

# *Cultural Resource Management in Contemporary Society*

*Perspectives on Managing and Presenting the Past*



Edited by Francis P. McManamon and Alf Hatton

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CULTURAL RESOURCE  
MANAGEMENT IN CONTEMPORARY  
SOCIETY

Perspectives on managing and presenting  
the past

Edited by

Francis P. McManamon and Alf Hatton



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## *Preface*

### **THE DEVELOPMENT OF THIS VOLUME**

Most of the chapters in this volume began as presentations in the heritage management sessions at the third World Archaeological Congress (WAC) in New Delhi, India, December 1994. The meetings of the WAC, every four years since 1986, have served as venues for international seminars on archaeological and cultural heritage management. These meetings also have stressed the perspective of professionals working on these issues in developing countries, along with professional, indigenous and traditional perspectives from developed countries. Henry Cleere (1989) edited a volume concerned with archaeological heritage management from the first World Archaeological Congress of worldwide scope. Along with Cleere's earlier edited volume on the subject (Cleere 1984), this volume, which is part of the One World Archaeology series, stands as a foundation of description and analysis of national and international archaeological and cultural resource management. The second WAC, held in 1990 in Venezuela, also included sessions devoted to archaeological and cultural heritage management; no book, however, was assembled from the presentations there.

At WAC-3 in New Delhi, under 'Theme 9: Cultural Property, Conservation, and Public Awareness,' a series of symposia were organized and held. Subthemes included sessions on management, protection, ethics, planning, conservation methods and techniques, information management, presentation, information exchange and public awareness. Despite a good deal of initial uncertainty and disorganization, the sessions, held on 6-7 and 9-10 December 1994, were well attended, the presentations clear and orderly, and discussion frequent and informed.

Fortunately, these symposia were held during the first half of the Congress; generally, the sessions and presentations were unaffected by the stormy financial, organizational and political problems that gathered over WAC-3 and finally overwhelmed it (Golson 1996). These problems erupted on the final day of the Congress when conflicting statements were proposed for endorsement by the attendees. Heated debate over the proposed statements flamed into physical

violence in the meeting hall. There could be no more graphic demonstration of the power of cultural heritage to move people and its influence on human thought and action.

The New Delhi presenters who have contributed to this volume include: Asombang, Okamura, Hamlin, Solli, Medina, Seeden, Kiryakov, Vaisman, Besprozvannyi, Fritz, Price, Morton, Moe, Jameson, Merriman, and Cordova-González, as well as the two editors of this volume. We had begun, as might be expected, with a longer list of WAC-3 presenters as chapter authors, but for one reason or another several have had to drop out. We were fortunate that C.A.Folorunso, John Schofield, and Henry Cleere, all of whom had prepared papers for WAC-3, but were unable to attend, did agree to do chapters for the book. Peter Davis agreed to write a chapter in order to add to the mix the natural world perspective in public presentations. One of the problems in the academic program at WAC-3 was the low representation of US participants. In planning for the book, the editors were able to engage additional US scholars to prepare chapters. Robinson, Taylor, Anyon, Ferguson, Welch, Green, Davis, Lerner, and Hoffman rose to this challenge and have made this book a much more complete description of the current practice of CRM, its issues and concerns.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The editors appreciate very much the expertise that the authors have been willing to share with readers and their special efforts to prepare chapters for this volume. They have shown tremendous patience as the book has been assembled, edited, and reviewed over several years. The willingness of these authors to update and review edited versions is very much appreciated and has made the final product a useful book now and one that will remain useful in the future as a source of ideas, lessons, and historical descriptions. Readers should be aware that while initial presentations occurred in December, 1994, all the authors have reworked their papers and updated from the original. The last major changes occurred in 1998, with only minor updates in 1999 as the products moved from manuscripts to printed volume.

Professor Peter Ucko deserves special credit for creation of this volume. As the general editor of the One World series, Peter has consistently encouraged the development of books from World Archaeological Congress symposia. In the case of this book, he suggested the merging of volumes that were being planned independently by McManamon and Hatton. Ucko's firm and steady insistence on excellence in content and presentation challenged the editors and authors to produce a volume that is logical, thorough, and well integrated. Finally, his skillful editorial eye and skill as a rhetorician were essential in the selection of the final list of chapters and editorial decisions about their content and style.

At Routledge, Sally Carter, desk editor for this volume, has been helpful in

a hundred ways. The editors appreciate her attention and concern for bringing out the book.

The editors had assistance closer at hand as well. In the US, Kathleen Browning, a graduate student at the University of Maryland assisted McManamon in the big jobs of assembling the final manuscript, collecting and analyzing the author comments and edits of the page proofs, and completing the final editing of the proof pages, as well as a thousand smaller associated jobs, all while carrying out her own research into the early history of public archaeology in the US. Robin Coates, Lori Hawkins, Desiree Bailey, and Erma Easy also assisted McManamon in retyping revised manuscripts and other administrative matters. At the National Park Service office in Washington, McManamon also wishes to recognize the stimulating, active intellectual and professional environment maintained by his colleagues, including: Val Canouts, David Andrews, Terry Childs, Miki Crespi, Joe Flanagan, Ron Greenberg, Dan Haas, Toni Lee, Barbara Little, Carla Mattix, Tim McKeown, Dwight Pitcaithley, Jason Roberts, Carol Shull, Kate Stevenson, David Tarler, Pat Tiller, Dick Waldbauer. On the home front, McManamon is grateful for the continued inspiration, support, and understanding of Carol, Addie, and Kate.

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# 1 *Introduction: considering cultural resource management in modern society*

FRANCIS P.McMANAMON  
AND ALF HATTON

## **WHAT ARE CULTURAL RESOURCES?**

We began assembling this collection of chapters with a working title for the volume of *Archaeological Heritage Management in Modern Society*. After some thought and discussion, in part spurred by David Lowenthal's *Possessed by the Past* (1996), we backed away from using 'heritage' in the title. Lowenthal's principal point in his volume is to distinguish between the real remains and well-reasoned, documented interpretations of past actions and events, which he equates with 'history', and careless, popularized physical reconstructions and accounts of history, which he uses the word 'heritage' to define. Lowenthal's concerns in drawing this distinction and considering it at length are with authenticity, accuracy and legitimacy. The principle, or espoused value, of authenticity drives much of the activity from the constituent parts of the contemporary 'heritage industry' (Hewison 1987). Museums, historic houses, national parks, archaeological excavations, townscapes, landscapes, etc. strive to present themselves or the items they contain or seek as the authentic, the 'real thing' (Wickham Jones 1988; Gable and Handler 1996). Authenticity has been one of the main concepts in the world of cultural resource management (CRM) and heritage management, and has been pivotal in almost all debate on the subject of heritage and in the fields of archaeology, anthropology, museum management, conservation, etc. since the Second World War.

Yet to interpret Lowenthal's distinction simplistically would be to ignore the very considerable and growing body of work suggesting that any intervention or intermediation between 'the past', however we may define it within our differing cultural parameters, and experience of it (e.g. through museum exhibition, interpretive programmes, trail leaflets, tour guide commentaries or, for that matter, authoritative written academic histories), changes that very past. One might conceive of this phenomenon as the 'uncertainty principle' of historical interpretation.

In the title and body of an earlier volume, Lowenthal (1985) himself asserts this fundamental point, that *The Past is a Foreign Country*; it cannot be revisited

other than vicariously. This is not to say that the practice of the various professions that sometimes swirl around the term 'heritage', though some abjure the term, should ignore questions of authenticity and interpretation, let alone conservation and documentation. In fact, it is clear that there are degrees of distance from historical fact. Some in heritage endeavours adhere closely to the 'history' of Lowenthal's definition; others range much farther afield. It is important to be able to distinguish among these links to historical fact and real places or things.

The distinction between 'history' and 'heritage' used by some shows no signs of being dislodged despite being a simplistic, or at any rate, underdeveloped conceptual distinction. It is being used actively as the single most important distinction in university promotional literature, e.g. 'History offers us true stories about the past; heritage sells or provides us with the past we appear to desire' (University of York 1996). Yet in other contexts, 'heritage' as distinct from 'history' in the terms described above is not in common usage. In the USA, the Forest Service has adopted the title of 'Heritage Management' for all its programmes dealing with various kinds of cultural resources; the National Park Service has used 'Heritage Preservation Services' as the title for one of its most important CRM programmes.

It also is clear that different perspectives on the world and the past colour personal interpretations of both terms. These underpinning, divergent but conjoining, streams of perspective, activity and belief will require more adjustments in the new millennium. We can expect that more peoples, in particular those with more traditional perspectives, will repossess their pasts. Robinson and Taylor and Anyon *et al.* (this volume) describe the variation among Indian tribes in different parts of the US in pursuing this objective and incorporating western, professional methods and techniques to advance their goals. As this trend continues, new forms of professional practice will emerge, indeed are already emerging. Those of us whose main perspective is from a developed world and a professional stance, will need not only to make further willing adjustments, but also to learn from them, because they represent emergent practice, and will most certainly contain lessons for us in terms of our own actions.

Similarly, those entering this dialogue with a native or traditional perspective must be prepared to adjust and accommodate professional or scientific perspectives. The chapters by Folorunso, Robinson and Taylor and Anyon *et al.* suggest that this is occurring in places throughout the world. Also in this volume, Merriman outlines his view of 'multivocalism' as a means, mechanism and emergent professional standard for dealing with precisely this issue. Adjusting perspectives is never easy; paradigm shifts do not just happen. They require open discussion, willingness to engage in true communication, an environment of equality, and an acknowledgment that some shifting of positions may be desirable (McManamon 1997).

Indeed, that 'the past' should be considered a single, unambiguous phenomenon that can or even should be the subject of attempts, professional or

otherwise, to locate, define and 'stabilize' it, in the sense of Green's (1985) 'sanitization of the past', would be to miss the main point of modern 'critical thinking' approaches to heritage in particular and culture in general. That 'the past' in modern society is not only subject to, but absolutely dependent on, multiple perspectives should be clear to all. That the processes by which individuals and groups define their pasts are as revealing as the contents of these pasts is an essential insight to those whose jobs are involved with 'history' and 'heritage' (e.g. Leone *et al.* 1987; Leone and Preucel 1992).

Asombang, Anyon *et al.* and others in this book frequently use the terms 'heritage management', 'cultural resource management' and 'archaeological resource management' more or less interchangeably. This seems to us to underline a number of points worth consideration while reading the volume: (1) there is as yet no agreed and undisputed term for this topic; (2) all the activities covered by the various terms include both policy making at local, regional, national and international levels of government, as well as the day-to-day business of managing both the organizations that administer 'heritage' and the cultural resources themselves; (3) this merging of policy making and day-to-day management may potentially contain the seeds of mission-failure, in that this wide spectrum can give the impression to outside investigators, or potential funding sources, of a graphic lack of clarity and focus; (4) there are key themes that bind this loose amalgam together globally (as described in the chapters in this volume); and finally, (5) whichever perspective marks our starting point for 'heritage', professional or amateur, developed or developing world, scientist or traditionalist, archaeologist or museum curator, historian or interpreter, academic or practitioner, there is commonality shared by those working on these matters. There is, for example, broad agreement that cultural resources and 'heritage' are more than just *in situ* archaeological resources or out-of-the-ground remains of the past. The resources of concern include above-ground historic, prehistoric and vernacular structures, museum collections, living traditions, and much more, and indeed it is also more than popularized accounts of 'history'. Many of the authors in this volume, for example, consider and discuss resources that are substantial historic structures, some of them very substantial, e.g. the medieval Hindu city of Vijayanagara, and the monasteries, castles and great houses of Northern Ireland. Other authors include non-physical aspects of traditional cultures in their discussions (e.g. Asombang, Anyon *et al.*).

A narrow definition of 'heritage', though a key point in any debate on the topic, seemed to us to confuse the intent and coverage of the following chapters. The authors definitely are dealing with 'the real stuff': how to identify it, document it, care for it and interpret it. Viewed narrowly, 'heritage' did not seem entirely appropriate for an unambiguous term to use for the title of this volume. We were left with 'cultural resource management (CRM)' as a widely used alternative. Yet, this term also has its problems. Mainly, the difficulty with CRM as a term is that it is often used to refer exclusively to archaeological resources. McManamon (this volume) describes briefly the etymology of

‘cultural resource management’, noting that its origin in the US was from discussions of archaeological concerns, but that the term was viewed by its originators from the beginning as including a wide range of resource types—historic structures, historic and prehistoric archaeological sites, traditional cultural properties and others.

Clearly, more attention to definitions of our terms would be helpful. We believe that implicit in all the chapters in this volume, and explicit in many, is the concept of promoting ‘heritage’ as a means of accurate and effective public education and outreach that also has a dynamic future and supports the long-term preservation of the real things and places of history. Such a perspective would benefit the cultural resources we seek to preserve by making heritage education, outreach and, ultimately, understanding more central to everyone’s experience. Carrying out CRM, we are best placed to describe and promote a stewardship and conservation ethic that is linked to use and enjoyment.

CRM has developed a standard literature and set of reference works. Although much of this body of work is nation-specific, most of it can be read to elicit general principles and methods that transcend national statutory requirements and regulatory procedures (e.g. Rains [1966] 1983; McGimsey 1972; King *et al.* 1977; Schiffer and Gummerman 1977; Wilson and Loyola 1981; Fowler 1982; Knudson 1986; Wilson 1987; Murtagh 1988; Andah 1990; Smith and Ehrenhard 1991; Hutt *et al.* 1992; Lee 1992; McManamon 1992; Hunter and Ralston 1993; Cooper *et al.* 1995; Harrison 1995; ICAHM 1996).

The broader working definition of CRM we refer to above is aptly illustrated in, among others, Harrison (1995), where ‘heritage’ includes natural (landscape, countryside, nature conservation), man made (historic properties, built environment, artefacts, museums), and maritime resources. As Middleton (1995:3) states, ‘heritage is a broad church’ and ‘within the broad church the tenets of faith are widely agreed, although people working in one form of heritage, such as museums, typically have relatively few points of contact with people working in other forms, such as nature reserves’.

It is this last point about the fragmented nature of ‘heritage’ that leaves us somewhat disturbed. In parallel with the literature of CRM, other literatures have grown up around ‘heritage’, but there does not seem yet to be a coming together of their different authors, practitioners, or even complete perspectives. Instead, different and distinct literatures are developing. For instance, interpretation has its own literature (see Lunn *et al.* 1988; Tabata *et al.* 1991), developed much as the One World Archaeology Series was, from international conferences (1985 Banff, Canada; 1988 Warwick, UK; 1991 Hawaii, USA and 1995 Sydney, Australia). Though smaller in volume, these collections have developed a distinctiveness in a key area of what we consider within the framework of CRM—the interpretation of cultural and historic sites and structures.

Museum studies is another very well-developed literature, much of which focuses on interpretation (education) and public interaction. The museum

studies literature has its own flavour, paralleling CRM almost exactly in scope, in that it deals fairly comprehensively with an entire heritage process: collect, conserve, document, interpret and exhibit. Lately, a specifically museum management section has been developing (e.g. see Moore 1994; Keene 1996; Fopp 1997). Gurian (1995) and Janes (1995) describe museum management specifically in relation to change and how it affects both institution and staff. None of these issues can be peculiar only to museums within our 'broad church'.

Also, tourism has developed a distinct section within its broader sphere of interest which deals with the management of travel, access to, marketing and interpretation of heritage sites. Of particular note, the tourism literature has a growing predominance of field research-based work which examines critically aspects of heritage management relevant to CRM. For example, Frochot (1996) attempted to develop a service quality standard for historic houses. Chapters by Anyon *et al.*, Lerner and Hoffman, and Fritz (this volume) also describe, from a CRM perspective, the impacts of recent increases in cultural tourism.

Large-scale public usage, such as visitation to cultural sites and historic structures, and smaller-scale usage, such as access to information, are becoming important aspects of effective heritage management. Follows (1988) notes that resource interpretation has a complex set of tasks to accomplish for visitors and the resources being visited. The impacts of the visitors must be minimized while enhancing visitor experiences. The visitor experience must be accomplished in such a manner and by such means as will leave the primary resources unimpaired for the continued enjoyment and multiple experience use of future generations.

Hooper Greenhill (1994) describes museum initiatives to attract broader audiences than the traditional ones. As she states: 'in these sophisticated and competitive days, it is those museums that offer comfortable, welcoming experiences, where many members of varied groups can feel secure but extended, that will nourish and grow' (Hooper Greenhill 1994:84).

These developments of distinct strands in the literature of other fields is, of course, being replicated in university and other training courses. Distinctions are now made between heritage tourism, heritage interpretation and heritage management, such that they are emerging as different professions, rather than different professional specializations. This may be no bad thing: object and building conservation are now distinct from archaeology, architecture and curatorship, and the condition and preservation of artefacts and historic structures are the better for it. What disturbs us are the relatively few points of contact, which may lead to unnecessary and unresolved conflict in perspectives and standards, and, worse still, in some sort of territoriality. A better solution would be for experts in these fields to continue to interact, learning from one another and incorporating into each other's fields the useful concepts, products and resolutions to problems developed independently.

The following sections of this Introduction summarize the main themes of contemporary CRM that are covered by the chapters in this book. To be

effective, CRM must be supported by a national system of statutes, regulations and policies, as well as some level of public financing. Effective CRM also must recognize, understand and address local situations, including the needs and controlling conditions for local human populations. New approaches and developments of methods, techniques and concepts are essential sources of improvement in the effectiveness and efficiency of CRM. Public education and outreach are necessary means of justifying and promoting CRM. Such activities are needed to ensure that present and future generations realize the importance of cultural resources in understanding our heritage, history and selves.

As we have edited these chapters, we have been struck by the many common threads of challenges and opportunities, problems and solutions faced by those concerned with cultural resources, their interpretation and preservation. The commonality connects individuals working in developed and developing countries, at national and local levels, and those working on field activities or physical conservation, interpretation and public outreach, and programme development or administration.

These chapters cover a range of cultural resource types; archaeological sites and districts, historic structures and districts, cultural traditions, collections, archives, and libraries, all are mentioned or considered in detail by the authors. Most of the authors are archaeologists by training, so there is an archaeological emphasis in the subject matter of most chapters, in particular in the examples discussed. The anthropological and historical orientation of professional training in archaeology in the United Kingdom and the United States is apparent in the authors' perspectives. Yet there is much in the volume and individual chapters that will be useful for other specialists in CRM: historians, historical architects, curators and others.

## **THE NECESSITY OF NATIONAL SYSTEMS**

By national systems, we mean those laws, regulations, guidelines and government programmes related to legal mandates for the identification, evaluation, inventory and treatment of archaeological and other kinds of cultural resources. Most countries have such systems which have developed historically within the country or have been set up during colonial eras by colonial governments (Cleere 1984, 1989; O'Keefe and Prott 1984).

To be effective, national public policy for the protection and preservation of cultural resources must have three components:

- 1 it must be a strong statement of national intent to protect and preserve cultural sites, structures and other resource types;
- 2 it must have political support in its implementation; and
- 3 it must be implemented cooperatively among agencies, departments or ministries at the national level, with other levels of government, and with the public.

For a national system to function effectively, the definition of cultural resources must be clear. We suggest that a broad definition for the term be utilized, and most authors of these chapters adhere to such a definition, although several point out that such a broad view is not typical for some CRM projects in their countries. Schofield (this volume) describes efforts in a developed country, England, to define and develop preservation and interpretation strategies in a better way for poorly understood and little recognized types of cultural resources.

National laws and policies are statements of the public interest in the protection and preservation of the nation's cultural resources. This interest must transcend other public interests in at least some circumstances and be considered equivalent to others in most circumstances. The greater the number of other interests, such as housing, revenues, pipelines, etc., that can be required to take into account the protection and preservation of cultural resources as part of their activities, the stronger will be the public policy for cultural resources.

Ministries responsible for heritage preservation and those responsible for economic development, tourism, law enforcement and other related areas must work cooperatively. Solli (this volume) describes the reality of working for intergovernmental cooperation in the treatment of cultural resources within the environmental agencies of Norway, frankly describing the challenges she had to overcome even with bureaucrats sympathetic to related natural resource conservation issues. Likewise, the wider the range of circumstances in which the protection and preservation of cultural heritage sites must be considered, the stronger will be the public policy. Unless equal consideration or priority is given to cultural resource protection and preservation as a result of public policy, the policy is not effective. Hamlin (this volume) and McManamon (this volume) describe how laws, regulations and procedures in Northern Ireland and the US strive to balance the socially accepted requirements of modern society in developed countries with the preservation of cultural resources reflecting the diverse histories of the nations.

Statements of public policy alone will not be sufficient; the policies must be implemented forcefully and diligently:

- 1 The national government must develop, or provide for the development of, regulations, procedures, guidelines and programmes to implement the public policy effectively. These documents and programmes provide the details and direct specific activities that translate the general statements of public policy into actions that provide for the protection and preservation of cultural resources.
- 2 The national government must provide funding and staff to ensure the effective implementation of the public policy through the regulations, procedures, guidelines and programmes. The national government may do this directly through its own staff, or it may fund other levels of



government to carry out the programmes, or it may develop some combination of these means of carrying out the programmes to implement the public policy. Asombang (this volume) describes the situation in Cameroon, for example, as one in which the first aspect of implementation has been developed and is being improved; however, funding and staffing for effective implementation are lacking. This difficult situation is one commonly experienced in developing countries and also is mentioned by Folorunso (this volume) for other African countries.

- 3 The national government must provide professional technical assistance in the implementation of cultural resource sites protection and preservation. This assistance may be provided directly by government staff experts or through experts from other levels of government or hired from the private sector, but the need for this level of expertise and technical ability must be recognized. Folorunso (this volume) describes the lamentable lack of expertise and of adequate funds to provide for it in order to undertake appropriate investigations as part of planning and construction of major development projects. He blames this lack more on the absence of political interest or will to undertake such investigations rather than on an overall lack of available funds. Okamura (this volume) describes a nearly opposite problem: a willingness to pay huge amounts of money to excavate archaeological resources in the face of development actions, but a reluctance to modify plans for modern developments to preserve sites *in situ*, as well as the difficulty that an overemphasis on excavation places on the completion of adequate reporting and interpretation of results.

Effective management of cultural resources requires decisions about how the resources can be best protected, preserved, utilized and interpreted. The exact decisions require consideration of why the resource has been set aside for special treatment, its nature and significance, and the contemporary setting of the site. Available information about each of these matters should be marshalled and considered carefully in reaching the treatment decisions. Determinations of which resources are selected for active management depend upon the overall public policy set by the country. Typically, a nation might decide to focus direct protection, preservation and interpretation efforts on resources of national significance. Yet national policy should also recognize that cultural resources of regional or local importance also merit protection, preservation and interpretation. National public policy should be broad enough to provide for these other resources as well, either through funding, technical assistance, regulatory protection, or all of these.

Once the decision is made to manage a resource actively, a management plan should be prepared that documents the rationale for the treatment and describes in detail how the management is to be implemented. The plan should describe:

- 1 activities needed to stabilize or preserve features of the resource;
- 2 the interpretation of the resource and how it is to be presented to the visiting and local publics;
- 3 the means by which any collections and records from the resource are to be preserved;
- 4 activities needed to protect the resource; and
- 5 what, if any, new information is needed to better protect, preserve and interpret the resource.

Plans should also be reviewed and revised as needed on a regular schedule. Finally, the best policy and plan in the world will fail if it is not put into effect by diligent and motivated staff. These staff members who are directly responsible for the daily protection, care and treatment of the cultural resources must be well paid and well trained.

Modern development, commercial activity, and improvement of national economies are important to all nations of the world. Because the activities associated with these processes can be destructive, they often conflict with cultural resource protection and preservation. When this occurs, it is most important to discover what the specific conflict or potential conflicts are early on during the project planning stage. If the potential conflicts are identified early enough, they can frequently be avoided or successfully resolved in a way that harmonizes public policy for cultural protection and preservation with public policy for modern economic development.

Effective and early consultation among officials responsible for development projects and those responsible for cultural resources is sometimes extraordinarily difficult to accomplish. This is one area in which strong national public policy in support of cultural resource protection and preservation is essential. Officials in ministries responsible for development and modernization are unlikely to pay attention to cultural resource concerns without political pressure to do so.

Once cultural resource concerns are recognized as legitimate, then specific alternatives to development projects that would address these concerns can be considered. In order to develop alternatives regarding cultural resources, several steps are usually necessary. First, the resources that will be affected by the project must be identified and their importance evaluated. For resources that are significant enough to be considered for preservation, alternatives ranging from redesign of the project to avoid the site, to excavation of the site to preserve the data in it, should be developed and considered. Once the decisions are made, actions to execute them are necessary. If the decision is made to record a resource and preserve the data, ample provisions must be made for the curation and management of the resultant collection and records, the conservation of necessary artefacts, and the dissemination of the data and interpretations. Rarely will modification of a development project in order to take account of cultural resources occur without cost. The cost is likely to be less, the earlier

consideration of cultural resource preservation is brought into the project planning.

Finally, the national government must work cooperatively with others to accomplish the job of protecting and preserving cultural resources. All countries have a wide range of types of cultural resources. Some of these may be cared for directly by the national government, in particular those that are of significance to the country as a whole. Others may be of regional, state or local significance and may be cared for by state or local governments, or not directly cared for except for the protection and preservation that can be provided by the private owner. If the public policy calls for the protection and preservation of cultural resources at all of these levels, the national government will have to work cooperatively with these other levels of government and private owners to accomplish this. Cleere (this volume and 1995) reminds us that a few cultural resources transcend national importance and have an international, worldwide significance. A number of these resources, World Heritage Sites or sites that may be eligible for this listing, are in developing countries that often have a difficult time protecting them from damage.

## **THE IMPORTANCE OF LOCAL SUPPORT**

Communities residing near or among the locations of cultural resources have important, sometimes critical, influences on the protection and preservation of these resources. Local populations are always in the vicinity of the cultural resources. Community members protect and maintain these resources when they regard them as their own. Graphic evidence of effective local preservation actions are the millions of historic structures worldwide that continue to be used, inhabited and maintained by their local owners or occupants.

The actions of local officials and local communities increasingly are of importance in cultural resource preservation, protection and interpretation. This has for many years been the case in less developed parts of the world where national governments, lacking statutory authority or the means of enforcing existing laws, were unable to impose policies, regulations and guidelines upon communities distant from the centre of national power. In the current political and social climate in many developed countries, where the mantras of 'less central government' and 'greater local control of public decision making' have taken hold, the power of local communities has increased. Medina (this volume) and Kiryakov *et al.* (this volume) describe political and social situations in Argentina and Russia, respectively, in which local economic, political and social conditions are strongly affecting how archaeological sites, traditional sites, museum objects and historic structures are cared for.

Local communities and their leaders must come to see cultural resources as

part of the assets of their local areas. These resources must be seen as precious things to be preserved, protected and interpreted. The basis for these perceptions may be economic, that is, the cultural resources are seen as a means by which tourists can be enticed to visit local communities, spending money for food, lodging, or other services, while they are there experiencing or viewing the cultural resources. Alternatively, or in complement, the local community may envision the resources as linked personally or culturally to them and as resources of community history and pride that are to be protected and preserved as their community's heritage. Anyon *et al.* (this volume) describe a series of CRM programmes that have been developed by Indian tribes in the US Southwest. The tribes have organized these programmes to accommodate their special religious and traditional concerns.

An example of how local community support for preservation can determine the survival of a cultural resource comes from coastal northern Peru, where archaeological sites are frequently damaged or destroyed by looters. This example, from the Sipan region of Peru (Kirkpatrick 1992), illustrates dramatically how a local community's perspective about local cultural resources can influence the protection and preservation of the resources. Archaeologist Walter Alva, director of a nearby regional public museum, successfully turned local farmers away from looting the Moche tombs of the region. Alva convinced the current inhabitants of neighbouring villages that the local tombs were those of their own ancestors and held the keys to the story of the complex society in which those ancestors lived. He persuaded them to regard the burial mound as part of their heritage, not as commercial resources to be mined with the recoveries sold to others from outside the community. Alva was so successful that the local villagers became protectors of the mounds rather than looters.

The extensive damage that looters of archaeological sites inflict on the cultural heritage has been quantified by Gill and Chippindale (1993:624–8) for one region. They estimated that 10,000 to 12,000 prehistoric graves in the Cycladic Islands in southern Greece have been plundered over the years, primarily since the Second World War, to obtain stylized anthropomorphic figurines for the art market. Gill and Chippindale estimate that this looting has destroyed 85 per cent of archaeological burials of the Early Bronze Age in the Cyclades, a terrible loss of irretrievable information about ancient times for present and all future generations.

Local attitudes about preservation of historic structures is recognized as a key aspect for the preservation of these kinds of cultural resources. Many western nations have national, state and local programmes that work closely with individual owners and local communities to preserve historic structures. In the UK and USA, for example, such activities form a major part of the national archaeology and historic preservation programmes (e.g. Murtagh 1988; Lee 1992).

How can national programmes establish in local communities and governments the kind of stewardship ethic described above? There are four areas

of attention that can be utilized to develop supportive local preservation attitudes and actions. These are:

- 1 formal and informal education programmes;
- 2 national and local statutes or development controls, such as local zoning;
- 3 partnerships in resource stewardship that link national, state and regional preservation programmes with local communities; and
- 4 the integration of resource interpretation and preservation into local economic development programmes.

Opportunities for local communities to learn about cultural resources and how they are studied and preserved, help to maintain a constituency that will support these activities, even to build larger and stronger public support. Archaeologists have embraced public education and outreach as an important tool for preservation (e.g. see Lerner and Huffman, Jameson, and Moe this volume; also, Stone and MacKenzie 1990; Stone and Molyneaux 1994; Jameson 1997). Historians, historical architects, and others concerned with the interpretation and preservation of cultural resources also have recognized the importance and benefits of public education and outreach programmes (e.g. Selig 1989, 1991; Shull and Hunter 1992; Boland and Metcalf 1993). Initially, much of this public-oriented effort was justified as a means of providing some return to the public for the public funds typically used in CRM projects. Increasingly, however, public agencies are discovering that by providing opportunities for public interpretation, and even for public involvement in CRM projects, they also can generate local public interest in, and support for, their cultural resource programmes.

But what message or messages about cultural resources should be conveyed in public education and outreach programmes? It is important to craft the appropriate approach to reach different publics (Potter 1990; McManamon 1991). Communities have different pasts, or differing perceptions of what happened in the past. These variations should be taken into account in developing a public outreach programme. Medina (this volume) describes these kinds of variations in local communities in Argentina based upon history and social and economic factors. To address the local factions in this situation, she recommends the development of a series of public exhibits to describe the cultural histories of the region as a means of establishing a commonly agreed upon cultural heritage. Ultimately, Medina hopes that sufficient agreement can be reached for a formal regional cultural museum to be established.

When considering what educational and interpretive messages are appropriate, one of the messages must be of local interest sufficient to attract individuals with no special knowledge about cultural resources. Community-specific messages are essential to successful public education, but outreach programmes also should directly or indirectly make general points related to the value of cultural resources, the care that must be used when studying or treating

or using these resources, and the often fragile, sometimes non-renewable, nature of cultural resources. Such general messages need to be incorporated in educational, volunteer and other public outreach programmes designed to work over the long term on the prevention of archaeological looting, neglect and vandalism of historic structures and other kinds of wanton destruction of cultural resources (Lerner 1991:103; McManamon in press).

Local action by individuals often determines whether cultural resources are preserved or destroyed. Law-abiding and conscientious citizens will not vandalize, loot or otherwise wantonly destroy cultural resources if they understand that such actions are illegal and/or diminish the cultural heritage left to all people. Therefore, national and local programmes of CRM must coordinate successfully so that the preservation messages they promote are heard effectively and consistently. Robinson and Taylor (this volume) and Green and Davis (this volume) describe archaeological programmes in the States of Rhode Island and Arkansas, respectively, in the US that effectively integrate national, state, local and private interests for interpretation and preservation. Both examples describe the important role played by partnerships between the state programmes and local organizations and individuals in accomplishing common goals.

Working with local communities on protection programmes and public education and outreach programmes has become an important part of heritage site management in many parts of the world. We suggest that this ought to become a general standard by which CRM and individual programmes should be judged in the future. Isolated academic interest alone will be insufficient justification for expending public funds to protect local cultural resources. It is important for such an interest to link with locally credible outcome or benefit. Until this connection is made, the long-term preservation aspect of CRM is unfinished.

Many of the data collection CRM activities, in particular non-invasive and non-destructive methods and techniques, such as archaeological survey and historic building recording, can be justified as intelligence gathering, adding to the general pool of knowledge and understanding of a given cultural resource or series of them. Yet even these efforts ought to be widely communicated to the public in terms of their ownership of the resources and results, and their improved quality of understanding of their cultural identities. This will require CRM workers to develop evaluation measures that reflect multiple outcomes, rather than simply tourism and visitation, as well as professional and academic ones from CRM activity.

It is not only from looting, vandalism or other illegal activities that archaeological sites and other kinds of cultural resources must be protected. Local individuals and groups of concerned citizens are among the most effective means of working for the protection of sites in local development schemes and land use plans. Seeden (this volume) describes the considerable archaeological, architectural and textual record that has been preserved due to international, national and local support during the redevelopment of Beirut

Central District. Yet she also points out some failures of local and national public and private 'follow through' for all the preservation work that originally was envisioned, thus emphasizing the importance of such support and effective coordination.

Individuals among the general public can serve as the eyes and ears of national and other public officials who are responsible for cultural resource preservation. Certainly, there are not enough officials or trained specialists in the United States or other countries to serve such a widespread monitoring function, nor will there ever be. Some of the necessary preservation work requires national-level experts and funding; however, regular maintenance is also required to keep vegetation from overwhelming monuments, working its way between stone and into stucco. Such regular maintenance might be accomplished most readily by local efforts applied carefully and systematically.

### **THE NEED FOR NEW APPROACHES AND DEVELOPMENTS**

Like other academic, professional or scientific fields, CRM benefits from new ideas and improvements in method and technique. Many CRM activities are part of the 'cost of business' for governments, so improvements in efficiency and reductions in cost are especially important. Improvements in recording and documenting methods have regularly contributed to more effective and efficient work in CRM. Fritz (this volume) presents a systematic method for describing and interpreting complex historical monuments, including major archaeological, architectural and textual components. The method and techniques of Fritz's 'surface archaeology' were developed in the 1960s and 1970s as part of intensive pedestrian archaeological surveys of arid parts of the US Southwest for scientific investigations. These methods and techniques have since been widely adapted and modified for a range of archaeological investigations throughout the world. The adoption of these methods and techniques for recording the abandoned medieval city of Vijayanagara has both scientific and resource management applications.

Price (this volume) describes the dilemma faced when physical conservation of a monument is necessary. Questions about how much and how to conduct conservation treatment are faced constantly in CRM. By exploring how conservation treatments have been decided upon in the past, he is able to show the changes in professional and public attitudes towards different kinds of treatments. In the past, and in some countries still, intrusive techniques were considered appropriate and reconstructions based upon incomplete information were common. Price acknowledges that no easy, and probably no single answer exists for all places and situations, although he points out that more detailed and precise means of recording existing original conditions ought to be thoroughly utilized prior to any conservation treatment so that this information is not lost due to the treatment process itself.

The problem of looting of cultural resources is not a new one. Since ancient

times, antiquities and monuments have been among the 'spoils of war'. There are more ancient Egyptian obelisks in Rome, for example, than in Cairo or Luxor because of the ancient Roman occupation of Egypt. Yet we must continue to fight against the commercialization of archaeological resources and other kinds of cultural resources. Morton and McManamon (this volume) review what is known about the current trafficking in archaeological objects and what proposals have been made to reduce this illegal activity.

## **THE CENTRAL ROLE OF PUBLIC EDUCATION AND OUTREACH**

We hope to see the experience of 'heritage' and the results of CRM take a more central place in everyday experience. More and better public education and outreach will be needed to accomplish this goal. We know that the audiences for museums are limited in the most general sense, and in most cases, to the relatively well educated. Why not seek and find the means of delivering alternative experiences from cultural resources for those less culturally predisposed to museum visiting? The chapters related to education and outreach explore some of these issues, e.g. in direct education of school-age children as a means to educate, but also enthruse, future users of heritage. They also outline the considerable difficulties involved in attempting evaluation of such programmes. Hence, our plea that outcomes and uses of cultural resources, e.g. interpretation, education, exhibition, be planned as part of the overall strategy for its conservation, not simply bolted on as an afterthought, or as a weak justification for *de facto* decisions taken, driven by our professional concerns, and from within our professional, relatively closed, circles.

Moe, for instance, describes the initiation of a long-term strategy in the USA to preserve a fragile archaeological record through school-age education. The two programmes she reviews experienced marked differences in the success of their attempts to change attitudes as between rural and urban areas, consistent with virtually all other large-scale social programmes. Do we need different heritage interpretive strategies that reflect this?

Jameson (this volume) explores the issues in developing public interpretation as a function of the different aims of archaeologists and interpreters. He illustrates some of these issues in describing the public education and outreach activities of the US National Park Service.

Merriman (this volume) tackles much the same cluster of themes from an altogether more fundamental approach, that of professional standards in museum interpretation. As he indicates, though there is a finely tuned awareness among academic archaeologists of issues such as evidence and narrative, this seldom seems to permeate museum interpretive work. He cites the work of the Archaeological Resource Centre in York as one exception, and posits multivocalism as a new professional standard in interpretation.



Davis (this volume) provides a timely reminder that the preservation movement and those professionally employed in preservation sometimes need to consider a much wider area, the natural environment on which the human play is staged. This is something human history specialists have tended more and more to overlook in their work, both in excavation and in public education, save in the use of samples (soil, seed, fibre, animal remains, etc.) as evidence underpinning the interpretation of essentially human occupation and experience. He describes innovative interpretive work in museums in getting across the centrality of environment as part of the museum's fundamental communication obligation. His widening of the agenda in this way opens up the opportunity for more points of contact across the heritage spectrum.

## CONCLUSIONS

The following chapters describe the status, condition, issues, successes and challenges of CRM in the modern world at the end of the twentieth century. They provide descriptions of actions and conditions necessary for effective CRM programmes. They also point out challenges that must be faced and overcome to have effective programmes. They focus on archaeological sites, although many range more widely among other types of cultural resources. This Introduction has attempted to generalize about what is necessary for effective CRM, no matter what kind of cultural resources are being considered. Archaeological resources can often stand as examples to illustrate issues of conservation, interpretation, preservation or more general management for all kinds of cultural resources. We have emphasized, however, that archaeological sites should be considered and incorporated into the overall cultural resource protection and preservation programme of a nation rather than as distinct from historic structures or other kinds of cultural resources. This seems especially true for countries in many parts of the world where archaeological remains incorporate so many architectural elements and where many ancient sites also contain texts and inscriptions or are referred to in written records.

Treatment and care of cultural resources raise many questions, and it is important to approach any intervention carefully and conservatively. Any changes to cultural resources are likely to cause some destruction. Therefore, it is useful to recall the rule-of-thumb followed by many conservators and preservationists today, that it is better to preserve than to restore and better to restore than to reconstruct. Along this same line of thought, given the usual constraints on qualified staff and funding for CRM, it is better to identify and evaluate resources than to impact them in other ways unless necessary for preservation. The non-renewable nature of many kinds of cultural resources makes it essential to limit destructive intervention to situations in which the resource is threatened with destruction from other forces or in which the need for new treatment is undeniable.

Public policy for CRM is an essential matter if a modern nation is to be able to preserve its history and heritage in the face of modern pressures. A nation that does not preserve its past is unlikely to have much of a future, either figuratively or literally. Cultural resources are the material remains of a nation's history that require some special considerations. In developing and implementing national public policy in this area, the leaders of nations must recognize the importance of history, heritage and the cultural resources that reflect them, to their people, to future generations, and to the rest of the world. This recognition of the importance of these resources should lead to the development of strong national policies for protection and preservation and the strong implementation of such policy.

At the close of the twentieth century, the kinds of remains we consider important have a much wider range than those that were regarded as monuments at the beginning of the century. We recognize a wider, richer cultural heritage. Having a wider scope and distribution, cultural resources also are more widely claimed and disputed. As we move into the new century, those of us working in this field need to reach out, be effective advocates and form alliances with others concerned for similar, though probably not the same, reasons that we are. As we do so, we need to remember what we have learned; this is one of the functions of reports on current successes and challenges, such as this volume.

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## 2 *The future of Cameroon's past*

RAYMOND N. ASOMBANG

### INTRODUCTION

The preservation of cultural property in many countries the world over presents a real challenge to all who are involved in the endeavour. The problems that arise differ from country to country. For example, the authorities in some countries face problems trying to implement their cultural policies owing to the ignorance and/or unscrupulousness of the population, or because there is opposition from ethnic groups who claim exclusive rights to certain cultural property in the name of tradition or religion. The disagreements concerning the treatment of Native American burial sites in the United States is a case in point. By contrast, in other countries, the problems arise from the fact that the authorities are insensitive to the need for preservation and therefore are slow, and sometimes even unwilling, to put in place the structures and laws necessary for an effective preservation policy. In yet other cases, problems may come from the inability of the authorities to cope with the excessive material, financial and human resource demands of the exercise. Many developing countries especially in Africa fall in the last two categories.

In this chapter, I intend to attempt an X-ray of the situation of cultural preservation in the West Central African state of Cameroon. I do so in my capacity as one of the responsible officers in charge of implementing government cultural policy in Cameroon. This assessment will focus mainly on two aspects of the presumed role of government in preserving cultural property: (1) the enactment of laws, and (2) the conception of cultural preservation programmes. I am grateful for the opportunity that the Third World Archaeological Congress offered me to have other opinions on what was initially intended to be a working document geared at drawing the attention of my government to certain key cultural issues.<sup>1</sup>

## **HISTORY OF THE INSTITUTIONAL FRAMEWORK**

From independence in 1960 to 1972, Cameroon cultural affairs and heritage resources in general were under the tutelage of the Ministry of Education, Youth and Cultural Affairs. Between 1972 and 1992, control was switched to the Ministry of Information and Culture. Many were indignant about the failure to create a separate ministry of culture. To them, this gave the impression that the government minimized culture and heritage. Therefore, the government was under pressure to create a Ministry of Culture distinct from all others. This was one of the main resolutions of the National Forum on Culture held in Yaounde from 23–6 August 1991 (Proceedings of the National Forum on Culture—PNFC 1991:43). The advent, for the first time since independence, of a separate Ministry of Culture in April 1992, was greeted by many people in Cameroon as a welcome, even if belated, development. Many thought that the government had at last realized the importance of culture in shaping a true Cameroonian identity. Yet others saw in this an effort to revitalize Cameroon culture as one means of redressing the ailing economy. Tourism based upon culture and heritage can earn hard currency from foreign visitors. Either way, it seemed clear to Cameroonians that, with a Ministry of Culture separated from Information, Cameroon culture and heritage was going to get a face lift. The new ministry's mission was to protect, conserve and promote Cameroon culture in general. In view of the objectives of this chapter, it is proper at this point to consider the means that were given to this new organization to enable it achieve the goals assigned to it. It is along these lines that I want to examine the laws that have been put in place, the dispositions taken, and the cultural preservation programmes that the government has tried to promote prior to and since the creation of the Ministry of Culture six years ago.

## **LEGAL FRAMEWORK**

The legal basis for efforts to protect Cameroon's cultural property can be traced back to colonial times.<sup>2</sup> In 1946, for example, a decree (No. 46/1644) fixed the conditions for copies of publications to be deposited in the National Archives. In 1957, Law No. 57/298 was passed relating to literary and artistic property. Both the Buea archives and the antiquities legislation, which preserved many of the colonial monuments of the German periods in the former West Cameroon, were independently legislated before Cameroon achieved independence, when the province was administered as part of Nigeria.

At the dawn of independence in 1963, Law No. 63/22 concerning the protection of sites was enacted. Similarly, Circular No. 15/CAB/PR/SG of September 1966, gave instructions on the conservation, protection and classification of administrative archives. Other laws relating to the library, the

national archives, cinematographic production, etc., were also enacted. More recently, Law No. 91/008 of 30 July 1991, on the protection of the national cultural and natural patrimony, was promulgated. According to the definition of this law, it covered all movable and immovable cultural property such as archaeological sites, objects, historical documents, historical sites, and structures, monuments, works of art, fauna, flora, etc. Even with all its shortcomings, Law No. 91/008 was a great improvement on all previously existing laws. There is no doubt that this came later than wished by proponents. However, it confirms the government's intention, not to say determination, to protect the national cultural heritage.

The general impression from the above presentation is that, as far as legislation is concerned, the government has shown some amount of good intention and purpose. However, application and implementation of the laws have been problematic. First of all, the laws, and the protection and requirements they establish, are not well known. Many people only find out about the existence of some of these laws when they have been caught violating them. Researchers only find out about the requirements when they want to do research. In other words, the existing laws are not well publicized. Consequently, the cultural property they are supposed to protect still gets looted, destroyed and exported as if there were no laws at all. Several examples demonstrate this serious problem.

The former presidential palace, an imposing monument in the centre of the capital city of Yaounde, became vacant in 1982 when the President moved to the present Unity Palace. Unfortunately, the old palace has been shamelessly looted before the very eyes of the authorities. Cameroon works of art and archaeological finds have been and continue to be illicitly exported, as a visit to art galleries and museums in America, Britain, France, Germany and other countries will show. Ironically, the police and the customs officials sometimes are accomplices in this illicit exportation.

It is an open secret that large-scale poaching goes on in all natural game reserves in the country, yet there are guards all over. Great historical monuments have been destroyed in the name of modern development. A good example is the old cathedral at Mvolye in Yaounde, destroyed about four years ago because a new one had to be built on the same site. Others are undergoing serious degradation (e.g. the Bamenda fort and the Prime Minister's lodge in Buea), yet nothing is being done to salvage them. One cannot imagine the number of archaeological sites that get destroyed daily because of new development and economic activities. Development is therefore presented here as a major threat to cultural property, yet this ought not and need not be the case.

The national archives in Yaounde and Buea, which contain some very rare documents on Cameroon's colonial history, are great fire risks. Many of the handwritten documents are old and fading; they need conservation before they become brittle and fragmentary. Copying these historical documents on microfilm and microfiche for preservation and future use are needed urgently.

The political powers have never found the money needed for these simple actions, yet there is always money to hold political party congresses.

These few examples demonstrate clearly the consequences of a lack of will to enforce heritage laws. Even with strong laws, ineffective implementation can be devastating for cultural property. Enacting laws is important, but enforcing them is a necessary, critical second step.

## **CULTURAL PRESERVATION PROGRAMMES**

Let us next examine preservation programmes that the government has promoted and their effectiveness. We shall also discuss those programmes that should have been promoted but haven't been, and why.

### **International cooperation**

Internationally, the Cameroon government has made commendable efforts, both on the bilateral and multilateral levels, in cooperating with other countries and organizations in order to preserve heritage resources and promote Cameroon culture. Examples of this include the ratification of conventions such as the World Heritage Convention and the UNESCO Convention on the means of prohibiting and preventing the illicit import and transfer of ownership of cultural property, adopted in Paris in 1970. Cameroon also participated in the world decade of cultural development and other international cultural events. Nevertheless, experience has shown that signing a convention is one thing and promoting its objectives is another. To illustrate this point, Cameroon signed the World Heritage Convention in 1972, but twenty years on, there is not a single Cameroon monument on the World Heritage list. Yet there are properties that would qualify for listing if the government would make the commitment to maintaining them on its own, which is a requirement for World Heritage designation.

### **National Forum on Culture**

On the national scene, an example of cultural heritage initiative was the organization, in August 1991, of the National Forum on Culture. This forum brought together for the first time men and women of culture: artists, writers, musicians, intellectuals, etc., to discuss the problems of Cameroon culture, the future orientation it should take, and to consider necessary improvements. That the government recognized and accepted the need for such a forum was commendable. It was an eloquent testimony of the government's concern to preserve and promote Cameroon culture and cultural property. The forum made numerous recommendations, including:

- 1 a plan for the dissemination of national culture,
- 2 a plan for the preservation and restoration of the national natural and cultural heritage,



- 3 a plan for the reform of the administration and funding of culture,
- 4 a plan for the revival of international co-operation,
- 5 a declaration of human rights to culture, and
- 6 a Cameroon cultural charter. (PNFC 1991:6)

The first recommendation above related to the creation of a separate Ministry of Culture. Its creation in April 1992 came less than a year after this forum. Although these commendable efforts should not be denied, one must also acknowledge that a lot remains to be done.

### **Museums**

The Republic of Cameroon is one of the few countries in Africa where a national museum worthy of that designation does not yet exist. Miniature museums, some of which are colonial legacies, exist in a few provincial towns of Cameroon (e.g. Bamenda, Buea, Douala and Maroua), but their contents and conservation priorities leave a lot to be desired. These museums are located in dilapidated old structures; the collections are few, with little or no information about their provenance, social or cultural context. So the museum institution has yet to acquire maturity in Cameroon. Indeed there is a project to set up a national museum in the nation's capital Yaounde, which has been on paper for more than two decades now. Many people have wondered whether the problem is the lack of money, the absence of qualified persons to carry out the plan, or simply the lack of a political will. When one looks at what Cameroon's less fortunate neighbours have realized in this field, it becomes very easy to dismiss as excuses explanations due to financial problems. The absence of a truly functional museum network certainly has contributed to the massive export of Cameroon works of art.

In November 1989, *The Cameroon Tribune* (no. 4275, pp. 12–13) reported that the former presidential palace was allocated by a presidential decision to the ministry in charge of culture to house the future National Museum. The aim, it was reported at the time, was to 'create a unique conscience of belonging and to create a sense of Cameroonian identity' (Gaugue 1977:32). In December 1991, a commission was appointed to realize the project. Six years later, the project still has not taken off, partly because the government has yet to demonstrate its willingness to see the project realized by providing the necessary funds.

The importance of a museum in collecting, protecting and preserving the national patrimony and in educating the masses on their cultural heritage, cannot be overemphasized (Asombang 1990). The absence of a national museum in Cameroon more than thirty years after independence is a very serious failing.

### **Education and training**

The Cameroon public generally is not aware of the existence and value of cultural property in their local environment. It does not seem to be anybody's responsibility to see that laws relating to the preservation of such property are brought to the people in a language they understand. The absence of a truly functional museum network and an effective museum policy also means that formal training in this domain is not a priority. In particular, there is a real need for qualified personnel in different aspects of museum services and heritage management. Undoubtedly, the long-term solution to cultural property conservation is education and training. Some of the works of art that are exported to the West are sold for just a few francs by the supposed custodians of culture, like village chiefs and lineage heads who have been unable to resist the temptation of making a little money by selling off these materials. Frontier police and customs officers who may be unscrupulous, ignorant, or both, are often very easily tempted to accept a small bribe in order to close their eyes so that these objects can be flown out of the country. Cameroon, like other developing countries in Africa, is characterized by a slow bureaucracy and little or no collaboration between government departments. So there is a problem of effective control and application of the law. It is absolutely necessary for the new Ministry of Culture to have the material and financial possibilities to monitor all development projects in the country, if the accidental destruction of sites and monuments is to be checked.

### **Library facilities**

The universities and other academic and professional institutions in Cameroon provide basic library facilities for their students. The books that are stocked in these libraries are generally biased in favour of the institution's primary objectives. In the absence of public libraries, the conservation of certain documents that are not of direct interest to formal students is jeopardized. Happily, there is a project underway to establish a national library in Yaounde and public libraries in provincial towns. It is hoped that the realization of this project will improve the image of the national archives.

## **PROBLEMS OF IMPLEMENTATION**

If the above analysis has exposed the government's slowness and insensitivity to conservation needs, it has also highlighted a number of deeper problems that I believe have contributed in no small way to the present state of affairs.

The first problem that has faced the government in the firm application of existing laws is the problem of craft versus art. Many artists in Cameroon (e.g. wood carvers, smiths, weavers, sculptors, etc.) live on the sale of their art objects. The objects are so costly that only tourists, especially Europeans, can

afford to buy them. Recently, the Minister of Culture signed a decision that completely prohibits the export of these objects. The result was a general outcry because it cut off the livelihood of these artists. Prior to this, objects created by artisans could be exported if an export permit was signed by the competent authority. Unfortunately, many of the administrative officers who provide such authorizations are not able to distinguish accurately between real art, which should not be exported, and crafts products, which legitimately could be.

The second problem is closely linked to the preceding one. It is the problem of education and training, not only the police, customs and administrative officers, but also the general public, who must be made more aware and supportive of the need to preserve their heritage. Effective conservation of cultural property can be achieved only with the participation of the masses. Public awareness is what the government needs in order to have laws effectively implemented and cultural conservation efforts widely recognized and appreciated. Unfortunately, the government is still a long way from creating this awareness among the masses.

A third problem concerns the repatriation of cultural property. This is a problem that confronts many Third World countries in general, and African countries in particular. Specifically, it has to do with archaeological finds and ethnographic collections. In reference to archaeology, one needs to note that colonial administrators, missionaries and expatriate archaeologists have contributed immensely to the development of archaeology in Cameroon, as elsewhere in developing countries. Owing to the lack of analytical facilities locally, many of them, with or without due authorization, exported their finds, but they have never thought of bringing them back. As concerns Cameroon, Marliac (1973) reports that M.D.W. Jeffreys made large collections of stone tools, parts of which are today in the Jos Museum in Nigeria, the South African Survey Museum, the Pitt Rivers Museum in Oxford, and the British Museum. There is also the Wendt collection in the Lubeck Museum in Germany and the Schwab collection in Cambridge, Massachusetts in the USA. The case of ethnographic collections is probably worse. Considering the current difficulties of repatriating cultural property, Cameroon authorities are only compounding the situation by not providing the necessary infrastructure for the preservation of existing domestic collections. Research in archaeology must continue because we need the results and interpretations from these investigations for a better understanding of our past. But as long as there are no appropriate analytical or curatorial facilities locally, it means that archaeological finds will continue to be exported for study abroad.

Finally, there is the problem of finding the material and financial means to maintain an effective cultural preservation policy. A great amount of cultural property suffers from degradation due to lack of money to maintain them. Classic examples in downtown Yaounde are the former presidential palace, the Charles Atangana monuments, and the Reunification monument. Elsewhere,

there is the Prime Minister's lodge in Buena, and the Bamenda fort. In countries with a good national policy for the protection, conservation and preservation of cultural property, regional or local councils take care of most of the cultural properties in their areas of jurisdiction. In that way, the central government does not have to support all the costs. In Cameroon, however, there is no such policy, so the central government has to support all the costs. Since the government does not provide sufficient funds, a lot of the property is bound to suffer from lack of attention.

## CONCLUSION

I have tried in these few pages to expose the situation of cultural property in Cameroon. Everybody will agree that, notwithstanding the efforts that have been made so far, a lot more remains to be done. What, therefore, is the future of Cameroon's past?

As a responsible officer in the new Ministry of Culture, I want to say that this new administrative structure is a welcome development indeed. If the mission that has been assigned to this Ministry is realized, a lot of the damage that has been done to Cameroon cultural property in particular, and Cameroon culture in general, will be repaired. This programme cannot be achieved without a lot of financial and other inputs. Unfortunately, the current situation of our economy is such that does not inspire much hope. If culture continues to be given low priority, as is the case now, the situation will not be much different even in the next twenty years, especially because the economic crisis in which we find ourselves now may be around for quite some time yet.

However, in my capacity as a culture expert and promoter, I want to believe that the future of Cameroon's past is not so bleak. This judgement is based on a number of observations:

- 1 Despite the economic crises, there is in Cameroon, at the moment, a cultural resurgence, spearheaded by ethnically based elite associations that are determined to preserve and promote their culture. The Bamileke Laakam, the Southwest Elite Association (SWELA) and the North West Cultural Development Association (NOCUDA) are just a few examples. Because they are sensitive to cultural property at the regional and national levels, these associations can do much good, provided the right policies are put in place.
- 2 Within the context of the reforms currently underway in the universities in Cameroon, there is the introduction of disciplines like museology, traditional arts and musicology. These programmes will no doubt contribute to greater cultural awareness in the country. Having said this, I should warn that a lot of effort will have to be made in this domain in order to reach the general public, especially the illiterate masses.

- 3 Modern technology, such as television, is a medium that can be exploited to achieve a lot by increasing public awareness about the importance of preserving our cultural property. Television is just a little over ten years old in Cameroon, but its contribution to public awareness about important cultural issues is not negligible.

Finally, I am convinced that Cameroon's stand *vis-à-vis* international organizations concerned with the protection and preservation of cultural property is a positive step. There is no doubt that cooperating with other countries at regional, continental or worldwide scale is the surest way of curbing the looting of, and illicit trade in, cultural property. On this note, I hope that the powers that be will intensify this cooperation in order to save many of those Cameroonians who are very sensitive to cultural issues from the dilemma of having to choose between supporting the export of Cameroon cultural property, so that it will be better taken care of abroad, or keeping it in Cameroon for the sake of patriotism, yet allowing it to deteriorate for want of good care.

## NOTES

- 1 I am grateful to Mr Kevin Mbayu for his comments on the first draft of this chapter.
- 2 [Editors' note] During the review of the manuscript that became this chapter, Professor Michael Rowlands provided a number of helpful comments. One of these, a detailed commentary, is printed below because it provides a great deal of contextual information about the ethnic, historical and political developments in Cameroon that have affected the development of CRM programmes there. We are grateful to Professor Peter Ucko for asking Professor Rowlands to review the manuscript and to Professor Rowlands for sharing his insights.

*Michael Rowlands:* Cameroon shares with Burkina Faso the distinction of being the only African country without a national museum. At independence, a small collection of pre-colonial art was created mainly to house pieces that had been appropriated during the independence movement. In other African countries, national museums were one of the first creations of newly independent nations, frequently devoted to telling the story of the struggle for independence and the post-independence history of the new nation. However, the creation of a highly centralized, one-party state system in Cameroon following independence in the 1960s worked against such a representation of national unity through the position of a unified past.

Why this was the case has much to do with the conflicts and violence associated with attaining independence. The divisions between the Anglophone and Francophone parts of the new nation, which, during the colonial period, had been administered separately by Britain and France as independent trust territories, meant that establishing national unity around the immediate past was problematic. In the run-up to independence, defining the national state unit that was to be recreated in the future was solved by projecting back into the German colonial period when the borders of the colony were more or less similar to those of today. In the late 1950s and 1960s, this encouraged an interest in the rediscovery and preservation of monuments commemorating the German colony of Kamerun.

Margaret Field and the Ardoners rewrote the Nigerian antiquities legislation for application to West Cameroon after independence and they gazetted a number of German monuments in Buea.

