

□ Are We All Archaeologists Now?*

□ Introduction

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In recent years several archaeologists have stated, or implied, that “we are all archaeologists now”. When I used the phrase back in 2005, the context was a theoretical argument that archaeology can be understood as a phenomenon of popular culture, allowing us all to “sense the magic that can be derived from the experiences of both archaeological research and the past”. If, I argued, archaeology is popular culture, then, consequently, we are all archaeologists to the extent that we are participating in popular culture (Holtorf 2005, 160). Similarly, Michael Shanks has on various occasions used the phrase “we are all archaeologists now” to express his long-standing interest in the fascination of archaeology and the common occurrence of archaeological ways of thinking throughout Western culture (e.g. Shanks 2012: chapter 1).

The claim that we are all archaeologists now extends existing commitments to include into archaeological discussions the views of local communities, researchers in other disciplines, amateur researchers (citizen scientists), and other important stakeholders such as indigenous populations. To give one example for such extended inclusivity in archaeological practice, current at the time of writing, the Public Archaeology 2015 project incorporates six archaeologists and six non-archaeologists. The project explores in what sense an ambition of public engagement is meaningful, valuable, and indeed legitimate in specific contexts of doing public archaeology. It is based on the express belief that: “The future of public archaeology *must* factor in the potential for archaeological

* Editor's note: We received more responses to this Forum topic than we have been able to include in the print issue of the journal, and have published a number of additional, online-only articles on the journal's website at www.equinoxpub.com/JCA

work—broadly defined—to be undertaken by non-archaeologists, without archaeological supervision.”¹ Surely, then, we will all have to be archaeologists in the future.

Yet there are also other contexts in which the proposition that “we are all archaeologists” has been adopted. Focusing on the archaeology of our own lifetimes, Rodney Harrison and John Schofield argue that “we can all be archaeologists of the contemporary past, because it is a critical inquiry into what it means to be ourselves” (Harrison and Schofield 2010, 12). In 2013, Schofield organized a session at the conference of the Institute of Field Archaeologists in Birmingham, UK, about inclusivity of heritage practice, under the title: “‘We are all archaeologists now’: heritage practice, ethics and the Faro Convention”. The reference to the Council of Europe’s Faro Convention of 2005 (also known as the Convention for the Protection of the Architectural Heritage of Europe) indicates that the radical inclusivity of the claim that “we are all archaeologists now” is by no means applicable solely in the contexts of theorization about the character of archaeology, or in relation to projects encouraging public engagement with archaeology or to an archaeology investigating our own life-times—rather, it can also apply to the realm of heritage policy. The countries that have signed up to the Faro Convention explicitly recognize that “every person has a right to engage with the cultural heritage of their choice”, that there is a “need to involve everyone in society in the ongoing process of defining and managing cultural heritage”, and that the “exercise of the right to cultural heritage may be subject only to those restrictions which are necessary in a democratic society for the protection of the public interest and the rights and freedoms of others”, and they undertake, among other requirements, to “encourage everyone to participate in the process of identification, study, interpretation, protection, conservation and presentation of the cultural heritage” (Council of Europe 2005).

On the one hand, then, claiming that “we are all archaeologists now” can be seen in terms of a continuing democratization of the discipline and an opening-up of the perspective of archaeology to encompass contemporary society at large in a spirit of general multivocality and inclusivity. Considering archaeology as a societal movement which does not leave anybody behind is an open invitation to all those who, like professional archaeologists, are engaging with the material remains of the past and are contributing with their own original perspectives. We can all be archaeologists together.

On the other hand, however, far from all would agree that such inclusivity is indeed appropriate or sensible. If “we are all archaeologists now”, we have to wonder where exactly archaeological professionalism and specific archaeological expertise and skills begin and end. Graves-Brown *et al.* (2013, 4) admit to having “often struggled with the question of how and when ‘archaeology’ emerges from the research practices of those who self-identify as archaeologists and those who do not.” Perhaps it is after all the case that some people are legitimately excluded from being considered archaeologists, even though they themselves may adopt the metaphor of archaeology in their work or engage with material culture in seemingly archaeological ways. Ironically, the very skill of how to conduct a socially meaningful and responsible archaeology—i.e. an archaeology that engages with society and contributes to societal development—may require professional

1. See: publicarchaeology2015.wordpress.com/about/

expertise in non-archaeological realms of competence such as communication, cultural values, conflict management, and ethically appropriate behaviour, among others. Arguably, there is something to be said for giving due respect to the value and significance of important professional or other relevant competencies that not everybody shares. Rather than inviting in new groups as colleagues maybe we should instead be concerned with the existing working conditions of professional archaeologists, with creating opportunities for currently unemployed archaeologists, and with the risks of giving away professional authority.

For this forum we invited archaeologists and others to submit responses to the short and provocative question: "Are we all archaeologists now?" We are pleased to have attracted so many original angles and perspectives on that question, from authors literally around the world: Europe, North America, South America, Australia, Africa, and the Middle East. The Forum encompasses disciplinary perspectives from anthropology, archaeology, architecture, art, design, sociology, and urban studies, as well as very personal accounts involving sickness, music, and homelessness. Some contributions are abstract and theoretical, whereas others are engaged and personal. Images sometimes serve as illustrations of the written text and sometimes as a medium of engagement in their own right. About half the authors in our Forum seem to support the claim that "we are all archaeologists now", though all for different reasons. Likewise, the other half disagrees, again for very different reasons.

All contributions taken together, the Forum demonstrates not only the diversity of viable perspectives on the practice of archaeology but also the variety of possible means of expression and indeed the vitality of archaeological questions in many realms of contemporary society.

Acknowledgment

Thanks are due to Þóra Pétursdóttir who in 2013 at a conference in Reykjavik suggested to me that it would be interesting to discuss in this journal whether we are all archaeologists now. She was right!

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□ Archaeology in the Era of Capitalism

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archaeologist noun

a person who studies archaeology.

archaeology noun

The study of cultures of the past, and of periods of history by examining the remains of buildings and objects found in the ground. Word origin: early 17th cent. (in the sense “ancient history”): from modern Latin archaeologia, from Greek arkhaiologia “ancient history”, from arkhaios “ancient”. The current sense dates from the 19th century.

(Oxford Learner’s Dictionaries 2015a, 2015b)

According to most dictionaries, if one studies archaeology—whether inside or outside the frames of academia—one is an archaeologist. In other words, a practitioner of archaeology is, regardless of academic training and qualifications, an archaeologist. But is one who is academically qualified in archaeology, and yet does not practise it, an archaeologist? This seems to be the real question to pose, and it’s also the one which brings us to actual people.

Let us take the individual who has studied archaeology for five to six years (the time it takes to get a Bachelors and Masters degree in most European countries), who has published a couple of articles, and who has probably worked as an archaeologist for more than a couple of years but no longer does so (forced out, as some are, by the survival demands of a capitalist system which cares little about social science and its researchers). Is that individual an archaeologist? Such a person probably does feel like an archaeologist, having learned the profession of his or her own choice, rather than identifying with the office job that he or she has in the meantime been forced to take. But the fact is that, regardless of how these individuals see themselves, many in society will see them differently. As unromantic and unacademic as it sounds, more and more archaeology professionals and academics of the discipline have been forced to stop practising and to turn to alternative activities to secure the necessary resources for survival in a debt-based market economy. Are these people, to a layman, or to any practising professional or academic, archaeologists, when they only sporadically write a public archaeology article? One could say that if these individuals continue to publish, then they are freelance archaeologists; but the daily realities of having to undertake another activity for a living will probably work against the feeling of being such.

Lay discussions aside for a paragraph, being an archaeology graduate myself it is quite clear to me that someone who is qualified in archaeology will always have the

tendency to think of a real archaeologist as someone who can spot the surfaced tip of a mousterian hand-axe at, say, six paces. One of my professors once did so; I was only in my first undergraduate year, so needless to say that set the standard. There was my first reference; but further down the line, during my subsequent years as an archaeology student, I encountered other references.

One such reference was a former Portuguese economist who, at the time, had been working as an archaeologist for more than 20 years, apparently ever since retiring from a previous job at British Airways. Eurico Sepúlveda was in his late sixties when I first met him, and he is to this very day known among us archaeology students, professors, professionals and former professionals, academics and aficionados, all around Portugal, as “Eurico El terminor”, because of the stamina with which he could still put most of us youngsters, males included, to shame while using a pickaxe. Eurico is, again to this very day, also the person students all over the country go to for help with tutoring for their essays, and above all for their archaeological drawing assignments, since the “master” was not only a field “terminator”: he also happens to still be one of the country’s foremost experts in archaeological drawing and ceramics of all periods. Archaeologists and professors in Portugal and from across the border also come to Eurico for advice, and some of them are great friends with the Iberian archaeology wizard. So, having laid out the matter, what is Eurico, if not an archaeologist? By now, he has 30 years of field experience under his belt, the admiration of his peers, and scholarly fame amongst all. Is he qualified? Yes—but in economics. And is he qualified as an archaeologist? Well, with decades of work experience and accolades and admiration from all, I would state that, at least for the job, he is indeed qualified.

So far we have mentioned a qualified experienced archaeologist and former university professor, a very experienced and well-recognized practitioner; and the standard archaeology graduate who has very little experience on archaeological sites. This leads me to this article’s next point, the *status quo* of archaeology in Portugal, all over Europe, and in fact all over the world.

I don't work in archaeology, because these days there's an oversupply of archaeologists and a complete lack of jobs.

(Recent archaeology graduate, Universidade Nova de Lisboa, Lisbon)

If we scrutinize the word “now” in the query this article aims at helping to resolve, it implies that there are more individuals claiming to be archaeologists now than there were in the past. But is this true?

The 1970s brought what many call the *democratization of archaeology* (Preucel and Mrozowski 2010). The discipline would, from then onward, no longer be a privileged activity of the European upper classes. Now everybody could study archaeology, assuming they could pay the college fees, of course, and in theory everybody could become an archaeologist if they wanted. So, yes indeed we do have more archaeologists now than we had before this period. Three decades later, in 2003 a class of 23 individuals graduated from the Faculdade de Ciências Sociais de Lisboa, Universidade Nova de Lisboa, one of the top Portuguese universities. Today, only a handful of those individuals is still practicing archaeology. It seems to me that if one wants to discuss “who is



FIGURE 1. Eurico Sepúlveda with archaeology students. Screening and assessment of materials from the site Morraçal da Ajuda, Peniche, Portugal (photograph by Guilherme Cardoso).

an archaeologist”, one cannot avoid discussing archaeology in the era of capitalism, which takes us back to those individuals who have had to abandon their archaeological aspirations and put aside their degrees in order to pay the rent and survive capitalism. The story is the same everywhere in the world for recent archaeology graduates; Portugal, unfortunately, is no exception. It is no secret that in the post-credit crunch UK it wasn’t just corporate secretaries in the City who lost their comfortably paying middle-class jobs. Archaeologists across the field have also suffered from one of the most radical declines of both jobs and financing in the history of the discipline. With capital for archaeological projects drying up all over the UK, just like in Portugal, many professionals and academics have had to become archaeology freelancers, and some have had to leave archaeology behind altogether. The risk is that archaeology will return to an era where it was the preserve of the better off.

