed, the overall phenomenon is unlikely to disappear because the dominant themes of the end of the world and/or a transformation of consciousness can be found in other 'alternative' histories. These non-academic histories are ultimately apocalyptic in nature. The 2012-phenomenon is also an example of an 'incorporeal hyperobject', i.e. an object widely distributed and repeated. It is not anchored in a specific time-space unit but it is manifested in many different corporeal objects. The 2012-phenomenon is different from the academic Mayanist incorporeal hyperobject because each of them uses different distinctions of what exists or not. These different objects cannot communicate directly in different media ecologies since different distinctions have formed each one. Hence, there can never be a sincere understanding of each camp. Only by perturbing another object can information be translated into meaning. The blog is such a medium that can affect incorporeal hyperobjects. This article discusses the way one blog has interacted with the 2012-phenomenon.

Keywords

2012, Maya calendar, Blogging, Apocalypse, Hyperobject, Incorporeal Machine

Introduction

The public view of the ancient and contemporary Maya in media and at tourist sites is often affected by stereotypes, exoticism, and ethnocentrism (Castañeda 1996; Hervik 1998; Normark 2004). Nowhere is this clearer than in the so-called 2012-phenomenon/2012-meme (Aveni 2009; Boot 2013; Gelfer 2011; Hoopes 2011; Normark 2014; Restall and Solari 2011; Sitler 2012; Stuart 2011; Van Stone 2010; Whitesides 2013; Whitesides and Hoopes 2012). This phenomenon is a mixture of New Age beliefs about a transformation of consciousness, speculations regarding the end of the world through cataclysmic events (e.g. super volcanoes, polar shifts, the fictional planet Nibiru causing massive destruction), Atlantis, creationism, aliens, numerology, conspiracy theories regarding the Illuminati that wants to install a new world order, the US presidential elections in 2008 and 2012, etc. The 2012-phenomenon is also part of 'Mayanism' which is a mixture of ideas that attempt to "marshal scientific evidence for spiritual and religious goals through the invention of sacred tradition" (Hoopes 2011:39).

The distorted view of the Maya and their Long Count calendar entered the greater public awareness through Roland Emmerich's 2009 disaster movie *2012* but the origins of the 2012-phenomenon can be traced back to the publication of Michael Coe's book *The Maya* in 1966 (Whitesides and Hoopes 2012). The market for books, websites, blogs and forums concerning 2012, authored by self-proclaimed prophets and experts, along with the forever popular Nostradamus, increased tremendously, especially in the USA. Some of these '2012ers' searched for the meaning of life or wished for a better world. Ancient cultures were ascribed several noble qualities and primordial wisdom we were supposed to learn from. Other 2012ers focused on people's fear and emphasized the end of the world. But it was a Christian apocalypse these people visualized with little to no connection to the Pre-Columbian Maya. Even though the 'end-date' has passed, the 2012-phenomenon still has an attraction, although it is greatly reduced. It will most likely be absorbed by future 'end of the world' scenarios, New Age mythology, and Mayanism.

The 2012-phenomenon prevailed and to some degree still prevails on internet, blogs, and discussion forums. Dealing with these views was therefore preferably done through social media. While blogging about various parts of this phenomenon, I encountered everything from threats and ad hominem attacks, to dismissals on the grounds that I am biased because I am part of the academia. I have also experienced positive feedback on the attempts to uncover frauds and explain misconceptions. Although my blog, *Archaeological Haecceities* (www.haecceities.wordpress.com), is primarily dedicated to Mayanist studies and what I term Neorealist Archaeology, the 2012 topic of the blog became the most popular one for several years as it was primarily directed to the public. I began writing about the 2012-phenomenon when Emmerich's movie began to be advertised in 2009. The first post on the topic was written on April 5, 2009. I decided to stop active blogging on December 21, 2013, one year after 'the end'. This article deals with how this blog participated in a media ecology surrounding the 2012-phenomenon up until the passing of the 'end date'. It will partially be based on my personal experiences and some quantitative data from the blog statistics.

The incorporeal hyperobjects

In order to describe this broad phenomenon and how my blog became a minor part of it, I choose not to view '2012' as a discourse or meme since it includes 'physical' objects that play significant roles. The 2012-phenomenon shall be seen as one object consisting of other objects. In this 'object-oriented' perspective the distinction between subject and object is erased. All objects are 'democratic' because they are not measured from the human subject (Bryant 2011b). Contrary to Latour's Actor Network Theory (ANT), relations are less important than the objects themselves (Harman 2009, 2011a). I shall combine Levi Bryant's (2014) concept of 'incorporeal machines' with Timothy Morton's (2013) 'hyperobject': the 'incorporeal hyperobject'.

Basically, a machine is an entity that operates on inputs and produces outputs. 'Corporeal machines' are made of physical bodies and exist for certain durations (Bryant 2014:23-26). Incorporeal machines, on the other hand, are characterized "by iterability, potential eternity, and the capacity to manifest themselves in a variety of different spatial and temporal locations at once while retaining their identity" (Bryant 2014:26). The contents of a book, a law, an equation, a number or a 'meme' are incorporeal machines. The 2012-phenomenon has been repeated in many different contexts. Potentially it is eternal since it can be repeated for eons in very different contexts that we cannot imagine today. However, all incorporeal machines need a corporeal machine in order to exist among other corporeal machines (Bryant 2014:29). These corporeal machines are not eternal. They are finite.

The 2012-phenomenon exists in brains, books, Facebook, printouts, memory sticks, DVDs, movies, etc. Even the ancient Maya Long Count calendar is an incorporeal machine, being manifested in hundreds of ancient Maya monuments and modern textbooks. The 2012-date derives from one such Long Count date called Thirteen Baktun. Thirteen Baktun has been translated into the Gregorian calendar and when that translation occurred in print the 2012-incorporeal machine was born and began to generate its own outputs. Since the passing of the 'end date', the rate of outputs has drastically decreased, if traffic to my blog is any indicator. Figure 1 shows the number of total visits per month for a two year period

(August 2011 to July 2013). December 2012 stands out followed by a rapid decline in traffic. Note that this figure shows all traffic, including non-2012 related posts. In the post-December 2012 era it is primarily the '2012'-related posts that have decreased in popularity whereas the other posts remain much less affected.

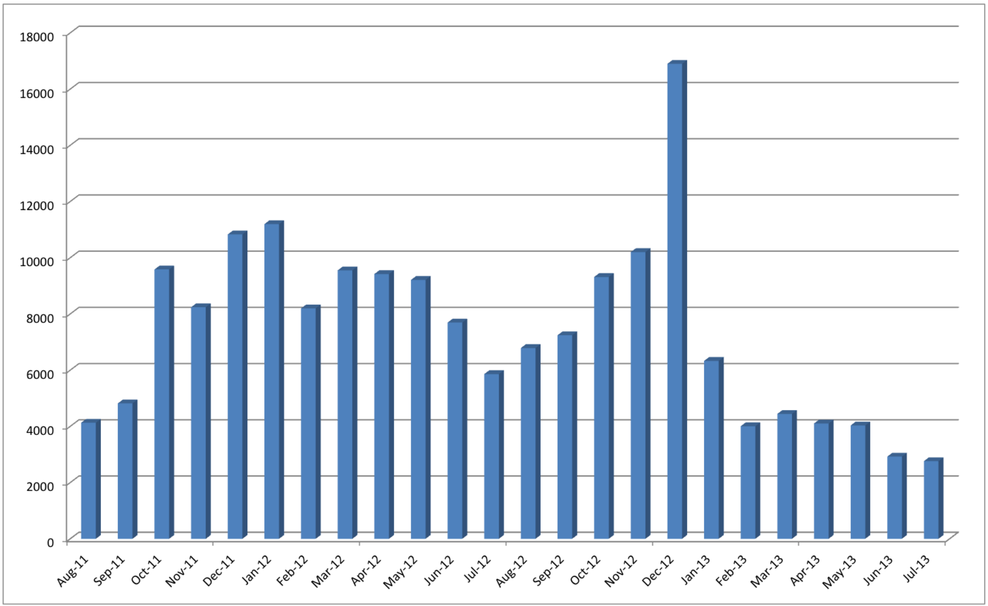

Figure 1. Number of monthly hits on Archaeological Haecceities between August 2011 and July 2013.

The second part of the incorporeal hyperobject concept is an entity that is not occupying a singular time and space unit like an average artefact. You can never hold a hyperobject in your hand. It is everywhere and nowhere at the same time. For example, as a hyperobject '2012' is greater than the single book, article, movie, etc. where each '2012' is locally manifested. The hyperobject is more than the sum of all these manifestations and the objects that these in their turn have affected. As such, the hyperobject also affects its parts because the hyperobject is locally manifested in various objects which have nothing to do with the Gregorian date itself, but which have become incorporated into the hyperobject by the incorporeal machine. Some of these objects are: Monument 6 at Tortuguero in Mexico, Hieroglyphic Stairway 2 at La Corona in Guatemala, the site of Izapa in Mexico, The Milky Way, the Aztec Calendar Stone, books (*The Maya* by Michael D. Coe, *2012: Maya Cosmogenesis* by John Major Jenkins, etc.), blogs, internet forums, Wikipedia, Facebook, History Channel, blockbuster movies, etc. Here the hyperobject is 'everywhere' but it is not reducible to one single object (it is 'nowhere'). Therefore, Monument 6 at Tortuguero is an object with the same ontological status as one of Jenkins's books. The 2012-hyperobject itself is always 'withdrawn'. We can never reach its 'essence'; only the local manifestation(s) of 2012 can be described (Bryant 2011; Harman 2011a). The '2012-hyperobject' can therefore be inferred, deduced, and abducted, but it cannot be encountered (i.e. Morton 2013). Nevertheless, objects that are part of the 2012-hyperobject are also independent of it. Monument 6 at Tortuguero has many other qualities. It has been and still is part of other entities, such as the Classic period *ajawlel* ('divine kingship'). It is the incorporeal machine that drives the 2012-hyperobject. Without it, the objects would be treated differently and the hyperobject would 'evaporate'.

I shall treat academic Mayanists in a similar way. Here the concept of 'Maya culture' acts as an incorporeal machine, driving a vast hyperobject that includes scholars, students, universities, institutions, sites, monuments, ceramics, books, courses, excavations, etc. Instead of using the burdensome terms 'the 2012 incorporeal hyperobject' and 'the academic Mayanist incorporeal hyperobject' throughout this article, I will simply refer to them as the '2012-object' and the 'academic-object'.

My blog's place in the 2012-object, the academic-object, and the surrounding media ecology, is what is in focus here. The method is simple. After outlining the context of the phenomenon, apocalypticism and media ecology, I shall use examples from my interaction with the objects and people in social media and old media. I do not use quotes from the 3100+ comments made on my blog, only search terms. The only quotes from non-scholars are from my appearance in a TV-show.

2012

This article will not provide a complete coverage of the broad 2012-object. However, a brief summary of the main ideas are in order for the newbie reader. The 2012-object has only superficial connections to the ancient Maya. It is mainly the Long Count date called 13 Baktun (or *Pik* in Classic Maya), commonly believed to correlate with December 21, 2012, which the Maya indirectly has contributed with. The Long Count calendar usually has five units or periods: *kin* (1 day), *winal* (20 days), *tun* (18 winals or 360 days), *katun* (20 tuns), and baktun (20 katuns). In inscriptions a Long Count date is followed by dates in two other calendars; the 260-days long *tzolkin* and the 365-days long *haab* (which actually is 360 days + 5 extra days called *wayeb*).

A Long Count date records the number of days which have passed since the beginning of the calendar (which is transcribed as 0.0.0.0.0). This occurred on the 11th of August 3114 BC according to the Goodman-Martinez-Thompson (GMT)-correlation constant, which most likely is wrong by at least two or three days (Aldana 2011; Martin and Skidmore 2012). The beginning date coincides with what many people assume is the end of a preceding 'cycle' of 13 baktuns because that particular 0.0.0.0.0 was written in Maya inscriptions as 13.0.0.0.0. 4 Ajaw 8 Kumk'u. The 13 Baktun of "2012" is 13.0.0.0.0 4 Ajaw 3 K'ankin. To the ancient Maya this was without a doubt an important 'Period Ending' but there is no indication that it was the last one ever or the last one in a cycle. Stuart (2011) suggests a much more complex system based on Stela 1 at the Mexican site of Coba.

Most 2012ers, as I collectively call them, are not acquainted with the intricacies of the Long Count calendar. The 2012ers link the calendar to other myths, calendars, astrologies and cosmologies from other parts of the world and argue that there is an ancient global and/or extraterrestrial/extradimensional reason why all these calendars and cosmological systems supposedly end or change on the same date. Most 2012ers tend to agree that the established time frame of 13 baktuns, or roughly 5125 years (3114 BC – AD 2012), is significant on a global level. The beginning of the calendar roughly coincides with the first dynasty in Egypt and the early dynasties in Mesopotamia. These are not coincidences according to some 2012ers. The beginning of the calendar is sometimes associated with a cataclysmic event, such as when Plato's imagined island of Atlantis sank and its survivors spread knowledge, including commemoration of this event, to other places. In these Atlantis-affiliated speculations of hyperdiffusion, all civilizations have the same origin (Hoopes 2011).

Another version suggests that alien astronauts from another planet in our solar system (Nibiru), called Annunaki (Sumerian deities according to academics), used humans as slaves and instructed them to build monumental buildings (Sitchin 2007). Another favorite place of extraterrestrial origin is the Pleiades, suggested by Osmanagic, inventor of the Bosnian pyramids (Normark 2012). Calleman (2009) has gone even further and suggests that the whole history of the universe is described by the Long Count calendar. Contrary to most other 2012ers, Jenkins (1998, 2009) has a good understanding of the Maya calendar. Contrary to most academic Mayanists, Jenkins connects the Long Count to the astronomical phenomenon known as the precession of the equinoxes and the Milky Way. According to him, the winter solstice sunrise of 2012 was central to the whole Long Count as the sun rose in the galactic centre and thus initiated a new age according to him. This event occurred on December 21, 11:12 GMT (not 11:11 as is commonly believed).

The first person to mention the ‘end date’ was an academic Mayanist (a fact first pointed out by the archaeologist John Hoopes). In the first edition of *The Maya* (1966), Michael Coe related the supposed end date of the Long Count to Armageddon, although he got the date wrong (December 24, 2011). This error was corrected in subsequent editions but unfortunately the association with an apocalypse and/or Armageddon remains in these later editions. The Maya calendar became part of the countercultural milieu of the 1970s and 1980s. Not until Robert Sharer first published a “correct end date” in his revised version of Sylvanus Morley’s (1983) *The Ancient Maya* did ‘2012’-affiliated people like Terence McKenna and José Argüelles use the date in their work (Whitesides and Hoopes 2012). In 1987, Argüelles urged people to meditate at sacred sites in various parts of the world. This coordinated act, the Harmonic Convergence, was orchestrated to stop Armageddon in 2012 (Whitesides 2013, 81). When the “doomsday” hype surrounding the year 2000, also known as Y2K, declined, the 2012-phenomenon caught momentum (Whitesides 2013, 74).

In short, the 2012-object has only to do with our present or, rather, our recent past. It has nothing to do with an ancient Maya prophecy about the world’s end because we know very little of what the Maya thought about 13 Baktun because the Long Count ceased to be used over one millennium ago. Few contemporary Maya were involved in the 2012-phenomenon and only a limited number of Maya Elders had been seduced by non-Maya New Agers who found the Maya worldview of interest (Sitler 2012). These Elders never mentioned December 21, 2012 or the Aztec 5 Suns or the precession of the equinoxes of roughly 26,000 years before they came in contact with New Agers (Jenkins 2009). Even if these Elders often talked about the end of days, one should always keep in mind that the Maya area has been under Christian influence for nearly 500 years. As with many other phenomena, even their view of time has changed to a substantial degree due to the Spanish presence (Hanks 2010).

Symptoms of the 2012-object

If there is something that unites the various 'camps' of the 2012-object it is that they dislike the current state of affairs and they wish to see a radical change. In that sense they are all apocalyptic. Religious apocalyptic narratives dominate as local manifestations of the 2012-object, but there are also secular apocalyptic narratives within this 2012-object. For example, Jenkins (2009) refers to the battle between 'good' (One Hunahpu) and 'evil' (Seven Macaw) forces in the Kiché Maya creation myth Popol Vuh and relates them to Barack Obama and George W Bush. Calleman's (2009) model argues that mass extinctions have preceded transformations in consciousness in Earth's history. Hence, these apocalyptic ideas are versions of a much broader phenomenon.

Levi Bryant, a psychoanalyst and a philosopher, sees apocalypticism in popular culture as a symptom that speaks of a truth in disguised form. The apocalyptic fantasies are nothing but utopian longings for a different order. This new order can only emerge when everything collapses through some divine-like force and brings about the end of the current 'world order'. Bryant suggests that "the sorts of apocalyptic fantasies we encounter in religion and popular culture are *metonymical displacements* or screens of *real* […] catastrophes that are facing us" (Bryant 2011a, original emphasis). In the years preceding the 2012 date, we saw earthquakes, tsunamis, hurricanes Katrina and Sandy, nuclear disaster in Japan, the economic and political rise of China, economic turmoil in the west, the occupy Wall Street movement, volcanic eruptions, sea-level rising, Arabic revolutions, Al Qaeda, etc. In the post-2012 era, these problems have not disappeared with Russia's expansion into Crimea, the continued rise of right-wing extremism in Europe, IS in Syria and Iraq, similar terror groups in Somalia and Nigeria, earthquakes in Nepal, and Ebola in West Africa. These events spread anxiety among people who seek easy explanations and solutions to what appears to be the beginning of the end of the world (or at least the 'Western civilization'). These ideas are not just harbored by the fringe. Žižek (2011) argues that obscene corruption hides behind liberalism and Western democracy as we head towards 'barbarism'.

From this perspective, the 2012-phenomenon refers to the truth "that we really are facing global catastrophe. *Knowledge* of this truth would entail seeing how this global catastrophe is deeply linked to capitalism, climate change, and the link between the two. Instead, within the popular imaginary, we get a distortion of this link, presenting impending catastrophe as the result of cosmic supernatural forces fighting a battle between good and evil" (Bryant 2011a, original emphasis). What better example than the 'mysterious' calendar in the 2012-object, the political collapse of the Classic Maya, or their said metaphysical departure into space or another dimension can one desire? This is the attraction of the Maya (Hoopes 2011; Normark 2013).

Why is this knowledge disguised this way? Why do people seek far-fetched conspiracy theories and otherworld speculations? Bryant (2011a, original emphasis) states that "apocalyptic fantasies allow those that harbor them to simultaneously acknowledge the truth of the ravages of capitalism and impending environmental disaster, while *simultaneously* continuing to live as they wish, keeping the system in place that is leading in these directions." Few of the online 2012ers are willing to put words into action. They are armchair revolutionaries that want Nature, God, aliens or the Maya Calendar to do the dirty work for them. Hence, '2012' is primarily an apocalyptic phenomenon related to a mixture of Christian end-of-the-world beliefs, New Age, and astrology coupled with pseudoscientific interpretations of current sustainable problems.

Distinctions and indications

Neurologist Steven Novella (2012) discusses a particular kind of pseudoscientist, which is quite common in the 2012-object. This is the 'crank' who does not understand the way science works because he/she does not grasp the communication within the academic-object. A crank "tries very hard to be a real scientist but is hopelessly crippled by a combination of incompetence and a tendency to interpret their own incompetence as overwhelming genius" (Novella 2012). By being 'open-minded' the cranks expand their field of 'distinction' to whatever suits their interest.

When facing a multitude of various real and imaginary objects, we as individuals or the systems/objects we are part of (academia and 2012 in this case) will make a distinction by marking what is of relevance to us or the system. This means that the 2012-object makes other basic distinctions than the academic-object does. Distinctions are *contingent* and they can always be drawn otherwise and therefore produce other objects as effects (Bryant 2011b:139). The academic-object excludes ancient alien spacecraft and instantaneous pole shifts as possible objects and events in their system of knowledge. The 2012-object includes these.

The 2012-object communicates only within itself as all systems/objects withdraw from each other. Operations of the 2012-object only refer to itself because communication takes place within a system but never between systems. A system cannot communicate with its environment and vice versa (Bryant 2011b). This means that the academic-object never truly communicates with the 2012-object. Even though academics and 2012ers on occasion interact, their distinctions sort the information differently and only indirectly is there communication. Outside objects/systems may perturb and affect the 2012-object, as I constantly tried to do through my blog. However, what I wrote was/is not information for the perturbed 2012-object.

Any information that may enter the 2012-object is constituted by the distinctions that belong to the organization of the object itself. The same perturbation can therefore affect different objects and produce different information (Bryant 2011b: 140). For example, in early 2011, I wrote two blog posts about two events with world-wide media coverage (the Japanese tsunami [March 11, 2011] and dead birds falling from the sky [January 5, 2011]) and I connected them to the Maya calendar and the 2012-phenomenon to see if people actually made these connections. It only took a few seconds after posting to attract 2012-related traffic to my blog. Search terms like 'japan tsunami 2012' and '2012 birds' were abundant for a few days onwards.