Resentments over the treatment of the Anglophone minority by Francophone majority had already marred some of the independence celebrations, which exacerbated the fear that representing the colonial past would be an incentive for division and separation rather than unification. The role of the Union des Populations Camerounaises (UPC) and its leader, Um Nyobe, in the processes of decolonization was actively suppressed by the northern dominated administration of Ahidjo. In 1990, when the idea of a new national museum was first mooted, any discussion of this period in the past of Cameroon was banded: 'at the beginning of our work, the government demanded that the exposition should stop at 1950, but today, we have a little more latitude. Nyobe has been rehabilitated just a little' (Loumpet quoted in Gague 1997:98).

If creating a sense of national unity in a colonial past was difficult, then a lack of a recognizable pre-colonial past that did not celebrate ethnic/tribal differences was equally problematic. By the 1960s, systematic archaeological surveys and excavations were limited to the north of the country, and any research in the vast forest areas of the south began only in the 1980s. The lack of an archaeological policy in Cameroon still today inhibits any systematic approach to the pre-colonial past. Instead, heritage issues tend to exacerbate state/ethnic tensions over who controls the past.

In the 1960s, the creation of a highly centralized one-party state under Ahidjo denied any place for ethnic identities in the future of a modernizing Cameroon. In 1966, an ancestral statue called the Afo-a-kom was stolen from the palace treasury of Kom in the Grassfields. It turned up in a catalogue in 1973 and went on sale in a New York gallery for \$60,000 (Shanklin 1989). There was considerable pressure in the United States for the return of the statue to Cameroon. Money was donated and the gallery compensated and arrangements were made for the statue to be returned to Kom and the Kom people.

At this point, interpretations of events divide. At a reception in the Cameroonian embassy in Washington, the ambassador hinted that the statue should be seen as a symbol of national unity, exemplifying the national attempt to integrate its many ethnic groups. In Yaounde, the American delegation that had travelled to Cameroon, intent on returning the statue to Kom, discovered that the government intended keeping it to be put in a national museum someday. They objected, and finally, after a lot of bad feeling, the statue was returned to the place in Kom and the delegation was told to leave the country. By contrast today, in an era of multipartyism and local democratization, the state needs to harness local and regional ethnic identities to support a weakened political process of centralized administration. Local museums are now being encouraged and there are several instances of chiefdoms competing for funding to have a palace museum built to celebrate their regional prominence. The Fon of Bafut announced recently that, with aid from the German GTZ development agency, a palace museum will be built in the former colonial resthouse; a centrepiece of the exhibit will be a display of the battle of Mankon in 1891, when Bafut warriors routed a German expeditionary force. The skulls of four dead German officers and their weapons and ammunition, it is claimed, will be put on display (*The Cameroon Tribune* No. 600, p. 2, 27 December 1996).

The possibility exists that a plethora of local museums and palace treasuries will be created before a national museum can establish a more unified framework for creating national identity. It is not at all clear what kind of formula for exhibitions will be encouraged at the national level. Loumpet has outlined an itinerary that will not be exclusively linear in the European tradition of museums representing the past

as developmental and progressive. Instead, chronology would be subordinated to ecology and cultural technology, and the aim of the exhibitions will be to demonstrate how archaeology stands as a scholarly science that the general public knows little about or simply ignores. The emphasis will be on how to communicate the results of archaeology and its achievements as a science to a public ignorant of its nature. Whilst these are laudable aims, there is no doubt that the ideological arguments as to what constitutes a national museum in modern Africa today remain unanswered. Perhaps because Cameroon has come to this problem rather later than most others, it does not have the burden of dealing with representations of colonial pasts that speak only of struggle and the triumph of one-party rule. On the other hand, it has perhaps a greater challenge to work with others to rediscover the ideals of what constitutes a more general African identity, how people should relate to cultural and environmental diversity in a country as complex as Cameroon, and finally perhaps, how we should use a museum to resolve some of the traumas of the past as well as some of the achievements.

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### 3 *Third World development and the threat to resource conservation: the case of Africa*

C.A.FOLORUNSO

#### INTRODUCTION

This chapter evaluates the current efforts for the conservation of cultural heritage in Africa. My evaluation takes into account the infrastructural, industrial, economic and social developments that are taking place on the continent. Indeed, Thurstan Shaw (1970:3–4) noted that, in the face of industrial development in Africa, one would hope ‘that nationalist sentiment will realize the need to recover and preserve any part of the national patrimony...’ thereby threatened by [industrial development]. It is in this light that I shall examine the nature, success or otherwise of past efforts, and assess the current trend in cultural conservation. I shall conclude with suggestions for further discussion on the future of conservation of cultural resources in Africa.

The preservation of the world’s archaeological heritage is the most important and urgent issue in archaeology today. It is agreed on all fronts that archaeological sites constitute non-renewable resources that are finite and therefore need to be protected (e.g. Thorne 1991). All over the world, particularly in the Third World, archaeological resources are being destroyed at an alarming rate. We are now faced with a similar situation that confronted environmentalists concerned about natural resources destruction thirty years ago, when they raised the alarm about the rate of the pollution of water, soil and air.

The Charter for the Protection and Management of Archaeological Heritage of the International Committee on Archaeological Heritage Management (ICAHM), adopted by the General Assembly of the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS), describes archaeological heritage as ‘a fragile and non-renewable cultural resource’. The Charter recognizes that even professional archaeological investigation can cause the loss of part of the archaeological record in the process of excavation or removal of artefacts and soil, so it also stresses the need for non-destructive techniques and *in situ*



preservation. The Charter calls on all nations to make archaeological resources part of their overall land use and economic development planning processes, in order to ensure that development does not result in the unmitigated destruction of archaeological sites. It recommends adequate preservation legislation both for ensuring that sites are protected and that adequate funding is provided for archaeological investigations (Elia 1991).

The adoption of the Charter by ICOMOS was, in part, intended to check the rate of destruction of archaeological sites in the Third World, where there is still little or no regard for these resources as compared with the western world. Definite attempts had been made in some African countries towards the conservation of cultural resources, but these have had limited success or have been ineffective.

## **BACKGROUND AND CURRENT EXAMPLES FROM AFRICA**

The problem of conserving archaeological resources in Africa dates back to the colonial era when many archaeological sites were destroyed in the process of mineral exploration, road construction, and the building of schools, hospitals, administrative and residential blocks. Numerous archaeological objects were discovered accidentally in such operations. For example, the first terracotta piece assigned to the 'Nok' traditions from the Jos plateau was uncovered in tin-mining operations in 1928, whilst the Igbo Ukwu and Ife bronzes were uncovered in 1938 during house construction. As long ago as 1939, Bernard Fagg, an archaeologist and a colonial assistant district officer, started to make collections of archaeological material from the tin-mining areas.

In the Republic of Benin, the degradation of ancient iron-working sites in northeast Borgou was aggravated during the colonial and the post-colonial periods by road construction operations. Iron-smelting furnaces and ancient iron mines were literally wrecked and used as fill to smooth uneven spots in the roadways. Also, in the exploration of iron mineral deposits, villages were developed in the process and sites located close to them gave way to the construction of new houses as the villages grew in size (Sabi-Monra 1994).

The inclusion of consideration about archaeological monuments as part of the procedures in developmental projects in Africa is relatively recent, dating to the international efforts under the aegis of UNESCO in the Nile valley to save monuments in Egypt and Nubia during the construction of the Aswan dam in the 1960s. This spectacular effort was initiated by international bodies rather than from within.

The first noticeable conservation project initiated with the full cooperation of an African government was undertaken during the construction of the Akosombo dam on the Volta river in Ghana. This was during the period of an established democratic government under the leadership of Kwame Nkrumah, then the symbol of hope for the continent of Africa. It was therefore no accident that his government could understand the importance of the heritage of her

people. Shaw (1970) referred to this archaeological research project as 'the happier example', because of its planning, execution and achievement. These were attributed to the researchers involved: Peter Shinnie and Oliver Davies, who as Shaw (1970:3-4) puts it, 'effectively convinced the Ghanaian government of the day that the importance of archaeological research in the Volta Basin was such as to demand a scheme that was firmly based, properly staffed and adequately financed'.

Whilst we recognize and applaud the efforts of Shinnie and Davies, others were also promoting similar approaches in other parts of Africa. Shinnie and Davies were successful in major part because they were dealing with a government that was ready to listen, to understand their arguments, and was responsible to its people. No amount of packaged information could have convinced an unresponsive, irresponsible and corrupt government to devote resources to the conservation of cultural patrimony, which would not yield any material gratification to the officials. Shaw's 'happier example' is therefore that of responsive and responsible democratic government and not merely the ability of persons to convince a government.

Other examples of productive projects exist. For example, the rescue archaeology project of 1977-81 in the region of In Gall Tegidda N'Tesemt in Niger, carried out by two French research institutions, CNRS and ORSTOM, was a foreign initiative in planning, execution and funding. This project can be judged successful from its results of providing an exhaustive site inventory, the collection of material remains and test excavations (Bernus 1981).

The story of the Kainji rescue archaeology project in Nigeria, however, was quite different. In this case, the lack of commitment on the part of the central government presents a more common example of the failures of incorporating archaeological considerations into development planning. Just as in the case of the Volta basin project in Ghana, the Kainji project was preceded by good preliminary survey work in 1962-3 by Robert Soper, who was then in the Nigerian Federal Department of Antiquity. It is disheartening, however, that nothing was done to implement the recommendations in the initial report by Robert Soper until a few months before the area was to be flooded in September 1968. Indeed, the small amount of archaeological work done for the project in 1968 was largely financed from outside. The work by Donald D. Hartle was jointly funded by the Institute of African Studies, University of Ibadan and the National Academy of Sciences of the United States of America (Hartle 1970). The work undertaken by D.A. Breternitz of the University of Colorado was rather impromptu as well, as exemplified in his own words:

through a complicated series of circumstances and events, it was possible for the University of Colorado Archaeological Expedition to Tunisia to transfer some of its personnel and some contributing funds for archaeological research to the area to be flooded in the fall of 1968 by the Kainji Dam on the middle Niger River.

(Breternitz 1968:30)

Unfortunately, the Nigerian authorities responsible for this project and its oversight seemed unconcerned about the impacts to archaeological sites.

Thurstan Shaw (1970:3–4) rightly observed that the failure of the project to provide adequate data on the archaeology of the area was ‘not a reflection on the archaeologists who worked in the area but upon the provision made’. He added that,

the archaeological work done—and not done—in the area now flooded by the Kainji lake is a good illustration of the changes and chances to which the recovery of archaeological information is subject in the face of industrial development.

In the context of the African continent, one may be tempted to give Nigeria a pass mark for the efforts made by individuals towards the recovery of archaeological data in the face of destruction. Situations and instances in other countries are worse. In Ivory Coast, there was no preliminary archaeological survey of the areas flooded by the artificial lakes created by the Kossou dam on the River Bandama and the Buyo dam on the River Sassandra. In these cases, we do not even know the magnitude of the damage that has been caused to archaeological data. The story is the same in the construction of dams on both the Senegal river and the Upper Niger river (Sidibe 1986). In the latter, the site of Niani, the capital of ancient Mali, has been flooded.

On the Senegal river, the construction of the Diama salt intrusion barrage near the mouth of the river between Senegal and Mauritania, and the Manantali high dam more than 1,000 km upstream in Mali, are thought by many to be ill-conceived. The decision to construct these dams seems to have been made so that cheap hydroelectric power could be provided to the urban and industrial sectors, at the expense of large numbers of politically powerless people who will suffer the adverse effects on the environments where they live. The dams will accelerate desertification and intensify food insecurity. The project has already created refugees of non-Arab-speaking black Mauritians expelled from their floodplain lands, who now must live on the Senegalese side of the valley (Anon. 1994). It seems that governments that give so little consideration to the plight of their citizens and their security of the living will devote little care and few resources for the conservation of monuments of the past.

By 1987, the governments of the Benin Republic and Togo had jointly completed the Nangbeto dam in the Mono River valley without any archaeological survey carried out. However, when a second dam, the Adjarala dam, was being proposed in 1989, archaeologists from Benin Republic and Togo collectively solicited for, and obtained the support and assistance of, the Electric Company of Benin to undertake a rescue archaeology project in the area to be flooded. This attempt has been a success story of salvage archaeology in Africa (Adande and Bagodo 1991).

Apart from the construction of dams, there have been other projects involving large areas of land. In Nigeria, for example, in the past twenty years,

a number of airports, thousands of kilometers of highways, and a number of farm settlements and industrial projects, including petrochemical industries and pipelines, have been constructed without any preliminary archaeological survey being carried out before the constructions. In 1976, a new capital territory was proclaimed for Nigeria, Abuja and its surroundings. The construction of the new capital territory started before the close of the 1970s, and to date no significant archaeological work has been done in the area. It was only in 1976, when the announcement of the territory was made, that the Archaeology Department of the University of Ibadan did some limited survey work. Despite this expression of interest by the Department and the initial investigation, acres of land are still being bulldozed in the Abuja area in the name of construction, and thousands of archaeological sites are being destroyed without any records of them being made.

In the Borgou area of the Republic of Benin, several important iron-working sites, composed of furnaces, tuyères, slag and mines, have been destroyed by road constructions at various points. Slag from the archaeological sites has been used in road construction east of Sokotindji over a 1,000 m stretch (Sabi-Monra 1994).

Private activities can also work against the conservation of sites in the Borgou area. The operations of farmers, hunters and the Fulani cattle rearers provide one example. Abandoned settlement sites are covered by thick vegetation, which makes them attractive as new agricultural lands to farmers. Disruption of these archaeological sites for modern settlement obviously damages or destroys the archaeological remains and context. Cattle rearers and their herds also have effects: the cattle often destroy iron-smelting furnaces by scratching their bodies and their horns against the furnaces, and herders fill in and cover over ancient iron-mining wells in order to protect their cattle from falling in (Banni-Guene 1994).

## **A GENERAL PROBLEM FOR THE THIRD WORLD**

The story is the same all over Africa, but the Nigerian case is especially disturbing because of its magnitude. Despite the presence of a large number of Nigerian archaeologists who could undertake salvage works if provided with the means, the government has frequently decided not to undertake or support the necessary archaeological work. It is quite evident that the lack of care for heritage management is a Third World phenomenon and not solely an African one. This is explained in the main by the political, organizational and financial problems facing Third World nations. These countries frequently have little option but to give a very low priority to the conservation of their cultural resources (Keatinge 1982).

Another example, from a different continent, illustrates the problem. In Peru, a large irrigation project in the Jequetepeque valley region commenced with planning and feasibility studies undertaken over a ten-year period. Yet

virtually no consideration was given to the impact of the project on the archaeological sites in the region, despite the well-known fact that the new fields would be laid out in precisely the area where the best-preserved prehistoric field systems existed. The irrigation project study team included engineers, geologists and agronomists; but no archaeologist was officially consulted. The only nod to archaeological conservation was in the introduction section of one of the feasibility studies, which stated that if archaeological sites are encountered during construction, some efforts to salvage artefacts and data from the site would be made. No funds were budgeted for such work (Keatinge 1982).

A principal factor identified for the low status of heritage conservation in the Third World is the dependence of the Third World countries on foreign aid. They are constrained in demanding too much of their benefactors, including having cultural heritage consideration as part of these foreign aid projects. Officials of the Third World will not make an issue of the destruction of antiquities, except in the most obvious cases where major tourist sites are threatened. Yet some distinctions need to be made here. Whilst this excuse may be tenable for the very poor nations, they ought not to be acceptable for countries like Nigeria, rich in both human and material resources. Even for the very poor nations, it may be said that if the will exists to consider cultural heritage, a means will be found.

On the global level, this is a moral issue: western consortiums, governments, or other organizations executing or supporting projects in Third World countries, ought to subject their projects to the same rules that obtain in their home countries regarding the treatment of archaeological resources in the course of construction works. What should be noted is that we are dealing with resources that are of scientific interest to the world at large. Third World cultural resources should not be seen as the heritage of beggar nations, rather they should be treated as world heritage, of interest and value to all humans.

Suggestions have been made regarding the problems of funding conservation of archaeological resources in the Third World, for example the establishment of an international preservation bank to fund the conservation projects (Keatinge 1982). For this to be viable, Keatinge (1982) suggested the need for an organized international lobbying group of archaeologists who would seek to influence both multinational corporations and the major funding sources concerned with development programmes in the Third World, such as UNESCO, the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries, the US Agency for International Development, and the Organization of American States.

In the past years, there have been some encouraging developments indicating positive responses to the fate of cultural resources conservation in the Third World. Since 1986, the World Bank has required that beneficiaries of its funds should incorporate the safety of cultural resources into the execution of the proposed projects (Goodland and Webb 1987; Adande and

Bagodo 1991). The ICOMOS/ICAHM 1990 Charter mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, which encouraged conservation of cultural resources in the process of developmental projects, is another positive development. However, despite these developments, little progress has been made in Africa, particularly in Nigeria.

### **IMPROVEMENTS NEEDED IN NIGERIA**

An exact picture of the current situation in Nigeria related to the safeguarding of cultural resources in the course of land use and economic development projects is not very clear, because accurate and detailed information is not readily available. However, there are some actions, seemingly haphazard, intended to help conserve cultural resources. What is certain is that some large projects, like the laying of pipelines, probably those financed by the World Bank, require a study and document known as an Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA). For reasons not clearly explained, contracts to carry out some of these studies have been awarded to foreign consortiums, whilst others are contracted to Nigerian university consultancys.

In the case of the foreign consortiums, after taking the contract at high foreign currency cost, attempts are then made to involve Nigerian experts, who are very competent, but to pay for them cheaply. There are examples in which archaeological surveys have been required and individual expert Nigerian archaeologists have been approached to be local assistants to persons who have little or no knowledge of the area. The Nigerians have also been insulted, at times, when they make payment claims regarded as too high by the multinational corporations involved. Usually, however, the bill to pay local experts is cheaper than the cost of air travel for their foreign colleague. This method of exploiting the home experts is highly objectionable and is doomed to fail. Our foreign colleagues should avoid such situations whereby they would be seen as imperialist researchers. Even in those African countries where experienced and competent archaeologists are not available, our foreign colleagues should advise the multinational corporations on the nearest neighbouring African country to look for archaeologists.

When an EIA is done by a Nigerian university consultancy, the place of archaeological survey is not very clear or prominent, since such teams are usually composed of experts in the biological and physical sciences, whilst an archaeologist may be chosen without reference to his or her field of specialization or professional competence. In some cases, it seems that the chosen archaeologist is expected merely to endorse an already prepared report stating that an archaeological site is not endangered by the project. Such casual procedures may be very widespread, as we still await announcements of the finding of archaeological sites in the oil-producing area of Nigeria after years of such studies. However, Abi Derefaka, an archaeologist at the University of Port Harcourt, who has been doing archaeological work in the Niger delta for

some time now, has reported several sites that are being threatened by oil explorations (Derefaka 1993).

A common feature of the EIA projects is that a map indicating the proposed route of the project, for example a pipeline, is provided. The studies are then concentrated on the proposed route and the immediate surroundings. Whilst this approach may be adequate for the other components of the EIA, it can be very misleading for assessing the impact of pipelines on archaeological resources. No information is provided about the access routes for the movement of equipment to the site of the project. In some areas, while the actual pipeline may not endanger archaeological sites, trucks and heavy machines driven over long distances to reach the construction area of the pipeline can destroy important archaeological sites *en route*. Rarely are such equipment access routes surveyed and limited. Also, villages affected by the pipelines or other projects are often relocated in areas that may possess important archaeological sites, and such areas are not surveyed and important sites excavated or protected in another way, before such resettlements are made. Therefore, if the EIA is limited to the proposed pipeline route, as currently practised, we shall lose sight of the damage done far away from the pipelines. Countless archaeological resources have been destroyed by these related secondary development impacts without any records of them being made.

In a situation of widespread poverty, the owners of ethnographic and historical sites, like shrines and sacred groves, are often ready to accept relocation to make way for the development projects—in return for personal monetary compensation, of course. Such payments can be made without regard for the cultural significance of the original site, which may then well be destroyed by the development project without any mitigation of the loss.

Many of the problems confronting proper archaeological conservation projects undertaken in the process of construction work in Nigeria are rooted in the fact that there is no established set of procedures or rules for planning and execution of development projects. In practice, rules are imposed without international pressure on the multinational corporations to adopt a more open policy and follow a set of agreed-upon and clear procedures. In the development of such a standardized approach, archaeological surveys and subsequent necessary excavations or protection actions should be accorded the same status as the other component parts of the EIA, and should not be treated as an appendix to the projects or in the reports.

The need for a concerted international lobbying by archaeologists is ripe if we are not to encourage double standards in the treatment of cultural resources worldwide. The excuse of the inability of Third World countries to promote viable, government-sponsored CRM programmes is no longer tenable. Our goal should be the conservation of the world heritage, and efforts should be geared towards achieving the goal for the benefit of all humans.

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# 4 *The protection of archaeological resources in the United States: reconciling preservation with contemporary society*

FRANCIS P.McMANAMON

## INTRODUCTION

Public archaeology in the United States encompasses the activities of a wide range of agencies and organizations at the national, state and local levels. All share a central purpose: managing the nation's archaeological heritage in the best interests of the public. Federal archaeology is part of the larger national historical preservation programme, which operates by authority of various laws and is frequently referred to by the generic term, 'cultural resource management'.

Federal government departments or agencies either carry out or require of their clients professional archaeological investigations for many public undertakings. An agency's involvement depends on its function. Some, such as the Forest Service, oversee vast amounts of land. Others, like the Federal Highway Administration, help government departments or the private sector develop resources or facilities. Whether they manage land or not, agencies must ensure that the developments they facilitate, license or fund do not wantonly destroy the archaeological record (McManamon 1992).

Many agencies carry out a combination of the two functions. The resource management agencies, for example, also undertake or permit development activities. Some agencies that are primarily development-oriented, such as the Corps of Engineers, also administer lands for recreation. Large agencies, especially, perform a broad range of tasks for which archaeological investigations are needed. In a series of reports, the US National Park Service has collected, synthesized and summarized the range of federal archaeological activities and results (see Keel *et al.* 1989; McManamon *et al.* 1993; Knudson *et al.* 1995; Haas 1997).

As one might expect, agencies can take very different approaches to meeting their responsibilities. Some, such as the Bureau of Land Management, the Corps-of Engineers, the Forest Service and the National Park Service, have extensive archaeological programmes with large professional staffs. Agencies that assist other levels of government, such as the Environmental Protection Agency

and the Federal Highway Administration, may pass along their responsibilities to state government agencies or project sponsors.

Each of the land management agencies has begun to assemble an inventory of the archaeological sites it administers. The degree of completeness varies widely; before the 1980s, several agencies had programmes to advance archaeological inventories, but many of these have been diminished and some eliminated in the recent 'downsizing' and budget cuts of the federal government in the US. Most current inventory efforts come from archaeological investigations associated with development or natural resource extraction projects.

Many agencies have written overviews of the archaeology and history of the lands they manage. These overviews assist in assessing known sites, as well as predicting where sites will likely be found in the future. Most of the land-managing agencies have incorporated archaeological considerations in their guidelines for managers, and many provide training in how to manage cultural resources. Land units such as Bureau of Land Management districts and National Forests often have directives on how to deal with archaeological sites. Land-managing agencies also undertake archaeological projects themselves, which typically involve excavation, collection, analysis, reporting, curation of remains and associated records. On average, there are over 1,000 of these projects annually (see Keel *et al.* 1989; McManamon 1992; McManamon *et al.* 1993; Knudson *et al.* 1995; Haas 1997).

Increasingly, all federal archaeological projects, whether funded, permitted or actually carried out by an agency, include public education and outreach components. These can include public lectures or slide shows, popular publications, brochures, newspaper articles, even public 'open house' days or 'archaeological fairs' (e.g. see chapters by Lerner and Hoffman, Moe and Jameson in this book; also see articles in Jameson 1997). Some agencies, especially those at the local government level, offer opportunities for volunteers to participate actively in archaeological excavations or other kinds of investigations.

## **PRESERVATION LAWS AND POLICIES**

The preservation of archaeological remains became a concern of the federal government in the late 1800s. In 1879, Congress authorized the Bureau of Ethnology, later the Bureau of American Ethnology, within the Smithsonian Institution (Lee 1970; Hinsley 1981). Archaeology was among the Bureau's areas of focus. It wasn't until 1892, when President Benjamin Harrison issued an executive order preserving Casa Grande Ruins in Arizona, that the country had its first federally protected archaeological site (Lee 1970).

During the next decade and a half, concern for the preservation of American antiquities grew within and outside the government. Warnings from individuals and professional organizations, such as the American Association for the

Advancement of Science, the Anthropological Society of Washington (later renamed the American Anthropological Association) and the Archaeological Institute of America, increased public awareness of the destruction of archaeological ruins, especially in the Southwest, leading to the passage of the Antiquities Act (Lee 1970; Rothman 1989).

In 1906, the US government declared a national policy to protect American antiquities by prohibiting any excavation, removal, damage or destruction of

any historic or prehistoric ruin or monument, or any object of antiquity, situated on lands owned or controlled by the Government of the United States, without the permission of the Secretary of the Department...having jurisdiction over the lands on which said antiquities are situated

(16 U.S.C. 431–3)

The policy was articulated in the Antiquities Act of 1906, the first general application archaeological or historic preservation statute in the United States. This far-reaching statute, which prohibited looting and vandalism, made federal officials responsible for protecting archaeological sites on lands they administered. The law provided the President with the means to protect significant archaeological, historical and natural resources on federal lands by setting the land aside for special protection and conservation. Most chief executives since 1906 have used the authority to establish national monuments (McManamon 1996).

In 1935, this national policy was extended and generalized in the Historic Sites Act which declared ‘a national policy to preserve for public use historic sites, buildings, and objects of national significance for the inspiration and benefit of the people of the United States’ (16 U.S.C. 461 *et seq.*). With the Antiquities Act as a mandate and public employment as a motivating objective, federal archaeological activities increased dramatically with the massive public works programmes of the 1930s. Archaeological projects conducted under one of these programmes, the Works Progress Administration, were the government’s first large, public archaeological undertakings (Lyon 1996). In the late 1940s, the Corps of Engineers and the Bureau of Reclamation began a massive programme of dam and reservoir construction that was to have a major effect on archaeological sites. Professional and scholarly organizations banded together, raising concerns about the potential destruction of sites (Brew 1947; Johnson 1947; Roberts 1948). Together these organizations—in cooperation with the agencies constructing the dams and the National Park Service and Smithsonian Institution—created the River Basin Archaeological Salvage programme, to mitigate some of the destructive results of the proposed construction (Johnson 1947, 1951, 1966; Roberts 1952; Brew 1961; Roberts 1961; Brew 1968; Jennings 1985).

The concern for adverse impacts to all kinds of historic properties led to the National Historic Preservation Act in 1966. The basic statements of public policy articulated in the 1906 and 1935 laws, and in the River Basin

Archaeological Salvage programme, were broadened and described more specifically by sections of the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966 (NHPA). This law (16 U.S.C. 470 *et seq.*) expands the public policy of protection, preservation and use for the public benefit to include a wider range of cultural resource types, including those that have importance regionally or locally, but are not nationally significant. It extends the public policy to encompass cultural resources beyond those owned by the national government and it establishes a national concern for the protection, preservation and public use of cultural heritage sites by state, tribal and local governments in the US. The NHPA incorporates this variety of archaeological, historic and cultural resource under the encompassing term 'historic properties'.

Section 2 of the NHPA elaborates on the general, broad statement in the 1935 act by identifying six kinds of actions or activities that the national government will undertake to provide for the preservation of US historic properties:

- 1 use measures, including financial and technical assistance, to foster conditions under which our modern society and our historic and prehistoric resources can exist in productive harmony and fulfil the social, economic and other requirements of present and future generations;
- 2 provide leadership in the preservation of the prehistoric and historic resources of the United States and of the international community of nations;
- 3 administer federally owned, administered or controlled prehistoric and historic resources in a spirit of stewardship for the inspiration and benefit of present and future generations;
- 4 contribute to the preservation of non-federal prehistoric and historic resources and give maximum encouragement to organizations and individuals undertaking preservation by private means;
- 5 encourage the public and private preservation and utilization of all usable elements of the nation's historic built environment; and
- 6 assist state and local governments and the National Trust for Historic Preservation in the United States to expand and accelerate their historic preservation programmes and activities.

In addition, the statute noted that these activities will be carried out by the federal government 'in cooperation with other nations and in partnership with the states, local governments, Indian tribes, and private organizations and individuals'. One of the important and distinctive aspects of cultural heritage management in the United States is that it is a partnership with several levels of government, educational and professional organizations, and private groups or individuals taking part.

Archaeological preservation benefited directly from the 1966 statute. In 1974, Congress paid special attention to the effects of federal construction, amending the Reservoir Salvage Act to require that agencies fund archaeological activities necessitated by their projects. This action generalized the archaeological

activities that had developed in the River Basin Archaeological Salvage programme.

In 1979, in response to increased looting and problems with enforcing the Antiquities Act, Congress passed the Archaeological Resources Protection Act (ARPA). Although the statute mainly seeks to protect sites on federal lands, it also prohibits interstate and international commerce or transportation of archaeological remains obtained in violation of state or local statutes.

The Archaeological Resources Protection Act (16 U.S.C. 470aa–470mm) affirms and enhances the basic preservation and public benefit policy articulated by the Antiquities Act. It was enacted to improve the protection originally afforded archaeological resources by the Antiquities Act. As a matter of public policy, this statute notes that:

the purpose of this act is to secure for the present and future benefit of the American people, the protection of archaeological resources and sites which are on public lands and Indian lands, and to foster increased cooperation and exchange of information between governmental authorities, the professional archaeological community, and private individuals having collections of archaeological resources and data which were obtained before the date of the enactment of this Act.

ARPA improves the means for enforcing prohibitions against looting and vandalism, stiffened penalties, and prohibited trafficking in illegally removed artefacts. The statute also addresses several areas of concern not dealt with before, such as the custody and disposition of collected or excavated material and the confidentiality of sites. ARPA emphasizes the importance of cooperation among federal authorities, professional organizations, private archaeologists and individuals, which fosters opportunities to preserve the nation's heritage. Today the federal programme brings together all these initiatives and more in the interest of serving the public. Amendments to ARPA in 1988 improved its law enforcement provisions and focused efforts on public education and resource inventory programmes, making the statute a resource management tool as well as a protection one.

The amendments in 1988 recognized that protection of US archaeological resources required two kinds of focus in addition to effective control of legitimate excavation and removal of remains from archaeological sites. Federal agencies were directed to obtain accurate information about the locations of sites through archaeological inventory programmes, so that their conditions could be monitored and their locations protected. This recognizes the simple fact that it is difficult to manage effectively or efficiently resources whose locations and characteristics are not known. The second requirement called for the establishment by federal agencies of public education and outreach programmes 'to increase public awareness of the significance of the archaeological resources located on public and Indian lands and the need to protect such resources' (Section 10 (c)). This requirement recognized the fact

that public support for archaeological protection programmes and actions is needed to sustain the programmes. It also acknowledges that members of the public can serve as effective stewards of archaeological resources if they understand the importance of protecting these resources from wanton and illegal destruction (McManamon 1991).

In 1990, the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act required more attention and consideration by archaeologists and federal officials to the concerns of American Indians, Alaskan Natives and Native Hawaiians. Federal land-managing agencies were directed to consult with Indian tribes and Native Hawaiian organizations before undertaking archaeological investigations that might result in the excavation or removal of Native American human remains, funerary objects, sacred objects or objects of cultural patrimony. These kinds of remains and artefacts, if recovered from archaeological excavations, are required to be turned over to the appropriate Indian tribe after their scientific recovery and recording. This statute, which also includes similar provisions related to existing collections, signals a new relationship between Indian tribes and federal agencies, museums, archaeologists and other scientists interested in much of the archaeological record in the United States.

## **CONTEMPORARY CULTURAL RESOURCE MANAGEMENT IN THE UNITED STATES**

The term cultural resource management (CRM) developed within the discipline of archaeology in the United States during the early 1970s. Fowler (1982:1) attributes the first use of the term 'cultural resource' to specialists within the National Park Service in 1971 or 1972. Shortly after this the word 'management' was linked with cultural resources by the 1974 Cultural Resource Management Conference held in Denver (Lipe and Lindsay 1974). This conference was attended by many of the individuals working actively on the problems associated with preservation of archaeological sites in the United States.

Early proponents and developers of CRM recognized that, conceptually, it was concerned with a wide range of resource types

including not only archaeological sites but historic buildings and districts, social institutions, folkways, arts, crafts, architecture, belief systems, the integrity of social groups, the ambiance of neighbourhoods, and so on...all constitute aspects of the National Environmental Policy Act, the historic preservation laws pertain directly to only some of them, and archaeologists are typically concerned with or knowledgeable about an even smaller subset.

(McGimsey and Davis 1977:27)

Despite this early recognition of the properly broad nature of CRM, and the continuing adherence to this wide definition by some (e.g. Knudson

1986:401), the term frequently has been, and still is, used as a synonym for archaeology done in conjunction with public agencies' actions or projects. Imprecise use and absence of rigorously adhered to definitions are common among a range of terms related to CRM, such as 'historic preservation', 'archaeological resource management' and 'heritage management'. This situation ought not to be too worrisome: the existence of all of these terms is relatively new, and in time their definitions and relationships will become more precise. However, to avoid misunderstanding, contemporary workers in these various fields must define the terms explicitly as they use them in their own work.

In the early 1970s in the United States, CRM developed from two related archaeological concerns. First, there was a continuing concern about the destruction of archaeological sites due to modern development such as road construction, large-scale agriculture and housing. Much of this development was sponsored, endorsed or funded by the federal government (Davis 1972). This concern was an extension of earlier concerns about large-scale federal construction projects, most notably the River Basin Archaeological Salvage programme of the Corps of Engineers and the Bureau of Reclamation, which developed in the late 1940s and early 1950s. The earlier concern had led to a reaction by archaeologists that was termed 'salvage archaeology', by some who viewed it as second-rate work, or, more positively, 'rescue archaeology' or 'emergency archaeology', by those who argued that it was necessary and generally successful at saving some of the archaeological data from sites that would otherwise be destroyed without any recording (e.g. Brew 1961; Jennings 1985). Emergency archaeology focused on saving archaeological data and remains through rapid excavation of sites prior to their destruction by modern construction projects.

The second concern that led to CRM was dissatisfaction with the emergency archaeology approach itself. Emergency archaeology resulted in the excavation of sites and the preservation of some data and remains; it was an essential response to the huge modifications to the earth's surface and the destruction of archaeological sites that resulted from it. Emergency, or salvage, archaeology did indeed collect and save archaeological data and collections that would otherwise have been lost (Jennings 1985). Yet, as critics justifiably pointed out, the excavations were often not followed by thorough description, analysis and synthesis of the investigation results. We also know now that the collections and records from many salvage projects were poorly cared for after the investigation ended, and, along with the lack of attention to curation associated with more recent work, these failings contributed to the contemporary problems of archaeological curation and collections management (e.g. see Childs 1996). Perhaps most problematic about the emergency archaeology approach was the fundamental failure to modify development projects so that sites could be conserved and protected rather than destroyed, even though the destruction was preceded by scientific excavation.

**CRM: a new approach to preserving archaeological resources**

One result of the heightened concern about environmental issues during the late 1960s and the 1970s was the enactment of laws to protect important aspects of the cultural and natural environment. Prominent among these laws were the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966 (NHPA) and the National Environment Policy Act of 1969 (NEPA). Both of these statutes had important effects on the development of CRM in the United States. Both laws required that federal agencies take cultural resources, defined broadly and including archaeological sites, into effect as agencies planned, reviewed or undertook projects or activities. These laws, plus Executive Order 11593, signed in 1971, also required federal agencies to identify, evaluate and protect cultural resources on land for which they had jurisdiction or control. These new requirements and government activity had two immediate effects on the development of CRM: (1) the employment of professional archaeologists in public agencies and private firms to do the archaeological work required by the new laws and regulations, and (2) the attention devoted to archaeological resources as part of the planning of public agency operations and projects.

**A national network of public agency archaeologists**

During the 1970s, federal agencies began to employ professional archaeologists in numbers never before seen and to place them in offices throughout their organizations. This was especially so among land-managing agencies, such as the Bureau of Land Management and the Forest Service. Prior to this period, the relatively few professional archaeologists employed in federal service were located in the National Park Service and the Smithsonian. Agencies such as the Federal Highway Administration and the Environmental Protection Agency, which did not manage land, but provided funding or licensing for development projects, such as highways, waste water treatment facilities and energy plants, tended not to employ many archaeologists on their staffs. More frequently, these agencies met their CRM responsibilities by requiring them of the state agencies or private firms that carried out the development projects. This pattern eventually led to the hiring of professional archaeologists by state agencies and private firms that found themselves required by federal agencies to carry out necessary cultural resource studies. By the end of the 1970s, federal and state agencies had developed a network that included hundreds of professional archaeologists filling positions in headquarters, regional and local offices, undertaking a variety of activities to implement CRM laws, policy regulations and guidelines. At the state government level, State Historic Preservation Offices, established by the NHPA, and its implementing regulations required that each state office had a professionally qualified archaeologist on its staff. This in particular helped in the establishment of a national network of professionally qualified archaeologists in the public sector.



In addition to the growth of professional archaeologists in the public sector, a similar growth of professional employment occurred in private firms. Such firms ranged in size from large national or international consulting firms that needed to comply with NHPA and NEPA requirements for many of the public projects they bid for, to small, newly organized firms set up to undertake specific CRM investigations needed by public agencies.

These rapid, substantial changes within the archaeological community in the proportions of professional employment, duties and responsibilities resulted in discussions, debates and disagreements regarding the benefits of CRM and the quality of archaeological work done as part of it. Not all of the issues raised in the professional turmoil over CRM have been resolved. However, in general, the debates and disagreements have moderated from vitriolic to collegial. Much of the contemporary archaeological field work done in the United States is tied to CRM. Many, perhaps most, professional archaeologists support a conservation approach to treatment of the archaeological record that has as one major goal the management of resources for long-term preservation. There is general agreement that it is important to maintain, and perhaps strengthen, the archaeological network among public agencies, and the statutes, policies, regulations and guidelines that protect archaeological resources.

### **Considering archaeological resources during the planning stages of programmes and projects**

Both the NHPA and NEPA require that federal agencies take account of cultural resources in planning their own programmes or projects that they are undertaking with state or local agencies or with private firms. The term 'cultural resources' is not used in either statute. NHPA uses the term 'historic property' to cover a wide range of cultural resource types, explicitly referring to archaeological resources; NEPA uses the term 'human environment', which has been interpreted to include archaeological resources, but does not explicitly use this term. Both laws are important because they establish a national policy of considering the effect of public actions on the natural and historic environment during the planning stages of public projects. This consideration requires the identification, evaluation and determination of impacts to archaeological resources prior to decision making about proceeding on projects that will result in harm occurring to significant resources. The approach to planning required by NHPA and NEPA has moved archaeologists into the planning process. Although emergency situations still occur requiring archaeological investigations to take place during the construction phase of projects, immediately in front of the bulldozers, they are much less common than during the days of 'salvage archaeology'.

### **Essential aspects of the CRM approach**

There are three general aspects to CRM when considering archaeological resources:

- 1 identification and evaluation of resources,
- 2 treatment of the resource, and
- 3 the long-term management of the resource.

### *Identification and evaluation*

Identification and evaluation of cultural resources is an essential aspect of CRM and one that is particularly challenging for some kinds of archaeological resources. Discovery of archaeological resources that are unobtrusive and in areas where visibility is poor is usually difficult. For example, many archaeological resources do not contain architectural remains that help to signal their existence and location. Frequently, archaeological sites are buried below the surface or, if they are on the surface, are hidden by thick vegetation. Relatively costly, labour-intensive investigations are frequently necessary for the discovery of archaeological resources, much more so than for other kinds of cultural resources, for example historic structures.

The evaluation of archaeological sites involves the determination of the importance or significance of each site or of a group of sites. Most often such significance is based upon what can be learned about the past from the resource being evaluated. However, archaeological resources may also be important because they are associated with important individuals, events or historical patterns, or because they illustrate important aspects of architecture or design. In most cases, the information needed for archaeological evaluations to be made also requires labour-intensive investigations, in these cases at the site level.

In United States CRM law and regulations, archaeological resources must be determined to be significant enough to be listed on, or eligible for listing on, the National Register of Historic Places in order to be considered for preservation in the context of federal undertakings or programs. On federal lands, archaeological resources are also protected from deliberate damage by the provisions of the Archaeological Resources Protection Act (ARPA). This requires that the removal or excavation of archaeological resources be undertaken only as part of a scientifically based investigation, unless these resources have been determined to be no longer 'of archaeological interest'. Land managers may make a determination that resources have lost their significance under procedures established in the regulations implementing ARPA only after careful consideration of the facts of a case.

### *Treatment*

After archaeological resources have been identified and evaluated as being important enough for some kind of further treatment, the exact kind of treatment must be decided upon. There are two possible treatments: excavation and data recovery prior to site destruction or *in situ* preservation of the site. Frequently, of course, sites are not destroyed totally by construction projects, and a portion of the area of a site might be saved *in situ* whilst another

is excavated prior to destruction. At present, archaeological resources that are discovered within the impact area of a public construction project and are evaluated as significant are most frequently excavated and their data recovered as an agreed upon means of mitigating the impact of the federal undertaking. There are moves afoot to use site avoidance and preservation more frequently in such situations, but the general pattern remains to condone data recovery as an acceptable means of impact mitigation. For archaeological resources on federal land that are not threatened with destruction by modern construction or agency operations, *in situ* preservation is the more common general treatment.

When *in situ* preservation is the selected treatment, the agency responsible for management of the resource must also decide if further intervention to stabilize or protect the resource is necessary and whether the agency wants to interpret the site actively. If any of these more detailed kinds of treatments are chosen or necessary, agency personnel must take further steps to implement them. For example, a site might be threatened by erosion by fluctuating lake levels and need shore line stabilization to protect its deposits. In other situations, an agency office might decide that a site's location near to a visitor centre or public reception area provides an opportunity for public interpretation of the site. In either case, the agency will need to take additional steps to accomplish the treatment decisions that it makes regarding the *in situ* preservation of the resource.

#### *Long-term management*

The long-term management of archaeological resources is a requirement placed upon every federal agency by the Antiquities Act, ARPA and Section 110 of the NHPA. For land-managing agencies, management focuses on three main duties:

- 1 carrying out programmes to identify and evaluate archaeological resources on the lands they are responsible for;
- 2 executing the treatments decided upon for *in situ* archaeological sites on agency lands; and
- 3 caring for the archaeological collections, reports and records related to the sites that were once on agency lands.

For public agencies that do not manage land, the first two aspects of long-term management may not apply or may apply only in a few instances. However, the third aspect of long-term responsibilities will apply for these agencies to the extent that their projects and programmes have resulted in the excavation of archaeological sites. All the public agencies that have undertaken archaeological investigations, or caused them to be undertaken, must see to it that the information resulting from these studies is properly distributed (Canouts 1992). This means ensuring that appropriate information is widely available and sensitive information is strictly controlled.

### **Goals and prospects of contemporary CRM**

The focus here has been on how contemporary CRM developed and the nature of contemporary CRM as it relates to archaeological resources. However, as stated above, CRM can be used to refer to ways of managing a range of cultural resource types in addition to archaeological resources. Historic structures, cultural landscapes, museum collections and other kinds of cultural resources present similar challenges to those presented by archaeological resources in the areas of identification and evaluation, treatment and long-term management.

There are additional kinds of cultural resource that require special considerations. One of these kinds of resource has come to be referred to as 'traditional cultural properties' (TCPs). These are places that have special, strong traditional importance for a particular ethnic, social or cultural group. The significance of this kind of cultural resource is not linked to its archaeological, historical or architectural value, as is the case with other kinds of cultural resources. Some experts have also proposed that traditional behaviours, such as special building skills, crafts, folk arts, etc., should be considered as cultural resources.

### **CONCLUSION**

The United States cultural resource preservation programme recognizes the importance of combining preservation concerns with the requirements of modern development. Policies and procedures result in the management and preservation by public agencies of some highly significant heritage sites, buildings, and places as parks or monuments; however, it also provides incentives for the preservation of many cultural resources through compatible modern uses. Policies and procedures require all federal agencies to take cultural preservation concerns into account in the programmes and projects for which they are responsible. The system involves cooperation among federal, state, local and tribal governments and between the public and private sectors. Organizations from each of these levels and sectors have important roles in the United States cultural preservation programme. Finally, the need for accurate information about the locations, characteristics and conditions of cultural heritage sites continues to be recognized as essential information for effective and efficient management. Increasingly, the importance of public education and outreach is recognized as essential to enhance, even to ensure, the support of cultural heritage management programmes and the protection of specific resources.

The remains of the past belong to all Americans. The archaeological record is one of the means of recovering things no longer remembered or never written down. The past is not dead; it is in constant use by those of us in the present. We use it to tell stories, to validate actions, to bring to memory past events and

people important to us. One of the best ways in which we come to understand the past is through the scientific investigation of archaeological sites, collections and data. But, in order to seek the counsel of the past through our nation's archaeological sites, we must ensure that they are protected and managed effectively.

Although we cannot predict all the problems of coming generations, one thing is certain: in the future, we shall have fewer archaeological sites. The remains of the past deteriorate naturally, are pushed aside by modern development, and are wrenched from the ground by those who would use them for private gain. Those of us who are concerned about the preservation of archaeological resources must be committed to their long-term protection and management. In the future, changes to our understanding of the past and improvements in how we investigate it will enable us to extract additional information from the archaeological record. It is likely that we will be able to learn more, not less, about the past, but only if the sites, collections and data are preserved for study.

The magnitude of this endeavour is apparent when one considers that only a few of the 280 million or so hectares under the federal government's jurisdiction have been inventoried for archaeological sites. Thousands of federal undertakings throughout the nation affect archaeological sites, and the challenge is further increased by the hundreds of thousands of reports and millions of artefacts and bits of data that must be cared for and curated to ensure that these valuable pieces of the past are not wantonly destroyed.

Effective management integrates the multiple interests in the archaeological record. Sites must be protected even as valuable information about them is made available to the public. Archaeologists and managers must reach out and work with the descendants of those whose cultural history they investigate, protect and manage. Management decisions that affect archaeological resources should be made with awareness that these remains are unique and non-renewable. Decisions that might deny them to future generations must be taken very seriously.

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# 5 *Conflict between preservation and development in Japan: the challenges for rescue archaeologists*

KATSUYUKI OKAMURA

## OVERVIEW OF THE ISSUES

As we leave the last decade of this century, Japanese archaeologists find themselves in a serious crisis and struggle to find a solution. Over the last twenty years or more, the number of excavations has increased rapidly in Japan; this has occurred in tandem with urbanization and industrialization. During 1996, there were approximately 30,000 proposals for development and construction that would have affected archaeological sites in Japan. These proposals resulted in more than 12,000 archaeological excavations carried out after site assessment. Ninety-five per cent of these excavations were so called 'rescue excavations' undertaken just prior to construction and development. The cost for all the excavation during this year was over 125 billion yen (approximately 550 million British pounds using the December 1997 exchange rates). Rescue excavations, required by governmental administrative systems, are the major focus of archaeological heritage management (AHM) in Japan. As of 1996, there were more than 6,000 archaeologists, often referred to as 'rescue archaeologists', working at these activities in Japan, representing approximately 90 per cent of all Japanese archaeologists, including those working for universities, research centres and museums.

Rescue archaeologists have not only been carrying out technical archaeological work at their sites. They are also in the forefront of public interactions regarding archaeology at all levels. They have negotiated with developers, protected sites, and presented educational programmes about archaeology and interpretations of the past to the general public. Whether or not the archaeological heritage in Japan survives for future generations depends largely on the contributions of these rescue archaeologists to the enhancement of public awareness about the value of archaeological resources, the benefits of an archaeological approach to understanding the past and the necessity to protect archaeological sites.



## THE HISTORY OF ARCHAEOLOGICAL PRESERVATION AND PUBLIC AWARENESS IN JAPAN

At present, Japan, a small, insular country inhabited by 120 million people, has over 300,000 archaeological sites recorded and registered. Wherever people live in Japan, human activity has some effect on the land. In some cases, this activity results in the destruction of sites. The rate of destruction of sites after the Second World War correlates directly to the growth of the Japanese economy and subsequent development actions. The rate of the acceleration of site destruction has been especially rapid since the 1970s.

*Bunzenkyo News*, the publication of the All Japan Association for the Preservation of Cultural Properties (Bunkazai Zenkoku Hozon Kyogi Kai or 'Bunzenkyo'), a non-governmental organization, reports numerous 'endangered' archaeological sites in many areas of Japan. This publication also regularly reports on the various activities of scholars and the public to protect sites. Indeed, Japanese archaeologists have been making every possible effort to protect the cultural heritage and to utilize it for general public education and outreach, as well as in conjunction with formal school educational programmes. They have had some success in these efforts.

The archaeological site protection movement in post-war Japan has developed in tandem with general social and political changes in Japanese society (Inada 1986; Fawcett 1990; Shiina 1992; Tanaka 1993; Shiina 1994). The rise of political conservatism in the early 1950s made the Japanese people, and especially Japanese historians, aware of the possible revival of Japanese militarism and nationalism such as that prevalent during the Second World War era. This awareness resulted in the development of historians' consciousness of what they should do for society (Yoshida 1984). Many committed historians and archaeologists joined the movement toward the objective that history must be studied for the sake of people living in the present (Tsude 1995; Fawcett 1996).

A good early example of this movement was the 1953 series of excavations of the Tsukinowa tumulus in Okayama Prefecture. Under the direction of Okayama archaeologists, a total of 10,000 local villagers, students and teachers participated in these excavations. By attending frequent study meetings and observing the nearby burial mounds, the local people came to appreciate what the archaeological heritage, dating to the fifth century AD, meant to them living in the 1950s. Since then, the Tsukinowa tumulus and its vicinity has become a major centre for the democratic movement. This tradition still survives in the study of history and archaeology. The Tsukinowa project and its impact on the study of Japanese history can inform contemporary archaeologists and historians on the topics of 'theory and practice', 'public archaeology' and 'archaeology and politics', all of which are major themes of modern archaeology.

In the late 1950s and the early 1960s, national developments, such as construction of industrial areas, motorways and railways, caused the destruction

of many sites in and around Tokyo and Osaka. In 1962, the movement to protect the Heijo Palace site in Nara, which was threatened by railway construction, was supported by many citizens, scholars, historians and archaeologists. The effort to save the Heijo Palace evolved into a nationwide movement. The successful preservation of the Heijo site had a great impact on later preservation movements and resulted in the preservation of other important sites, such as the Naniwa Palace site in Osaka and the Kasori shell midden site in Chiba Prefecture.

In the late 1960s and early 1970s, public enthusiasm for the democratization of politics, against pollution, and in favour of the conservation of nature and natural resources, was very strong. Archaeologists took advantage of this public spirit by actively and successfully appealing for public support to preserve the archaeological heritage. When large-scale developments were planned in the suburbs of urban centres where natural forests still remained, people acted to protect archaeological sites within the proposed development areas along with the conservation of nature and natural resources. In these public efforts to protect the natural environment as a whole, including archaeological sites in their natural contexts, it was often the local people, more than historians and archaeologists, who played the major role. This public involvement characterizes the movement at this period. In 1970, the All Japan Association for the Preservation of Cultural Properties was set up as a national centre for the exchange of information to enhance communication amongst the many Japanese archaeological site protection groups.

Support for this general social movement was enhanced by important archaeological discoveries at the time. The discovery of the wall paintings in the Takamatsuzuka tomb, Nara Prefecture, in 1972, brought about a nationwide public concern with archaeology. This concern increased with the discovery of an iron sword from the Sakitama Inariyama tomb, Saitama Prefecture, in 1978. The inscription on this sword refers to the fifth-century emperor Yuryaku, his career and early state formation in Japan. Both discoveries initiated an archaeological boom in Japan. Since that time, the mass media has been broadcasting a variety of topics on archaeology, and, as a result, archaeology has become more visible to the general public.

Since the mid-1970s, economic and commercial development has increased rapidly in Japan. In 1972, the Plan of Reconstruction of the Japan Islands was declared by Prime Minister Kakuei Tanaka. This government policy initiated unprecedented development throughout Japan. In order to cope with the rapidly increasing demand for excavation, many local governments hired archaeologists, and a variety of independent archaeological units were founded. It can be said that the outline of modern AHM in Japan was formed at this time. This administrative system continues to the present day.

In the late 1980s, another factor accelerated the destruction of sites, especially in rural areas of Japan. The national government emphasized a policy of utilizing rural areas with natural settings as resorts for public recreation and sports. This occurred after the passage of the Integrated Development of Resort Area Act

in 1987. This act promotes the development of mountains and other natural spots into recreational areas for sports and as health resorts. The intent of the law and programme it spawned is to revive the local economies of rural areas. This act and resultant developments in rural areas threaten numerous archaeological sites in isolated areas in the mountains and along coasts that had previously been protected (Shiina 1992).

Whilst movements to protect archaeological sites continue at many locations in Japan, the strength of these movements is declining. As the Japanese economy grows, business-oriented economic conservatism is gaining more support; political and social enthusiasm for AHM has ebbed. Among some Japanese, loss of the archaeological heritage is justified as an acceptable price to pay for economic progress. This holds particularly true in urban centres like Osaka City. When an important site was discovered in the city, near the Naniwa Palace site, in 1989, and the Conference for the Protection of the Naniwa Palace (Naniwa no Miya Hozon Taisaku Kyogi kai), a non-governmental organization, began to propose possible measures for its protection, the movement could not gain support from the public. The major reasons for the lack of public support were:

- 1 highest priority was placed on economic principles;
- 2 people living in cities have access to a variety of information, and issues of archaeological site protection are minor; and,
- 3 those who are commuting to the city do not have strong attachments to the history of Osaka.

This case from Osaka City can be generalized to other urban centres in Japan.

What further exacerbates the situation is the changing attitude of professional archaeologists towards the protection of sites following the recent increase in conservatism (Habu 1989:40; Fawcett and Habu 1990:227). Young archaeologists trained in college after the late 1970s do not have as strong an interest in politics as those educated during the 1950s and 1960s (Fawcett 1990). Accordingly, they do not focus attention on issues concerning the integration of archaeology and modern society, including the protection of sites.

In addition to this change in attitude among archaeologists themselves, the kind of work archaeologists do does not encourage preservation of sites. Staff archaeologists in public agencies and authorities are expected to excavate and record sites and features, collect artefacts, perform analyses and write reports. After their excavation, the destruction of sites is permitted. This practice is called 'recorded preservation' (Tsuboi 1992:5). Recorded preservation has become routine work for staff archaeologists, and some of them consider it the primary objective of archaeology. The widespread practice of recorded preservation signals the potential danger that archaeologists may be losing sight of the equally important objective of preserving the cultural heritage in the face of substantial modern development and intense land use. The extraordinary amount of archaeological data to be recorded contributes to this focus on excavation rather

than *in situ* preservation. Archaeologists may, in fact, have simply become 'diggers' (Tanaka 1984:88).

This professional situation is detrimental to public agency archaeologists involved in AHM, as well as for professional archaeologists at universities and museums. If archaeologists lack interest in politics, they may stop considering the larger socio-political context of their work. This could lead to the loss of the important link between modern society and archaeology. Such an occurrence would strengthen the simplistic but common view of the past as a never-changing ideal, and reduce intellectual vitality among scholars.

### **RESCUE ARCHAEOLOGISTS IN OSAKA**

Osaka City is the economic centre of the western half of Japan. With a 1996 population of three million people, it is, after Tokyo, the second largest urban centre in Japan. Whilst Osaka is characterized by its many skyscrapers, the city is also a historic town. The earliest evidence of human occupation in the city dates back some 30,000 years to the Upper Palaeolithic period. Around the fifth century AD, Osaka began to develop as an urban centre. It was at this time that numerous keyhole-shaped imperial mausolea, some larger in area than the Egyptian pyramids, were built at various locations in the area now covered by modern Osaka. In the late seventh century, an imperial palace was located in Osaka, which subsequently grew into a political and economic centre. The foundations for the contemporary commercial city of Osaka were established in the sixteenth century, when Toyotomi Hideyoshi (1536–98) unified Japan and selected Osaka as the site of his castle, thus attracting a large population to the area.

The number of AHM projects, the number of archaeologists doing AHM work, and the amount of money spent on AHM in Osaka Prefecture, including Osaka City, are the highest for all forty-seven prefectures of Japan. Although Osaka has the smallest area of any Japanese prefecture (1,886 sq. km), approximately 8,000 sites have been recorded and registered. In 1992 alone, approximately 1,000 excavations were conducted in Osaka Prefecture. These excavations exposed a total area of approximately 520,000 sq. m. A total of 11.6 billion yen (approximately 75 million British pounds using the December 1997 exchange rate) was spent on these excavations. This figure represents approximately 12 per cent of total expenditure for excavations for all of Japan during 1992. Ninety-nine per cent of the excavations in Osaka Prefecture were 'rescue excavations', that is excavations done prior to construction and development. This was also the case in all the other prefectures. Excavation funding, therefore, was provided primarily by either private or government developers, although a small portion of the funding came from either national or local (prefectural or municipal) government grants. Research excavations conducted by a university or museum are rare in Osaka Prefecture, as are the

few excavations each year that are carried out prior to the restoration rather than the destruction of a site.

In Osaka Prefecture, a site is rarely destroyed without excavation or without construction work at the site being monitored by archaeologists. At the same time, the preservation of a site after excavation is also rare. Archaeologists and local authorities do make proposals and recommendations that the foundation of a structure be raised or the entire structure be moved to prevent destruction of archaeological features when development is imminent. Nevertheless, it is difficult to get developers to support such structural modifications, and extraordinarily high land prices prohibit the purchase of sites by the government. This is also true of AHM in other Japanese urban centres.

Of the 337 archaeologists working in AHM in Osaka Prefecture as of May, 1996 (6,126 for Japan as a whole), 117 work for prefectural-level organizations and 220 work for the forty municipal governments at the level of city, town and village. The number of staff archaeologists employed by each municipal government varies from one to thirty-four. Archaeologists working for municipal governments are responsible for all aspects of cultural heritage management. In those municipal governments where the number of staff archaeologists is very small, the archaeologists on the staff are also responsible for curating the artefacts and records from excavations in the local museums and for the general education and outreach for citizens in their community.

At both the prefectural and the municipal levels, there also exist AHM units that are independent of the local government. These units are centres for archaeological operations, or 'research foundations', funded by prefectural or municipal governments, but additionally supported financially by private and public developers. The units were established in the 1970s to cope with the rapidly increasing demand for rescue excavations. Since these units are not under the direct control of the local governments, they can be flexible (Tanaka 1984:87; Kobayashi 1986:494; Fawcett 1990; Okamura 1990; Tsuboi 1992:10).