So, the next question should be, how did this happen? What is the process by which, within only one century, a flourishingly democratic *Belle of the Ball* is turned into into a potentially elitist ugly sister? Or in other words: how does an increasingly popular social science suddenly become a poster child for unemployment?

From the concept of treasure to the development of commercial archaeology in the frame of liberal politics, science remains on the side of a market that goes beyond antiquities, but also partakes in it.

(Sánchez 2015, 142)

The joint venture of Western archaeology and capitalist economy, a project that has been underway since the beginning of the last century, has in the last decade—and especially

since 2006, with the beginning of *the global financial crisis*—been rather well exposed (e.g. see Hamilakis 2010). Schlanger and Aitchison's argument—about how the concept of *global economic crisis* “permeates both ordinary and professional discourse, [...] finds itself expediently and strategically employed”, but still needs to be “detailed, elaborated, and analysed” by archaeological discourse (Schlanger and Aitchison 2010, 9)—seems to expose nothing but the result of a partnership gone foul. The effects, however, on unemployment numbers in both the private and public sectors are both well documented and very real (Hamilakis 2010, 123–127). The union between archaeology and the market has always required the former to adjust to the fluctuations of the latter, so that archaeology has had to pave its way as a sustainable product. The commoditization of archaeology—the concept of commercial archaeology perhaps being the best example of this—and the ethical implications of this have been, with good reason, a central concern of theoretical archaeology for quite some time: it presents us with a social context in which both cultural heritage and science need to have an economic monetary value or else fade away—either into elitization or, worse, into suppression.

Returning to the subject of this essay—actual people—it therefore comes as no surprise that present-day archaeologists have had to become entrepreneurial and business savvy. The question of the direction that social science has taken in response to the demands of the market is too seldom asked. When the UK's construction industry started plummeting in 2007, leaving British commercial archaeology unable to produce sufficient jobs, we all saw the cracks in this marriage of archaeology and the market. In Portugal, the same year saw the merger of the Portuguese Institute of Architectural Heritage (Instituto Português do Património Arquitectónico, IPPAR) and the Portuguese Institute of Archaeology (Instituto Português de Arqueologia, IPA), created in 1990 following the discovery of the Foz Côa engravings.¹ The Iberian archaeological community gasped at what, very understandably, was generally perceived as a blatant retrogression for Portuguese archaeology. Some of us also paid attention to falling numbers of archaeology students in the UK: from 4500 female students and 3000 male students in 2003, down to 3000 females and less than 2500 males in 2009 (Sinclair 2010, 40). With university fees rising in 2006, and again in 2012 (to up to £9000 per annum), we all understood the inevitability of what was to follow. European archaeology, and social science in general, had not only shrunk with the market, but was on the verge returning to nineteenth-century style elitism. Thereafter, archaeologists could no longer be “just” entrepreneurial. Those who lost their jobs, from 2006 onwards, now also had to become what the paradigm calls “transferrable”. “Transferrable skills” is a term that those who were now to be recruited by corporations as second-rate executives (e.g. underpaid market researchers, due diligence analysts, compliance executives, and others) have heard and learned to apply quite often ever since.

This brings us back to those few practitioners who have managed to escape complete submergence into this kind of corporate fate by becoming occasional archaeology

1. The merger resulted in the creation the Instituto de Gestão do Património Arquitectónico e Arqueológico (Institute for the Management of the Archaeological and Architectural Heritage, IGESPAR). See Decree-law for the Creation of IGESPAR, 30 March 2007, *Diário da República, Portaria* 376/2007 (i.e. Portaria [Ordinance]), 2019–2024, Lisbon: INCM SA—Imprensa Nacional Casa da Moeda).



FIGURE 2. Excavation of a Roman hypocaust. Site of Morraçal da Ajuda, Peniche, Portugal (site n. 29072014) (photograph by Guilherme Cardoso).

freelancers. Their reality leads us, once again, to the question we have been asking all along: Are those occasional practitioners still archaeologists? I believe common sense will say “yes, they are occasionally so”, although we have to acknowledge that many of these “freelancers”, despite the title’s connotation of being for hire, are in fact either unpaid or paid far less than when they were full-time professionals with less experience.

So, taking all the above into account, it is the case that — regardless of market fluctuations, credit crunches, and financial crises — we still have more archaeologists now than we had during, say, the European boom in the 1970s. This will not be the case if current trends remain on course, but it is so for now. However, whether these archaeologists are employed as such full-time or even paid at all for their expertise is an entirely different matter, given the rampant precarization of the profession.

So, if the twentieth century, under the promise of a naive marriage of convenience to a difficult spouse called market economy, indeed brought us the *democratization of archaeology*, the twenty-first century has brought us the slaughter of the archaeological class, which in turn has brought us into a grey area when it comes to the definition of an “archaeologist”, since very few professionals have in 2015 the privilege of being able to

actually exercise their profession full-time. So, “are we all archaeologists now?” To me, as biased and romantic as it may sound, the world would indeed be a better place if we were. But for as long as the capitalist logic constitutes the paradigm and leads the way, some of us will always be considered less so than others.

In conclusion, it seems like the demands of a savage neglect of social science called capitalism have in the end created a new type of archaeologist, one who has to juggle between his or her chosen professional life path and the real survival needs the market economy presents most individuals with. Forced into this condition not by choice, but by need, and more than seldom much less regarded than their peers (the ever-so-fortunate full-time professionals), the new twenty-first century freelance archaeologist seems to be here to stay. So, again: “are we all archaeologists now?” No, but some of us, regardless of circumstance and bias, are, and have very much admirably attained to be and remain so—against all capitalist odds, and despite having to pay the rent.

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□ On the Ontology of Archaeology

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My short answer to the question “are we all archaeologists now?” is “not everyone should be an archaeologist”. The terms “archaeologist” and “archaeology” are unsettled, especially in the United States, my focus here. Consensus exists in local contexts but there is no one overarching “archaeology” that connects with “archaeologist”. I offer a

sociological definition of “archaeologist” that is based on a philosophical understanding of “archaeology”. “Archaeology” is usually reified and here I attempt to avoid that deception.

First, there are two items to clarify. Sociolinguists make a distinction between emphatic and phatic communications. Utterances of the former convey information, are intended to be taken literally, and most academic literature is written in this style. The purpose of phatic utterances is social bonding and literal interpretations are often misleading. The proposition “we are all archaeologists now” may be about social bonding rather than the conveyance of information. I’m going to proceed as if both purposes are present, because in the production of knowledge whom we bond with is important. Next, the terms “everyone” and “all” do not refer to all persons possible. Their meaning must be contextualized. For example, if five high-school kids are going to a party they may say something like “everyone will be there” or “everyone is invited”. The persons referred to are everyone in their social network, and maybe a few fringe persons. The whole school is not invited (Varenne 1977). Our context here is a relationship with archaeology.

Sociologically, an archaeologist is a person who does accepted archaeological processes to produce accepted archaeological results within a community of archaeological practice. The statement is not as circular as it sounds because each part is contested. This definition also does not emphasize the professional, because in America there are many amateurs who engage in archaeology and qualify for the label “archaeologist”. It does emphasize social consensus and acceptance within well-defined contexts. In Oklahoma I am generally accepted as an archaeologist because I have done acceptable work within the state and across the Great Plains. The local community of practice (Wenger 1998) is fairly open and welcoming. I can generally undertake any fieldwork within the state without worrying about being questioned by other practitioners. I have also recently moved to New Mexico, where there are different communities of practice, and they are welcoming but not open. I am accepted as an archaeologist but not as a Southwestern one. To be accepted in that category I need additional training and experience. I have to be relegitimized. There would be much concern if I tried to excavate a Rio Grande pueblo; if it were on federal land, I wouldn’t even get an archaeological permit.

Most individual archaeologists are members of multiple communities of practice. A professor at the University of Oklahoma is a member of that community of educators. She may also participate in the local Oklahoma Anthropological Society, the regional Plains Anthropological Society, and the national Society for American Archaeology. Communities of practice can be well structured or not. So, perhaps she is also involved in an *ad hoc* research group with members from several other organizations. Or maybe she also consults occasionally and engages with persons outside the pure academic area. All it takes is two people to accept each other as archaeologists and they can form a community, and then those two must convince other archaeologists that they are a legitimate community of practitioners. When conceived this way, there are an unlimited number of possible archaeological communities.

Most structured communities of practice have established processes for novices and newcomers to become acceptable fully participating practitioners (Lave and Wenger 1991). In America, the usual processes are an academic route, training programs offered by local archaeological societies, or a self-study route. Additionally, communities of

archaeological practice are organized thematically with emphasis on spatial and temporal themes, leading to internal incongruities that highlight the unsettled character of archaeology. In American archaeology the anthropologically trained archaeologist is the norm and those whose primary training is not anthropology struggle for legitimacy. For example, Biblical archaeologists are generally viewed as illegitimate by anthropologically trained archaeologists. The emerging field of Contemporary Archaeology is undergoing a legitimization process. Yet, there will likely be many other archaeologists who never accept it because they view archaeologists to be studying a distant past. To them, Contemporary Archaeology is an oxymoron, no different than Contemporary Antiquity. An important tension within archaeology is for practitioners to be accepted in some contexts and rejected in others.

To summarize, “archaeologist” is a contested category at an abstract level but is often well-defined and settled within contextualized communities of practice. Therefore, if we sort people, we get three groups: Archaeologists, Other Specialists, and Everyone Else. Other Specialists consists of people we archaeologists collaborate with on a regular basis, such as historians, geologists, chemists, biologists, and all similar specialists that we may bring into our projects. We accept them for what they are and what they bring to our efforts. When we work with them they don’t become archaeologists, they stay what they are. And since these collaborations are routine in archaeology, our specialty is inherently interdisciplinary. The group Everyone Else does not include Other Specialists. Everyone Else is a vast diverse population whose common denominator is that they are not archaeologists. The phrase “we are all archaeologists now” likely refers to persons from Everyone Else that have some association with archaeology: they have a passing interest, maybe they volunteer once in a while, or maybe they are interested parties that we collaborate with during our work. This last idea may be the target reference because “collaboration” is the new buzz word in archaeology as we are all encouraged or coerced to interact with people we often ignored in the past.