Other systems/objects make their own interpretation of the 2012-object and they may pick up a part of it and turn it into information for their own system, information that may have a completely different meaning in its new context. For example, John Hoopes points out that the 2012-object interacts with "Anonymous and hacktivism through the Project Mayhem 2012 […] which makes no use of references to the Maya but does appropriate the 12-21-12 11:11 time as one of its foci" (personal communication 2012).

Media ecology

The medium is not just a container for content because it also influences content (Bryant 2011c; Robbert 2011). This is obvious when we look at how leading Mayanists have confronted the 2012-object. What professional academic Mayanists face are people who believe that they themselves are 'thinking outside the box' and they accuse academics and the public for being trapped within.

Most academic Mayanists that attempted to confront the 2012-phenomenon did it through traditional media, such as peer-reviewed journals and books. Therefore academic Mayanists usually inhabited different media ecology than the ones they wished to confront or interact with. A perfect example is the 2011 issue of *Archaeoastronomy: The Journal of Astronomy in Culture* that deals with the 2012-phenomenon. This issue cost between $42 and $100 (depending on where you live). It was unlikely to be read by many 2012ers. Money sorted people out. Hence, the hierarchical structure of academic Mayanist research was and still is ineffective when it deals with the 2012-object because these two objects cannot really communicate due to the different distinctions they make and the different platforms and ecologies they inhabit. They are parts of two different objects and the only direct communication possible is within the same object, not between different objects.

One early place for academic discussion regarding the 2012-phenomenon was the Aztlan Listserv (http://www.famsi.org/listinfo.html). More recently, John Hoopes has written many Wikipedia entries on Mayanism (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mayanism) and the 2012-phenomenon (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2012_phenomenon), Kevin Whitesides maintains a Facebook page called '2012 Research Discussion Group' (https://www.facebook.com/groups/271177412901852), David Stuart's blog *Maya Decipherment* (http://decipherment.wordpress.com/) has had some posts mentioning 2012, and YouTube clips by Mark Van Stone are available (https://www.youtube.com/user/markvanstone2012/videos). There may be more than these examples but compared to the volumes produced by 2012ers, these academic contributions drown in a sea of misinformation (with the exception of the Wikipedia entries that rank high on Google with millions of visitors). Although the 2012ers also published books, their ideas primarily spread on blogs, Facebook, Twitter, forums, and other websites.

The main contrast between the traditional media ecology that most academic Mayanists inhabit and that of the blogosphere, and other social media, is that the sorting process that selects who gets an opportunity to express oneself is greatly reduced. Blogs work differently than traditional media. Academic texts are presented at conferences and are later published in academic journals and presses. Seldom do they leave the academic-object. Editors of journals, presses, and the organizers of conferences define topics, legitimate thought, content, etc. In this media ecology, one accesses other research through the journal and press. This hierarchical media ecology therefore defines who gets to participate (Bryant 2011c). The 2012ers fall outside this sorting process and some of them feel frustrated about this situation. No clearer is this demonstrated than in John Major Jenkins's review of David Stuart's (2011) book *The Order of Days* on Amazon.com where Jenkins sees leading Mayanists as gatekeepers that define what is accepted knowledge (Normark 2011).

Social media, such as the blog, challenges the academic mode of knowledge-distribution and reproduction. Journals maintain strict disciplinary boundaries targeting specialists in a particular field whereas social media undermine this academic hierarchy (Bryant 2011c). However, it is easy to understand why few Mayanists wrote about the 2012-phenomenon online. When David Stuart (2012) blogged about his discovery of a new reference to 13 Baktun at the site of La Corona in Guatemala, the comment section was soon filled by two fringe researchers and discussion went off topic. Two very different objects attempted to interpret the same monument and it did not turn out well.

Novella's (2012) crank is someone who has created an image of what science is like from popular culture (Hollywood productions, National Geographic, Discovery Channel, History Channel, etc), i.e. from the very media ecology that maintains archaeology as a brand (Holtorf 2007). However, popular media does not communicate with archaeology because it translates archaeological concepts and results into what can give them good ratings or many readers. In popular media, science is often portrayed as the work of the lone genius that develops ideas on his/her own (i.e. Holtorf 2005). Advances in knowledge are often described as being mocked or ignored by the 'orthodox' scientists. However, this is not how science actually works. All scientific disciplines demand knowledge about a great amount of information before one can make any serious contributions. This means that most of us can only make a small contribution to science and this is after the ideas have been presented at conferences and passed through peer-reviews. This process "weeds out ideas that are fatally flawed or just hopelessly nonsensical. In other words – it weeds out cranks. Of course, cranks don't like this, so they wail against the mainstream" (Novella 2012). Most importantly for this article, cranks use social media to wail against science.

Dealing with the fringe

Thus, there was a great variety of 2012-narratives. Why was this even a problem to an academic blogger like me? The problem was multifaceted but my main concern was that most 2012ers were ethnocentric and hostile towards science. People merged disparate ideas and created ignorance and/or fears among its followers. If the 2012-object contained apocalyptic fantasies and reflected what some people actually feared, how should academics have dealt with these ideas in the media ecology? Some academics, like myself, 'debunked' the various claims made by 2012-proponents and other cranks. When I did this I was not participating in the same incorporeal hyperobject as the one(s) I debunked but the media ecology was one and the same.

Debunking is not popular among relativistic archaeologists. Holtorf (2005) is appalled by the way archaeologists often deal with alternative or fringe 'archaeologies'. Holtorf rejects all universal methodological rules; to him, any interpretation and method is as good as any other and archaeologists should not have the upper hand in interpretation. Instead, he emphasizes "the social and cultural needs that both scientific and alternative archaeologies address and suggest that the main significance of archaeology does not lie in the specific insights gained about the past but in the very process of engaging with the material remains of the past in the present. Critical understanding and dialogue, not dismissive polemics, is the appropriate way to engage with the multiple pasts and alternative archaeologies in contemporary society" (Holtorf 2005:544).

Holtorf exemplifies the attitude some archaeologists have towards 'alternative archaeologists' with Garrett Fagan. Fagan dismisses views that are not in line with his scientific approach "as 'ideologically driven pseudoscience' usually drawing on certain mythic motifs, such as 'The Vindicated Thinker' who embarks on a quest 'tackling some terrific mystery or secret of the past' and finally emerges as the hero that brings sensationalist news that requires 'rewriting the history books from page one'" (Holtorf 2005:545).

For Holtorf this is an opinionated and patronizing view that is damaging for archaeology because he argues that there are mythic overtones in science as well. The Vindicated Thinker is a powerful theme in many popularized accounts of archaeology. However, this is the way media reports, how archaeology appears in the media ecology, not how most archaeologists describe their own work. Holtorf conflates the media ecology with the academic-object, and ignores the very different distinctions that make up different incorporeal hyperobjects. For example, various popular TV-shows on '2012' provide "a purportedly factual depiction of stigmatized readings of ancient cultures and modern science, with the appearance of being sanctioned by expert opinion…" (Whitesides

2013:77). Popular media ecologies tend to emphasize speculative and supposedly ‘controversial’ ideas.

I do understand what Holtorfs is arguing for and on my blog I have on occasion, sometimes regrettably, used dismissive rhetoric in my dealings with the 2012ers, but I have never claimed that there is one truth or one appropriate method. What I argue for is not a relativistic approach which is at the core of Holtorf’s view of archaeology. The object-oriented perspective presented here includes a multitude of various interpretations because each object creates its own manifestation of another object. What Holtorf’s view misses, because he conflates all discourses/objects into a seamless relativistic whole, is that, for example, the 2012-object did and still does not communicate with the academic-object. In order to communicate with its parts, you have to strive to become part of it yourself and that can never fully succeed. Through the blog, one can participate in both hyperobjects at the same time but readers of the blog posts will draw different conclusions based on their ‘affiliation’.

On October 18, 2011, Holtorf invited Semir Osmanagic to Linnaeus University in Kalmar, Sweden. Osmanagic ‘terraforms’ Bosnian hills/mountains into pyramids so they suit his claim that they were built by aliens from the Pleiades (among other things) (Holtorf & Hilton 2012; Normark 2012; Pruitt 2012). Osmanagic must be taken seriously or at least be treated respectfully from Holtorf’s perspective. To me this is a problematic way of dealing with ‘alternative’ researchers. It only gives them a degree of credibility which they do not deserve. Osmanagic can only be given credibility in spiritual, religious, and subjective beliefs, but not in the academic-object. Holtorf makes no effort to study the cranks themselves since he takes their side against the ‘patronizing’ scientists. Kristiansen (2008) also points out that Holtorf sides with the popular view. Holtorf (2008) replies, that we should be open-minded to other views. Ironically, being open-minded is not an uncommon self-image among 2012ers commenting on my blog. It is easy to be open-minded when one can expand one's field of distinction to include whatever one wants to believe. Let us take an example occurring in real time.

The academic—and 2012—objects interact in media ecology

My blogging activity led to several appearances in old media the days before the 'end-date' on December 21, 2012. During my appearance in Nyhetsmorgon on TV4 (a Swedish morning live show) on December 20, 2012, I was joined by the Swedish Yoga-instructor/celebrity/actress Malin Berghagen (http://www.tv4play.se/program/nyhetsmorgon?video_id=2252815). She had been invited to represent the 'New Age' faction (no 'doomsdayer' was invited). I was there to represent the 'academic expertise'.

The TV-hosts Jenny Strömstedt and Steffo Törnquist began by asking me if there would be a doomsday the following day. I answered them what the academic position was regarding Monument 6 at Tortuguero. I concluded that there is no doomsday. Then the hosts turned their attention to Berghagen who stated that this is not her opinion either. Berghagen replied that religions emphasize doomsday, apocalypse, and fear. She believed we were facing the end of an era and she said that the date 12-12-12 recently had passed and that this will not reappear for a long time. Bear in mind that she made a numerological connection between the 12th day of the 12th month of the year 2012 in the Gregorian calendar and the (then) upcoming end of the 13 Baktun in the Mayan Long Count calendar. These calendars have no connection with each other apart from scholarly attempts to correlate them. They do not even use the same numerical system (we use a decimal system and the Maya used a vigesimal system).

Berghagen also talked about personal observations in her Yoga classes. People who attended her classes had gone through changes like divorces and illnesses in 2010 and 2011. In 2012 these things had become better. She also mentioned that astrologers (and astronomers!) she knew read what is written in the stars. The year 2012 was the era of breakup and she mentioned that 2013 is the number of a goddess so that must be good for some unstated numerological reason.

After this 'clarification' of the New Age standpoint, the TV-hosts asked me why the hieroglyphs at the end of the passage that mention 13 Baktun on Monument 6 are eroded. I told them that this is probably the effects of the monument being old and being buried in the ground. Berghagen added that "we can fill in the blanks ourselves".

This section was followed by a several minutes long clip, shot at the Observatory Museum in Stockholm two weeks earlier. Strömstedt introduced this section with more or less this phrasing: "now we are going to watch a people closely related to the Maya Indians, the Inca Indians". First of all, 'Indian' is usually a derogative term in the Americas. Second of all, indirectly she says that all 'Indians' are related or similar in one way or another, which is a gross generalization. The Observatory Museum had been visited by two *paq'os* or healers (Don Dante and Don Mariano) from the Q'ero. The Q'ero were said to have lived 'isolated' on mountain peaks for 500 years and they had now left the Andes to tell people in the West about their prophecy. Don Dante and Don Mariano told us that "between December 21 and 24, the energy from four Suns will be united. Great sources of energy will emerge and a portal will be opened. This is a time for reflection". To them there was no doomsday, only an era of positive changes.

After the show I found out that the two paq'os had been on tour visiting New Agers in Sweden and Europe. I have no doubt that the supposed connection between their prophecy and the Maya calendar had been introduced to the paq'os by Western New Agers visiting the Andes. This is one of the reasons Berghagen's point of view was similar to their view. It shows how the 'pizza effect' works, an effect that has driven the whole 2012-object. This is a hermeneutic feedback loop in which the Western invention of the 2012-tradition is falsely claimed to have originated in another culture. However, this invented tradition has filtered back into Maya culture (Whitesides and Hoopes 2012:53), and other indigenous groups by the 'help' from Western New Agers.

The 'Maya doomsday'/New Age point of view structured Nyhetsmorgon that morning. It was brought up at the beginning of the show and it was maintained throughout the whole show. The 2012-phenomenon was a fun curiosity, just as media treated it from the beginning. The producers of the morning show thought that the opinion of a Yoga instructor with no knowledge of the Maya and their calendar(s) was as equally valid as that of an academic Mayanist. There was clearly little to no interest in the academic-object. There was no communication between the objects within this media ecology. The media only focused on the sensational part and that excluded the academic-object.

After being interviewed in several Swedish newspapers, radio, and TV shows during a couple of days I noticed common tendencies. Most news media were surprised that the Maya did not predict anything of what the 2012-phenomenon was about. This means that most news media only repeated what other news media reported. They seldom looked into what the academic object had to say (exceptions were Vetenskapsradion and Kulturnyheterna). This tendency was most clearly seen in the frequent questions I received regarding the various mountains in Europe where people were said to have sought refuge, most commonly Bugarach in France, but also on mountains in Serbia and Turkey. These mountains were virtually nonexistent in the 2012-object. They may have been important in earlier 'doomsday' or New Age mythologies, but not in this one.

Concluding discussion

Most 2012ers lack formal education in archaeology, astronomy, Maya studies, etc. and they usually see this as something positive because they believe they 'think outside the box'. Instead of trying to understand the complexities inherent in all established knowledge, they reject most of it, cherry pick what suits them, and create something that is filled with logical gaps and inconsistency. If we follow Holtorf's suggestions, these 2012 myth-makers must be taken seriously since the scientific view of the Maya and their calendars is also based on myths (the way various epigraphers are idolized for being crackers of codes, archaeologists finding extraordinary tombs or sites with inscriptions, etc.). But this is how others describe the Mayanists, usually not how they describe themselves (although there are exceptions of course).

We find another pattern among major figures in the 2012-object or Mayanism. Calleman (2009) claims that he has discovered that the Long Count reflects the evolution of the universe, life, and consciousness, Osmanagic (2007) claims to have discovered the "mother of all pyramids," and Jenkins (2009) believes his "pioneering research" has found out the truth behind what he sees as the most intriguing date in history. These are their own descriptions of their own feats. Here, the myth-makers' influence on people should be taken seriously because their myths are taken seriously. Should they be taken seriously as an alternative archaeological/Mayanist explanation? Not until their ideas have gone through peer-review and been approved.

One cannot conflate New Age myth-makers with the way an academic Mayanist might appear in popular media. The main difference is that the cranks' whole self-image and commercial and public success rely on emphasizing their self-created myths. That is usually not the case for the academic scholar. We do not debunk or criticize the fringe because we feel threatened by them, as Holtorf argues; we do it because we want research in our discipline to be based on a great body of information that is of relevance to the contexts under discussion. The Big Bang, quantum physics, alien space ships, multi-dimensions, or instantaneous polar shifts are not relevant for understanding the Maya Long Count. In Maya epigraphy and archaeology these things fall outside the distinction of what can be known. Some people also debunk pseudoscience because it has a bad historical reputation. Explanations that seek the origin of Maya civilization to some Aryan Pleiadeans, Annunaki, or the lost tribes of Israel rather than the Maya themselves are ethnocentric at best and racist at worst.

Should we let people live out their fantasies without pointing out what is wrong with the (dis)information they assess? It would be a great mistake not trying to inform people about the intricacies in research. What one cannot stop people from doing is to translate what one says into something different. Academic Maya research will never be able to affect 'Mayanism' into a more realistic view. As an academic blogger, I can only hope to perturb the 2012-object as much as possible, even to implant new ideas which the 2012ers have not thought about themselves, such as a potential new "end date" of October 2, 2027, a date based on the Aztec calendar. Why? If one conducts an internet search for 'Maya calendar', it is the image of the Aztec calendar stone that shows up, not a Maya calendar. The Aztec calendar stone has nothing to do with the Long Count. Maybe, then, it is possible that the year 2027 can be associated with the 'correct' image.

Traffic to some of the earliest 2012-related blog posts I wrote in 2009 shows some interesting trajectories up until the present day (May 12, 2015) (figure 2). Interest in the works of Terence McKenna, Gregg Braden, and Semir Osmanagic remains largely unaffected after 2012 whereas interest in the works of Patrick Geryl and Carl Johan Calleman has dropped considerably. The first three people only included “2012” as a minor part of their own New Age-related work. Geryl’s focus on cataclysmic events in 2012 had a ‘best-before-date’ and so did Calleman’s focus on October 28, 2011, as the end date (which explains why his popularity began to drop at the end of 2011). As for 2015, the ‘2027’ curve rises steadily. In fact, between May 12, 2014 and May 12, 2015, ‘2027’ has been the most popular search term on my blog (81 hits compared to 10 for ‘Osmanagic’ and 5 for ‘Calleman’). It will be interesting to follow its trajectory for the next 12 years particularly since 2027 is also connected to a Biblical prophecy, a solar eclipse, and the passing of an asteroid.

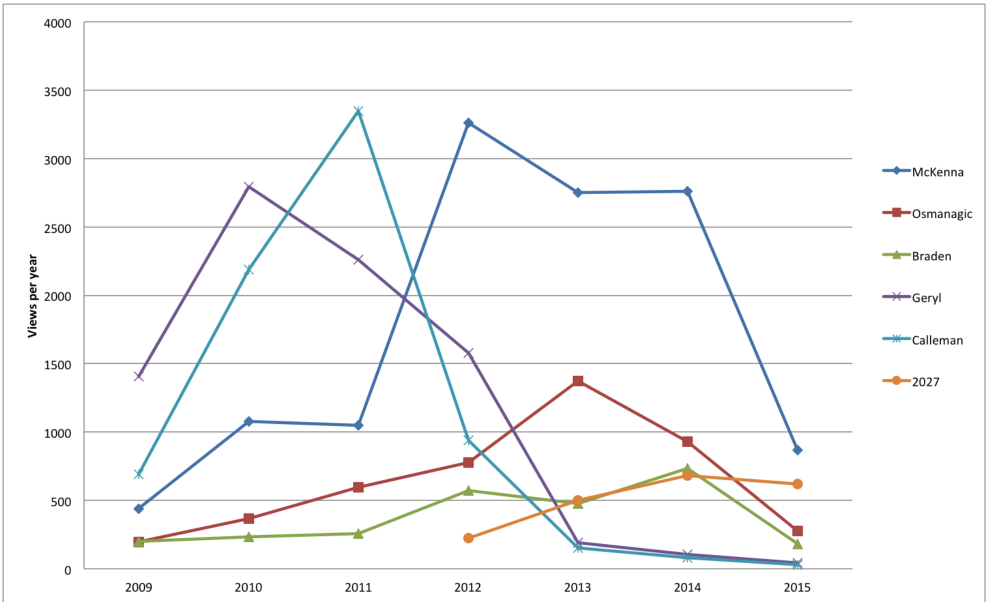

Figure 2. The popularity of a couple of 2012-related posts since 2009.

Despite the claims about being ‘open-minded’, it is the 2012ers who are orthodox because they and the 2012-object rely on ‘necessity’. This is the same underlying assumption in theism and atheism according to Meillassoux (2008). Even instantaneous polar-shifts are by necessity loosely based on the ‘laws of nature’.

By necessity there is a purpose of the Callemanian universe, etc. So far I have not seen any 2012er go as far as to say something like Meillassoux's (2008) claim that the laws of universe can change at an instant and that there is an inexistent God that may come to exist ex nihilo (Harman 2011b). One could argue, following Bard and Söderqvist (2014), that internet already is this 'God'.

No '2012er' rethinks reality as profoundly provocative as some of the speculative realists. Each 2012er basically creates his/her own subjective universe and seldom do they engage in a critical discussion about each other's work, like academics do with their colleagues' work. Let time tell if Meillassoux's "divine inexistence" becomes part of a possible 2027-object. If so, my blogging perturbations of the 2012-object has succeeded.

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Of Pyramids and Dictators: Memory, Work and the Significance of Communist Heritage in Post-Socialist Albania

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Abstract

The communist regime that governed Albania between 1944 and 1991 has left considerable architectural remains. These however, are rapidly dissapearing, as a result of recent development. This paper explores the perception of the monumental heritage of the socialist regime in current day Albania. In our view, concepts of "unwanted" or "difficult" heritage used in the past to make sense of the heritage of socialist dictatorships, are not able to fully account for the specificities of the Albanian case as aspects other than trauma and pain need to be considered.