Work conditions for individual archaeologists employed within the AHM system in Osaka Prefecture vary depending on the length of time the investigations they direct last, the number of excavations they are placed in charge of each year, and the condition of the area around the site. Generally speaking, in small cities, towns and villages where there are few staff archaeologists, an individual archaeologist may have to excavate throughout the year. They may even be responsible for two or three excavations at once. These archaeologists are also responsible for administrative paperwork, and, because they usually belong to the social education or culture section in the local Board of Education, they are inevitably in charge of all educational activities within their jurisdictions. Besides directing excavations and teaching the public about archaeology, staff archaeologists also write and compile site reports. For the 1988 fiscal year alone, 158 preliminary and final

reports were published by archaeologists working in AHM within Osaka Prefecture (Centre for Archaeological Operations 1992). This figure represents the largest number of reports published for a single region in Japan; a total of 2,106 reports were published in Japan that year (CAO 1992). The quality of the site reports vary from those that simply outline and report the facts to those presenting detailed hypotheses or interpretations based on a synthesis of large amounts of archaeological data. Most site reports are more like the former kind of report, only covering the artefacts, features, and the contexts of the immediate investigation being addressed in the report. This reporting style is frequently caused by the disproportionately small amount of time that can be spent on analysis and interpretation of data after excavation. The situation is further exacerbated by a serious backlog of 'unpublished' sites. Consequently, dedicated archaeologists conduct excavations during the day and write site reports at night. All in all, archaeologists in Osaka Prefecture are extremely busy and they have difficulty synthesizing the huge amount of archaeological data that they excavate each year.

To cope with this reality, and partially as a result of it, interactions amongst staff archaeologists in Osaka Prefecture are very active. Twice a year, the Osaka Centre for Cultural Heritage holds conferences for AHM archaeologists in and around Osaka. These conferences consist primarily of slide presentations on the latest results of excavations conducted in Osaka Prefecture. They are intended to facilitate exchanges of archaeological information among staff archaeologists working in various regions of the prefecture. In addition to these large meetings, staff archaeologists organize small study groups on specific archaeological topics. These study groups hold frequent meetings throughout the year. The membership of such study groups transcends the jurisdiction of individual local governments.

### **PROTECTING THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL HERITAGE THROUGH EDUCATION: RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN JAPAN**

As mentioned earlier, a great number of sites are being destroyed throughout Japan each year. If this process continues at the present pace, eventually most sites that are not specially designated as 'historic sites' will be destroyed. Once the sites are destroyed, all their archaeologically significant information is lost. The questions Japanese archaeologists are asking themselves, therefore, is how to protect as many archaeological sites *in situ* as possible.

There are two possible approaches to the protection of sites. One is to lobby the government for improvements of the current Law for the Protection of Cultural Properties. The other approach is to educate people about the importance of Japanese cultural heritage with the expectation that, knowing the significance of the archaeological record, citizens will be prepared to

encourage developers to pay for site preservation. The protection of sites through changes in the law would necessitate the development of a site preservation system that would require developers to get permission to develop land within a designated area around a site. The system currently in place under the law requires developers only to report their development activities. Changes in the law would also result in a larger number of formal historic site designations and an increase by local governments in the adoption of codes to protect the cultural heritage. To enact these measures, public consciousness of the importance of the Japanese cultural heritage must be raised.

Several methods can be used to educate the public about the importance of the Japanese cultural heritage. One important method is the use of mass media. In 1992, for example, each of the four major newspapers that circulated in central Osaka Prefecture, including Osaka City, published an average of 263 articles on archaeological subjects. These figures include articles published in the local news, that is articles that were published in the Osaka papers but that were not published in the newspaper of other cities or prefectures. Of these articles, thirty-six dealt with archaeological excavations and discoveries within Osaka Prefecture. Together, these four newspapers circulate amongst 2.6 million or 90 per cent of all residences in the area. In addition, television news programmes often cover archaeological excavations and discoveries. Fawcett (1990) reported that 'during the month of March 1985, there were a total of twenty-one items dealing with archaeology presented on the Kinki area NHK morning news' (Fawcett 1990:263). She also pointed out the great popularity of programmes on archaeological themes in Japan.

Indeed, the mass media greatly contributes to the public information and understanding about archaeology. At the same time, certain problems are apparent. The mass media has a tendency to publish only 'sensational' discoveries. Consequently, the mass media are responsible for creating and perpetuating the image of archaeologists as 'treasure hunters' and providing a limited view of what archaeology covers and its goals.

Professional archaeologists also make direct efforts to educate the public by publicizing the results of their excavations and research. A good example of this publicity is the 'site explanation meeting' (*genchi setsumei kai*, or simply *gensetsu*) during which the results of the excavation are presented to the public at the actual site. Such presentations, which are held at weekends, are announced in newspapers and on television prior to the selected date. Handouts describing preliminary excavation results are distributed to the people who come to the *gensetsu*. In 1992, such *gensetsu* were held at no less than thirty-three sites in Osaka Prefecture. One example is the *gensetsu* held at the Minegazuka tumulus in Habikino City. Colour handouts printed on art paper were distributed to the approximately 10,000 people who visited the site. This *gensetsu* was particularly well attended because the site had been well publicized due to elaborate gold, silver and bronze funerary offerings found there.

In addition to *gensetsu*, public lectures and symposia on archaeological subjects are also held frequently in Osaka Prefecture. These events give the public a chance to hear professional archaeologists present their research results or to interpret recent archaeological discoveries using easy-to-understand language. Through these meetings, interested people living in Osaka Prefecture can see reports on recent archaeological discoveries and listen to professional archaeologists almost every week.

Museums and other research institutions also offer the public hands-on courses in archaeology. Such courses offer amateurs the opportunity to experience an excavation first hand: make pottery, build ancient houses, or eat food cooked by prehistoric methods. In addition, schools that develop ties with local museums sometimes invite museum curators in archaeology to the classroom to teach children about their cultural heritage. All in all, both social education and an awareness of local history contribute to archaeological education in Japan.

Although, as shown above, the Japanese public is concerned about the Japanese past, there is not always a public commitment to protect the archaeological sites that are the physical remains of that past. One reason for this is that most people do not appreciate how rapidly archaeological resources are vanishing. Rescue archaeologists often find it difficult to talk explicitly about the destruction of sites because all or most of the cost of excavation is covered by developers. How can archaeologists persuade developers and the public to preserve sites when the developers pay for excavation and the Japanese public sees development rather than site preservation as a priority? Under the developer-financed system of AHM in Japan, archaeologists often feel that they must encourage preservation, but they do not feel free to do so publicly. This is why archaeologists agonize over the conflict between development and preservation.

## **A FUTURE VIEW: EDUCATION IN ARCHAEOLOGY AS A LONG-TERM MOVEMENT**

To further AHM in Japan, staff archaeologists, who comprise the majority of the professional archaeologists in Japan, must make every effort to develop public knowledge of archaeology in a way that leads to a public consciousness valuing the protection of archaeological heritage and its use in learning history. The aforementioned *gensetsu* and symposia offer excellent opportunities for such learning, and such opportunities should be incorporated into school education in the early grades. One means of achieving this goal might be to have staff archaeologists give presentations of excavation results at schools. They could also hold classes periodically on the archaeological heritage of the local area, as well as on current issues in archaeology at local schools. Teaching archaeology at an early stage of education would provide students, who tend to grasp current phenomena in



a short time span, with the opportunity to consider long-range social issues, just as archaeologists must do. Although the current education system in Japan does not customarily permit staff archaeologists to hold classes for these purposes, future cooperation between school teachers and staff archaeologists could be developed to allow for such efforts locally.

There have been some examples of the incorporation of archaeology into the school system. The *Journal of History and Geography Education (Rekishi chiri Kyoiku)* reports on classes of schoolchildren that have worked on or visited excavations in the vicinity of their school or learned about local archaeology in class (e.g. Chiba 1979). Nishikawa (1986) suggested that other examples exist, but have not been published or publicized widely. It is important that we, in Japan, establish a national storehouse for the exchange of information about programme and curriculum development and that we create an archaeological resource centre for education in archaeology.

Under the current system of education based on preparing students for difficult entrance exams throughout their school career, it will probably be difficult for teachers to spare enough time to teach archaeology in an already packed curriculum. Therefore, archaeologists should take the lead in developing programmes to teach school students about their archaeological heritage and the ethics of site preservation. It is also important that we establish good cooperation between groups advocating the preservation of sites and those advocating the protection of the environment. Unless these groups cooperate, create networks, and work together with archaeologists and educators, we will not be able to save our archaeological inheritance.

There are no immediate solutions to the crises in Japan's AHM. Instead, the future of AHM in Japan depends on a multifaceted and long-term contribution of public archaeologists to contemporary society. Despite their already busy schedules, public archaeologists in Japan must find a means for developing some of these additional programmes.

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## 6 *Archaeological heritage management in Northern Ireland: challenges and solutions*

ANN HAMLIN

### INTRODUCTION

If you travel west from Ireland, the next stop is America. Ireland is at the very edge of the ‘old world’ and was on the northwestern fringes of the ancient world. Its archaeology goes back to the end of the last European glaciation, to about 7000 BC, and the island has seen many waves of newcomers and invaders: the first neolithic farmers, Celtic-speaking aristocrats in later prehistoric times, Christian missionaries, hostile Vikings, Anglo-Norman adventurers and English and Scottish ‘planters’. These are the complex elements that contribute to the cultural heritage of Irish people today and which have left a legacy of archaeological sites, place-names, myths, traditions and stories. We do well to recall this complexity when considering concepts like ‘native’ and ‘alien’ material culture.

Northern Ireland is small, made up of six historic counties that formed part of the ancient province of Ulster. It has a population of about one and a half million people, 80 per cent of the land is used for agriculture, and about one million visitors come to Northern Ireland each year. No part of the country is more than two hours’ drive from the capital, Belfast, which is the only big city. Northern Ireland has the misfortune to be best known worldwide for the ‘troubles’, the intercommunal strife that has been going on since 1969. I hope that in this chapter I can draw a rather different picture, one of a rich archaeological heritage and an effective system for caring for that heritage, within a divided society (DOENI 1987; Hamlin

### LEGAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE FRAMEWORK

Since 1972, Northern Ireland has been governed by what is known as Direct Rule, directly from London with no elected Northern Ireland administration. There are six Northern Ireland departments, and the care of historic

monuments and buildings comes within the Department of the Environment for Northern Ireland (DOENI). It is grouped with countryside and wildlife and environmental protection in the Environment and Heritage Service, a unique combination in UK terms. This Service is an agency within the Department and its aims are 'to protect and conserve the natural and built environment and to promote its appreciation for the benefit of present and future generations' (EHS 1996:7). I shall concentrate here on the archaeological heritage and historic monuments.

One of our fundamental challenges in the Environment and Heritage Service is to protect and care for Northern Ireland's archaeological heritage, and to pass what we have inherited on to future generations in as good a state of health as possible. This is done within a statutory framework that goes back to an act in 1869 that placed certain ruined churches in state care, and the first Ancient Monuments Protection Act in 1882, which covered Ireland and Britain (Hamlin 1993). Our present legislation is the Historic Monuments and Archaeological Objects (Northern Ireland) Order 1995. Under its powers, the Department can take monuments into care and schedule privately owned sites for protection. Also vitally important is the cooperation we enjoy with other services and departments towards the protection of monuments. In 1993, the Department of the Environment's Planning Service published a Rural Planning Strategy which includes best practice guidance for the protection of monuments and their settings, Areas of Significant Archaeological Interest, and historic gardens and demesnes. As part of the debate on sustainable development, there has been much discussion recently of 'sustainable tourism': how to avoid damaging the resources on which tourism is based. In 1993, the Northern Ireland Tourist Board issued a document on sustainable tourism that, among other things, emphasized the need for sensitive handling of monuments in tourism developments (NITB 1993). Another recent initiative is the inclusion of historic monuments as grant-eligible items in 'environmentally sensitive areas'. These are designated and administered by the Department of Agriculture, drawing on substantial European Union resources, and at present 20 per cent of Northern Ireland's agricultural land is covered by ESA designation.

Statutory protection is underpinned and supplemented by many other contacts. Three part-time 'field monument wardens' cover the six counties and visit all owners of scheduled monuments. These contacts are very valuable in opening up a dialogue with owners towards the best management of the monuments. Much damage is done not deliberately but through ignorance, such as cultivation too close to an earthwork or causing erosion by overgrazing stock. We maintain regular contact with the Department of Agriculture, including staff involved with forestry, watercourse management and rural development, and offer training in monument management and advice in particular cases.

A particular challenge is how best to define and protect historic landscapes. The Department has several large areas in care, ranging from 4 to 6 ha, and a

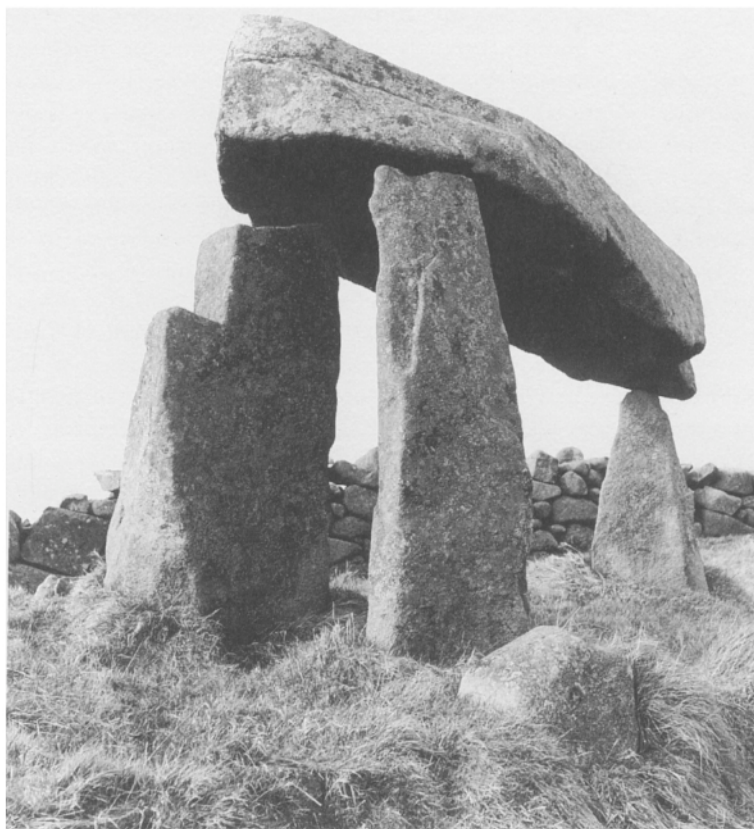
few big areas are protected by scheduling, but these traditional measures can only be part of a wider strategy. When natural and man-made features occur together, landscapes can be protected by other forms of designation, as within Areas of Outstanding Natural Beauty (AONBs) and Areas of Special Scientific Interest (ASSIs), and I have already mentioned Environmentally Sensitive Areas (ESAs) and Areas of Significant Archaeological Interest. All these designations, with their various acronyms, obviously help, but we in common with others are still looking for other solutions.

## PRESENTING HERITAGE TO A DIVIDED COMMUNITY

A very special challenge in Northern Ireland is to present the heritage to a divided community, one in which all sides have strong inherited historical (or unhistorical) traditions, myths and legends. There seems to be a very wide acceptance that our earliest monuments belong to everybody. One particular neolithic burial monument, for example, appears on book covers, in a pictorial carpet at Belfast International Airport, and in a large mural painting representing Northern Ireland in the Ulster Museum (Figure 6.1). In the same way, everyone can identify with a bronze age stone circle complex and imagine how its builders may have used the alignments to track the seasons or the phases of the moon.

Navan Fort in County Armagh is an impressive earthwork enclosure, the traditional seat of the kings of Ulster in late prehistoric times. When a Public Inquiry was held in 1985 into an application to extend a limestone quarry beside the fort, all sections of the community in Northern Ireland (and beyond) wrote in support of the protection of the monument. Everyone could identify with the ‘protohistoric’ Ulster capital, focus of the heroic tales of the Ulster Cycle. One of the tales tells how Medbh, queen of Connacht, tried to capture the brown bull of Cooley from Conchobor, king of Ulster, and of the great fight between their armies. All Ireland loves the legends and the valiant Ulster champion Cú Chulainn. Nationalists see him as a great Irish hero; Protestant loyalists see him as the beleaguered Ulsterman protecting them against ‘the rest’. Gable-wall paintings of the dying Cú Chulainn can be seen in both nationalist and loyalist areas of Belfast (Rolston 1995, pls 32, 53). The presentation of Navan Fort and the Navan landscape is being undertaken by a charitable company, Navan at Armagh, and it is a challenge for that company to retain cross-community support for the project as it develops.<sup>1</sup>

The island monastery of Nendrum in County Down was abandoned before the Reformation, so it can be accepted by both Catholics and Protestants, just as both identify closely with St Patrick. All visitors seem to feel the special quality of the place and appreciate its beauty and remoteness. The property is interpreted and managed by the Environment and Heritage Service, and in our presentation we explain what the monastery looked like in earlier times and how the monks lived. If we turn to nearby Grey Abbey, we are in the very



**Figure 6.1** Legananny Dolmen, County Down. This famous tripod dolmen has a large capstone gracefully balanced on three supporting stones.

*Source:* Crown copyright.

different world of the orderly Cistercians who left their mark all over Europe in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Grey Abbey was founded in 1193 by the wife of John de Courcy, Anglo-Norman invader of Ulster in 1177, and this property is also interpreted and managed by our Service. To some visitors this will be an ‘alien’ monument, colonized from northern England, and indeed some Irish Cistercian monasteries remained hostile to the native Irish throughout the Middle Ages. Our approach here has been to stimulate curiosity and feed this curiosity. Faced by the profound ignorance about monastic life of many visitors, for example, we have produced a simple but lively display about how the abbey worked and how the monks lived. We have also created a ‘medieval’ herb garden at the abbey and have held events in the grounds with an emphasis on families and children, so that local people will develop a feeling of cultural ‘ownership’ of their abbey.

Carrickfergus Castle in County Antrim is another symbol of invasion. Its construction was begun by John de Courcy soon after his arrival in 1177, and it was in military use for nearly 800 years, coming into state care in 1928. Although the castle is in strongly Protestant east Ulster, it is visited by school parties from all over Northern Ireland, and it represents Northern Ireland on the £3.00 postage stamp. Our interpretation of this property is designed to help visitors to understand and enjoy the complex development of the castle, how it was defended in times of war and used in times of peace. Visitors are invited to dress up in medieval clothes or chain mail, play medieval games, study heraldry or practise calligraphy, and the castle is used for banquets, fairs, musical performances and many other events. Carrickfergus Castle may be a symbol of conquest, but it is also a place that welcomes everyone and offers a wide range of interesting things to see and do. The work at Carrickfergus Castle has acted as a catalyst for other projects in the town. Carrickfergus was badly affected by the closing of several big factories, and studies in the early 1980s recognized that the castle was the key to regeneration. Following the Department's investment in the castle (of over £1 million), there have been public art projects, improvements in the conservation area and development of a heritage centre and the harbour area.

Just as colonists from Britain were establishing settlements in the Americas, and beginning to displace Native Americans in the early seventeenth century, many parts of Ulster were 'planted' with English and Scottish settlers, following bitter warfare in the later sixteenth century. Many of the native Irish were displaced, expelled from their family lands and resettled in poorer areas. This 'Plantation' created resentment that is not forgotten, nearly 400 years later, and it is a challenge for us to conserve and present the defended settlements of the planters. There is a particular problem in that Irish settlements of the period do not survive and are proving to be archaeologically very elusive. One County Fermanagh example of a planter's stronghold is at Tully, where the castle had a short and violent life. The Irish captured the castle in 1641; on Christmas Day the women and children sheltering in it were killed, and the building was burned. It was never lived in again. In our presentation we tell that story, because there is nothing to be gained from glossing over the truth, but we have tried to create something positive. A garden with plants known to have grown in seventeenth-century Ireland has been established within the pattern of the original paved paths, and a nearby ruined farmhouse has been restored to form a small visitor centre (Figure 6.2). In July 1994, we invited a large gathering of neighbours and other local people to celebrate the completion of the work, and we welcomed twenty members of the family which had lived in the farmhouse until the early 1950s. It was a thoroughly happy event, and though the events of 1641 were not forgotten, the keynote was the creation of something that everyone could share and enjoy.

My last example also dates from the Plantation period in the early seventeenth century. Bellaghy Bawn is in an area of mid-Ulster that has suffered



**Figure 6.2** Tully Castle, County Fermanagh. Early seventeenth-century 'Plantation' castle with garden.

*Source:* Crown copyright.

from a great deal of sectarian strife. The Bawn occupies a key position at the head of the main street of the village, and as excavation and conservation have progressed, the villagers and local schools have taken a great interest in the work. Our challenge here has been to find a suitable use for the monument that will also ensure its future safety, and the solution was clearly to work with the local community. The poet (and Nobel Laureate) Seamus Heaney comes from this area of County Londonderry and has generously worked with the village community and the Environment and Heritage Service to produce a multifaceted display. Two themes that Seamus Heaney has pursued in poetry and prose are 'a sense of place' and 'the sense of the past', and these are developed in the Bellaghy Bawn displays (Heaney 1993). The poet has lent the Bawn some manuscripts, books and artwork, and his television and radio broadcasts have been brought together. We also aim to collect and display the work of other Ulster poets at this monument. This project, launched in July 1996, is one around which all sections of a divided community have been able to unite, and the Bawn has already been used as a 'neutral' meeting-place where people can gather and feel at ease.

Another big challenge for us is to maximize the use of our monuments and other resources to serve education, including the Northern Ireland



common curriculum, only recently introduced and generating a strong demand for curriculum-related materials. In addition to main subjects like English, maths and science, the curriculum includes cross-curricular elements, including Cultural Heritage and Education for Mutual Understanding (EMU). I have already referred to the complexity of Ireland's cultural inheritance, and it is in these cross-curricular areas that we believe historic monuments can make a particular contribution. Through soundly based and balanced interpretation, we can help to combat 'bad history' and break down historical stereotypes, and try to encourage appreciation of the richness and complexity of the cultural inheritance and a feeling of shared ownership of the man-made heritage. During 1996, we produced two curriculum-related packs for schools, working in conjunction with teachers, one on the Anglo-Normans and the other on the Plantation, the first in what we hope will become a series.

### **ENGAGING SUPPORT FOR THE WORK OF PROTECTION**

We are confronted by problems of vandalism and also, occasionally, by terrorist activity. Vandalism is difficult to address, but we try to engage the support of the local community. One way has been to cooperate with local arts groups and encourage them to mount performances and exhibitions at monuments. Terrorist bombing since 1969 has affected the man-made heritage in many ways. Most obvious is the loss of historic buildings or major damage through the impact of bombs. Our recording work can sometimes contribute to the restoration or rebuilding of bomb-damaged structures, as in the case of the Assembly Rooms in Newry, County Down, rebuilt with help from our records. Whilst it is not something we would seek, bombing can also make available sites in historic towns for archaeological excavation before redevelopment, as in Armagh (Hamlin and Lynn 1988:8–10, 57–61) and Coleraine, for example. Our state care monuments have largely escaped bomb damage, but one tower-house in County Down has suffered from a nearby bomb on two occasions.

Monuments in Northern Ireland also suffer damage from illegal metal detecting or treasure hunting. Under our 1995 legislation, a licence is required for any archaeological excavation and it is an offence to be in possession of a detecting device on a protected monument, so the scope for metal detecting within the law in Northern Ireland is very limited. The law also requires the reporting of all finds of archaeological material. We maintain an active publicity campaign against illegal treasure hunting whilst seeking to establish cooperation with detectorists who are willing to work within the law. In recent years we have grant-aided a licensed investigation which the Ulster Museum has carried out with detectorists on material dredged from rivers (Ramsey *et al.* 1991–2; Bourke 1993a, 1993b).

I have already mentioned several cases of working with local communities. We believe firmly that to meet the challenge of caring for the heritage, we have to work hard to engage the support of the public and to share with them our vision of stewardship. In 1992, we opened the Northern Ireland Monuments and Buildings Record, offering to the public for the first time a facility where people can find out about monuments, buildings, industrial structures, landscapes and gardens. The record will soon also include information about shipwrecks and other underwater features, and in compiling this record we are working with the Northern Ireland sports diving community. We also do all we can through lectures, publications, media activity, exhibitions and educational contacts to attract support and encourage an interest in the built heritage and its protection.

## **RESOURCES AND STANDARDS**

This important public relations work is done with no specialist in-house staff, and another challenge that I am sure we share with many others is to maintain our wide range of work—protection, conservation, recording, excavation, presentation and publicity—with limited and, at present, decreasing resources. The income from major state care sites is increasing, but the Northern Ireland population base is small and the number of visitors is limited, so even the main monuments will never be net earners. It is likely that in the future ‘developer funding’ will make a growing contribution to the costs of rescue work, but this source has been slow to develop in the difficult economic conditions of Northern Ireland.

It is a real challenge to maintain high standards in a changing world and a difficult economic climate. With political pressures to make increasing use of the services of the private sector, it is important to distinguish between more routine work, which can safely be contracted out, and specialist work and quality control, which may be difficult to find in the private sector. Our presentation work is already largely done by contractors, but all schemes are underpinned by in-house knowledge and academic expertise. In the creation of our two ‘historic’ gardens, for example, we commissioned the services of two specialist horticulturists who researched the gardens and sourced the plants. In a world where commercial ‘heritage centres’ are multiplying rapidly and are often criticized, our challenge is to maintain a high standard in our fairly modest interpretations and displays without being dull.

## **CONCLUSION**

There is, despite the problems, widespread interest in historic monuments in Northern Ireland, especially in rural areas, and broad support for the work of protection. The past thirty years have seen a massive growth in the number of local historical societies, and these include the built heritage among their

interests.<sup>2</sup> Monuments often figure in folk tradition, where damage to an ancient site always brings bad luck. This is part of a story from County Armagh, collected between 1927 and 1930 and put into standard English from dialect. It is called ‘The Fairy Fort at Cladymore’:

And indeed it’s the prettiest and smallest fort you ever saw. And well it might be, for it was never touched by mortal but once, and that was by old Pat Rafferty that’s gone. And it was only a spade-ing he dug until he took a pain in his leg that never mended, and he was lame for the rest of his days.

(Paterson 1945:104)

Monuments appear in the work of many of the Ulster poets, including John Hewitt, Seamus Heaney and John Montague. Children study monuments as an essential part of the Northern Ireland common curriculum. Travellers arriving at Belfast International Airport are welcomed to Northern Ireland with pictures of monuments, and leaflets produced by local authorities for tourists feature monuments as attractions of their areas.

Historic monuments are not just features of the Northern Ireland landscape; they are part of the ‘landscape of the mind’ of the people, with all their complex messages of continuity and change, conflict and harmony, division and sharing. They belong to everyone, contributing to a sense of identity and rootedness. As Seamus Heaney has written recently:

Sensitivity to the past contributes to our lives in a necessary and salutary way. It is not just a temperamental or intellectual accident, like a talent for chess or a passion for whiskey, but a fundamental human gift that is potentially as life-enhancing and civilising as our gift for love. Indeed it can be said without exaggeration that the sense of the past constitutes what the poet William Wordsworth would have called ‘a primary law of our nature’.

(Heaney 1993:37)

It is against this background that my colleagues and I in the Environment and Heritage Service, in that far-distant island on the northwest edge of Europe, care for the built heritage of Northern Ireland, using our statutory powers, working with other bodies, community groups and individuals, and fostering wide public acceptance and support, to pass that heritage on in the best possible state for the generations who come after us.<sup>3</sup>

## NOTES

- 1 Navan at Armagh is based at the Navan Centre, 81 Killylea Road, Armagh BT60 4LD. For all aspects of Navan see *Emania: bulletin of the Navan Research Group*, from vol. 1 (1986) onwards, from the Department of Archaeology, Queen’s University, Belfast BT7 1NN.

- 2 The Federation for Ulster Local Studies is the body that links the many historical societies. It is based at 4 Fitzwilliam Street, Belfast BT9 6AW.
- 3 Some elements of this chapter have appeared in vol. 22 of *The Museum Archaeologist* (1997) under the title 'Presenting historic monuments in a divided society: Northern Ireland', see especially pp. 3–5. Since this article was written there has been political progress in Northern Ireland, including the election of an Assembly. This may lead to changes in the organization of heritage care in the future.

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## 7 *Now we know: the role of research in archaeological conservation practices in England*

A.J.SCHOFIELD

This chapter supplements various articles recently published about English Heritage's Monuments Protection Programme (MPP), established in 1986 as an attempt to understand England's archaeological resource and to afford it adequate and appropriate protection. I focus specifically on one aspect of the programme: the need to understand those parts of the archaeological resource that were previously poorly understood and/or documented. I concentrate on the presentation of case studies to illustrate the various strands of research undertaken or commissioned by English Heritage, mostly but not exclusively by the MPP, with the underlying objective of providing a credible basis for future management. Statutory protection in the form of 'scheduling' forms only a part of that strategy.

### **BACKGROUND: MANAGEMENT FRAMEWORKS**

In England, archaeological records are maintained principally on two levels: at a national level by the Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England (RCHME), on what is termed the National Monument Record (NMR); and on a local level by administrative regions—counties, unitary authorities or occasionally districts—on Sites and Monuments Records (SMRs) (for further details of this structure, cf. Fraser 1993). From this stock of recorded archaeological sites and monuments, a selection are afforded some form of protection, the level and strength of which will depend on a site's relative importance and, crucially, the management prescription considered most appropriate for it.

Some archaeological sites or monuments are protected by 'scheduling' under the terms of the 1979 Ancient Monuments and Archaeological Areas Act (AMAA), which came into operation in 1981. For sites to become Scheduled Ancient Monuments, they have to meet two criteria: they must be 'nationally important' (discussed further below) and must qualify as 'monuments' in the terms defined in the act. In other words, they must be 'buildings, structures or

works or the remains thereof. There are some further restrictions on the use of scheduling, for instance inhabited buildings and buildings in ecclesiastical use cannot generally be scheduled. Such buildings, where they are of historical and/or architectural merit, can however be protected by 'listing' under the Planning (Listed Buildings and Conservation Areas) Act 1990. All listed buildings are placed in one of three grades, dependent upon their relative importance. The grade also determines the degree to which control is exercised over works to these buildings. Although these are the two main laws, other Acts of Parliament also have a bearing on the protection of archaeological remains (cf. Breeze 1993 for a review).

In addition to statutes, formal guidance is provided, for example in the form of Planning Policy Guidance Notes issued by the relevant government department. Those involved in local planning issues are expected to abide by the guidance issued. Of relevance in this regard is *Planning Policy Guidance Note 16: archaeology and planning (PPG16)*, one phrase from which demonstrates its significance: 'Where nationally important remains, whether scheduled or not, and their settings, are affected by proposed development, there should be a presumption in favour of their preservation' (DoE 1990).

Additionally, a small number of 'registers' exist that identify key sites worthy of special consideration and draw their strength from *Planning Policy Guidance Note 15: planning and the historic environment (PPG15)* (DoE/DNH 1994). Registers have been produced, for example for parks and gardens and battlefields. Although they have quite different origins, however, both have been instrumental in assessing priorities where conflicts of interest have arisen between planners and conservationists.

The MPP engages all the above, although its origins were more specific, responding to an urgent need to speed up the rate at which statutory protection was being extended to nationally important sites. This followed a rapid assessment of the country's archaeological record: England's Archaeological Resource (EAR) conducted in the early 1980s with the intention of assessing the extent to which the Schedule of Ancient Monuments was representative of the national stock (IAM 1984). It made several observations, noting the fact that only a small proportion of the known archaeological sites in England were scheduled, and that the overall distribution of scheduled monuments by county, by period, and by monument type was not representative of the whole. Such deficiencies have become clearer in the years since the 1979 Act came into effect, and naturally they have had significance in terms of how resources for preservation were allocated. Stringent controls are imposed on works to Scheduled Ancient Monuments, and these deficiencies in the representativeness of the Schedule meant that the time-consuming and extensive powers would not be focused where they were needed most; time and resources would instead be wasted on inappropriate sites. A similar point was made in the introduction to DoE Circular 8/87, now replaced by *PPG15* (DoE/DNH 1994), which consolidated advice on the management of listed buildings. It stressed that good, consistent advice on the importance of structures was needed within the Lists.

In short, 'it is clear that...powers of control...will only work well if the Lists of buildings and the Schedule of Ancient Monuments command wide respect—they have to be credible both academically and more widely' (Stocker 1995:105).

EAR also made several recommendations, one of which was that a scheduling enhancement programme (SEP) should be established to address the imbalance, and thus enhance 'credibility' of the Schedule. Specifically, EAR suggested that the number of archaeological sites on the Schedule should be increased and made more representative in the terms described above. SEP was duly established in 1986, with a subsequent name-change to MPP reflecting the programme's brief. The initial conception of the SEP, literally to enhance the schedule, proved too limited. The principal legal procedure for the protection of archaeological sites was and continues to be by scheduling. However, a programme concerned with protecting the archaeological resource immediately faces two questions: can all archaeological remains be defined as 'monuments' under the terms of the act; and, are the measures introduced by scheduling appropriate under all circumstances? The answer to both these questions is 'no', as discussed below (see also Darvill *et al.* 1987; Startin 1993a, 1995; English Heritage 1996).

The three main stages of the MPP are:

- 1 To identify the resource: what is there?
- 2 To evaluate the resource: how relatively important are the sites?
- 3 To consider what protection should be given to them.

This structure (data base > assessment > strategy) is the framework that now underpins much conservation policy in England. Within the MPP, assessment was straightforward for classes of monuments that had been well researched over the years (i.e. for those where we already knew 'what was there'). For these, a good data base existed and hence deciding about the relative importance of specific sites was possible with limited additional work. The strategy for many such sites was also straightforward. Management options for rural sites, e.g. prehistoric burial mounds in cultivated fields, are limited. Scheduling will generally be appropriate, provided their 'national importance' can be demonstrated.

For other classes of monument, however, the process was less easily implemented. In some cases, this was because the data base and our understanding of the resource were non-existent. In other cases, the data base was present, but widely dispersed, and data gathering was a necessary first stage. There were also cases where additional research was needed to make sense of the data, even though they were plentiful and had been studied in the past. Before describing examples of how our approach has been adapted to different classes of archaeological site, it is worth examining the wider political and philosophical context within which this work has developed. What is it, in other words, that makes understanding the resource so critical to decision making

regarding the relative importance and appropriate means of protection, and how can relative importance be demonstrated?

In 1994, the British government committed itself to the concept of sustainable development (DoE 1994). This means not sacrificing what future generations will value for the sake of short-term and often illusory gains. However, Britain's historic environment is ubiquitous. In practice, all aspects of it cannot be preserved unchanged. Preservation policy has to be applied selectively, therefore, and, by definition, that process of selection involves judgements about relative importance. Under Section 1 (3) of the 1979 Act, a site has to be demonstrated to be of national importance to qualify for scheduling. To inform this judgement, a set of criteria was established and published in 1983 (DoE 1983). The first list presents the criteria related to the 'class characterization', and the second is a list of those criteria relevant to the 'monument discrimination' stage of the judgement process.

#### *Class characterization criteria*

- 1 Period (currency) : the length of time over which a class of monuments was built and used.
- 2 Rarity.
- 3 Diversity (form): the variety or types within the class.
- 4 Period (representativeness): the extent to which a class of monument characterizes a period.

#### *Discrimination criteria*

- 1 Survival.
- 2 Potential: e.g. waterlogging can provide for the survival of rare organic remains.
- 3 Diversity (features) : the variety of component features present.
- 4 Amenity value: the extent to which a monument can be readily appreciated by the public because of accessibility and as a good example of its class.
- 5 Documentation (archaeological).
- 6 Documentation (historical): only applicable to some classes of monuments.
- 7 Group value (association): association with monuments of other classes.
- 8 Group value (clustering) : association with other monuments of the same class.

The system by which these criteria are applied is referred to briefly below. For a fuller account and definition of each, see (Startin 1993a:189–95).

In the terms presented above, the class characterization criteria establish relative importance between monument classes. For example, Roman amphitheatres are very rare in England (twelve examples), while bronze age bowl barrows are common, with over 10,000 examples recorded. However,



bowl barrows are representative of their period, were constructed over a longer time span and show a greater diversity of form. Arguably, we can learn more about bronze age society from the study of a bowl barrow than we can about Roman society from the study of an amphitheatre.

The monument discrimination stage involves a record-based evaluation of all examples of each monument class that appear on a county SMR. Once all the counties have completed this work, results can be compared and judgements made about the relative importance of individual sites arranged by class. These judgements also take account of the monument class characterization results. For some classes, such as long barrows, of which some 500 are recorded in England, all examples with surviving remains will be recognized as nationally important. For the more common bowl barrows, for example, only a selection will be considered nationally important. The relative weighting of the various discrimination criteria combined with 'professional judgement', e.g. in the form of insights into their distribution and relative survival, will be critical in establishing which examples are selected for long-term preservation.

It should be obvious from this brief account of the evaluation and judgement process, that some types of archaeological site, those that are clearly of national importance, will be strong candidates for long-term preservation through scheduling. These are sites that meet the legal definition of 'monuments', i.e. they are 'buildings, structures or works, or the remains thereof' and are sites for which scheduling is appropriate. Scheduling will be appropriate and justified if current use and anticipated future use of the sites seems likely to be as monuments, i.e. there is no scope or desire for adaptive reuse. However, in addition to nationally important remains being scheduled, we have already seen that *PPG16* (DoE 1990) makes a presumption in favour of preservation, 'where national important remains, whether scheduled or not ...are affected by proposed development'. It follows, therefore, that a sufficient understanding is required not only for those monument classes that might qualify for scheduling or for which scheduling is appropriate, but also for those that don't. Therefore, selection is a necessity in informing statutory designation and implementation of planning advice locally, and, for those involved in archaeological resource management in England, a frequent dilemma. In the daily work of English Heritage staff and at the county and district levels, whether dealing with archaeological sites, scheduled or not, listed buildings, parks and gardens, battlefields, etc., the relative merits of *in situ* preservation, recording and research have to be considered. In short, the needs for economic growth, on the one hand, and the protection and understanding of the historic environment, on the other, have to be reconciled (English Heritage 1997). For a discussion of the relative merits of preservation *in situ* and research, see Startin (1993b).

Against this backdrop, let us now consider some parts of the archaeological resource that, in England, are poorly understood, and which could not be addressed through the simple application of discrimination criteria, backed by 'professional judgement' and consensus, referred to above.

## EXPLORING OUR UNKNOWN PAST

### Surface lithic scatter sites

In England, much of the evidence for settlement between the Mesolithic and Bronze Age periods survives in the form of scatters of chipped stone artefacts, brought to the surface of cultivated fields by ploughing and recovered by 'field walking'. Unlike many other parts of northern Europe, for example those with Linearbandkeramic settlements, very few settlement sites containing structural remains of mesolithic, and especially neolithic, date have been located in England. One explanation for this is that before the Bronze Age, perhaps even the Late Bronze Age, communities in England were highly mobile and, as a consequence, few traces were left once settlement sites were abandoned. The distribution of surface lithic material supports this interpretation, particularly when considered in terms of the very low archaeological visibility of nomadic material culture suggested by various ethnographic and archaeological studies.

Although detailed surface collection surveys have been undertaken in numerous areas, producing valuable results about ancient land use and settlement of stone-using communities, there is still little understanding within the profession about what lithic scatters represent in human behavioural terms. Furthermore, not even the extent of the resource is understood within most regions, and no comparison has been made between them. Records are, at best, patchy. Some SMRs have virtually no records of such material, even though large collections exist in museums. Others have never sought to examine the records in a systematic way, as they may have done for the obvious monument classes. Most counties do have some data on the SMR, but are uncertain of how to use it properly. Yet, for England, with a few notable exceptions, these surface lithic remains are the only direct evidence for neolithic settlement and also provide the bulk of the evidence for mesolithic and bronze age settlement. It follows that we must attempt to understand these remains of our prehistory, so that appropriate management decisions can be made about mitigation and for setting future research priorities. We need to have a clear idea of the geographic and physical characteristics of these resources, a reasonable interpretation based upon what we currently know and ideas of what we want to know, before we can move forward any further, in either an academic or pragmatic sense.

It was against this background that English Heritage established the 'evaluation of surface lithic scatter sites and associated stray finds' project (Schofield and Humble 1995). The aims of the project are:

- 1 to enable curatorial decision making;
- 2 to provide a data base of research potential;
- 3 to expedite the definition of future research priorities; and,
- 4 to facilitate the appraisal of methodologies of data collection and interpretation.

Four counties were selected for initial treatment. These counties have had variable amounts of past archaeological investigation, and display variable topography and geology. This pilot study is now complete, and the results are of great interest (for detail, see Schofield in press; Lisk *et al.* forthcoming). At a national level, we plan to examine the variation among the surface lithic scatters reported in each county in a number of ways. For example, differences in the relative frequencies of sites dated to the Mesolithic, Neolithic or Bronze Ages will prove to be of interest, as will the extent to which the integrity of scatters varies in relation to topography, modern land use and time period. The general density of lithic scatters in relation to the frequency of other contemporary field monuments will be of interest. Insights such as these should be central to determining funding of research projects by English Heritage, allowing us to further our understanding of topics not currently well known, to assess cases where mitigation is necessary, and to assist any future rewriting of earlier prehistoric settlement and land use histories.

### **Industrial monuments**

The evaluation of industrial monuments could not be treated in the same way as the discrete and well-documented monuments classes of earlier periods. The reason is simple: although data exist, they are not centralized or consistent. Neither the SMR nor NMR contain much information on industrial archaeology sites. Rather, the data are held largely by the many specialist and local groups and individuals. Therefore, although the data existed, assimilation was a necessary prerequisite to evaluation. The procedure adopted for industrial monuments is described fully elsewhere (Stocker 1995). What follows is an outline.

The first stage was to produce a list of English industries. The list produced by Raistrick (1972) was adopted as it had wide, though not universal, support within the profession. This list (Table 7.1) adheres to the premise that industrial archaeology should be studied by material and process rather than by period. Following this initial structuring exercise, each industry was treated to a sequential approach:

- Step 1: Production of a report for each industry containing: a vocabulary; an interpretation of the various components; where the components 'fit' in the industrial process; how they vary regionally; an indication of what makes sites or their individual components important; sources of information.
- Step 2: The experts and sources identified in the Step 1 reports are consulted and information collected, and recorded, consistently.
- Step 3: The information collected is sifted, considered against the statements about relative importance made at Step 1, and a draft list of sites for which statutory protection should be considered is prepared. This short list of sites is then visited and reports produced. In addition to the report, maps are also produced giving a representation of the site and showing the boundaries of components. This report is therefore a complete list of the

**Table 7.1** List of industries forming the basis for the MPP's review of England's industrial heritage, and statement of progress at summer 1998

<i>List of industries</i>	<i>Step 1</i>	<i>Step 2</i>	<i>Step 3</i>	<i>Step 4</i>	<i>Steps 5 and 6</i>
Lead	Done	Done	Done	Done	Underway
Coal	Done	Done	Done	Done	Underway
Alum	Done	Done	Done	Done	Underway
Brass	Done	Done	Done	Done	Underway
Gunpowder	Done	Done	Done	Done	Underway
Tin	Done	Done	Done	Underway	
Arsenic	Done	Done	Done	Underway	
Glass	Done	Done	Done		
Copper	Done	Done	Done		
Zinc	Done	Done	Done		
Minor metals and vein materials	Done	Done	Done		
Iron and steel	Done	Done	Done		
Bloomeries	Underway				
Stone extraction	Done	Done	Done		
Lime, cement	Done	Done	Done		
Electric power	Done	Done	Done		
Hydroelectric power	Underway		Done		
Ice houses	Done		Done		
Dove farming	Done		Done		
Water and sewage	Done	Done	Underway		
Salt	Done				
Underground extractive features	Done				
Oil	Done				
Gas*	Done				
Bridges	Underway				
Engineering					
Metal working					
Clay products	Underway				
Construction					
Inorganic chemicals					
Organic chemicals					
Timber*					
Peat production					
Rural kilns					
Corn drying and milling*					
Brewing and distilling*					
Food manufacturing					
Other organic/agric. products*					
Textiles*					
Human/animal power					
Water power					
Wind power					
Combustion engines					
Roadways					
Railways*					
Inland waterways					
Sea/coast*					
Air transport*					
Communications*					
Leisure industry*					

\*=industries for which English Heritage's Listing Team have completed thematic studies.

Source: Raistrick 1972, Monuments Protection Programme, English Heritage.

'best' sites for each industry, along with evaluation information that will allow a decision to be made concerning which structures and sites are of particular importance. It should be stressed that, in the present state of industrial archaeology, the Step 1 and Step 3 reports are perhaps the only systematic data base that exists.

Step 4: Following Step 3, reports go out to public consultation, and at Step 4, following receipt of comments and feedback, decisions are made by English Heritage about designation: for example, which components should be listed, and which scheduled? Where will conservation area status be appropriate, and where should remains be dealt with under planning controls (e.g. *PPG16*)?

Steps 5 and 6: These represent the final steps in the process and involve the preparation of proposals for designation.

As with other projects described here, understanding of the resource is the prerequisite to protection, and protection has to be viewed in terms of long-term management, i.e. what we want for the site, and what is sustainable in an economic context. Our understanding of industrial monuments now, coupled with that of their associated landscapes, has been greatly advanced as a result of this national survey.

### Urban areas

It has been argued that as much as half the urban population of medieval England lived in small towns, yet excepting the few cases where research by historians, urban geographers and, occasionally, archaeologists has been undertaken, little is known about them. The medieval components of modern cities and major towns are better understood, largely because of the extensive 'rescue' excavations conducted in the last twenty to thirty years.

The remains of medieval towns cannot be discriminated in the same way as individual field monuments for a variety of reasons, and they present additional challenges as well. First, once again the information held on SMRs or on the NMR is often poor. These data are generally patchy and incomplete. Second, urban forms, such as town plans, are palimpsests of developments over time, as opposed to discrete, single-phase 'field' monuments. When we discriminate, therefore, we can use only part of a townscape to make a judgement about the whole. Finally, towns are subject far more to development pressure than rural monuments. Hence, the dilemma referred to earlier in terms of sustainable development is especially pressing and relevant.

How do we decide what is important? If planners are faced with a development proposal in an area of any English town, how can a balance be struck objectively? How do planners know whether a watching brief should be conducted; whether a mitigation strategy is appropriate; whether the site should be developed following full, and possibly costly, excavation; or whether the remains should be preserved *in situ* through scheduling, or the character of certain areas preserved through Conservation Area status?

To address this problem, English Heritage is commissioning work on towns at two levels (Croft *et al.* 1996). In some counties, these projects are continuing where implication surveys conducted in the 1970s left off (see Astill 1978 for Berkshire small towns). Thirty 'major' towns have been identified and these are each being subject to a detailed urban survey and full assessment. Such major historic towns tend to be under the greatest development pressure, and hence the need for detailed data base and strategy documents can be justified. To date, pilot work has been funded and published for York, Cirencester, and Durham (Ove Arup 1991; Lowther *et al.* 1993; Darvill and Gerrard 1994). Such survey and assessment projects are costly and the high level of expenditure can be justified only for the major towns. Small towns are being considered in the same way but at a less detailed level. Indeed, the main difference is simply in terms of the information required to provide an assessment of sufficient detail to enable strategy formulation. In practice, a specific distinction will be the likely inclusion of deposit mapping in the major town surveys, but not those for small towns. Essentially, for both types of survey, the usual three steps are required: data base, assessment and strategy. The data base in this case is simply the archaeological record for each town. These records will vary enormously depending on the extent of development, hence the amount of archaeological work undertaken. In general, however, our position on the size and quality of the data base necessary for counties to attain before moving onto the assessment stage will be governed by their answer to the question: 'Do we have a sufficient understanding of the town from the existing data to "characterize" every zone of it?' The assessment consists of the production of a series of maps and an accompanying report related to the data base showing: the 'zones' or plan form components of the town, for example abbey, tenements, market, church, etc., by period; a breakdown of the town zone by zone, characterizing each zone; and a statement explaining the importance of the town both in terms of its constituent parts and their interrelationships, and the interest of the town relative to other towns regionally, interregionally and nationally. The strategy will relate directly to both the data base and assessment. From the characterization of each town zone by zone, it should become clear what is important about which parts of the town. This work will identify where further excavation may bring dividends, and where it is unlikely to add much to our knowledge. Such a document would be adopted by the Local Planning Authority, through the Local Plan process, and would provide planning guidance on what approach is desirable in which parts of the town, including reference to single monuments, standing buildings, urban geography and buried deposits generally. Although some such areas would be scheduled, this control would be used selectively, much of the strategy being implemented under *PPG16*. Although much of the control over works affecting the archaeology of towns is the responsibility of officers at a local level, English Heritage is commissioning work with the aim of exploring zones of relative historical importance in towns in the expectation that these will then be balanced with local economic needs on a consistent footing nationally.

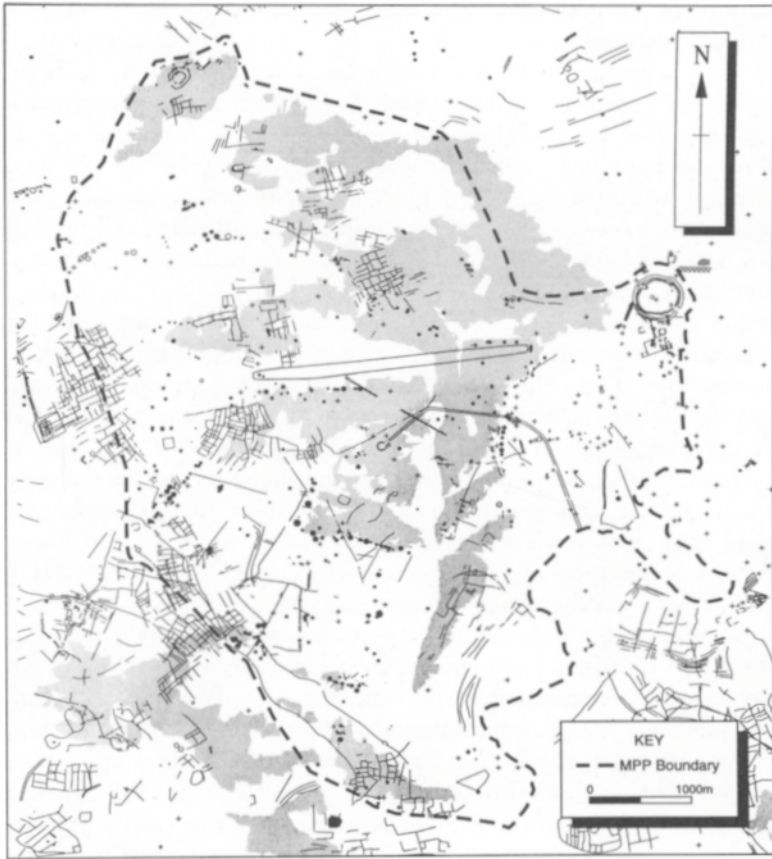
## Landscape and regional studies

Early in the MPP it was recognized that the evaluation of archaeological remains at a landscape scale was a very different matter from the scheduling of large sites or extensive areas with dense concentrations of monuments (the so-called 'relict cultural landscapes' of areas like Dartmoor), both of which can be effectively dealt with through our evaluation of single, discrete monuments. But landscape itself, in its widest and most useful sense, is not susceptible to this approach, especially when we include aspects of the historic landscape that are not archaeological, such as hedgerow patterns, the patterning and interrelationship of land use or the question of how to define historic landscape character. In short, the complexity of historic landscapes cannot be reduced to neat classes and the landscape is more than its historic elements. Rather, it is the sum of all its component parts, including its ecological and visual attributes, its geology and topography and its local social values. For the purposes of conservation and management, we take the view that we should assess variation and pattern in character rather than focus on relative quality or importance. Recently, this has been confirmed as the government's view (*PPG15*, para. 6.40).

After early attempts to produce an MPP approach to the problems of evaluating landscapes (Darvill *et al.* 1993), our method now forms part of English Heritage's broader work on historic landscapes, which itself is integrated with the work of other national organizations. This project began in 1990, following the publication of the Government White Paper *This Common Inheritance*, and the result has been the move away from selective site-specific designation towards the more inclusive approach to landscape evaluation referred to above (cf. Fairclough *et al.* in press for examples). The main objective in all of this is to complement other conservation developments in countryside management, such as the Countryside Commission's Countryside Character Programme, and to promote a common national framework for conservation decisions of all kinds within the wider context of planning and agricultural policies.

As a first step toward achieving this, various pilot studies were established, including: on Bodmin Moor and throughout the rest of Cornwall by the Cornwall Archaeological Unit on behalf of English Heritage; in Avon (assisted by English Heritage); and in Derbyshire by the Peak National Park. This latter project had another objective that links to our industrial archaeology survey: an attempt to understand and characterize the industrial landscape. Work here and in the Yorkshire Dales, for example, has revealed a distinction between 'industrially affected' landscapes, which may be easy to identify, and those that are 'industrially related', for example a pattern of smaller fields divided with the change in subsistence from farming to farming/mining as the population increases.

Through these and future projects, we hope to develop a suite of techniques and methods that local authorities can use to characterize and assess the historic landscape as part of their development plan work. Within



**Figure 7.1** Map of the Stonehenge area showing the recorded distribution of prehistoric monuments (Stonehenge is the small circle at centre), viewsheds from Stonehenge (grey areas), and the so-called MPP Boundary, within which all prehistoric monuments with surviving remains were considered for scheduling.

*Source:* CAS and Wiltshire County Council Library and Museum Service.

this wider context, we are attempting to develop a better understanding of the ‘regionality’ of archaeological remains, in other words, patterning and distribution at a regional scale. For example, in some areas we have used monument distribution maps as a framework for defining a management strategy. In the World Heritage Sites at Avebury and Stonehenge, for instance, designated in view of their prehistoric ceremonial sites, analysis of the environs of both monuments preceded a scheduling selection strategy. In both cases, patterning was explored using traditional mapping supplemented by the use of Geographic Information System (GIS). Thus, in the case of Stonehenge, a boundary defining the concentration of monuments was drawn, based on the distribution of all monuments broadly contemporary with all phases of



Stonehenge, and visibility or viewsheds from its centre (Figure 7.1). Within this area of landscape, selection thresholds were defined to include every monument of a date comparable with Stonehenge, thus taking account of their 'group value'. So, both here and around Avebury, round barrows levelled by cultivation have been recommended for scheduling because of their integral position within a significant piece of prehistoric landscape. Had these round barrows existed outside the monument boundaries, statutory protection for some would not have been possible as national importance could not have been demonstrated.

Another example is the distribution of sites revealed by aerial photographs, and especially those that do not fall within our traditional classification of monument types. Over the last few years, aerial photography in England has revealed vast numbers of sites, especially in predominately arable areas, but also in uplands. Some sites are recognizable to class, for example the ring ditches representing levelled barrows in the Avebury or Stonehenge areas referred to above. Often identification is possible but not explicit, such as the many enclosures in the Thames Valley, while some are too fragmentary or indistinct to interpret at all on present evidence. Currently the RCHME's National Mapping Programme (Edis *et al.* 1989) is seeking to identify and record all such sites, with the aim of producing a 1:10,000 scale archaeological map of England, accompanied by a computerized data base. This will provide improved opportunities for research and allow detailed analysis of even the indistinct sites, comparing similar sites through morphological criteria, and looking at their distribution in relation to the natural character of the areas in which they lie. Although still at an early stage, this work is now beginning to feed into management strategies. In the case of the Thames valley, for instance, a selection of enclosures has been identified for scheduling, while the data base has also been used to determine whether an extensive cropmark site on the gravels north of the Thames (and proposed for scheduling before this study was available) was indeed nationally important.

### **Medieval settlement**

The background to this project was a response in 1990–1 to the original English Heritage proposal to evaluate medieval rural settlement in the traditional terms of deserted medieval villages, shrunken and shifted medieval villages, currently inhabited villages, and farmsteads. The response came from a specialist group, the Medieval Settlement Research Group, which argued that the information contained in SMRs under these headings was not sufficient for an effective evaluation of medieval rural settlement. They recognized an emphasis on abandoned nucleated settlements in past work, but now saw the need to study all forms and sizes of settlement, including the dispersed farmsteads and hamlets previously largely ignored. In short, research was required to aid understanding of the resource and its management and protection. For medieval settlement, with its considerable variety of form dependent upon local conditions, an

understanding of the pattern, couched in terms of regional and local distinctiveness, was an essential prerequisite to selection and any decisions about relative importance.

This work, undertaken for us by Brian Roberts and Stuart Wrathmell (Roberts *et al.* 1996), has been through a variety of stages: the preparation of a new framework for evaluation, distinguishing between ‘nucleated’ and ‘dispersed’ settlement and taking account of the various characteristics of settlement, including settlement density, settlement size, plan form, field layout, communication networks, locations of manor and church, and documented history and archaeology; mapping the medieval settlement zones throughout England, characterizing the zones in terms of their attributes; and, with selection thresholds, identifying sites for protection following that. The data generated will also form the framework for subsequent research; for instance, patterning of medieval field systems can be expected to relate directly to that of associated settlements. Some work along these lines is already underway. A separate project has also now been implemented, exploring the complexities of Roman rural settlement.

The medieval settlement study introduced above is an important study for several reasons, not least because it will provide the framework for reflecting regional diversity, balancing the past emphasis on scheduling only those sites that survive as well-preserved earthworks. The study will also provide a view of the medieval ‘landscape’, related to topography, soils, etc., which can be viewed alongside other current mapping initiatives being undertaken by English Nature and the Countryside Commission.

### **Other projects**

This chapter has concentrated on a selection of the major projects being undertaken or commissioned by English Heritage against the backdrop of sustainability and academic fulfilment. Several others are worthy of mention.

Gravel extraction and quarrying have for many years been a major source of palaeolithic remains in England. In assessing planning applications for such work, however, there is little basis for establishing which cases would be likely to disturb important artefact-rich deposits, and which would not. To provide this information, the Southern Rivers Project was established, later to become a full national study, the English Rivers Palaeolithic Survey. Again this was essentially a mapping exercise with the aim of exploring sustainability, in the context of palaeolithic remains (see Wymer 1991 for a full discussion of this project and Wenban-Smith 1995 for other suggested approaches to the palaeolithic heritage). This work is now complete. Data sets have been deposited with all relevant SMRs, and a leaflet is in preparation.

Although slightly different in terms of its objectives and origin, the recently compiled Battlefields Register lists the sites of forty-one historic battle sites whose boundaries are well defined. Again this was commissioned by English Heritage, but undertaken by staff of the National Army Museum and the Centre

for Environmental Interpretation, with the help of a panel of experts. In reaching planning decisions, local authorities, under the terms of *PPG15*, will be obliged to take the register's contents into account. Indeed the register's influence has already been felt, in influencing the decision to reject a quarry application at one of the sites.