Turning now to philosophy and the concept of “archaeology”, I’ll touch briefly on the four main areas—epistemology, ethics, aesthetics, and ontology—because the first three constitute the fourth and establish a holistic characterization of the topic. Archaeology manifests through the people that do it, and it is best done through teamwork because well-working teams produce more than the total of autonomous efforts. Textbook and dictionary definitions of “archaeology”, something like “archaeology is the study of the past through analysis of material culture”, are nonsensical and lack utility. This statement describes lots of people that we don’t consider to be archaeologists, such as relic hunters, stamp collectors, folklorists, and physical scientists. Like a lot of things cultural, archaeology is an emergent entity. It is always greater than the sum of its parts. You can try to rationalize it, try to standardize it or measure it, but you’ll fail in the end. It’s best to understand it intuitively and just enjoy.

My definition of “archaeologist” places social epistemology—the social production of knowledge—in the center, because I view archaeologists as social producers of specialized diverse knowledge. Archaeology is a type of human effort with an outcome. Archaeologists produce archaeological knowledge in multiple media: publications, videos, museum displays, classroom lectures, and similar. Also, they manage these products.

In heritage resource management archaeologists define site boundaries and enable site preservation, destruction, or inattention. Persons from Other Specialists and Everyone Else may also participate in that enabling process but it is archaeologists who have traditionally described the archaeological resource. Persons within Everyone Else generally do not produce archaeological knowledge. When and if they are attentive to archaeology, they are likely to be consumers of archaeological knowledge. However, recent conflicts between archaeologists and some Indian tribes have targeted these traditional roles.

One anchor to the center is ethics. The production and management of archaeological knowledge are widely accepted as virtuous tasks that add real value to society at large. I do believe that most archaeologists would view themselves as good honest people producing good things. I am not certain we can say this about every person or every category within Everyone Else. There are numerous crafts and trades that don't formalize their ethics; for example, most construction trades don't do this. They may be ethical but they don't write it down and ask their members to sign an oath to it. In my experience, every archaeological society, avocational and vocational, has a formal written code of ethics about the "who, what, why, and how" of archaeology, and their members try to live up to these high ideals. In this way archaeologists mimic the behavioral standards that legal professions have, those that require formal licenses to practice, such as lawyers, certified public accountants, and physicians. In those professions practitioners sign an oath to be ethical, they are legally obligated to a "duty of care" and a "standard of care", and tort claims (e.g. malpractice, negligence) can be filed against them and assessed in court. Archaeologists may not have such clear legal standing but they often behave as if they aspire to such standing. When archaeologists judge each other, the judgments are as much about ethical behavior as they are about competencies.

I'm not claiming that archaeologists are saints. You'll find corruption, fraud, sexism, and racism within the various communities of archaeological practice. They can demean each other as much as they do outsiders. But, the real con artists don't usually last long, and if they do, they get marginalized. When these bad behaviors are exposed, there is much angst and moral discussion about them within and across archaeological communities. Further, when archaeologists create troubles for others, it is usually done with the best of intentions, misguided as they may be. Most importantly, the last 30 years have been a watershed of heightened sensitivity; not about the ethics of intellectualism but about how we can harm those we study. Today, American archaeologists are more interested in the comprehensive moral issues surrounding their work than in any time in the past. That is a good thing.

The statement "we are all archaeologists now" does have moral and aesthetic appeal. It is also a deception. It conjures up images of people being in harmony, working with good fellowship; we are all bonded together, now, back then, and tomorrow. Without doubt, it fits with contemporary moral and structural trends within the profession; just note the prevalence of community archaeology. In America, archaeologists are doing their best to engage Everyone Else, especially Indian tribes. However, if I were to spend five years working with a few Cherokee, and together, we produce some interesting result, would it be appropriate for me to label those few Cherokee as "archaeologists"? I don't think so. It might be a huge insult to them. It is very possible that their intent

in participating was to correct the ill-conceived ideas of archaeologists. They may have helped to produce archaeological knowledge but they should not be mislabeled. Likewise, I'd be a fool to claim to have become Cherokee. When dealing with persons from Everyone Else, collaboration is not about taking novices and turning them into fully practicing archaeologists. It is about the respectful exchange and integration of information across diverse communities of practice that have traditionally not worked together. And the hope of archaeologists is that the persons from the other side are fully knowledgeable participants within their own communities of practice. We re-label those other practitioners and accept them as Other Specialists. In general, collaboration can lead to social bonding and creative results. It can also entail creative abrasion, the process of achieving creative results through conflict and disagreement.

Aesthetics is the other anchor to the center because most archaeologists enjoy their work. A lot of persons within Everyone Else don't enjoy their work. I occasionally enjoy flipping hamburgers as I barbeque in the backyard; I am not going to like getting paid to flip hamburgers in a fast food restaurant. Archaeology is one of the best blends of white- and blue-collar work possible. It attracts persons to it because it is an enjoyable vocation and avocation. Very few other types of efforts are like this. The pleasure of doing the processes of archaeology, the digging, cataloguing, bagging, hiking, thinking about the past, thinking about the meaning and utility of artifacts, crafting elegant arguments, crafting essays and books and nice drawings and photographs, is far beyond most other endeavors. There is something special about archaeology, and you don't give it away needlessly, particularly for a fleeting phatic moment.

What is the specialness of archaeology? It is the social ontology of it. In the warm and fuzzy phatic way, it is the fascinating people, "archaeologists", that make it special. Emphatically, archaeology is that effort whose practitioners organize themselves into communities of practice devoted to virtuous epistemological goals, the production and management of archaeological knowledge. Most are moral people working by ethical codes of archaeological conduct. Aesthetically, they are willing to have a damn good time because the effort "is still the most fun you can have with your pants on" (Flannery 1982, 278). The bottom line is that persons within Everyone Else don't qualify. However, anyone can become an archaeologist; they just have to be willing to follow one of the legitimate processes to do so and then join a legitimate community of practice.

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□ “Are We There Yet?” The challenge of Public Engagement with Australia’s Indigenous Past and its Implications for Reconciliation

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In a world where so much information is available at the click of a mouse, and archaeological developments can be posted and commented on virtually instantaneously by anyone interested in the past, it is tempting to respond in a positive manner to the question “are we all archaeologists now?” To suggest otherwise might even be seen as perpetuating an elitist mindset and artificial separation between the “knowledge holders” of the academy and the rest of society. However, as with much archaeological endeavour, answering this question is not a straightforward affair. Given the growth and diversification of archaeological theory, method, and practice over the last several decades, it is possible to adopt a more nuanced analysis of the proposition without necessarily being seen as some sort of conservative reactionary. First, I think it is reasonable to suggest that an interest in the past, and in particular the material remains of the past, does not necessarily equate with approaching that past as an archaeologist. Second, I would also query the inclusiveness implied by “we” in the proposition, as all too often such broad terms can accidentally (or intentionally) ignore questions of cultural diversity and cultural dominance, particularly in societies where Indigenous communities are still living with the social and economic consequences of colonialism. In an attempt to avoid overgeneralising in my commentary I have avoided talking about archaeological settings for which I have limited or no experience, and have instead approached the proposition within the bounds of my own archaeological experience and practice, primarily that of Australian archaeology, and presently in the field of cultural heritage management in Indigenous archaeology.

To consider the first point, there can be no dispute that an interest in past human behaviour, from our earliest prehistory to that of the recent past, is a fundamental focus of archaeological endeavour and that this focus upon the broad sweep of time, place, and culture provides a touchstone that can often engage the interest of many in the broader community. Accordingly, the democratic opening up of the discipline, beginning in the 1970s through the creation of public and community archaeology, has been of fundamental importance in recruiting supporters to the cause of promoting the practice of archaeology and also as a means of communicating archaeological relevance beyond academia to contemporary society. This democratizing of the discipline and resulting public access has provided pathways for those in the community with a passionate interest (specific or general) in the past. This public engagement process is

now seen as a long established principle of and activity in archaeology. Often overseen by professional archaeologists, but geared to enable amateur involvement, it has been described as “the business of telling non-professionals about archaeology, getting them involved, and working for and alongside them (Flatman 2011, 177). Public and community archaeology also benefits professional archaeology through promoting the discipline, and these two facets—public engagement and professional advocacy—are bound together in a co-dependent dynamic. As archaeologists we love to promote the value and relevance of archaeology by engaging the public in our advocacy, realising that to not do so risks the demotion of archaeology to a lower profile and status in the fraught and highly competitive competition for limited government and institutional funding. In this era where economic rationalism and neoconservative politics still dominate many governments. Archaeology must justify its worth and value against more socially pressing services and economic imperatives.

An engaged public in community archaeology projects has not diminished or threatened the standing of professional archaeology. The encouragement and development of amateur archaeologists (and I use the term here in its most positive sense) and heritage enthusiasts does not in my view blur the lines of expertise ascribed to archaeological professionalism. In a field as underfunded, lowly paid, and underemployed as ours, to address the issues of the past we need all the help we can muster! This push for a democratized and accessible archaeology is symbolized by the creation of inclusive bodies such as the World Archaeological Congress (WAC), which aspires to global connectivity across both the professional and public archaeological community and emphasises issues of equity of opportunity and cultural diversity through regular online discussions.

Unfortunately, the situation of public and community archaeology in Australia is less clear-cut. Here the challenge remains to engage more members of the general public in Australian archaeology, and in particular our Indigenous archaeology, over the more familiar overseas cultural interests such as Egypt, Greece, and Rome, to name the most obvious (Colley 2007, 30). Although archaeology in Australia continues to enjoy a strong if at times superficial level of public interest and popularity, it is beset by stereotypes and myths promulgated by the double-edged sword of media exposure and promotion (Colley 2005, 62–63; Nichols 2006, 36; Flatman 2011, 9). This lesser engagement with “local” heritage means that public and community archaeology appears less developed in Australia when compared to the long-established programs and groups found in North America, Britain, and Europe. Accordingly, there are fewer opportunities for public involvement in archaeological projects (with most surveys and excavations either conducted by private heritage companies as commercial exercises or developed by universities mostly—and understandably—for the benefit of their students). This means that for most Australians, archaeology is experienced primarily second hand, through the media (Colley 2007, 34–35). An examination of archaeological programming on Australian television “shows it is overwhelmingly imported from overseas, it has a strong Eurocentric bias and much of it is presented within the traditions of well-established Western colonial stereotypes” (Nichols 2006, 45). Whilst some significant documentaries of Australian Indigenous archaeology have been transmitted since Nichols’s study, such as *First Footprints* (a 2013 series about Australia’s Indigenous prehistory that was not without its controversies in Australia’s

professional archaeological community), the viewing component mostly remains as described above. It may be that in an era of ever-developing social media options, where instant access to archaeological materials, images, and articles, and the potential to read and comment on them, is but a mouse-click away, that this imbalance may begin to be addressed. However, at present there are limited opportunities for the sort of fully engaged public participation and involvement in archaeology on offer elsewhere, notwithstanding the efforts of the Australian archaeological community through events such as National Archaeology Week.