The perception of the heritage from Albania's communist past is investigated both through a theoretical discussion, which addresses the relationship between "unwanted heritage" and phenomena of nostalgia for certain aspects of life during communism, as well as through a questionnaire targeted at a sample of the population of the capital city Tirana. As far as this last aspect is concerned, our focus has been on the most iconic communist monument in Tirana, the Pyramid, the former museum dedicated to the dictator Enver Hoxha.

In the last part of the paper, we try to make sense of the trends that emerged through the analysis of quantitative data, addressing the *role of work and related forms of memory in forging the relationship between Albanians and the material remains of their recent past.*

Keywords

Unwanted Heritage, Difficult Heritage, Communism, Dictatorship, Albania

Introduction

The aim of this paper is to investigate the public perception of the material heritage of the period of the communist dictatorship in Albania. Our starting point is that notions of unwanted or difficult heritage, which have sometimes been used as a broad umbrella to make sense of heritage emerging from situations of conflict, can be applied to the Albanian case only with difficulty, and that aspects other than trauma need to be taken into account. In this research, the heritage from Albania's communist past is investigated in both a theoretical and historical discussion as well as through a questionnaire targeted at a sample of the population of the capital city Tirana. Our focus has been, in particular, on the most iconic monument of the communist period in Tirana, the Pyramid shaped building in the center of the city, originally a museum dedicated to the dictator Enver Hoxha.

Unwanted heritage vs. (n)Ostalgia

The Stalin-inspired regime headed by Enver Hoxha that governed Albania between 1945 and 1991 has left a huge architectural legacy in the country. Despite the destruction of selected material symbols, the presence of the communist past in terms of its physical remains is still evident, cyclically sparking debate in the media over its conversion, transformation and elimination. Almost every city-center had been greatly transformed during communism, first by the removal of old Ottoman structures, such as bazaars or religious monuments (which in other contexts in the Balkans were already perceived as pre-modern as early as in the 19th century; see Jovanović 2013), secondly by interpreting architecturally communist modernity and the canon of realist socialism (Bater 1980; Buchli 1999). After some 25 years from the fall of the iron curtain, however, the hectic rhythm of post-regime development (particularly in urban contexts) is rapidly erasing most of the traces of this recent past, jeopardising the survival of its memory (see Pojani 2010; Young and Kaczmarek 2008). Therefore, despite that it can be claimed that the socialist regimes of the former eastern bloc are too recent an experience to be considered through the categories of memory reserved to other examples of cultural heritage, the fast pace of urban sprawl in central and eastern Europe has created an emergency situation that cannot be ignored altogether. Additionally, addressing the communist past as too recent does not take into account the different perception of time (Fabian 1983; Gell 2001; Sharma 2014). While undoubtedly little time has passed from the fall of the former eastern bloc, it is not certain that this period is 'emically' perceived by current Albanians as something belonging to a recent past, as their lives have little in common with those formerly under the regime. As Ibañez-Tirado (2015, 194) suggests for former Soviet states of Central Asia, there are "divergences between chronological periodization and lived time", and this cannot be underestimated. So if it is indeed legitimate to consider through the lens of notions of cultural heritage the material remnants of the recent communist past, what is their perception in post-socialist countries?

In Albania, in the aftermath of the regime, buildings from the communist period were never put into question, especially in peripheral cities, as long as their function did not have any (previous) equivalent. This was the case of theatres, cinemas and city halls that were by and large absent in the pre-communist period. Leisure buildings, such as theatres or multifunctional structures (e.g. the so called “palaces of cultures”, in Albanian *Pallati i Kultures*), continued to perform, even though on a minor tone, the role they had in the past being the focus of cultural and (partially) public life of the cities. Monumental heritage, on the other hand, especially the one that does not easily fit into categories of nationalism and national pride (Kaneva 2014), was either systematically eliminated or abandoned both as part of a deliberate public policy and as a result of a semi-intentional strategy of neglect (for a similar point see Herscher 2006). As far as active destruction is concerned, a common strategy in the whole of the former eastern bloc was ‘decomunistation’, e.g. the defacing from public buildings and spaces of any symbol that could reconnect them to the past regime (Young and Kaczmarek 2008). This was implemented in particular at important memorial sites that could not be obliterated altogether, because they were part of the landscape and/or had memorialised qualities that were to be incorporated in the new social order. This is the case, for instance, of the monumental cemetery of the Martyrs of the Nation in the city of Vlorë, where stars and other symbols connected to communism have been removed. The same occurred at the Palace of Congresses in Tirana with the gigantic red star once located on the main entrance.

Albania is of course not the only country from the former eastern bloc to experience this kind of situation. In Poland, for example, the Palace of Culture and Sciences has been subject to different attitudes ranging from oblivion or isolation to acceptance (Wiśniewski 2012). Bulgaria’s George Dimitrov’s Mausoleum offers another, even more blatant, case of eradication of unwanted memory with the site being blown up in 1999 without any public consent or debate (Todorova 2010a, 401). In other cases, decisions have not been as abrupt and despite the existence of plans for urban regeneration that would include renovation of a number of these monuments, procrastination in their realisation reveals the unease with which some of these structures were viewed. Berlin’s

Alexanderplatz represents an interesting case of this trend; despite having plans for its renovation approved as early as in 1993, they were never implemented completely. This was due mostly to the gradual retreat of investors and the loss of momentum of what has been defined as the 'westernizing' impulse (Weszkalnys 2010). In other cases, the relics of the socialist past have been spatially reframed (Otto 2008), and decontextualized. This is the case of Szobor Park in Budapest where a number of celebrative statues have been collected and re-arranged in a space outside of the city (Harrison 2013). Likewise, the *Postbllok* monument in Tirana includes the original bunker placed at the entrance of the former communist residential area known as Bllok. It is composed of three elements: a prefabricated portion of the Berlin wall, the remnants of the reinforcing mine gallery frames from the political penitential camp of Spaç, and a bunker. Two out of three elements have been totally divorced from their social surroundings and placed in the new unconventional 'musealised' context, de facto reducing their potential evocative impact. So, there is a general attempt on the one hand to transform communist heritage and on the other to underplay and dilute its essence.

The existence in post-socialist states of attitudes like the ones described so far, have coincided with the initial use of monuments and buildings of the communist period as tourist attractions. This unusual concomitance has, over the last decade or so, attracted the attention of heritage specialists who adopted a number of concepts to describe the way the material heritage from the communist dictatorships was perceived and actively used (Ivanov 2009; Light 2000a; 2000b; Otto 2008). The complex processes of negotiation and related tensions between different stakeholders (e.g. local communities, international tourism and so on) have been seen by heritage scholars as a sign of an unavoidably conflictual situation. As a consequence, the material heritage of such experiences has been predominantly conceptualised through notions such as difficult, dissonant and unwanted heritage (Henderson 2007; Macdonald 2008; Tunbridge and Ashworth 1996). Similar heritage has been recognised in a variety of environments and historical situations, and post-socialist countries represent only a specific instance of a wider phenomenon (Logan and Reeves 2009; e.g. Macdonald 2006; 2008 on Nazi heritage; González Ruibal 2009; and Viejo-Rose 2014 on civil war Spain). As Herscher (2006, 26) puts it, the main feature of this kind of heritage resides in its not being recognised, as through its own destruction it contributes to "the materialization of some version of history".

All of these approaches define the heritage of the communist period in absolutely negative terms, and a common theme, to this extent, is the centrality of a traumatic experience in shaping memory. However, although undoubtedly crucial, pain is able to capture only certain aspects embodied in the material relics of socialism. Communist heritage is important not only because of the misdeeds of past regimes but also because the memory of the communist past still 'haunts' parts of Eastern Europe, and it is not coincidental, to this extent, that studies on unwanted heritage and communist nostalgia have both gone in parallel (Todorova 2010c; Todorova and Gille 2010). While talking about communist nostalgia, Todorova points out the enormous quantity of studies that have proliferated in Europe from 2003 on. According to her, post-communist nostalgia (for which in Germany the neologism 'Ostalgie' has been coined) is a widespread phenomenon, originating on the one hand from the broken promises/realisation of the new liberal order and on the other from the loss of specific forms of sociability (Todorova 2010b, 7). Weszkalnys (2010, 75) claims that it is somewhat misleading to characterise the attitude of former denizens of Eastern Germany as nostalgia and that many of the people interviewed by her would not describe in these terms their feelings toward the past. Indeed, it is all but an indefinite sense of affection what often characterises the memory of the communist past (even when remembered in relatively positive terms). Later on we will explore this sentiment in more detail, addressing what in our view are the aspects of life under the regime that are crucial to explain this phenomenon.

To sum up, previous discussion on heritage of communism in former eastern bloc countries has highlighted its negative and traumatic nature. At the same time however, historians and specialists of cultural studies have recognised the existence of a sentiment of nostalgia for certain aspects of life under the regime. How can these two seemingly contradictory aspects be reconciled and, how does this intangible element relate to the perception of the material relics of this past?

The Albanian case study

In order to try to disentangle the various facets of this issue, we have decided to take a different route from that undertaken by the other approaches to communist heritage described so far. This route rests upon the study of a specific context, and the monument on which we will focus is one of the most iconic from the communist period, present in the capital city Tirana: the former personal museum celebrating the dictator (Figure 1), broadly known to Albanians as *Piramida* (the Pyramid, see also Myhrberg 2011) because of its shape, and inspired also the homonymous 1995 novel by the famous Albanian writer Ismail Kadare (2013). After a number of uncompleted plans for its restoration and transformation, in 2011 the monument became the bone of contention of a political dispute between the two main parties of Albania (Socialist and Democratic party), when the former prime minister (from the Democratic party) wanted to tear down the Piramida to build a new extravagant parliament building. This idea encountered fierce opposition, not only from political opponents but also from the part of civil society and a great portion of his own party (Klosi and Lame 2011). Although the new government has abandoned any plan for its destruction and has started to re-use it after some preliminary intervention, the building still lays utterly neglected, vandalised and in a terrible state of preservation (Figure 2). Because of this contested political situation and this somewhat unexpected 'unitary' reaction of public opinion in this case, we decided to take on the study of this specific building.

Figure 1. The Pyramid (Pyramida), former museum of Enver Hoxha, during its inauguration (after Ylli November 1988: 6).

Figure 2. The Piramida in its current state of preservation. Photo by Ilir Gramo.

Our aim was to explore the public perception of the *Piramida* and, more broadly, of the tangible heritage of the dictatorship in current Albanian society, in an effort to see if any of the themes emerging from the theoretical discussion can be recognised in the opinion of *Tiransa* (denizens of Tirana). In order to accomplish this task, we have decided to adopt a quantitative methodology, i.e. a survey, able to highlight the most evident aspects of the opinion of the public in a robust way.

In order to explore these two hypotheses, we collected a relatively large number of responses (360 overall). We were specifically interested in generational differences between people that had spent a considerable amount of time under the regime (over 60 years old) and the young (those up to 30) who had little or no exposure to communism if not mediated through the memory of relatives and media representations. The implicit assumption was that the former would have been much more prone to develop forms of 'nostalgia' like those highlighted in the theoretical discussion, and thus a greater attachment to the monument. We conducted our survey both through various social media outlets (Facebook, Twitter and blogs) and through face to face interviews, with this last method aimed in particular to those over 60 years old, potentially more prone to be put off by the use of an electronic form, at least in the specific context in which we operated (we explicitly targeted areas frequented by the elders). The questionnaire is reproduced in the Appendix of this article.

Discussion of results

Notwithstanding the contested political situation previously highlighted, as far as the results of the survey are concerned, when we asked about the plan to destroy the *Piramida* (question no.13), the overwhelming majority of respondents strongly disagreed on this. Generational differentiation, in relation to this specific issue, seemed not to have been significant (Figure 3) although people under 30 years of age were more numerous in disagreeing with the plan of destructing the Pyramid. The reasons justifying the need for preserving the structure were the most disparate and no immediately recognisable trends have been identified (no.14). It is likely that this apparently homogeneous response was due to the specificities of the monument discussed, which is relatively recent (it was completed in 1988) and thus did not allow older generations to grow a specific affection for it.

While from an 'external' perspective the building is undoubtedly associated with the communist regime, its use as museum of the dictator had lasted only four years and its use after the fall of the regime stretched over a much longer period. Such an aspect is mirrored in the fact that the majority of the sample associated the building with Tirana as a city (no.11) rather than with either Communism or specifically Enver Hoxha (Figure 6). Here, however, generational differences seem to be much more meaningful as with the increase of age the percentage of people associating the *Piramida* with Tirana decreases while the association with Enver Hoxha and communism increases. In other words, the younger age-group that did not take part in the efforts necessary for the construction of the monument saw the Piramida predominantly as something that had more or less always been there and hence part of their affective geography, or of "a contextual horizon of perceptions, providing both a foreground and a background in which people feel themselves to be living in their world" (Stewart and Strathern 2003, 4). Those over 60 years old, on the other hand, could not avoid taking into account, in their value judgments, the effort of an entire generation directed at its construction. The value of heritage of dictatorship in this last case was unavoidably connected to the memory of time spent during the regime. Even if the involvement was not direct, the process of identification of individuals with their generation was probably enough to stimulate similar answers. The fact that Enver Hoxha is identified as the main association is not surprising given the strong personalism characterising the Albanian regime.

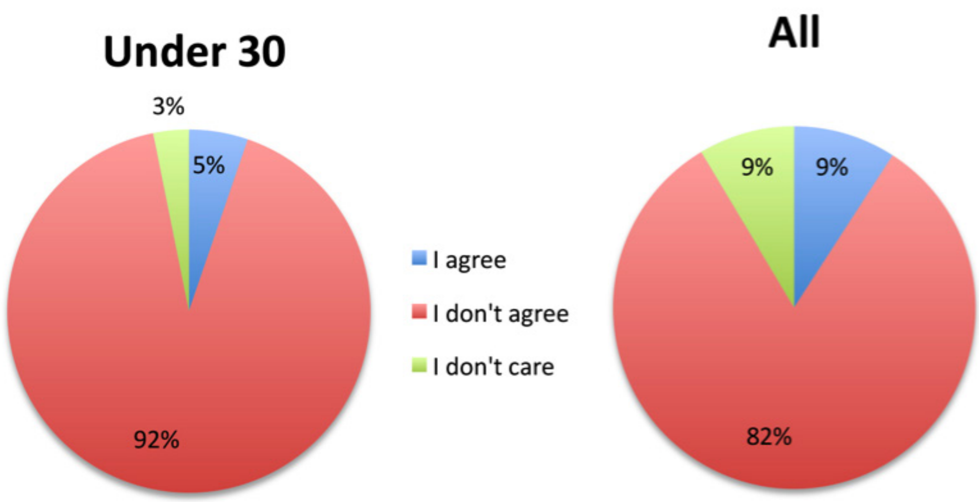

Figure 3. Answers of the sample to the question: Do you agree or disagree with the plan to demolish the Pyramid?

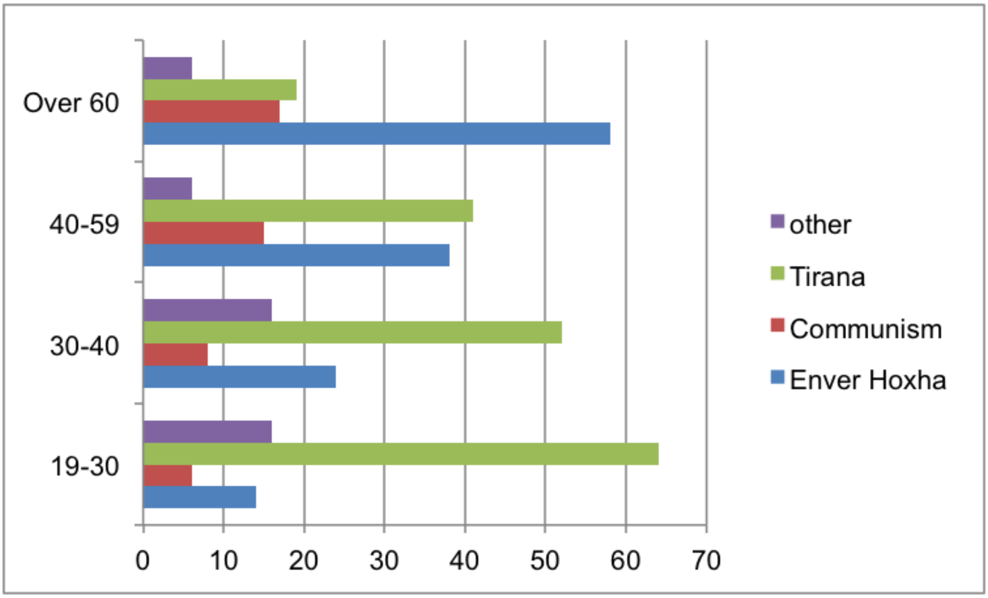

Figure 4. Answer of the sample to the question: What does the Pyramid make you think of? Percentage in different age groups.

Going back to the broad category of the monumental heritage of the dictatorship, one aspect upon which the consensus among the surveyed sample seemed to be almost unanimous, notwithstanding age categories, was the general necessity to preserve memory of the communist past (over 95% of the sample agreed; question no.2) and of its material remains (83%; no.4). Resorting to public funding for this heritage was also considered positively by the majority of the respondents (63%; no.10). Such material remains were most frequently associated with Communism (in 37% of cases) and with the specific place where they are located (28%) while the association with Enver Hoxha appears not to have been very frequent (14%, question no.6). The will to preserve the memory of the communist past might look obvious, but marks a definite change from the perceived will of post-socialist countries to simply condemn to oblivion their recent history reported by many (Light 2000). Moreover, such a unanimous response seems to clash with the supposed contested nature of this heritage as well as with the unease that was also recognised in the way the state dealt with the material remains of this period. It is likely, however, that such a response is actually the result of a relatively recent change in the public perception, a change of which Albanians are note fully aware. A hint of this lays in the very fact that, despite having personal interest in the cultural heritage of the dictatorship, the vast majority of respondents saw the Albanian public as lacking interest in relation to this topic, with only a third (27%) of the sample suggesting a general interest in the material remains of the dictatorship (question no.8).

Generational difference seems to profoundly affect the level of attachment to material heritage from the dictatorship period of citizens of Tirana, and predictably the percentage of people feeling "very attached" instead of just "attached" to the material remains of communism is considerably larger among over 60 year-olds (Figure 5). We did not identify any predilection for the different functional categories of "monuments from the dictatorship" (e.g. institutional buildings, bunkers, statues-lapidaries, prison camps, war memorials). Among over 60 year-olds, however, there was a quite clear-cut tendency to attribute a particular importance to bunkers and prison camps which are more frequently quoted as the most important category of monuments from the period of the dictatorship (Eaton and Roshi 2014; Galaty et al. 2000; Glass 2008; Stefa and Mydyti 2009). While the case of the prison camps can be easily understood through the notion of traumatic heritage highlighted by much of the previous scholarship (see above), this is not the case with respect to the bunkers. Bunkers (Figure 6), probably the most universally known feature of the landscape of the communist period in Albania, were the product of one of the worst periods of the regime. Between 1977 and 1981, Hoxha's paranoia (motivated principally by the possibility to suffer attacks from the part of Tito's Yugoslavia) led to the realisation of some 400,000 concrete bunkers of various shapes and sizes (Glass 2008; Stefa and Mydity 2009). As remarked by many, beyond the titanic economic effort (quantifiable in about 2% of the overall material production) the most enduring effect of the 'bunkerisation' of Albania was the creation of what has been defined as a 'siege mentality' (Glass 2008, 41–42; O'Donnell 1999, 137). The broad Albanian population was kept in constant fear of foreign invasions, resulting in a diffused militarisation.

The consequences of these processes are far-fetched and cannot be discussed here in full. As for the influence on the perception of the built environment, it is necessary to highlight that the construction and maintenance of bunkers was the outcome of the collective effort of army members and civilians alike. In her in-depth examination of the role of bunkers in Albanian rural society, Glass (2008, 31–35) emphasizes the critical role families and individuals played in both their construction and maintenance, through voluntary work: "Bunkers are personified by people and people are personified by bunkers. Their biographies are intertwined; from the population involvement in their creation to military use under Communism and to later re-use phases" (Glass 2008, 44). This is extremely interesting as it confirms the importance of work and physical engagement in shaping the relationship between Albanians and the material inheritance of the communist period.

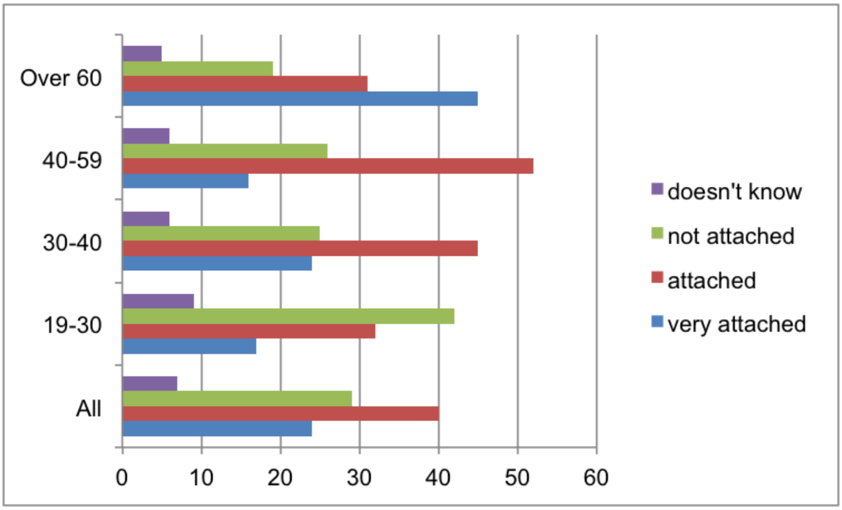

Figure 5. Answer of the sample to the question: Do you feel attached to the monuments of the communist period? Percentage in different age groups.