Work is also being or has been commissioned on parks and gardens, coastal and marine archaeology, and recent fortifications. The Register of Parks and Gardens of Special Historic Interest in England was established between 1984 and 1988. By the time the first complete set of lists was published in 1988, the total number on the list had reached 1,085, graded according to relative importance. The list has proved 'invaluable in identifying important gardens for which financial help was urgently required following the storms of 1987 and 1990. It also contributed significantly to protection through the planning process' (Sharman 1994:3), with the publication of *PPG15* expanding its effectiveness. A review of the lists is due for completion by the end of the century.

The coastal resource has been the subject of a recent report by Trow (1994). In it he makes the point that the coastal archaeological resource is under continual threat. In order to provide a sound basis for coastal management, a national overview of the resource was considered necessary. As a consequence, English Heritage, in collaboration with the RCHME, commissioned a rapid nationwide assessment, now published as Fulford *et al.* 1997. This has succeeded in consolidating recorded information; characterizing the nature of the resource; assessing the nature and severity of threat; synthesizing available information on historic sea level change; assessing future implications; examining management frameworks; recommending future survey priorities; and making recommendations on the integration of heritage interests into coastal management plans (Trow 1994:25; see also Trow 1996).

Finally, the survey of recent fortifications constitutes an important national study, and is of interest in methodological terms as it takes archival sources, not field remains, as its starting point (in Dobinson *et al.* 1997).

## **NOW WE KNOW?**

In this chapter we have seen the extent to which work commissioned by English Heritage, largely through the MPP, falls within the general framework of the British government's commitment to sustainable development. What is sustainable, that is what can be judged to uphold or affirm justice or validity, can be assessed effectively only within the framework of collected, analysed and understood information. For much of British archaeology, information was already to hand. A development proposal that affects a Roman amphitheatre, even a long barrow or monuments in our World Heritage Sites, e.g. Stonehenge or Hadrian's Wall, can be dealt with easily in the knowledge that the

information base on which decisions are made is sound, accurate and reliable. For less prominent and investigated parts of the archaeological resource, useful information has in the past been lacking. With commissioned work being undertaken by a variety of specialists, with funding and coordination from English Heritage, this understanding is being enhanced. It is probably an exaggeration to say that we now know, but we are at least significantly closer to that ideal than we were ten years ago.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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# 8 *Protection of the environment and the role of archaeology*

BRIT SOLLI

## INTRODUCTION

In Norway, the protection of archaeological monuments and sites is a component of the general policy of environmental protection. The administration of the Cultural Heritage Act is coordinated by a subordinate agency of the Ministry of Environment, the Directorate for Cultural Heritage, previously called the Central Office of Historic Monuments and Sites. The Ministry of Environment is an important agency in the governmental affairs of Norway. For archaeology, being part of a relatively prestigious and visible element of the national Norwegian government is, concerning some archaeological issues, an advantage. Concerning others, however, in my opinion, it is a disadvantage. This chapter is not a simple tale of how wonderful it is to be part of the larger, happy, environmental family with sisters like the Directorate for Nature Management, the State Pollution Control Authority and the Norwegian Polar Research Institute, and how clever we are. Rather, I shall try to describe the state of affairs from the point of view of an archaeologist working inside the system as a bureaucrat in the Directorate, a subordinate agency administrating the Cultural Heritage Act.<sup>1</sup> I hope it will be clear that I am also deeply enmeshed in, and devoted to, archaeology as an academic university discipline, particularly the theoretical and ideational developments of archaeology. This includes questions and theoretical debates concerning the big 'why', 'for whom' and 'how' questions, that is questions of theory, ethics and method.

## OUR COMMON FUTURE

The strategic thinking of environmental policy in Norway is closely related to the conclusions drawn in the United Nations report of the World Commission on Environment and Development, *Our Common Future*, the so-called Brundtland report, presented in April 1987 to the UN General Assembly. This

may not come as a great surprise, since the World Commission was headed by the Norwegian prime minister Mrs Gro Harlem Brundtland. The main conclusion of the Brundtland report was that humanity has the ability to make development sustainable—to ensure that it meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs (United Nations 1987:8). On the key concept of ‘sustainable development’, the report says:

sustainable development is not a fixed state of harmony, but rather a process of change in which the exploitation of resources, the direction of investments, the orientation of technological development, and institutional change are made consistent with future as well as present needs

(United Nations 1987:9)

In Norway, the cultural heritage resources, including archaeological monuments and sites, should be considered as one of these kinds of resources. Consequently, the management of these resources should be directed by actions that can be summed up in the keywords ‘sustainable protection’—a concept including the requirements of both the present and future generations.

The Brundtland report was to be followed up in 1992 at the Earth Summit in Rio de Janeiro. The Rio declaration on environment and development includes the so-called, and to some well-known, Agenda 21. Agenda 21 constitutes a vast work programme for the twenty-first century and represents the consensus reached by 179 states in Rio. It is called a ‘blueprint for a global partnership aimed at reconciling the twin requirements of a high quality environment and a healthy economy, for all peoples of the world’. The central concept in this declaration also is ‘sustainable development’. Other key words with consequences for archaeology, as part of the policy of environmental protection coming up after the Rio summit, are: ‘biological diversity’ and ‘sustainable consumption’. The widespread slogan of the Brundtland report was ‘think globally, act locally’. The broad use of this phrase, however, may give the impression that important concepts of the report, which were meant to cause action, have turned into political clichés. The above-mentioned slogan, in some contexts, might be rephrased ironically as ‘think globally, act verbally’.

In Norway, however, serious attempts are being made by the Ministry of Environment and its subordinate Directorate of Cultural Heritage to include archaeological sites and monuments in the overall environmental strategies. We are talking about an ongoing process in which the other subordinate agencies mentioned above quite often overlooked cultural heritage as a part of the administrative structure and substantive concern of the ministry. Even though cultural heritage is accepted as an element of the environmental protection work on a political level, active attempts to integrate the work on cultural

heritage with the work of other subordinate agencies is sometimes met with a certain amount of tacit indifference. These bureaucratic challenges are associated with our unique and new association; they must be overcome. Let us consider again the ideology behind the environmental keywords and slogans.

## **THE ADVANTAGES OF AN INTEGRATED ENVIRONMENTAL APPROACH**

How is it possible that concepts like 'sustainable development', 'biological diversity', etc., which constitute headlines in the work of protecting the natural environment on Earth, can have something to do with archaeology?

The first paragraph of the Norwegian Cultural Heritage Act suggests the connection.

The purpose of this Act is to protect archaeological and architectural monuments and sites, and cultural environments in all their variety and detail, both as part of our cultural heritage and identity and as an element in the overall environment and resource management.

Equal to the resources protected by the Nature Conservation Act, archaeological material is considered as an environmental resource, not purely as cultural and historical resources. There are several reasons why this should be so:

- 1 Archaeological monuments and sites are considered to be elements in an historical archive embedded in the landscape; an archive inextricably linked to the natural environment that surrounds the monuments and sites. The latter are elements of and in the landscape.
- 2 The archaeological resources constitute the basic material for interpreting long-term human ecological processes of development and change. The policy of present environmental protection strategies should be informed by the human ecological conditions, events and results of the past.
- 3 Like genetic resources, in terms of the existing biological diversity on Earth, archaeological materials constitute the remains of past human ecological diversity. This is a diversity, like biological diversity, to be protected for present and future generations. It is a legacy for all, cf. the slogan associated with the UNESCO World Heritage List.
- 4 Concerning the development of sustainable consumption patterns, the Ministry of Environment assumes that we can learn from even the remote past, e.g. concerning the recycling and reuse of materials. Through knowledge of past strategies of survival in terms of the environmental adaptation of pre- and protohistoric peoples, we may learn how to solve



present and future problems of affluent consumption, especially in the western world. Ideas springing from, for example, the environmental New Archaeology are in the process of being institutionalized in Norwegian cultural heritage management. Below I shall elaborate on the pros and cons of this approach.

- 5 Archaeological monuments and sites are not only documents of the past and from the past, they are environmental elements that can be experienced today as landscape. Archaeology is knowledge of the past through the spatial environment of the present. Protection of archaeological objects or sites may be meaningless if the surrounding environment is not also protected so as to provide, for people in general, a meaningful experience of the archaeological monument or site in question.

As mentioned earlier, working under this paradigm, cultural heritage management in Norway is in the process of developing constructive relations with other directorates and agencies dealing with natural environmental affairs. Consequently, the power base from which we in cultural heritage management work is gradually being expanded, to the advantage, we hope, of the protection of archaeological monuments and sites. The points above sum up the most important advantages. However, there are also some disadvantages to this overall environmental bureaucratic position and perspective of cultural heritage management.

### **THE DISADVANTAGES AND PROCEEDING CAUTIOUSLY**

Excavating a site is not equivalent to protecting the fragmentary reminiscences of the past in the landscape. An excavation constitutes an interpretative action, a collection of information in the shape of structures, artefacts, ecofacts, etc., to expand our knowledge of the past. Protection and excavation are in many ways incompatible archaeological strategies, the former maintaining the site *in situ*, the latter destroying it while recording the information it contains.

As an archaeologist working with research on past societies, I consider an archaeological site to be a document that ought to be read for the sake of understanding more of the past. The site should then be written into the present archaeological discourse, ultimately leading to more knowledge of the past. But, as an archaeologist working as a bureaucrat administering the Cultural Heritage Act, I have to consider an archaeological site basically as something to be experienced in the future untouched and protected from all kinds of interruptive exploitation. Inside the discourse of cultural heritage management, an archaeological excavation constitutes an interruption and encroachment upon the site or monument in question.

In the course of the past 150 years of archaeological practice in Norway, the authority to give excavation permits for prehistoric archaeology has been

executed by university-employed archaeologists. This arrangement secured the research relevance of the excavations in question. The Ministry of Environment has found this arrangement somewhat unclear and bureaucratically complicated when compared to the administration of other environmental acts, e.g. the Nature Conservation Act. It is therefore in the process of being decided by the Ministry of Environment that excavation permits concerning all kinds of excavations, both large-scale rescue excavations, such as those required for developmental exploitation such as road construction, and small-scale research excavations instigated by university-employed archaeologists, shall in the future be given by the Directorate of Cultural Heritage only. Any research-instigated excavation must have a permit from bureaucrats like myself in the Directorate.

In the future we may find that new, innovative research projects that include excavations in their research projects or programmes may be hindered or even stopped by the Directorate. Academic archaeologists associated with university research will then no longer have access to the archaeological source material embedded in the landscape. This may turn out to be an unfortunate arrangement for the further development of Norwegian academic archaeology.

The protection of archaeological monuments and sites constitutes protection of certain values, and values are never objective or neutral. A certain amount of choice and debate always exists behind, what a few years later, seems like an obvious and generally shared value. As a bureaucrat in cultural heritage management, I administer the choices made by previous archaeological research. I administer the values generated and dug up by archaeologists during the last 150 years in Norway. Research constitutes the dynamics, the creative work, done in archaeology. Today's research will generate the values to be protected tomorrow. It is never the other way around, because the already protected has been discovered through the research of yesterday.

Two lines of human ecological thought are being blended in the cultural heritage management of Norway. One line originates in the Scandinavian ecological archaeology, a long-term tradition going back 150 years. The other line is inspired from the New Archaeology of the 1960s and 1970s. Ideas springing from these two traditions are in the process of being institutionalized in Norwegian cultural heritage management in terms of administrative organization and strategies for action.

As we know, archaeology has taken different ideational directions since 1980, maybe particularly so since the first World Archaeological Congress in 1986. It has been emphasized by some as extremely important at the present time to ensure variety inside the discourse of archaeology.

Since all archaeological excavations in Norway will soon require a permit from the Directorate of Cultural Heritage, it is imperative that bureaucrats like myself are research-oriented, updated and open minded. It is important to give advocates of new ideas and directions of the discipline opportunities to carry out excavations and other field investigations, even though their projects are

outside the environmental and human ecological paradigm that dominates the policy of cultural heritage management in Norway.

## CONCLUSION

I am somewhat sceptical of the tendency towards bureaucratization of the protection of archaeological monuments and sites. Such bureaucratization is partly a result of the cultural heritage management becoming embedded in general work on the protection of the environment. Archaeological sites and monuments are gradually becoming more and more elements in the landscape to be experienced in relation to the total environment. They are being less and less frequently looked upon as documents of the past to be investigated through archaeological theories and methods.

On the positive side, the bureaucratization and professionalization of the management of the Cultural Heritage Act in Norway have brought about an increase in resource, in terms of personnel and money, applied to the protection of archaeological monuments and sites. The challenge now for us working inside the system is to transform the augmentation of budgets and amount of people working inside the archaeological field into increasingly interesting narratives about the past—narratives that go beyond political clichés and slogans.

## NOTE

- 1 At the time of WAC 1994, when she originally prepared and presented the paper upon which this chapter is based, Professor Solli was a government official, serving as Senior Advisor for Research, Directorate for Cultural Heritage, Riksantikvaren, Oslo, Norway.

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## 9 *The World Heritage Convention in the Third World*

HENRY CLEERE

### THE CONVENTION

The Convention concerning the protection of the world cultural and natural heritage (better known as the World Heritage Convention) was adopted by the General Conference of UNESCO at its Seventeenth Session in Paris on 16 November 1972. Since that time it has been ratified by 151 countries, which is the largest support for any UNESCO Convention. As of February 1998, there are 522 properties (to use the UNESCO jargon) inscribed on the World Heritage List, of which 418 are cultural, 114 natural, the remaining twenty being 'mixed sites' (i.e. inscribed on the basis of both cultural and natural criteria); they are located in 112 of the States Parties to the Convention (UNESCO 1998).

The Convention is posited on the awareness that there are certain parts of the cultural, historic and natural heritage whose value to the world as a whole is so outstanding that their protection, conservation and transmission to future generations are matters not merely for individual countries in which they occur, but also for the international community as a whole. It also acknowledges that many of the countries that are most richly endowed from the artistic, archaeological, architectural, palaeontological, biological, geological and ecological points of view lack adequate resources to protect this heritage. The genesis of the Convention is described by Titchen (1995) and the history of the first twenty years of its implementation is reviewed by Pressouyre ([1993] 1996).

### THE WORLD HERITAGE LIST

Article 1 of the Convention defines the three broad categories of cultural property considered to be eligible for inclusion on the World Heritage List:

- Monuments: architectural works, works of monumental sculpture and painting, elements and structures of an archaeological nature, inscriptions,

cave dwellings and combinations of features, which are of outstanding universal value from the point of view of history, art or science.

- Groups of buildings: groups of separate or connected buildings which, because of their architecture, their homogeneity or their place in the landscape, are of outstanding universal value from the point of view of history, art or science.
- Sites: works of man or the combined works of nature and of man, and areas including archaeological sites which are of outstanding universal value from the historical, aesthetic, ethnological or anthropological points of view.

It will be seen that the basic criterion for inscription on the List is 'outstanding universal value'. The evolution of this concept is described by Titchen (1995) and Cleere (1995). It became necessary for the Committee to evolve some more precise guidelines for the evaluation of properties nominated to the World Heritage List, and so six more precise criteria were defined. These are set out in the *Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention* (UNESCO 1997: para. 24a); compliance with one or more of these qualifies a property for inscription on the List. Properties should:

- 1 represent a masterpiece of human creative genius; or
- 2 exhibit an important interchange of human values, over a span of time or within a cultural area of the world, on developments in architecture, monumental arts or town-planning and landscape design; or
- 3 bear a unique or at least exceptional testimony to a civilization or cultural tradition which is living or which has disappeared; or
- 4 be an outstanding example of a type of building or architectural ensemble or landscape which illustrates a significant stage(s) in human history; or
- 5 be an outstanding example of a traditional human settlement or land-use which is representative of a culture (or cultures), especially when it had become vulnerable under the impact of irreversible change; or
- 6 be directly or tangibly associated with events or living traditions, with ideas, or with beliefs, with artistic and literary works of outstanding universal significance (the Committee considers that this criterion should justify inclusion on the List only in exceptional circumstances and in conjunction with other criteria, cultural or natural).

The validity and application of these criteria has more than once been called into question, but in general terms they have stood the test of time. It would be misleading, however, to claim that they have been applied with equal strictness or fairness over the past quarter century; it is difficult to escape the conclusion, in studying the list, that values have been modified over that time. It should also be borne in mind that decisions are made by the representatives

of national governments, diplomats or civil servants, rather than by conservation professionals, who make up the World Heritage Committee. As a result, there are a very small number of sites and monuments on the list that may be considered to be there for political rather than purely cultural or natural significance.

From the start there has been a strong bias in the list towards cultural properties in the developed world, principally Europe and North America, and those non-European countries with a rich cultural heritage, such as China, India, Mexico and Peru. An analysis of the 438 cultural and mixed properties on the World Heritage List at the end of 1997 showed that over half (220) were in Europe, forty-six in Africa (twenty-eight of them in the countries bordering the Mediterranean), and only four in Oceania and Australia (all mixed sites).

The European bias is reflected again in the types of property included on the list. Historic towns and buildings of all kinds represent 70 per cent of those listed, the remainder being broadly definable as archaeological sites, with a strong concentration in the classical Mediterranean lands.

The World Heritage Committee, which is responsible for the creation of the World Heritage List, has recognized in recent years that it contains serious imbalances. At the present time efforts are being made, in association with its advisory bodies, the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) and IUCN—The World Conservation Union, to extend the coverage of the list in order to make it more representative of the broad sweep of human achievement.

This review, operating as part of the World Heritage Committee's 'Global Strategy', approved in 1996, has operated at two levels. First, a series of meetings and workshops has been organized by UNESCO, in association with ICOMOS, in regions whose cultures are underrepresented on the World Heritage List. So far there have been meetings in sub-Saharan Africa at Dakar, Harare and Addis Ababa. The Oceania region was the subject of meetings in Australia and Fiji, and others are planned.

The second level of review has been directed towards aspects of cultural heritage that are not adequately represented, if at all, on the World Heritage List. Major studies of the industrial heritage and the architecture of the twentieth century are already in hand, under the direction of ICOMOS, working with TICCIH (The International Committee for the Conservation of the Industrial Heritage) and DoCoMoMo (International Working Party for Documentation and Conservation of Buildings, Sites, and Neighbourhoods of the Modern Movement). The impact of these studies will inevitably be greater in Europe and the Americas than elsewhere in the world, and so the geographical bias is unlikely to be corrected by them.

More significant for the Third World has been the extension of World Heritage to the concept of the cultural landscape. Three main categories of cultural landscape have been recognized by the World Heritage Committee (UNESCO 1997: para. 39):

- 1 Clearly defined 'landscapes designed and created intentionally', principally formal parks and gardens;
- 2 'Organically evolved landscapes', resulting from an initial social, economic, administrative, and/or religious imperative which had developed its present form by association with and in response to the natural environment. There are two sub-categories:
  - a 'relict or fossil landscapes' in which an evolutionary process came to an end at some time in the past, either abruptly or over a period;
  - b 'continuing landscapes', which retain an active social role in contemporary society closely associated with the traditional way of life and in which the evolutionary process is still in progress; and
- 3 'associative cultural landscapes', the significance of which lies in the powerful religious, artistic, or cultural associations of the natural element rather than material cultural evidence.

There has been considerable debate about these definitions and the evaluation of cultural landscapes nominated for inscription. A UNESCO-sponsored collection of essays (von Droste *et al.* 1995) has treated the subject from a global perspective, whilst the perspective of the natural heritage conservation world is set out by Lucas (1992); a practical approach to the implementation of the World Heritage Committee's policy is given by Cleere (1995).

There was already a number of designed landscapes on the list—Studley Royal (United Kingdom), Versailles (France), the Shalimar Gardens (Pakistan)—and several relict landscapes—Machu Picchu (Peru), Stonehenge/Avebury (United Kingdom)—when the new categories were defined. Equally, the sacred Chinese mountains such as Huangshan and Taishan qualified as associative landscapes, and these were joined by Tongariro (New Zealand) and Uluru-Kata-Tjuta (Australia), which were already inscribed under the natural criteria.

The continuing landscape category is perhaps the most difficult to define and protect, but a start was made with the inscription on the list of an area of outstanding rice terraces in the Cordillera of Luzon (Philippines) in 1995. Four more were added in 1997—Hallstatt-Dachstein Salzkammergut (Austria), the Costiera Amalfitana and Portovenere-Cinqueterre (Italy), and the Pyrénées-Mont Perdu landscape, which extends across the Franco-Spanish border.

## **WORLD HERITAGE AND NON-MONUMENTAL CULTURES**

The Eurocentric perception of cultural heritage in the early years of the World Heritage Convention has had the effect of excluding certain major regions of the world from the World Heritage List, since they lack historic towns, cathedrals or palaces. Many of the non-Mediterranean World Heritage sites and monuments in Africa are connected with colonial domination or

immigrant religions (Christianity, Islam) rather than true indigenous cultures. There are some exceptions, such as Great Zimbabwe, the Royal palaces of Abomey (Bénin), Bandiagara (Mali), or the Ashanti traditional buildings (Ghana). There is nothing comparable in the Oceania-Australia region, however.

The introduction of the concept of the cultural landscape should assist in recognition being paid to these regions, with their long cultural traditions, by the inclusion of their past and contemporary cultures on the World Heritage List. There are remarkably well-preserved relict landscapes and intact continuing landscapes of high cultural value in many parts of Africa and Oceania that have no parallels or equals elsewhere. Much of the significance of Rapa Nui (Easter Island), which was inscribed on the list in 1995, is due not to the remarkable statues but rather to the extraordinary remains of the way of life of the early Polynesian settlers.

### **THE BENEFITS OF WORLD HERITAGE TO THIRD WORLD COUNTRIES**

For many developed countries, designation of cultural properties situated on their territories as World Heritage sites and monuments represents little more than confirmation of their cultural superiority. There is a somewhat unseemly contest between certain European countries to achieve the highest number of inscriptions on the World Heritage List, with Italy leading (twenty-seven), closely followed by Spain (twenty-four) and France (twenty-two), plus the joint Franco-Spanish cultural landscape referred to above. The cultural heritage of India and that of China are also well represented, each with sixteen inscriptions to date.

The Convention provides for the establishment of a World Heritage Fund, based on the subscriptions paid by States Parties. In theory, this should be of the order of US\$3 million annually, but the poor performance of certain countries, most notoriously Russia, in paying their subscriptions means that the actual sum is substantially lower. This fund is available to provide technical assistance and training to all the States Parties to the Convention, but because it is a relatively small sum when compared with the cost of heritage protection and management worldwide, it is in practice reserved for Third World countries. It generally takes the form of provision of expert advice on aspects of conservation and management of major sites and monuments. This can extend from a wide range of expertise in all aspects of land use planning as well as monument protection and conservation at Angkor (Cambodia) to emergency post-earthquake first aid at Tierradentro, an important prehispanic site in Colombia. Training courses are also organized and funded, in association with existing institutions and the International Centre for the Study of the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property (ICCROM) based in Rome, at regional and national levels.



In addition to this limited financial support, however, Third World countries gain certain indirect and intangible benefits from World Heritage inscription. Tourism is now the largest industry in the world, and so-called 'cultural tourism' is attracted to World Heritage sites and monuments. Increased visitor numbers pose a threat to the more fragile monuments, but the overall economic benefit to a community or a country can be considerable.

For the heritage management community in any country, but more especially in the Third World, international recognition of the importance of an indigenous culture can be of inestimable assistance. The influence of western values on Third World countries in their economic and social development is often disastrous for the cultural heritage. Traditional settlements, buildings, land use systems and archaeological remains are seen as standing in the way of 'progress' and are swept away ruthlessly, often using aid from international bodies such as the World Bank or the UN Development Programme (UNDP). Only very recently have these agencies recognized their responsibilities towards the cultural heritage and begun to contemplate providing financial and technical assistance in such cases.

The identification of one element of the cultural heritage of a Third World country as having 'outstanding universal value' (the leitmotiv of the World Heritage Convention) may often result in heritage being seen as a source of national pride; it is therefore viewed in a new light and a more effective heritage management strategy can result. Zimbabwe provides an admirable example of how this process can operate (but see Ucko 1994).

## **THE ROLE OF NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS**

In many countries of the world, heritage protection and management is seen as the responsibility and prerogative of government. It is undeniable that government should take the central role, since it controls the legislative, administrative and financial framework. However, there is a vital role to be played by heritage professionals through non-governmental organizations (NGOs in UN jargon), both as advisers and as watchdogs. This has been demonstrated in the natural environment field by the successful actions of organizations such as the World Wildlife Fund for Nature (WWF) and IUCN and, more sensationally, Greenpeace.

The non-governmental sector in cultural heritage management has, by comparison, achieved less success, at least at the international level. Had it been as influential and vocal as its natural environment counterparts, it is highly doubtful whether the scandalous road project that menaced the Gizeh Plateau would have become so far advanced before it was stopped by the action of President Mubarak of Egypt. The looting of archaeological sites in Central America, Turkey and South-East Asia has received relatively little publicity by comparison with the poaching of white rhinos and elephants in Africa or the destruction of the tropical rain forests of the Amazon.

There are only two international organizations working in the field of cultural heritage protection and preservation. One of these is the World Archaeological Congress, which sponsors international symposia, such as the one that spawned this volume, and which brings together archaeologists and archaeological heritage managers from all over the world. The other is ICOMOS (the International Council on Monuments and Sites), which operates through National Committees in some eighty countries around the world. It also has a number of specialized International Committees on subjects such as vernacular architecture, historic towns and villages, archaeological heritage management, and cultural tourism. Its total membership of a little over 5,000 comprises architects, planners, archaeologists, heritage managers, and art and architectural historians.

Apart from its important work as professional adviser on cultural heritage to the World Heritage Committee, ICOMOS plays an important role in setting standards for conservation and management through its international charters, which have become major international doctrinal texts. For the archaeological heritage, the ICOMOS International Committee on Archaeological Heritage Management (ICAHM) produced its international *Charter for Archaeological Heritage Management* (ICOMOS 1990), which has slowly become accepted as the doctrinal and professional basis for all aspects of work in this field. Both through its international secretariat and its National and International Committees, ICOMOS presents the views of professionals in matters of concern regarding the archaeological heritage. Recent examples of such interventions are protests against the plans to build a supermarket at the former Auschwitz concentration camp in Poland and the proposed *son et lumière* installation at the great Buddhist temple at Borobodur (Indonesia).

Unlike the natural environment, however, the cultural heritage does not possess a major preservation and protection body with a large lay membership, such as is provided by WWF and Greenpeace. This is probably attributable to the fact that culture is more territorial in its nature, and hence in its appeal. If the world's cultural heritage is to survive, therefore, the movement to protect it must operate at a national level. Archaeologists in every country, and more particularly in those countries where heritage management is in its infancy, must recognize that they have a responsibility not merely to their discipline and their colleagues, but also to the heritage that constitutes the raw material of their studies. This means that they must use every means at their disposal to impart to their fellow citizens and to their governments the significance of that heritage. This is a task that can better be accomplished through joint action than individually; if the past is to survive into the future, professionals must work through their own non-governmental organizations to influence government and to inspire their fellow citizens to join with them in defence of their heritage.

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# 10 *Heritage management in Rhode Island: working with diverse partners and audiences*

PAUL A.ROBINSON AND  
CHARLOTTE C.TAYLOR

The archaeological heritage is the common heritage of all.  
International Committee on Archaeological Heritage  
Management (ICOMOS, Article 9)

Each worker becomes owner of the artefacts he or she finds. In case of  
a broken specimen...the person finding the first fragment becomes owner  
of the remaining pieces, if found later by other workers.  
(Narragansett Archaeological Society 1964)<sup>1</sup>

The Tribe has requested and [The Narragansett Electric Company] agrees  
to provide possession of all artefacts which were recovered ...during  
archaeological investigation for reburial by the Tribe.

Stipulation 4, Memorandum of Understanding  
between the Narragansett Electric Company and  
the Narragansett Indian Tribe, 20 July 1995

The artifact I find on my property is mine and I will not inform [the state]  
about it.

Anonymous, property rights lawyer

## INTRODUCTION

The basis of Rhode Island's programme in public archaeology is the strong federal state partnership stated in the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966. This act explicitly recognized archaeological resources as part of a state's heritage, and each state was given the task of establishing a programme for identifying, evaluating and protecting sites and places of archaeological significance. The act required each state to establish offices to administer historic preservation programmes; in Rhode Island, this office is the Rhode Island Historical Preservation and Heritage

Commission (RIHPHC), created when the RI General Assembly passed the Rhode Island Historic Preservation Act in 1968.

The Historic Preservation Act and the Antiquities Act of Rhode Island, enacted in 1974, require the RIHPHC to review archaeological research plans and to issue archaeological permits, following a rigorous set of professional standards, for projects conducted on public lands, under water, and for state or federal actions (RIHPHC 1991, 1994). Unlike the federal legislation, the state Antiquities Act has never been amended to include protection of sites not yet determined eligible or listed on the National Register of Historic Places. This weakness in the state legislation, which limits state review to projects that are state funded or that involve properties already listed on the State Register of Historic Places, heightens the importance of the federal programme in Rhode Island.

The National Historic Preservation Act makes clear the importance of working with others within the state, specifically mentioning that state historic preservation offices should work cooperatively with federal and state agencies, Indian tribes, local governments, and private organizations and individuals. Substantial differences exist among these various groups concerning how places of historical importance are defined and cared for, and these sometimes make cooperative efforts difficult. The quotations that begin this chapter point to a few of these differences, many of which are based on deeply ingrained and strongly held beliefs and social values. The very notion, set forth by the US government and the states, that archaeological sites and places are cultural 'resources' or 'properties' to be managed like other resources and properties, is anathema to some Indian tribes. Moreover, the view of many avocational archaeologists in Rhode Island, that artefacts belong to the finder, the principle of repatriation expressed by the Native American Grave Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA) and the agreement between the electric company and the Narragansett Indian Tribe cited at the beginning of this chapter, contradict the ICOMOS idea and the US government policy that archaeological materials and the heritage they represent belong to all (see Chapter 4 in this volume by McManamon).

Despite these major differences, many amateur archaeologists, Native Americans and professional archaeologists in government and colleges and universities share a strong commitment to protect the archaeological heritage of Rhode Island. We have, at certain times and on certain issues, decided that what we have in common is more important than what divides us; although our experiences and histories may be different, the shared desire to protect our individual and collective heritage provides a basis for working cooperatively. This chapter describes the Rhode Island public archaeology programme and discusses how working with amateur archaeologists, with Native Americans, with state and federal agencies, with local governments, and private organizations and individuals creates a strong, though not seamless web of partnerships.

## RHODE ISLAND'S ARCHAEOLOGICAL HERITAGE

Rhode Island is a small New England state that contains a remarkable diversity of environments, land forms and natural resources. Nicknamed the 'Ocean State', Rhode Island is defined and characterized by water: Narragansett Bay, Rhode Island Sound and the Atlantic Ocean. A walk of a few hours from the coastline, however, takes one past salt water lagoons and freshwater ponds on the coastal plain into the interior oak forest, with abundant wetlands, streams, rivers and ponds. At higher elevations, the oak gives way to pine.

Archaeological sites older than 8,000 years are extremely rare, perhaps because rising sea levels covered the earlier sites. The varied natural resources, temperate climate, and estuarine environment enabled fairly permanent Native American settlements by at least 3,000 BP, sustained apparently without heavy reliance on domestic cultigens until the years between approximately AD 1200 and 1500, when maize and bean horticulture began.

Europeans settled permanently in Rhode Island in the seventeenth century. By the third quarter of this century, European settlement and military conquest, culminating in King Philip's War of 1675, forced the Narragansett, Pokanoket and other Indian peoples into subsidiary economic and social positions within the dominant Euro-colonial society. Colonial towns and commercial plantations developed around Narragansett Bay and on the coastal plain on what had been thriving and ancient Indian settlements. Indian people, some of whom were enslaved by the colonists after the war, worked on the plantations and in English houses; others lived on lands reserved for them in the southern part of the state.

In the eighteenth century, port towns and cities such as Bristol, Providence and Newport became centres of maritime commerce, supported by agrarian hinterlands on the coastal plain and in the interior. The industrial revolution in the United States began in the 1790s in Rhode Island at the falls in Pawtucket on the Blackstone River. Entrepreneurs established mill towns and factories along the state's many rivers and streams, attracting workers from outlying farms and from Europe. As farms were abandoned, much of the land was reforested, so that now the material traces of these farms—foundations, stone walls and family burial-plots are found throughout wooded areas.

The archaeological sites and places that represent the state's history—Indian homelands, settlements and burial-places; industrial complexes, worker housing and planned communities; abandoned hill farms and commercial plantations; shipwrecks and wharves; all the many and varied other sites that in various ways relate to the history people have made in the state—are found throughout Rhode Island, on the land and under the water. We have found that the most effective way to protect and study these sites and places is by working with the many 'publics' that use them and have interests in them, in short by forming partnerships.

In order to work effectively, these partnerships must acknowledge three basic conditions that underlie historic preservation and public archaeology in Rhode

Island: private property, the power of local governments, and the critical importance of the federal archaeology programme. Most land is privately owned, and subject to hundreds and thousands of small and large acts by individuals over whom we frequently have little or no regulatory control and who care little about the state's archaeological heritage. For that reason, we have used archaeological surveys to nominate large plots of land, rather than single sites, to the National and State Registers. This approach has the advantage of providing some protection to archaeological landscapes whilst avoiding the possibility of a single hostile landowner vetoing the nomination.

The local governments of cities and townships are important loci of power in Rhode Island, controlling how land is developed and whether archaeological resources are protected. During the recent state-required revision to each city's and town's comprehensive land use plan, the RIHPHC contributed information on the location and kinds of archaeological resources within each one's borders. This information was provided both on paper and electronically through the statewide Geographic Information System. In addition, the RIHPHC provided model subdivision ordinances for the protection of archaeological resources. Some towns adopted these ordinances and are using them to require archaeological studies. The RIHPHC also works to certify local governments to receive Historic Preservation Fund grants (a federal programme) with which to nominate properties and land areas to the National Register, and to cultivate and maintain local partnerships.

Archaeology sponsored and required by the federal government predominates in Rhode Island; well over 90 per cent of the archaeology is done because it is required by Section 106 of the National Historic Preservation Act or is partially funded with money provided by the federal government for research and planning. This simple, but very important, fact points to the compelling and overriding need for the Rhode Island state programme to maintain a strong relationship with the federal government. Without that relationship, much of what we do with our partners within the state would be sharply curtailed.

## **PARTNERSHIPS WITH THE PROFESSIONAL COMMUNITY**

Partnerships with professional archaeologists, both within and outside the academy, are essential to developing and maintaining a statewide programme. The archaeological component of the Rhode Island Historic Preservation Plan (RIHPHC 1996) is an ongoing synthesis and practical application of research programmes at the Public Archaeology Laboratory, Inc., Rhode Island College, Brown University, the University of Rhode Island and the University of Connecticut at Storrs. Almost all of this research is carried out under the federal programme, either with Historic Preservation Fund grants administered by the RIHPHC or as contract archaeology required by the National Historic Preservation Act.

Some of the best and most cost-effective work done with the Historic Preservation Grant funds has been research conducted for master's theses and Ph.D. dissertations (Kerber 1984; Bellantoni 1987; Bernstein 1988; Garman and Sterne 1994). These projects combined the needs of planning with the goals of academic research; some have also combined site-specific work with regional survey and context building that was applied directly to the creation and revision of the state plan (RIHPHC 1996). The Commission also encourages graduate students and other researchers to use existing collections and materials in the state repository, and provides space for this research, especially when it meets state planning goals (Reid 1984; Parker 1986; Robinson 1990; Goodby 1994; Cesario 1995).

Academic field schools and research projects funded through the HPF have been used to nominate large areas to the National and State Registers of Historic Places (Morenon 1983a, 1983b; Robinson 1987; McBride 1989). Contiguous multiple-property NR districts that resulted directly from survey and planning projects include the Jamestown Archaeological District (143 ha), the Potter Pond Archaeological District (192 ha) and the Great Salt Pond Archaeological District (668 ha). Additional districts based on HPF surveys are presently planned or underway for three other large areas ranging in size from about 200 to 2,400 ha.

The RIHPHC holds regular seminars and conferences for the dissemination of research to the archaeological community and to the public at large. The 'Seminars in Archaeology' series is held in the autumn and winter and brings together a small group of seven to twelve people interested in a particular research topic. The 'Conference in Archaeology' is held every two or three years, is open to the general public, and includes a series of papers and discussions by archaeologists working in the area.

## **PARTNERSHIPS WITH VOLUNTEERS**

### **The Rhode Island Marine Archaeology Project**

Rhode Island has more coastline per square kilometre than any other state. Within these waters, numerous shipwrecks of varying antiquity and historical interest have helped make Narragansett Bay one of the most popular diving areas of New England. For many divers, the chance to hunt for souvenirs, whether artefacts or bits of ship's structure, is a large part of the attraction of wreck diving.

In Rhode Island, our ability to protect shipwrecks from such destructive behaviour depends on the willing cooperation of our sport-diving community. Bluntly asserting a strict protectionist perspective accomplishes very little, as this position is difficult to enforce, despite the legal protection provided by the US Abandoned Shipwreck Act of 1987. Forming a partnership with the divers, and



giving them a chance to explore shipwrecks from the perspective of archaeology, is proving to be a much more effective approach.

This approach is being put into practice by the Rhode Island Marine Archaeology Project (RIMAP). Founded in 1992 under the direction of Dr D.K.Abbass, this project trains volunteer divers in the basics of underwater archaeology, and then puts this enthusiastic labour force to work locating and mapping wrecks. To date, 136 divers have been through the training process, which in 1997 consisted of four day-long sessions. Almost half of these divers have participated in the underwater work, many returning year after year. Each of them has gained a personal interest in the preservation of the wrecks they have worked on, and is now much less likely to hunt for sunken treasure.

For the past few years, RIMAP has been funded primarily by federal funds administered by our office through Certified Local Government grants, and has also received funding from the Navy's Legacy programme. Both these grant programmes seek to locate submerged cultural resources and develop management plans for their future use. Partly because of this focus, RIMAP has concentrated on survey, as opposed to excavation. At this point, we need to gain an understanding of what resources survive, rather than expend funds and energy on specific sites. However, RIMAP has recently incorporated a non-profit organization. This should allow the project to move beyond the survey and management priorities of state and federal agencies, into more active research and education endeavours.

From the perspective of the state preservation agency, not only has our partnership with RIMAP increased the protection of our submerged sites, but it has also greatly increased our knowledge of them. Before RIMAP was founded, there had never been any systematic survey of Rhode Island's waters; since 1994, we have added ten shipwrecks to the state inventory, including a Revolutionary War vessel, a nineteenth-century vessel purportedly used in the slave trade, and a prohibition era rum runner (Abbass 1997).

Aside from the information produced by the survey work, RIMAP serves as a clearing house for 'local lore'. Many local divers are highly knowledgeable about the state's shipwrecks, and are willing to share with RIMAP information that would otherwise probably never reach the state. RIMAP generates a great deal of publicity (about thirty local newspaper articles and announcements a year), so that individuals who are not aware that our state agency exists now have a number to call if they have shipwreck information. Maintaining a data base of all this knowledge is one of RIMAP's priorities.

With the data that RIMAP is producing, we can now begin to move beyond site identification to site management. Following a model that has proven successful in several other states, we hope to establish underwater preserves at certain locations in the bay (Lenihan 1987; Vrana and Mahoney 1993; Abbass and Zarzynski 1996). In the process of creating these preserves, we will need to work in partnership with other state agencies, again increasing the visibility of our cultural resources to people who can help protect them. Equally

importantly, we hope that the divers who worked with RIMAP studying the sites will continue to serve as site stewards, monitoring the condition of the shipwrecks. Their continuing volunteer efforts will help ensure that these submerged sites will survive for other divers to enjoy.

### **Narragansett Archaeological Society**

The Narragansett Archaeological Society was formed in 1936 as a non-profit organization that aimed to 'promote the scientific study of the prehistoric native Americans who lived in the area which is now Rhode Island' (NAS 1936). The Society, which currently has about eighty active members, has conducted excavations at more than twenty sites over the last sixty years. Unfortunately, members of the Society have been more eager to collect 'finds' than to document and report on their projects, with the obvious result that much archaeological information has been lost.

The archaeologists at the RIHPHC have always kept in contact with the NAS leadership, and through this somewhat passive contact we have learned of about twenty sites. In the early 1990s, however, the NAS began an enthusiastic excavation of a site approximately 3,000 years old that contained circular stone features of a type never before seen in the state. In view of the potential significance of this site, and the dubious nature of the stratigraphic controls and recording practised by the NAS, our office asked that this excavation be terminated. The location of a Native American burial ground near the project increased the possibility that this site had spiritual significance, and strengthened our request that this excavation cease. The NAS leadership reluctantly agreed.

This case made it apparent that we should develop a more active relationship with the NAS. Volunteer organizations in other New England states, such as New Hampshire's State Conservation and Rescue Archaeology Programme and the Massachusetts Archaeological Society, have shown that amateurs, especially when working under professional guidance, can contribute greatly to the identification and recovery of archaeological sites (Hume and Boisvert 1992; Hoffman 1994).

Many sites in Rhode Island are drastically threatened by erosion or development, and it seemed to us that if the NAS focused their energy on these sites, archaeological information would be obtained, and pleasing 'recoveries' would keep the members of the society happy, so that they would leave non-threatened sites in peace. We ourselves could not take the time from our other tasks to supervise excavations directly, but would work as often as possible on the site, promoting standards of recording and excavation that would make the data more useful. The volunteers involved in the project, mostly inveterate artefact collectors, might learn a greater appreciation for the controlled excavation (and preservation) of sites.

For the first such partnership effort, we suggested the Walker Point site, an Archaic period Native American site threatened by highway development and erosion. A local archaeology company, the Public Archaeology Lab., Inc., had

already carried out data recovery, excavating almost 40 per cent of the site (Ritchie 1994). However, the remaining 60 per cent seemed to offer sufficient interest to satisfy the amateur archaeologists whilst providing a more complete picture of the site. Recording was to follow the PAL system.

The ownership of artefacts was a point at which compromise was necessary. Although we wished the artefacts from the site to remain together and accessible to future researchers, the NAS would not agree to that. The land was still owned by a private individual, with whom the NAS negotiated so that each excavator could keep his or her 'finds'.

Excavation commenced fairly smoothly, but this partnership ultimately failed. Other happenings at the state level kept us from spending as much time as we had wanted working with the NAS, and the site did not produce many artefacts. Many of the amateurs instead gave their Saturdays to working at a 'richer' site over the border in Massachusetts, or simply surface collecting their favourite ploughed fields.

There were, however, some benefits from this attempt at partnership. As was the case with RIMAP, working with interested amateurs meant that information, and even written records, were shared with us. Much of this information concerned finds on private land where we, the state archaeologists, are often denied access by landowners wary of bureaucracy infringing on their rights to do what they will with their land.

Despite this useful knowledge, we fell short of achieving the goals of education and scientific data recovery we had hoped for from our partnership with the NAS. The contrasting success of the Rhode Island Marine Archaeology Project in meeting both these goals is due primarily to its dedicated and professional leader, Dr D.K. Abbass. Without such strong, ethical leadership forming an integral part of a volunteer programme from the beginning, partnerships between the state and amateur archaeologists are much less likely to succeed.

The contrast between RIMAP and the NAS highlights the importance of involving the professional community academics, freelance professionals, and archaeologists working for contract companies in projects where the jurisdiction of the National Historic Preservation Act does not apply.

The most successful instance of such collaboration in Rhode Island was the excavation of the prehistoric Lambert Farm site by a team of 200 volunteers led by archaeologists from the Public Archaeology Lab. (Kerber *et al.* 1989; Kerber 1997). In the late 1980s, this site was threatened by a large housing development. Although the site had been listed on the National Register of Historic Places since 1983, the RIHPHC had no regulatory authority to mandate excavation before it was destroyed. However, the developers voluntarily agreed to delay completion of their project to allow excavation, and even donated the use of a bulldozer to aid the field work. The PAL's programme of education and research, funded by fourteen public agencies and private foundations, as well as by individual contributions, resulted in an intensive, quality excavation and analysis. The site proved exceptionally

significant, with unusual features including three dog burials located in large mounds of shell, which had been transported from the coast 1.6 km away. The cooperative nature of this excavation, particularly the key integration of the professional archaeological community in the field work and analysis, demonstrates that when mutual commitment exists, professional—volunteer partnerships can succeed.

## **PARTNERSHIP WITH THE NARRAGANSETT INDIAN TRIBE**

The Narragansett Indian Tribe has been concerned about protecting its burial places since at least AD 1654, when the tribe's sachems and eighty warriors met with Roger Williams in Warwick to protest the desecration and robbing of a grave (LaFantasie 1988:425). The Narragansetts also protested about one of the first 'archaeological' projects in the state: an antiquarian exhumation of several Indian graves in 1859 (Rubertone 1994:30–2). After this excavation, the grave objects and human remains were divided among several New England museums.

This concern for burial places formed the basis of the relationship between the RIHPHC and the tribe, which began in the 1970s when tribal authorities were routinely notified when burials were encountered during archaeological excavations. This relationship was strengthened in 1982–3 when the tribe and the RIHPHC, in cooperation with Brown University and several other academic institutions, removed and studied a seventeenth-century Narragansett cemetery that was threatened by privately funded projects (Robinson *et al.* 1985). Soon after, the tribe formed the Narragansett Anthropological-Archaeological Committee (NIAAC 1987) to work with the state on Native American sites of all kinds. The committee membership included traditional tribal members and elders as well as academic archaeologists and the state archaeologist. Our shared resolve to protect burial places resulted in a productive partnership. The RIHPHC worked with NIAAC, the state legislature and non-Indian people with an interest in protecting cemeteries to draft a bill that would provide protection for all cemeteries, including unmarked burials. After several attempts, the bill, entitled 'An Act Relating to Historic Cemeteries', was passed and signed by the governor in 1992.

The Narragansett Tribal Historic Preservation Officer, affirmed by the US Department of Interior in 1996, and NIAAC are persistent and sometimes persuasive advocates for the protection and preservation of archaeological sites statewide. With the encouragement of NIAAC, some state and federal agencies have increased the intensity of some surveys and increased sample size on data recovery projects (Robinson 1994). They have also been influential in the redesign of some public projects to avoid or reduce impacts to archaeological sites. With these gains, however, have come losses to the archaeological record. On one recent project, the Narragansetts demanded reburial of the excavated

materials, which the landowner and project proponent, the Narragansett Electric Company, agreed to do. Although the materials were not burial related, the tribe argued for reburial because the assemblage represented a sacred ceremony. The State Historic Preservation Officer concurred with the reburial after detailed analysis and documentation of the materials was completed (Leveillee 1996).

In fact, the Indians are proponents of a conservation ethic that departs significantly from the one first proposed by William Lipe (1974) and supported by much of the professional archaeological community. Their purpose is not to preserve archaeological sites for future research, but rather to protect them from any 'intrusion', including archaeological excavation, for all time. This position has developed from historical circumstances and is based in modern tactics and spiritual necessities. For the Narragansetts, archaeological sites are tangible symbols of a long and enduring Indian history. When these sites are excavated, the connection between past and present is severed. Preserving and marking places of historical and archaeological importance is a way to reclaim ancestral lands and to remind non-Indians that they live on stolen ground. Archaeologists, on the other hand, believe that it is possible to 'protect' a site by excavating it using the latest standards of professional conduct.

The relationship with Native Americans has resulted in both gains and losses to Rhode Island archaeology. On the positive side, we have gained a powerful ally for site preservation, and, when necessary, for full and complete excavation and study. On the negative side, items that are reburied are effectively lost to future study; and analysis of Native American human remains, even when disturbed by construction or necessarily moved, is generally prohibited.

## **PARTNERSHIPS FOR ARCHAEOLOGY TRAILS**

Rhode Island has several self-guided archaeology walking trails and parks that have been developed with the help of federal and state agencies, local governments and a non-profit organization. Archaeology trails can be inexpensive and easy ways to educate people. By taking advantage of the natural setting, they attract people interested in nature as well as history and archaeology.

Not all sites are appropriate for self-guided tours, however. A planning study of an Indian 'rock shelter', funded with a Certified Local Governments grant administered by the RIHPHC in 1996–7, concluded that the site was too fragile to include on an interpretive trail (Morenon 1997). The trails that have been established in the state include more durable sites such as industrial mill complexes and farmhouse and outbuilding foundations. Archaeology trails and parks in Rhode Island include a town park developed around a nineteenth-century industrial mill complex along the Blackstone River in

Cumberland. The park was developed by the town using federal Community Development Block Grant funding and was planned with the assistance of industrial archaeologists and landscape architects. Although self-guided with interpretive panels, National Park Service rangers from the Blackstone River Valley National Heritage Corridor hold regular tours for the public (Malone *et al.* 1991).

Archaeology trails that offer interpretation of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century agriculture have been established by the RI Department of Environmental Management on Prudence Island, and by the Audubon Society on one of its refuges in Coventry, RI. The Prudence Island trail was based on information collected from an archaeological survey funded by a Historic Preservation Fund survey grant. The Audubon trail was established with a grant from the Rhode Island Committee on the Humanities. Visitors to these trails not only learn about the past but also enjoy outdoor hiking in interior and coastal environments (Rubertone and King 1983; Stachiw 1993).

## CONCLUSIONS

A strong federal state partnership is vital for the continued success of the archaeological programme in Rhode Island. The federal programme provides much of the funding and also possesses a strong regulatory framework rooted in the National Historic Preservation Act. Establishing and maintaining partnerships with others within the state is also vitally important and creates widespread grassroots support for both state and federal programmes.

These relationships, however, are not total alliances, and disagreements about how the archaeological record is described and used are common. Local municipalities generally place economic development over archaeological protection; some Native Americans prefer that many archaeological sites should not be excavated and studied; and some avocationalists would really rather keep what they find. Despite these basic differences we have, nonetheless, formed valuable relationships with these groups. We have identified shared values and commitments to protecting the archaeological resources within the state. In short, we have decided that what we have in common is more important than what divides us.

## NOTE

- 1 When Rhode Island was colonized by the English in the seventeenth century, the Narragansett Indian Tribe was the dominant Indian polity. Since then the name 'Narragansett' has been applied to places such as Narragansett Bay and the town of Narragansett. It has also been appropriated by many non-Indian organizations such as two mentioned in this chapter: the Narragansett Archaeological Society and the Narragansett Electric Company. Neither of these groups, however, is associated in any way with the Indian tribe that was here first.

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# 11 *Heritage management by American Indian tribes in the Southwestern United States*

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## INTRODUCTION

Historic preservation in the United States is rapidly changing in fundamental ways as Indian tribes assert their legal rights and cultural values. As conceptualized through the 1966 enactment of the National Historic Preservation Act (NHPA), the still evolving national historic preservation programme was founded on and driven by a partnership between the federal government, individual states (primarily through State Historic Preservation Officers [SHPOs]), private citizens and individual Indian tribes. For various reasons, most notably amendments to the NHPA in 1992, and the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act of 1990 (NAGPRA), tribes are expanding their participation in the national historic preservation programme. This participation, particularly in the American Southwest, is obliging the other partners to examine and rethink their roles as well as their long-standing values and assumptions about the past.

How various tribes are organizing their participation in the national historic preservation programme reflects important cultural, historic, economic and political differences. Underlying these differences, however, are shared values that unify Indian tribes, and these are creating a fascinating and challenging new dynamic in the national programme. To a certain degree, Indian tribes have kindred perspectives on the interrelatedness of heritage resources, defined here as those objects, places and intangibles that derive significance from their associations with tribal traditions. This seamless view of what other national programme partners and academics have often, for example, distinguished as archaeological sites, historic properties, cultural resources and traditional cultural properties, is one basis for the widespread belief among American Indians that heritage resources, whether or not they are located on lands controlled by tribes, should be protected and managed according to American Indian values, beliefs and traditions.

A holistic view of heritage resources is pervasive in Indian country and is finding expression in tribal organizations that participate in and influence the

national historic preservation programme. Some tribal heritage management programmes in the American Southwest have long organizational histories whilst others have only recently been instituted. In the 1990s, all of these tribal programmes have developed new ways to participate in the national historic preservation programme. As a result, the national programme is evolving in ways that are creating unprecedented opportunities to learn about the past, manage resources and make positive contributions to community revitalization and historic preservation as a whole (Ferguson 1996).

In this chapter, we examine how the Navajo, Zuni, Hopi, Hualapai, Gila River and White Mountain Apache tribes have used federal law to create heritage management programmes that meet each tribe's unique needs and cultural values. We describe the heritage programmes operated by each tribe, including their history of development, their role within the community, and their size, structure and goals. There are common issues faced by all six tribes but these are dealt with in different ways. Interpretations of federal laws and regulations, concepts of what should be managed, and principles of management vary between tribes. When tribal perspectives on heritage management are compared to federal and state viewpoints, however, there is an even greater disparity.

The tribal programmes discussed in this chapter are only a sample of the total number of tribal heritage management programmes in the Southwest. Other heritage programmes not discussed here are operated by the Jemez Pueblo, Jicarilla Apache, Kaibab Paiute, Mescalero Apache, Salt River Indian Community, San Carlos Apache, Santa Clara Pueblo, Tohono O'odam and Yavapai Apache tribes.

## **THE FEDERAL RELATIONSHIP, LAND STATUS AND THE LEGAL FRAMEWORK**

Federally recognized Native American tribes and Native Alaskan communities have a special relationship with the government of the United States (Deloria 1985; McGuire 1990). Their status as sovereign but dependent nations within the United States entails a 'government to government' relationship. In theory, this means that a tribe's chief executive officer (e.g. the chairman, governor or president) should have direct access to the President of the United States. In reality, this is seldom true, and most tribal leaders are obliged to interact with officials of the administrative branch having the delegated authority to represent the President. The opportunity for tribes to utilize their sovereign status to cut through layers of federal bureaucracy and bypass state governments is, however, regularly used to great effect by tribal leaders.

Each of the six Southwestern tribes discussed in this chapter is federally recognized, with lands reserved for their exclusive use. These Indian reservations were historically created through a combination of federal executive orders,

Congressional acts, and, in the case of the Navajo Nation, a treaty. The reservation lands owned by the tribes are held in trust by the United States government. As a result of this federal trust status, federal actions on Indian reservations are subject to federal historic preservation and environmental protection laws.

The legal framework for the protection and management of heritage resources on Indian reservations is complex (Suagee and Funk 1993; Suagee 1994). In addition to the NHPA and NAGPRA, the suite of federal laws affecting heritage resources on federal and Indian lands includes the Antiquities Act of 1906, the Historic Sites Act of 1935, the American Indian Religious Freedom Act of 1978, the Archaeological Resources Protection Act of 1979 and various presidential executive orders. The National Environmental Policy Act of 1969, although not specifically designed to manage heritage resources, can be a powerful tool in their protection. Formal regulations in the Code of Federal Regulations (CFR) govern the activities of federal agencies with regard to some of these statutes. Additionally, guidelines are sometimes available to assist managers, professionals and other citizens with implementation. The NHPA, for example, has regulations (36-CFR-60 and 36-CFR-800), as well as guidelines such as National Register Bulletin 38, 'Guidelines for evaluating and documenting traditional cultural properties' (Parker and King n.d.).

Most of the cultural resources management (CRM) currently performed in the United States is a direct result of compliance with the NHPA, and this mandate was a major catalyst in the development of tribal programmes in the 1970s and 1980s. In this chapter, we focus on how tribes have responded to the opportunities and responsibilities inherent in the NHPA. The NHPA requires that all federal agencies take into account the effect of their actions on historic properties, that is buildings, structures, objects, archaeological sites, historic districts, and traditional cultural properties listed on or eligible to the National Register of Historic Places. Federal agencies have specific responsibilities to identify, assess and evaluate historic properties. Consultation with the State Historic Preservation Officer (SHPO) of the state where the federal undertaking is located is required. Although funded from federal sources, the SHPO is a state employee. In 1992, the NHPA was amended, requiring that tribes also be consulted about the effect of proposed projects on historic properties associated with those tribes.

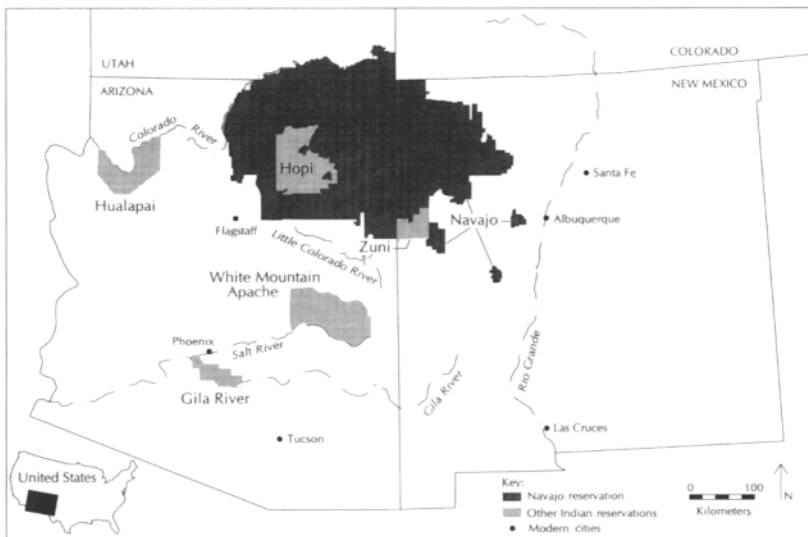
The 1992 NHPA amendments also enhanced tribes' capacities to assume the SHPO functions on their own lands. Until 1992, the SHPO was, for all practical purposes, solely responsible for monitoring NHPA compliance by being the only official given the role of concurring with federal agencies. Many tribes considered this to be an unwanted and unwarranted intrusion of state government into what should be the sovereign affairs of the tribes. Today, many tribes are asserting their right to control heritage resources by replacing the SHPO with a Tribal Heritage Preservation Official (THPO).

## TRIBAL HERITAGE MANAGEMENT PROGRAMMES

The origins, history and administrative organization of six tribal heritage management programmes in the American Southwest are described. This review demonstrates that tribal heritage programmes in a single region of the country apply a diversity of approaches to the management of heritage resources.

### Navajo Nation

The Navajo Nation has a population of about 200,000 tribal members, with a reservation encompassing about 44,504 sq. km covering parts of Arizona, New Mexico and Utah (Figure 11.1). Much of the Navajo Reservation is characterized by a 'checker-boarded' land status in which sections of tribal trust lands alternate with private or federal lands (Goodman 1982:56, 57). For the last forty years, the Navajo Nation has operated programmes to do its own archaeological research and CRM (Downer and Roberts 1996). These programmes began in the 1950s, when the tribe hired archaeologists to provide research support for the litigation of Navajo land claims. In the 1960s, these archaeologists were transferred to the Navajo Tribal Museum. In 1978, twelve years after the passage of the NHPA, the Navajo Nation started a CRM programme to provide the professional services needed to inventory and evaluate historic properties. In 1987, this programme was split into two separate organizations to undertake different functions. These two programmes are described below.