The other issue to consider is that archaeology is more than a series of methods. The discipline brings with it a developed set of ethical principles that guide practice and contribute to the related field of cultural heritage management. Archaeologists practicing in Australia have a number of codes of ethics to which they should adhere, and when becoming members of professional associations such as the Australian Archaeological Association (AAA) they must comply with these as part of their membership conditions. It is this ethical dimension that further works against the proposition that “we are all archaeologists now”. Archaeological practice, whether professional or amateur, should demonstrate an ethical framework that informs its approach. Treasure-hunting may utilize some archaeological methods, but it is not archaeology, and it does not seek the same goals or respect the heritage and human-rights principles that have increasingly been adopted by, and become fundamental to, the practice of being an archaeologist in the twenty-first century.

Also, archaeological programs in the media tend to favour the promotion and explanation of fieldwork methods to the exclusion and even detriment of other factors that we would consider fundamental to an archaeological mindset. Returning to the subject of television programming, Nichols adds: “Little consideration is given to current theoretical or ethical issues in archaeology and there is a notable lack of Indigenous, non-European or feminist perspectives” (Nichols 2006:43). In a post-colonial world these ethical and political dimensions are inseparable from archaeological practice, given that the cultural materials, including human remains, we are accessing through our work and research belong to the Indigenous peoples of these countries. I do not believe we can rightly proclaim “we are all archaeologists now” unless this fuller conception and understanding of the past, and how it impacts on the social and political present, forms part of the practice being undertaken by “archaeologists”. Clearly such an approach need not and should not exclude the public; rather, it is one of the strongest arguments for public engagement, with potential benefits for the community well beyond the purely archaeological. The more these social issues are promoted and explored, the more likely is the development of the sort of inclusive and culturally respectful archaeology, both public and professional, to which the proposition suggested actually aspires. In turn, another benefit of an engaged, interested, and knowledgeable community is its likelihood of leading to an improved understanding of, respect for, and protection of our archaeological cultural heritage—a situation that appears out of balance in Australia at present.

This leads me to my second point—the concept of “we” implied in the proposition. I have already alluded to a general lack of understanding within the broader Australian community concerning Australian Aboriginal traditional culture and Indigenous archaeology.

The use of the term “traditional” here should in no way be seen as implying a past culture. Indeed, the Western concepts of past, present, and future have a very different temporal sense in Aboriginal beliefs. At this point I need to declare I am a non-Indigenous Australian working as a professional archaeologist. As such I am well aware that my profession arose from a dominant Eurocentric Western belief system whose history in the treatment of Indigenous peoples and their material culture, particularly in the recovery and dispersal of human remains to museums and institutions in the past, continues to impact on the working relationship between Indigenous peoples and archaeologists in the present.

I regularly work with Australian Aboriginal Traditional Owners on their land, undertaking cultural heritage surveys and excavations within a commercial context, with the work financed by a third party. It is not appropriate that I should be seen to be speaking for Aboriginal people in this commentary; rather, I would simply observe that when statements are made like the proposition under discussion, I query whether the intent of the proclaimer in generalizing about “the community” has consciously envisaged “we” to include Indigenous peoples as also being “all archaeologists now”? The response may be, “yes of course this statement is intended to be inclusive of the communities cultural diversity”, yet I wonder if this “label” is an appropriate one to bestow on Indigenous peoples given their presently unresolved feelings about past (and potentially even present) archaeological practices, including highly sensitive ongoing issues of great distress to Indigenous communities such as the repatriation of ancestors’ remains from museum collections spread across the globe. Do such statements, even inadvertently, despite their seemingly positive motivations, impose Western constructs of thinking and belief onto Indigenous peoples in relation to their own living past and its material culture?

Of course Indigenous people do choose to become archaeologists—although globally, the number of Indigenous archaeologists is relatively small for a variety of socio-economic and cultural reasons (Flatman 2011, 23). Notwithstanding the issues briefly and inadequately touched on above, I would argue that a greater representation of Indigenous archaeologists in Australian Indigenous archaeology would help to better inform and improve the theory and method of non-Indigenous archaeologists and guide their working relationships with Traditional Owners. Ultimately, regardless of archaeology, Indigenous peoples retain and battle to maintain a strong engagement with their cultural heritage and identity through their past material culture, traditional lands, and sacred/instructive places. These connections are integral to their cultural identity and spiritual wellbeing. Therefore, we must recognize that within an Indigenous context the proposition under discussion may simply not be applicable—indeed, whether Indigenous Australians consider themselves to be archaeologists I suspect may well be down on their list of priorities. For those Traditional Owners actively engaged with the preservation and perpetuation of their heritage there are enough challenges in negotiating a Western-imposed heritage system of competing social, cultural, and economic interests.

In conclusion, from an Australian perspective, I find the answer to the proposition “are we all archaeologists now?” to be “no”. Not from some self-interested desire to protect my status as a professional archaeologist, in contrast to other interested stakeholders, but rather as a recognition that the Australian community in general, for a variety of reasons beyond the scope of this short commentary, is yet to develop a consistent and

widespread desire to fully engage with our Indigenous archaeology. This is reflected by our limited public archaeology programmes and media presentations and a clear bias towards Australia's post-contact history, as evidenced by the massive promotion of Australia's 1915 Gallipoli campaign, in all forms of media, as its centenary approached in April 2015. There is a clear national imperative to address this issue of disconnect, which has significant implications for all Australians. In this, archaeology can be a positive and progressive force, practised ethically in partnership with Indigenous communities, to raise public consciousness, understanding, and, most crucially, interest in Australia's Indigenous archaeology. In the quest for true reconciliation and partnership we may not all be archaeologists, but we all have a connection to and are influenced by our past, and flowing from this the potential to commit to the preservation of our cultural heritage in the most inclusive sense.

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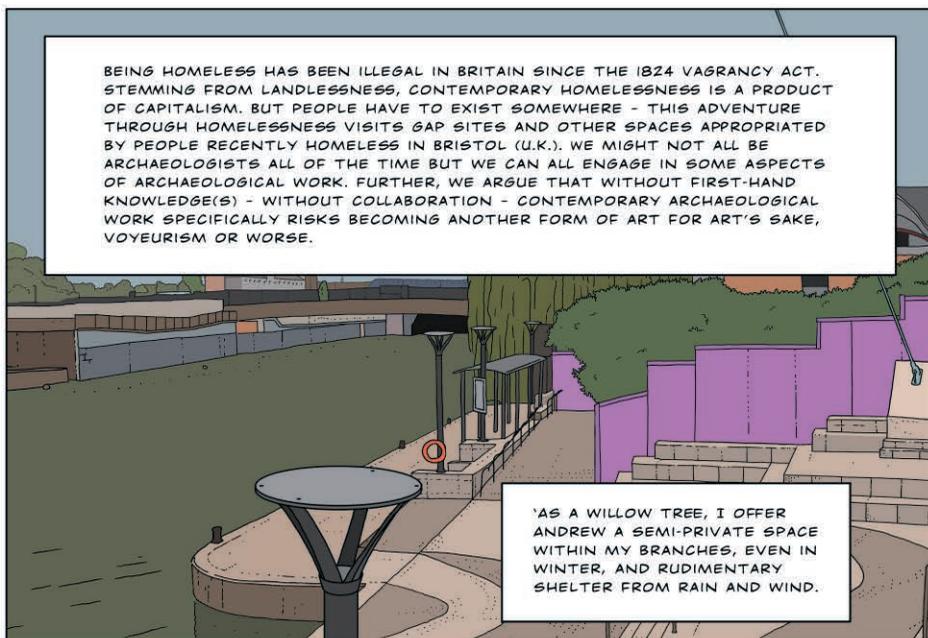


JOURNEYS IN THE CITY

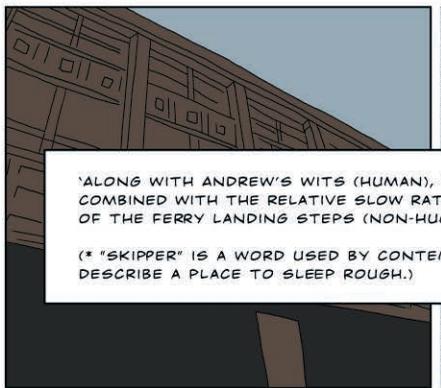
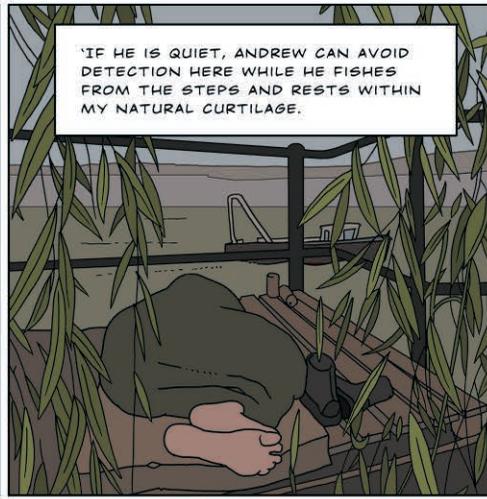
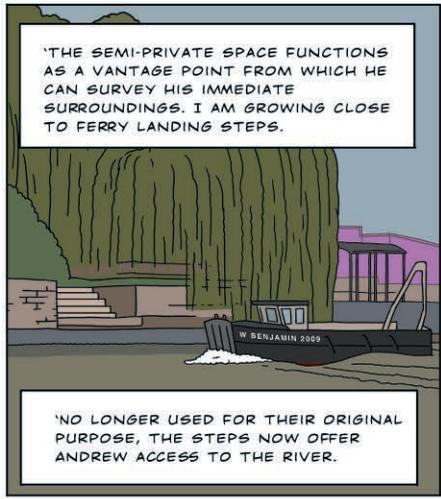
HOMELESS ACHAEOLOGISTS,
OR ACHAEOLOGIES OF
HOMELESSNESS

WORDS BY:
RACHAEL KIDDEY
ANDREW DAFNIS
JANE HALLAM

ART BY:
MATS BRATE



'AS A WILLOW TREE, I OFFER ANDREW A SEMI-PRIVATE SPACE WITHIN MY BRANCHES, EVEN IN WINTER, AND RUDIMENTARY SHELTER FROM RAIN AND WIND.