Figure 6. Bunker around Vlorë. Photo by the authors

Memory and its incorporation

In order to make sense of the trends grasped though the brief overview of the survey data offered so far, it is necessary to start from the basic point that much of the sociability during the communist regime centred on the ideology of work that permeated social life in Albania. This is not unlike what we saw in other former eastern bloc contexts and the "special form of sociability" to which Todorova (2010b, 7) referred was arguably connected to this. From a young age, work was not only performed in factories and other workplaces but also embedded in public life and this has important implications in the perception particularly of public buildings. While party structures compressed the private life of citizens, they were often involved in a number of, theoretically voluntary but in practice coerced or semi-coerced, social and work activities undertaken through a variety of clubs and associations related with the most disparate spheres, from professional to leisure (Djilas

1985). Public spaces (both buildings and open areas) were the locus of such activities which often, and despite the façade-nature of many activities here undertaken (Voicu and Voicu 2003, 2 define them as the space "of lying, of the official fake reality"), acquired a considerable memory-value for those taking part in them. This habitual (*sensu* Bourdieu 1977) attachment was neither intrinsically negative nor positive but accompanied a large portion of the lifetime of many people in all its aspects and daily routines. It was simply activity more than any attempt to make sense of it and adjust it to an internalised moral and political narrative that shaped the way people related to the places in which they spent their lives. Such activity, continued through various generations over the course of some 40 years, created an entanglement that represents an important element in value judgements over the built environment (Huyssen 2003). Thus, historical buildings, even recent ones such as those here discussed, collect fragments of personal histories that cannot be pigeonholed into an all-encompassing category of traumatic memory.

In his seminal book *How Societies Remember*, Connerton (1989) suggested the existence of two main domains of memory: one that operated through various types of texts and verbal codification of experience (named inscribed memory), and another one whose main characteristic is non-verbalised repetitive activity, which sets the body as the main fulcrum (named incorporated memory). Despite that in many cases pseudo-voluntary work performed during the communist regime was codified in and justified through the official ideology of the regime and thus 'inscribed' in some way, it is undoubted that incorporation was also pivotal. Reiterated incorporated activity was what created the bond that persists to this day between people and buildings/ monuments. Connerton (1989, 94) suggests that "predisposition formed through the frequent repetition of a number of specific acts is an intimate and fundamental part of ourselves" and that "such habits have power because they are so intimately a part of ourselves". It is this material engagement that transcended the rhetoric of party propaganda and created a realm of shared practice that was of critical importance in the social life of Albanians during the regime.

Figure 7. Voluntary work in the Aksione in 1965 (see text). Photo courtesy of Fatos Çuçi.

To this extent, the "affection" of citizens of Tirana for the Piramida can be also understood in terms of incorporated memory. In the aftermath of the death of the leader, the construction of the museum called for the mobilisation of extraordinary energies. These were channelled through a model of voluntary work well established in Albanian society in which the regime resorted regularly. Particularly important is the involvement of young Albanians that were dragged from all over the country for about two months after the end of school/ university year in what was called then Aksioni (short for *Aksionet e rinisë me punë vullnetare*; that is Youth Action through Voluntary Work; Figure 2) to work on projects as different as designing/building ferries, land reclamation and many others (Mero 2013). Documents in the National Albanian Archive record the considerable effort performed by Albanians in completing the *Piramida*, with materials and workforce gathered from every corner of the country. Many people, now in their fifties and sixties in Albania, have fond memories of taking part in some way in its construction. An experience of this kind is the basis of the affection of people of this generation for this building, which does not easily fit in an overall narrative of unwanted or difficult heritage. In spite of being 'hijacked' by party propaganda and being made subservient to the paranoid agenda of the regime (i.e. in the case of bunkers), voluntary work encapsulated (among many negative) also positive aspects of cooperation and service for the public good. It is this universe of values incorporated in daily practices (that has by and large disappeared from the landscape of socialisation in modern day Albania), that is missed by many. Undoubtedly, this has evaporated because its social coordinates did not resonate with western modernity, the new accepted orthodoxy in Albania. To this extent, the lesser attachment of young Albanians towards the material remains of their recent past, can perhaps also mirror the final incorporation of the country in western modernity and the related cultural amnesia towards its recent past, emerging as a side effect of this general process (Connerton 2009). However, the interest demonstrated, also by the young, in preserving its material inheritance seems to represent a strong counter-argument against this and, therefore, we can assert that, at least for now, the influence of modernity in these affective dynamics seems to be relatively small.

Conclusions

In this paper we have tried to investigate the public perception of cultural heritage from the recent dictatorial past in contemporary Albania, comparing this specific case study with similar situations occurring in other former eastern bloc countries. We have highlighted the apparent contradiction between heritage theorists' conceptualisation of communist heritage as dissonant, difficult and overall traumatic, and the existence, noted by cultural theorists, of a sense of nostalgia for certain aspects of life during socialism.

In order to explore this dichotomy, we decided to take on the exploration of the perception of the most iconic communist monument in Tirana, the Piramida, the former personal museum of the dictator Enver Hoxha. We did this through a survey aimed at a large sample of the population of the Albanian capital city Tirana. Our results evidenced first the important role played by the Pyramid and other monuments of the same period in the life of citizens of Tirana. At the same time, results highlighted that, although traumatic aspects are undoubtedly part of the memory of the communist period, they are not enough to explain the relationship of Albanians with the material relics of this period. In our opinion, a critical aspect in order to understand this relationship resides in the way work, despite ideological aspects, was able to create a bond between people, different communities, and the built environment primarily through the incorporation of collective practices and their non-verbalised memorialisation.

The acknowledgement of the importance of these often neglected aspects neither implies that trauma should not be taken into account nor that we should embrace a less critical stance toward misdeeds perpetrated through some fifty years of communist regimes in the Eastern bloc. Rather, these features contribute to producing a well-rounded image of life under the regime(s) in all its facets, and to a better comprehension of post-socialist societies.

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Needless to say, the article reflects only the view of the authors and they are the only responsible for any error and/or inaccuracy.

APPENDIX

1) Can you list the 5 most important monuments/landmarks of Tirana you can think of?

(open answer)

2) Do you think it is useful to preserve the memory of the communist period?

a) yes, b) no, c) doesn't know.

3) Do you feel attached to the monuments of the communist period?

a) very attached, b) attached, C) not attached, d) doesn't know.

4) Do you think it is useful to preserve the physical remains of the communist past?

a) yes, b) no, c) doesn't know.

5) Why do you think the physical remains of the communist period should be protected?

a) because they remind us all the wrongs made by the regime, b) because they represent part of the history of this country, c) because they are part of people's lives, d) other …….., e) doesn't know.

6) What do monuments of the communist period in general make you think of?

a) Enver Hoxha, b) Communism, c) the specific place in which they are located, d) other ......

7) Can you put the following examples of communist buildings in order from the most important to be preserved to the least so?

a) Institutional buildings, b) bunkers, c) statues and other monuments, d) prison camps & related cemeteries.

8) Do you think the public in Albania is interested in its communist heritage?

a) yes, b) no, c) doesn't know.

9) If your answer to the previous question was no, why do you think the public is not interested in the heritage of the communist period?

a) it reminds of a bad period, b) paying too much attention to that period does not help the process of modernisation of Albania, c) digging too much in the inheritance of the communist period may threaten some people still holding important positions within the Albanian state, d) other ......

10) Do you think the Albanian state should devote resources to the preservation of monuments of the communist period?

a) yes, b) no, c) doesn't know.

11) What does the Pyramid makes you think of?

a) Enver Hoxha, b) communism, c) Tirana, d) other ......

12) Do you think the Pyramid is important as a landscape mark for the city of Tirana?

a) yes, b) no.

13) Do you agree or disagree with the plan to demolish the Pyramid?

a) Agree, b) disagree, c) doesn't care.

14) If you disagree, why do you think the Pyramid should be preserved?

(open answer)

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Punk, DIY, and Anarchy in Archaeological Thought and Practice

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Abstract

Recent developments in archaeological thought and practice involve a seemingly disparate selection of ideas that can be collected and organized as contributing to an anti-authoritarian, "punk" archaeology. This includes the contemporary archaeology of punk rock, the DIY and punk ethos of archaeological labor practices and community involvement, and a growing interest in anarchist theory as a productive way to understand communities in the past. In this article, I provide a greater context to contemporary punk, DIY, and anarchist thought in academia, unpack these elements in regard to punk archaeology, and propose a practice of punk archaeology as a provocative and productive counter to fast capitalism and structural violence.

Keyword

punk, archaeology, anarchy, archaeological theory, praxis

Introduction:

Punk rock is an anti-authoritarian movement that is structured around rock music but involves do-it-yourself (DIY) activities, such as creating zines (informal, self-published magazines), and other media that contribute to a non-mainstream means of knowledge production and building mutual aid networks (Davies 1996; Downes 2012; Shank 2006). The origins of punk rock have been contested, but are probably distributed among several low-fidelity, extemporaneous performances that broke down the formal barriers between performers and the audience among bands playing in United States and United Kingdom during the 1960s and 1970s (Moore 2004; Sabin 1999). Some musicians and fans of punk rock employed "shocking" cultural signifiers of body modification and outrageous clothing to identify fellow punk rockers and to exclude others (Hebdige 1979).

While punk has been stereotyped as a "self-marginalizing" white, heteronormative, teenaged, suburban, and male subculture (for rebuttals, see Traber 2001; Ngô and Stinson 2012 and *White Riot: Punk Rock and the Politics of Race* among others), most visible in the United States and United Kingdom (Sabin 1999), punk has been mobilized globally by a wide variety of populations. Russian art-activist group Pussy Riot's "punk prayer" denouncing Vladimir Putin (Steinholt 2013; Tolokonnikova and Žižek 2014) can be linked to the radical DIY feminism of the riot grrrl movement (Feigenbaum 2007; Hanna 1991; Marcus 2010; Rosenberg and Garofalo 1998). Queer punks used fanzines to problematize both the punk scene and dominant, adult gay and lesbian identities and cultural practices (Fenster 1993:77). Mexican punks fight globalization (O'Connor 2010) and Indonesian punks struggle against the Soeharto government (Wallach 2008). Klee Benally of the punk band *Blackfire* from Flagstaff, Arizona states:

> "We started our band because of the issues impacting our community as Diné people and indigenous people here in the United States were being completely ignored, from coal mining, forced relocation, and further environmental degradation. The corporate media wasn't telling that story so we took up arms through music" (Brown, K. and Brown R. 2011).

The diversity of these populations and the decades-long time span of punk defy simple classification and homogenization, yet discussion of this variety is necessarily limited within the confines of this article. While there is an immense and growing body of academic literature regarding these various aspects of punk rock, very little of this has made an impact in academic archaeological discourse until relatively recently. Interestingly, this belies the ongoing participation of punks in archaeological practice.

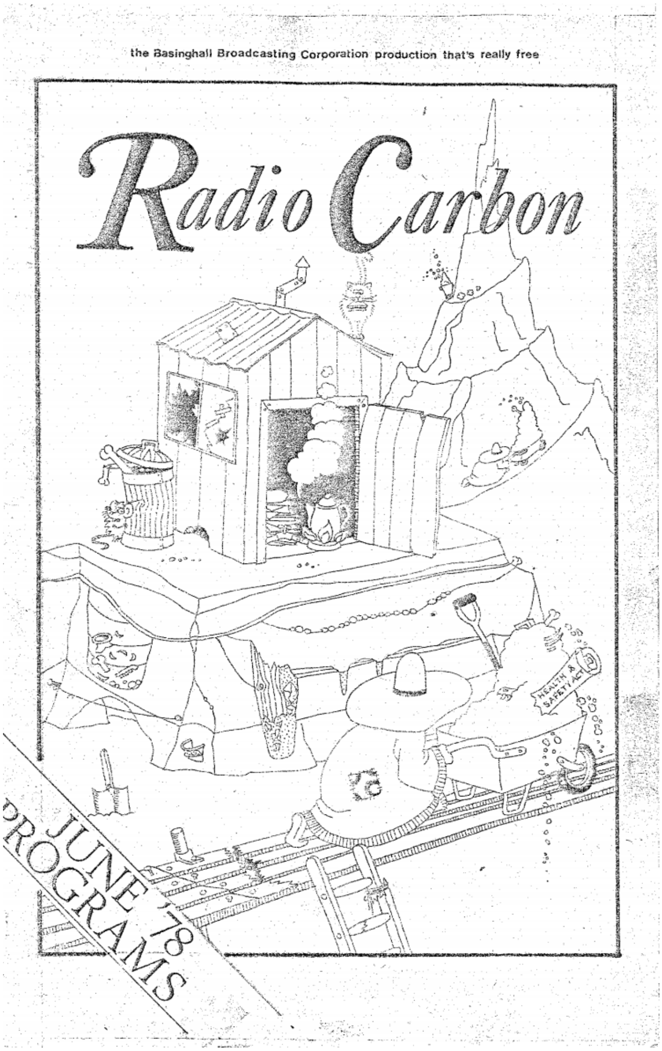

Image 1: Radio Carbon cover.

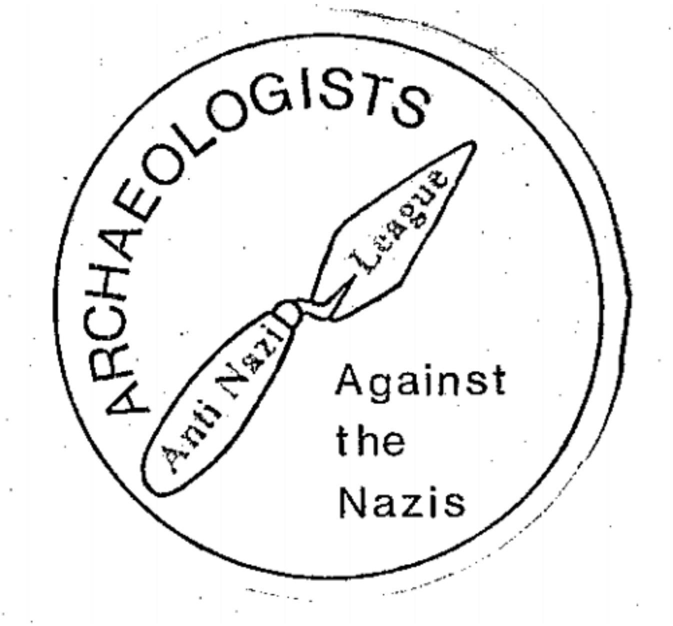

Image 2: Anti-Nazi League; reproduced with permission from the Hobley's Heroes website.

Anecdotally, there have been an abundance of punks employed in contract archaeology for the last forty years. Field archaeology traditionally relies on highly-skilled workers who accept low wages, unreliable hours and marginal living conditions, who can also live and work communally (Morgan and Eddisford 2015). While not all field archaeologists are punks, there is a relatively high acceptance of non-conformist dress and behavior in the commercial archaeological community. One example of non-conformist, extemporaneous expression in commercial archaeology are the newsletters or "zines" put out in the 1970s, including *Hobley's Heroes, The Weekly Whisper, Underground* and *Radio Carbon* made by London archaeologists for London archaeologists. These zines were a mix of satire, helpful archaeological advice, reports from the field and comics. The zines are archived at Hobley's Heroes (http://www.hobleysheroes.org.uk/) and provide an entertaining, informal snapshot of archaeological practice in the 1970s in London.

Current equivalents to these 1970s zines can now be found via online and print forums and discussion. One example is *The Diggers Forum*, a publication from a Special Interest Group of the Chartered Institute for Archaeologists with practical, yet political articles for "diggers" edited by London archaeologists. A recent issue of *The Diggers Forum* covered pay minimas for archaeologists (Harward 2014), how teeth are used in bioarchaeological analyses (Lanigan 2014), and the academic and professional divide and its impact on archaeological training (Everill 2014). While punks were generally accepted in developer-funded archaeology, a coherent, academic punk archaeology was not forthcoming until the 2013 "Punk Archaeology" conference organized by William Caraher in North Dakota. Even amidst other archaeologies of resistance and efforts to advance a more activist archaeology, punk archaeology is underutilized as a productive structure for bringing together disparate communities of practice in archaeology.

In the *Punk Archaeology* publication following the conference, William Caraher defines punk archaeology as a reflective mode of organizing archaeological experiences, one that celebrates DIY practices, reveals a deep commitment to place, embraces destruction as a creative process, and is a form of spontaneous expression (2014:101-102). My short essay in the same volume emphasizes punk as a form of fictive kinship, encouraging best practices such as membership in a community and participation in this community, building things together, and foregrounding political action and integrity in our work (Morgan 2014:67). Several of these characteristics can be found in other approaches to archaeological practice (see McGuire 2008; Conkey and Spector 1984; Franklin 2001; Battle-Baptiste 2011; Watkins 2001, among others), yet punk archaeology still resonates independently of what could be collected under various Marxist and post-processual approaches. While any definition of punk archaeology is necessarily personal, partial, and incomplete (see also Reinhard 2014, 2015;

Richardson 2014; Mullins 2015), in this article I will employ it as Caraher's (2014) empty vessel—a catch-all for contemporary punk, DIY, and anarchist thought in archaeology. I situate punk archaeology within a wider academic movement toward punk as an organizing structure, then detail contemporary punk, DIY and anarchist thought within archaeology. Finally, I discuss the further implications of a punk archaeology.

Academic Punk

There are many biographies, histories and ethnographies of punk rock (e.g., Laing 1985; Sabin 1999; Shank 1994), but the cultural legacies of punk rock and the mobilization of punk as a means of knowledge production have come only as punks have infiltrated the upper echelons of academia. In *Punkademics*, Furness speaks of these "academic/punk border transgressions" as perpetuated by "professional nerds…who seemed as equally sure footed in zine columns and basement shows as they did in theory heavy journal publications, political organizing committees, or in front of podiums lecturing to graduate students at prestigious research universities" (2012:7). Other contributions to *Punkademics* note the friction of subscribing to an anti-authoritarian, punk ethos while operating within a hierarchical bureaucracy, yet identify critical pedagogy as a means toward liberation from capitalism and corporate globalization (Miner and Torrez 2012; Haenfler 2012).

Beyond a critical pedagogical stance, the attitude and sensibility of punk can be productively used to regenerate and energize academic research (Beer 2014). In *Punk Sociology*, David Beer (2014) identifies the instability inherent in any definition of a "punk sensibility"—one of the defining characteristics of punk is a discomfort with categorization and definition. He identifies this as an inward facing iconoclasm. So—no Gods, no masters, no *punks*. This inner paradox is playful, complex, and resists simple classification, a slipperiness that should be familiar to archaeologists. Beer finds a punk ethos productive for sociology in that punk "seeks to foster its own discomfort and to find creative ways of expressing it" and removes the divide between performer and audience (2014:29).

This academic attention to punk is bolstered not only by the infiltration of academic punks but also recent political unrest such as the Occupy movement. David Graeber, the social anthropologist who coined "We are the 99 percent," identified the ubiquitous participation of punks in social movements in his *Direct Action: An Ethnography* (2009), which scrutinized social protest movements in 2002-2003. He traces a genealogical connection between punk and the legacy of the Situationists, "a group of radical artists in the 1950s and 1960s (who) transformed themselves into a political movement" that was founded in part by Guy Debord (2009:258). Malcolm Mclaren, the manager of the Sex Pistols, participated in the Situationist movement in art school, and from album artwork and lyrics Sex Pistols songs draw from Situationist slogans (notably: *A cheap holiday in other people's misery* and *No future*).

In the *Punk Archaeology* volume, Kostis Kourelis (2014) briefly explored the connections between punk, archaeology and the Situationist movement, but I find it productive to elaborate on this point—especially in the digital age. David Graeber discusses Debord (2009:258): (He) laid out an elaborate dialectical theory of "the society of the spectacle," arguing that under capitalism, the relentless logic of the commodity-which renders us passive consumers-gradually extends itself to every aspect of our existence. In the end, we are rendered a mere audience to our own lives. Mass media is just one technological embodiment of this process. The only remedy is to create "situations," improvised moments of spontaneous, unalienated creativity, largely by turning aside the imposed meanings of the spectacle, breaking apart the pieces and putting them together in subversive ways."