**Figure 11.1** Locations of tribal reservations.

*Navajo Nation Historic Preservation Department*

The Historic Preservation Department (HPD) was established to enable the Navajo Nation to manage historic preservation compliance activities on the Navajo Indian Reservation and to develop a programme to meet needs for tribal historic preservation. Based in the tribe's Division of Natural Resources, the HPD started with a contract under the Indian Education and Self-Determination Act to manage NHPA compliance for the federal Bureau of Indian Affairs. The HPD underwent several years of rapid growth and now employs about sixty-seven people, including both tribal members and non-Indians. With a central office in Window Rock, capital of the Navajo Nation, HPD also maintains offices in Gallup, Flagstaff and Shiprock. The HPD has an annual operating budget of \$4 million, about \$500,000 of which is funded by the tribe, with the remainder obtained from federal grants and contracts (Table 11.1).

The HPD incorporates nine programmes:

- 1 Traditional Cultural Programme;
- 2 Navajo Nation Museum;
- 3 Forestry, Navajo Partitioned Lands, and Bureau of Land Operations Programme;
- 4 Facility Management Programme;
- 5 Glen Canyon Environmental Studies;
- 6 Cultural Resources Compliance Programme;
- 7 Chaco Protection Site Programme;
- 8 Roads Planning Programme; and
- 9 Chambers-Sanders Trust Land Programme.

In its first years of operation, the HPD focused its efforts on managing the compliance activities associated with development activities on the Navajo Indian Reservation. Since 1993, the HPD has emphasized the development of the Traditional Cultural Programme, an initiative to integrate and promote Navajo values in the management of Navajo heritage resources (Begay 1991; Downer and Roberts 1993). The Traditional Cultural Programme is responsible for the management of sacred sites and activities relating to the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA). A group of nineteen *Hatathli* (medicine men) serve as an Advisory Council to guide the activities of the Traditional Cultural Programme and HPD. The Navajo Nation has a Cultural Resources Protection Act that parallels the NHPA. In 1996, the Navajo Nation HPD assumed all the functions of the three SHPOs with regard to tribal lands.

*Navajo Nation Archaeology Department*

The Navajo Nation Archaeology Department (NNAD) provides the professional services needed to inventory, evaluate and mitigate adverse impacts to historic properties as required by the NHPA and the Navajo Nation Cultural Resources Protection Act (Klesert 1992; TwoBears 1995). Employing between fifty and ninety-

**Table 11.1** Comparison of tribes and their heritage management programmes

	Navajo HPD	Navajo NNAD	Zuni ZHHPO	Zuni ZCRE	Hopi CPO	Hualapai OCR	Gila River CRMP	WM Apache HP
Population	200,000	-	10,000	-	10,000	2,000	12,000	12,000
Reservation (sq. km)	44,504	-	1,707	-	6,242	4,048	1,505	6,734
Date of Reservation	1868	-	1877	-	1882	1883	1859	1871
Program Established	1987	1978	1994	1975	1990	1991	1993	1996
Number Employees	67	50 to 97	4	24 to 60	12	7	17	5
Cultural Advisors	19	-	7	-	15	7	14	5 to 9
Typical Annual Budget	\$4,000,000	\$3,000,000	\$250,000	\$800,000	\$478,000	\$379,000	\$1,500,000	\$230,000
Tribal Funding	12.5%	0%	0%	0%	30%	11%	3%	65%
Tribal Ordinance	yes	-	pending	-	pending	pending	yes	pending
SHPO Assumption	yes	-	planned	-	no	yes	no	yes

seven people, both tribal and non-tribal members, the NNAD engages in a variety of archaeological survey and excavation projects both on and off the Navajo Indian Reservation. Staff size varies as projects move from field work to report preparation phases. NNAD has offices in Window Rock, Farmington and Flagstaff. NNAD has cooperative agreements with Northern Arizona University in Flagstaff and Fort Lewis College in Durango, Colorado, to provide training and employment for Navajo students. The annual budget of NNAD averages about \$3 million.

### **Pueblo of Zuni**

The Pueblo of Zuni has a population of about 10,000 tribal members, with a reservation encompassing about 1,707 sq. km located in New Mexico and Arizona (see Figure 11.1). It has operated an archaeological research and CRM programme since 1973 (Ferguson 1984; Anyon and Zunie 1989; Anyon and Ferguson 1995). Formerly known as the Zuni Archaeology Programme, the tribe's heritage management programme today incorporates two separate programmes, as described below.

#### *Zuni Heritage and Historic Preservation Office*

The Zuni Heritage and Historic Preservation Office (ZHHPO) was established in 1994 to work on historic preservation and management of tribal heritage resources. It employs a full-time staff of four people. The programme is directed by a tribal member, assisted by a non-Zuni technical adviser. A Cultural Resources Advisory Team composed of seven Zuni religious leaders assists with programme research and provides cultural guidance. The annual budget of the programme is about \$250,000, all of which is derived from external grants and contracts (see Table 11.1). The lack of programmatic funding from the tribe constrains activities and obliges the ZHHPO to concentrate on specific contracts rather than pursue issues important to the preservation of Zuni culture. ZHHPO reports to the Zuni Tribal Council through the Tribal Administrator.

The goals of ZHHPO are:

- 1 to manage heritage resources on the Zuni Indian Reservation;
- 2 to assist Zuni religious leaders with the repatriation of sacred objects and cultural patrimony pursuant to NAGPRA;
- 3 to influence management of Zuni heritage resources outside the Zuni Indian Reservation; and
- 4 to assume the functions of the SHPO.

A draft Cultural Resources Ordinance has been prepared and is pending passage by the Tribal Council. The Zuni Cultural Resources Advisory Team operates beyond the boundaries of the Zuni Indian Reservation by inventorying traditional cultural properties, examining museum collections, and recommending appropriate ways to manage or repatriate these heritage resources.

### *Zuni Cultural Resources Enterprise*

The Pueblo of Zuni operates the Zuni Cultural Resources Enterprise (ZCRE) as a tribal business to provide historic property inventory, evaluation and mitigation services. ZCRE was established in 1982. To support itself, this business does a substantial amount of work outside the Zuni Reservation, and many of its projects are located on the Navajo Reservation. ZCRE employs a full-time staff of twenty-four people, nineteen of whom are Native Americans. Major field work projects occasionally require as many as sixty people on a temporary basis. The annual budget of the ZCRE is dependent on the number and size of contracts, and is currently about \$800,000. A portion of ZCRE profit is used to fund some ZHHPO activities.

### **Hopi Tribe**

The Hopi Tribe has a population of about 10,000 tribal members, with a reservation encompassing about 6,242 sq. km in Arizona (see Figure 11.1). The Hopi Tribe established the Hopi Cultural Preservation Office (CPO) in 1990 to preserve Hopi culture and manage Hopi heritage resources. This programme is based in the tribe's Department of Natural Resources.

The CPO employs a staff of twelve people, eight of whom are Hopi tribal members. The programme has an annual budget of \$478,000, about 30 per cent of which is directly funded by the tribe (see Table 11.1). The rest of the budget comes from grants and contracts to work on specific projects. The CPO is guided by the Hopi Cultural Resources Advisory Task Team, an advisory group containing fifteen men representing clans, villages and religious societies. The CPO works on diverse issues that are related to cultural preservation, including managing heritage resources on and off the Hopi Reservation, reburial of human remains, repatriation of sacred objects from museums pursuant to NAGPRA, language preservation, and protection of Hopi intellectual property rights (Ferguson *et al.* 1993, 1995a 1995b; Dongoske *et al.* 1994; Jenkins *et al.* 1996). The staff of the CPO includes four professional archaeologists, several of whom work on contracts to conduct NHPA compliance on historic properties on the Hopi Reservation. A recently established cooperative agreement between the Hopi Tribe and Northern Arizona University in Flagstaff provides training and employment for student tribal members in the CPO branch office on the university campus.

A Historic and Cultural Resources Preservation Ordinance has been drafted and is pending enactment by the tribal council. The CPO does not plan to assume SHPO functions and instead wants to concentrate its programme resources on issues that are central to Hopi cultural preservation rather than to NHPA compliance.

### **Hualapai Tribe**

The Hualapai Tribe has a population of about 2,000 tribal members, with a reservation encompassing about 4,048 sq. km in Arizona (see Figure 11.1). The Hualapai Office of Cultural Resources (OCR) was established in 1991. The



programme was originally organized to work on a single project, the Glen Canyon Environmental Studies, which was designed to study Hualapai cultural and natural resources being impacted by the operation of Glen Canyon dam on the Colorado river. Since 1991, the OCR has expanded its operation to include many historic preservation activities.

The OCR has a full-time staff of seven people, all of whom are Hualapai tribal members. It operates with an annual budget of about \$379,000, some of which is derived from tribal funds (see Table 11.1). The OCR has established a tribal enterprise to provide archaeological services under contract, and the proceeds from this business are used to support travel and programme activities. OCR was originally based in the Natural Resources Department but was recently made an independent programme that reports directly to the Tribal Chairman through the Executive Branch for Administration and Planning.

The OCR works on a variety of research projects oriented towards collecting the information needed to manage tribal heritage resources using Hualapai values (Jackson 1996; Jackson and Stevens 1997). These projects include archaeological surveys, ethnobotanical research, and documentation of oral history through interviews with tribal elders. The Hualapai Tribe's activities relating to NAGPRA are managed by the OCR. The Hualapai Tribe and the neighbouring Havasuapai Tribe have cooperated on research relating to repatriation issues. The OCR participates in an 'Interdisciplinary Team', a tribal standing committee that assists the Hualapai Tribal Council in planning development on the reservation and in complying with the National Environmental Policy Act. The Interdisciplinary Team helps to determine the scope of work needed for cultural resource investigations on the Hualapai Indian Reservation.

A tribal historic preservation ordinance has been drafted and its enactment by the Hualapai Tribal Council is pending. OCR has established a tribal historic preservation programme as authorized in the NHPA and has assumed most of the SHPO functions for compliance activities on tribal land.

### **Gila River Indian Community**

The Gila River Indian Community has a population of 12,000 tribal members, with a reservation encompassing about 1,505 sq. km in Arizona (see Figure 11.1). The Gila River Indian Community enacted a cultural resources protection ordinance in 1982. The tribe's Cultural Resources Management Programme (CRMP) was established in 1993 to meet the need for archaeological research associated with the development of the Central Arizona Project, a large-scale project funded by the federal Bureau of Reclamation to develop irrigated agricultural land on and off the reservation (Ravesloot 1995). This project is supporting an archaeological survey of about 40 per cent of the reservation, as well as future excavations to recover archaeological data that will be impacted during the development of the irrigation project. The Gila River Indian Community wants this research to be done by the tribe rather than by outside archaeological contractors.

The CRMP currently employs a full-time staff of seventeen, and plans to hire another eight employees. The majority of the employees are Native Americans, primarily members of the Gila River Indian Community. The programme has an annual budget of about \$1,500,000, most of which comes from the Bureau of Reclamation (see Table 11.1). Other sources of funding include archaeological research contracted by the US Public Health Service and grants from the National Park Service. The programme works with a fourteen-member Cultural Advisory Committee composed of a Tribal Council representative and tribal elders from each of the tribe's seven political districts.

CRMP focuses on archaeological research but the programme also assists the tribe with repatriation activities relating to NAGPRA. It also has plans to develop the Hohokam Heritage Center on tribal land to provide a federally funded repository for Hohokam artefacts excavated during the Central Arizona Project, much of which lies outside the reservation. The Hohokam Heritage Center will be an educational institution as well as a curatorial storage facility. Consequently, many of the long-range historic preservation goals of the Gila River Indian community will be met by this Heritage Center.

The Central Arizona Project will last for fifteen years, but the Gila River Indian Community wants its CRMP to be permanent. The tribe is therefore using the large, well-funded Central Arizona Project to train its staff and to build an archaeological research programme that will soon be poised to compete for commercial archaeological contracts off the reservation. This will attain one of the historic preservation goals of the tribe, which is to have a substantial portion of the archaeological research in the rapidly developing Phoenix basin done by tribal programmes. The CRMP does not currently plan to assume SHPO functions for the Gila River Indian Reservation. As an alternative, the tribe wants to manage the federal historic preservation compliance process to attain tribal goals in the context of providing archaeological research services.

### **White Mountain Apache Tribe**

With a rapidly growing population of about 12,000 members, the White Mountain Apache Tribe occupies the 6,734 sq. km Fort Apache Indian Reservation in the mountains of eastern Arizona (see Figure 11.1). White Mountain Apache involvement in heritage management was initially confined to hosting major research excavations and serving as field workers on these projects. However, the outlines of an ambitious heritage programme began to take shape in the early 1990s, as community interest in NAGPRA escalated, an archaeologist joined the local Bureau of Indian Affairs staff, and the White Mountain Apache Tribe (1993) completed its Master Plan for the Fort Apache Historic Park.

Still a work in progress, the White Mountain Apache Tribe's Heritage Programme is seeking to integrate and incorporate cultural and linguistic education, repatriation, museum and archive development, heritage tourism and historic preservation. The Heritage Programme currently reports directly to the

Tribal Chairman, and organization development is adhering to the Master Plan, particularly the strategy of exploiting the name recognition and ambivalent symbolism associated with historic Fort Apache in order to draw attention to and celebrate long-neglected Apache perspectives on Apache culture and history. The effort to save the Fort Apache Historic District is being linked to cultural preservation through the rehabilitation of existing fort buildings to serve as the tribe's cultural education and museum facility, the tribe's tourism office, and a gathering and feeding facility for the elderly. A historic church and a reconstructed fourteenth-century pueblo are being rehabilitated for use as heritage tourist destinations.

A Cultural Advisory Group of elders and other Apache cultural specialists provides Heritage Programme oversight as well as the often highly sensitive information required to provide for the culturally appropriate identification and protection of Apache heritage resources. The tribe's Cultural Resources Director coordinates the activities of the Cultural Advisory Group as well as repatriation, cultural education and museum initiatives. Providing archaeological services and managing consultations with federal and state agencies is the role of the Historic Preservation Officer. The White Mountain Apache Tribe has assumed some of the SHPO's responsibilities for tribal lands but has postponed taking on NHPA compliance review, pending the enactment of the tribe's Heritage Preservation Ordinance and the development of additional administrative capacity. Heritage Programme staff salaries and limited programme support are provided by the tribe and the local Bureau of Indian Affairs agency, with a total budget of \$230,000, but all of the Heritage Programme's initiatives are funded from specific grants (see Table 11.1).

## **COMPARISON OF TRIBAL PROGRAMMES**

Each of the six tribes included in this study has designed its heritage management organizations to fit its own needs, goals and culture. The development of each tribal programme reflects historical and political factors as well as organizational needs.

The Navajo and Zuni tribes started intensive historic preservation activities by establishing CRM programmes oriented towards contract archaeology. These programmes were established in the 1970s at a time when the field of contract archaeology was undergoing rapid growth. Over time, the Navajo and Zuni tribes gradually increased the managerial functions of their CRM programmes. Eventually they decided to separate the managerial functions relating to historic preservation from archaeological research under business contracts. Both tribes do enough historic preservation programming and archaeological research to make separate programmes viable.

The Hopi and Hualapai tribes started with a focus on cultural preservation or historic preservation activities. Both of these tribes also do a small amount of archaeological contracting as a supplement to their heritage management

programmes, but this archaeological research is generally confined to their own reservation. In contrast, the Navajo Nation Archaeology Department and the Zuni Cultural Resources Enterprise do a substantial amount of archaeological research in areas off their reservations, and the Gila River Cultural Resources Management Programme is planning to do work off its reservation as opportunities arise.

Because the Hopi and Hualapai tribes started with a focus on the management of broadly defined tribal heritage resources, they have developed substantial ethnographic research programmes to document traditional cultural properties. Ethnography is the study of living people, and tribal ethnographic programmes apply the knowledge and wisdom of tribal elders to community-based educational and economic development programmes. These tribes have as much interest in tribal history and ethnographic research as they do in archaeological studies. The Navajo and Zuni tribes have also developed an interest in ethnographic research, but this came after their CRM programmes had already developed strong archaeological research capabilities. White Mountain Apache interests also centre on ethnography and ethnohistory, with archaeological work discouraged except in the context of essential economic and community development projects.

The Gila River Indian Community started its Cultural Resources Management Programme in 1993 with a mission very similar to that of the Navajo and Zuni tribes in the 1970s. The development of this programme has focused on establishing a strong archaeological research programme that meets the immediate needs for archaeological research on the Gila River Indian Reservation. While archaeological research is the current focus, the Gila River Cultural Resources Management Programme also conducts ethnographic research and is working to develop a Hohokam Heritage Center that will provide for the storage of sensitive collections and fulfil many other cultural preservation needs.

Study of the six tribal programmes indicates that there are many different ways to develop tribal heritage management programmes. Each tribe has determined what its goals are and how these can best be met, given the financial and human resources it has available.

## **COMMON ISSUES**

Although each tribal programme approaches heritage management in a different way, a number of issues are important to all the programmes. How tribes resolve these issues affects their abilities to manage heritage resources in culturally appropriate and sensitive ways. These common issues entail many questions. What are heritage resources and how do tribal views differ from those of non-tribal agencies? Should a tribe assume some or all SHPO functions on tribal lands and how will this affect tribal needs? How can relations and consultations with state and federal governments become more equitable and meaningful? Do

tribal governments and communities understand how heritage management can benefit the tribe without adversely affecting traditional cultural values? In what ways and to what extent should the tribe control the practice of archaeology, ethnography and other forms of heritage resource inquiry on their reservation? How can the tribe maintain confidentiality of information collected as a result of heritage management activities? To what extent should tribes with cultural ties to heritage resources located on another tribe's reservation have a role in the management of those resources?

Land status cross-cuts almost all these issues. Although tribes control the lands within their reservations, their control over their aboriginal lands and traditional use areas beyond their reservation boundaries is far more limited. Indian reservations in the Southwest were created after the United States acquired this territory from the Republic of Mexico in 1848. After 1848, the United States illegally appropriated native lands by taking them without payment. In 1946, the United States recognized that many Indian tribes had continuing claims to land, and the Indian Claims Commission was established to quiet aboriginal title to native lands by compensating tribes for the value of land at the time it was taken (Sutton 1975:91–114). Most tribes in New Mexico and Arizona established the areas they exclusively used and occupied in 1848 through litigation adjudicated by the Indian Claims Commission or other federal courts within the past fifty years.

For Indian tribes, however, 1848 is recent history. The areas where their ancestors traditionally lived, migrated, farmed, hunted, collected plants and minerals, prayed, and were buried after they died, cover enormous areas that are many times larger than the areas established in the award of a land claim. Recognition of tribal traditional use areas is critical in the interaction between tribes and state and federal agencies because there is a tendency for non-tribal agencies to consider only land claim areas when dealing with heritage resources such as traditional cultural properties. Tribes have continuing concerns for heritage resources in their traditional use areas that extend far beyond both their reservation and the area of their land claims.

### **Differing views of heritage management**

In general, the tribes view heritage resources more holistically than federal and state agencies. This fundamental difference in perspective is a source of conflict, but has also motivated tribes to take important steps towards full participation in the historic preservation process, research, public land management policy and legislative development. Essentially, the tribes view all aspects of their culture, tangible and intangible, as heritage resources that need to be protected and maintained. Tribes consistently advocate resource protection through avoidance of impact. In contrast, federal and state agencies see heritage resources as primarily tangible things and places that compete with other values and resources for management priorities. It is consequently common for non-tribal agencies to advocate the treatment of a resource by mitigating impacts to it with

a scientific data recovery programme. Mitigation by scientific study is thus seen as a viable alternative to protection by avoidance. Many tribes disagree with this view, especially with regard to traditional cultural properties, because scientific data collection is seen to be yet another impact to tribal heritage resources (Dongoske *et al.* 1995; Ferguson *et al.* 1995a, 1995b; Sebastian 1995). Tribes view such impacts as severe when scientific research exposes knowledge or objects that tribes think should remain privileged, esoteric, or both.

On their reservations, tribes have the opportunity to avoid impacting heritage resources before the NHPA compliance process is initiated. Avoidance eliminates the need to involve state and federal agencies in sensitive tribal issues. For example, impacts to a traditional cultural property may be avoided on a reservation by redesigning the project or relocating it away from the property. The tribe thus circumvents having even to address the issue during the agencies' compliance process. On projects where compliance with the NHPA is needed, tribes with heritage management programmes have more flexibility to use their own interpretations of what constitutes a historic property than they otherwise would, and this increases tribal control over the management of heritage resources on their reservations.

Off reservations, within aboriginal and traditional use lands, things are different. Federal and state agencies seldom have knowledge about tribal heritage resources in these areas during the initial planning stage of projects. Tribal involvement in the inventory, assessment and evaluation of cultural resources required by the NHPA is thus critical because of nearly three decades focused almost exclusively on archaeological resources, but such involvement is still rare. Some federal agencies, in fact, are reticent to compensate tribes for the professional services provided in the identification and evaluation of tribal resources, even though these professional services are directly analogous to services provided by archaeologists who are routinely compensated for their work. Although the NHPA requires federal agencies to consult with tribes, such consultation is still uncommon and inconsistent. Agencies too often ignore tribal input (Dongoske and Anyon 1997).

Federal and state agencies often view tourism as a way to use heritage resources in economic development. Because several agencies actively encourage tourism in the Southwest, many heritage resources are currently promoted as spectacular tourist destinations. Many national parks in the Southwest are either located within or adjacent to Indian reservations, and all are within tribal aboriginal lands or traditional use areas. These national parks act as tourist magnets, and this too often has adverse effects on Indian lands and resources. This is problematic because the National Park Service has only recently begun to ask tribes for culturally appropriate management guidance. Canyon de Chelly National Monument, a major attraction located within the Navajo Reservation, exemplifies the complexities involving heritage resources tourism. Even though the Navajo Nation realizes economic benefits from the monument, the Nation has little control over the visitors passing through its lands to reach the monument. Furthermore,

the Navajo people who reside in the monument, and the heritage resources located there, are subjected to tourist behaviours that are not always compatible with Navajo culture. As a consequence, the Navajo HPD is concerned about tourism, and does not actively promote visitation to archaeological sites on the Navajo Reservation.

The Zuni, Hopi, Hualapai and Gila River tribes are also cautious about heritage tourism because they do not want to expose their ancestral sites to adverse impacts from non-Indians. In a referendum of tribal members, for example, the Zuni Tribe voted against the establishment of a national park on the Zuni Reservation, and similar plans to establish a national park on the Gila Indian Reservation at the famous archaeological site of Snaketown are on hold due to community concerns. The White Mountain Apache, however, view strictly controlled heritage tourism as a viable part of the tribal economy, and they are currently rehabilitating historic buildings on the reservation to develop the Fort Apache Historic Park.

### **Tribal assumption of SHPO responsibilities**

The legal authority for tribes to assume all or part of the SHPO responsibilities for their reservations was established in the 1992 amendments to the NHPA. These amendments require that the Secretary of the Interior establish a programme and promulgate regulations to assist Indian tribes in preserving their historic properties. In order to assume SHPO responsibilities, tribes must obtain National Park Service approval of their tribal historic preservation programme plan. Whilst tribes are expected to comply with accepted professional standards and guidelines, the amended NHPA also states that tribal programmes should 'ensure that tribal values are taken into account to the extent feasible'. Tribes, therefore, have the opportunity to select which specific SHPO functions they wish to assume, and also to tailor their programme to reflect tribal cultural values. This major change in federal heritage management is viewed from different perspectives by different tribes.

For the Navajo, Hualapai, White Mountain Apache and Zuni, the assumption of SHPO responsibilities is primarily a means for advancing their sovereign rights and increasing tribal control of tribal resources. The Navajo have now assumed all functions of the SHPO for Navajo lands in New Mexico, Arizona, and Utah, although disagreement with the National Park Service over the National Register nomination process is still pending. Both the Hualapai and White Mountain Apache have elected to assume most of the SHPO functions. These tribes have decided to allow the SHPO to retain functions that either have little relevance on tribal lands or for which the staff of the SHPO's office has greater expertise (e.g. functions related to tax incentives and architectural rehabilitation).

The Pueblo of Zuni plans to assume some SHPO functions after it has enacted a cultural resources protection ordinance. Zuni officials think that an ordinance establishing the tribe's legal authority to manage heritage resources

is needed to provide a foundation for a successful heritage and historic preservation programme. Zuni consequently wants to have this ordinance in place before taking on the functions of the SHPO. Similarly, the White Mountain Apache have not yet assumed NHPA compliance review, pending the development of tribal legal and administrative foundations.

Sovereignty is also an important issue to the Hopi and Gila River tribes, but they have a different perspective on the assumption of SHPO responsibilities. The Hopi think that they already have adequate participation in the NHPA compliance process conducted by the Bureau of Indian Affairs, and they question whether 'buying into' the federal historic preservation philosophy by performing what are now SHPO tasks will sacrifice aspects of tribal sovereignty. The Gila River heritage programme is currently involved in other projects with higher priority for the tribe, such as the development of a Hohokam Heritage Center and the expansion of its contract archaeology programme. Furthermore, the number of SHPO actions on the Gila River Reservation is so small that assuming SHPO responsibilities is not as important as other tribal priorities. Given their tribal priorities, neither Hopi nor Gila River are presently planning to assume any SHPO responsibilities.

All of the tribes are concerned about funding their historic preservation programmes, especially because there is no long-term guaranteed programmatic funding source for the tribes who take over SHPO responsibilities. None of the tribes wants to compete with SHPOs for scarce federal funding. Instead, the tribes think that the federal government should develop a new source of funding specifically set aside for tribal heritage programmes.

### **Relations with federal and state governments**

On some reservations the role of the SHPO is rapidly diminishing, whilst on others it remains unchanged. Nevertheless, federal and state agencies have such a central role in historic preservation that they will continue to interact with tribal heritage programmes even if these programmes assume SHPO responsibilities. Some federal agencies will also remain involved in historic preservation on reservations because of the nature of their activities. This is especially true for the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) and the Public Health Service. Moreover, projects located outside Indian reservations will require expanded consultation with tribal programmes concerning the management of tribal heritage resources.

Two tribes have chosen to contract directly with federal agencies to perform services needed for cultural resources compliance. The Navajo Nation has a contract with the BIA through the Indian Education and Self Determination Act, while Gila River has a contract with the Bureau of Reclamation (BOR) through a self-governance compact. The specific conditions of each of these tribes makes these contracts possible. The Navajo Nation is the only tribe in the country that has a BIA area office dedicated solely to administering a single tribe; all other BIA area offices administer multiple tribes. The Navajo



contracting of the BIA's historic preservation compliance activities thus did not involve other tribes or fragmenting the limited funds available to BIA area offices (Downer and Roberts 1996). For Gila River, the massive federal irrigation project under development to satisfy tribal water rights provided the opportunity for a contract with the BOR to provide most of the CRM services required for project compliance with the NHPA. In both cases, tribal-agency tensions are inherent in the efforts to exercise control over contract scope, processes, products and funding.

Off reservations, the relations with SHPO and federal agencies are variable. Tribal concerns focus on NHPA compliance activities, especially those related to traditional cultural properties and the treatment of culturally affiliated burials under NAGPRA. In many instances, federal agencies either make no attempt to identify traditional cultural properties or make what tribes consider to be an inadequate effort. Hopi and Zuni, for example, insist that NHPA compliance activities within their traditional use areas require identification, assessment and evaluation of traditional cultural properties, and that only tribal members have the expertise to provide these services (Othole and Anyon 1993). Federal agencies often do not agree with this approach, sometimes maintaining that field work is unnecessary, that any tribal participation must be supported by tribal funds, or that the tribe has no legitimate connection to the project area. Tribal disagreements with SHPOs usually revolve around the application of significance criteria and the evaluation of traditional cultural properties (Dongsoko *et al.* 1995; Sebastian 1995).

### **Relations with tribal governments and tribal communities**

Developing and maintaining good relations with tribal governments and community members is a critical aspect of successful tribal heritage management programmes. In this respect, tribal ordinances providing legal authority for heritage management and clearly mandated programme responsibilities are key elements. Even though only two of the six tribes under consideration here, the Navajo and Gila River, have enacted tribal statutes, each of the others has drafted legislation that is pending action by their tribal councils (see Table 11.1). Ordinances provide stability and, in so doing, promote programme continuity between routine changes in elected and appointed tribal officials.

Positive relations with community members, especially traditional cultural leaders, is essential. These relations are often difficult to establish, but they are central to the success of tribal heritage programmes because the goals and priorities of these programmes derive from community members, elders and traditional practitioners. The philosophies, structures and methods of traditional cultures are very different from those of the federal and state historic preservation programmes, so it is initially difficult to establish a working relationship in which the two worldviews can coexist. Moreover, traditional leaders are often quite wary of federal, state and even tribal agencies. Building a working relationship is thus fraught with difficulties that

may take many years to overcome. However, if the communities are to provide the essential support for their heritage preservation offices, such relationships must be established on the basis of trust. Each of the six tribal heritage management programmes reviewed in this chapter has cultural advisers or advisory teams as a fundamental part of their structure. In all cases, these advisers work closely with the programme staff and serve as liaisons with other traditional cultural leaders.

### **The control of archaeological and ethnological research on reservations**

With the exception of the Hualapai, in the past all of the tribes with heritage management programmes have been subjected to large-scale archaeological projects on their reservations. These past archaeological projects removed thousands of ancestral burials and excavated scores of archaeological sites purely for research purposes (e.g. Gladwin *et al.* 1938; Smith *et al.* 1966; Smith 1972; Longacre and Reid 1974; Haury 1976). These projects trouble many contemporary tribal members, and none of the tribes currently allows such projects. Excavation is now focused on archaeological sites threatened by impacts from development that cannot be avoided. In contrast to many cultural resources compliance projects off reservations, where excavations outside impact areas are encouraged by the sponsoring federal agency and SHPO as a way to collect comparative scientific data, the tribes with heritage management programmes generally discourage archaeological excavations outside direct impact areas. This policy stems from strict tribal conservation ethics that are congruent with traditional values.

The permitting of archaeological survey and excavation projects is required before the tribes with heritage management programmes will allow research to be conducted on their reservations. Federal consultation or permits are also required, depending on the nature of the proposed activity. Tribes generally insist that all organizations other than their own tribal programmes obtain the necessary permits, including federal agencies. This expectation is routinely ignored by many federal agencies, especially the BIA, because these agencies believe that they are working at the tribe's request and thus do not need explicit tribal permission. This is considered arrogant by tribes, and does not build tribal confidence in the BIA's commitment to the federal historic preservation initiatives under NHPA.

All of the six tribes are beginning to address the issue of controlling ethnographic research on their reservations, but only the Navajo currently have the tribal legal authority to do so. Pending Zuni, Hopi, Hualapai and White Mountain Apache ordinances provide for future controls over ethnographic research through a permitting procedure analogous to that required for archaeological research. Maintaining the privileged nature of esoteric religious knowledge and traditional cultural information, and protecting the legal rights of research subjects, are the driving concerns in instituting control of ethnographic research.

## **Confidentiality**

Maintaining the confidentiality of privileged traditional cultural information is critical to the success of tribal heritage programmes, and is among the features that distinguish these programmes from those of federal and state agencies. For the tribes, it is an issue of cultural survival and protecting what many tribes currently refer to as their 'intellectual property rights' (e.g. Graves 1994), although technically this term may not accurately describe the valid legal status of much of this information. At stake is information that tribes consider essential to their security, comparable in many respects to classified information any nation state may deem as secret to protect its vital interests. Whether they use a national security paradigm or intellectual property rights rhetoric, Southwestern tribes are casting about for an effective means to maintain esoteric information for the sole use and benefit of tribal members.

None of the six tribes discussed here will provide confidential information to non-tribal agencies. At Zuni, for example, all information collected on any project with ZHHPO involvement is assessed by the Cultural Resources Advisory Team to determine whether or not it can be released outside the tribe. All confidential information is retained by the tribe and not released to any other agency or person. Other tribes have similar processes designed to protect confidential information. Sometimes tribes withhold information that federal and state agencies believe is needed to determine whether historic properties are eligible for listing on the National Register of Historic Places. Tribes may thus ultimately choose to protect information rather than places, although they generally do everything in their power to protect both.

Some tribes, including the Navajo and White Mountain Apache, refuse to have their archaeological site information entered into state data bases, and instead have their own data bases and GIS capabilities managed and controlled by the tribe. Others, such as Zuni, have made use of state archaeological records management systems to computerize, manage and retrieve data on reservation archaeological sites, but do not submit any information regarding locations that are solely traditional cultural properties.

The tribal need to keep information private is at odds with the professional ethics of archaeologists to share what they learn with other scholars and the public through publication of their findings. Tribal policy can thus conflict with the values of the non-Indian employees of tribal heritage management programmes. How this conflict will ultimately be resolved is an issue that is still being negotiated.

## **CONCLUSIONS**

Until recently, apart from archaeological contracting, tribes have not been active participants in the national historic preservation programme, nor have the other partners been willing to accommodate the tribes' substantial needs and interests. It has taken nearly three decades for the legal changes, and the

administrative and community support, to develop in ways that allow tribal participation in all areas and at all levels of the national programme. Indian tribes may be the last of the four principal partners to join the national programme, but their participation is likely to have the greatest single impact since the programme's inception. In particular, the diverse and distinctive Native American perspectives on which resources deserve protection—defined through heritage management implemented by each tribe—may be seen as one source of paradigmatic change in archaeology and cultural resources management in the United States (Ferguson 1996). The realization that Native Americans, as intellectually potent, politically astute and increasingly organized groups, have significantly divergent, though equally valid, views concerning the goals and implementation of the national programme, is inexorably infiltrating even the most remote and intransigent corners of academia and agency bureaucracy.

The Southwest is a major focus of this infiltration of tribal perspectives. Rapidly increasing tribal involvement in the national programme, in a region where the vast majority of heritage resources are Native American, is having momentous effects on the other partners. Federal agencies and the SHPOs have not always welcomed the conceptual and programmatic changes and reorganizations advocated by the tribes. It is worth noting that these changes are also momentous for the Indian communities that are advocating them. An array of cultural, legal, economic and administrative factors control the ongoing development of tribal heritage programmes. If tribal programme growth is to be sustained, and if professional involvement is to be useful as a means of improving trust among the national programme partners, then the following must occur. Tribal programmes must continue to develop close ties with community elders and traditional leaders. The US Congress must fully recognize tribal rights and needs to participate in the national historic preservation programme through programmatic funding support. Finally, tribes must embrace the responsibilities as well as the rights and advantages that accompany heritage resources management.

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# 12 *The Arkansas Archeological Survey: a statewide cooperative programme to preserve the past*

THOMAS J. GREEN AND  
HESTER A. DAVIS

## INTRODUCTION

It has been thirty years since the Arkansas General Assembly created the Arkansas Archeological Survey. At the time, those outside the state were sceptical—how could Arkansas support a statewide programme of archaeological research when no other state did? Once the legislation was passed, and the appropriation for the first two years of operation was \$350,000, the scepticism was replaced by disbelief and firm knowledge that this kind of a programme would never last! So how is it that every two years for the last thirty, the Arkansas Legislature has continued to provide funds for this programme? There are, of course, several layers to the answer: the creative initial concept of a research, public service and education programme in which all state-supported institutions of higher learning can participate on an equal basis; the strong and constant active support of amateur archaeologists from all over the state; the commitment and dedication of the staff, both professional and support, some of which have been with the survey for all thirty years; the interest of many citizens in this largely rural state in the artefacts they find in their fields, and the monuments to the past—burial mounds and ceremonial mounds—that can still be seen in Arkansas' many river valleys.

The unique organizational structure of the survey was the idea of Charles R. McGimsey III, at the time the Director of the University of Arkansas Museum and Professor of Anthropology, and the survey's first director. He described the organization in this way:

The key concept of the Survey is that all state-supported institutions of higher education in Arkansas...may participate in the programme (if they desire to do so) on an equal basis. To participate, each of the...universities may contract with the Survey by agreeing to reimburse the Survey an amount equivalent to three-sixteenth of an

archeologist's salary (quarter-time for nine months) and to provide the Survey with necessary office and laboratory space. In return the Survey places a Survey Archeologist at the participating institution on a full-time year-round basis. The Survey Archeologist may teach anthropology or perform archeologically related museum work or other research for the institution, as mutually agreed upon in the contract, for an amount of time not to exceed the equivalent of quarter-time for nine months. If teaching is involved, it must all take place in a single semester, leaving the archeologist completely unhindered for research at least eight months of the year. Each archeologist assumes primary responsibility for the archeological resources within his particular region, but his own research need not be restricted by such area boundaries. Similarly, should the need arise, several archeologists could work at a single site. A coordinating staff consisting of a director and a state archeologist, who administer the programme, a registrar to maintain the records, and an editor, photographer, and draftsman to process popular and scientific reports for publication are housed [on the University of Arkansas-Fayetteville campus]. Funds for secretarial, laboratory, and field assistants are available to both the coordinating staff and the Survey Archeologists.

(McGimsey 1972:128-9)

The above quotation describes the organizational concept set down in the legislation for how the survey would operate, and this organization continues today with only the minor additions and changes inevitable in thirty years.

The survey was created as a quasi-independent state agency, although its funds were administered by the University of Arkansas at Fayetteville. In 1977, after the University of Arkansas System was created, the survey became a unit of the system, equivalent administratively to the academic campuses and the medical school. The University of Arkansas Board of Trustees (appointed by the governor) are the survey's legal administrators. This tie to higher education has great advantages in that the survey is allied with other institutions in the state who have similar missions, and higher education in Arkansas receives good support from the legislature and the public.

## **LEGISLATIVE BACKGROUND**

The legislation establishing the Arkansas Archeological Survey is Act 39 of 1967. This law outlines the organizational structure of the Survey, and Section 3 of the act states in detail the duties assigned to it:

- (a) Excavation of historical sites, ruins, and mounds for purpose of securing data and objects relating to early man in Arkansas;



(b) Fundamental research in Arkansas archeology and encouragement of public cooperation in the preservation of Arkansas antiquities;

(c) Research in and study of anthropology, geology, and related social and physical sciences, both prior to excavation and there-after in order to plan and aid in discovery of sites and artefacts and their proper assessment once discovered;

(d) Publication of findings in terms of scientific, popular, and cultural values;

(e) Display and custodianship of artefacts, sites, and other tangible results of the programme;

(f) Educational activities providing a stimulus to archeological efforts and the encouragement of archaeological societies, parks, and museums.

(Section 3(a) to (f), Act 39 of 1967, Acts of Arkansas)

Section 5 of the act designates the survey as the state repository for 'all archaeological field notes, photographs, publications, or other records obtained through the use of state funds by whatever agency' (Section 5, Act 39 of 1967, Acts of Arkansas).

Further duties are detailed in other state laws, such as Act 58 of 1967, which provides protection for archaeological sites on public lands in Arkansas and requires the Arkansas Archeological Survey and state agencies to cooperate in the preservation of these sites. Section 5 of Act 480 of 1977 assigns the survey responsibility for the archaeological portion of the state historic preservation programme administered by the Department of Arkansas Heritage, and the survey and the Department of Arkansas Heritage are directed to cooperate in this programme. In 1991, the state legislature passed Act 753, which provides for the protection and disposition of unmarked graves in the state. The law directs the survey to develop standards for recording unmarked graves and to act as a repository for human skeletal materials when needed.

## **ORGANIZATION**

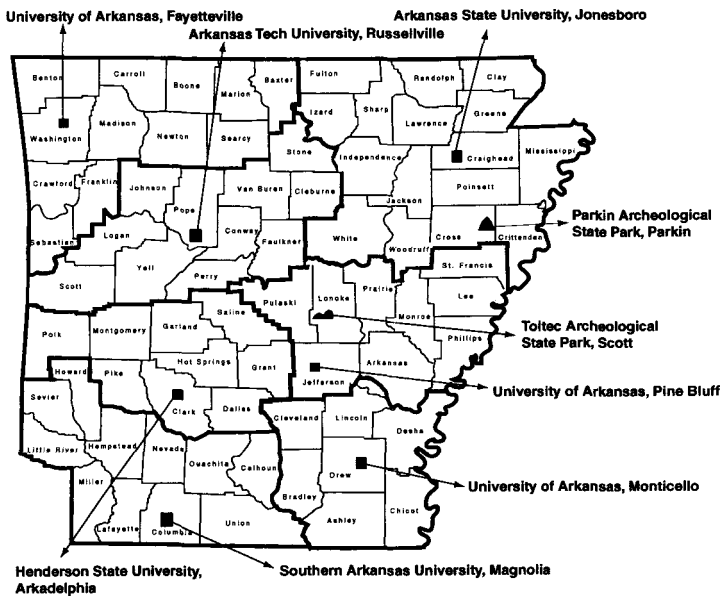
### **Research stations**

The nine research stations are the heart of the Survey. They are strategically located around the state (Figure 12.1), and are operated in conjunction with seven state universities and two state parks. Each research station has a full-time archaeologist and at least one other full-time staff person, either a secretary or a research assistant with archaeological experience. The universities and parks provide office, laboratory and curation space. Research stations have a full complement of excavation and laboratory equipment, a vehicle, cameras and computers, although some expensive items, such as a total station for surveying, are shared between stations.

Research stations operate a broad programme of archaeological research, public service and education. The seven university stations maintain archaeological site records, project records and maps for their respective regions (see Figure 12.1). Archaeological collections from these regions are also curated at the stations. The enabling legislation states explicitly that artefacts accumulated by survey research will be curated at the host institution, unless that institution does not want them or cannot care for them adequately. Thus, artefacts from a particular region of the state are available to the local public through museum exhibits, displays and other venues.

The station archaeologists also teach two anthropology classes each year at their host institutions or perform some other equivalent service. The two state park station archaeologists are responsible for research and the public interpretation of their park in conjunction with the Arkansas Department of Parks and Tourism.

A variety of educational services are provided to the general public and public schools by station archaeologists. These services include: working with amateur archaeologists and sponsoring local chapters of the Arkansas Archeological Society; identifying artefacts found by individuals; assisting property owners who inadvertently discover sites or unmarked graves on their property; and providing advice and information to property owners interested in preserving important archaeological sites. Station archaeologists present and



**Figure 12.1** Arkansas Archeological Survey research stations.  
*Source:* Arkansas Archeological Survey, Fayetteville, Arkansas.

organize public lectures, write popular books and flyers about Arkansas archaeology, and often speak at elementary and secondary schools.

Station archaeologists are regularly consulted by federal and state agencies needing to comply with national and state preservation laws. Station archaeologists are the regional experts and they provide advice to these agencies concerning the significance of sites in their regions, the appropriate discovery techniques to locate sites, and, if necessary, on adequate mitigation measures when a site has to be destroyed. Station archaeologists have also helped local law enforcement agencies in criminal investigations by using archaeological techniques to gather evidence at crime scenes and by providing forensic information on human remains.

In addition, each station archaeologist maintains an active research programme. This research is not confined to the specific territories of the research station, or even the state of Arkansas. For example, notable research has been conducted on the following:

- 1 the earliest cemetery in the New World (Morse and Morse 1983:89–92; Morse 1997);
- 2 archaic exchange systems and the development of archaic mounds in the Lower Mississippi valley (Jeter and Jackson 1990; Jackson and Jeter 1994);
- 3 the adoption of corn agriculture and emergent Mississippian developments (House 1990; Morse and Morse 1990; Rolingson 1990);
- 4 the nature of saltmaking and salt trade in the Mississippi valley (Early 1993);
- 5 protohistoric interaction and depopulation (Jeter 1986; House 1993; Morse and Morse 1996);
- 6 the nature of the trade and interaction between the Caddoan settlements in the Red River valley and Spiroan sites in the Arkansas River valley (Schambach 1990, 1993);
- 7 the rituals of encounter between Europeans and Native Americans in the Lower Mississippi valley and what such rituals indicate about Native American social organization (Sabo 1995a, 1995b, 1996); and
- 8 the nature of the ties to world economies of the small pioneer settlements in nineteenth-century Arkansas (Stewart–Abernathy 1983).

Station archaeologists have conducted research on all periods of Arkansas prehistory and history.

### **Coordinating Office**

The Coordinating Office houses the administrative offices of the survey, including the State Archeologist's Office, Registrar's Office, Computing Services Programme, Sponsored Research Programme and the Publications Programme. The survey's primary administrative staff includes the Director, Assistant Director for Fiscal Affairs, an administrative secretary and an accountant.

The state archaeologist is responsible for statewide public outreach, and oversees the Registrar's Office and the publications programme. In addition, the state archaeologist is responsible for historic preservation activities as mandated by Section 5 of Act 480 of 1977. These activities include preservation planning, preparation of nomination forms for the National Register of Historic Places, and establishing standards and guidelines for archaeological research in the state (see Davis [1982] 1994).

Since its founding, the survey has been concerned with coordination and preservation of the records associated with archaeological research, and, as stated earlier, the survey is the state repository for all state archaeological records. The primary records for individual sites, field work, maps and photographs are located at the research stations, but a copy is kept in the Registrar's Office in Fayetteville. The Registrar's Office, therefore, has a complete set of all site records (at the end of 1996 this numbers over 31,000 sites), all accompanying documentation, and copies of all reports written on Arkansas archaeology. Starting in 1972, when the idea and the technology were new, the survey began computerizing these records. There is now a complete (updated weekly) data base for site information (AMASDA= Automated Management of Archeological Site Data in Arkansas) and a separate data base for individual project information, called PROJECTS (Donat 1995). This information can be accessed via the Internet or modem by any federal or state agency in Arkansas that has a 'need to know', and the hard copy information is available to any researcher. All survey records are, however, specifically exempted from indiscriminate use by Arkansas' Freedom of Information Act. The Registrar's Office also houses the photographic archives and the survey library, and supervises the curation of archaeological collections. A radiocarbon data base and a computerized citation data base of all publications written about Arkansas archaeology are near completion.

The Computer Services Programme, currently with two full-time staff, provides computer support for the offices in Fayetteville and the research stations. All stations are connected to the Internet. The Computer Services Programme maintains the software and hardware necessary to run the AMASDA and PROJECTS data bases. The Computer Services Programme also provides the survey with research capability in spatial analysis by operating a statewide Geographic Information System (GIS) that integrates the site and project data bases with topographic, hydrographic, geological, soils, vegetation, and modern roads and political subdivisions. This provides a tremendous research tool to Arkansas archaeologists for both pure research applications and cultural resource management (CRM). The GIS system has been used to analyse such topics as the distribution of artefacts and features at specific sites (Sabo *et al.* 1990b; Early 1993), to analyse regional site locations at a particular time period (Gillam 1996), as well as to characterize the environmental effects of human occupations over time in one section of the state (Lockhart *et al.* 1995). It has also been used to develop a predictive model to analyse different routes of a proposed state

highway to determine which route would have the least effect on archaeological sites. The State Historic Preservation Office has access to the system via the Internet and uses it when providing comments to federal agencies on historic preservation compliance.

The survey established a publication programme in 1969 with the printing of 3,000 copies of a popular booklet, *Indians of Arkansas* (McGimsey 1969), which was sent to all public schools in the state. This effort was updated in 1992, when two popular books on Arkansas archaeology (Schambach and Newell 1990) and on Arkansas' historic Indians (Sabo 1992) were provided to the public schools. In addition to popular works, the survey also publishes a peer reviewed Research Series which includes archaeological and bioarchaeological monographs of regional or national interest. A Research Report series publishes technical reports by survey archaeologists about Arkansas archaeology.

To date, the survey has published eighty items in these various series. The two-person Publications Office handles all elements of the publication process. It prepares illustrations, graphics and photographic prints, and designs and edits the manuscripts. All editing on survey publications, whether authored by survey personnel or others, is done at the Coordinating Office. The survey also provides short topical information free to public schools and the interested public through its Flyer Series (of which there are eighteen at present).

The Sponsored Research Programme administers all externally funded projects, whether foundation grants or federal contracts. The staff is entirely on 'soft money' from such outside sources, and so fluctuates to some degree, but normally consists of an administrator, a secretary, a laboratory supervisor, three full-time project archaeologists, two full-time assistant archaeologists, and plenty of 'extra help' hired on a project-by-project basis. Federal and state agencies contract with the survey to provide archaeological information needed to comply with state and federal historic preservation laws (recent examples include Cande 1995 and Stewart 1995). Most of these projects are in Arkansas, although occasionally Sponsored Research Programme will contract with federal agencies for projects outside the state (Green and Limp 1995), and archaeologists in the Sponsored Research Programme conduct research and publish on regional issues (Mainfort and Walling 1996).

Federal and state grants secured by survey archaeologists are also administered by this office. Recent ones include a National Science Foundation grant written by John House to analyse the human remains and fauna and flora of an important sixteenth-century site near Little Rock, and a grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities to develop an interactive CD-ROM to teach Mississippi valley colonial history and anthropology. This CD-ROM, written by George Sabo, Mary Kwas and Linda Jones, is particularly interesting in that the original French and Spanish documents will be used to teach Arkansas high school and college students

Mississippi valley geography, history and anthropology, as well as teaching them French and Spanish.

The survey also receives grants from the Arkansas Natural and Cultural Resources Council which distributes money raised through real estate transfer taxes. The council is composed of state agencies that manage natural and cultural resources. It has provided funds to Martha Rolingson at Toltec Mounds State Park to write the final report on Mound D excavations and to Jeffrey Mitchem at Parkin Archeological State Park for detailed fauna and flora analysis.

## **PUBLIC ARCHAEOLOGY ORIENTATION**

The guiding orientation of the survey was expressed in McGimsey's 1972 book *Public Archeology*:

The prehistoric record of our human past is written in the soil. In this age of rapid transformation of the earth's landscape, our only hope for recovery of any major portion of this history is by nearly total involvement of the public.

(McGimsey 1972:6)

Whilst all station archaeologists must have a Ph.D. in anthropology, with a speciality in archaeology and field/report-writing experience, they must also be willing to communicate and work with a wide variety of 'publics'. As the only archaeologist in a local area, they are constantly called on to give talks about Native Americans, archaeology and specific research projects to elementary school classes, civic organizations and local historical societies. They must be available to the press to provide information on their research or to comment on finds by others. But perhaps most important is their interaction with members of the Arkansas Archeological Society.

This organization of some 750 members has been in existence since 1960, and was instrumental in the passage of the survey's enabling legislation. These amateur archaeologists knew that having a 'local' archaeologist available to answer their questions and to share their interest would make their commitment to learning about the past that much more enjoyable and rewarding. In addition, Section 9 of the survey's legislation 'requests' the society to 'review annually and evaluate the programmes and activities of the Arkansas Archeological Survey'. This report is provided to the Survey Director, the universities with research stations, and anyone else who requests it. The link of mutual support and rapport between the survey and the society has always been exceptionally strong. Local chapters of the Arkansas Archeological Survey (AAS) have formed around some of the research station activities, providing opportunities for supervised field and lab experience, and giving the archaeologists a coterie of

enthusiastic and eager helpers. Many small projects and all emergency salvage efforts are possible in the state *only* because of these volunteers.

The largest effort at cooperation, however, and the most 'public' of the survey's public archaeology activities, is the Training Programme for Amateur Archaeologists. Started by McGimsey and Davis in 1964, through the University of Arkansas Museum, the programme has grown yearly to the point that it is nationally known and emulated. It was initially a nine-day field and laboratory experience (over two weekends), but in 1972 a Certification Programme was added and the field time expanded to sixteen days (Early and Chapman 1980; Davis 1990).

The Arkansas Certification Programme allows those participating in the training programme to get 'credit' for the hours of volunteer labour. There are a series of categories toward which an individual may work, each of which requires one or more twenty-hour seminars, and forty, eighty or 120 hours of supervised field and laboratory work. Certificates are awarded in six categories as experience increases. A final research project requires surveying a particular area and writing a report. Each participant is given a log book in which to keep a record of these activities, and the supervisors must sign this to verify the completion of seminars or the amount of hours worked. There are over 150 people currently enrolled in this programme, and between 100 and 150 people participate in the training programme each June. The training programme is usually held in different parts of the state so that society members can get different kinds of experience, and so that the station archaeologists can spread around the responsibility of directing one of these intensive field projects.

In addition to this training programme, the survey and society jointly support two other major public-oriented activities—Archaeology Week in the autumn, and a large booth at the Arkansas State Fair and Livestock Show. Each takes time and effort by the leaders of the society and the station archaeologists, but the public orientation of the programmes and exhibits has paid off handsomely.

In 1996, the survey and society established a Stewardship Programme, whereby society members receive training in monitoring and protecting individual sites they choose or have assigned to them by the station archaeologists. Working with landowners, recording local collections, giving talks to school groups and helping in a yearly conversation project are some of the duties of a steward. The programme is modelled after the extremely successful ones in Texas and Arizona (Huffman 1991), and is yet another way in which both the survey and the society can reach the public with a message of protection, preservation, conservation and learning.

Finally, in the late 1980s, the survey, in cooperation with the Arkansas Humanities Council and the University of Arkansas Museum, developed a large travelling exhibit called 'Crossroads of the Past'. This is distributed to schools through the Arkansas Humanities Council, and in 1996 the contents were made into a thirty-eight minute video of which over 100 copies have been distributed to date.

## **RELATIONSHIPS WITH FEDERAL AND STATE AGENCIES**

Federal legislation in the United States requires federal agencies to develop a comprehensive CRM programme (see Chapter 4 by McManamon in this volume). The programme, following Section 110 of the National Historic Preservation Act, must provide for the identification, evaluation and nomination of historic properties to the National Register of Historic Places, and it must have an affirmative programme to manage effectively sites determined to be eligible for the National Register. It must also have provisions for considering the effects of the agency's actions on archaeological properties, following Section 106 of the act. Federal agencies are required to care for archaeological collections found on federal land or recovered during agency operations, and all land-holding agencies must protect archaeological sites from vandalism. Federal agencies must also comply with the provisions of the Native American Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA) to insure the proper legal treatment of Native American human remains, funerary objects, sacred objects and objects of cultural patrimony. Finally, agencies must develop public education programmes to inform the public of the importance of archaeological sites and why the federal government's policy is to preserve and protect them.

The principal federal land-holding agencies in Arkansas are the US Army Corps of Engineers, US Forest Service, US Fish and Wildlife Service and the National Park Service. Other federal agencies also have programmes in the state that affect archaeological sites, such as the Federal Highway Administration, the Natural Resource Conservation Agency, the Environmental Protection Agency and the Federal Energy Regulatory Administration, but they do not manage land in the state. In the course of operating a historic preservation programme, federal agencies must consult with the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation, State and Tribal Historic Preservation Offices, Native American tribes and other parties interested in the protection of archaeological and historic sites. Most federal agencies do not have the financial or human resources to fulfil these duties and so seek partners to help. The Arkansas Archeological Survey, because of its mission, is one such partner.

The survey supports federal archaeology programmes in the state by maintaining all archaeological site and project records and providing this information to federal and state agencies and private corporations who have to comply with federal historic preservation laws. Part of the Section 106 process is to determine if archaeological sites occur in the project areas, and to determine if any archaeological surveys or inventories have been previously conducted in the area. The AMASDA and PROJECTS data bases, maintained by the survey, are available for this purpose. Station archaeologists are frequently consulted by federal agencies and private firms to discuss suitable archaeological survey methods and concerning the significance of the sites located.



The State Plan, produced by the survey (Davis [1982] 1994), identifies basic research questions and provides background information to facilitate this process. In addition, the Survey, under contract to the US Army Corps of Engineers, produced a series of regional archaeological overviews (Jeter *et al.* 1989; Limp 1989; Sabo *et al.* 1990a) that provide specific information necessary to evaluate the significance of sites in the state. The survey, in cooperation with the US Forest Service and the Arkansas Historic Preservation Programme (the State Historic Preservation Office), studied nineteenth- and early twentieth-century historic residential sites in the state (Jurgelski *et al.* 1996). Such sites are common on US Forest lands in Arkansas, and questions concerning their eligibility for the National Register and how to manage them abound. Whilst the survey does not have any regulatory authority in the Section 106 process, it facilitates this process by supplying basic site and project information, expert advice from the station archaeologists, and planning documents to federal agencies and the State Historic Preservation Office so that they can make intelligent decisions concerning the preservation of archaeological properties.

The survey also participates in cooperative projects with federal and state agencies in Arkansas. Utilizing archaeological, historical and paleoenvironmental information in a GIS format, the Lee Creek project (Lockhart *et al.* 1995) analysed past human settlement in a specific locality in the Ozark National Forest to determine the human impact on the forest and species composition through time. This project provided baseline information to the Forest Service for ecosystem management. Also, the survey is currently working with the Ouachita National Forest to develop a long-term research design for investigations of prehistoric novaculite quarrying. Large novaculite quarries are common archaeological site types in the Ouachita Mountains in southwestern Arkansas, and the research design will allow the Forest Service and the survey to identify specific projects in order to understand better the significance of these quarries and to guide their management.

The survey and the Arkansas Archeological Society have conducted many excavations at state historic and archaeological parks in Arkansas to provide information for their interpretation. At Old Washington State Park, a significant early nineteenth-century village, excavations were conducted to provide information to the Arkansas Department of Parks and Tourism to reconstruct buildings accurately and to provide information for their interpretation (Stewart-Abernathy 1986; Stewart-Abernathy and Ruff 1989). The survey's research stations at Toltec Mounds Archeological Park and Parkin Archeological State Park are operated cooperatively with state parks. Excavations at the two parks by survey personnel provide the basic information for park interpreters and exhibit designers (Rolingson 1990; Mitchem 1996a, 1996b).

The Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA) requires federal agencies and all institutions who receive federal money to inventory their collections of Native American human remains, funerary objects, sacred objects and objects of cultural patrimony, and, if claimed, to

repatriate these items to Native American tribes. The state organizations affected by this law in Arkansas include the survey, university and state museums, and state parks. Part of the process is to identify the proper cultural affiliation of the human remains and artefacts. This is no easy task. Due to the displacement of aboriginal tribes in protohistoric times, there are no reservations or organized tribes residing in Arkansas. The survey, in cooperation with the University Museum at the University of Arkansas, has taken the lead in identifying these appropriate tribes. A grant was obtained from the National Park Service to inventory Native American human remains and to see if genetic attributes could be identified to facilitate this effort (Rose *et al.* 1996:96, 97). An initial meeting was held in Fayetteville to begin the consultation process with former Arkansas tribes. This is a long-term process, but as the main archaeological research organization in Arkansas, the survey will play a crucial role in guiding other state institutions in this effort.