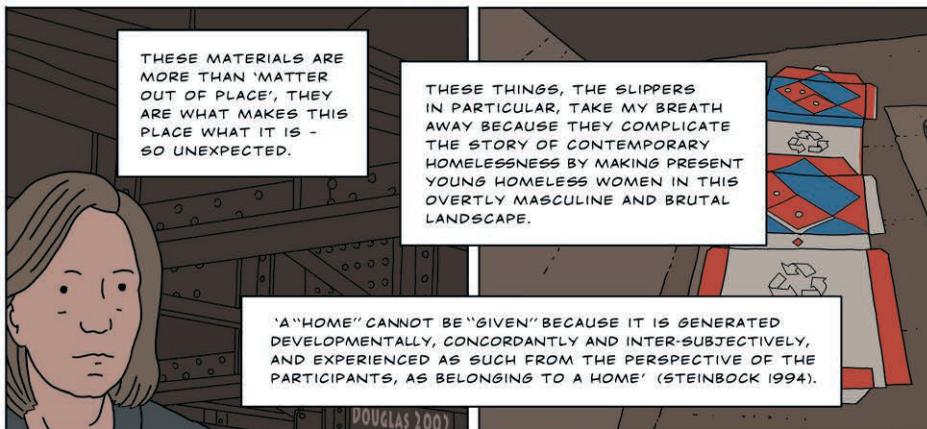






THESE MATERIAL ENCOUNTERS ARE ARRESTING. WHAT ARE THESE WHITE SILK SLIPPERS DOING HERE UNDER THIS BRIDGE?

WHOSE WARM BODY MADE THE WRINKLES IN THESE BLANKETS? DID SOMEONE EAT THE PIZZA BEFORE LYING DOWN TO SLEEP ON THE BOX IT CAME IN?



THESE MATERIALS ARE MORE THAN 'MATTER OUT OF PLACE', THEY ARE WHAT MAKES THIS PLACE WHAT IT IS - SO UNEXPECTED.

THESE THINGS, THE SLIPPERS IN PARTICULAR, TAKE MY BREATH AWAY BECAUSE THEY COMPLICATE THE STORY OF CONTEMPORARY HOMELESSNESS BY MAKING PRESENT YOUNG HOMELESS WOMEN IN THIS OVERTLY MASCULINE AND BRUTAL LANDSCAPE.

"A 'HOME' CANNOT BE 'GIVEN' BECAUSE IT IS GENERATED DEVELOPMENTALLY, CONCORDANTLY AND INTER-SUBJECTIVELY, AND EXPERIENCED AS SUCH FROM THE PERSPECTIVE OF THE PARTICIPANTS, AS BELONGING 'TO A HOME' (STEINBOCK 1994).



WHEN I KNEW PEOPLE LIVING DOWN HERE, WE PUT BOARDS UP BETWEEN THE STRUTS OF THE BRIDGE TO MAKE A PLATFORM...



TO LIFT US UP OFF THE FLOOR AND AWAY FROM THE RATS.



YOU'D HEAR THEM SCURRYING AROUND AT NIGHT. UGH!

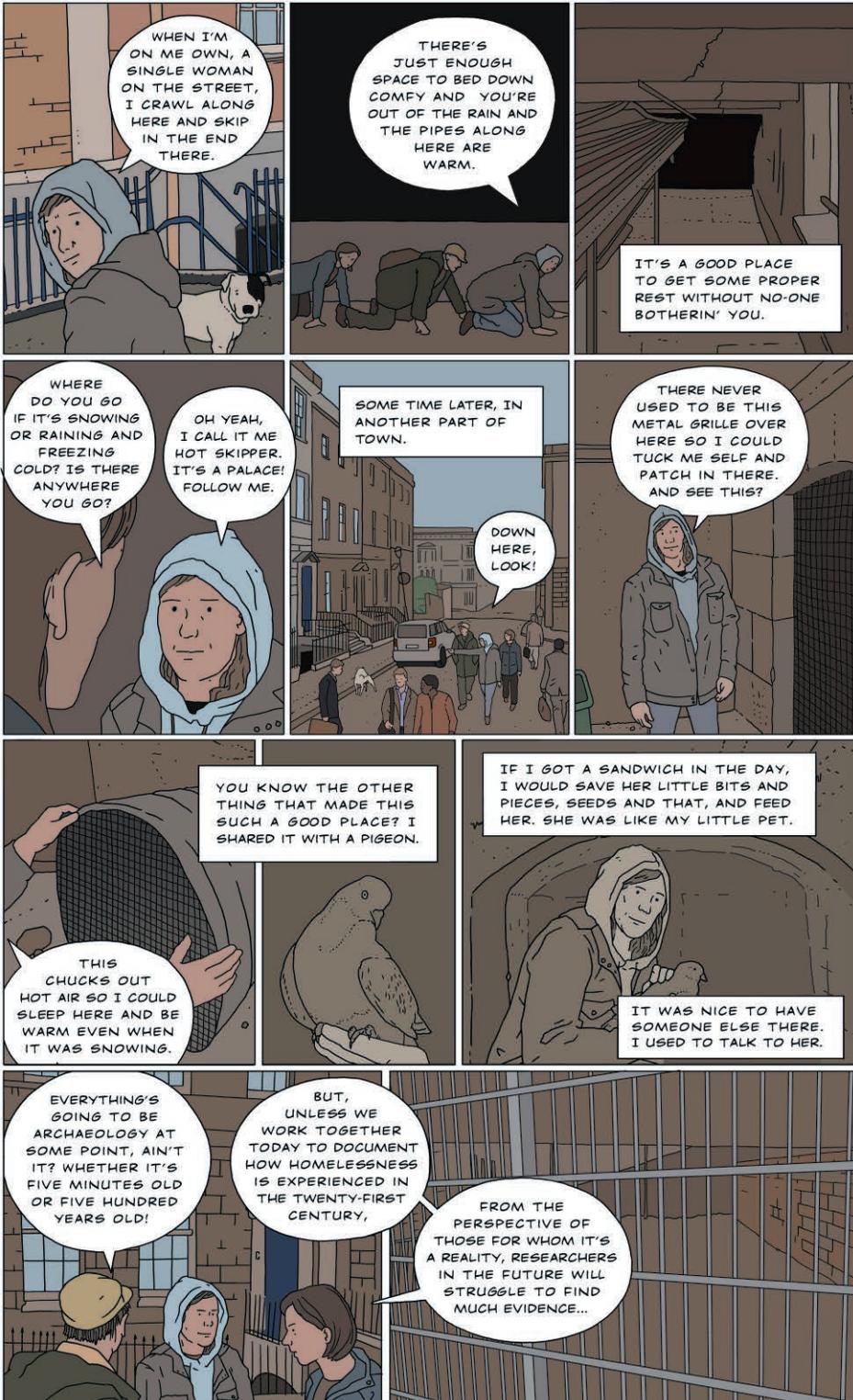


HOME SWEET HO... IT LOOKS AS THOUGH IT'S WRITTEN IN...

BLOOD. YEAH. PROBABLY USED A SYRINGE WITH BLOOD IN IT TO WRITE 'HOME SWEET HOME'...









JANE HALLAM: A VALUED MEMBER OF THE HOMELESS HERITAGE TEAM, REMAINS HOMELESS IN BRISTOL WITH HER DOG, PATCH.



RACHAEL KIDDEY: RECEIVED HER PHD FROM THE UNIVERSITY OF YORK IN JANUARY 2015. SHE NOW WORKS PART-TIME AS EDITORIAL ASSISTANT FOR THE INDEPENDENT SOCIAL RESEARCH FOUNDATION (WWW.ISRF.ORG). RACHAEL IS CURRENTLY FINISHING A MONOGRAPH BASED ON HER ARCHAEOLOGICAL RESEARCH INTO CONTEMPORARY HOMELESSNESS WHICH WILL BE PUBLISHED BY OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS. SHE LIVES IN DEVON WITH HER HUSBAND AND YOUNG SON.



ANDREW DAFNIS: IS NOW HOUSED IN A FLAT IN BRISTOL, U.K. HE HAS FULLY RECOVERED FROM HEROIN ADDICTION BUT HAS SINCE BEEN DIAGNOSED WITH A RARE FORM OF EXTREME HEADACHES CAUSED BY TRI-GENITAL NEURALGIA. HE COUNTERS THE PAIN BY SPENDING AS MUCH TIME AS POSSIBLE OUT WALKING HIS DOG, TINKER, AND GROWING VEGETABLES AND FLOWERS IN HIS GARDEN.



MATS BRATE: HOLDS AN MFA IN ENVIRONMENTAL ART FROM KONSTFACK UNIVERSITY COLLEGE OF ARTS, CRAFTS AND DESIGN, STOCKHOLM. HE WORKS AS A FREELANCE ILLUSTRATOR AND PAINTER AND PART-TIME AS ASSISTANT HEADMASTER AT ÖLANDS FÖRHÖGSSKOLA. HE LIVES WITH HIS FAMILY IN FÄRJESTADEN ON THE ISLAND OF ÖLAND, SWEDEN.

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□ Archaeology: A Treatment

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I have an advanced degree in archaeology and I've worked on archaeological projects for 25 years. Oddly, however, the first times I truly felt like an "archaeologist" and recognized archaeology's full implications was when I was forced to engage with a past or context about myself or about life and death around me.

I'm getting older. That means change.

A few years back, I suffered a kidney stone. The pain was intense. Doubled-over, I drove myself to the hospital at 3 am. Like most folks with kidney stones, I was placed on painkillers and told to consume liquids to expel it. If the stone settled and embedded, my life, I learned, would be in danger. This artifact—a tiny, spectacular thing—was a product of my habits: what I ate, how frequently I exercised, and the amount of coffee I consumed while writing archaeological reports and preparing lectures.