During the presentation of this paper at the 2015 Society for Historical Archaeology conference, I screened *Can Dialectics Break Bricks?,* a 1973 film by René Viénet, who re-purposed *Crush* by Tu Guangqi, a Korean Kung Fu movie. This was a détournement, or hijacking*,* the main expression of Situationist art. With the digital age, détournement has become a dominant form of cultural expression in memes that remix media. See, for example, the "Hitler Reacts" video series[1], wherein the subtitles are changed from a clip of the 2004 film *Der Untergang* to show Hitler increasingly distraught over incongruous modern news such as Manchester United coach Sir Alex Ferguson's retirement or upon hearing Rebecca Black's song, "Friday".

A less controversial manifestation of the intertwining of DIY, digitality and Situationist "remixing" within academic discourse is "edupunk." Jim Groom, frustrated by the limited capabilities of educational and professional software content management systems, coined the term edupunk in May 2008 to encompass an alternative methodology of using social networking sites and other internet resources to build a distributed, interactive and flexible platform for teaching, research, and collaboration. Yet these engagements are limited—edupunk specifically addresses digital technology within a higher education classroom. In previous work (Morgan 2012), I extended Groom's definition of edupunk beyond the classroom to involve a research stance of overt public engagement, an interventionist ethic to disrupt and interfere with a consensus view of the past.

Punk Archaeology

Sparks of punk archaeology have been ricocheting around the discipline in the US and UK, manifest in attention to the contemporary archaeology of punk rock (Graves-Brown and Schofield 2011;

1 http://www.youtube.com/results?search_query=hitler+reacts

Caraher et al 2014; Kiddey 2014), the DIY and punk ethos of archaeological labor practices and community involvement (Morgan and Eve 2012; Morgan 2012; Caraher et al. 2014), and a growing interest in anarchist theory as a productive way to understand communities in the past (Angelbeck and Grier 2012; Bettinger 2015; Flexner 2014). Collectively, these multiple approaches can show the flexibility and strength of punk archaeology, especially within the greater context of anti-authoritarian thinking.

The contemporary archaeology of punk, pioneered on Bill Caraher and Kostis Kourelis's "Punk Archaeology" blog, discussed several punk locations such as The House of the Rising Sun, MC5 in Detroit, The Clash's squat, and Iggy Pop's trailer home in Ypsilanti. Their discussions included more traditional modes of archaeological investigation, including spatial analyses of artifacts and tombs, personal histories and historical narratives, and "raw, garage-band quality thought (that) seeks to question the relationship between nostalgia, archaeology, and the punk aesthetic" (Caraher 2009). Many of these discussions were brought together in the *Punk Archaeology* volume, and in the spirit of zines and DIY culture, are short, usually under 1,000 words and without formal citations.

In the United Kingdom, there is also a growing attention to the contemporary archaeology of punk. As part of an investigation of "anti-heritage," Paul Graves-Brown and John Schofield recorded the graffiti left behind by the members of the Sex Pistols at their rehearsal/living space in London (2011). Most of the graffiti was drawn by John Lydon (Johnny Rotten) in the summer/autumn of 1977, and depicted members of the band and their friends alongside choice slogans such as "God is a Cunt." Their analysis of the graffiti "reveals feelings and relationships, personal and political", and they argue that the "anti-heritage" of punk rock, the marginal graffiti rather than the official narratives contained in mainstream heritage, should be taken as a direct expression of "a radical and dramatic mo[ve]ment of rebellion" (Graves-Brown and Schofield

2011:1399). Likewise, Shannon Dawdy's work regarding the post-Katrina ruined cityscape of New Orleans also identifies steampunk and cyberpunk as particular expressions of an "antimodern temporal imagination" (2010:766) that problematize the divide between modernity and antiquity through "temporal folding." She suggests that "clockpunk," in incorporating reimagined historical elements, reveals a tangled timeline of material and human life, one that defies a strict temporal ideology (2010:778).

Rachel Kiddey and John Schofield's (2014) investigation of marginal places associated with homelessness in Bristol and York took up the DIY ethic and community building aspects of punk archaeology and directly involved the homeless in their research (see also Zimmerman et al. 2010). During excavations of Bristol's Turbo Island, a marginal triangle of turf in the junction between two roads and infamous homeless hangout, Kiddey involved homeless participants in the excavation, breaking down social distance and "othering" of the homeless (Graves-Brown 2011; Kiddey and Schofield 2010). These participants provided meaningful feedback regarding the identification of artifacts, the use and re-purposing of these artifacts and, over the week of investigation at the site, remains were recovered that showed a long-term use of this site as a marginal space. Punk Paul, one of the individuals involved in the excavation, stated: "I love you for being interested...the truth is if you dig deep enough you uncover the truth... The week we spent together was power, truth and hope. You have this big heart in a bigger community and it was good to think that we might actually change the world we live in. Inshallah" (Kiddey and Schofield 2010). The investigation of punk spaces as anti-heritage, sites of rebellion, ruin, of temporal remixing and nostalgia reveals the productive, provocative instability of a punk archaeology.

Do-It-Yourself and Making in Archaeology

"The best way to complain is to make things."
James Murphy, of LCD Soundsystem

While experimental archaeology has long been a method of investigating the materiality of the remains of the past, it is rarely tied to a political archaeology. The more radical experiments, including James Deetz's re-envisioning of living history museum Plimoth Plantation as an archaeological laboratory, hinted at this potential—there were complaints of the barefoot hippies that replaced the prim pilgrim ladies surrounded by antiques (Snow 1993). Tim Ingold's *Making* (2013) explores knowledge production and creativity through making, but does not reference the larger history and political context of DIY, nor the more recent manifestation of making in hackerspaces/makerspaces.

DIY practices, as currently conceived, are tied to emerging countercultural critiques of the formal education system and advocates for experiential modes of learning (Gauntlett 2011). Ratto and Boler (2014) mark the publication of Stewart Brand's DIY magazine the *Whole Earth Catalog* in 1968 as a key touchstone for the formation of DIY. DIY was rapidly taken up by punk and third-wave feminism/Riot Grrrl. Both relied on inexpensive recording, distribution, and publication strategies that circumvented mass media outlets. V. Vale, the creator of *Search & Destroy*, the first punk rock zine in San Francisco, and later *RE/Search*, defines DIY as incorporating mutual aid, financial minimalism, anti-authoritarianism, and black humor (Vale 2012). I add to this definition of DIY an invitation to participate, refine, and deconstruct.

Author and former editor of WIRED magazine, Chris Anderson, (2012) argues that the Information Age is the third Industrial Revolution, marked by digital and personal manufacturing. Makers identify niche markets and "make a virtue of their small-batch status, emphasizing handcrafted or artisanal qualities" and create these items with computer desktop design tools (Anderson 2012:50). Creativity is fostered in nearly a thousand "makerspaces" (or hackerspaces) all over the world, places created by communities where people can access the space and tools needed to realize their designs. One example of this is the emergence of consumer 3D printers that allow users to directly translate their designs to material goods without being beholden to large manufacturing companies. 3D printers have been used by archaeologists to reproduce artifacts (Karasika and Smilansky 2008; Grosman 2008), landscapes, and skeletal materials (Niven et al. 2009), yet these uses remain for the most part under theorized and tied to commercial and institutional accessibility though some creative uses are emerging (Younan and Treadaway 2015).

Image 3. Voices/Recognition at the York Heritage Jam.

Beyond this movement of personal manufacture, Matt Ratto calls for "'critical making,' to use material forms of engagement with technologies to supplement and extend critical reflection... to reconnect our lived experiences with technologies to social and conceptual critique" (2011:253). Critical making in archaeology is a mode of engagement that can overcome what Ratto characterizes as a separation between the technical and the social in disciplinary practice. Steve Mann discusses "maktivism", or making things for social change, and relies on the "DIT (do-it-together) ethos of GNU Linux and the Free Software movement" (2014:30). Mann specifically ties maktivism to praxis, a specific approach to the materially physical practice of action. To explore critical making and maktivism in archaeology, digital archaeologists at the University of York have been holding workshops and events, including the 2014 Heritage Jam, a hack-a-thon that brought together heritage professionals for a one-day making session (Perry 2014). During this session a team that included Stuart Eve, Colleen Morgan, Alexis Pantos, Sam Kinchin-Smith, and Kerrie Hoff created the prototype for *Voices Re/Cognition*, an aural augmented reality mobile application. *Voices Re/Cognition* aurally emphasized visibly "empty" spaces in York Cemetery, showing them to be full of unmarked graves, and also gave "voices" and stories to individual tombstones. Making this eerie digital intervention brought together a team of archaeologists, to do-it-together and bring archaeological interpretations to a wider audience.

Yet maktivism is not immune to significant critique. While DIY culture sought to create media outside of corporate structures, makers that use digital media rely on corporate infrastructure and interests. There has been a discussion of the benefits and risks of using "free" services hosted by corporations for hosting archaeological information (Law and Morgan 2014) but there are deeper structural issues surrounding *making*, wherein other roles such as moderating, repairing or supporting are devalued (Chachra

2015). While digital media has been used in emancipatory roles by women and disempowered groups (Joyce and Tringham 2007; Morgan 2012; Nakamura 2008), the corporate ownership of digital communication platforms is troubling. Yet navigating mass media and mobilizing it for critique is a well-established dissonance in punk, through the contradictory modes of parody and nihilism and the search for authenticity and independence (Moore 2004). Davies ties punk to a profoundly postmodernist position, incorporating both "critical rejections of mass-disseminated material which sustains a naturalised appeal to good faith and identification" and "vulgar and ludic celebrations of groups such as Splodgenessabounds and The Snivelling Suits, which stand equally in the traditions of countercultural play, music hall, and schoolboy humour" (1996:5). Attention to parody of this type is fleetingly rare in archaeological practice, though Tringham (2009) identifies Jesse Lerner's *Ruins: a Fake Documentary* as a particularly adept erosion of the authority of archaeological and historical objectivity.

Anarchy and Archaeology

Even with long-term archaeological investigations of statelessness and egalitarian societies and contemporary archaeologies of homelessness (Zimmerman et al 2010; Kiddey and Schofield 2010; Kiddey 2014), there have been very few attempts to form an integrated archaeological investigation of anarchy. As Alfredo Gonzalez-Ruibal notes, "there is no archaeology of resistance in the same way that there is an anthropology of resistance" yet archaeologists have studied "a bewildering variety of anarchic societies in the past" (2014:11). Still, there are a handful of archaeologies of resistance wherein archaeologists invoke anarchist theory to understand the past, and a growing awareness of resistance strategies, including a call to "occupy archaeology" (Hamilakis 2014; Nida and Atkins 2010).

A broader discussion of the varieties and nuances of anarchism is outside the bounds of this article. Still, archaeology has much to contribute to thought about stateless societies and political control. Archaeologists may have "access to the majority of examples of non-state societies, that is, those societies without the entrenched inequalities, bureaucracy, and ruling class that are integral to everyday life in states" (Flexner 2014:82). James Flexner posits that "anarchist approaches to the archaeology of social complexity might turn the statist model on its head" by querying a "statist" approach, focusing on spaces where states did not emerge and the ways people who live in states undermine the emergence of hierarchies (83). Flexner specifically targets historical archaeology—does colonial violence tend to be more dramatic when the colonizers come into contact with anarchic societies (85)?

In this vein, in his study of small-group behaviors in Northwest California, Bettinger moves away from recent scholarship that emphasizes "sociopolitical behaviors reflecting a more forward stance and appetite for expansion, power, and control" for their antithesis, a "sociopolitical downsizing and evolution" that he terms *orderly anarchy* (2015:2). Similarly, Angelbeck and Grier use an anarchist framework to interpret cultures in the Northwest coast of North America, with a particular focus on how the "groups self-organize, resist, and revolt against those who attempt to centralize and institutionalize sociopolitical inequalities" (2012:548). For small scale, decentralized groups that lack centralized political authority, anarchist theory has a great advantage over Marxist theory that was developed for the analysis of state societies (549). In the ensuing discussion of the article, Randall McGuire contrasts the post-processual view, that "archaeologists embrace a radical multivocality and give up their authority to interpret the past" with the anarchist view of authority. This view differentiates between "natural authority (those sought for their knowledge, skill or experience) and artificial authorities (those imposed by institutions)" and suggests that a radical practice of archaeology might be best served by giving up the artificial but not the natural" (2012:575).

These studies of stateless societies in the past are accompanied by resistance within the profession and a raised awareness of exploitative labor practices in heritage. Yannis Hamilakis calls for an "occupy archaeology" movement to contest "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" (2014:133). He asks, "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?" (2014:134). The question of exploitative labour practices was also raised in social media and became a discussion of volunteerism and non-alienated labour under the hashtag #freearchaeology (Johnson 2014; Hardy 2014). It is significant that both discussions employed hashtags, #occupyarchaeology and #freearchaeology; as Carole Crumley notes, "globalization has revitalized anarchist thought while chaos theory and the internet have facilitated anarchist practice" (2005:48).

Conclusions

When we take up the safety pins and leather jackets of a punk ethos in archaeology, we are mobilizing a tradition of anti-authoritarian discourse, one that uses humor and parody (Matthews 2015), to call for radical change. As Graeber's anonymous friend states, "the reason Situationism can't be integrated in the academy is simply because 'it cannot be read as anything but a call to action" (2008:260). In his letter to Nadya Tolokonnikova of Pussy

Riot, Slavoj Žižek writes, “From my own past in Slovenia, I am well aware of how punk performances are much more effective than liberal-humanitarian protests” (2014:54). Bringing together the contemporary archaeology of punk, a punk ethos in DIY and community engagement, and anarchist thought and practice under the “black flag” of punk archaeology provides a robust bastion for fomenting a multi-scalar critique of archaeology, suggesting a provocative and productive counter to fast capitalism (McGuire 2008; Agger 1989) that combats structural violence (Bernbeck 2008).

This article traces only a few of the contours of the punk archaeology horizon; there is abundant room for archaeologies of resistance that bring strategies from feminist, indigenous, black, emancipatory archaeologies, for remixes and reconfigurations that call on hip hop (Rowe 2015), or jazz (Mullins 2015) to break down the barriers between audience and performers, to remove artificial authority and to recognize ways that people in the past and present self-organize, resist and revolt. Though this article is limited in purview, it attempts to exercise the creativity and energy that Beer (2014) found in a punk sociology—discussions of punk necessarily reference both “highbrow” and “lowbrow” resources, typifying the “collapse of hierarchies and boundaries” between, for example, Tim Ingold’s *Making* and Youtube memes (Moore 2004).

The basic principles of punk archaeology reflect an anarchist ethos: voluntary membership in a community and participation in this community. Building things–interpretations, sites, bonfires, earth ovens, Harris Matrices–together. Foregrounding political action and integrity in our work. It is the work of the punk archaeologist to “expose, subvert, and undermine structures of domination...in a democratic fashion” (Graeber 2004:7). McGuire encourages us to “enter into the dialectic of praxis and build an archaeology of political action to transform the world” (2008:223). Punk archaeology is an enchantingly awkward, social, anti-social, personal, political, uncomfortable, uncompromising, anti-authoritarian, contrarian position that is constantly scrutinized and overthrown. To realize this praxis we must engage in what Orton-Johnson (2014) terms “small-citizenship”: small-scale, local archaeological projects and their accompanying online spaces that enable participants to feel a sense of connection to their community and to the past, with special attention to marginalized and disenfranchised peoples.

> *“Think about the kind of revolution you want to live and work in. What do you need to know to start that revolution? Demand that your teachers teach you that.” -Big Daddy Soul*

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POINTS OF YOU

Settling the differences and enabling change: toward a more inclusive management of archaeological sites in Athens

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Sometimes it seems as though archaeological sites are the children of divorced parents. On one side, you have the 'parent' with 'custody' of a site (aka: the archaeological service), which has been given exclusive authority to determine what is best for the 'child'. On the other hand, you have the other 'parent'—the site's neighbouring local community. Both 'parents' love the child, albeit in different ways. They both want to protect it and provide for it in the best way possible. Sometimes, visitation rights are limited, while in other cases they are not granted at all.

In Athens today, there are far too many cases of archaeological sites witnessing 'parental' battles. Taking into account the greater socioeconomic and political situation the country is in, this comes as no surprise. In recent years, a variety of organised residents' initiatives and movements have been reclaiming the city of Athens and fighting against its neoliberal reconfiguration, both politically and spatially, in diverse and creative ways. Most importantly, the manifestation of these local mobilisations demonstrates the need to create open public spaces in a city with rapidly decreasing ones. So what happens in a city chockfull of archaeological sites that are—for the most part— accessible to the public only certain hours during the day, with specific 'rules' of engagement?

Fortunately, there is hope.

In an important decision made by the Greek Council of State in late May of 2015, the public was granted access to the Western Hills of the Acropolis at all times, reversing thus the 2008 decision set by the then Minister of Culture, which would treat the Hills as an organised archaeological site with restricted access and an imposed entrance fee.

This decision is unique for a number of reasons. Firstly, it reveals the necessity to challenge and re-evaluate existing archaeological heritage management policies. It therefore marks a distinctive opportunity to allow for a change in the way the Western Hills—and subsequently other archaeological sites in Athens—can be managed. Despite the particularity of the case (the Hills' location, their archaeological and historical multitemporality, their environmental and architectural significance, their social use as a recreational space), the Council's decision can ultimately lead to a gradual change in the way we practice public archaeology in Greece. Moreover, it is a chance to enable alternative and more inclusive approaches to the management of archaeological heritage, while additionally providing new ways in which the public perceives and engages with archaeological sites and archaeology in general.

Changes in legislation can facilitate the reappropriation of sites while simultaneously revealing their vitality and organic nature. In addition, the further integration of archaeological sites in the public's daily lives allows for these to be 'reactivated' and re-used, as they have been for centuries before the establishment of the discipline of archaeology. It will create a new discourse, one that is more tangible for modern society and not alienating as it has been for so long.

It is time to get a better 'arrangement' for both 'parents' involved. Critical reflection and active collaboration is not an easy task, but one that is necessary.

There are no readily available models to organically change the way archaeological sites, such as the Western Hills, can be managed, but this opportunity can prompt a new discussion on how to do so. The importance of the decision made by the Council of State can set a positive precedent by providing the public the rightful opportunity to participate not only in the archaeological and decision-making processes involved, but also in the 're-creation' of the city. To create new forms of culture, different ways to interact and engage with the past in the present, to produce and reveal existing alternative interpretations and significations attributed to archaeological spaces by contemporary society. Most importantly, it affirms that the ability to be a part of the management and protection of a space, of any kind, is to enable a better quality of life for oneself and for those around him/her.

June 2015, Athens

REVIEWS

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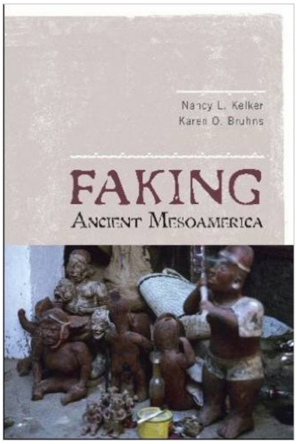
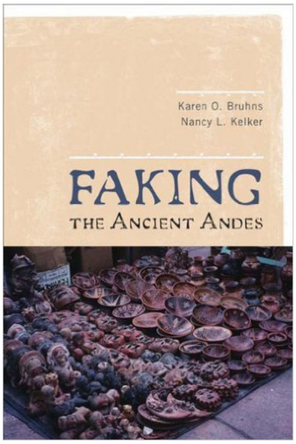


Faking Ancient Mesoamerica
[Nancy L. Kelker and Karen O. Bruhns]

Walnut Creek, CA: Left Coast Press
ISBN: 978-1-59874-149-0
256 pages, 2010



Faking Ancient Andes
[Nancy L. Kelker and Karen O. Bruhns]

Walnut Creek, CA: Left Coast Press
ISBN:978-1-59874-395-1
224 pages, 2010

With their twin volumes, *Faking Ancient Mesoamerica* and *Faking the Ancient Andes*, Nancy L. Kelker and Karen O. Bruhns have created a true rarity in academic scholarship, an enthralling page-turner. The authors combine their extensive academic backgrounds studying the ancient cultures of Latin America with revealing research on the modern industry that both produces and distributes faked artifacts, resulting in a startling portrait of unprovenienced pre-Columbian artifacts. In so doing, Kelker and Bruhns remind us that restrictions against working with unprovenienced artifacts are not obscure or outdated ethical standards but instead are a vital necessity to the study of the ancient world.