The survey also curates archaeological collections that belong to the federal and state government, as does the University Museum at the University of Arkansas. The National Park Service, US Army Corps of Engineers, Arkansas Department of Transportation and Arkansas State Parks own the bulk of these collections. After thirty years of accumulation, there is little space for further storage at either institution. In 1995, the survey requested and received funds from the state legislature for a new curation facility to house the survey and University Museum collections. The survey's Coordinating Office will be located in this building. This one facility will not solve all the curation problems in the state, and efforts are planned to establish a curation facility as part of the federal Mississippi Delta Initiative to develop heritage tourism in the Lower Mississippi River valley (Green *et al.* 1995).

## **CURRENT ISSUES AND FUTURE GOALS**

### **Site destruction**

Looting of Native American graves and rockshelters is still a problem in Arkansas despite thirty years of education efforts by the Arkansas Archaeological Survey (Early 1989; Harrington 1991; Morse and Morse 1996:27). The legal tools to prosecute illegal excavations are available through the Archaeological Resource Protection Act of 1979 for federal land, and Arkansas Act 753 of 1991 protecting unmarked graves on state and private land. Also, the federal Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA) passed in 1990 makes it illegal to buy and sell Indian human remains and funerary objects. The enforcement of these laws is difficult in a largely rural state like Arkansas, and most serious pothunters dig at night to avoid detection. Nevertheless, some progress has been made in that people who illegally excavate archaeological sites today know it is illegal, but choose to break the law anyway.

Modern farming practices destroy hundreds of sites each year in Arkansas. Land levelling in the Mississippi, Arkansas and Red River valleys has a long history (Davis 1972; Ford and Rolingson 1972; Medford 1972), but it has become even more common with the expansion of rice and soy bean production and the use of larger field equipment. Almost all the archaeological sites in the Mississippi River valley are located on low ridges and are destroyed when levelled. In addition, deep chisel ploughing to break clay fragipans is a common technique that destroys sites. The adoption of no-till farming techniques and the education programmes of the Natural Resource Conservation Agency have had some effect in reducing the damage, but new programmes are needed offering tax incentives for farmers to preserve important archaeological sites on their land. Just as farmers are rewarded for soil conservation and environmental protection, they should be rewarded for archaeological site preservation. Unfortunately, United States archaeologists missed an opportunity in the 1995 federal farm bill to institute such a system. The state of Wisconsin has eliminated property taxes on prehistoric and historic cemeteries on private land as an incentive to protect such sites. But most farmers do not think that this will work in Arkansas because land holdings are normally so large and the property taxes on farmland are low. Some system of direct reduction in state and federal income taxes is needed.

Urban growth and sprawl have also destroyed many sites in Arkansas. Northwest Arkansas is a fast-growing region and private housing subdivisions are destroying mound and habitation sites every day. Unless the landowners are cooperative, little can be done except to record the locations of destroyed sites.

### **Backlog of excavation reports**

For the past thirty years, the Arkansas Archeological Survey and the Arkansas Archeological Society have excavated a number of significant sites that were about to be destroyed for some reason. Funds for these projects were not available. The excavations were directed by a station archaeologist and staffed by dedicated amateurs, and many of the society training excavations were used to save information from these sites. The collections from these salvage excavations have, for the most part, been washed and catalogued at weekly or monthly volunteer laboratory nights by society members. However, there have never been any funds to analyse and report the results from many of these excavations. To be sure, articles have been written, but the technical site reports have not been produced.

The station archaeologists need large blocks of uninterrupted time to write these reports. This is difficult to come by with all their public obligations. They just cannot close their doors and tell the public to go away. For this reason, the survey administration has requested funds from the state legislature for assistants and extra help at the stations. Station assistants could handle many of the public obligations and provide information to state and federal agencies. To date, these funds have not been forthcoming, despite the lobbying efforts of many members of the society.

## **Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA)**

NAGPRA requires all institutions in the United States who receive federal money to inventory their collections for Native American human remains, Native American funerary objects, sacred objects and objects of cultural patrimony (see McKeown 1995 for discussion). If possible, the institution also has to identify the cultural affiliation of the human remains and cultural objects. If claimed by a culturally affiliated tribe, the institution must return the human remains and artefacts. Whilst these inventories had to be completed by 16 November 1995, it is really an ongoing process because new collections are added all the time through ongoing excavations and donations from the public.

The biggest problem in many states is identifying the cultural affiliation of the human remains and items in question. The inventories take a great deal of time and money, but are relatively straightforward to produce. The turbulence of the European expansion during the last 500 years in the United States and Arkansas caused the dislocation of most tribes. For example, when De Soto entered Arkansas in 1541, he encountered numerous independent, large and populous societies, especially in northeast Arkansas. When the French first explored the state in the late 1600s, the only substantial Native American populations were located in the southern half of the state. Because of the dramatic changes that occurred during the intervening 130 years, it is impossible to tell if the French encountered the same people as De Soto, or even people of the same language family, with the exception of the Caddo in southwest Arkansas (Sabo 1992:17–23). The law has forced archaeologists to look at this question, and a great deal of fundamental research is needed before cultural affiliation can be assigned to the various archaeological manifestations found in the state.

## **Curation**

Archaeological collections are the foundation for future research in Arkansas. These collections are sometimes the only existing records of significant sites that have been destroyed. Also, a fundamental principle of federal preservation law is that archaeological excavation is an appropriate mitigation technique when archaeological sites are to be destroyed in federal undertakings. This principle is based on the assumption that we can record the information in a site and curate the archaeological materials as a record of that site. This assumes that good curation facilities are available allowing the collections to be cared for adequately and to be accessible to future researchers.

Adequate space to store collections is only one problem, and the new curation facility on the University of Arkansas-Fayetteville campus will provide much needed space for storage. However, the collections have to be managed; they do not take care of themselves. A curation staff is needed to inspect the boxes, sacks, labels and the artefacts to see that they are in good shape, and, if

not, to take corrective action. By and large, the survey's collections are adequately cared for, but some need attention. The survey does not have a full curation staff assigned to deal with these issues.

### **Heritage tourism**

Arkansas has a rich archaeological legacy. Thousands of sites occur in the state that are remnants of some of the largest and most complex Native American societies in the United States. These societies were ruled by a powerful hierarchy of chiefs and priests who supervised the construction of earthen platform mounds, stockades and moats. Many of these sites are worthy of national recognition as National Monuments or National Parks.

Heritage tourism in the Mississippi River valley is underdeveloped, and this is especially true for tourism related to Native American sites. The states in the Mississippi River valley have developed a few state parks around archaeological sites, but unlike other portions of the country, the National Park Service does not have any parks devoted to the Native American achievements in the Mississippi valley. In 1994, Congress passed the Lower Mississippi Delta Region Initiative specifically directing the National Park Service to develop plans for heritage tourism involving Native American and African-American sites in the region. This new visibility of the unique archaeological resources in the Mississippi valley may lead to future opportunities.

### **Public education**

As mentioned, the survey has successfully used many avenues to educate the public about Arkansas archaeology and the value of its archaeological sites. Nevertheless, new approaches to reach the public are needed. Additional flyers, popular books and videos are planned. The development of the interactive CD-ROM for Mississippi valley anthropology and history in the colonial period will provide new directions and, if successful, could be applied to other time periods. This information can be distributed both on CDs and over the Internet. Successful educational programmes in other states and nations need to be researched and adapted for use in Arkansas. All of this takes time and money, two resources that are scarce these days.

The involvement of the public in archaeology has provided the legislative funding and continued support to the Arkansas Archeological Survey for the past thirty years. In the new millennium, the challenges facing the survey are to continue providing the state with quality research, involving the public in site protection, and disseminating information about the past through as many media as possible, in order to reach the goal of 'nearly total involvement of the public' in preserving the past.

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# 13 *Articulation between archaeological practice and local politics in northwest Argentina*<sup>1</sup>

MARIA CLARA MEDINA

## **INTRODUCTION: THE PROBLEM**

In northwestern Argentina, there are a number of specific factors that affect the possibility of successfully applying any cultural policy for the preservation of the prehispanic cultural heritage. Among these factors, the following ten are particularly important:

- 1 a large, sparsely populated area;
- 2 a tradition of institutional breakdown due to political instability;
- 3 failing communication infrastructure;
- 4 underdeveloped urban infrastructure;
- 5 agricultural production based on monoculture;
- 6 complex property rights to land;
- 7 conflicts over the distribution of limited water resources;
- 8 feudal-like labour relations;
- 9 intensive tourism; and
- 10 intensive looting, removal, transportation and marketing of archaeological and historical objects.

My intention here is to present a problem that we frequently confront when working in the field in northwestern Argentina. I focus mainly on my experience in the province of Catamarca, specifically the area of Alamito in the district of Aconquija (Medina 1993).<sup>2</sup> The conditions in this location are similar to those I experienced in the province of Tucuman, specifically in the area of El Arbolar and Colalao del Valle in the Department of Tafí.<sup>3</sup> The aim of my field work and the related project was to define the basic socio-economic conditions and to evaluate possible local effects of establishing local museums at the respective sites.

## CHARACTERISTICS OF THE DISTRICT OF ACONQUIJA

### The population

The Aconquija district is formally part of the Department of Andalgalá. According to the last census, the majority of the population of the department live in the district capital.<sup>4</sup> Subdivisions in the interior of the department are called *parajes* or *puestos*, occasionally grouped into larger units referred to as districts.<sup>5</sup>

The research to be discussed here focused on a series of *puestos* in the Aconquija district, such as La Alumbraera, Alto de las Juntas, La Mesada, El Lindero, Aconquija, El Alamito, Buena Vista and others. In total, the population in 1991 was estimated at 1,160 people, of which 617 were male and 543 female. Over half of these individuals, 680 people, lived in an area known popularly (and in connection with tourism) as Las Estancias. Of the rest, fifty-six lived in La Alumbraera, 254 in the semi-urban concentration of El Alamito, and 170 in Buena Vista.

The population estimates by the census must be taken with some caution. A number of families were never visited by the census recorders; also, the census was conducted in May which is a month of much seasonal migration for the *zafra*, the harvest of the sugar cane, and several houses in these areas were thus temporarily uninhabited. Another drawback is that though the number of houses encountered was registered, no information on property rights of houses or land was collected.

### Socio-economic and political situation

The situation in the Department of Andalgalá seems to correspond to the general pattern in the province of Catamarca, as portrayed in other anthropological studies (Hermitte and Herran 1977; Tsakoumagkos [1987] 1993). This pattern includes low indices of investment in the mechanization of agriculture; exploitation of natural resources generally linked to government capital through some of its agencies and bureaux, e.g. various ministries, secretariats, national and/or provincial directorates and national universities, etc.; and generally a very low technological level. The pattern also reflects restricted capital accumulation, controlled by a small number of investors, and the expansion of the labour force, which also is forcing wages down.

This province, like others in northern Argentina, has suffered a long history of failed national plans of agricultural development. These large-scale plans ended up transformed into small-scale 'assisted' local projects due to the factors already mentioned, the lack of basic resources such as water,<sup>6</sup> and the non-existence of structural economic change. Thus, the agricultural development in the province of Catamarca, up to the present, can be characterized as insufficient or scarce. Development plans have been carried out only for short periods and have lacked further development (Hermitte and Herran 1977:240).

The essential economic activities in the Aconquija district are based on a precarious technical development of agriculture and stock raising, which

constitute the main source of income for the majority of the population. The commercial activities related to the tourist season in summer, such as construction work building houses for tourists, are cyclical, relatively rare and only temporary. The circulation of income is very limited and has little effect on the general economy of the district.

In the *parajes*, the importance of the cyclic migration of the population due to lack of consistent local work cannot be ignored. It is important to stress that the labour migration of the majority of the population takes place after the harvest of the potatoes. The potato harvest employs the majority of the population in the district from November until the end of May. In addition, I discovered the potato cultivators use trucks to bring in Bolivian or Tucuman temporary workers, in order to reduce further the cost of labour and to force down wages. During the harvest, these imported workers live in half-ruined houses or in precarious constructions of cardboard and reutilized plastics.

The salary for a day's work in the fields, often of twelve-hour duration, is, in the best case, 7 pesos Argentinos for an adult (i.e. over 12 years of age) male worker. During the period of the study, one Argentinean peso was formally equivalent to one US dollar). In the 1992–3 harvest, due to an abundance of available workers, the daily salary for an adult male was only 4 pesos, while women received only 2.5 pesos, and for children 8 to 11 years old only 1.5 pesos for each work day.

During the summer season, adults who are not working in the harvest can find temporary employment as domestic staff or other workers at the houses of summer visitors. During April and May, however, options for paid work are very scarce and families find themselves forced into temporary emigration. The majority of families go to the sugar *zafra* in Tucuman, Salta or Jujuy. However, due to the profound crisis of the agricultural sector in these areas, the capacity to absorb migrant labourers gets lower each year. It has become more and more difficult to get work harvesting or at the refineries, and the migration tends to be oriented to new agricultural products, such as potatoes and garden products in the rural areas of Tucuman.

In addition to temporary migration, semi-permanent migration occurs when families decide to move to the peripheries of urban centres in the region, basing their income on temporary or alternative work as street vendors or domestic workers. In the temporary migration and in semi-permanent migration, the family units tend to disintegrate, due to the dispersion of the adults at different work localities. The children are often sent back to the district to live with older relatives such as grandparents, uncles, godparents, etc.<sup>7</sup>

Politically, the Aconquija district is administered by the Aconquija Intendencia, which depends on the provincial government. Until recently, officials were selected by the provincial governor. Now, however, the director is elected in free elections and three board members are selected simultaneously.

Local political control in the Catamarca province was dissolved by intervention of the federal government in 1990, evoking strong resentment

among local people that still exists. The imposition and continuing presence of 'foreign' functionaries in the district, installed by an outside political force (since the Intendents originated from the capital of the department), and the dismissal of local personnel is resented very much. A further cause of disenfranchisement is the reported disappearance of goods and material from the municipality, such as tools, vehicle engines and historical documentation. Although it was not possible to corroborate all of these alleged losses, the municipal archives had certainly been devastated. According to the register, all documentation on the district since 1950 had been deposited, but was no longer there. It was not possible to discover who was responsible for this crime. The lack of these historical sources made our research even more difficult. For this type of information, it is now necessary to consult archives in the provincial capital.

The deep conflict between the traditional rivals, the Radical party and the Justicialist (Peronist) party, is evident in everyday life and in all economic and administrative actions by the property owners and farmers in the area. This conflict is most clearly visible in the current situation between new arrivals and a particular member of the traditional land-owning class. On the one hand are the potato cultivators, known as *paperos*, arriving from the south of the province of Tucuman. On the other hand is one of the older landowners, who works in the court for the expulsion of the *paperos*, working fields whose oldest property rights, known as the *justos*, are in the possession of the landowner.

This apparently economic conflict has roots in connections and political links to different public powers in the district and in the province. Though most of the *paperos* belong to the militarist party, Republican Force, those in Catamarca are associated with the Justicialists and the '*caudillo*' Ramon Saadi and his family, while the majority of the landowners in the Las Estancias area adhere to the Radical party, which at present governs the province.

Another fundamental difference is that the *paperos* represent the modernizing sector among the farmers of the area, due to investments of capital in machinery, irrigation systems and transport facilities. Compared to the traditional landowners, these farmers represent the industrialization of agriculture, not only in relation to the factors of production but also in defining the process in relation to the national market, without local or provincial intermediaries (cf. Archetti [1981] 1993; see also Vessuri [1975] 1993).

Summing up, the principal economic problems of the Aconquija district are intertwined with conflicts related to political party membership and political disputes among political parties. The repeated discussion, evidenced in my interviews, on the conflicts relating to ownership of the best land or to the limited water resources, reveal the existence of social problems deriving from the high degree of unemployment or underemployment of the majority of the population.

## EFFECT ON THE CULTURAL HERITAGE

The disappearance of the historical documentation of the municipality is considered an unsolvable crime by the local police authorities. It is worth mentioning, however, that there are, in fact, no investigations being carried out at present in any form, whether administrative, by the police, or judicial in process, to identify the thieves. It is not surprising that this negligence fosters a lack of confidence in the authorities among those who work for the preservation of the cultural heritage.

In general, local officials do not understand or in some cases even know about laws relating to archaeological and historical resources. When we were giving information on current laws and regulations concerning archaeological field work in the province of Tucuman, we discovered that the local police authorities were not aware of the existence of the Provincial Law 4218 which concerns the protection of the archaeological heritage. In general terms, the police did not know what their specific functions or roles were regarding investigations or developing prosecutions in cases of theft or marketing of archaeological or historic resources or other pieces of cultural heritage.

From interviews, it was clear that local opinion was in favour of the construction of a museum on site in the district.<sup>8</sup> However, almost all interviewed subjects were dubious about the concrete realization of the local museum project. It was said that some people who had sold archaeological material at some time in the past had used the potential construction of a museum as an excuse for taking objects away from their owners. Some of those interviewed in our research also expressed concerns about who would be responsible for the safety of the objects eventually deposited and displayed in any local museum. Finally, some landowners in the region were concerned about whether the museum would expropriate parts of, or entire, private collections.

At least three houses have been offered in different *parajes* to function as a museum, demonstrating the existence of local support for such a project. There is, however, as outlined above, some local resistance to such a project. Before such a museum project can be organized and undertaken successfully, the variety of opinions about it must be solicited and analysed. The relationships between differing opinions and the interests of various social groups must be determined. In this context, it would also be important to describe clearly the exact responsibilities of the different groups and organizations, e.g. municipal and provincial authorities, universities, the police, political *caudillos*, private citizens, etc., in the event of a local museum project being organized. The roles of each of these entities in the development, operation and protection of any museum must be defined if loss or destruction of any museum collection is to be avoided. In general terms, the 'actors': social groups, political organizations and public agencies discussed in this article have developed relationships based on past events and political and social hierarchies. These past relationships must be understood, and any differences or bad relations growing out of them must be

avoided. The possible immediate economic benefit, real or imagined, of the archaeological and historical resources is what matters to most of them, and this general agreement must be used to enable cooperation on any possible local museum project.

In order to achieve the preservation of the regional prehispanic cultural heritage as documented in this research, the most likely short-term project that could be undertaken successfully would be the establishment of smaller exhibitions in local schools, previously surveyed (Medina 1993). The initial goals would be realized, using the friendly and fruitful relations existing between the local school authorities and the direction of the archaeological project.

I thus propose the creation of exhibitions in schools of short, or relatively short, duration with specific themes. These exhibitions should be constructed so that they are mobile, for use elsewhere. University researchers responsible for the archaeological projects in the area must participate in arranging these exhibits. The exhibits would provide information for students, their parents and other community members. In addition, the pupils of schools situated close to archaeological sites could be encouraged to develop personal appreciation of the past of the region, and to protect the sites from looting and vandalism. Also, a positive interaction could eventually be produced between the local school teachers and the university researchers who contribute to the exhibits and interpretations.

Simultaneously, a plan for the resolution of the current legal dispositions needs to be developed, oriented to the teachers, to personnel of the local and provincial administration, to the local police and to other members of the local public. Meanwhile, the school-based initiative could be a viable alternative, until the political and legal situation can guarantee the safety and continuity of a local museum collection in the area (cf. Lara Figueroa 1983).

Finally, it should be remembered, as stressed by Arantes (1989:38), that the idea of preservation is not negative as such, but is ineffective if not supported by data from research on the local social dynamics and concrete political actions. Asking questions about what we want or do not want to 'preserve', why and for whom are not futile or rhetorical questions, but need to be addressed before making decisions regarding the cultural heritage of a specific area.

## NOTES

- 1 The description of local conditions in the sections of Argentina discussed reflects conditions as they existed in 1994. I would like to thank colleagues in Argentina, Sweden and India for their comments. Special thanks go to Prof. Elias Cornell, Iberoamerican Institute, Gothenburg University, Goteburg, Sweden, who helped with the translation.
- 2 The project 'Estudio de procesos de cambio durante el Periodo Formativo y los inicios del Periodo de Integracion Regional, en el Suroeste de la Provincia de

- Tucuman y centro-oeste de la Provincia de Catamarca' (Studies of the process of change during the formative period and the beginning of the period of regional integration in the southwest of Tucuman and the centre-west of Catamarca) was developed at the Institute of Archaeology, National University of Tucuman (UNT).
- 3 This work was undertaken in a joint project under an agreement between the National University of Tucuman (UNT), Argentina, and Gothenburg University (GU), Sweden.
  - 4 The total population of the department is 14,081, of a total of 256,656 estimated for the province of Catamarca. The urban agglomeration of Andalgalá (information from May 1991, Dirección de Estadísticas y Censos, n.d.) accommodates 64 per cent (9,014) of the total population of the department.
  - 5 The principal political-institutional characteristics of these districts of Catamarca are analogous to the rural commune in the province of Tucuman, whilst the denomination *puestos* defines different situations: winter resorts in the mountains in Tucuman and isolated rural residences (outside larger administrative units) with the presence of some smaller domestic animals in Catamarca. *Puesto* in Catamarca corresponds more or less to the term *finca* in Tucuman, defined as a 'rural establishment dedicated to agriculture' (Vessuri 1977:234).
  - 6 The lack of water is a controversial topic. The limited accessibility of water means that agriculture cannot be extended to suitable land, though the municipality denies that this problem exists. However, we have observed the problems involved in getting water for isolated schools and also acknowledge the need for large investments in artificial irrigation, required by the farmers in the district. A further problem is the lack of local availability of fuel for transport. Though there is a local service station, availability of fuel is scarce when the tourist season ends.
  - 7 In earlier work in Tucuman, I have observed that some migrant families return to their place of origin due to the lack of paid labour required in order to live in the urban centres to which they had moved. In some interviews, the same phenomenon was said to occur in the Aconquija district. If this information can be corroborated, it is an interesting tendency. However, available sources in public registers and census are insufficient to corroborate it.
  - 8 Establishing a museum on site was one of the final objectives of the subproject 'Archaeology of the Campo del Pucaro' of the project mentioned in note 1 above.

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## 14 *Lebanon's archaeological heritage on trial in Beirut: what future for Beirut's past?*

HELGA SEEDEN

### INTRODUCTION

Beirut was a lively and prosperous Mediterranean capital before the last war. It combined a multitude of architectural influences, from entire Mandate period streets to impressive Ottoman public and private buildings, with earlier traces visible here and there, whether a unique Mamluk dome or re-erected classical columns, fragments of even earlier public buildings. Between 1975 and 1990, disaster struck. By 1990, this once throbbing city centre lay dead: for over fifteen years this strip of territory between East and West Beirut had been shot into with a vengeance that made no sense to any observer. Who would have had an interest in continuing to pound the heart of a city already devastated? Historical buildings stood in ruins, while archaeological remains waited below ground. This desolate centre was in urgent need of reconstruction, if the heart of the city was to revive (Figure 14.1a and b).

### BEIRUT: ARCHAEOLOGY IN THE RECONSTRUCTION

Archaeological excavations began in Beirut's city centre in autumn 1993, under the auspices of the Ministry of Culture and Higher Education, the Directorate General of Antiquities (DGA) and UNESCO, and with initial funds provided by the Hariri Foundation and the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP; cf. Sader 1998). Since 1994, these excavations have, to a major part, been sponsored by SOLIDERE (the Lebanese Company for the Development and Reconstruction of Beirut Central District). Teams from the Lebanese University, the French Institute of Archaeology in Beirut, and the universities of Amsterdam, Leiden, Nice, Turin, Tübingen, Berlin, Prague and others responded to the international call for help. Archaeologists of the American University of Beirut (AUB) have played a considerable role in this vast rescue project, possibly the largest ever to be undertaken in the world. Three AUB teams have participated in the Beirut excavations.

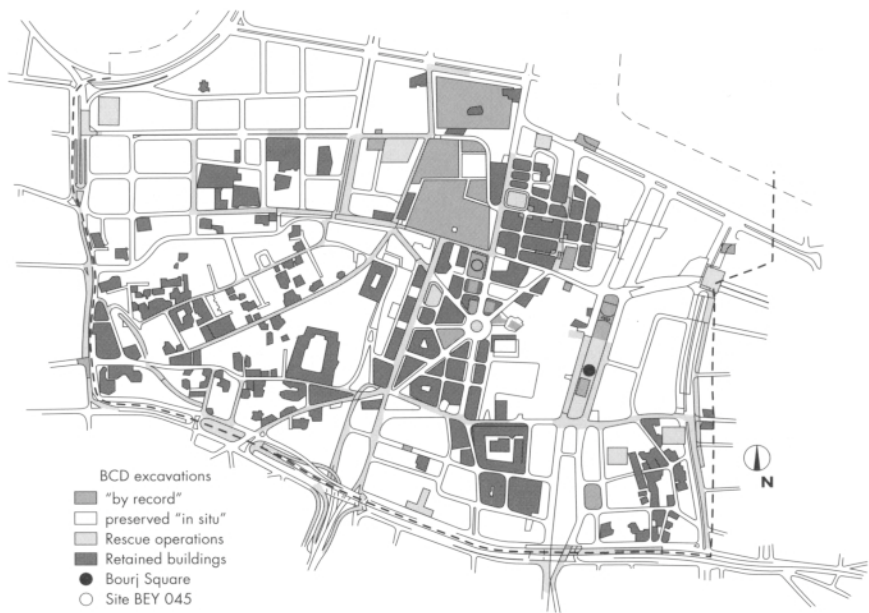


a



b

**Figure 14.1** a Postcard of Beirut's city centre in the 1970s (rue Weygand and Emir Mansour mosque); b The same street in 1992.



**Figure 14.2** Beirut Central District (BCD) areas under archaeological excavation from 1993 until 1997. The remains were either excavated ‘by record’, preserved *in situ*, or salvaged during infrastructure works. Retained buildings also are indicated. The BCD occupies an area of 120 hectares with an additional 60 hectares of wartime landfill and subsequent reclamation works to the north, not represented here.

*Source:* Drawn by R.Yassin after Solidere and DGA plans.

In the Beirut of the 1990s the investigation of the city’s urban history and material culture accompanies the reconstruction process. Side by side with large-scale infrastructure and reconstruction works, archaeologists have uncovered valuable information about Beirut’s 5,000-year-old urban past. Their purpose is to save and record as much of Beirut’s archaeological heritage as possible. As a result, the city’s urban settlement history now extends from excavated remains of the Canaanite and Phoenician fortified town of the bronze and iron age tell of 3000–1000 BC until the present (Figure 14.2; see preliminary reports in BAAL<sup>1</sup> vol. 1, 1996; vol. 2, 1997; vol. 3, forthcoming).

### **The Souks project: a sample site of large-scale urban excavation**

The most extensive and longest continuous urban excavation in the Beirut city centre, referred to as the BEY 006 007 excavation area, was undertaken by an Anglo-Lebanese team (Seeden *et al.* 1995; Perring *et al.* 1996; Thorpe and Williams forthcoming; Butcher and Thorpe 1997). From May 1994 until May 1996, over 120 Lebanese, British and other foreign archaeologists of this AUB



**Figure 14.3** The AUB Souks excavation site in 1996, looking east.

*Photo:* Edward Karaa.

team have spent twenty-two months, to be precise 660 days, on site without interruption. They have excavated and recorded roughly 30,000 sq. m and over 20,000 archaeological structures and features. Many young Lebanese archaeologists underwent extensive and intensive training in urban archaeology on this site, as practised by the Museum of London Archaeology Service (MoLAS) and similar professional archaeological institutions and units. Members of this and other teams meanwhile have joined the Directorate General of Antiquities. There is a great need for qualified archaeologists in this country, but they have to be more than competent excavators or diggers; they have to understand how to manage the archaeological or cultural resource.

Today's urban archaeology has developed over the last twenty-five years. During most of this time, Lebanon was unable to do much archaeology or experiment with new methodologies. Without the expertise brought by our colleagues, and the original research grant given to AUB from the British Leverhulme Trust, the AUB Souks project would not have got off the ground (Figure 14.3).

### **Research design and methodology**

The original project design proposed to excavate all periods of Beirut's history, without preference for either particularly popular or better represented archaeological levels. Hence, a quarter of the city, the so-called Souks area, was chosen which had never before been subjected to archaeological investigation and which included standing sixteenth- to twentieth-century building remains, making it possible to give equal attention

to the much less researched later history of the town before reaching earlier archaeological contexts. Although this ought to be a necessary precondition for any archaeological excavation, it was essential that this intention was specifically stated in the local context.

The original project set out to investigate Beirut's urban formation processes, and its goals ranged from broad topographic issues to details of social and economic life within the past communities of Beirut. Research aims included establishing the state and layout of the Roman and late antique street pattern, the broad nature of the classical period's property development, ascertaining the possible extent of Umayyad/Abbasid to Crusader, Mamluk and Ottoman occupation in the Souks area, and determining the importance and character of the waterfront in the northeast of the site (Perring 1994, 1995).

A site of the size of Beirut's Souks area, with a seemingly bewildering complexity of structural events embedded within deep stratigraphic deposits difficult to disentangle, required a methodological approach that enabled this complexity to be rapidly unravelled and recorded as objectively as possible. An explanation of the philosophical principles underlying the excavation methodology, and how this was applied to the Souks excavation, has been provided elsewhere (Thorpe and Williams 1998).

### **Summary account of the excavations**

In 1994, when we began digging, the various quarters of medieval and ancient Beirut under the Souks had not yet been revealed, and the site looked very different (Figure 14.4). The AUB excavations began next to Beirut's only extant Mamluk monument that will be fully restored: a *ribat* (or hospice) built in AD 1517 by the honoured Muslim scholar, teacher and Sufi, Muhamed Ibn 'Iraq al Dimashqi (Figure 14.5). By September 1994, we had prepared a series of posters in Arabic and English to help explain to the public what the archaeologists were doing on this site (Figure 14.6). For example, we were looking for early water and drainage systems. In the course of the excavations, networks of neatly fitted ceramic water and drain pipelines dating from Ottoman to Roman times were found running underneath streets, courtyards, houses and shops, indicating that medieval and ancient Beirut had sanitation systems, wells and cisterns that were probably the envy of contemporary visitors from Europe.

Ottoman and medieval Beirut: nineteenth-century maps of Beirut (Davie 1989) give a good idea of what the Old City looked like up unto the nineteenth century. Fortification walls with towered gates, and a ditch to the west, surrounded it. The northwestern or Souks quarter was an area of mulberry plantations with relatively few buildings. The Danish Consul Loytved's map of 1876—a birthday gift to Sultan Abdul Hamid—is the first large-scale map showing Ottoman plans for the Beirut coastline and port development (Jidejian 1993). The excavations unearthed an impressive



**Figure 14.4** The Souks area prior to excavation, with Mamluk shrine in foreground right.

*Photo:* Yaser Abun Nasr.

succession of sea walls and landfills built to improve the city and harbour facilities.

The northernmost nineteenth-century sea wall still has its mooring rings in place (Seedon and Thorpe 1999).

In the Souks quarter, excavations uncovered a wide array of crafts and commerce, from silk makers of Barutine silk, glass blowers and potters, moving back in time from the pre-war Souks of living memory to the Early Medieval or Fatimid period. In Ottoman times, the view from the roof of the late Mamluk sanctuary of Ibn ‘Iraq encompassed the Crusader cathedral—Beirut’s main mosque since the Mamluk takeover in 1291—the Emir Mansour ‘Assaf mosque; and above all, artisans workshops, mulberry groves and the sea beyond.

The archaeological evidence in the Souks excavations brings to light, below Ottoman silk makers and medieval potters and glass blowers, Roman Byzantine artisans, shopkeepers and merchants. Under the courtyard of the Mamluk ribat, a deposit of over half a ton of twelfth- to thirteenth-century oriental glazed fine and kitchen wares was excavated. A small Ottoman Kutahya cup, imitating Chinese porcelain and inscribed in Arabic letters on its base, was a splendid reminder of the fact that, around 1540, Muhamed Ibn ‘Iraq al Dimashqi’s son Ali brought coffee back from Arabia, when he returned from Mekka after his venerated father’s death in that city. Coffee and coffee houses have grown in popularity ever since. Quite clearly, the Souks area was a productive quarter of Beirut, with many artisans representing all major industries of the times.



**Figure 14.5** The Souks area in autumn 1994, showing retained historical buildings and the first excavations on site.

*Photo:* Edward Karaa.



**Figure 14.6** AUB Souks excavation site in September 1994 with a series of posters in Arabic and English explaining the purpose and methods of the archaeological investigation.

*Photo:* Edward Karaa.



### **The Souks in Byzantine, Roman and Hellenistic times**

By December 1994, excavations had uncovered the first indications of a regular urban grid of the area: a town plan of north-south and east-west streets dating back to at least the second century BC. An earlier, similarly oriented settlement on a smaller scale was later discovered nearby to the northeast (Sayegh 1996). Late Roman shops continued to be oriented on roughly the same street pattern. In Byzantine times (fourth century onward), houses, shops and public spaces were decorated with colourful mosaic floors. Over 600 sq. m of mosaics were lifted from buildings on site, belonging to three mansions (nicknamed after the finds 'domus', 'House of Jealousy' and 'House of Fountains') and a shopping street with at least eleven numbered shops. One owner had protected his/her house with a large, well-preserved mosaic inscription—in Greek—reading: 'Jealousy (or envy) is the worst of all evils, the only good thing about it is that it eats up the eyes and heart of the jealous' (Alpi 1996). A large portion of the area west of the Mamluk sanctuary was occupied by an extensive mansion, the 'House of Fountains', and the portico with a series of shops, respectively, to the west and east of the north-south street. This public mosaic paved portico or Byzantine Souk is laid out in front of at least eleven excavated shops with street numbers; in an interesting local adaptation, the Greek letters that serve as street addresses are written from right to left—like Arabic! The mosaic pavement of this shopping street was renewed at least twice in different types of tesserae and design, but each time with the same Greek letter-address in front of the same shop. Shop 4 had a mosaic floor repaired in antiquity, possibly after the earthquake of AD 551 or, simply, after intensive use by customers. Shop 5 was named the 'Shop of the Lion' after the mosaic protecting the entrance. The mosaics of both shops have been partially ruined by later concrete piles belonging to the vaulted basements of the nineteenth-century Ottoman Souks.

The mosaics retrieved from the Souks are among the most impressive mosaic records from a single urban site. The Byzantine portico is perhaps the most significant find complex in the Souks area. We have removed it completely—stone by stone with all mosaics—to be reintegrated into the modern treatment of the Souks area as part of an interactive site activity centre (Sheehan, P. 1999).

The small finds from these excavations indicate that people of different religious groups lived and worked together side by side, and that the Byzantine Souks were prosperous. Trade and commerce in the Roman Byzantine and Hellenistic periods are amply attested by millions of ceramic shards and tons of amphora deposits used in levelling up building sites during reconstruction phases. Over five million pots and potsherds of both imported and locally produced wares were excavated for analysis on the Souks site. From this extended site, over 20,000 architectural or structural contexts, 600 sq. m of Byzantine mosaics, five million pots and potsherds, about 16,000 small finds, over 8,000 coins, over one million animal bones and an as yet unquantified number of environmental and plant samples have been retrieved and recorded.



The biggest task is still ahead: the analysis, publication and presentation of the results to the public. A detailed strategy for publication has been drawn up to be completed within the next three years (Perring 1995), should funds be available. It is essential that the reconstruction of the new city centre and their excavated predecessors be completed together, if the archaeology is to inform any process of integration (cf. Cumberpatch 1997).

## WHAT HAPPENS TO THE EXCAVATED CULTURAL HERITAGE NOW?

### Critique of the archaeological results

The development scheme of the Beirut Central District (BCD), including major infrastructure works, unfortunately leaves relatively little room for preservation of substantial areas of archaeology in an unexcavated condition and effectively protected by statute. Only this option would guarantee preservation of the existing archaeological resource totally *in situ*, for possible excavation in the future. If, however, excavation has been decided upon, there are several options for archaeological remains once excavated. These options do not all do equal justice to the archaeological resource, and each case must be evaluated separately to assess its intrinsic value as a heritage site and its possibilities for rehabilitation and incorporation into the urban fabric. Of course, existing constraints emanating from development needs and availability of funds are also very significant considerations. The value attributed to these options of dealing with the excavated resource in Beirut and elsewhere, i.e. the ethics of destruction and preservation, has been discussed elsewhere (Cumberpatch 1997).

The options considered in Beirut, are the following:

- 1 *Sites preserved in situ* Excavated sites remaining *in situ* face the immediate problem of protection and rehabilitation to become accessible and understandable to the public at large. If left without such rehabilitation on a giant building site like the BCD, they easily deteriorate into garbage dumps or public toilets, once the archaeologists capable of explaining them have left the site. The deterioration of the sites left *in situ* in Beirut is already visible and, in some cases, alarming (e.g. Figure 14.7)
- 2 *Temporary dismantling and reincorporation* Excavated standing remains of single periods of occupation can be removed and brought back into their position within the reconstruction. This is not as feasible in the case of sites where architectural elements of several different periods have all been kept partially *in situ*, after having been denuded of their stratigraphic and finds contexts by the excavation.

In both these options, the question arises as to whether such standing ruins left in a fairly incomprehensible state of preservation and, more often than not,



**Figure 14.7** June 1997: Excavation site dated to the Persian or late Phoenician period and Mamluk shrine left *in situ* in the Souks site of the BCD.

*Photo:* Sarah Jennings.

heavily truncated by recent and modern concrete basements and piles, can inform or even attract the public. Careful removal of the most destructive recent truncations, as well as substantial reintegration and recreation of the excavated context information, are necessary prerequisites to allow these ruins to tell their story.

- 3 Preservation by record or total excavation The resource can be totally excavated (down to natural soil or rock). This total excavation is also called 'preservation by record' because, in this case, the archaeological information gained is as complete as can be within the constraints of modern methods, techniques, knowledge and available funding: nothing is left unexcavated. The archaeologist has the most complete record and can recreate the most comprehensive vision of the site as it was during its successive stages of development from the beginning to the present.

Today's information technology, from computer reconstructions, walk-about with period inhabitants guiding the viewer/visitor through a building or quarter, touch screen information, CDs on particular subjects to virtual reality, allows presentations today that have not been available to archaeologists or the public in the past. Traditional museums are also introducing these multimedia presentations to aid their public performance. Clearly, the future of interpreting the past will be influenced by the use of these technologies.

Post-war Lebanon has never before had the opportunity or means to adopt any one of the above options. Sympathetically integrating information now available from Beirut's excavations promises success to such options of presenting the past in the capital. Elsewhere in the country, some standing sites are barely beginning to be rehabilitated and properly managed. Very few of them offer as yet even minimal public information of the traditional kind. However, whereas the ruins of the 'World Heritage Site' Baalbek can stand on their own, the ruins of Beirut cannot. Yet the archaeological material and information now retrieved in the city centre is as important, if not more so, in terms of the knowledge and understanding they provide for Beirut and the region. This fact alone should guarantee the future of Beirut's past, but instead this past is under serious threat.

### **The political and legal context—competing interests for the use of the BCD site**

In view of the enormity of the BCD excavation projects and the inevitable resulting complications, Lebanon's cultural heritage, at present, appears to be on trial in the capital. The original agreement signed in April 1993 by the government's Council of Development and Reconstruction and representatives of UNESCO had envisaged diagnostic soundings, area and salvage excavations in Beirut (Sader 1998). All of these have taken place, albeit on an unprecedented scale. Already in the first stages of project discussions, the lack of human and material resources, both at the level of the official representation of Lebanon's archaeological heritage, the Directorate General of Antiquities (DGA), and at the level of resident professional archaeologists, became painfully obvious. The DGA, on the one hand, was stretched beyond limits by the rescue work at the Department of Antiquities and National Museum, where countless collections needed urgent recuperation, while the war had left the buildings themselves in a ruinous and derelict state. The department did not even provide space to accommodate the flood of finds that began to rise as excavations increased in number and extension. Local and foreign archaeologists, on the other hand, had been urged to help save Beirut's archaeology, but very few of them could fully apprehend what lay ahead of them.

Since 1994, the funding of the excavations was, to a major part, guaranteed by the developers, SOLIDERE, whose declared aim was the reconstruction and development of the city centre with the shortest possible delays and involving major investment. Real estate and archaeological preservation issues were not clearly addressed in order to allow conflicts of interests to be resolved pragmatically.

The Lebanese Law of Antiquities issued in 1933 under the French Mandate does include strong clauses for the protection of antiquities and sites, but its authors naturally could not have foreseen the extraordinary situation in the BCD sixty years later. Development-sponsored archaeology was then still

unknown, and in post-war Beirut not even rudimentary rules based on experience existed.

Between the major actors in the drama, the official representatives of the Lebanese Law of Antiquities and the developers, stood the archaeologists. Urged by ministerial invitation to participate in the investigation and to help 'rescue' Beirut's archaeology, every one of them had to take a responsible decision to the best of his/her admittedly incomplete knowledge of the circumstances. None of the resident participating archaeologists was prepared for, or had any experience with, urban archaeology, let alone archaeology within a development and reconstruction scheme of this scale with its concomitant pressures.

Despite the welcome efforts of members of UNESCO teams to coordinate the diverse individual archaeological groups, there was not much common ground to start from, and subsequent pressures of work schedules did not allow for extended and productive debate. Arbiters with adequate experience from abroad were very few. Accepted channels of mutual agreement had never been elaborated, since no situation comparative in magnitude and complexity had ever arisen before. Although representatives from established and experienced urban archaeology units took part in the archaeological projects of Beirut, their advice was not heeded by many. No code of practice had ever had to be developed. Lebanon's archaeologists, official heritage representatives, developers and the general public faced the archaeology of the BCD with an experience based, at best, on pre-war archaeological theory and practice.

### **Lack of established or agreed upon mediators or arbitrators**

No liaison units existed that had the necessary experience in both archaeological needs and development requirements to be able to mediate. It was not difficult to find out that such bodies had been established elsewhere over the past decades of heritage or cultural resource management faced with ever-increasing development issues. One of these guidelines clearly states that whenever development is proposed that will result in the disturbance or removal of known or presumed archaeological deposits and features, close cooperation between developers and archaeologists is vital if the fullest possible rescue programme is to be achieved. Developers can help by making sites available for a maximum period and by providing funds for site work, the post excavation and for publication. Despite the heavy commercial pressures under which developers work, a realistic understanding between archaeologists and developers can be achieved on a voluntary basis (BADLG).<sup>2</sup>

Similar guidelines were not applied in Beirut. The lack of effective and expert arbitration between the demands of the developers for rapid and massive infrastructure and reconstruction works, on the one hand, and the needs of archaeological precision work in excavation and recording, on the other, led to repeated reassessments of previous agreements. When work was stopped by the DGA, the loss of precious time was always deducted from the span allotted to the archaeologists in the field. The official DGA demand for preserving

archaeological remains *in situ* (i.e. option 1 above), generally backed by members of the UNESCO committee, clashed with the developers' understanding that the city centre was to be excavated in advance of reconstruction, interpreted, in this case, as excavation by record (i.e. option 3 above). These conflicting interpretations led to the gradual breakdown of communication between the main actors and to what appears to be a colossal stalemate.

Limited damage to archaeological remains during infrastructure works is practically inevitable, even in development contexts much more restricted than the BCD. In Beirut, however, machine destruction and uncontrolled removal occurred repeatedly. Presently, after the near total breakdown of communication between SOLIDERE and the DGA, excavation in Beirut appears to be practically over. Yet there remains the problem of how to persuade private developers to pay for the archaeological recording made necessary by their building works in the future. More importantly, who will persuade them? Small-scale DGA excavations are continuing, as is the larger-scale salvage work in infrastructure zones carried out by archaeologists for SOLIDERE.

Meanwhile, an overwhelming wealth of archaeological material and information has been retrieved. Once the results become fully available, more will be known about Beirut's past than about that of most other comparable towns, including Rome and Carthage. However, the effective stalemate today raises the disturbing question as to whether these results will ever become fully available.

The tragic irony is that neither of the parties who urged archaeologists to excavate in the first place have made serious provisions to find funds for archaeological reconstruction. Despite repeated meetings with responsible departmental, ministerial and UNESCO representatives in the early stages, archaeologists have been left to their own devices to seek funds for the essential work that follows excavation and without which excavation remains pure destruction: the preparation of meaningful results of their work, which alone is capable of returning the 'reassembled' and comprehensible past to the legal representatives and the public, both general and scientific (See *Berytus* 43 1997–98).

### **The public dimension**

The Lebanese public and the media, following the contradictions on professional and official levels, played an ambiguous role in this drama. Participating archaeologists, who spent much time in explaining their sites, finds, methodologies and work ethics, found it difficult to proceed with their professional work loads in view of the often contradictory pressures applied to their teams and project execution. It is not surprising then that the Lebanese public and the popular media were unable or unwilling to gain any realistic picture of what was involved. Popular reaction ranged from interested enthusiasm, even participation, to adamant rejection. Period preferences are popular in the Lebanese perception of their past. Preconceived expectations were rarely met by the rather more prosaic nature of the archaeological finds, which are the backbone and mainstay of archaeological investigation and

information. There were very few visible 'treasures', and the 'treasures of information' found remained largely unrecognized by a public still dominated by the 'monuments and treasure' vision of archaeology. Public archaeology as practised in the USA and elsewhere does not yet exist in Lebanon, despite some recent and timid efforts in the direction of encouraging public awareness of and involvement in resource protection (UNESCO 1992; Seeden 1994).

Inevitably, archaeology in the BCD was also dragged into the political arena. The opponents of the development project attempted to use the archaeological ruins as a lever for halting the reconstruction process. Archaeologists were perceived by these groups as allies, namely natural enemies of any development, since their aim was conceived to be keeping all excavated ruins standing. Lobbying for archaeologists' support soon stopped when this turned out to be a misconception. It should be noted here that, at the outset, many of the original opponents of the development plan had not given much thought to the archaeological dimension of Beirut, although they had been concerned with the standing, historical heritage of the city (e.g. Beyhum 1991).

After almost two decades of unchecked looting of archaeological deposits and rampant illegal trade in antiquities (Hakimian 1989; Fisk 1991), and in a harsh post-war environment, it is hardly surprising that professional, scientific urban archaeology was not a first priority concern of the average Lebanese. The media interest raised by the BCD excavations was at the same time salutary and destructive for public opinion and, even more so, for archaeology.

Presently, the BCD is, archaeologically speaking, a relatively barren terrain. A colossal general disappointment and disinterest is beginning to set in on all sides, which, if unremedied, threatens to stifle any progress in the right direction. It is a sad state of affairs indeed that the archaeology of Beirut, excavated and recorded with unprecedented dedication and tireless efforts on the part of those involved, now appears to be threatened with real destruction, e.g. the hundreds of square metres of mosaics retrieved from Beirut but as yet unrestored, ostensibly due to conflicting archaeological concepts of archaeological preservation and presentation that are far from commensurate with the importance of the material and information retrieved.

## **BEIRUT'S UNIQUE CHANCE: FROM EXCAVATION TO INTEGRATED PRESENTATION**

### **A proposed model: integrating the past into the city centre**

Beirut is one of the oldest continuously inhabited cultural centres in the Near East and the Mediterranean. Today, houses, sanctuaries, public places and vistas are being restored and recreated. They represent aspects of the character and the identity of the city. The architectural cultural heritage is also the memory of her inhabitants. Beyond this visible heritage, standing intact above ground, there now exists the archaeological past taking the city back to its urban origins.

With the technology available at the end of the twentieth century, the reconstruction of Beirut offers a unique chance of rehabilitating the preserved buildings that survived destruction and demolition, in conjunction with essential aspects of the archaeological discoveries. The streets and buildings presently under restoration already offer impressive views of this revived immediate past, the past of the city's memory. Religious buildings like the original Crusader church, transformed into a mosque since 1291, have continued to function as sanctuaries ever since, despite periodic interruptions like the recent war. By contrast, foundations of the Crusader castle, dismantled and later rebuilt by the Mamluks and Ottomans who finally razed it, had disappeared from sight only to be excavated again at the bronze age tell. Buildings, activity centres and entire quarters from the earlier towns have also been unearthed. They provide views or windows into vital aspects of the earlier past.

Such 'windows' can stay open and be sympathetically enhanced by diligent representation provided through interpretive models, thus keeping the newly found views of the town alive and physically integrated within the modern city. In Beirut's centre, past and present meet at closest range. After descending from standing buildings directly into the historical vaults of the Ottoman port city, it is only one or several steps further to reach the more remote past. For example, while impressive remains of bronze and iron age fortification walls of the first cities have survived, only excavated archaeological material can fill the gap created through truncation and destruction of much of these towns by deep basements sunk during the 1950s and 1960s. Recent twentieth-century development destroyed the ancient cores of the towns themselves, while leaving the periphery with successive fortification systems intact.

Some of Beirut's standing buildings, such as restored sanctuaries, banks and the central post office, have already resumed their original functions. Others have been adapted to new uses. The integration and function of representative archaeological sites are not as easily achieved and are prone to controversy. However, all those interested in preserving and keeping alive the city's cultural heritage—archaeologists and architects, urban planners and developers, government representatives and concerned citizens—see this moment as a challenge for responsible involvement. Some proposals for such integration have already been elaborated. The challenge is to represent, vividly, the multiphased and cross-cultural heritage that made up Beirut—horizontally and vertically—throughout its long history.

### **The archaeological 'trail' or 'walk': 'contextual integration'**

One concept of integration has been presented by the developers (Gavin and Maluf 1996; Lebas 1996). It proposes to integrate or reintegrate the archaeological remains within their original past and present context. Within living memory, the story begins with the Mandate period quarters such as the sector located between Allenby, Foch, Weygand Streets and the port. It is presently under restoration and reconstruction, with some buildings already in

full use. Nearly 300 restored buildings, including all churches, mosques, the synagogue, and government and civic buildings like the town hall or *baladiyah*, will be similarly rehabilitated. The restoration of the splendid late Ottoman barracks, or Grand Serail, has been completed in 1998, and of the military hospital had already been accomplished much earlier. Successive Ottoman sea walls and landfills have been excavated and they present period witnesses of previous urban plans to develop an earlier city by increasing its sea defences and harbour facilities.

The small remnant of a once more extensive late Mamluk building, the sanctuary of Ibn 'Iraq al Dimashqi, will be restored surrounded by a newly created open space, to allow it to be seen. Its small size and incorporation within an originally Ottoman shopping street had rendered it practically invisible, which explains why very few people knew about it when it was 'rediscovered' during a post-war demolition campaign that preceded reconstruction (Seeden 1997). The Crusader church became a living mosque.

The archaeological resource representing the earlier medieval and Byzantine cities of late antiquity has been tapped substantially in the Souks area. Four of the numbered shops with their mosaic paved street of the Byzantine Souks, and the mosaics of three large houses, have been retrieved. Their incorporation into the Souks of tomorrow has been envisaged. Since 1995, at their discovery, the archaeologists responsible for the site have submitted a project for such integration to the Ministry of Culture and Higher Education, the DGA, UNESCO and SOLIDERE. An official response has never been received.

The earlier Roman period is represented by one of Beirut's great bath-houses, situated in a prominent position at the foot of Serail hill. Its integration within a garden project of salutary and medicinal trees and plants, originally and traditionally associated with the practices of public bathing and healing, is in full progress. The creation of a contextual garden around an archaeological site combines elements of the cultural and natural environment, two faces of the same coin. These were indivisible in the world of earlier humans. Beirut had remained a town where gardens and green spaces abounded until very recently. Their progressive loss in the course of this century had impoverished the city tremendously, even prior to the war. Parks and open green spaces are of vital importance, particularly in an inner city.

A major *cardo* of Roman Beirut (Saghieh 1996) has been excavated between three historical churches in the centre's southeastern quarter. Houses and workshops from Hellenistic to medieval times have also been freed in more than one of the excavated areas. In the case of the Persian period or late Phoenician settlement represented in a small site kept in situ within the Souks area (Sayegh 1996; see Figure 14.7), it is planned to reconstruct the covered Ottoman Souk Ayass, which will have a transparent pavement above the Persian period architectural remains, and allow access to the underlying site.

Finally, the Phoenician and earlier Canaanite fortified towns are partially preserved and excavated on the ancient tell in the northeast quarter of the BCD



(Badre 1997; Finkbeiner and Sader 1997). Portions of their successive fortifications are standing, and projects for the preservation, rehabilitation and presentation of these fragile remains are in preparation. In the absence of adequately equipped heritage preservation and management institutions, experts and funds, the ancient tell is perhaps the most endangered of the sites preserved *in situ* in the BCD. It presents a challenge for integration. Its protection and preservation is of utmost urgency. So far only the developers have requested expert advice to elaborate a project for its evaluation and integration.

The concept behind 'contextual integration' envisaged along the archaeological trail is to keep the past connected with the living present, rather than removing it into separate closed spaces or preserving disconnected ruins. The motto for a unique project like the one of Beirut demands not to preserve just ruins, but rather to keep the past alive.

### **CONCLUSIONS: SHARING THE PAST WITH THE PRESENT?**

The first oasis in the BCD will be the above-mentioned public garden created around the Roman bathhouse below Serail hill. It is also the first public recreational space where a surviving cultural resource is combined with a planted environment suggestive of the luscious gardens of the city of old. Popular reaction to green spaces is one of relief and appreciation. This project's combined attraction of culture and nature promises to be a success.

The proposed integration of the Byzantine shops and mosaic street in the redevelopment of the Souks could become yet another showcase (Figure 14.8). By providing an attractive feature in a new public space, it could add character and interest. Explanation and interpretation of the site can be provided in the form of computer reconstructions available through interactive programmes derived from the data obtained during excavation. It is intended to avoid a traditional static museum installation of artefacts in show-cases (Hudson 1996).

The Byzantine quarter thus recreated would be a new venture and complete departure from the few traditional displays available to the public in Beirut or the region at present. A fully interactive Byzantine shopping centre in the Souks has the potential of becoming an economically self-supportive enterprise like the Yorvik Viking Centre in York, England. In such places, the past of a city becomes an adventure, a journey into time, in which people of today can participate. The idea, popular with some, of Beirut as an archaeological 'museum town' has been critically analysed by Ghassan Tuani (1998). A single 'Museum of Beirut' in one building would be more limited in alternative representational strategies than a diversity of display units distributed within the fabric of the city, linked by an open trail or circuit. Life in the past is more directly accessible through live activities than museum gates. Hence, the Souks' heritage belongs to the Souks, and mosaics belong close to the context where they were found.



**Figure 14.8** Beirut Souks excavations 1996: Roman household vessels and food-stuffs reconstituted after excavated plant and animal samples, serve to illustrate the possible combinations of evidence to ‘revive’ aspects of Beirut’s past.

*Photo:* Danny Lyann.

Beirut’s reconstruction offers a unique possibility for realizing such present—past interfaces.

The presented past is envisaged here as various individual ‘experiences’, physically and contextually separate but all imbedded within the city centre which, in itself, is composed of functioning buildings dating from the present to the twelfth century. This passing in and out of the modern, the historical, as well as aspects of the excavated city—almost seamlessly sewn together—would suit and enhance the character and cultural fabric of Beirut better than most other solutions. The majority of Beirutis and Lebanese are not used to being

faced with or challenged by their city's or country's past in their normal environment. Creating an interface between people and genuinely alternative aspects of their past can generate communication, recognition and sharing, which are desirable experiences considered worth repeating. Experiencing the past today can help recreate a cultural identity shared by all.

Instead of this vision of sharing the past with the present, however, Beirut's archaeology today faces the vital question as to whether this or any other future of Beirut's past has a chance in the context of the stalemate between the legal representatives officially controlling the antiquities and the developers building the city.

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## NOTES

- 1 BAAL is an acronym for *Bulletin d'Archéologie et d'Architecture Libanaises*, of which three volumes have been assembled so far: volumes 1 (1996), 2 (1997) and 3 (1997). This new official journal of the Directorate General of Antiquities (DGA) of Lebanon contains all preliminary and interim reports of the Beirut excavations. The work is described in *Archéologie et Patrimoine* 1–7 (1994–7), DGA and UNESCO (eds); and National Museum News 1–5 (1995–7), by the Beirut National Museum and the Lebanese British Friends of the National Museum.
- 2 The British Archaeologists and Developers Liaison Group (BADLG 1989) was sponsored and supported by bodies from archaeological, architectural and development agencies. It was replaced in 1990 by government guidelines that utilize the basic principles of the code.

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15 *Regional aspects of state policy relating  
to the protection of the cultural heritage  
and natural environment in the  
Russian Federation*

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**INTRODUCTION**

In the course of the complex transition to a liberal market economy so fraught with contradictions, the privatization of state property and the implementation of agrarian reform, the Russian Federation has encountered a range of problems resulting from economic developments. First of all it has been necessary to choose paths for economic development related to indigenous peoples. This has required selecting priorities in the revitalization of their socio-cultural and ethno-social potential and steps to protect their historical and cultural heritage and natural environment. Difficulties encountered in the implementation of these tasks stem from the fact that Russia consists of many different economic and ethno-social regions that have evolved historically. Careful differentiation is required with regard to federalization of the various regions and delegation by the central national government of broad rights to other bodies within the federation. Regional elaboration of a legal and regulatory basis on which to build in the future is needed, particularly in relation to the protection and management of the historical and cultural heritage and of the natural environment.

**THE CENTRALIZED SYSTEM**

In Russia immediately after the October Revolution of 1917, a series of legislative and regulatory actions were introduced to regulate the registration and protection of historical and cultural monuments. Ever since, efforts to this end have continued and have been refined constantly. In the first decrees of the Soviet Government (1917–19), legislation was aimed at consolidation of state ownership of historical and cultural monuments through the nationalization of architectural monuments and private collections. More recently, for example, in the law entitled On the Protection and Management of Historical and Cultural Monuments (1978), attention was focused not merely on state property but also on the property of individual citizens.

Contemporary legal, regulatory and organizational approaches to the protection and management of Russia's historical and cultural heritage developed in the late 1970s and early 1980s. The most important document in this connection was the above-mentioned law passed on 15 December 1978, at the Ninth Session of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR. It covered many topics of major importance for the protection of historical and cultural monuments:

- 1 The management, inspection and protection of historical and cultural monuments at all levels of state executive power down as far as village Soviets (Articles 7, 8, 10).
- 2 Instructions of state bodies responsible for the protection of monuments, which are binding for all enterprises and organizations and also for individual citizens (Article 9).
- 3 The involvement of non-governmental organizations and an inspectorate consisting of their representatives (Articles 12, 13).
- 4 Compulsory state inspection of all monuments, including both movable and immovable property, regardless of their ownership (Articles 16–20).
- 5 Procedures for the protection and management of historical and cultural monuments (Articles 21–39).
- 6 Obligatory agreements with state bodies responsible for the protection of monuments regarding projects for the planning, expansion and reconstruction of towns, villages and other centres of population, plans for construction work and land-improvement, road building and other schemes. Moreover, all projects were required to include provision for the identification, recording and investigation of historical and cultural monuments (Articles 42, 43).
- 7 State bodies concerned with the protection of monuments were given the legal right to interrupt building and other works, that constitute a threat to historical and cultural monuments (Article 44).