The doctor sent me home to rest. I followed her instructions to a tee, especially after she quipped (knowing my profession), "We don't want to have to excavate it." I focused my will on consuming liquids. If I was fortunate, the stone would pass. I was instructed to collect it in a small sieve. In other words, I was tasked with screening myself to retrieve an artifact of my habits: the ultimate auto-archaeology. It was a painful if over-anticipated event. In a precarious maneuver, I gathered the tiny stone. After analysis, my doctor exclaimed, "You, sir, drink too much coffee and too little water. Stop!" Relieved to avoid an excavation, I bade farewell to my Ethiopian blend.

How did this experience impact me? And, why, weeks earlier, had I similarly been moved when I filtered through the ragtag debris—residues of an unsuccessful marriage—in my storage unit? To an archaeologist's eye, my things (including and beyond my body's kidney stones), collected over two decades, were no longer objects. Rather, they were representations of my experiences and life: residues of everything from lost friends to faded but resilient dreams. My lifelong study of people and things motivated a fuller and sometimes cruel self-reflection. But, there was something more: kidney stones and storage units helped to make my archaeological practice and interpretations that much more human.

Northeastern Tanzania is where medical archaeology first gained traction for me. Since then, for instance when I suffered kidney stones or reflected on the ups-and-downs of my life via relics in storage, my experiences in Tanzania and their significance have become more transparent and influential.

One night, I suffered abdominal pains during an archaeological project in East Africa. Tanzanian friends suggested I visit Mzee Janja, a healer-historian of renown. He treated me with medicines comprised of artifacts and plant parts gathered from the region's landscape. My encounter with Janja launched my introduction to the Zigua worldview and to their troubling history. Mixed subsistence farmers, the Zigua have suffered repeated

traumas at a societal scale. During the middle to late nineteenth century, a pronounced slave and ivory trade wrought havoc on them and their environment. German and British colonialism and a post-independence villagization (relocation) scheme further impacted their lives. Healing treatments enable them to overcome self-estrangement and to persist.

Today, such treatments include medicines made from historical items and unique plants as well as stories about nature spirits and ancestors. Mzee Janja collects artifacts along his annual pilgrimage to the Indian Ocean coast, 15 km distant. His journey is timed to seasonal rhythms. He follows a known caravan route dated to more than a century and a half ago. Along his way, Janja collects surface artifacts, like European glass beads and ceramics, from locations deemed significant: nineteenth-century caravan halts and dilapidated marketplaces. The plant parts (including from trees, understood to harbor spirits) bear pharmaceutical properties. Janja combines vegetal components and the ground artifacts in his healing gourd (or *bahari*, meaning “ocean” in Swahili). His performance of collection and his words during ritual applications empower the medicine, which heals lingering traumas—imperial and other debris—that plague his supplicants.



FIGURE 1. A bird-house in the form of a train car (with flag) honoring a deceased child through synecdoche (“freckles”) and, presumably, some of her favorite things: “coco” and “candy”.

Elsewhere, in the USA, senses of loss increasingly place private trauma and grief on public display. Not far from where I live in Central Florida, bird-houses grace a canal. Local residents and visitors from afar hang bird-houses on tree branches that project over the waterway. Each house is personalized. These creations carry intimate messages and elicit emotions. Written passages, for instance, mourn deceased children (Figure 1). Alternatively, the houses take the form of objects associated with transformative life events (and/or identity symbols), like the ones made of a first-aid kit or an Egyptian pyramid. Every few months, a park ranger enters the canal to remove these carefully crafted items, an experience that she captures as “deeply moving”. The bird-house canal—empowered by tailored materials—publicly displays personhood, loss, and changed lives.

The story we tell ourselves about the world increasingly recognizes, in a nuanced manner, our precarious and vulnerable state. In this regard, Zigua communities and Floridians who hang bird-houses are little different from the rest of us. Human actions (against other people and the natural world) during the Anthropocene (for lack of a better word) have made our mortality ever more self-apparent. Fear and loneliness are on the upswing. For calm and stability, we seek comfort through materials and performances. Durable materials offer stability in a world seemingly less predictable and often strained to a breaking point. They slow time and instill nostalgia: escapist tricks.

Our auto-archaeology at the individual and societal scales is here to stay.

As symbolic animals and as social communities, we—meaning humans everywhere—work through materials to represent ourselves and others, to reflect on meaningful aspects of our lives, and to come to terms with our altered universe(s). Meanings arise from our senses and sensibilities.

Up to now, many of us have been less conscious than we should be of contemporary materials and materiality—even, for example, as we continue to practise a more traditional archaeology. But, the healing potency of materials has been recognized for quite some time, perhaps first and most clearly by societies like the Zigua. Their archaeology treats their suffering and enchains past to present to future.

If we are all archaeologists now, in that we are more conscious of the material world and the implications of trauma to us and it, then most archaeology as practiced today (as a removed science) is unlikely to provide many answers for our present and future. At its most basic, to advance our cause, we must better know one other and engage others on their terms. Knowing them—their names, languages, experiences, worldviews, and lives—will help us to better grapple with our conditions through matter, a postulate of anthropology that rings truer as time passes.

Perhaps, an alternative view of archaeology in the contemporary world is that it is now a treatment for humanity. Materials and the practice of such an archaeology can share and refamiliarize the self, community, and humanity (and its qualities), especially in this tumultuous era.

We are all archaeologists. Compared to communities who already have suffered mightily, wealthier and more privileged individuals and societies have come to the game late. Nonetheless, we all now need to find ways to process our experiences, to express them to others, and to formulate potential treatments for our increasingly collective condition.

Then, I think, we will be where we want to be, regardless of the aggrandized labels we append to who we are and what we do.

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□ Everything is Everything¹

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In 1968, the architect Hans Hollein wrote:

A true architecture of our time, then, is emerging, and is both redefining itself as a medium and expanding its field. Many fields beyond traditional building are taking over “architecture”, just as architecture and “architects” are moving into fields that were once remote. Everyone is an architect. Everything is architecture.

(Hollein 1968, 2)

Around the same time, Joseph Beuys was making a similarly utopian, though now more famous, call for society to become its own work of art, proclaiming that “every human being is an artist” (Beuys 1990 [1969], 91). And just a few years before, John Cage had declared in an interview in 1965 that “everything we do is music” (quoted in Kostelanetz 2003, 69). Cage’s and Beuys’s statements were and are as problematic as that of Hollein: all three were intent upon rediscovering or re-engaging with a totalizing social art, bequeathed to all as a social birthright. But the supposed universal availability of arts practice has at least one unfortunate side-effect. What happens when you call someone an artist who doesn’t habitually practise as an artist? Does it make any difference if they are an architect rather than an artist? What is to be made of the accumulated skills, knowledges, acquired techniques, and social networks which are apparently at best made interchangeable by these, albeit unintentionally, absolutist statements—and, at worst, rendered worthless by them? In 2012 Michael Shanks wrote—and like the title of this forum it seems to have been meant as a provocation—“we are all archaeologists now” (Shanks 2012). I am an architect, but I have a consuming passion for archaeology and so I took him at his word and in the summer of 2012 I was invited by Lesley McFadyen of Birkbeck’s Department of History, Classics and Archaeology to participate in their field school module at Must Farm.² In the three days of participation my aims were twofold: first, to understand, as far as it is possible to understand from such a brief and partial encounter, something of the nature of how archaeologists excavate—to see how those

1. With apologies to Diana Ross and Lauryn Hill.

2. The excavations were run on a day-to-day basis by the Cambridge Archaeological Unit under Mark Knight. In charge of the students of the Birkbeck field school was Lesley McFadyen.

excavations are directed and to take part in the digging itself— and second, to participate in the drawn recording of artefacts if the opportunity presented itself. The opportunity did present itself and the drawing I had made there found its way (quite openly—this was no Ortonesque act of disciplinary infiltration)³ into the project archive (see Figure 1 below).



FIGURE 1. The architect learns to draw again: Alessandro Zambelli with Lizzy Middleton, Cambridge Archaeological Unit (Photograph by Lesley McFadyen, Birkbeck Field School). Top right: a bronze age stake and, below, my drawing of it.

What are archaeologists and architects doing, and what do they believe they are doing, when they pick up a pen or pencil, or when they open a piece of CAD software? What do their respective disciplines purport to be doing when their practitioners employ drawing practices? Do architects and archaeologists draw differently, and do the instrumentalities implicit in their drawings stand opposed to one another, as is often casually assumed: one future-facing, and the other orientated towards the past? The relationship of archaeology to that other purportedly past-facing discipline, i.e. history, provides evidence, I would argue, of the dangers of assuming, or seeking, direct connections to the past. In historiography, superficially at least, the dangers of this view do seem to have been understood; in 1995, writing of the mid-twentieth-century *Annales School*, Aron Gurevich observed that;

the historians of a new cast are very far from the old illusion of being able to “resurrect” the past, to “live themselves into it” and to demonstrate it “*wie es eigentlich gewesen war*”. They clearly understood that historical reconstruction is no more and no less than construction, that the historian’s role is incomparably more active and creative than their predecessors believed.

(Gurevich 1995, 159)

3. Between 1959 and 1962 the English playwright Joe Orton and his partner Kenneth Halliwell withdrew a number of books from local libraries, altered, and then covertly replaced them; an act for which they were convicted and, briefly, imprisoned (Colsell 2013).

“*Wie es eigentlich gewesen*” is usually translated as “how things actually were”, an influential principle in the rise of source-based history from Leopold von Ranke’s *Geschichte der romanischen und germanischen Völker von 1494 bis 1514* (Ranke 1885 [1824]). The idea was that by going to primary sources—sources often personal and only obliquely related to the main subjects of mainstream histories—a closer approximation, a more accurate reconstruction, could be made. Tod Presner describes this view of the relationship between event and narrative as demanding “a structural homology between real events and the narrative strategies used to represent, capture, and render them meaningful” (Presner 2004, 343). For von Ranke and his followers the past in this view was, through these empirical reconstructions, solved, or at least made solvable. Walter Benjamin, like Gurevich, was unconvinced and described von Ranke’s “*wie es eigentlich gewesen*” as “the strongest narcotic of the [nineteenth] century” (Benjamin, 1999, 463). By the time E. H. Carr wrote in his influential *What is History* in 1961 that “by and large, the historian will get the kind of facts he wants. History means interpretation” (Carr 1987 [1961]), interpretive and reflexive historiographies had already marginalized empirical reconstructions understood, as they were, to be part of this now discredited empiricist historiography. Following suit, archaeology became freer, it seemed, to make reconstructions through multivalent, reflexive interpretations of hitherto mainstream archaeological evidence (Shanks and Hodder 1995; Hodder 2006). Work at, for example, Çatalhöyük (Hodder 2000) now presages a kind of archaeology without archaeologists in the spirit of Bernard Rudofsky’s *Architecture Without Architects* (Rudofsky 2002 [1964]) but shorn of architecture’s alternative central vernacular tradition. Where Rudofsky’s “non-pedigree” architects might tap into ancient local practices of building, no equivalent tradition exists in archaeology. An antidote to this seeming free-for-all is available: architecture as an *overtly* design-based discipline can lend to archaeology ways of re-casting its own reconstructive practices to reveal forms of propositional making already latent within them, just as archaeology could—indeed should—make available to architecture its evidence-based practices of excavation, assemblage, and find identification, including a range of technical, *in situ*, drawing practices along with, as Blaze O’Connor put it, “taphonomic forces, accumulation, sedimentation, reuse, repeated activity, truncation, chaîne d’opérateur” (O’Connor 2008, 132).