One of the most eye-opening tales of forgery presented in these two books is the tale of a faked Olmec Colossal Head. For those who are unaware of the extent, or perhaps the gall, of the antiquities forging industry, it is only natural to presume that the majority of fakes are of artifacts that would attract less attention. For example, given the sheer quantity of pre-Columbian ceramic figurines that have been recovered by archaeologists, it is not hard to conceive that a clever forger could slip a few fakes in with the real examples while no one was the wiser. Olmec Colossal Heads, however, are rare (with only 17 known), large (hence the moniker "Colossal"), and have tremendous cultural cachet as symbols of both the Mexican nation and the history of archaeological research in the region. Nevertheless, Kelker and Bruhns recount the story of a forged Colossal Head that was sold to a German collector for $20 million. There was little doubt that the piece was a forgery as the man who sculpted the head took several photos of the work in progress, including some showing him in the act of carving the piece. These photos were recovered in a raid by German police in the offices of the antiquities dealer who had sold the object. The existence of such photos is an interesting example of how forgery rings operate. Kelker and Bruhns provide several examples of forgers taking photos of their work in progress so that if they are later caught by authorities and accused of selling genuine antiquities they can provide evidence that they are in fact only making replicas. The buyers of these 'replicas', however, can be kept in the dark and distracted by the lure of owning a piece of the ancient past.

A common theme throughout both Faking Ancient Mesoamerica and Faking the Ancient Andes is the way in which the products of the forgery market reflect contemporary imaginings of the ancient past, thus setting them apart from authentic expressions of pre-Columbian cultures. For example, modern notions of "primitivism" often creep into forged pieces, representing natives as other or wild, rather than as sophisticated agents of an active cultural system. The most notorious example of this tendency can be found in the corpus of sexually-themed or fetish pottery produced by modern forgers of Andean wares. The existence of authentic Moche sex pots, along with related examples from neighboring Andean cultures, has been known for many decades; however, as Bruhns and Kelker note, these pots display a limited range of sexual activities. Modern reproductions of such pots, both in the form of tourist wares and forged antiquities, greatly expand on the range of sexual activities depicted and notably embrace the depiction of homosexual acts. As gay rights movements rose in prominence during the 1980s and 1990s, Andean pottery depicting homosexual acts gained greater prominence in the art market matching the rising demand. Despite the fact that none of these pieces came from excavated contexts, they were further endorsed by Queer Theory advocates within the academy who argued that ancient homosexuality had been oppressed by contemporary heteronormativity. Through this example Bruhns and Kelker clearly demonstrate that forgers were meeting the demands of their contemporary market, in this case both the art market and the academic market of ideas.

Kelker and Bruhns also do not shy away from more nuanced and debatable objects in their books. Most notably they devote a lengthy section of Faking Ancient Mesoamerica to discussing the Grolier Codex, considered by many to be an authentic pre-Columbian Mayan book. Kelker and Bruhns consider not only the artistic conventions found in the manuscript but also the raw materials, and the astronomical information conveyed by the manuscript to make their judgment that the Grolier was painted in the present, albeit on authentically ancient paper. Not all scholars will be convinced by the arguments made by Kelker and Bruhns; for example, they dismiss the accuracy of the astronomical information found in the Grolier as being copied from the Dresden Codex (an undisputed pre-Columbian Mayan codex) without commenting on the fact that codified tables of astronomical data should be notably similar from one document to the next. Their discussion of the Groiler Codex, however, is even-handed and should be of great value to all scholars who value a critical approach to the ancient world.

This work, however, is not without its problems. On numerous occasions throughout both books, Kelker and Bruhns criticize the museum world for an unwillingness to admit to the existence of fakes within their collections. While this is clearly the case at many institutions, the nature of the comments made against museums often sinks to the level of casting aspersions on the entirety of the museum world, rather than focusing on particular known cases. Given the frequency of these aspersions, the author of this review was not surprised when Kelker and Bruhns admitted that at least one of them had been fired from a museum position for suggesting that an artifact was in fact a forgery. The museum profession's complicity in the face of at the very least looted, if not forged, antiquities is an important issue that should be dealt with head on rather than surreptitiously. Unfortunately, the manner in which this issue is presented in Faking Ancient Mesoamerica and Faking the Ancient Andes may leave an uninitiated reader with the impression that the problem is only a personal vendetta on the part of the authors rather than a systemic and institutional issue.

Another problematic topic found in both books is the discussion of how fakes are manufactured and traded on the black market. Kelker and Bruhns provide specific details on how different materials are manufactured and artificially aged to fool the collector. For example, they provide specific instructions as to how cracking can be induced in wooden objects and how suitable surface erosion of stone objects can be created through the application of a variety of substances. They also interview individual forgers regarding how they got their start in this illicit world and discuss the business practices employed by forgers to both better sell their wares and protect themselves from prosecution. Through this discussion Kelker and Bruhns shine a bright light onto a shady business, and hopefully the result of this exposure will be that more people in the world of art collecting become aware of the basic tricks of the trade and thus are not so easily hoodwinked by forgeries. At the same time, it is impossible to read these sections of Kelker and Bruhns' books and not see how they could be used as a practical 'how to' manual for an aspiring forger. This problem was perhaps unavoidable as some discussion of the business of forgery was a necessity for these books, but greater care could have been taken in many instances to avoid such explicit descriptions of the methods of forgery.

Overall, Kelker and Bruhns have presented us with a much-needed discussion of the widespread and prominent nature of forgeries within pre-Columbian artifacts. All too frequently, their examples of forged artifacts include prominent pieces that have played central roles in museum collections, art monographs, and scholarly discussions of pre-Columbian Latin America. The reader will inevitably find a classic piece, whether it be the Olmec Wrestler or the Gothenberg 'Paracas' Trophy Head, in these pages, and subsequently find their faith in our interpretations of pre-Columbian Latin America shaken. Both Faking Ancient Mesoamerica and Faking the Ancient Andes read like page-turning tabloids where the reader cannot wait to see what scandal will appear on the next page, yet these books are supported by strong scholarship and they further serve as excellent reminders of the importance of context and integrity when dealing with ancient artifacts. While one might wish to quibble over the authenticity of particular pieces discussed on these pages, the central point rings true; if you do not know the archaeological provenience of a piece you must entertain the question of its authenticity, no matter how genuine it might appear at first glance.

REVIEWS

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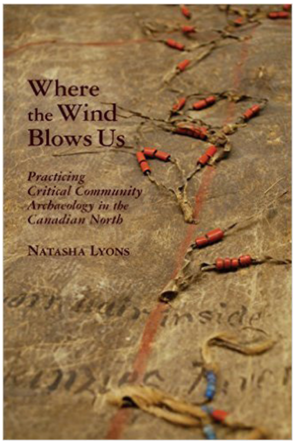

Where the Wind Blows Us: Practicing Critical Community Archaeology in the Canadian North
[Natasha Lyons]

Tucson: University of Arizona Press
ISBN: 978-0-8165-2993-3
230 pages, 2013

Where the Wind Blows Us is the tenth book produced as part of the *Archaeology of Colonialism in Native North America* series by the University of Arizona Press. It is a fitting volume for a series dedicated to illuminating a full range of methodological strategies used to understand the processes of colonialism and its effects on populations. Its ultimate goal is to set a course for undertaking an inclusive archaeology with colonized Indigenous populations and is based on the substantial experience of the author working alongside Inuvialuit communities in the Canadian Western Arctic.

The author, Natasha Lyons, is a consulting archaeologist based in British Columbia. She first became involved with Inuvialuit communities when working for the Canadian Federal Agency, Parks Canada, in 2003. This experience turned into a long-term partnership with the Inuvialuit on which Lyons based her PhD dissertation (2007) along with many other academic and community outcomes. This volume brings together the results from her dissertation with more recent work undertaken with the aid of the Smithsonian. The result is a thoughtful, engaging and well-written reflection on her approach to Indigenous community archaeology, focusing on the use of localized critical theory, archaeological responses to community concerns, and the significance of a multi-vocal presentation of historical narratives.

The volume is divided into three primary sections: Critique; Practice; and Reflection, each with their own preface. There is also a substantial Preface to the volume and a shorter Afterword. The Preface is used to situate the volume "to explore the question of how we develop sound research frameworks that are both inclusive and critically constructed" and "follows the path of a community-based archaeology program" (p.xii). It reflects on the process from which the book was derived and concludes by informing the reader about her hopes for the book's usefulness – as a handbook for conducting critical community archaeology with relevance to students, practitioners and communities.

Following a small preface, Section 1 (Critique) is divided into two chapters which situate the work theoretically, regionally and culturally. In the first chapter, the history of community archaeology is traced back to its roots in the post-processual critique. It was here that the book felt most like a PhD dissertation drawing out the lineage of the theoretical approach, with references to several projects that did not meet contemporary standards. That said, it was a joy to see so many references in this chapter (and throughout the book) to the work of Bruce Trigger, who was drawing attention to the colonial nature of archaeology long before other researchers. In 1980, he famously noted that "the New Archaeology continues to treat Native people as objects rather than subjects of research" (Trigger 1980:662). Today Trigger's visionary work is often absent from post-colonial syllabi, and students and practitioners alike are not always able to make the connections between his early observations and the kinds of community engagement which Lyons advocates.

Having brought us to present day, the author makes a firm decision to situate her work as *community archaeology* rather than *Indigenous* *archaeology*. In this manner Lyons is able to demonstrate the connection of her research to the global movement in archaeology towards a conscious critique of the social, political and economic imbalances inherent in historical narrative making as well as introduce shared decision making with partner communities and advocate strongly for local and multi-vocal interpretations of the past. Furthermore, by situating Indigenous archaeology within the greater framework of community archaeology she re-centres the work from the margins of archaeological practice to the mainstream. She then moves on to the more particular culture-history of the Inuvialuit people in chapter 2, recounting the manner in which different outsiders - from explorers to social scientists - have colonized and framed Inuvialuit history.

Section 2 (Practice) includes four chapters which explore ways in which archaeology can move beyond its imperialist past. In chapters 3 and 5 she advocates working with communities to find ways to decolonize research. For Indigenous communities, this process often involves a shift in archaeological methodology away from excavation and focused instead on low impact data collection using ground penetrating radar, surface collection, digitization and, most important to this particular work, the local contextualization of extant collections. The methodology outlined by Lyons emphasises communication, trust building, respect and negotiation in order to establish project goals and outcomes that are acceptable for all parties. This is not a methodology for the faint of heart as it cannot be accomplished in the course of a regular archaeological field season. Building trust involves long-term commitments on the part of archaeologists to continually engage and re-engage with communities. Having now spent fifteen years working with Inuit communities in Labrador, the author of this review has seen personally the advantages of such commitment. The archaeology becomes richly infused with local meaning, and is ultimately used for community aims such as teaching, policy making and capacity building. As Lyons aptly points out – adhering to local goals does not mean there is no room for scholarly products such as theses, books and articles (p.78). In fact, Lyons experience, and mine, is just the opposite. These products are widely circulated, give communities greater recognition in the wider scholarly world and through relationship-building also become a source of community pride. However, community archaeology requires that these are only part of the final product of historical enquiry, and that other items such as film, website and curriculum content may be more significant outcomes for the communities.

Chapters 4 and 6 explore the ways that Inuvialuit elders have engaged with two extant collections from their territory – one an archaeological collection held by Parks Canada, and the other an ethnographic collection housed at the Arctic Studies Center of the Smithsonian Institution. These were the most engaging chapters of the volume, as it was uplifting and informative to learn how Inuvialuit contextualized and infused the objects within their own personal histories. In both instances, observing and handling these collections produced vibrant discussions, bringing a life to the objects that was much more engaging than the static archaeological descriptions might suggest. Genuine themes emerged from these encounters providing "a window into Inuvialuit understandings of the past, the production of the past, and its relation to present conditions and the education of Inuvialuit youth" (p.126).Elders embedded the artifacts with anecdotal recollections, the history of families, of life on the land, of tradition, learning and identity. Their cultural and historical insights broadened the archaeological interpretations in ways which allow outside observers to speculate on the original intent and motivations of the individuals who produced the objects because they were given situated meanings.

Their discussion also raised new questions about present-day ownership of this content, about rights to the reproduction of ancestral designs and other knowledge, and about how best to use these objects to educate the next generation of Inuvialuit. Thus, objects from the past were also used to situate ongoing colonialism and form part of an ongoing dialogue with the dominant culture to the south.

Section 3 (Reflection) consists of two chapters. Chapter 7 begins with an assessment of community-based heritage partnerships, how they have developed and are currently articulated in Canada and globally in the fields of cultural resource management and academic archaeology. It suggests, and I would whole-heartedly agree, that it is now more acceptable for academic archaeologists and their emerging graduate students to work in and with communities, and the expanding value of outreach in the academic setting.

Chapter 8 entitled *Inuvialuit Identity and the Material Past* summarizes the significance that Inuvialuit place on their historical narratives as the foundation of their cultural identity. For many, archaeology, oral histories and language are seen as three components supporting this identity. The challenge is how to transform this knowledge into "educational mediums that are digestible by youth and other community members" (p. 148 as originally noted by *Billy Archie comments)*. Lyons then reflects on the process of the Inuvialuit Archaeology Partnership and the need for a critical archaeology tailored for specific communities as the form of a community-based program will vary in each instance depending on the goals of the partners and context of the community involved.

Overall, I found this a very compelling volume and an inspiring synthesis for those of us engaged in community archaeology or interested in the topic. However, the volume is at times repetitive. The forwards to each section, while drawing attention to the primary goals of the associated chapters, are redundant. Furthermore, much of the same theoretical material is rehashed in each section, and reframed to address different aspects of the critical and reflexive process. That said, I believe the volume has surpassed Lyons' goal to create a handbook as the author of this review confesses to reading her list of community-based research outcomes in order to see if their own project had successfully addressed each item, and planning discussions with the Labrador Inuit about how they may want to address some of the issues raised here. It is an encompassing history of community archaeology and an exceptional example of how one might approach a community partnership. Having come of age in archaeology alongside the post-processual critique, it was a good reminder of how far the archaeological discipline has come. Community archaeology is now part of most archaeology undertaken among Indigenous communities in Canada as well as many other areas around the globe. Many archaeologists now have some training on how to work in concert with community goals. For my generation, the process was largely intuitive but volumes like this lay essential groundwork for training.That said, there remains much, much more to be done. Community archaeology is not yet fully embraced by the discipline as a core concept. We need to continue to raise awareness of successful partnered research like this and continue to find guidance and creativity within the communities themselves.

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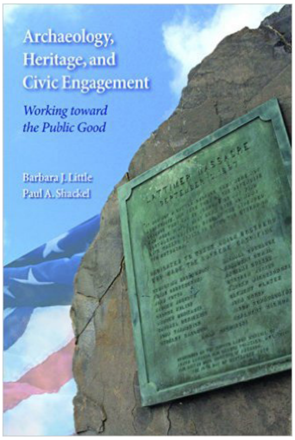

Alexandra ION
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Archaeology, Heritage, and Civic Engagement. Working toward the Public Good
[Barbara J. Little and Paul A. Shackel (Eds.)]

Walnut Creek: Left Coast Press
ISBN: 978-1-59874-638-9
172 pages, 2014

"*Archaeology can de-silence people, places, and stories that have been made to disappear through willful destruction or neglect*" (Little and Shackel 2014, 136). In short, this quote perfectly summarises the message and goal of this book, to use/view heritage and archaeology as a means to give a voice to people, groups and events that have gotten lost in the midst of history. Written by two American academics from the University of Maryland, the book is an interesting addition to the debate on the role of archaeology and heritage in contemporary society, tackling the heated issues of power relations and struggles, racism, social and economic imbalances, conflict, and even climate change.

Following in the line of a number of projects and works (e.g. the journals dedicated to these intertwined relationships—Journal of Community Archaeology, Public Archaeology journal, AP: Online Journal in Public Archaeology—, and several studies: Atalay 2012; Little and Shackel 2007; Stottman 2010), the authors address the important questions of archaeology for whom, and why are we doing archaeology? This title, in line with previous studies (Meskell 2002; Moshenska and Burtenshaw 2010; Rockman and Flatman 2012; Sabloff 2008), approaches the archaeological discipline from the angle of understanding it as a socio-cultural practice relevant for the present. As Cornelius Holtorf (2010, 27) phrased it, "Archaeology is not only a particular academic and scientific practice, but more fundamentally it is a cultural and social practice".

Since the first mentioning in 1972 of the term 'public archaeology' by C. R. McGimsey, there have been continuous attempts not just to define it as a sub-discipline, but even to question the character of the archaeological discipline as a whole in keeping with its broader goals, asking for an archaeology actively integrated with and attuned to the needs and struggles of society. Should archaeologists become public intellectuals (see Tarlow and Stutz 2013), active voices in shaping public policies, from climate change to economic issues? Do we simply understand public archaeology as a summary of strategies employed to make academic research accessible to the wider public and get them involved? Or should archaeology be understood as political action, and public archaeology viewed as an investigation into who benefits from the archaeological practice and discourse (Funari 2001, 239)?

With this book, the authors take this latter line of inquiry, claiming that archaeology in general, and the engagement with heritage in particular, should be used as a way of '*dismantling of structural and cultural violence rooted in past inequalities but supported by present day relationships and material conditions*' (p. 34). They proceed in unraveling this argument in 11 chapters, grouped in three parts which take the narrative from a 'Story of Self', to a 'Story of Us', ending with a 'Story of Now'. From the beginning, the authors make it their mission to express their personal voice and tell a story; why they care about these issues and how, this being reflected in the structure of the book. This is a great way of shaping a narrative, even though the separation in three parts does not always make clear sense.

Throughout the book, many examples are chosen to support their claim, pertaining to issues of social justice, constitutional rights, role of local/indigenous communities, mission of higher education, violence and labour, museums and civic engagement, peace and archaeology in the age of the Anthropocene. The experience of both authors with these themes and community engagement is reflected in the way the text is written: it is an easy and pleasant read, grounded in multiple case studies, thus making it accessible to a wider audience, non-academics or undergraduate students alike. I would say that this is the strength of the book, its accessible style, making the reader feel that the authors are truly engaged with and committed to the values and proposed actions: an archaeology that is relevant for local communities, contributing to solving social injustices and promoting civil rights.

Even though there is a thread which takes the arguments from the wider context of archaeology in the Anthropocene and the Second Bill of Rights to the role of universities and museums in using heritage as a tool for civic engagement, there are recurrent themes throughout the book and each chapter that can be read as an independent entry, standing more or less on its own. The chapter I found to be one of the most accomplished in terms of highlighting the intertwined link between history-heritage-civic engagement-community-museum-social issues was Chapter 9, 'What is at Stake?', dealing with labour heritage and what the authors called 'a heritage of complicity'. Starting from the message of Desmond Tutu (p. 115) '*the past [...] is embarrassingly persistent, and will return and haunt us unless it has been dealt with*', the authors take the examples of incidents against mineworkers in USA history, immigration issues and 'contemporary slavery' conditions in American sweatshops (the most famous case being the El Monte incident in California) to show how the workers can be empowered and their stories told through archaeological projects or museum exhibitions.

Overall, this title reads like a very American story, by dealing with specific challenges of mostly historical archaeology in that particular cultural context: racial issues, historical heritage which is still linked to memory, identity, etc., constitutional rights which are specific to the political history of the USA. Of course, other topics, such as labour heritage, are universally applicable in other cultural contexts. It would be interesting to see such an analysis taken further and applied to a European context where one encounters older heritage as well, which might have lost its immediate connection to a living community, and with the notions of community/inequality posing different challenges. How would then the authors' definition of heritage (p.39), described '*(loosely) as whatever matters to people today that provides some connection between past and present*', be rephrased for a European context?

Even so, beyond its American focus, this manifesto for a socially engaged archaeology raises several valuable points, and even though most of them are, of course, not new for those in the field of public archaeology, it still is an interesting read, full of compelling examples, and one which strongly accentuates the links between archaeology, heritage, and civic engagement. For all these reasons, the book is a recommended read for everyone interested in public archaeology, especially for those less familiar with the topic.

Acknowledgments

I am grateful to AP: Online Journal in Public Archaeology and Left Coast Press for providing me with a review copy of this book.

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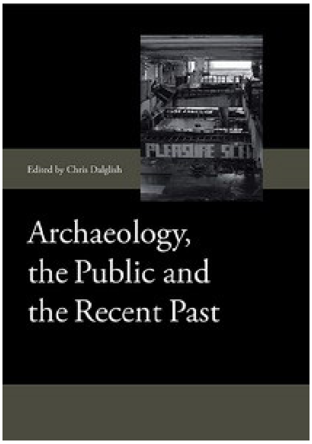

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Archaeology, the Public and the Recent Past
[Chris Dalglish (Ed.)]

Martlesham: Boydell & Brewer
ISBN: 978-1-84385-1-7
189 pages, 2013

When we define public archaeology (Almansa 2010: 2), current relationships between society and archaeology are the key to understanding what makes it different from other approaches. We do not talk about the past, but about the present. This is probably why contemporary archaeology has become one of the better scenarios for the practice of public archaeology. I tend to remember a forgotten title, *Public Archaeology in Annapolis* (Potter 1994), which is one of the most interesting books to understand the scope of the discipline, even in its theoretical approach drawn from Critical Theory. Dalglish's volume continues with these ideas in a collection of papers about memory and engagement in the UK.