The provisions of this important law complemented and extended the subsequently ratified regulations for the Protection and Management of Historical and Cultural Monuments put in place in 1982 by the USSR Council of Ministers. Unfortunately, the progressive approaches called for in the law and regulations have not, for the most part, been implemented. There are a number of reasons for this which we describe below.

Regrettably, the centralization of administrative activities, including the management and protection of historical and cultural heritage sites, made impossible the elaboration of a legal and regulatory base at local levels capable of taking into consideration geographical, ethnic and other features of the historical and cultural heritage of individual regions. The creation of centralized management structures and arrangements for the protection of the historical and cultural heritage did not adequately take into account the varied aspects and features of the different regions. For example, the same number of inspectors for the protection of historical and cultural monuments were assigned for the

Ryazan region, which has a total area of 25,000 sq. km a well-developed infrastructure and network of roads, as for the Tyumen region, an area covering over one million sq. km and consisting mainly of *taiga* and tundra terrain difficult to access. Even in the first case, the number of inspectors (three) assigned was a very small number of officials to cover such areas effectively.

The centralized organization of scientific and methodological work within the system of the federal Ministry of Culture has meant that standard working practices and recommendations adapted to special conditions in individual regions virtually do not exist. It proved impossible to bring together in one place experts specializing in all the diverse types of historical and cultural monuments to be found in Russia. To date, no scientific procedures or guidelines have been elaborated regarding principles for the demarcation of districts or zones containing archaeological sites outside areas that are modern centres of population. This has limited our ability to promote work for the interpretation, conservation and reconstruction of historic and cultural landscapes. No generally accepted terminology for such work exists.

In general, progress has not been made on the creation of guidelines for methods to be used in the study of archaeological sites and monuments of different types. This has meant that methods used by archaeologists have been of a much lower level and more varied than is desirable. Frequently, it has proved impossible to integrate the specific local results in order to register systematically and protect historical and cultural monuments at local, regional or national levels. A majority of plans of archaeological monuments, for example, have been drawn without geodesic instruments and without appropriate references for linking the archaeological sites to local maps and cartographic data.

Another major problem of central management has been that no systematic provision of legal training has been provided for specialists working in the field of heritage management. Virtually no higher educational establishment provides special courses in the legal, organizational and methodological aspects of our work. No attempt to correlate courses of study drawn up in Moscow by the Ministry of Higher Education has borne fruit. As a result, neither the public agencies involved in the protection of monuments, nor the historians, archaeologists and architects working on sites have been given training in the specialized legal and methodological aspects of this work.

The rigid national state planning of economic activity in the past, complete with slogans like 'Fulfill the Plan, come what may', has resulted in the systematic destruction of historical and cultural monuments. This state of affairs is aggravated further by the complete lack of more specific regulations or guidelines being enforced effectively by ministries or authorities responsible for the protection of historical and cultural monuments within zones of industrial activity. Industrial enterprises and organizations, in particular those from the spheres of power generation and military production, administered from centralized, national levels but operating in the provinces, often assume complete control over historical and cultural resources. These enterprises pay no

attention to local government organizations responsible for the protection of heritage sites. A further aggravating factor has been the total lack of accountability and subsequent punishment for infringements of the law for protecting and managing historical and cultural monuments. In the Russian criminal code, fines of 50 and 100 roubles were specified for such offences. Naturally, these minimal fines failed to constitute an effective deterrent.

As a result of these and many other factors, a dangerous situation has taken shape in our country with regard to the preservation of our historical and cultural heritage. The national government has already approved various programmes, for example the Register of Historical and Cultural Monuments of the USSR and the Compilation of an Inventory of Historical and Cultural Monuments in the Russian Federation. However, these national institutions have not changed or improved the overall situation. In our region, which occupies such an enormous territory and where historical and cultural monuments are mainly archaeological, 1,000 archaeologists would not be enough to cope with the volume of work required. The specially allocated national resources, which are evenly distributed among the regions, were not sufficient to fund more than a small part of regional programmes. As a result, as many specialists have been pointing out, the programmes were not completed.

## **NEW DEVELOPMENTS AND REGIONALIZATION**

At the end of the 1980s, the general political situation in Russia began to change, and this was naturally reflected in the country's evolving legislation. The most important development in this field was the emergence of a new concept for regional or local organizations referred to as 'subjects of the Federation'. These 'subjects' are entities invested with fairly widespread rights and powers according to the Constitution of the Russian Federation and the Federal Treaty, including those relating to legislation.

At the present time, these entities at the local and regional levels have become involved with the protection of historical and cultural monuments. This activity is now the joint responsibility of the national state and local or regional 'subjects', typically fairly small agencies or organizations at local level. It has at last become possible to resolve legal, methodological, personnel and organizational questions closer to where the questions are raised, i.e. below the national level. Many regional authorities have availed themselves of this opportunity without delay.

In the second half of the 1980s, another new approach to these endeavours began to emerge thanks to the efforts of non-governmental organizations, in particular the Russian Cultural Foundation, headed by D.S.Likhachov.<sup>1</sup> This approach identified 'territories of particular historical, cultural and natural significance', and regional programmes were organized to take into account the requirements of the natural environment and historical and cultural monuments at the same time. This second approach characterized a number of regional



programmes that were approved at that time, such as 'Tver-Russia'. Decrees issued by the President of the Russian Federation at this time, such as those regarding Valaam Island and the Solovetski Islands, also reflected this approach.

Yet attempts to initiate preventive measures, such as the elaboration of national legislation and regulations regarding the protection of areas of natural beauty and significance, and heritage management in anticipation of land reform and privatization of state property in the period 1990–3, did not prove fruitful. This meant that the brunt of the work in this sphere has had to be carried out at regional level.

Analysis of the laws and regulations that have been drawn up and passed in the last several years at the federal level brings a number of major shortcomings to light. First, most of the laws are still very narrow in their impact. The Law on the Protection of the Natural Environment and the Law on Mineral Wealth do not provide for any effective measures to protect our historical and cultural heritage. Similarly, in the law and regulations relating to land survey, the list of state bodies responsible for carrying out such work does not include state organizations concerned with protecting historical and cultural monuments. On the other hand, in the Land Code of the Russian Federation, areas including heritage sites are singled out as a special category. The Statute on National Nature Reserves, adopted in a special resolution by the government of the Russian Federation in August 1993, was drawn up by the State Committee for the Protection of Nature and the Environment. Unfortunately, its very name as well as the actual text of the statute reflect the narrow, strictly departmental approach of the document. These actions at national level demonstrate the narrow, uncoordinated approach to historical and cultural heritage that prevails at that level.

In its turn, the Ministry of Culture has rejected any joint ecological and cultural approach. The ministry has set great store on retaining its own control over immovable state cultural property and has failed over the last three years to come up with a generally acceptable version of a law on the protection of historical and cultural monuments. In November 1994, yet another draft for such legislation was rejected by a special board from the ministry.

## **REGIONAL PRESERVATION IN THE URALS AND WESTERN SIBERIA**

We now consider our experiences gleaned during the regional elaboration of national law and regulations in the context of the working group reporting to the Council of Nationalities of the former Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation, as well as experience gained during the elaboration and implementation of schemes devised to protect heritage sites in the Urals and western Siberia, in particular in the Hanty-Mansiisk Autonomous Area. The Urals region and western Siberia are of major interest when it comes to the elaboration of regional programmes. The kinds of activities and challenges

include: creating a register of historical and cultural sites, protecting them at a time when population numbers and industrial activity are rapidly increasing, and creating procedures to require the state monopoly enterprises in the defence, oil and gas and forestry spheres to take historical and cultural monuments into account properly when conducting their business.

A specific feature of these territories, in particular the Hanty-Mansiisk Autonomous Area, is the very real threat of the wholesale disappearance of the local peoples' ecological and cultural world, represented first and foremost by archaeological and ethno-archaeological sites and monuments. The regional programme currently being implemented within this area involves drawing up a register of heritage sites and compulsory surveys by expert ecologists, ethnographers and archaeologists of territories scheduled to be developed or exploited for industrial purposes.

AV COM, renamed AV COM HERITAGE in September 1997, and working as a private firm now that the Russian Cultural Foundation no longer has jurisdiction over the Sverdlovsk region, is conducting systematic surveys of territories earmarked for industrial development and is compiling a register of sites of historical, cultural and natural interest. The historical and cultural sites include those relating to the indigenous peoples and the 'long-standing' Russian population that settled in this region from the seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries. The vast majority of the 4,500 archaeological and ethno-archaeological sites identified come under the category of damaged earthen monuments that could date from any time from the Mesolithic period to the present. The AV COM HERITAGE programme is aimed at the regulation and restriction of the industrial activity of oil and gas concerns, and the creation of a system for effectively identifying historical, cultural and natural sites in special need of protection. The programme provides for a combination of various types of heritage management addressing the scientific, educational and recreational needs of academics, the general public, schoolchildren and tourists. These initial attempts at setting aside special protected areas of this sort required considerable effort to change the attitudes of recent generations of the population, especially those of non-indigenous origin, and also in the attitudes of administrators from political and public organizations at all levels.

Next we describe, using a number of examples, how in practice we have implemented our approach to heritage preservation and set in motion new initiatives on the part of regional and municipal authorities within the Hanty-Mansiisk Autonomous Area.

One improvement is that special departments have been introduced into the structure of agencies invested with executive power and that district services responsible for heritage management have been established at regional and municipal levels. These departments responsible for heritage management have been authorized to determine the conditions under which licences might be issued for mining rights and also for land ownership and utilization.

Compulsory historical, cultural and natural surveys of areas earmarked for industrial development must be carried out in order for licences to be issued. This new procedure has increased by five to seven times the number of surveys being carried out. At present, 120 site assessments have been completed.

On another front, work has begun on the regional programme for the compilation of a Register of Historical and Cultural Sites. Recently, an electronic data base of this site information has been completed, enabling easier access and manipulation of the available data. In 1998, we hope to use these data and additional information for predictive modelling of cultural sites' locations. In addition, several official documents have been drafted to establish formal procedures, including one, the Statute on Expert Surveys of Historical and Cultural Sites, that will apply within the territory of the Hanty-Mansiisk Autonomous Area.

Plans are currently being drawn up to create a number of protected territories, for example the Kondinskiye Lakes Nature Park, occupying 500 sq. km and including a number of historical and cultural sites; the Tapsui National Park (5,000 sq. km); and the Salym National Park (7,000 sq. km). A programme is also being implemented to ensure the identification, mapping, registration and protection of cultural sites, including those associated with rituals of the indigenous peoples of the north. One of these sacred sites and the associated area surrounding it occupies 25 sq. km on the Maly Salym river. This large site belongs to the Savkunin people and is already under state protection. The land on which such sites (shown in Figures 15.1–15.6) are located can no longer be used for industrial purposes, and all enterprises that place such sites and their surroundings at risk have been discontinued.

Over and above survey and inspection activities engaged in by the staff of AV COM HERITAGE is their involvement in the drafting of legislation and regulations relating to the protection of cultural and historical sites, to heritage management, to the definition of the status of various types of protected territories and to raising public awareness of the latter. This work has provided AV COM HERITAGE with a broad information base to which staff can refer during their work to encourage indigenous peoples to take renewed interest in their cultural roots. The information is also useful for setting up specially protected territories where clear dividing lines can be drawn between zones for industrial development and those where the peoples of the north can go on living and supplying their daily needs from within their traditional environment in accordance with well-established custom.

## **RECENT DEVELOPMENTS**

Between December 1994 and 1997, when the final version of this chapter was written, the situation in Russia regarding the protection of historical and cultural monuments has become much more complicated. The main reason for this is the



**Figure 15.1** Example of sacred site of the Savkunin people.



**Figure 15.2** Carved figures in Savkunin sacred site.

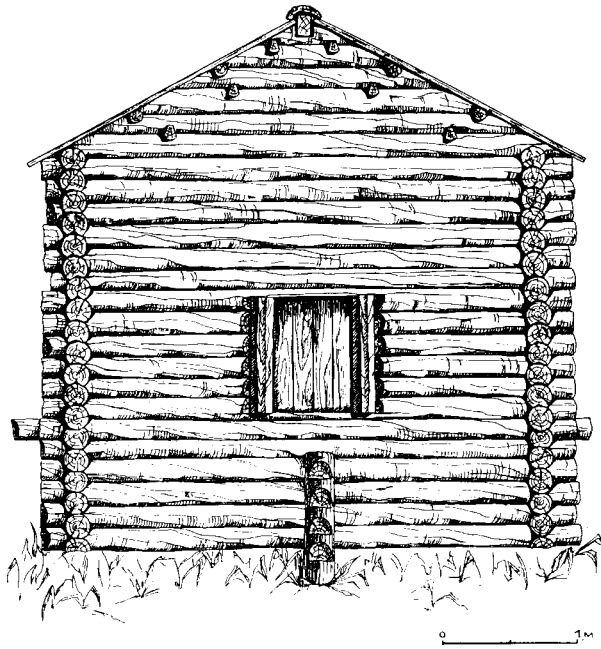


Figure 15.3 Drawing of exterior wall of sacred site.

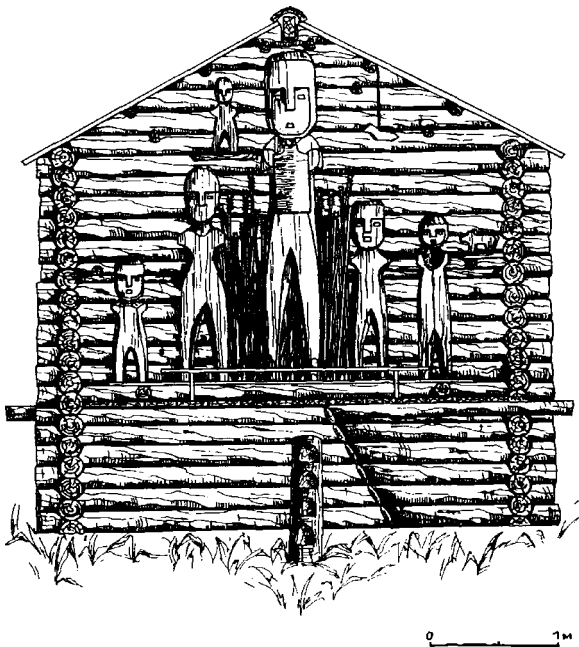


Figure 15.4 Drawing of placement of carved figures at sacred site.



**Figure 15.5** Detail of carved figure at sacred site.



**Figure 15.6** Carved figures draped with costumes.

proliferation of contracts being signed between the central government and regional authorities and organizations concerning the distribution of powers regarding all aspects of the country's economic, social and cultural life. As a result, more and more regions are independently formulating their own policies concerning the protection of their historical and cultural heritage and drawing up their own legislation and regulations in this sphere. Within the Urals-Siberian region alone, the following pieces of legislation have been adopted:

- 1 for the Tyumen region a Law on the Protection and Management of the Historical and Cultural Heritage in the Tyumen Region;
- 2 for the Hanty-Mansiisk Autonomous Area, a Law on Historical and Cultural Heritage, passed after its second reading;
- 3 for the Sverdlovsk region, a Law on the Management of State Property in the Sverdlovsk Region; and
- 4 applicable to the territory within the Hanty-Mansiisk Autonomous Area, a Statute concerning Expert Surveys of Historical and Cultural Heritage.

Unfortunately, this process is being delayed and complicated by the illdefined approach adopted by the central government. Confusion exists regarding ownership and privatization of historical and cultural heritage in the regions, and the spheres of competence that can be claimed by regional and municipal bodies with regard to heritage management. The main questions holding back the emergence of regional policy in connection with heritage protection and management are the following:

- 1 the inadequately elaborated legislation at the federal level determining rights of ownership of heritage sites for local government bodies and individual citizens;
- 2 the lack of methods and procedures for determining basic approaches to heritage protection and management.

According to the Constitution of the Russian Federation, these questions need to be resolved within the sphere of federal legislation. The policy of regional bodies invested with state authority is aimed at resolving questions concerning the protection and management of heritage sites, in accordance with contracts between the central and regional authorities. Of special importance are the establishment and definition of the powers enjoyed by regional and local administrative bodies responsible for heritage management. Until such questions have been resolved at the federal level, questions regarding the transfer of historical and cultural heritage responsibilities to local government bodies or individual citizens will continue.

This state of affairs closely reflects the current economic situation in Russia, in which the federal authorities caught up in the federal budget crisis try to shift responsibility and expenditure concerning the nation's heritage onto the regions, whilst the regional authorities, after concentrating in their own hands

real financial resources and the power attendant on the latter, endeavour to assert their ownership of potentially valuable historical and cultural resources.

## NOTE

- 1 This organization no longer has jurisdiction over the Sverdlovsk region, where Yekaterinburg is situated, and it is now headed by the film director Nikita Mikhalkov.



## 16 *Documentation at Vijayanagara: an experiment in surface archaeology*

JOHN M. FRITZ

### INTRODUCTION

In January 1980, George Michell, working in collaboration with Vasundra and Pierre Sylvan Filliozat, began documentation at Vijayanagara. He was not the first to document the site: a national project involving Indian archaeological teams had begun excavation in 1976, and the Filliozats had already begun documenting inscriptions and the architecture of Vithala Temple. But, in addition to supervising the creation of measured drawings of temples and civic structures, Michell also began a site map. This was the beginning of 'surface archaeology' at Vijayanagara.

At its inception, neither Michell nor I imagined that research at Vijayanagara would take the form of an extended experiment in surface archaeology. As we became more aware of the dimensions of the site and of the detail of its visible archaeological record, we developed techniques to document space extensively and intensively. Our initial objectives for the Vijayanagara Research Project focused on recording and interpreting the anthropological, architectural, artistic and historical aspects of this medieval royal Hindu city (e.g. Michell 1982; Fritz *et al.* 1984, 1986; Fritz 1986). As we have worked at the site for nearly twenty years, we have found that our methods of resource identification, evaluation and recording also have important, useful results for managing and preserving the site.

By examining and recording this large site extensively, we have been able to identify areas where modern activities were affecting the surface and subsurface archaeological record. At a minimum, the relatively rapid mapping and surface recording has enabled us to make a record of the surface archaeology before modern development or actions have obliterated it completely. In other cases, damage or destruction has been avoided due to recognition of the importance of archaeological or architectural remains.

Our concern with space was directed by certain propositions derived from contemporary archaeological theory, namely that the city of Vijayanagara consisted of more or less discrete social groups that functioned as parts of a

coherent system, and that the material record of the site could indicate something about the nature of these groups and of their interaction. We brought to this project our expertise in the observation and recording of standing and ruined architecture, a sensitivity to the faint modifications that human activity can produce on the surface and a belief that we should attempt to increase the accuracy of our observations. As the work continued, we also became aware that the surface of the site was changing and that its physical record was being altered by various types of development. These disparate facts, experiences, interests and beliefs, along with continuing funding and permission, have led to a long-term experiment in surface archaeology.

## **SIGNIFICANCE OF VIJAYANAGARA**

The capital of the most powerful Hindu state of pre-colonial southern India, Vijayanagara was founded in the mid-fourteenth century. Able local leaders who adopted Muslim military tactics and even employed Muslims in their armies, rapidly expanded their authority from an obscure chiefdom on the Deccan plateau to most of southern India. While the ability of its leaders and the fortunes of the capital rose and fell during the next century, the city became one of the most populous in the world during the first half of the sixteenth century. It was destroyed by a combined army of Decanni Sultans in AD 1565 at the apex of its power. Vijayanagara rulers were defeated at some distance from the city; they returned to the capital only to gather up the symbols of their power and as much of its wealth as possible. The sultanate army then sacked the abandoned site and burned its wooden structures. Subsequent attempts to resettle the city were unsuccessful.

The region continued to be underpopulated and economically backward until the mid-1950s, when a large dam and hydroelectric scheme were created on the Tungabhadra river, upstream from the central city near the modern town of Hospet (Figure 16.1). More certain sources of water have encouraged the development of farming in the river valley. Cheap electricity has facilitated the development of industry around Hospet, including, in the past three years, large iron smelters. Tourism has also increased during the past decade, and facilities have been built in Hospet and in the villages of Kamalapuram and Hampi.

Hampi (to use the local name by which the Vijayanagara site is best known) has been a symbol of local resistance to the intrusion of outside powers and cultures. For many southern Indian Hindus, Vijayanagara represents the apex of military and cultural achievement. The Hampi region has been of concern to archaeologists and historians for more than a century. Extensive clearance and conservation was undertaken at the beginning of this century by British antiquarians. This work continued sporadically until 1976, when a national project involving central and state archaeology departments increased its tempo. The international significance of the ruined city was recognized in the 1980s when it was added to UNESCO's list of World Heritage Sites.

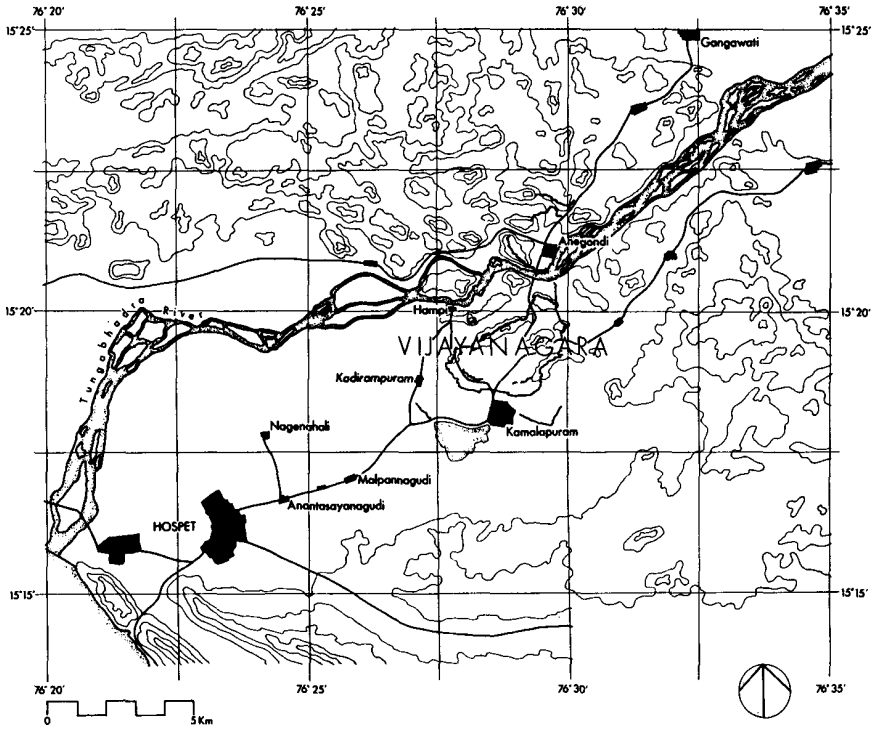
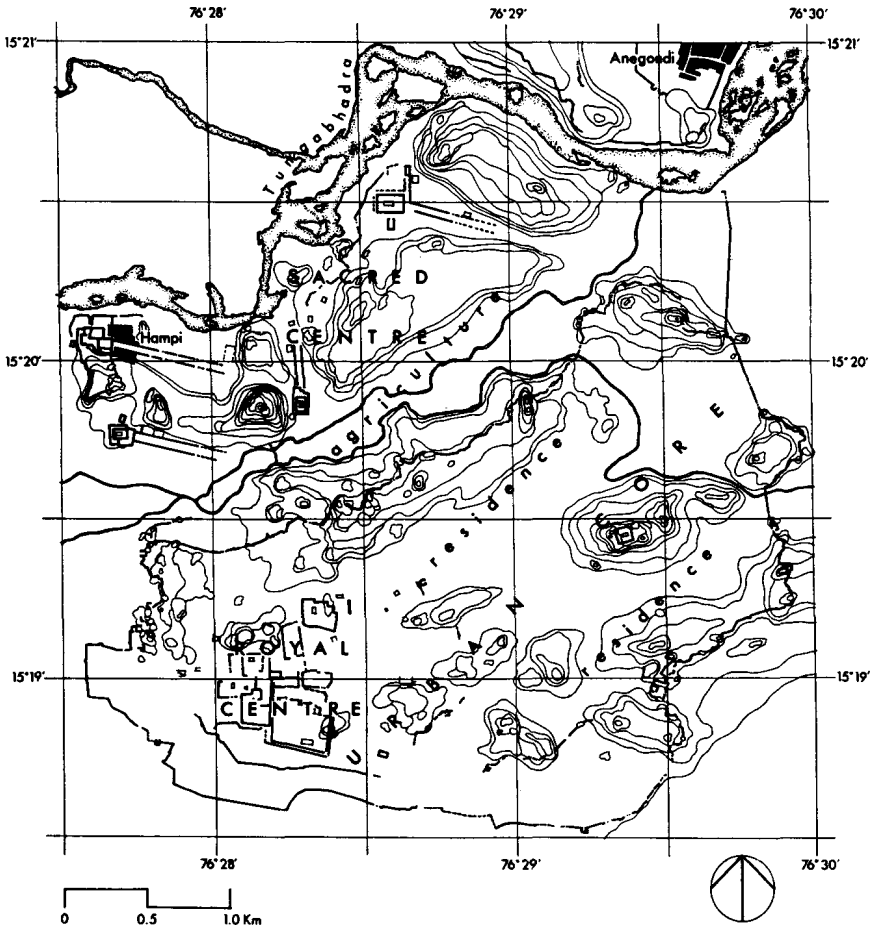


Figure 16.1 Modern regional context of the medieval site of Vijayanagara.

## NATURE OF THE SURFACE REMAINS

Today, the ruins of the city extend over a vast area, including the outer fortified passes and surrounding hills. The area of the metropolitan region is more than 400 sq. km; the central city, where we have concentrated our documentary efforts, is about 20 sq. km (Figure 16.2). The city was built on the south side of the Tungabhadra river but its fortifications and associated villages extend on both banks of the river valley. High ridges of eroded granite dominate the topography to the north and immediately to the south of the river. The parallel ridges of the Sandur hills protected the south side of the metropolitan region.

The central city contains the remains of more than 1,000 buildings. This area was defended by several circuits of high granite walls, the remnants of which extend along ridges and across valleys. Gateways and lesser portals occurred where roads and pathways entered the city. Roads varied from paved highways to staircases and to paths worn on rock outcrops. Water was supplied from large tanks and from wells by canals, aqueducts, small water channels and terracotta pipes; it was removed by drains and sumps.



**Figure 16.2** Different zones of Vijayanagara.

The standing buildings at the site are chiefly religious in nature (temple complexes, smaller temples, shrines) or civic (columned halls, pavilions, towers, elephant stables). The remains of rubble walls of many ruined buildings are visible on the surface; other structures are buried under colluvium in valleys or have been destroyed by erosion and farming on hillsides. Activities took place on or adjacent to boulders and outcrops of sheet rock and produced a remarkable range of features, many of which are visible: footings for columns; sockets for beams, mortars and a variety of smaller holes; areas of polish; grooves, channels and 'ties'; and even game boards. With the exception of extremely abundant earthenware shards, portable artefacts are uncommon. However, Chinese porcelains are sometimes found. Other portable artefacts include mortars in stone blocks and basalt mauls. In short, the surface of

Vijayanagara presents a wide range of feature types but a smaller range of classes of objects.

## **SURFACE ARCHAEOLOGY**

The techniques we have developed to document Vijayanagara are those of 'surface archaeology'. Our objective is to record, explain and publish the material remains of past human activity that are manifest on the surface of the earth. Techniques employed are those of mapping, drawing, photography as well as technical writing and description. These procedures fit well with efforts to preserve the archaeological record because they are non-destructive, replicable, extensive and less costly when compared with excavation. Thus, they do not physically alter the archaeological record; and, assuming that the condition of the surface remains the same, similar observations can be repeated in the future.

An extensive rather than intensive description of a site is produced, in that the amount of information collected per square metre is much less than that recorded during excavation, but the area covered is much greater. Teams of fewer, but more highly trained, people are required. Depending on the density of surface features, they can document a large area in a relatively short time. Further, as no artefacts are collected, no resources need be devoted to their processing, description, analysis and curation. The records produced by surface archaeology are relatively compact and more easily prepared for publication.

One disadvantage of this approach is that the stratigraphic record and, thus, the sequence of deposition of artefacts, cannot be observed. Inferences about time in general, and the sequence of events in particular, are difficult, although by no means impossible. A second disadvantage is that an understanding of the variety of forms within and between artefact classes is better achieved through large collections obtained during excavation. This can be compensated for, to some extent, through the collection of portable artefacts from the surface. Third, buried features, whether structural remains or the preserved spatial relationship between portable artefacts and other data, cannot be seen on the surface. In sites like Vijayanagara, where the entire surface has been altered by natural and cultural processes, only the upper elements of structural remains are likely to be expressed on the surface.

## **SURFACE DOCUMENTATION AT VIJAYANAGARA**

During our surface documentation at Vijayanagar, we have:

- 1 identified areas in which we were most interested to conduct research;
- 2 designated or named the particular zones and features that we were to document;

- 3 defined stages or sequences of activity for each area;
- 4 employed the appropriate documentary techniques at each stage;
- 5 prepared data collected for analysis and publication; and,
- 6 published our findings.

At the beginning of our work, we had two objectives: to study the development of temple architecture and to document the history of courtly structures. Our initial research focused on areas where religious or civic structures were most numerous and varied.

The shrines, temples and temple complexes preserved near the Tungabhadra river record the history of sacred architecture in northern Karnataka from the ninth to the sixteenth century. Particularly significant are the small temples on Hemakuta hill, which were built before and after the founding of the city, and the large complexes that manifest the architectural exuberance of the sixteenth century. The Filliozats had already conducted research here, both on its inscriptions and on the architecture of the Vithala temple. The dense array of sacred structures along the river was one important object of our documentation.

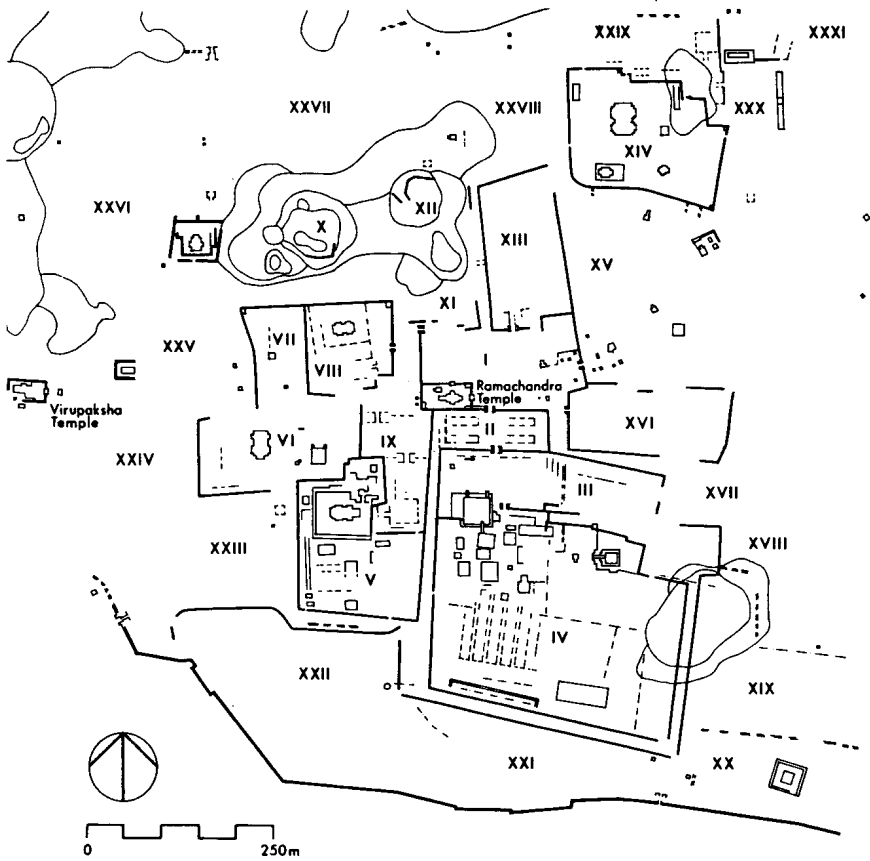
The ensemble of civic structures preserved about 2 km south of the river are the earliest and best-preserved record in a southern Indian capital of fifteenth- and sixteenth-century courtly building types and their spatial relation. The architectural history of this royal zone was our second task.

As we came to recognize the extent of standing and ruined structural remains and features on rocks, we decided to expand our documentation beyond select buildings in both the sacred and royal areas. In time, we registered architectural and archaeological features in an area that extended from the towns of Kamalapuram in the south to Anegondi in the north. We intensively studied an area of 11 sq. km but also recorded numerous buildings in outlying areas.

### **Designation of subareas and structures**

When areas were selected, it was necessary to name them. We preferred names that reflected what we believed their functions to be in the life of the capital (see Figure 16.2 and Fritz *et al.* 1984 for a fuller description of terms used). Thus, we termed the area along the river the 'sacred centre', because religious buildings are the dominant architectural form and because the earliest sacred associations of the site occur here. The cluster of courtly buildings was called the 'royal centre'.

In the royal centre we distinguished spaces that seemed to be behaviourally significant. About a third of the areas are divided by walls into enclosures; we postulated that the activities within each enclosure formed a coherent behavioral set (Figure 16.3). For a number of reasons, we believed the Ramachandra Temple to be the hub of the enclosures. We assigned each enclosure a Roman numeral ('enclosure I', 'II'... 'XXX') starting with the walled area containing the temple and progressing outward in a clockwise



**Figure 16.3** Royal centre in Vijayanagara showing numbering of enclosures.

spiral. Within each enclosure or subenclosure we assigned numbers to different structures, starting with the most prominent, e.g. 'feature IVa/1', 'feature XIV/2'.

For areas beyond the enclosures of the royal centre, where we could not draw lines around behaviourally significant areas, we did impose a geometric system. The grid was centred on the urban core and sacred centre. For more precise recording, each large square was subdivided into geometric patterns of smaller squares, consistently numbered. This system of designation was used to map and organize the topographic and cultural information we recorded in our field work.

Thus, different systems of defining and naming areas (and included structures) have been used as part of our work at Vijayanagara, one based on presumed past behaviour and others on 'arbitrary' geometric divisions (see details in Fritz *et al.* 1984; Fritz 1993, 1996; Michell 1990, 1992, 1994). When

the systems have overlapped, as in the royal centre, we have preferred to use the first, behaviourally oriented, system to identify areas and features.

### **Stages, techniques, and contingencies**

Over the course of years, the foci of our work have changed in a systematic way. The emphasis of our field research has shifted from areas at the site with greater concentrations of features to those with lesser ones; from standing buildings to archaeological features; from 'high' to 'common' types of features; from the documentation of 'representative' to 'complete' samples of features; from the recording of fewer to more details; from less to more precise reporting; and from initial recording to the checking of our records. Changes in our publication objectives have influenced these shifts. For example, we have moved from documentation of single or small groups of features for publication in articles to the recording of all features within a given area for publication in monographic inventories.

Effective documentation required not only the application of a set of techniques but also trained personnel to use them and certain equipment and facilities. However, as more people participated, as the length of each season lengthened and as more drawings, photographs and descriptions were produced, it became necessary to create lists. In time, written lists on sheets of paper became unwieldy. Fortunately, our research took place at the same time as the development of increasingly portable computers and 'user friendly' programs. We first used a word processing program to keep lists, but eventually transferred this information to a text-oriented data base program. We created data bases about the following: drawings, features, subtypes of features (e.g. gateways), photographs, certain objects (e.g. Chinese porcelains), our publications and related publications.

### **Architectural documentation**

Michell's strategy for documenting standing buildings began with drawing. Plans were drawn first; sometimes these were followed by elevations and sections. For more simple structures, photographs alone were taken if they could adequately show architectural details (e.g. Michell 1990). A series of colour transparencies and black and white photographs of the Vijayanagara's landscape and buildings has been taken for various publications (e.g. Michell and Fillionat 1981; Michell 1982; Fritz *et al.* 1984, 1986; Fritz 1986, 1993).

### **Mapping Vijayanagara**

In 1980, Michell based his preliminary sketch maps on a montage of aerial photographs displayed at the archaeological museum in Kamalapuram. These maps showed two quite different areas of the city: one dense with civic architecture in the probable palace of the ruler and one dominated by large religious complexes next to the Tungabhadra river. After sketching hills using 'form lines' and large structures, he checked and elaborated it on the ground



using visual sighting to establish the relation of structures to topography and to each other.

The scale of the map series did not allow us to indicate the form and location of structural remains when many were crowded into a small area. It was impossible to show the location of small features. In 1982, Michell and architectural assistants next began to map buildings and structural remains in several royal enclosures at scale 1:200 using a transit and tape measures. However, this scale soon produced map sheets that were too large, and we shifted to scale 1:400. These planimetric maps adequately showed structures and were used in various publications, but they did not include topographic information or non-structural features.

In 1983, we next hired a professional surveying team from Bangalore to map cultural features and topography in part of the royal centre at scale 1:400. Structures were not very accurately shown at this scale, but the outline of ruins and the location of smaller features could be shown with reasonable accuracy.

Our first 1:400 maps recorded areas at some remove from on-going excavations. Later, with the kind permission of the relevant authorities, we mapped the entire royal centre. In 1984, we also began to expand the map into surrounding areas of the urban core. In several cases, we did not map areas where agriculture had eliminated all archaeological features. These areas mostly occur on the peripheries of the site. However, we did map some cultivated areas to show topographic contrast to areas with features. We had not planned to map the sacred centre, but when we recognized that this area was undergoing rapid development and that buildings and surface features were being destroyed, we began to map around the Virupaksha temple in Hampi during our 1992–3 season.

### **Documenting archaeological features**

Systematic recording of structural and non-structural archaeological features accompanied detailed mapping of the surface. The greater range of features recognized by archaeologists required an equivalent variety of documentary strategies for archaeological remains. In all cases, the first stage was 'familiarization'. Because the author and most of his later assistants had not worked in India before, we had to become familiar with the range of archaeological features and objects present at Vijayanagara. As a result of looking at many occurrences, we learned to see recurrent formal patterns, for example the elements of stone basements and the design of game boards in sheet rock.

As a larger number and variety of features were recorded on 1:400 maps, and as more assistants were employed, it became necessary to develop a glossary of terms and rules for identifying each class of feature. These consisted of key words for each class and rules for applying them to observed artefacts. Inevitably, classification subsumed variation that might be significant for some analytical purposes. For example, whilst 'ties', which consist of bars of stone freed from sheet rock by undercutting, varied considerably in length from c.5 to 35 cm, we did not take time to record their size.

In other cases, classes that were conceptually clear were less distinct in application. This was particularly true in the case of parts of ruined structures.

For example, the class 'wall' designated remains where one or more 'faces' could be seen. A 'face' is an outer, vertical plane of a wall. However, when only a few pieces of rubble of one course were visible on the surface, the presence of one or two faces was problematic. We evolved the rule that a face, and hence a wall, occurred when the sides of three or more stone constituents defined a vertical plane. When no faces were visible, but three or more stones lay in a straight line, the feature was termed an 'alignment'. However, alignments varied in their constituents from three pieces of rubble, or a densely packed assemblage of rubble and blocks, to linear arrays of rubble produced by the clearing of fields by farmers. Ambiguities in the application of these and related rules were sources of debate each season.

Photographs were taken of select archaeological features, recording context and form of representative or particularly well-preserved or well-lit features. In all, we have recorded about 33,000 features on 266 1:400 map sheets which document some 1,100 ha. Archaeological drawings have been made of ruined structures. We attempted to record the remains of all structures in the royal centre and we drew large ruined complexes in the urban core and sacred centre. Archaeological plans of structural remains differed from architectural drawings in recording individual constituents; ideally, these plans distinguished blocks, rubble, brickwork, mortar, etc. We used scale 1:50 in such cases. But this scale was impractical in the case of very large structures; here, 1:100 was used and only larger constituents were recorded.

### **Publication of findings**

From the beginning, the dissemination of the products of our documentation has been an important goal, as it must be for any project with a focus on recording, preserving and disseminating data. Early on in the project, architectural drawing, mapping and photography in 1980 resulted in an issue of *Marq* magazine (Michell and Filliozat 1981). Subsequent work by a number of scholars and students has led to a variety of reports and other kinds of publications. The collaboration of colleagues has allowed a considerable range of problems to be addressed using data from the Vijayanagara site. These include: human biology, agricultural intensification (Morrison 1995), ceramic production and use (Sinopoli 1993), sculpture and iconography (Verghese 1991), architectural history, religious history, archaeo-astronomy, present-day material culture, and Sanskrit, Kannada and Teugu religious and courtly texts.

There have also been many general reports and publications based upon the project. Popular publications (Michell 1982; Fritz *et al.* 1986) and exhibitions (e.g. of drawings and photographs at the American Museum of Natural History, and at architectural institutions in Europe and the US) have played an important role in making the project and its results known more widely. A series of technical reports have been published, including a preliminary report (Fritz *et al.* 1984), inventories of site features (Michell 1990), an international conference and proceedings (Dallapiccola 1985), contributions to the Karnataka

Department of Archaeology and Museum (KDAM) Vijayanagara monograph series (Michell 1990; Cope Faulkner 1996; Fritz 1996; Wagoner 1996), reports at professional meetings (Michell 1992; Fritz 1993), articles in professional journals and edited volumes (Fritz 1986; Verghese 1991; Michell 1994; Dallapiccola 1996) and monographs (Davison Jenkins 1997). We have even produced the inevitable coffee-table book that a site as spectacularly photogenic as Vijayanagara calls out for (Gollings *et al.* 1991). Finally, two documentary films were shot at Vijayanagara in 1996.

## CONCLUSIONS

Surface archaeology at Vijayanagara has had two objectives: the creation of bodies of data useful in addressing a number of research problems, and the preservation of information about structures, other features and objects that may be lost as a result of the development of agriculture, towns, tourist facilities and related infrastructure and archaeological clearance and reconstruction. The large number of publications published or in preparation is one measure of the achievement of the first objective. We believe that the large number of drawings, maps, photographs and descriptions produced will also be an enduring, if incomplete, physical record of the Vijayanagara site from 1980 to the present.

The contribution of this work to public interpretation and the preservation of Vijayanagara is problematic. Certainly, our research has focused some attention on the site: the cooperative project developed in 1981 between the Karnataka Division of Archaeological Management (KDAM) and the University of New Mexico stimulated the former to intensify and focus its clearance in an élite residential zone. When the Karnataka Director of Archaeology became the Director General of the Archaeological Survey of India (ASI), he greatly increased the scale of the work at the site.

Meanwhile, international tourist guidebooks to India devote increasing space to Vijayanagara, often employing some of our terminology and maps. We have discussed our documentation and interpretations with local guides. However, traditional accounts of the sacred associations of the site and dramatic stories are emphasized in their accounts. A number of Indian and foreign feature films have been made at the site, some of which refer to its monuments and history. Increased publicity has attracted more attention to Vijayanagara, and hence more development. This trend is likely to continue.

Archaeological agencies have made use of our documentation: we understand that some of our documentation of Vijayanagara supported the Government of India's application for UNESCO World Heritage status for the site; a proposed master plan developed by the National Institute of Design in Ahmedabad cited our publications and used our maps; the KDAM has incorporated drawings and maps in publications that also include contributions by team members; and the ASI has used architectural drawings to estimate materials for repairs, and maps to contextualize excavations.

The surface archaeology approach that we have employed has been used at other sites in India on a lesser scale by academic archaeologists. However, this approach seems less congenial to the government-based organizations who continue to emphasize excavation as the primary archaeological technique. Further, it is difficult for such organizations to recruit skilled assistants to participate in large-scale surface archaeological investigations.

The full potential of our documentation project at Vijayanagara has yet to be realized. Our maps have yet to be used to identify areas of the site where surface and subsurface features are most dense, and hence where development should be avoided. Unfortunately, preservation of the surface and subsurface remains of Vijayanagara is not a high priority for local landowners and officials. Many parts of the site face the increasing threat of alteration and even obliteration. In this context, our project of surface archaeology takes on a particularly significant role for any future preservation policy of the site.

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# 17 *Following fashion: the ethics of archaeological conservation*

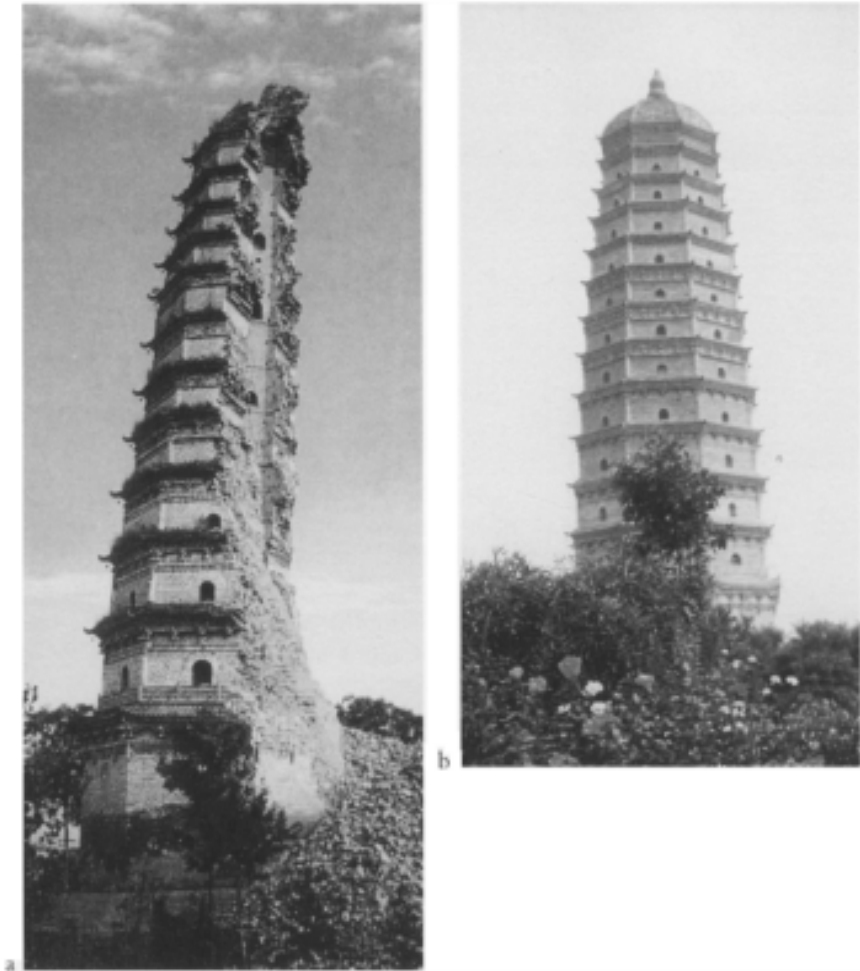
CLIFFORD A.PRICE

## INTRODUCTION

It is tempting, in all aspects of life, to fall into the trap of believing that today's fashion is the 'right' fashion, the enduring fashion. We look back at old photographs of ourselves with a mixture of amusement and horror, scarcely believing that we once sported such extraordinary hairstyles and odd-looking clothes. We like to feel that our present appearance conveys our true personality, and that we have now attained a stable plateau representing our real identity. If we stop to think about it, however, we know that this is nonsense: future fashions will overtake us, and what is now commonplace will in turn become extraordinary.

The same situation applies in our approach to the cultural heritage. We look back in dismay at the policies of our predecessors, whilst comfortably assuming that we have now 'got it right'. In Europe, for example, we may look at some of the extravagant additions that were made to buildings and monuments at the end of the nineteenth century in the hope of giving them back the medieval character that they had supposedly lost. The west front of St Albans Abbey was flamboyantly rebuilt by Lord Grimthorpe in a style that Lasko (1992:151) dubs 'Grimthorpe Decorated', the great fifteenth-century window being lost in the process. Lasko, in an outstanding article on the history and principles of restoration, cites the work of Viollet-le-Duc at Carcassone, at Notre Dame in Paris, and at the abbey of Saint-Denis (Lasko 1992). We would not dare to make such liberal, unauthenticated additions today, preferring instead the cautious philosophy of 'conserve as found' (Hume 1993; West 1994).

Indeed, fashions change not only with time, but also with place. How easily we can tell a person's nationality by his or her dress. Similarly, approaches to conservation vary widely from one part of the world to another. Lowenthal observes that 'the concept of conservation...goes far beyond the acts of material preservation on which Western societies concentrate their efforts' (1985:385). In the East, for example, priority is given to preserving the function and significance of a building, rather than its material remains.



**Figure 17.1** a Famen Temple, Xi'an, China, partially demolished by earthquake; b Famen Temple restored.

*Source:* C.Price (b).

The Ise Shinto temple in Japan is often cited (e.g. Lowenthal 1985:384; Lasko 1992:143); it is demolished and rebuilt every twenty years, in order that it may not become tarnished by age and that techniques and rituals may be perpetuated. Similarly, when the pagoda of the Famen Temple in Xi'an, China, was partially demolished by an earthquake in 1981, it was knocked down and a new pagoda built in its place (Figures 17.1a and b). Its function, that of housing sacred relics, was preserved intact; the precise design and the materials were of secondary importance. In the West, on the other hand, every effort would have been made to keep the toppling ruin just as it was; it might have been argued

that the earthquake was part of the history of the monument and that the resulting damage should be kept for all to see. Both approaches are tenable; neither is 'right'; for rightness is a subjective assessment that is subject to the vagaries of fashion.

## THE CONSERVATION OF FIGURE SCULPTURE

An equal diversity may be seen in the treatment of the figure sculpture that decorates many historic buildings and monuments. Deterioration will have occurred over the years and conservation may often be necessary. But what is it that we are trying to conserve? Jeffcoate, writing to *The Times* concerning the medieval figure sculpture of Wells Cathedral, observed that 'whereas we are more concerned with the sculptures as works of art, those who use the building are more interested in their value as religious symbols' (*The Times* 14 February 1973). Here too we see changing fashions: he observes that 'Christianity has changed since the early middle ages. For the sculptors of Wells, a distinction between art and religion would have been incomprehensible'. He goes on to argue that 'for us to impose our cultural values... is surely vain and lacking in respect'. Lowenthal, however, argues that we cannot avoid imposing something of ourselves:

Vestiges are saved to stave off decay, destruction and replacement and to keep an unspoilt heritage. Yet preservation itself reveals that permanence is an illusion. The more we save, the more aware we become that such remains are continually altered and reinterpreted. We suspend their erosion only to transform them in other ways. And saviours of the past change it no less than iconoclasts bent on its destruction.

(Lowenthal 1985:410)

Depending on the current fashion, options for the conservation of figure sculpture may include the following:

- 1 Restore the feature to its original form and condition. This is problematical when no record exists of the original form, and conjecture then becomes inevitable. Moreover, the restorer will invariably inject something of his/her own creativity and cultural background, which might be considered a synonym for fashion, into the restoration, and one can have little confidence in the reliability of the final product. 'It is a species of contemporary arrogance which regards it as possible to reverse the process of history and return the artefact's appearance to exactly how it was when it popped out of its maker's hands' (Saumarez Smith 1989:20).

The restoration of classical sculpture in the West went unchallenged for centuries. Vaughan (1996) regards the British Museum's 1816 decision not



to restore the Elgin marbles as a symbolic break with that tradition. He quotes Canova's protest that 'it would be sacrilege in him or any man to presume to touch them with a chisel'.

Restoration can present particular difficulties if the sculpture was originally coloured. Adams, referring to the Dean and Chapter of Wells in a letter to *The Times*, wrote 'If they want the west front looking as it did in the mid-thirteenth century, then they should take affairs to their logical conclusion and paint it' (*The Times* 7 February 1973). What audacity it would take, in today's climate of fashion, to repaint the entire facade of a cathedral in its original, gaudy polychromy! And, as Jeffcoate pointed out,

we cannot put back the paint...because, when new, the building was sharp and pristine in outline. The paint was a part of this precision. With time, the building has mellowed and slowly lost its definition. The paint and carving have faded too. To restore either would be unsympathetic.

(*The Times* 7 February 1973)

- 2 Keep the feature in substantially the same form, but improve its condition. No conjectural restoration will take place, although repairs will be carried out in those instances in which there can be no doubt concerning the original profile. Cracks will be filled; loose fragments will be adhered; water traps may be sloped off; and crumbling areas may be consolidated. The end result is a feature that is unquestionably ancient, but which is none the less in good condition for its age. Arguing in favour of this approach, Durnan (1996:89) writes that 'remodelling of lost detail, no matter how well done, can often harm the appearance of a piece of medieval sculpture and the imagination is a better reconstructor than the hand'. Moreover, current fashion tends to prefer ancient sculpture looking its age: 'It is not that we prefer time-worn reliefs...as such, but the sense of life they impart, from evidence of their struggle with time' (Lowenthal 1985:172).
- 3 Clean the sculpture and do no more—a viable option only if the sculpture is in sound condition. But cleaning may remove the sense of age, and it certainly flies in the face of one of conservation's fundamental principles: reversibility. The dirt itself may hold information about the past, for example, about fuels in use and the severity of air pollution. Such information cannot be regained once the dirt is removed. In practice, reversibility is a principle that is more honoured by word than by deed, and the benefits of cleaning usually offset the drawbacks. The cleaned sculpture is easier to appreciate and interpret, and the dirt may have been concealing underlying deterioration that was not previously evident. At the same time, cleaning may entail some risk to the sculpture, and should not be undertaken lightly. Abrasive cleaning techniques may not be able

to remove all the dirt without damaging the stone; chemical techniques may leave harmful residues; and even non-tactile laser techniques have the capacity to do damage (Price 1996:14).

- 4 Preserve the feature in exactly the form in which it was found, whilst putting it into sound condition. This is a tall order that can seldom be achieved. For example, the quest for stone preservatives that can be applied to features in order to arrest further deterioration extends back for more than 2,000 years and has yet to achieve any remarkable success. None the less, an extraordinary range of materials has been, and continues to be, applied in hope. Not only has it proved difficult to find an effective preservative, it is also difficult to know at what point a novel treatment may be applied with confidence to an ancient sculpture (Price 1982, 1996). How long does one need to wait before one is sure that the treatment will do no long-term damage, or how can one effectively speed up the evaluation in the laboratory? And if a treatment is applied, how can one be sure that there will be no problems if a further application, of the same or of a different material, needs to be made in ten or twenty years time?
- 5 Institute a programme of on-going maintenance. With reference to the 'lime treatment' (Ashurst 1990), Durnan (1996:90) observes that 'regular monitoring, assessment and adjustment are equally—if not more—important than the initial conservation work'. More than 100 years before, Morris urged that we should 'stave off decay by daily care' (SPAB 1877). Few would argue with this, although difficulties of access mean that it is not always practicable.
- 6 Discard the original feature and replace it with a new carving, perhaps in the original idiom or perhaps in a style that is blatantly modern.
- 7 Take the original to the presumed safety of a museum, and replace it as above. Larson, for example, argues that 'it is clear to those who regularly deal with problems of stone decay outdoors that there are many sculptures that are now so deteriorated that they must be moved indoors if they are not to become meaningless' (Larson 1996:74). By contrast, Sauerländer observes that the very act of taking sculpture to a museum may render it meaningless:

Romanesque monumental sculpture is not a mobile. It cannot be taken away, out of its original context, and exhibited elsewhere without destroying the profundity of the original meaning. It has to remain in the place for which it was conceived. If taken to a museum, it would lose its sacred character and be degraded to no more than an interesting artefact.

(Sauerländer 1992:22)

In addition, it must be emphasized that an uncontrolled museum environment may not provide the safe haven that is sought, as attested by the degradation in the Metropolitan Museum of limestone reliefs from the

temple of Rameses I at Abydos (Wheeler *et al.* 1984), or by the degradation in the British Museum of Egyptian limestone sculpture (Hanna 1984).

- 8 Do nothing. This may sometimes be an appropriate, deliberate decision. On the other hand, those who argue against intervention on the grounds of irreversibility must recognize that neglect is not reversible either.

### **THE WEST FRONT OF WELLS CATHEDRAL: A CASE STUDY**

Almost all these conservation options were adopted over a period of eleven years from 1975 to 1986 in the treatment of the medieval figure sculpture on the West Front of Wells Cathedral in England (Sampson 1998). This major campaign was triggered by the decision of the cathedral authorities to restore the sculptures of the Virgin and Child and of the Coronation of the Virgin, immediately above the main entrance to the cathedral. The thirteenth-century figures, originally polychromed (Tudor-Craig 1996), had been badly damaged during the iconoclasm of the seventeenth century. The Dean and Chapter commissioned new heads and limbs for the Virgin and Child, which were put in place in 1970. Their action caused an outcry that came to a head three years later when detailed plans were revealed for the restoration of the Coronation of the Virgin. The *Architects Journal* (7 February 1973:298) described the action as ‘comparable to ringing up a friendly sculptor and asking him to run up some heads and arms for the missing portions of the Elgin marbles’ and described the additions as ‘a winsomely sweet little head and arm for the Child, and sausage-like fingers with a great slob of a head for the Virgin’ (Figures 17.2a and b). The subsequent correspondence in *The Times*, a very British way of having a public outcry, provides an excellent introduction to many of the ethical issues of sculpture conservation. The following extracts provide some of the flavour:

The completed restoration is, inevitably, a disaster, negating the rhythm and vitiating the deeply personal nature of the original carving. Great sculpture continues to project powerful images despite mutilation—think of the Venus de Milo or the Torso Belvedere. It is restoration which most imperils it and frustrates our own ability to experience the original strongly and directly.

It might be right to keep a mutilated image of Christ in a museum, or even, if you fear idolatry, to destroy it altogether, but it must be an insult to him to leave a headless image of him over the door of his church.

The Cathedral Advisory Committee appear to think that at Wells any old heads and arms will do, when a damaged but authentic



**Figure 17.2** a Virgin and Child, Wells Cathedral, before restoration; b Virgin and Child, Wells Cathedral, after the 1970 restoration.

*Source:* C.Price (b).

medieval figure has a power to move us which is much greater than if it is, however skillfully, restored.

Before its restoration there was nothing to indicate to the passerby that the sculpture on the tympanum represents the Virgin and Child. A comment which I heard one young couple make was, 'That's the 'eadless wonder!' Now that the Virgin and Child are clearly represented the West Front is again beginning to declare in whose honour the Cathedral was built and still stands.

Why should we enter the church, some of us most days of our lives, past a smashed Christ to satisfy the whim of the Duke of Grafton? (the Chairman of the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings)

The historical and aesthetic must not be divorced from the moral and pastoral.