Yet one might have thought that for the word “artist”, or “architect”, or “archaeologist” to mean anything, that surely they must adhere, however broadly conceived, to certain sets of practices, techniques, and aims which are differently centered from other disciplines, even if those same practices, techniques, and aims shift over time and through space. Even in my own interdisciplinary research (Zambelli 2011, 2013), it is important to be able to say that “I am an architect, using the tools and techniques of architecture and archaeology, towards archaeology, to produce work which is a hybrid of both.” But without working definitions of “architect” and “archaeologist” these objectives become meaningless.

What would it signify, therefore, if an architect were to record an artefact at an archaeological excavation? What if that recording were made using (accidental) hybrid architectural/archaeological drawing techniques but the purpose of that drawing was simply to take its place in the project archive amongst other drawings made by archaeologists? And what if those architectural drawings were presented at, say, an archaeological conference,

or workshop; what would this signify for that architect's practice, or for the practice of archaeology?⁴ I would maintain that the products of this kind of hybrid practice would still be intelligible (and not trivial), because the suites of artefacts and practices, techniques and tools, used in archaeology and architecture already have a relationship of shared ancestry.

If architecture looks to the future by making visual, usually drawn, propositions, then archaeology designs also, but in the form of reconstructions of the past in the present (Shanks and Tilley 1992; Shanks and McGuire 1996). In addition, I would propose that elements of architecture and archaeology are simply (and not so simply) forms of one another; that some resemblances between them are explicit and revealed, and that others have become obscured with time, but that all such resemblances share homological similarities of interconnected origins—even though those origins may be manifold. Of the suppressed, and now apparently divergent, resemblances, *design* for architecture and *reconstruction* for archaeology are closely related but may be rendered explicit through types of interdisciplinary analysis and practice. Furthermore, the intimacy of design and reconstruction enables interdisciplinary practice in the space between their parent disciplines.

To return to Must Farm, the fortunate (for me) confluence of commercial excavation with an educational field school enabled me to practice something like archaeology, fleetingly, in a commercial, though perhaps surprisingly nurturing, environment; an architect navigating outwards from his base discipline (Coles and Defert 1998) towards archaeology. Disciplinary centres do, of course, serve a function—interesting, ground-breaking, and moving work continues to be made deep in architecture and archaeology and art, but for work to be self-critical it must look not just to its centres, nor even its peripheries, but to the space between disciplines where the influence of parent disciplines is weak and thus available to interdisciplinary practices; space where we can, if not all, then many of us, be something like archaeologists.

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4. The Must Farm drawing was presented in a paper I presented at TAG 2013, Chicago.

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□ Bastard Design Practices: An Archaeological Perspective

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This article is written from the perspective of a design discipline. It is proposed that a developed practice of design archaeology be installed into fundamental design practices to create deeper contextual knowledge and responsibility in the agency of design. As such, this promotes archaeological principles for those designers who are not, yet, archaeologists.

To claim "we are all archaeologists now" is to provoke a particular value in the currency of contemporary archaeological practice. The value is assumed in the potency of archaeological application; its contemporary relevance and transdisciplinary potential, as opposed to the fashionable or glib status of archaeology. "We", being the supposed readership, are most likely archaeologists, or at least enthusiasts. However, the collective reference of "we" also requires an antithesis of "they", and "they" are not archaeologists. However, they most definitely should be. Specifically in this instance, "they" are identified as designers who are involved in the bastard practices of contemporary design!

Archaeology is a discipline concerned with "things"; it is an open-ended transdisciplinary practice that examines a diverse texture of phenomena. The multiplicity of archaeology resists any absolute definition, although there is a resounding motif in the objective of an archaeological investigation: to "excavate" past phenomena so as to reveal potential contemporary cultural or historical truths; to uncover the accessible past so as to inform the receptive present and shape the indeterminate future. This aphoristic definition should not appear to be painting archaeology as a practice scrambling to create meaningful

connections between unrelated phenomena—archaeology is not about blindly jabbing linchpins into unassociated events. Rather, the idiosyncratic approach of archaeology presents a definitive scepticism to accepted and applied “truths”.

Via the critical optic of archaeology, new narratives are written and new meaningful connections are made. As such, archaeology enables the conditions of possibility for potential alterity. It permits a beneficial evaluative discourse that is concerned with maintaining diversity and contesting the normative, rather than distilling and synthesizing absolutist truth to usurp outdated dogma. This is the contemporary value of archaeology and why it should be adopted by all with an inquisitive and critical manner. However, it is entirely absent in, amongst other disciplines, design.

Design is defined here as a process of dialectical reason, whereby the contingency of progressing “virtuous design” relies on the necessary condition of conflict: “new conceptions of good design arise from a rejection of those immediately preceding” (Tomes and Armstrong 2010, 30). As such, the image of virtuous design is principally based around the renunciation and detachment of the past. Design practice is therefore a withdrawal, a practice of abstinence through proscription—it is modelled on competition over communion. In design there is a total lack of interest in uncovering an accessible past; because the shaping of the indeterminate future is based on the capricious fictions of fashion, it is a dialectic heading to nowhere in particular. Design is rootless, detached from tradition and unimpeded by an inherited ethos. Undoubtedly, this presents an explicit tension between the present design practice and its obfuscated origin. Therefore, the principles of contemporary design fundamentally oppose those of archaeology; the past is not accessed and the present remains unreceptive.

The pedagogy and practice of design must adopt archaeological ideologies. This will enable critical engagement within the design discipline and encourage an agency and responsibility in the design process. Currently, design is largely devoid of critical historiographies. As such, now is the ideal time to begin writing alternative, challenging, and provocative narratives. These narratives will recontextualize contemporary implementations of design and historic recollections of design practice. To repeat, this is a vital and necessary archaeological practice that will uncover the accessible past so as to inform the receptive present and shape the indeterminate future.

The archaeological methods implemented by media archaeologists such as Jussi Parikka (2013) and Erkki Huhtamo (2011) may be reappropriated and repurposed for specific use in “design archeology”. For example, the notion of excavating topoi (Huhtamo 2011, 32–36), being the cliché and the motif, reveals recurrent constellations that connect present phenomena to the past. This potentially exposes the prefabricated nature of contemporary narratives which are tacitly embedded within phenomena; this is what Michel Foucault calls a “pre-existing form of continuity” (Foucault 1972, 2–27). In a developed design archaeology this would serve to contextualize and explicate a contemporary practice of design. Ultimately, this requires a critical investigation into a contemporary phenomenon by contextualizing it in opposition or concurrence with a past phenomenon. Such designed “phenomena” do not necessarily need to be designed objects but may encompass all concerns with the artificial (Simon 1969).

Arguably, the ideologies of a design archaeology have already, to some extent, been implemented by the Independent Group (IG), a self-analytical and active group of designers and thinkers (Massey 2015). IG was an amalgamation of artists, performers, and critics from myriad disciplines. They introduced critical arguments concerned with culture, aesthetics, and value, to a wider audience beyond the esoteric orations of “high art”.

A fascinating output by Richard Hamilton, a member of IG, was *Man, Machine and Motion* (Alloway 1990). Exhibited in 1955, Hamilton produced an environment filled with photographs of cultural artefacts and visual ornaments, all of which were concerned with the human relationship between speed and modes of travel. It was a designed exhibition that acted as an archival platform which presented a critical optic of specific phenomena; it presented a particular and analytical narrative vision. Retrospectively, Hamilton’s exhibition was a curated exposé of design archaeology. From this perspective, IG represents the first wave of design practice that engages design critically on a transdisciplinary level, yet IG’s practice was never inherited. Rather, the next generation of “innovative” designs remain static, bastardized without the inherited wealth of critical thought and analytic narrative. Design Archaeology may help manifest the second wave that never materialized.

“Are we all archaeologists now?” In conclusion, the short answer is “no”. However—and this is a call to action—there is a vital importance for disciplines such as design to accommodate archaeological ideologies at their core level. To do this will create access to, and the development of, an independent and critical voice that is grounded in contextual knowledge. As digital archival resources grow, the accessible past is ever increasing. There has been no better environment than now for us all to become archaeologists. This is to explicitly recontextualize existing phenomena, to challenge age-old unities and to surpass disciplinary boundaries. In utilizing archaeological ideologies for critical awareness, a discipline is afforded sensibilities that are not disowned of heritage but are rather steeped in knowledge. If we are all to become archaeologists, the discourse of discipline, practice, and pedagogy would not necessarily be concerned with unearthing roots or defining absolute origins. Rather, it would focus on acknowledging where one’s practice may have been jettisoned from and in what direction it is drifting towards.

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□ Is Digging Straight Walls and Playing in Tune What It's All About?

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At the end of this field season I will have spent ten months over the past four years assisting in archaeological excavations. I will have had hands-on experience with all the aspects of planning and executing a scientific archaeological inquiry, beginning with conducting a pedestrian survey and interviewing local informants, continuing on to topographical work and the excavation itself, all the way up to drawing profiles and backfilling units. I've also had the great pleasure of spending time with quite a few archaeologists and can now speak somewhat proficiently about the historical and archaeological framework in which the site is situated. All of this has enriched my life greatly and will color how I see the world and myself for all my years to come.

That said, I am not an archaeologist.

I am a musician.

My education was in violin performance and classical music but by professional practice and twenty years of daily engagement I am a record producer of non-classical records and composer of a wide variety of styles. With the proliferation of digital recording software and sampling technology that allows anyone to assemble music productions, and with the internet giving anyone with a computer direct access to a large percentage of the world's population, one might ask: "are we all musicians now?" One might correctly guess my response, but it will be addressed in full momentarily.

The archaeological excavation in which I've been involved is directed by my spouse, an Ecuadorian archaeologist. While she, being a woman from the Global South, has had to provide exhaustive authentication of the academic credentials she has earned in the USA, I have had everyone we met in Ecuador, from the government officials to the countryside farmers, immediately assume I, a white male, was the archaeologist. In this world dominated by the Global North I have never had to provide evidence of formal training in archaeology.