My primary critique comes from the global South and points out an issue we have been facing for too long. I still remember an activity in the British Museum while I was studying in London back in 2008. We deconstructed Room 51: "Europe and the Middle East 10,000-800 BC. My worry was about calling like that a room with only a couple of items from outside the United Kindgom, especially in a museum like this with such an international collection. Since then, every time I read a book title with general terminology, such as the one I am reviewing now, I expect four additional words in the title: "in the United Kingdom". Occasionally these books are not only about the UK, but still they clearly do not represent a global approach like Okamura and Matsuda's book actually did (2011). This is not just a rant about a title, but about an academic system monopolized by Anglo-Saxon academics, a language —I know it sounds hypocritical from here—, and a "market" (Almansa 2015) that makes it difficult to get access to content.

That said, the book offers a great overview of projects where archaeology of the recent past encountered the public. The editor decided to separate the ten chapters into two sections, the first one dealing with the idea of community and memory, and the second being about actual engagement with the recent past. I must admit I expected fewer case studies, but in general most pieces provide interesting content and context to reflect on. However, I would like to focus on a few of the chapters only, as I believe they stand out from others in the volume. The first one is James Dixon's political essay that highlights a stance that I strongly support which can be summed in the abstract:

> "This paper will demonstrate, through recent fieldwork and political engagements in Bristol, UK, the potential for a new kind of political archaeology, not based around supporting political parties or facilitating community engagement as ends in themselves, but around creating new kinds of knowledge that can be used to influence politics and politicians at the highest levels."

The idea is not new and has been previously suggested from a Marxist-Activist arena years ago —as far as Potter's (1994) book and in the conclusions of McGuire's (1992), *A Marxist Archaeology*, leading to further works (i.e. McGuire 2008; Stottman 2011)—

although no precedent is quoted. Nevertheless, it is crucial to emphasize the importance of a political archaeology nowadays. "Political" in the terms Dixon defines in his chapter, but also in further enterprises even more separated from traditional concepts of archaeology or even political archaeologies. Still, as Dixon states: "this does not necessarily look like archaeology. [...] but that does not mean it is not archaeology" (121).

The second chapter I would like to underline is Siân Jones' text that would not only work as a kind of conclusion to Dalgish's volume but also a great reflection on a public archaeology of the recent past, or even a critical review of the book itself. Her analysis of the different chapters is very helpful to understand both the linking points among them and the two main ideas in the book (memory-community), framed by politics. In terms of Memory, understanding how and why people "remember" —and thus, engage with the past— is essential. Connerton's now classic works (e.g. Connerton 1989) are the basis for any analysis we make in this sense, especially when linking memory and identity. This link is shown throughout the book through different examples, mostly dealing with minorities. Traditionally, community archaeology —and I start connecting with my next point— has dealt with small groups, either "minor majorities" (villages, small islands, etc.) or minorities (both ethnic and social), which have been the main focus of contemporary archaeology too. However, we still know very little about ourselves —as a social majority, me being a white, occidental, middle-class cultivated professional...— even in terms of community. With this I don't mean we should not focus on minorities, even as a political action, but just to reclaim something we are taking for granted. Because communities are infinite, and political ties exist also within the majority, normally with major public repercussions.

I have a strong concern about community archaeology and the real use of the extensive debate over top-down and bottom-up approaches, and I often find myself wondering or even doubting whether they actually are real or fake in practice. I really do not care who promotes participation or how, as long as there is content behind the project. My main concern is with the aims and consequences of the projects, as well as the uses we give to them—we cannot be naïve about it. Two chapters, Robert Isherwood's and Audrey Horning's, shed some light on the topic and are worth special attention. However, most options still evade critical and activist approaches beyond archaeology.

The role of archaeology and archaeologists is highlighted as essential —through material culture and the focus on traditional archaeological practice as the means—, but still questioning the Authorized Heritage Discourse —in the words of Smith and Waterton (2009)— and the power relations set between archaeologists and non-archaeologists in these projects is still under question. The debate is visible in the book as well as in the latest literature on community archaeology. Still, there are multiple contradictions regarding this issue and the controversy is far from being solved. Contemporary heritage is maybe a better arena to stand for a more "relaxed" relationship as Michael Nevell, Melanie Johnson and Biddy Simpson point out in their chapters, an idea also extensively examined in another recent book reflecting on the Faro Convention (Schofield 2014). Personally, however, I would align with Isherwood's stand on opening up for new values and meanings, but still in control of the final messages, especially when dealing with a more remote past.

But dealing with the concept of contemporary past makes the book more along the political spectrum, and so I should get back to this and leave archaeology aside for a while. If we have a look at all the papers, archaeology is still the centre of the discourse. We use knowledge from archaeological research to engage with communities, politicians or a wider public. The value of this is huge and that is why I need to point it out again. However, I still would like to go a step further, towards a political archaeology without archaeology or beyond archaeology. Sometimes archaeology and cultural heritage have apparently nothing to do with their surrounding communities, but can be of use to help them solve problems. This is not only an activist approach, but also a means towards engagement, as it can be the link to a non-identitarian past.

I might have been critical with the book —actually I did not write much about it— but still it is an interesting resource for delving into the role of archaeology in contemporary contexts and the use of contemporary archaeology from a political perspective. We are used to reading about case studies discussing the situation while still lacking the theory to provide context —such as Dixon's chapter—, but step by step we are moving forward towards a more relevant practice.

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REVIEWS

David MENNEAR

Blogging Archaeology
[D. Rocks . Macqueen
and C. Webster (Eds.)]

Sheffield: Landward Research Ltd,
Succinct Research and DIGITEC LLC
ISBN: 978-0-9572452-1-1
294 pages, 2014

Free E-Book and Download
http://www.digtech-llc.com/blogarch-ebook/

The Blogging Archaeology book, published in April 2014, is a welcome and innovative addition to the world of archaeology publishing. It is one that helps push the current corpus beyond the core stable mates of journal articles and monographs (largely read by specialists and often out of bounds to non-academics) by harnessing the relatively new digital media format of blogging to highlight up-and-coming archaeologists' thoughts about the act of blogging archaeology for a general audience. It must be said that it is also an invigorating and interesting read that deserves to be widely read within the profession of archaeology and by members of the public alike. This should hopefully be the case, given that it is a free e-book and thus available for all who have internet access. Furthermore, the publication manages to capture an interesting and diverse point in time in the development of the communication of archaeology to wider audiences as it actually happened. This may be the book's truly unique selling point.

Produced and published on the eve of the April 2014 Annual General Meeting of the Society for American Archaeologists (SAA), held in Austin, Texas, this book was a response to the 'Blogging Archaeology, Again' session, which some of the international contributors to the book could not attend personally. Nevertheless, the book brings them together with 18 chapters that discuss the motivations and implications of blogging archaeology online. This broad outline (which helps easily pigeonhole the book into any one archaeological genre) ranges from individuals writing reflexively about the act of thinking about archaeology itself to discussions on the impact that blogging archaeology has had, and continues to have, on the 'real' world. First and foremost, it should be noted that this is a diverse book, covering not only the engagement of the blogging medium from an archaeological use but also as an evaluation and criticism of that very process. Whether in the academic (as Kristina Killgrove amply demonstrates in her chapter on the various methods used in teaching public engagement in anthropology) or in the commercial world (Chris Webster's informative take on why Cultural Resource Management firms in America are afraid of the use and power of social media), Blogging Archaeology deftly illustrates the wide-ranging uses and hazards of the blogging medium.

The project that helped give birth and produce this free publication was the blogging carnival that was hosted on Doug Rocks-Macqueen's own blogging website ahead of the SAA meeting in April 2014. Starting in November 2013 by openly inviting archaeology bloggers to write on their own sites each month, for over 6 months in total, in response to a question related to blogging archaeology generally, Doug carefully collated the responses on his own site, often documenting more than 70 active participants per month in the run-up to the SAA meeting. As a relatively active archaeology and osteology blogger myself, I should perhaps admit here that I too took part in this adventure. However, and much to my subsequent disappointment, I did not manage to produce an article on time for this publication, the fruit of Doug's blogging carnival and of the 'Blogging Archaeology, Again' session at the SAA 2014. The book was published at the exact same time that the session in Austin took place; as some of the presentations of that session were actually included in this publication, this is something of a first for an archaeology conference publication and, possibly, for an academic conference in general.

It has been noted by archaeologists that the act of blogging itself, and of keeping a blogging site regularly updated, is but one facet of social media and of the new wave of the public archaeology movement in general, but importantly one which the public are freely able to access (Richardson 2014). Blogging as a medium alone is, as the paleoanthropologist and much valued blogger John Hawks has stated[1], an act of tertiary importance compared to either lecturing or actively researching and publishing in the academic sphere. However, blogging is of importance to both the blogger and their audience (whether this is the general public and/or other archaeologists and academics) and, as this book demonstrates well, it is a rewarding experience for the public and the blogger alike, regardless of their archaeological background (Downey 2011). Across the Western world in general, a rise in public engagement and interactivity with archaeologists on a personal and a professional level has been noted. Blogging, both as an identity and as an act of education and outreach, is an important weapon in the armoury of an archaeologist though, helping to break down the boundaries of what archaeology actually is, why it is important and how it is actually carried out. The value attached to blogging is, of course, priceless, especially in a time where austerity affects

1 http://johnhawks.net/weblog/hawks/about.html

many countries, and where the value of archaeology itself (either in purely economic, cultural heritage or public awareness terms) must be seen and must be recognised. In this regard, Sam Hardy and David W. J. Gill's chapters on conflict and looting (respectively) resonate loudly, as does Maria Beierlein de Gutierrez's informative chapter on Central and South American archaeology and the impact of blogging on both the author and her research interests. Archaeology cannot be separated from the present tense, or from its past and present cultural context.

This, though, works both ways and is something that the book highlights quite well. The act of blogging is time-consuming – it has sometimes been compared to a part-time job (Killgrove, in Rock-Macqueen & Webster 2014) – but it can also help build coherence between the varying sectors of archaeology as a whole (be they volunteer, commercial, academic, or, on an individual level, personal and professional). Although there is real risk attached to blogging openly regarding the employment conditions of a career in archaeology, there are great gains to be made by solidifying a reputation on an international platform. Moreover, and as Emily Johnson highlights in her #freearchaeology chapter, debate can be inspired on a truly enormous international scale via social media. This can be documented, stored, exchanged and enacted upon. There is a danger, as both Richardson (2014) and Clancy (2011) highlight, that this communication, initially started in an idealistic democratic fashion, will become redolent of the typical structure of archaeological research by becoming 'top-down', where the reader becomes the audience who is communicated 'at' rather than 'with'. There is the danger that this can become a one-way conversation, where established archaeology bloggers become a dominant force, thereby unintentionally putting a stranglehold on other archaeological bloggers seeking that first initial foothold.

As mentioned above, it can be hard to determine where the audience of this book lies within the archaeology profession itself. Blogging, the act of writing a rolling online publication in discrete entries, has long been used in academia, particularly by early-career scientists and doctoral students who want to increase their own profile and study focus within, and outside of, academia itself (Clancy 2011, Downey 2011). Commercial units have, in the more recent past, begun to warm to the value of producing a blog to meet the interest of both the public and archaeologists on the projects that they are working on, or have worked on. After all, it is the public who help decide the value of archaeology as a profession and whether it is worth spending capital on in the first place. However, this book does not represent a new era in the publishing of articles directly from the bloggers themselves. Other examples of self-published e-books by bloggers include 'Social Media in Social Research', a wide-ranging book discussing the implications of social media for both researchers and the public, written by 53 contributing authors and edited by Kandy Woodfield (2014), and, much more arcanely, the e-book entitled 'Archaeology, Anthropology and Interstellar Communication' edited by Douglas A. Vakoch, which brings together a range of specialists to detail the best methods in establishing meaningful communication with extraterrestrials. As Richardson (2014) and Price (2010) mention, there is the question of trust and authority placed by the reader upon the writers. This can potentially be harder to establish with archaeology bloggers online, where a veritable mountain of pseudoarchaelogy awaits the uninitiated, and where conflict between opinion and fact can be hard to distinguish. As such, Rocks-Macqueen and Webster's publication should rightly be lauded as helping to introduce valuable and much respected archaeology bloggers to a wider audience. What is especially true in this volume is the singular voice of each participant and that there is very little bland academic language, which can so often frost over one's eyes and is found in academic journals or monographs.

Available only in the electronic form of an e-book, either as a free download or as a magazine-style read, the authors have perhaps limited the audience of the book. This was a necessary move given the content and format of the book itself, but also highlights the inherent limitation in blogging archaeology as a whole: that of long-term permanence and the use of, often, free labour. It is no great secret that the world of archaeology relies heavily on volunteers and, in the academic and commercial environments especially, there is great pressure to publish the results of research and investigations. Blogging archaeology is often undertaken because the author has a direct interest in cultivating their own understanding and interactions within a public sphere regarding their research projects and/or interests. If, and this is a big if, greater pressure is forced onto early-career academic archaeologists or commercial archaeologists to produce online content in the form of blogs to enhance communication of specialist subjects, then the very independence of the bloggers, those who are represented in this volume and those who are not, could possibly be compromised, if blogging as a platform becomes, or became, 'mainstream'. There is a very fine line between institutional blogging and independent blogging, where the author is acting independent of their company or institution affiliation in a professional capacity. The act of writing about an archaeological site often entails personal insights or reflexive thinking that has little room in scientific articles or site reports, but can nonetheless engage the errant or regular reader and actively inform and excite.

It is clear that this important publication should be found in archaeology departments across the lands, whether it will or not remains to be seen as it is entirely possible that it may be buried deep in the hinterlands of the internet. It is an innovative publication though as it shifts the goal posts of the act of publication itself into the hands of the very authors of the volume, who thereby maintain total control of the product itself and releasing it when and where as the authors see fit to. Furthermore the book also acts as a harbinger of a relatively early stage in the great, and ongoing, blogging archaeology experiment. The most important aspect of which is the sheer independence of the blogging authors themselves, regardless of their institution or unit affiliation, and of the wide ranging topics that are both available to them and discussed. So minor quibbles aside, I hereby heartily recommend reading this exciting new publication as a great opportunity to learn about the value of blogging archaeology from the bloggers themselves.

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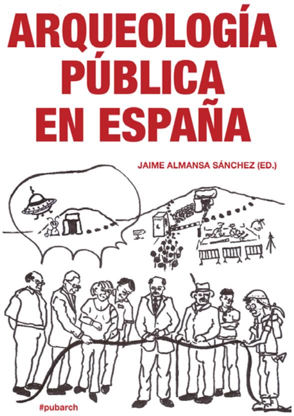
REVIEWS



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Arqueología Pública en España
[J. Almansa (Ed.)]

Madrid: JAS Arqueología Editorial
ISBN: 978-84-941030-3-2
530 pages, 2013

I remember perfectly when I bought this book at the Archaeological Museum of The Community of Madrid's bookshop in April 2014. At that same time, I was working in the Museum and immersed in my MA Thesis about urban archaeology and community in Barcelona and found the book to be a really helpful publication for my research. In this review, I will outline some of the main ideas of each part but also provide all the links to the projects, according to *Archaeology 2.0*, inviting the reader to check their evolution, maintenance and results.

The book was published at the very end of 2013, an important period for the archaeological sector due to the global crisis that affected it as well as the political changes that took place in Spain at that time. Jaime Almansa Sánchez, the editor and publisher for this book, has written and edited many pieces of work focusing on public archaeology in Spain and globally including a previous book (Almansa Sánchez, 2011) and other publications (Almansa Sánchez 2014; Richardson & Almansa-Sánchez, 2015). Taking into consideration that most of the work done in public archaeology comes from Anglo-Saxon countries, one of the main virtues of this edited book is that it delineates the state of public archaeology in Spain while making this literature available to Spanish speakers around the world. Until recently, public archaeology was hardly taught in Spain—the exceptional case was the University of Santiago de Compostela (Galicia). We can now find it in the University of Cantabria as well. Both courses are situated in the MA curricula and emphasize an approach to administrative and management strategies.

It is not to be missed that the term "fashion" in his dedication points out that the book is published in a concrete moment, and is not a happenstance that the aim of a new Erasmus+ project called Innovarch[1] -led by the Autonomous University of Barcelona- focuses on the development of new tools for the dissemination and learning on public archaeology. What I suggest is that this book, apart from being a compendium of different examples of what we could call Spanish Public Archaeology, is also clearly a manifesto that intends to frame and change not only Spanish perception about the subject overall but also reach the interest of people around the globe and, hopefully, change global perceptions of public archaeology.

Divided in three sections, the book starts with a short but useful introduction to the history of the discipline, with special attention to Spain, and ends with an epilogue addressing political issues from a critical perspective. The first section presents the theoretical frame, starting with Antonio Vizcaíno who describes the figure of the archaeologist in the collective imagery, highlighting the importance that the archaeologist places on understanding the *public* needs as well as the scientific community. J.M. Peque follows with an analysis about the presence of archaeology in the internet and the media using the term "alternative archaeology" appealing to the

1 Website: http://pagines.uab.cat/innovarch/ [Accessed 12/3/2015].

apocalyptic meaning some journalists give to it. When the author says that we have lost so many battles in this field he is right— in mid-November 2015 a peak-viewing TV show about mystery revealed the presence of a "pyramid" in a small village of La Mancha, Spain[2], *found* by a local discoverer. Reactions appeared on social media immediately, mentioning its real chronology and cultural ascription, as the site was placed on the Community's Archaeological Chart long time ago, or describing this action as a despoiling with a call for the administration's disapproval (Aparicio Resco, 2015). Israel Viana -journalist- and Beatriz Comendador explain their reflections on the Mass Media and consumerism in further sections. Both have addressed the subject with a critical eye, focusing on the cultural industry crisis and claiming for rigorous studies and an *object-ness* of the past (Appadurai, 1986; Olsen & Pétursdóttir, 2014; Olsen, Shanks, Webmoor & Witmore, 2012). The paper from Silvia Marín and Walter Alegría explain their association, Terra Feudal, and the way they do experimental archaeology for the people. Perhaps this chapter should have been placed in the second section of the book due to its descriptive format. Manuel de la Calle and María García present their in-depth research on archaeological tourism and heritage by collecting data from several sites and institutions and make a distinction from the urban to the local areas by targeting that the World Heritage sites are the ones where we find more tensions between development, tourism and conservation. The commercial sector is covered in the following chapters, starting with a diachronic introduction by David González and followed by a study, developed by Eva Parga-Dans, Carlos Martín-Ríos and Felipe Criado-Boado, about how we could innovate the organization of the commercial sector through an analysis of its dynamics in the past years (Parga-Dans, Martín-Ríos, & Criado-Boado, 2013). Then, introducing us to the role of archaeology in nationalism in

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2 Link to the video: http://www.cuatro.com/cuarto-milenio/programas/temporada-11/programa-10/primera-piramide-Espana-corazon-Cuenca_2_2083755069.html [Accessed 12/3/2015]

terms of transmissibility Abraham Herrero points out some of the recent cases of fraud on archaeological sites like Zubialde (Basque Country, Spain) or Iruña-Veleia (Navarra, Spain) both related with Basque culture. Both chapters are complementary and configure an excellent summary of a *precariat* generation that has not changed since the book was published (González Álvarez, 2013; Standing, 2011). The crowning touch of the section is a deep theoretical chapter written by an archaeologist, Ignacio Rodríguez Temiño, and an affiliated metal detector hobbyist, F.J Matas, which represents itself a dialogue between institutional archaeology and society. The authors highlight the concept of public interest, *ordinariness* and durability on the archaeological record, adding that administration must relegate its role as a culture promoter based in an *event-cratic* way.

The second section is based on case-studies that drive the reader into many different dialogues within the Iberian Peninsula (Andalusia, Aragon, Castile-La Mancha, Galicia or Valencia). Desiderio Vaquerizo and Ana B. Ruiz discussed their main goals and funding problems during the different phases of the *Arqueología Somos Todos*[3] project situated in Cordoba, a city with poor industrial development and a high service sector based on tourism. On the rural dimension, the team of Torre dos Mouros (Galicia) elaborately describes the development of different activities on a cultural site as an entity, avoiding the separation between the excavation process and outreach activities, converting the scientific methodology into the centerpiece of the descriptions with a live dissemination of work and results. In this project, they conducted an excellent analysis of social media revealing the handicaps that we can find targeting our audiences. This subject will be also the axis of the chapter written by Pau Sureda and others describing the aims of *Arqueobarbaria*[4], a team of researchers who wanted to develop a

3 Website: http://www.arqueologiasomostodos.com/ [Accessed 12/3/2015]]

4 Website: https://www.facebook.com/Arqueobarbaria-347482041964923/ [Accessed 12/3/2015]

socialization of knowledge for the archaeological environment of the island of Formentera (Balearic Islands). For this case, the authors recognize their limitations in the use of social media platforms like twitter–a notable example of humility in the academic world. They also discuss and denounce the lack of interest and help from authorities for their project and goals. From the Canary Islands, we find a descriptive chapter that brings us to the rural dimension of public archaeology and the strategies of communication and dissemination that the team of Cueva Pintada[5] followed (Gáldar, Gran Canaria). The next article written by Uncastillo/Los Bañales Foundation[6] follows a schema based on management and heritage where, although it is full of deep explanations, lacks a conclusive section encompassing the actions carried on. Additionally, the chapter written by *Espiera*, an association with an aim of knowledge expansion in archaeology placed at Valencia[7], describes not only its recent actions but also its underlying layers, scopes, and a dynamic sense of change mentioning the centrality of a gender analysis in archaeological and heritage studies, a topic that is missing in the rest of the book (Montón Subias, 2014:245). I believe these authors introduce a basic concept around how the *social construction* mutates and changes over the years. Closing this second section, Pedro R. Moya-Maleno's chapter is a reflective exercise of a long-term community archaeology project –one of the pioneers in our country– *Proyecto Jamila*[8]. What I see here is a well-conducted exercise of self-evaluation. He has had the courage to analyse the different workers and volunteers that had participated over several years, pointing out the difficulties between academic and social participative research.