When my wife suggested I write a piece for an archaeological journal I did not want to be involved. With some discussion, however, I came to see that my experience as an outsider has led me to have strong feelings about what makes one an archaeologist, why I am not an archaeologist, and what delineates that difference.

In the dig in Ecuador we work with two gentlemen who are professional farmers and cattle ranchers, Marco A. and Manuel S. My wife has had to undertake the task of teaching Marco, Manuel, and me all the practical aspects of work at the site, as well as furthering our conceptual understandings. That is to say, she has endeavored to teach us both the "how" and the "why". This has included excavation techniques such as *décapage*, that context

is everything, that there is a scholarly developed archeology in southern Ecuador and that the archeological remains we excavate have the potential to reveal, beyond interactions between peoples and environments, historical connections to different places and times.

We were even told that we should not call the archaeological record a “record” and I, being a musician who makes records, have struggled to reconcile my previous understandings of what a record is. On the other hand, Marco and Manuel, who had only elementary formal education, were better suited to see the archaeological remains as in “process”. This is not surprising, as intelligence and sensibility are not qualities derived from formal education. At the outset of our field season neither of the men had any interest in archaeology, nor were they aware of how or why it was done. Manuel, in spite of having only one able arm, became the most skilled digger and Marco, while carefully screening, engaged all three of us in the most thoughtful conversations as to why this matters and how we know what we know.

As I have pondered Marco and Manuel’s connection to the discipline of archaeology I’ve come to believe that, while their three months of experience last summer did not transform them into archaeologists, if they continue to find employment in excavations and their expertise becomes a major part of their professional lives then yes, they will be professional archaeologists.

In decided contrast to Marco and Manuel, we have met numerous individuals who are fascinated with archaeology and have undertaken extensive reading and learning about the archaeological past. Most of these people, especially in the cities, have owned archaeological artifacts with no provenience information and have claimed to be able to interpret the past. I do not consider these people to be archaeologists. Further more, those who collect artifacts, whether through purchase or undocumented excavations, I consider to be criminal.

This raises new questions: (1) Why is a field worker an archaeologist while the passionate enthusiast who has a room full of books is not?; (2) If one doesn’t earn money from the work can one never be considered an archaeologist?; and (3) Is there only one way to “be an archaeologist”?

I’d like to address these questions with analogies from my world of music as we, too, have legions of people who are intrigued and inspired by our work and many more who participate in a non-professional capacity.

From one angle, taking on the burden of a practice as one’s primary professional occupation in and of itself gives the practitioner the right to claim the title “musician” or “archaeologist”. As a descriptor, it is undeniable. The person who plays music in a restaurant five nights a week in order to pay the bills, the person who busks on street corners all day to scrape together a living, and the person who composes scores for films for large fees—all three of these people are musicians. The lawyer who is a music lover who plays piano every night of the week to unwind from a day at the office, or the chef who listens to jazz in the kitchen all night and has read hundreds of books on the subject may both have deep knowledge of the topic—but they are lawyers and chefs, not musicians.

The analog with archaeology is obvious and leads us to the next thorny question: does the title all come down to earning money?

I do not believe that in either discipline earning an income is a deciding factor in whether or not one can lay claim to the title “archaeologist” or “musician”. Rather, I believe the key factor is whether or not one contributes to the discipline through the creation of new material, ideas, or experiences. Perhaps the most famous musical example in classical music of someone whose professional career was outside of music but who was undeniably a musician was that of Charles Ives (1874–1954), one of the great composers of the twentieth century, whose entire professional life was in the insurance business. Ives composed steadily and extensively while never relying on music for income. While Ives’s position in society led him to be known by his contemporaries who were earning their living in music, undoubtedly there have been many other songwriters, composers, and creators of all styles who have passed unnoticed but who still must be considered “musicians”.

If someone passionate about archaeology were to endeavor to follow in the footsteps of Charles Ives and maintain a career in insurance while also contributing to the discipline of archaeology she or he would find the path complicated, if not simply impossible. It is much easier to sit at one’s desk and compose a score in the evenings than it would be to travel to and excavate an archaeological site. Beyond these obvious logistical complications, there exist governmental and academic qualifications that must be met in order to ethically undertake any archaeological research. As the readers of this journal know much better than I, obtaining the necessary permits, not to mention the funding, for conducting archaeological excavations requires not only advanced degrees but also compelling research questions. These barriers to entry for the person passionate about our archaeological past have not been erected arbitrarily. They exist due to the destructive nature of archaeology and as an effort to situate archaeology within a framework of ethical oversight. This ethical oversight is needed, as the archaeologist is often working with the cultural heritage of other peoples and interacting with current stakeholders who, in many cases, have suffered a history of marginalization and disempowerment.

With regards to the early days of archaeology, when much excavation was done with no consideration for the peoples whose history was being investigated and was, in fact, being conducted under colonial rule, one might ask whether or not the leaders of these campaigns deserved the title “archaeologist”. My cautious answer would be that since these progenitors of the discipline were creating something called “archaeology”, they were archaeologists. If they were to undertake the same practice today they would be considered looters and grave robbers.

While I feel that in our modern world it would be very difficult to practise archaeology ethically and legally without being employed by an academic institution or a cultural resource management firm, it is interesting to note as well that profiting from archaeological work outside of these narrow structures is itself unethical. In one of the small towns we visited, we met an older gentleman who assured us he was an archeologist. He explained that he had attended a three-day training course in excavation techniques and had amassed and sold all sorts of artifacts over the decades. He was very intelligent and curious about our work and did not identify a difference between his excavations and those we were undertaking. While his passion and knowledge were admirable, the simple fact that he engaged in the sale and trade of artifacts leads me to have to disagree with this gentleman’s assuming the mantle of “archaeologist”.

Very recently a group of city folk visited the site we work at, which is located in an inter-Andean river basin, without permission from the landowner and made public claims (letters to the Ministry of Culture and appearances on television stations) that this is a Maya site that had been abandoned and was in need of protection. Nearly the entire site is buried, and so we must assume that the petroglyphs that are above the surface are what they were claiming needed protection. The site dates from 5000 to 3000 years BP and so I fail to see the immediate danger, as does the Office of Cultural Patrimony, which has visited the excavation. What is more, the site is located in Ecuador and so the claim that it is Maya is gravely misinformed. Self-appointed “investigators” such as these may capture people’s imaginations but the misinformation that they propagate functions in opposition to what the established archaeological community is trying to do. Conjecture is fine around the dinner table, but has no place in the field or on media outlets and does not make one an archaeologist.

Before addressing the final question, let us return briefly to music, where one might ask about “self-appointed musicians” who make what many people consider to be clangorous noise. How is this any less wrong than the pseudo-scientists who make “noise” in the intellectual world? We must consider what affect the creation, be it music or archaeological thought, has upon the world at large. If we focus only on a lone musical artist who bangs on pots and pans the worst “damage” they are likely to inflict is a headache and a bad mood. The lone pseudo-scientist, on the other hand, can permanently eliminate information about human history through reckless excavation, and/or significantly misinform the public about our current understanding of our archaeological past. If, however, the musician is writing an anthem for a nationalist political party or a protest song for a nascent revolution, one musician can in fact do great damage or good.

It should be noted that these examples of musicians changing the world require the musicians to actively ally themselves with a power structure such as a political or social movement, or even a record label. In this way, they are hardly “self-appointed” but rather “anointed” and rarely, if ever, will the artist banging on pots and pans be selected for such a position. The “self-appointed archaeologist”, on the other hand, tells stories that appeal to the public imagination and is therefore frequently given a public platform from which to spread misinformation.

Contrasting the way the art of music and the scientific discipline of archaeology affect the world at large is not to say that there is no art in archaeology. The objective data that archaeologists collect must be interpreted and shaped by the individuals and, indeed, it is often the creative thought archaeologists apply to the knowledge they are creating that leads to sea changes in the discipline. Such moments of creativity, whether by archaeologists or lone musicians, can have untold ramifications, but their rarity also serves to highlight that it is only through dedication to the art and practice that we truly earn our titles.

Mastering *The Well-Tempered Clavier*, a collection of keyboard music composed by Johann Sebastian Bach (1685–1750) that consists of preludes and fugues in all 24 major and minor keys, or Niccolò Paganini’s (1782–1840) 24 caprices for the violin, or at least understanding their structure and musicality, requires a tremendous course of study of Western classical music. Someone who has achieved this mastery and

makes their living from it can certainly be called a musician, but no more so than the jazz player who has developed the skill to spontaneously compose (improvise), or the rock-and-roller whose songs become the soundtrack for a generation. All of these skill sets earn the players the right to the title “musician” and the skills are not transposable. The classical soloist’s skill does not enable her to improvise and the jazz player’s skill does not enable him to rock. Similarly, each archaeologist possesses a set of aptitudes and specialties that are non-transposable. The career archaeologist who has worked in cultural resource management for decades has surely earned the title, but may not be prepared to write articles on archaeological theory, just as the theorist whose articles have shaped the direction of archaeological thought but whose engagement with the practice of excavation rarely leads them to have dirt under their fingernails may not be the best choice to lead a new excavation. However, while these skill sets are not necessarily transposable, neither are they mutually exclusive and they can most certainly be learned. Similar to how a great many archaeological theoreticians have extensive field experience, I am a classically trained violinist who improvises jazz regularly and even enjoys rocking out on occasion. Categories of personal aptitudes are fluid and malleable. It is also important to keep in mind that all areas of the discipline do and should inform each other. Classical music was influenced by jazz in the 1920s, film music by the ever-changing popular music styles, and excavation is and must be informed by theory and vice versa. A deeper knowledge of and appreciation for the subfields and specialties of one’s colleagues will only enrich one’s potential contribution to their discipline.

A relationship with archaeology is inescapable, as we all deal with the remains of the past in some degree. It is incumbent upon those of us who engage professionally with our discipline to disseminate our work to the public and to engage with our enthusiastic supporters as well as our critics. But we are not all archaeologists now, nor are we all musicians now, nor will we ever be. In music, we must strive to support the arts in disenfranchised communities and to expose the entire world to musicians from around the globe who do not have the widespread exposure Western media brings. Archaeologists must continue striving to right the wrongs of archaeology’s colonialist past, engaging communities with respect both to learn from them and to share with them what it is about their work that gives them the title “archaeologist”, and to make clear that while not everyone is an archaeologist, everyone can be.

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