5 Website: http://www.cuevapintada.com/ [Accessed 12/3/2015]

6 Website: http://www.losbanales.es/ [Accessed 12/3/2015]

7 Website: https://espiera.wordpress.com/ [Accessed 12/3/2015]

8 Website: http://www.entornojamila.es/ [Accessed 12/3/2015]

The third part of the book is dedicated to new –and not so new– technologies applied to archaeology and its dissemination. It starts with the chapter of César Martínez, a general introduction to the benefits of dissemination and the problems of maintenance and continuity that come with them. I have especially enjoyed the paper from Sergio Segura that deals with the subject of historical illustration, disaggregating the different steps and dialogues he has with stakeholders and the public feedback. The next review about cloud computing and free access from the enterprise *Patrimonio Inteligente*[9], is related with the proposals from projects CATA[10] and CARARE[11]. The organization of the archaeological record, in the second case related to a European level, has been one of the challenges derived from the development of a number of projects in the past years that were focused on the humanities. Sadly, sometimes the best intentions come unheeded; the high number of unconnected projects and the lack of funding for maintenance reveal a similar dissemination of other projects (Cimadomo, 2013; Sànchez, Gòmez, Martìnez, Ruiz, & Molinos, 2014). In the case of the blog *Arqueología de la Guerra Civil*[12] led by Alfredo González Ruibal, we find an example of good practices in blogging. The team explains how the project was developed, how it is evolving and how they evaluated their impact. This section is closed with an essay of anthropologic brushstrokes, written by members of DIDPATRI (University of Barcelona) that focused on the use of cell phones applied to the didactics of heritage.

Jaime Almansa closes his publication, as previously mentioned, with a critical epilogue that reflects our role in society as pro-active researchers that deal with social capital and society's wellness. We will need to analyze in the future years if some of the new projects

9 Website: http://www.patrimoniointeligente.com/ [Accessed 12/3/2015]

10 Website: http://cata.cica.es/ [Accessed 12/4/2015]

11 Website: http://www.carare.eu/eng [Accessed 12/4/2015]

12 Website: http://guerraenlauniversidad.blogspot.com.es/ [Accessed 12/4/2015]

that will appear will be related with these wellness aims or will be adapted to calls for funding whereby archaeologists are obligated to include socially inclusive proposals – as a matter to arrive to an old *post-processual* way of building science.

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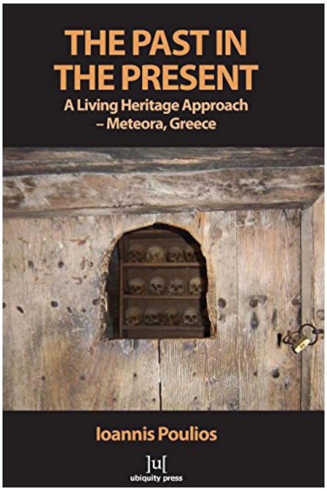
REVIEWS



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The Past in the Present.
A living Heritage Approach
- Meteora (Greece)
[Ioannis Poulios]

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Free E-Book and Download
http://www.ubiquitypress.com/site/books/detail/9/past-in-the-present/

Even to the ordinary tourist visiting the Renaissance miracles of Florence, the dominating mosques of Istanbul or just a rural byzantine chapel, the problem of accommodating his travelling curiosity along with the needs of a pious pilgrim is quite obvious. Allocated spaces and timed visits or closure of the site on specific dates for different groups are some of the measures practised to resolve parallel or even conflicting uses of sacred spaces still in use. Problems like these become a greater challenge to manage when you bring into the equation communities that actually live in or around the monument and use it, fulfilling its original function, as for example in Angkor, Cambodia or Uluru-Kata Tjuta park, Australia. In dealing with these issues one might wonder: Is there a set of guidelines to resolve ethics issues in heritage management of sacred sites in use, or even better is there a platform to discuss good practices and sustainability over political correctness?

Ioannis Poulios introduces us to such a complex terrain of appreciations, problems and possible resolutions concerning the byzantine Meteora monastic complex in central Greece. In his book, based on his 2008 PhD thesis, he examines a number of examples, the relevant bibliography, a variety of written sources, and some interviews. Ioannis links his analysis of Meteora with the 'living heritage' concept, a pattern developed by ICCROM[1], aspiring to overcome the contemporary, static conservation models, towards a more interactive, empowering and people-centred approach (ICCROM 2015). The book is divided in three parts and fifteen small chapters with frequent overview and conclusion paragraphs. Briefly, in the short first part he discusses the current conservation models; in the second, the Meteora monastic site, as a case study; and in the third part his proposal on the 'living heritage' concept.

World Heritage and the preservation of material authenticity

The urge to preserve 'our common heritage' was developed in the post-war climate of friendship and partnership in Europe, and put into practice with the establishment of intergovernmental organisations (UNESCO: 1945, ICOM: 1946) aiming to preserve and steward the tangible markers of the European identity, coming from the past. The 1972 UNESCO Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage condensed that task into the establishment of a list to host the 'outstanding' heritage of mankind (UNESCO 1972).

Various voices critiqued the World Heritage List as early as the 1980s. Critical points -among others- were the absolute dominance

1 ICCROM: International Centre for the Study of the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property

of a top-down, western narrative in the appreciation and selection of the sites to be inscribed on the List, accompanied by the relevant, singular, scientific rhetoric in heritage interpretation and management (e.g. Sullivan 2004; Miura 2005). These markers of ‘world heritage’ also marginalised alternative views and uses of the sites in question and prescribed conservation practices that emphasised the physical carrier, the original material of the monuments, a pattern inspired mainly by the remains of the Greco-roman civilisation and eloquently described in the 1964 Venice Charter (ICOMOS 1964).

The critique had direct results and various attempts were made to amend the aforementioned issues[2]. This was backed by the general climate in heritage studies, infused in the postmodern trend, shifting towards a more social, reflective and open appreciation of cultural heritage. Decolonisation and other political parameters played their part but probably the most important milestone in this process was the 1999 Burra Charter prepared by Australia ICOMOS[3] that apart from prescribing participatory processes in the management of sites, configured a values-based approach in assessing the significance of cultural heritage, enveloping all the relevant stakeholders (ICOMOS 1999). The social value of cultural heritage and the importance of participatory management was further highlighted by a number of later moves, some in favour of indigenous mindsets, such as the inscription of East Renell on the List, a site “under customary land ownership and management” (UNESCO 2015a), LINKS project (UNESCO 2015b) or the establishment of the List of World Heritage in Danger with the upgraded role of the citizens in the inscription of sites (UNESCO 2015c; Lekakis 2011).

2 See, e.g., the Operational Guidelines of the 1972 Convention published from 1990s onwards (Bortolotto 2007: 40).

3 Australia ICOMOS: The Australian chapter of the professional organisation offering advice to UNESCO on World Heritage Sites

What is more, the critique and the social turn in heritage management powered an important -although inhomogeneous- corpus of analyses and directives, prominent in the bibliography of heritage management. A number of these were actually compiled by Greek scholars and examined World Heritage Sites to locate relevant issues 'at a greater scale and in clearer focus' (e.g. Pantzou 2009; Alexopoulos 2010; Sakellariadi 2011). Ioannis' attempt is inscribed at the same reviewing process (Poulios 2008), focusing specifically on the exclusion of local communities, discontinuities in the original function of the monastic site of Meteora and the chimerical attempt to preserve authenticity in modern management practices.

Breathing sites

The latter points drew him near to the 'living heritage approach'. This model is basically a community-based approach in conservation, evolved in the previously described reflective climate by ICCROM for sacred sites of South-Eastern Asia, where their original function is still served by communities dwelling near or inside the ancient structures, forming an integral constituent of the site (Stovel et al 2005; ICCROM 2015). The 'living heritage approach' builds on the values-based model, giving priority to the living dimension of heritage, and could be examined in parallel to the 2003 UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage, aimed at the preservation of oral traditions, skills and knowledge, performances and rituals, etc.; the cultural diversity of the human memory (UNESCO 2003).

Meteora Monastic Complex

Perched on top of natural sandstone pillars in central Greece, the six surviving monasteries named 'Meteora', literally meaning 'suspended in mid-air', are the second largest monastic complex in Greece. Monks are said to have occupied the space as early as the 9th c. and the impressive sites of orthodox worship started being formed in the following centuries and further developed in 14th-16th c.

Meteora were abandoned during WWII and the Greek Civil War and re-occupied in 1950s. In this "afterlife" of the site (Pantzou 2009), parallel to the rekindling of monasticism and the occupation of the monasteries by monks that modified available space to serve their growing needs, new stakeholders appeared. The Greek State funded a number of restorations for touristic use, in accordance with the developmental activities in the wider vicinity, as Meteora turned into an important site-stop on the route Athens-Larissa and the more touristic Athens-Delphi-Ioannina-Metsovo. The potential was quickly recognised by the surrounding communities that orientated towards the tertiary sector of the economy at the expense of the other two.

Conflicting appreciations

Polyphony in the management of Meteora was not addressed at any stage (e.g. p.73-77). On the contrary, in this peculiar power struggle, the monasteries emerged as a key player. The status of the Church of Greece, as a legal entity governed by public law and owner of monuments in religious use, the independent and self-managed character of the orthodox monasteries, and mainly entrance revenue collected, granted them autonomy in the management of the site. Since the monasteries' Assembly was inactive and no collective decisions could be taken, this autonomy was expressed in case-by-case decisions on space syntax (the original meaning of which is thoroughly discussed in chapters 7 & 10), such as allocating touristic and not accessible spaces, changing uses of historical edifices for exhibitions and sightseeing, building or upgrading accessibility infrastructure, or even constructing new buildings (as is the case of the Roussanou Monastery and the five-storey building erected to house the monks) while tourists occupied the original structures (80-87). Most of these were designed and implemented without the Ministry of Culture's (Ministry) approval, causing damages to the original fabric of the monuments and the landscape in general.

Ioannis maintains that this opening to the public/tourists, an enigmatic stance considering the anchoritic purpose of the monasteries, is related to the philanthropic-missionary activities run by extra-muros, ecclesiastical organisations that commenced in the 1960s (66-71). These diverge from the original monastic life and focus on outward activities, such as welcoming visitors in monasteries, publications, etc. However, to the eyes of the uninitiated the aforementioned activities cannot be disengaged from business-oriented activities organised by Monasteries and the Church around Greece, as in the case of the Prophet Ilias Monastery at Thera and the consequences of its 'religious tourism project' on the archaeological site of Aigletes Apollo and the wider Natura 2000 landscape in Anafi island (Thermou 2008; Kazalotti 2009; Kazalotti 2010) or the 'hotel project' of the Church in the area of the historic military hospital of Athens (Iliopoulou 2007).

On a parallel universe of values and priorities, the Ministry continued applying its agenda on Meteora, focusing on protection and touristic use. In 1967 Meteora were recognised as one site, while in 1988 the site was enlisted in the World Heritage List (under the Criteria i, ii, iv, v). Buffer zones were scheduled in the 1990s and the site was declared 'holy' in 1995. These activities were again designed and implemented without the participation of the Monasteries or the local communities, whose touristic orientation did not converge with the Monasteries' views; Ioannis mentions a study commissioned by the local administration for the regulation of the touristic activity that was turned down by the Monasteries, without further discussion (77-79).

Towards a 'living' or a 'zombie' heritage approach?

Meteora is currently a widely-known site, destination for pilgrims, nature lovers, climbers and, in general, for more than a million tourists annually. Its iconic views are referenced in a wide spectrum of cultural products spanning from scientific studies to the location of the Eyrie in HBO's fantasy serial drama Game of Thrones.

However, examining the canvas of conflicting views and practices, as set out by Ioannis, one could easily observe that consensus management is not a visible goal in the near future. But could this be resolved through the 'living heritage approach'?

The concept provides an interesting framework, although quite wide, theoretical and not free from pitfalls. Apart from the positive feeds, there are points that need systematic exploration and justification.

The 'living heritage approach' is described as an undemocratic twist (130) of the values-based model, in favour of the 'core community', the community that has an established relation with the site. The Holy Grail is the preservation of continuity and original function that should be preserved and invested upon. This is directly related to the indigenous archaeology schemata of respect and traditional management patterns, transferred to western communities (e.g. Atalay 2007), attempting to formalise an organic process that aids the community to continue living in its ways without imposing external concepts of heritage management.

However, the quest of continuity assembles a precarious environment, already known in the critique of the national appropriation of 'cultural property' (Lekakis 2012), where the nation-states call upon a glorious, uncontaminated and clearly imagined past. In this mode, modernisation could be bluntly mourned as a disruption in continuity (25-26), evoking a dead-end nostalgia for the lost or even problematic interpretation of that uncontaminated past (see for example the concept of 'indigeneity' used for the pre-modern past of rural Greece, Hamilakis 2008). This blanket perception blurs the need to systematically examine the 'disruptions' (e.g. in the Meteora case: the introduction of female Monasteries in 1920s, the abandonment during WWII, or the 1950s-1960s introduction of tourism) and especially prevents reworking of the catalytic disruption: our approach to the past, through the concept of cultural heritage.

In our case, continuity in Meteora is related to the modus operandi of the orthodox monasteries, the 'Tradition'; a canonistic set of rules, some of which God-given, that are embodied through the introverted daily life of the monastery's focus on the worship of God. However, the interpretation of the 'Tradition' is not a unanimous process and, far from our realm, lies with the Head Monk/Abbot of each monastery. Also, it seems that it can be 'updated', according to surrounding socio-political factors, as the moving of the Roussanou monks to a new building reveals, or the philanthropic-missionary trend described above, or the environmentally conscious turn of the patriarchate and the silent declaration of the current head as the 'Green Patriarch', from late 1990s onwards (Papagiannidis 2000).

Finally, preserving continuity and sacralising new creations in heritage sites, endangers the original fabric and tangible or intangible values related to them, cultivating conflicts and bringing the life in the monastery at a stark contrast with the practices of the Ministry and the relevant law framework that even the Church should abide by. This manichaeistic approach is far from useful, as it undermines cooperation and imposes new hierarchies, creating in the end semi-alive heritage sites.

Living happily ever after

It seems that this exact exposure of contrasting interests, values and practices among stakeholders is the main benefit of the 'living heritage approach' in this book. Apart from ticking various politically correct boxes of participation, sustainability etc., if systematically analysed, the concept could provide the platform to debate heritage management in inhabited places by communities that claim special, even religious, affinities with the remains. Considering the latter, it could actively be engaged in the re-interpretation of 'holy sites', as declared by the Ministry (e.g. Law 2351/1995), towards an alternative understanding, probably more people-centred, of heritage sites in Greece.

It seems that this is the main focus of the author as well, i.e. providing a space for debate, as the open access version of the book published by Ubiquity Press and the recent discussion in the seminars of the Association of Heritage Managers in Greece (ΕΣΔΙΑΠΟΚ) reveal. These actions along with his intention to examine the intangible aspect may lead to a much-needed, applicable reframing of the 'living heritage approach'.

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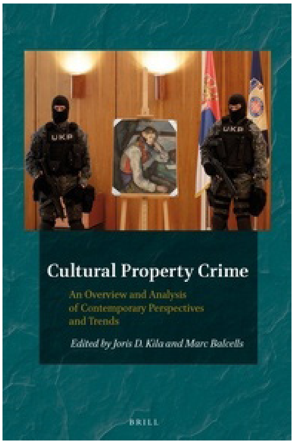
REVIEWS



Ignacio RODRÍGUEZ-TEMIÑO

Cultural Property Crime:
An Overview and Analysis of
Contemporary Perspectives and Trends.
[Joris D. Kila and Marc Balcells (Eds.)]

Brill
ISBN: 978-9-00428-053-3
380 pages, 2015

Over the last twenty-five years, archaeological publishing has been enriched with books on archaeological looting, the illicit trafficking of archaeological objects and other forms of Art Crime. Today we are lucky to have access to a wide range of publications on the subject, including the collection *Heritage and Identity: Issues in Cultural Heritage Protection* published by Brill. This collection has shot to the top of the essential reading list, even though only the first three volumes have been published. It is important to highlight the work of the editors, Joris D. Kila and A. Zeidler, whose excellent choice of titles should be recognised. The first two volumes, written and coedited by Professor Kila, were dedicated to the protection of cultural heritage in times of war, or when affected by violent social conflict. However, the third volume broadens the scope to cover different types of art-related crime, while still including situations of war where the lack of state stewardship or legal owners favours looting, theft and illicit trafficking, and even the iniquitous destruction of cultural heritage, as Kila himself reminds us in his contribution to the book.

Joris D. Kila coedited this third volume, *Cultural Property Crime*, with Marc Balcells, a Spanish criminologist known for his work on culture-related white-collar crime. His contributions to the book give us a fascinating insight into the subject.

This collaboration was the fruit of Balcells' earlier contribution to *Cultural Heritage in the Crosshairs*, edited by Kila and Zeidler.

While some years ago archaeological looting and the illicit trafficking of archaeological objects were issues principally dealt with by British and American authors, the international arena has now become more cosmopolitan, breaking with this monopoly. The series *Heritage and Identity: Issues in Cultural Heritage Protection* is a magnificent example of this.

The book is divided into seven sections of contributions: Art Theft, The Relationship between Cultural Heritage Crimes and Organized Crime; Fakes and Forgeries; Art and White-Collar Crime; Armed Conflicts and Cultural Property; Archaeological Looting; and Art Vandalism. It is impossible to provide a brief review of all the contributions made, but we can say they correspond to a variety of fields such as archaeology, art history, anthropology, criminology, and journalism.

The contributions related to investigative journalism are particularly interesting in so far, as they refer to criminal cases, something to which we are not so accustomed in the archaeological field.

Overall, the book provides a kaleidoscopic vision of what we know as Art Crime, offering a balanced combination of theory and practice, using both current and historic cases.

Both the theory and the analysis of practical cases highlight the inadequacy of national and international legal frameworks for combatting a plague that is becoming inextricably linked to other forms of organised crime and phenomena, such as the manufacture of replicas; now a lucrative national industry in far-eastern countries such as China.

The book shines a spotlight on the problems and provides possible solutions, although stopping these gaps will not prevent the appearance of new forms of criminal activity that affect cultural heritage.

Cultural heritage is one of the most valuable legacies we have to leave for future generations. However, such value always implies a degree of avarice, of contempt for others by those who feel superior, of racial and cultural hatred, of the desire for financial gain by exploiting something unique by making reproductions of the original, of the unhealthy desire to gain notoriety by damaging cultural goods. All these passions are the dark side, the underbelly that, like a curse, is always linked to things that produce aesthetic pleasure and give us a better understanding of who we are.

This book has given us a new insight into the thinking of those who use their intellectual and professional capacity to try to keep the dark side at bay. Like the previous volumes, this new book is essential reading. We shall await the new volumes of the *Heritage and Identity: Issues in Cultural Heritage Protection* series with bated breath.

BLOG REVIEWS WITHIN VOL 5

Papagiannopoulou, E. & Poulios, I. 'Card game: How the citizens of Athens experience the city's cultural heritage during the crisis'. Reflections on values-based management - 22 January

Almansa-Sánchez, J. Seminari a l'entorn dels valors del patrimoni i l'interacció amb el públic en l'arqueologia [Seminar on heritage values and public interaction in archaeology] - 11 March

Zuanni, Ch. DGUF Conference 2015 - Is the public creating a different archaeology? Analyses of a power shift. (Tübingen, 14-17th May) - 12 June

Corpas Cívicos, N. Review of the II International Conference on Best Practices in World Heritage: People and Communities (Mahón, April-May 2015) - 19 August

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We will be publishing one volume per year (first trimester) and although we are willing to receive papers the whole year, full articles for next-year's volume should be sent before October in order to complete the process with time.

If you have any queries, please do not hesitate to contact the editor at: jasarqueologia@gmail.com

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