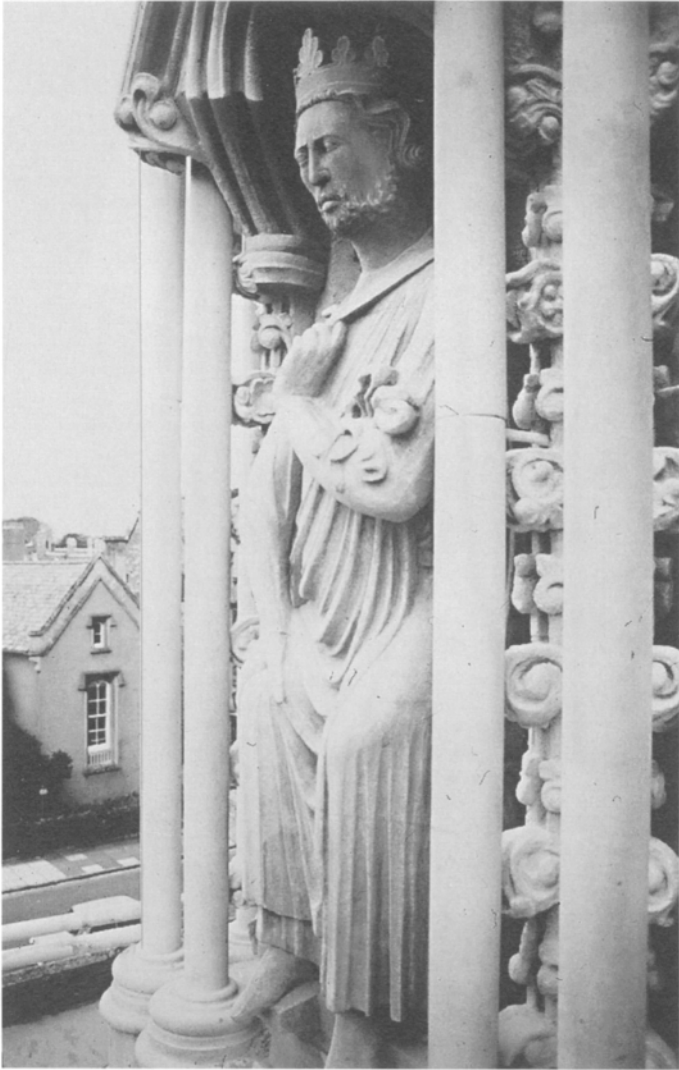
(*The Times* 7–20 February 1973)

The outcome, in the end, was beneficial: it drew attention to the condition of all the sculpture on the West Front. Some 300 medieval sculptures remained, some in extraordinarily good condition, others in such deteriorated form that it was no longer possible to tell what they had once represented. A committee was formed to advise the Dean and Chapter on the conservation of the West Front, comprising members of the Chapter, their archivist and master mason, architects, art historians, conservators, conservation scientists, curators, and representatives of the Friends of the Cathedral and of the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings. Fund raising was launched, and a major programme of conservation got under way.

Wholesale removal of all the figures to a museum was quickly ruled out. Not only was this the most expensive option, including as it did the cost of copies, but it soon became evident that the majority of figures were inextricably fixed in their niches by Portland cement concrete that had been poured down their backs during an earlier programme of repairs. It was, therefore, decided to remove a representative set of sculptures—some twenty or thirty figures, perhaps. At this stage, it was not known which museum they would go to. There was certainly not a suitable location within the cathedral itself or in Wells for such a number. In the event, due to the difficulty of removal and the perceived success of alternative conservation options, only a very few figures were removed and taken to Wells Museum.

Two figures, a bishop and a king, were in such dire condition that they were deemed to be beyond sensible repair. They were replaced by new figures, carved in stone in a style that was sympathetic to the medieval figures surrounding them (Figure 17.3).

What of the vast majority of figures? Some members of the committee argued vehemently for consolidation with alkoxysilanes, on the grounds that they offered the only hope of extending the life of the figures by any worthwhile amount. Other



**Figure 17.3** Replacement king, Wells Cathedral, in keeping with its medieval context.

*Source:* C.Price.

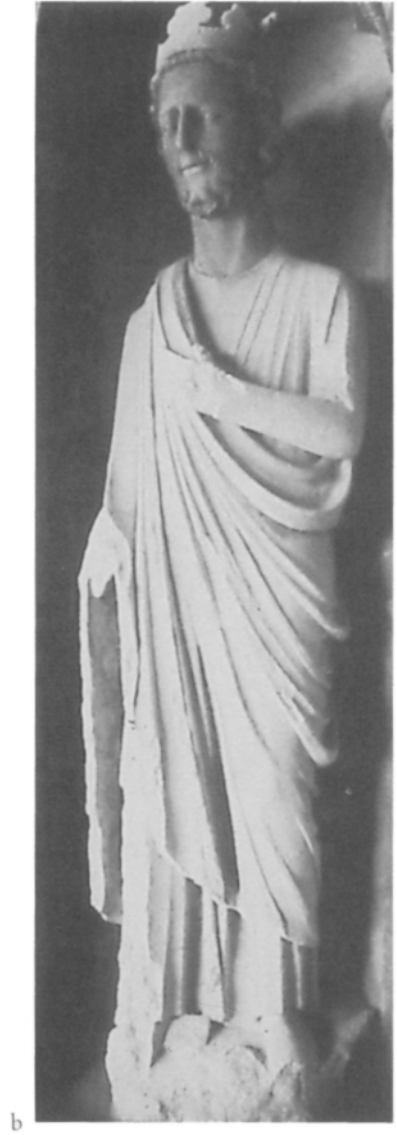
members noted that these materials had been in use for only ten or fifteen years, and felt that it was premature to use them on such ancient and important figures, no matter how promising they appeared. After long debate, the committee opted for the seemingly safer option of the lime treatment developed by Baker and described in detail by Ashurst (1990). The lime treatment was also relatively new, but its constituent processes were essentially traditional: application of a lime poultice followed by limewater, lime mortar repairs, and finally the application of a sacrificial surface coating based on lime, sand and stone dust. No speculative additions were made; the mortars were used only to fill cracks and to replace losses in existing profiles, in the manner of Option 2 described in the previous section. And what could be more natural and wholesome than putting lime back into limestone? The treatment was not expected to last forever; rather, it was regarded as a 'holding operation' to secure the figures while other, more permanent, treatments might be developed and evaluated.

In the end, four figures were consolidated with alkoxysilanes, to provide evidence for the next generation of conservators of the performance of these materials. The vast majority of figures were treated by the lime method, in an operation that proved spectacularly successful (Figures 17.4a and b). Ten to fifteen years later, there is some sporadic breakdown of mortars and there are areas where the shelter coat needs to be renewed. In general, however, the condition of the figures remains far better than anyone had dared to expect.

The restored Virgin and Child was the subject of much debate. Should the recent additions be removed, or should they be left in place? The restoration had been financed by the Friends of the Cathedral, and removal would inevitably cause acrimony. The additions were left in place.

But there remained two more problems: the pair of figures depicting the Coronation of the Virgin (immediately above the Virgin and Child), and the figure of Christ in Majesty, set right at the top of the façade. Like the Virgin and Child, the Coronation of the Virgin had been vandalized in the seventeenth century (Figure 17.5a), whilst the figure of Christ, the supreme liturgical figure on the entire front, consisted only of a 'superb trunkless pair of knees' (*Architects Journal* 7 February 1973:298), the top half of the figure having fallen at an unknown date several centuries before (Figure 17.6a). No record exists of the top half.

When they restored the Virgin and Child, the Dean and Chapter had planned to restore the Coronation of the Virgin as well, and had gone so far as to commission maquettes of the planned additions (Figure 17.5b). As the conservation programme came to a close, the committee recommended that the Coronation should be treated by the lime method and that no additions should be made. The advice was accepted. With the figure of Christ, however, the Dean and Chapter declared that the decision was to be theirs alone, and the advice of the committee was neither sought nor given. The Chapter decided that the figure should be removed to Wells Museum, and that a new figure should be put in its place. Was it to be 'in the spirit' of its medieval surroundings, as the two other new figures had been? No—a figure was commissioned from the sculptor



**Figure 17.4** a King, Wells Cathedral, before conservation; b King, Wells Cathedral, after conservation by the lime technique.

*Photos: J.Sampson.*





**Figure 17.5a** Coronation of the Virgin, Wells Cathedral.

David Wynne that was blatantly twentieth century, flanked by two new seraphims for which there was no surviving evidence (Figure 17.6b). This bold step was hailed by some, but appalled others. Prince Charles, as President of the Cathedral's Preservation Trust, described the figure as 'great sculpture' and said, 'I find it very stirring.' The Secretary of the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings, on the other hand, said, 'The Cathedral authorities have indulged in a piece of determined and destructive meddling. At best it is a crude substitute, at worst a feeble and lifeless forgery' (*Daily Telegraph* 29 June 1985:15).

Despite embracing such a wide variety of procedures on individual statues, the programme as a whole proved influential on the course of sculpture conservation in England in subsequent years. This does not mean that other programmes necessarily arrived at the same consensus. The Romanesque frieze



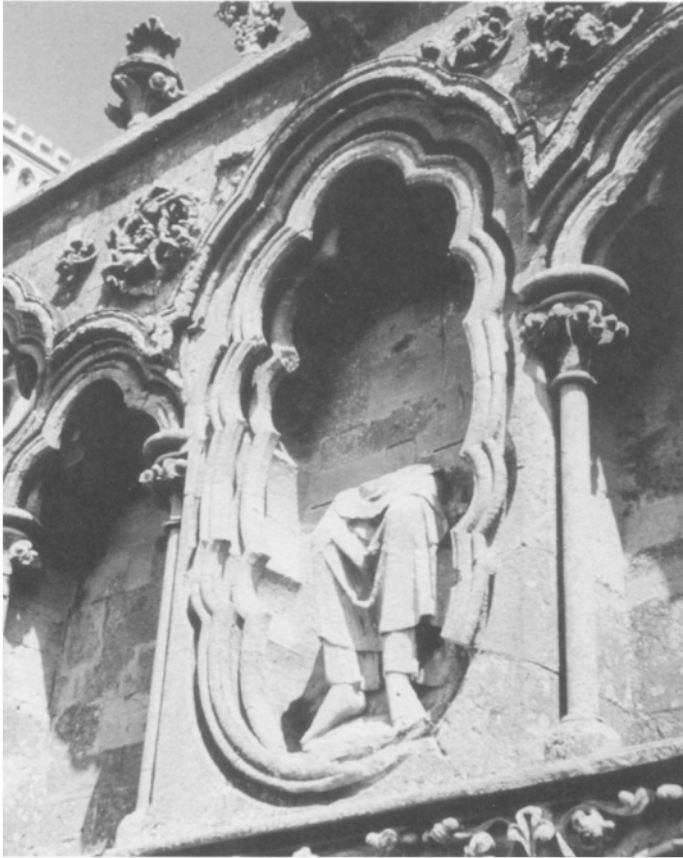
**Figure 17.5b** Coronation of the Virgin, Wells Cathedral, showing the 1973 maquettes of the proposed additions, subsequently rejected.

*Photo:* J.Sampson.

at Lincoln Cathedral, for example, is gradually being taken down and replaced by carved copies to which conjectural additions are being made. The option of machining exact copies through laser scanning, not available at the time of the Wells programme, has been rejected. The problems at Lincoln are different from those at Wells, and different solutions must be sought. At the same time, fashions have changed perceptibly, even in the ten years that separate the two programmes.

## CHARTERS

Over the years, there have been many attempts to reach international agreement on standards in the conservation of sites and monuments, and to

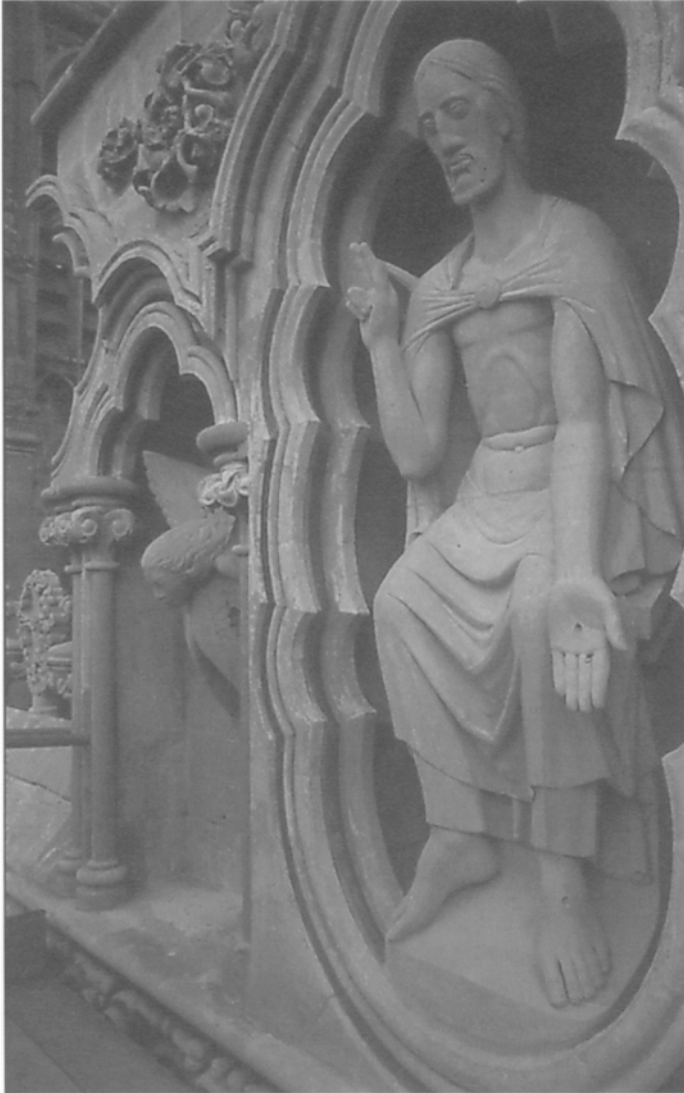


**Figure 17.6a** Christ in Majesty, Wells Cathedral (original).

publish them in the form of charters or codes of practice. Perhaps the best known is the 1964 International Charter for the Conservation and Restoration of Monuments and Sites, the ‘Venice Charter’ (1964), which includes the following advice:

Items of sculpture, painting or decoration which form an integral part of a monument may only be removed from it if this is the sole means of ensuring their preservation.... Where traditional techniques prove inadequate, the consolidation of a monument can be achieved by the use of any modern technique for conservation and construction, the efficacy of which has been shown by scientific data and proved by experience.

Other charters, notably the Burra Charter (ICOMOS 1988), with its emphasis on cultural significance, have proved more helpful in practice. It is debatable



**Figure 17.6b** Christ in Majesty, Wells Cathedral (1985 replacement).

*Photo: J.Sampson.*

whether charters provide stability or sterility, and they too are inevitably the product of contemporary thought and fashion.

## FASHIONS AND IMPROVEMENTS IN RECORDING

Given such shifting sands of possible approaches, it is understandable that conservators have sought to find a fixed point of objectivity through recording. If the present state of a monument or an artefact can be accurately recorded, then, in principle at least, the essential form or character can be preserved indefinitely. Some people would go so far as to argue, for example, that it is more responsible to create a permanent record of vulnerable sculpture than to waste resources in a fruitless attempt to make the sculpture last forever. It is, after all, the shape, and maybe the polychromy, of the sculpture that the sculptor created, not the materials from which it is made.

Inevitably, perhaps, recording techniques are themselves the subject of fashion, and new technologies are presenting new opportunities. Two-dimensional techniques, such as drawing and photography, have severe limitations: they offer a single view-point, no sense of depth, and no parallax (the ability to 'look round the side'). A sense of depth can be provided by the use of stereo pairs or by associated photogrammetric techniques, but this still does not provide a genuinely three-dimensional record. Traditional techniques of three-dimensional recording include copying through accurate measurement or through the making of moulds and casts, but in addition to expense, particular problems arise if the surface is friable and susceptible to damage during the moulding process. The development of non-tactile techniques was thus particularly attractive, and holography was one of the first to be explored (Asmus *et al.* 1973). Whilst holograms provide appealing displays, they do not, however, readily lend themselves to quantitative measurement. They have quickly been superseded by techniques based on laser scanning, which have the ability to provide a digital record of an object's three-dimensional form (Taylor *et al.* 1987; Wainwright and Taylor 1990). Given such a record, it is possible to display the object on a computer screen, where it may be viewed from all angles or sectioned at will. What is more, the record can readily be transmitted to scholars in any part of the world, and it can be used to program a milling machine to produce an exact copy. Imaging in colour is possible, and stereo pairs can be displayed on screen to give a dramatic sense of depth. Options for reconstruction and restoration may be explored, without the need for interference with the object itself. Such possibilities challenge our imagination, and open the way to new concepts of conservation and museology.

No solution is without some snags, and the digital record produced by laser scanning will itself require curation and care. There are considerable problems in archiving information on computer discs, although the prospects for storage on optical discs are more promising (Westheimer 1994).

Dixon (1998:5) warns that 'all recording has a particular purpose, which dictates the style and detail of the record: no records are objective'. This brings us back to fashion again—what we choose to record, and the means at our disposal for doing so, are peculiar to our particular slot in time and in the world. None the less, it must surely be inexcusable to allow further deterioration of valuable sculpture without first making as full and detailed a record as we can. This argument is becoming increasingly fashionable—can we responsibly allow it ever to go out of fashion?

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# 18 *Bringing archaeology to the public: programmes in the Southwestern United States*

SHEREEN LERNER AND TERESA HOFFMAN

## INTRODUCTION

Archaeologists are still struggling, after all these years, to teach their craft to the public. We can explain archaeology, but can we make it interesting and relevant? Can we explain to people why placing a monetary value on an artefact is inappropriate, but why it is appropriate that these artefacts be placed in museums? An archaeologist once commented that archaeologists can bore even their own colleagues with the way in which they portray their findings. How can we tell people about what we find without glorifying it to the extent that they will want to go out and dig on their own? How can we teach the subject in an interesting manner and expose people to a science that is both fascinating and tedious at the same time?

A programme on The Learning Channel in 1997 provides an example of the educational challenge and dilemma facing archaeologists. The US television programme focused on 'treasure hunters', those who dive underwater for the rich prizes from shipwrecks. Every few minutes, viewers heard about the value of the latest artefact brought up from the shipwreck below. You could feel the excitement experienced by the divers. Watching this, the lay person thinks about how they could have that same experience; they, too, want the thrill of discovery. The archaeologist, on the other hand, is horrified by how the artefacts are portrayed as objects of monetary value, with no information provided on their cultural value and what they can tell us about the people who sailed on the shipwrecked vessel. In fact, shows like these make very informative and accessible television programmes; the average American learns more about archaeology from these 'treasure hunter' shows than they do from archaeologists. Why is that? And how can we change that?

In this fast-paced information age, where today's current event quickly becomes yesterday's old news, little value is placed on the old and outdated, making it easy for us to lose sight of our cultural heritage and what it means to us as individuals and as a society. This state of affairs, combined with the



'downsizing' and budget cuts of public agencies, has made it increasingly difficult for cultural resource managers to address their many tasks, including sharing information with a public that is increasingly fascinated with archaeology.

It is imperative that education programmes foster a preservation ethic and convince people about the value of archaeology as a science. These programmes can be invaluable in teaching awareness and respect for the past, and in explaining the importance of archaeological research and what cultural resources can offer people. To be effective, these programmes need not require a long-term commitment from participants. Public programmes can be designed to allow people to participate at their own pace and to follow their interests. Events can be structured to promote understanding and respect for heritage resource values and to develop a sense of public responsibility in preserving archaeological resources. Specific objectives of public programmes should be to share archaeological experiences and to teach understanding and respect for other cultures, values, and diversity; for archaeological resources, values and techniques; and for the laws that protect these resources.

There are numerous examples of public programmes that are currently used to bring archaeology into the public eye. However, there are few publications about these programmes (Rogge and Montgomery 1989; Smith and Ehrenhard 1991; Butler 1992; Stone and Molyneaux 1994). A recently published exception is *Presenting Archaeology to the Public: digging for truths* (Jameson 1997), which takes a broad-based look at the many mechanisms being employed by archaeologists across the US as well as into Canada and Great Britain. It focuses on attempts to communicate archaeological information to the lay public, recognizing that archaeologists cannot work alone. To be effective, collaboration is necessary with non-archaeologists, including trained volunteers, on-site interpreters, teachers, writers, artists, designers, and other cultural resource specialists. Only then can we devise the best strategies for communicating archaeological information to the lay public.

*Presenting Archaeology* also brings some important philosophical issues to the forefront. For instance, research has shown that students whose history studies are based on archaeology rather than on traditional documents, tend to retain more and also to derive more enjoyment from their studies (Stone 1997:24). When people are provided with the intellectual tools that archaeologists and historians use to interpret sites, and can make decisions themselves about historical contexts and their culture, they obtain a level of control that also provides a better sense of well-being. There are multiple truths about the past, and archaeology education is one means of empowering people in this process. In this chapter, we focus on public education and outreach in the southwestern United States. We aim to present information about effective projects and programmes as well as commenting on some of the general issues raised here.

As indicated in *Presenting Archaeology* as well as other publications (Rogge and Montgomery 1989; Smith and Ehrenhard 1991; Butler 1992), there are a

variety of public programmes that have been successful, including the following:

- 1 programmes that have private, federal and state sponsorship;
- 2 programmes that are short-term events, and those that offer long-term opportunities for public involvement;
- 3 programmes that take place in large metropolitan areas, and those with a rural focus;
- 4 programmes that are based on sites currently being investigated, and those that are open for interpretation only; and,
- 5 programmes that stem from cultural resource management, and those that are museum- or park-based.

As a private, profit-making organization, Crow Canyon Archaeological Center, located in the American Southwest, focuses on integrating the public into ongoing scholarly research. Formed in 1983, Crow Canyon is dedicated to 'experiential education and archaeological research into the Anasazi culture' (M.Heath 1997:67). Its educational impacts reach ages 10 to adult. Heath notes that in 1991 alone there were over 4,000 people who participated in the programmes offered by Crow Canyon that last from one day to several weeks. Among the programmes are travelling seminars throughout the Southwest with distinguished scholars as the instructors; cultural explorations and workshops; excavation and environmental archaeology programmes for students ages 12 and up; and non-excavation programmes for elementary school students. M.Heath (1997:68) identifies four keys to their programme success:

- 1 archaeologists are involved in all stages of the programmes;
- 2 the experience-based programmes allow people to be integrated into ongoing research;
- 3 the quality of the research is professional; and
- 4 the programme provides an atmosphere in which archaeologists can follow and transmit to the public ethical standards about preserving and protecting our cultural resources.

Trained educators are also involved in the programme, allowing Crow Canyon to design and implement a curriculum soundly based in educational theory. 'The strands are interwoven into a uniquely successful product' (M.Heath 1997:69).

At the federal level, the Coronado National Forest approached archaeology at Sabino Canyon in southern Arizona from the perspective of 'putting people back into the landscape'. The forest authorities were confronted with the problem, experience by many 'natural parks', of the archaeological resources taking a back seat to the splendid natural scenery that draws people to the park in the first place (Whittlesey and Farrell 1997). Sabino Canyon is a climate island that is warmer and wetter than the surrounding desert, and contains at

least six different biotic communities that enjoy a rich diversity of plant and animal life. The more than 600,000 visitors a year primarily come to the canyon to picnic, enjoy the cool waters, bird watch and hike the trails. From a cultural resources perspective, this interpretive environment was complicated by the fact that the archaeological resources are not spectacular ruins. They are primarily small surface sites lacking standing architecture, boulder metates and grinding slicks, and rockpiles and alignments that were used for prehistoric agriculture. In developing the education and interpretive programme, the forest authorities considered the diversity of the visitors (local residents and non-local visitors, both adults and children), and multiple educational goals were defined that focused on putting 'people back into the landscape'. For instance, whereas visitors may have previously learned about the natural history of the saguaro cactus (i.e. how much it weighed, how old it grows to be, etc.), they now learn that it was a primary staple of prehistoric and historic indigenous peoples who occupied the area seasonally. They now also learn that the prehistoric archaeological sites in the area are mainly small campsites where wild plant foods were collected and processed, and where rockpiles and alignments served a special purpose for agriculture in collecting and diverting rainwater into agricultural fields. Thus, the archaeology was used to demonstrate that, for the prehistoric inhabitants, the area played a special role in their seasonal adaptations.

In another federal example at a site commemorating a significant historical battle, the National Park Service was presented with an unusual opportunity following a wildfire that destroyed most of the vegetation that covered the Little Bighorn Battlefield National Monument in Montana. Investigations in this newly visible ground could add archaeological information to the documentary record, which could then be examined with respect to the often widely diverging views of what happened at this important site. This information could also educate people about the role of archaeology with respect to an event with which many were familiar and about which many had their own views. Each evening, the archaeologists reviewed their findings for the day, then provided preliminary interpretations to a coordinator, who gave morning briefings to the press as well as a highly interested public that toured the park. The coordinator, with the latest details on important finds, prepared information for the press, posted it at the park visitor centre, and provided the park interpreters and staff with daily updates for public use. Temporary displays, group tours for in-field interpretation, and popular publications were also incorporated into the public programmes. The project included helping the public to understand the archaeological process by comparing the dig to a crime scene investigation. It was found that 'most people could easily relate to the analogy of historians as detectives interviewing victims, suspects, and witnesses; and archaeologists as the forensic personnel gathering the physical evidence for a more detailed analysis' (Scott 1997:239). Visitors could see that the archaeological data provided a more complete picture than oral accounts alone, which was all that had been available before.

In addition to integrating the public into professional research, 'putting people back into the landscape' and enhancing oral histories, archaeology can serve a role in filling in the gaps in the historical record as a supplement for public interpretation. For instance, at Thomas Jefferson's Poplar Forest and Monticello plantation homes in Virginia, archaeological data is providing new information on eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century life for him and his slaves and free workers, as well as on the material culture of the time (B.Heath 1997). Archaeology can shed light on the life of commoners as well as on those who have played a more visible role in history. Thus, it can be viewed as a means of filling in the voids of 'social history' by rendering 'significant what has been thought incidental; to make central the important contribution that the common person has made to America's past' (Bograd and Singleton 1997:203-4). Although operated as museum sites, the homes of Thomas Jefferson feature ongoing excavations that allow visitors to experience the discovery process of archaeology and to see the physical remains of lost buildings, orchards, fence lines and other historic features. This information is employed in public education through a range of media including temporary and permanent exhibits, guided tours and lectures, brochures, articles, and books and classes.

These are just a few examples of the types of approaches taken to archaeology education across the US. In the western US, especially the Four Corners area of the Southwest, there has been a long-existing problem of archaeological site looting. The National Park Service has estimated that more than 90 percent of the archaeological sites in this area have been vandalized by people who remove those artefacts that they believe have value in the market place. Whilst some individuals keep the artefacts for their own personal collections, many more sell the whole pots, turquoise jewellery and other items for personal gain. The effort to educate the public in these states has focused on teaching the value of the artefacts in enriching us about the lives of the people who once lived there. Simply to say that it is wrong to dig is not enough: there has to be a reason.

## **PUBLIC ARCHAEOLOGY IN THE SOUTHWESTERN STATES**

Archaeologists and historic preservationists in the states of Arizona, Colorado, New Mexico and Utah have recognized this public interest in archaeology for decades. In each of these states there are vast acreages of public lands that contain thousands, perhaps millions, of archaeological sites. These lands are open for multiple public uses ranging from recreation to cattle grazing. How can these resources be protected? How can the public learn the concept of patrimony? How can they become stewards of the past? In an era of dwindling resources for most federal and state agencies, partnerships and creativity are essential ingredients for programme success. These western preservationists have been at

the forefront in developing creative partnerships, combined with a strong emphasis on volunteerism and sharing of resources, that have led to numerous successful programmes.

### **Programme goals, target audiences and the components of public archaeology programmes**

Although united in their focus on bringing archaeology to the public, each of the four states has slightly different goals and segments of the public they are trying to reach, which are reflected in the various components of their programmes. For instance, in Utah the public archaeology programme is generally geared towards educating people about archaeology, and they hold an annual Archaeology Week. But their primary public programme is accomplished through certification/education with an avocational group, the Utah Statewide Archaeological Society (USAS). Survey and excavation projects are conducted by USAS members and, whenever possible, USAS members are drawn upon for public-funded excavation projects. USAS members have also been key players in getting the archaeology merit badge approved for the Boy Scouts of America.

Utah also has programmes specifically aimed at schoolchildren from year K-12. In fact, some schools are starting 'archaeology weeks' of their own using archaeology to teach other subject areas like maths, art, etc. Those who are in charge of Utah's archaeology programmes believe that reaching parents on issues of archaeology and preservation is best done through their offspring. Children between the ages of 10 and 13 are getting involved in the state archaeology lab. as part of a new element of Utah's programme. During the autumn and winter, the lab. is open two Saturdays a month for the children to work on processing and analysing artefacts. A cooperative programme with Salt Lake Community College and Westminster College has also been initiated for students interested in archaeology to work in the lab. as unpaid interns.

Another element of the Utah programme, the non-profit *Zinj* magazine, is not only targeted for children but is written by and partially produced by them. Anything old is fair game for *Zinj*, and past issues have focused on dinosaurs, ice age mammals, etc. An upcoming issue will be devoted to rock art. One recent *Zinj* activity involved constructing two *tule* and cattail boats modelled on watercraft made by the Paiute. At the Salt Lake City Arts Festival, children made rope from cattail leaves, helped in the boat construction, and then floated the boats on the Great Salt Lake. This activity was featured on the evening television news.

In the adjacent state of Colorado, archaeologists are striving for greater appreciation and protection of their cultural resources from a target audience of all citizens. This is codified in the mission statement of the state plan (Colorado Preservation 2000) that reads as follows: 'Over the next 25 years, Coloradans will increasingly appreciate, respect and protect their heritage and will embrace their role as its stewards.'

One of the ways in which they are working to achieve this is through the Programme for Avocational Archaeological Certification (PAAC). The programme has been in existence for nineteen years and offers members of the Colorado Archaeology Society (CAS) and other interested citizens the opportunity to obtain formal recognized levels of archaeological skills and knowledge. PAAC mainly educates participants through occasional surveys and lectured seminars taught by the assistant state archaeologist and held at the various CAS chapters.

As with Utah, Colorado offers an annual event, Archaeology and Historic Preservation Week, but it has evolved to include both prehistoric and historic resources. In 1983, the CAS, the Colorado Council for Professional Archaeologists (CCPA) and the Colorado Historical Society sponsored Colorado Archaeology Awareness Year with the theme 'Make Friends with the Past'. The year was a great success, with numerous, well-publicized educational events, although several years passed before another coordinated effort was planned. In 1990, these organizations joined with several state and federal agencies to hold Colorado Archaeology Preservation Week with the theme 'Save the Past for the Future'. The event was held every year until 1995, with increasing numbers of events and statewide publicity. In 1995, the week was combined with National Historic Preservation Week to become Archaeology and Historic Preservation Week.

This effort to mingle prehistoric and historic resources has also been a major objective of New Mexico, whose goal is for greater awareness of historic preservation issues from the public, greater interest in archaeological sites and their protection, and a more unified focus on both historic and prehistoric cultural resource stewardship. This is reflected in the state's many public education initiatives, most of which are not separated into archaeology and building-related components. For example, the statewide newsletter and the annual celebration of Heritage Preservation Week include historic and prehistoric resources. The state historic preservation office promotes National and State Register programmes, tax credits, grants, and easement donations for both types of resources. On the other hand, an Archaeology Fair and teacher-education programmes like Project Archaeology are archaeology-specific. All of New Mexico's public education and outreach programmes focus on public awareness of the value of preservation.

The nearby state of Arizona has a broad-based statewide public awareness programme whose purpose is promoting appreciation, understanding and respect for the state's unique and valuable prehistoric and historic archaeological resources. The focus of the programme is education, preservation and, in general, making archaeology more accessible to the public. Significant components include Archaeology Month, the Site Steward programme, the statewide avocational society and its certification programme, and the various partnerships with federal and state agencies who sponsor public programmes.

Arizona has perhaps the longest history of public archaeology of any of the states throughout the country. Many of these stem from the early initiative

shown by the Governor's Archaeology Advisory Group, created in 1980 by then-Governor Bruce Babbitt, which laid the groundwork for the development of public archaeology programmes in the state. The group became a statutory commission in 1985 whose purpose is to advise the SHPO on archaeological issues important to Arizona. These issues include the development of public education programmes, helping to make archaeological law enforcement easier and the protection, preservation and continued study of Arizona's fragile archaeological resources.

In addition to the first ever Archaeology Week celebration in 1983, which expanded to Archaeology Month in 1993, the commission established the Arizona Site Steward programme and continues to be proactive in public education programmes. Current initiatives include focusing on the sensitive development of heritage tourism in the state and the creation of a document entitled *Guidelines for Archaeological Park Development*. One of the goals of the commission is to promote local economic development through tourism development of archaeological sites, whilst fostering a stewardship ethic and the preservation of these irreplaceable archaeological and historical resources.

The strongest of Arizona's public participation programmes is the Site Stewards, a unique partnership with a hands-on philosophy for archaeology (Pilles 1989; Hoffman 1991, 1997). This statewide volunteer programme represents a broad collaboration of professional archaeologists and the public in protecting and managing our cultural heritage. Administered by the SHPO, the chief purpose of the Steward programme is to prevent destruction of prehistoric and historic archaeological sites through site monitoring. An organization of volunteers, the Steward programme has broad support through its sponsors, which include the US Forest Service, Southwest Region; the National Park Service (NPS); the US Bureau of Reclamation; the US Bureau of Land Management (BLM); the Arizona State Land Department; Arizona State Parks, SHPO; the Hopi Tribe; the cowboys of Horseshoe Ranch; the nuns of Santa Rita Abbey; the city of Phoenix; and the Maricopa and Pima county parks and recreation departments.

*Arizona Watch*, a quarterly newsletter, was initiated in 1990 by the SHPO to keep stewards, land managers and the general public informed about the programme's activities and progress. A logo was also adopted to provide further identity and cohesion.

For the past several years, considerable emphasis has been placed on providing stewards with diversified training opportunities that enhance their abilities to assist the many partners in the programme. The skills they learn include surveying, oral histories, rock art recording, stabilization techniques and other skills. In 1991, they initiated the annual steward conference, which draws together programme participants from all over the state for two days. One of the primary goals of the conference is to bring together stewards from different regions with different perspectives, and to provide opportunities for the land managers to meet with them and other land managers. The

conference also presents good opportunities to recognize the accomplishments of individual stewards with special awards and the overall accomplishments of the statewide programme.

### **Sources of funding and support for public archaeology**

Not surprisingly, each of the four states relies on varying combinations of federal and state funding supplemented with private donations for their respective public programmes. However, this is often not enough to accomplish programme goals, and creative partnerships combined with a heavy reliance on volunteers are required to make these programmes truly successful.

Limited amounts of both federal and state monies are available in Utah. This funding allows for a full-time archaeologist who is devoted to public programming, with a 50 percent time commitment to USAS and other public programmes (i.e. school presentations, Boy Scouts, etc.). Federal funding from the BLM and NPS is planned for an archaeological field experience for children in the area of the Escalante National Monument next summer. Some federal and state agency monies also contribute to Archaeology Awareness Week, including the poster production.

The Colorado PAAC programme is supported by federal and state funding. Archaeology and Historic Preservation Week receives federal and state support from the Colorado Historical Society's Office of Archaeology and Historic Preservation, private organizations, and from the State Historical Fund. Every year, a commemorative poster has been funded by participating sponsors (the federal agencies, the Colorado Historical Society, CCPA, CAS and others). In 1996, a mini-grant from the State Historical Fund was awarded to the CAS to help support this enormous undertaking. The result of this experiment enabled the successful distribution of local grants assisting small organizations in producing their events. Pending acceptance of a multiphase grant from the State Historical Fund, plans for 1998–2000 include continuing this small subgrant programme as well as support for promotional and administrative costs.

Both state general fund and federal Historic Preservation Funds (HPF) provide staff support in New Mexico. Project Archaeology is supported by HPF monies, whilst the Archaeology Fair is made possible by private, corporate and agency donations.

In Arizona, the primary staff person responsible for public archaeology programmes is federally funded through HPF monies. However, the current SHPO perspective is that federal dollars should be used for federally mandated programmes only, and public archaeology is not considered a federal mandate for the SHPO. In the past, funds for Archaeology Month have been solicited and received from federal agencies, archaeological consulting firms, private corporations, the statewide professional organization (Arizona Archaeological Council), and avocational archaeologists. However, since the creation of the Arizona Heritage Fund (AHF, a state funding source for historic preservation



grants from lottery money), no solicitations to assist in funding have been made; virtually the entire Archaeology Month and Expo programmes are now funded through AHF.

### **Range of programmes offered for archaeology and preservation weeks**

Many states now offer annual events to provide special programmes and opportunities for public participation. Statewide Archaeology Month/Week programmes are an annual occurrence in at least seventeen states (Hoffman 1988; Huffman and Lerner 1988; Hoffman and Lerner 1989; Greengrass 1993), and the four southwestern states are no exception. Although Arizona was the first to offer such programmes, New Mexico, Colorado and Utah were also early proponents. Many, but by no means all, of these efforts are coordinated through the State Historic Preservation Offices (SHPO). Some of these annual events offer more than 100 separate programmes to the public, including such diverse opportunities as archaeological site tours; open houses; public lecture series; exhibits and activities by archaeologists in local schools, chambers of commerce, libraries and other public places; free admission days at museums and parks; archaeology how-to workshops for children and adults; and archaeology fairs.

Both Arizona and New Mexico have found archaeology fairs to be particularly effective ways of reaching the public about archaeology. The fairs may be held at museums, parks or other places, including sites undergoing excavation. The latter offer many opportunities to explain by example what archaeologists do, to offer interpretations of resources, and to provide opportunities for direct involvement. Regardless of the fair location, organizations involved in archaeology can provide exhibits and demonstrations of prehistoric crafts and archaeological techniques at the fair. Events of this sort draw together many different groups with a common goal of presenting archaeology in a positive manner, creating a sense of teamwork that transfers to other efforts. Chief among the benefits, however, are increased public awareness of archaeology and demystification of the nature of archaeologists' activities and motivations.

During Colorado's Archaeology and Historic Preservation Week, sponsors focus their attention on a commemorative poster, tours, open houses (museums or historic preservation organizations), lectures (history, historic preservation, archaeology) and exhibits (historic preservation projects in a local area). During the 1997 celebration, more than sixty events were held in various locations throughout the state. These included tours of historic neighbourhoods, lectures, workshops, open houses and demonstrations. Other forms of public outreach include lectures for schools and adult interest groups, tours of the Office of Archaeology and Historic Preservation, seminars and workshops, and newspaper articles and television segments.

Utah Archaeology Week Programmes include lectures, site tours and open houses at the Utah State Historical Society and other museums across the state. In 1996, sixty-three events took place. Federal and state agencies are committed

to the 'Intrigue of the Past' programme, a BLM initiative that runs workshops for teachers and shows them how to integrate archaeology into their classrooms as a teaching tool for required subjects.

Archaeology and the built environment are combined for the New Mexico celebration of Heritage Preservation Week. The state has been celebrating this week for more than ten years, and there are a wide variety of events that occur; some are new and some are offered year after year due to their popularity. The varied programmes have included history-based murder mystery weekends at a historic hotel; mesal roasts with appearances by the Apache Mountain Spirit Gods; site tours; oral history programmes; clean up days at historic cemeteries; work days replastering historic adobe churches; lectures, exhibits and slide shows; living history demonstrations; re-enactments of Civil War battles, and more. There is strong support for the week from the agencies and local groups. Efforts at distributing the posters are shared by these groups, and a general call-for-promotion is carried to each agency, yet most of the promotion effort is supported by the SHPO. Some federal agencies are very active—the US Forest Service was cited as an outstanding example—and the state agencies have been very supportive as well. Although local governments rarely participate, those in the Certified Local Government programme are the most active.

In Arizona, Archaeology Month (previously Archaeology Week) has been in existence for more than ten years. The focus of the week is to provide the public with a wide range of opportunities to participate in archaeological experiences. As such, a calendar of events is produced, providing information on more than 100 events occurring statewide. These events may include site tours, lectures, museum tours, exhibits, and other activities. The centrepiece to the celebration of Archaeology Month is the Archaeology Expo (formerly known as the Archaeology Fair). At the Expo, federal and state agencies, private archaeological consultants, museums and avocational groups come together to provide exhibits and activities for visitors in one place. It is truly a partnership of all entities with involvement in archaeology.

A children's component was added to the 1997 Archaeology Expo. It was advertised through the Department of Education newsletter for teachers, and a reservation system was created. Teachers sent in an application expressing interest in the programme and attending the Expo. The SHPO, following confirmation of a reservation for a class, sent the teachers preparation materials and educational packets. Teachers then could select any two of six hands-on activities offered at the Expo. These activities were designed specifically for schoolchildren; the general public was not invited to participate at the activities, as they had other booths and exhibits to visit. Teachers were also provided with information on other archaeology programmes, such as those sponsored by the Arizona Archaeological Council or the Society for American Archaeology. The theme of the activities for the children was 'A Day in the Life of a Hohokam Child'. The programme was very successful: at the 1997 Archaeology Expo at Casa Grande Ruins in Coolidge, 450 students, including all Coolidge fourth-grade classes, attended the programme.

The strongest support for Arizona's public archaeology programmes comes from the avocational archaeologists in terms of volunteerism, funding, support, exhibits and programmes statewide, etc. Federal agencies tend to be involved at different levels. Many offer site tours, lectures and some exhibits. Most of the agencies participate in the Archaeology Fair/Expo by providing exhibits, often with activities for children or handouts. Some agencies have developed stickers, pins, bags and educational brochures or handouts related to archaeology. There is a variable range of support by the state agencies in Arizona, with only a few actively participating. Corporate support has also been variable, with the majority coming in the form of in-kind (e.g. publication of the poster, assistance in graphic design, etc.).

### **Measures of public programme success**

Each of the states was asked how they determined the success of their programmes, what measures they used, as well as which components they found to be the most successful. In each case, the states found success to be extremely difficult to measure. Although each year there are more events and increased participation, the effects of the programmes have yet to be truly determined and may be so intangible that they are statistically incalculable. Still, there are some measures that each state has implemented to gauge the strength of their programmes, and each state found at least one programme to be more successful than others. As explained below, both New Mexico and Colorado cited their annual events as the most successful components, whilst Utah found that its long-term avocational programme was the most effective. Arizona has had success with both annual and long-term programmes in their Archaeology Month and Site Steward programmes.

In New Mexico, the combination of both archaeology and the built environment into one major event—Heritage Preservation Week—has been very successful. People participate because they are interested in old buildings or in archaeology, and, as a result of their exposure to more than one area, they often develop an interest in the other discipline. As a result of Preservation Week activities, thousands of people have been exposed to the idea of Historic Preservation and have had a very positive experience with the past. New Mexico Preservation Week posters are displayed in offices, hotels, schools, private firms and homes all over the country and the world. They continue to deliver a gentle reminder about the value of preservation long after Preservation Week is over.

It has been difficult to get a handle on how many people attend Preservation Week events, because the sponsors rarely fill out the stamped self-addressed postcards requested by the SHPO. It is estimated that an average of thirty people attend each event, and there are usually about seventy to eighty events, not including the Archaeology Fair which has had up to 1,100 attendees. New Mexico works very hard to generate publicity, especially in the form of newspaper articles, which appear to have the most impact (better than TV).

Radio interviews also seem to be effective in reaching interested audiences. Over 300 teachers have completed the Project Archaeology workshops, which incorporate an instrument to measure how much those teachers are using what they learned in the classroom.

New Mexico also provided a few of the many anecdotes heard about the impact of their events on the general public. For instance, in 1997 the Archaeology Fair took place in a shopping mall, and a young clerk in one of the stores told the New Mexico SHPO that she was so excited by what she had seen and learned that she had decided to go to college and take as many archaeology courses as she could. In another anecdote from several years ago, a young anthropology student went on a Preservation Week tour of the Navajo *pueblitos* and found a career-changing interest. He now has his Ph.D. in anthropology and has a whole string of publications on the archaeology of the Navajo culture. People have registered their historic properties, joined avocational societies, found ideas for winning science fair projects, and written lots of letters over the years telling the SHPO what a great time they had on their Preservation Week outing and how it has changed their perceptions of the past and of government.

In Utah, the state avocational society is cited as the most successful component of the programme. Without their efforts there would be few programmes available to the public. It has proven to be a useful organization in offering a variety of programmes to those interested in archaeology.

The recently developed subgrant programme in Colorado has enhanced the state's successful Preservation Week, and they hope to make this an integral part of their programming in the future. It allows more local programming than if everything were coordinated out of the SHPO. The posters are also very popular and eagerly anticipated by the public.

The greatest success in Arizona has come from both the Archaeology Month and Site Steward programmes. Whilst the different Archaeology Month events do not individually draw many people, there is a wide menu of alternatives from which people may select. It is very rare for an event to be cancelled due to lack of interest. The Archaeology Fair/Expo continues to evolve as a successful programme. At one time the organizers felt that they were 'preaching to the choir', but a survey of the 1997 Expo participants indicated that up to 75 per cent of the people attending were newcomers, with only a limited number of repeat visitors. Most of the people who attend are older, so this is partly why part of the programme will continue to focus on school programmes. Arizona has also found that participation in activities tends to be better when it occurs in rural communities. There is too much competition from other activities in the big cities, and expectations have to be lowered for the number of visitors. For instance, in 1996 approximately 3,000 people attended the fair in Phoenix, while in 1997 there were 6,100 people who attended the fair in rural Coolidge.

The Steward programme continues to be a strong, statewide programme that offers long-term participation opportunities for interested citizens. By the beginning of 1997, more than 500 stewards had been trained and certified, over

36,000 hours of steward service had been logged, and at least 600 archaeological sites and areas were being protected by monitoring efforts.

### **The value of volunteers and avocationalists**

Volunteers and avocational archaeologists can be the glue that holds public programmes together in the southwestern US. In New Mexico, the majority of the work is done by volunteers—whether agency personnel, contractors or others. Although a few contract firms are tremendously active, the majority never participate, and the same is true of the avocational societies, which are rarely active in Preservation Week or the Archaeology Fair.

By contrast, in Utah it is the avocationalists in the Utah State Archaeological Society (USAS) that play a key role in public programmes. USAS members are instrumental in implementing Archaeology Week, as they often coordinate the events held throughout the state. Last year, nearly all sixty-three events were coordinated by USAS members and other volunteers. Membership in the USAS is growing, and local newspapers and television seem to be focusing more on stories about archaeology and historic preservation. The last Archaeology Week open house at the Utah State Historical Society brought in 1,000 people. In Price, Utah, they brought in 1,500 people for various events at the museum. The benefits to these events are that people in Utah look forward to Archaeology Week and the range of activities. There is also a great increase in public interest in archaeological issues.

In Arizona, there is great participation by the avocational archaeological societies. They donate not only money but also hundreds of hours of their time. They are a major component of the volunteer base at the Archaeology Fair/Expo and offer numerous other activities as well. The majority of activities offered during Archaeology Month are free to the public, and therefore those offering them do so on a voluntary basis. There is widespread participation by agency personnel who often give their weekends to the 'cause of preservation education'.

### **CONCLUSION**

The successes of public archaeology programmes in Arizona, New Mexico, Colorado and Utah demonstrate that we can reach an interested audience of citizens in a variety of ways. A mixture of approaches, from short-term annual events to long-term opportunities for public involvement and participation, has proven productive in meeting the growing public interest. Whether we can be just as effective in changing the attitudes of people whose interests in archaeological sites run to collection and vandalism is not quite as clear. Programmes in the southwestern US have been at the forefront of making archaeology interesting and understandable, as well as making it relevant through integrating it into the existing school education curriculum.

But we cannot lose sight of the fact that most archaeological work is accomplished as part of cultural resource management, and as archaeologists we are still not doing enough to bring this information to the public. Funding and support resources are generally *ad hoc*, rather than part of standing budgets. Instead, archaeologists have had to be creative and resourceful. The paucity of such resources has made it even more clear that as a profession we cannot work alone, and this has spawned a number of partnerships among state and federal agencies, profit-making and non-profit-making organizations, as well as professionals and avocationalists from a variety of disciplines directly and indirectly related to cultural resources. Although often formed out of necessity, these partnerships may be one of the most significant accomplishments of public archaeology. Most such efforts are aimed at preserving and protecting local and state resources, and these grassroots efforts are reaching the people who can provide further support to them. As Rick Moore of the Grand Canyon Trust recently observed, 'local residents are a very important audience for local preservation efforts, whereas many of the people reached at the national parks are visitors from another part of the country or from abroad' (Moore 1994:100).

We must continue to seek out partnerships in educating people about the importance of the past. Their support is vital in attaining solid funding for public archaeology, as they are the most effective advocates for preserving cultural patrimony.

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# 19 *Reducing the illegal trafficking in antiquities*

FRANCIS P.McMANAMON AND  
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## **INTRODUCTION: FIGHTING BACK**

Illegal trafficking in antiquities is an immense and complex problem that is destroying the world's archaeological record. The national and worldwide commodification of humanity's archaeological cultural heritage has had devastating consequences for the material record of the human past. The commercial market for illegally obtained antiquities seems to be operating at an unprecedented level and rate. In 1973, Karl Meyer (1973) reported in detail on this worldwide, illegal, irreversible destruction. Meyer's book, *The Plundered Past*, exposed the links between the art market, traffickers in antiquities, and looting. This terrible triangle trade continues, as described in an increasing series of articles and reports (e.g. Bator 1981; Brinkley-Rogers 1981; King 1991; McAllister 1991; Nickens 1991; Pendergast 1991, 1994; Coe 1993; Gill and Chippindale 1993; Renfrew 1993, 1995; Munson *et al.* 1995; McIntosh 1996; Elia 1997; O'Keefe 1997). Countless archaeological sites have been damaged or completely destroyed to feed national and international illicit markets for illegally, unscientifically excavated or collected artefacts.

Individuals and organizations who want to fight back against the destruction of archaeological sites from looting and trafficking have three means at their disposal. They can demonstrate through their own behaviour, standards and explicit ethical statements that looting and trafficking are the wrong way to treat archaeological resources. They can work to enforce existing laws against these activities more effectively and cooperate with law enforcement authorities in this endeavour. Finally, they can explain to members of the general public the true values for commemoration, education and knowledge that archaeological sites have if properly investigated and preserved.



## **ETHICS, STANDARDS AND STATEMENTS**

Aside from documenting this problem and its effects, organizations in the United States and elsewhere have taken action by highlighting the problem in public forums, pursuing and prosecuting looters and traffickers by legal means, and assisting in the development of international mechanisms to reduce the problem.

### **National efforts—examples from the Americas**

In 1996, after several years of development and discussion within the organization (Lynott and Wylie 1995; Lynott 1997), the Executive Board of the Society for American Archaeology (SAA), the largest professional archaeological organization in the Americas, endorsed a set of ‘principles of archaeological ethics’ to serve as guidelines for its members and others in determining appropriate behaviours related to archaeological resources and investigations. Principle No. 3 considers the commercialization of archaeological resources which is at the heart of trafficking. The SAA guidance on this matter is rather straightforward:

The commercialization of archaeological objects—their use as commodities to be exploited for personal enjoyment or profit—results in the destruction of archaeological sites and of contextual information that is essential to understanding the archaeological record. Archaeologists should therefore carefully weigh the benefits to scholarship of a project against the costs of potentially enhancing the commercial value of archaeological objects. Wherever possible, they should discourage, and should themselves avoid, activities that enhance the commercial value of archaeological objects, especially objects that are not curated in public institutions, or readily available for scientific study, public interpretation, and display.

(SAA Executive Board 1996:452)

Another American-based archaeological organization, the Archaeological Institute of America (AIA), recently amended its Code of Ethics, which also includes a statement concerning trafficking in antiquities:

Members of the AIA should...refuse to participate in the trade in undocumented antiquities and refrain from activities that enhance the commercial value of such objects. Undocumented antiquities are those which are not documented as belonging to a public or private collection before December 30, 1970, when the AIA Council endorsed the UNESCO Convention on Cultural Property, or which have not been excavated and exported from the country of origin in accordance with the laws of that country.

(Council of the AIA, 29 December 1997)

By highlighting the problem of antiquities trafficking in their official statements, both of these international archaeological organizations illustrate and emphasize the importance of reducing trafficking as a means of slowing down the destruction of sites. As major international organizations representing professional archaeologists and others with a strong interest and concern about archaeology, the SAA and AIA speak with authority on this topic. It is important that such internationally prominent organizations have expressed strong positions opposing the commercialization of archaeological resources that fuels trafficking.

Many prominent museums have developed collections acquisition policies that endorse only the donation or purchase of antiquities that have detailed, accurate documentation. The J.Paul Getty Museum in Los Angeles, which includes an accessible, distinguished and popular collection of Greek and Roman antiquities numbering nearly 30,000 objects, provides an important recent example. In 1995, in conjunction with the completion of an expanded mission statement that integrates the museum more fully with the other conservation, education and information institutes of the Getty Trust, the museum announced that it was 'modifying its collecting practice so as to acquire only antiquities with a well-documented provenance' (Getty Museum 1995).

The largest national museum organization in the United States, the American Association of Museums (AAM), also has an ethical code opposing the acceptance of donations or purchase of objects that have been looted from archaeological sites or illegally obtained and exported from countries of origin. In 1991, the AAM Board of Directors adopted a *Code of Ethics for Museums*. Regarding the handling and stewardship of collections, the code directs member museums to ensure that 'acquisition, disposal, and loan activities are conducted in a manner that respects the protection and preservation of natural and cultural resources and discourages illicit trade in such materials' (AAM Board of Directors 1991:12).

Yet the strict adherence to such lofty statements seems not always to be practised. Recent reporting in *The Boston Globe* describes the likely acceptance of a donation that included looted artefacts from Guatemala, and the exhibition of looted artefacts from Mali by the Boston Museum of Fine Arts (*The Boston Globe* 4 and 6 December 1997, p. 1 and 13 January 1998, p. 1). In another case, one of Harvard University's art museums, the Arthur M. Sackler Museum, is reported to have acquired Greek vase fragments that are likely to have been looted from fifth-century BC archaeological sites in southern Italy, in direct contradiction to a 1971 policy of Harvard not to accept by gift, purchase or behest objects that may have been looted or illegally obtained (*The Boston Globe* 16 January 1988, p. 1).

A current (April 1999) case illustrates the confused and contradictory position of museums and museum organizations in the US concerning the protection of archaeological objects and sites. The United States Attorney in New York has prosecuted New York financier and art collector M.H.Steinhardt

for illegally importing a gold platter from Italy, dated to the fifth century BC. Steinhardt, according to the government's case against him, falsified custom documents describing the object being imported, which is a federal offence. In addition, the federal judge in the case ruled that because Italian law considers all archaeological items to be the property of the state, the platter is also stolen property and cannot be legally owned by Steinhardt.

The platter clearly has been looted from an archaeological site in Italy. A willing purchaser like Steinhardt, who reportedly paid nearly \$1.2 million dollars for the platter, is the engine driving the looting of objects like this gold platter and the consequent disruption of archaeological deposits and, thus, destruction of information about the past. Yet the American Association of Museums and the Association of Art Museum Directors have supported the appeal by Steinhardt of the judgement against him by the federal court. This apparent contradiction to strong opposition by American museums of the looting of archaeological sites shows the complicated situation in the US and in other 'art importing' countries, where the art market and art collectors, all of whom are potential museum donors, continue to influence the actions of museum directors and museum boards. There apparently continues to exist in at least some US museums, 'the primacy of acquisition in the hierarchy of museum values', illuminated in gripping and penetrating detail twenty-five years ago in *The Plundered Past* (Meyer 1973:76).

In the Steinhardt case, both the AIA and the SAA also have entered the legal fray surrounding the case. They have filed an *amicus* brief supporting the initial convictions. This action illustrates another way in which archaeological organizations can promote the proper treatment of archaeological resources. They can take a public stand in opposition to those who engage in or support the destruction of archaeological sites, or, in happier circumstances, can provide support for others whose actions enhance archaeological interpretation, preservation, protection and understanding.

### **International efforts**

The international community has also deplored archaeological looting and the illegal trafficking in antiquities that drives so much of it. In 1970, UNESCO adopted the Convention on the Means of Prohibiting and Preventing the Illicit Import, Export and Transfer of Ownership of Cultural Property (Clement 1995; Prott 1995). The convention arose as a means of addressing international concern that the high demand in the art market for cultural objects, one major type being archaeological objects, was causing rampant looting of archaeological sites, especially in countries without effective means of protecting their cultural heritage. Effective implementation of the convention has been mixed because most of the 'art market' countries have not adopted it. However, in the United States, one major art market country that has implemented the convention, there have been recent successful cases. Agreements with Peru, Bolivia, Guatemala, Mali, El Salvador and Canada have been reached and implemented. The

agreements direct the United States Custom Service to seize antiquities illegally removed from these countries, or portions of them, if attempts are made to import them into the United States (Hingston 1989; Kouroupas 1995).

The International Council of Museums (ICOM), representing museum organizations and professionals in over 140 countries, has strong sections of its Code of Professional Ethics deploring the illegal trade in antiquities and the looting of archaeological sites (Boylan 1995).

Another international effort, the UNIDROIT Convention on Stolen or Illegally Exported Cultural Objects, has recently begun to receive more attention (Prott 1995, 1997). In 1984, UNESCO requested that UNIDROIT (the International Institute for the Unification of Private Law), a private research organization located in Rome that undertakes legal research and negotiations focusing on international issues, develop international rules that would enhance the effectiveness of the UNESCO convention. Using expert panels and international conferences of government experts, UNIDROIT was able to draft an international convention that has been endorsed and adopted by a number of nations.

The UNIDROIT convention, if effectively adopted, should increase the diligence of purchasers of art and antiquities in requiring sellers to demonstrate their own legal ownership of the object being offered for sale. This reasoning holds that 'if purchasers begin to ask questions, it should be less easy for traffickers to pass on their illegally acquired goods and the illicit traffic should become...less attractive to its perpetrators' (Prott 1995:63). If traffickers are unable to sell looted antiquities, they will not buy them from the peasants, low-end diggers and small-scale middlemen who are responsible for the looting of archaeological sites in pursuit of marketable objects. If the looters are not paid for digging up the objects, they will not spend their time destroying archaeological sites searching for the objects.

## **ENFORCING LEGAL PROTECTION**

Most nations have established legal protection for all or some of the archaeological resources found in their countries. Effective enforcement of these laws is the key to fighting the looting of archaeological sites in the country and the domestic or international trafficking in the objects illegally removed from archaeological sites. Unfortunately, many developing nations find it very difficult to enforce their archaeological protection laws (e.g. Pendergast and Graham 1989; Pendergast 1991, 1994; Schmidt and McIntosh 1996). Even developed nations, such as Italy and the United States, suffer from the looting of their archaeological sites (e.g. Landers 1991).

### **Looting, trafficking and the art market**

The close connection between the trade in antiquities and the destruction of archaeological sites is well documented. In particular, the percentage of

illicitly obtained antiquities that feeds the international art market is shamefully high. An American dealer in ancient coins recently exposed his complicity in the illicit trade when he described 100 Alexander the Great silver drachmas in his possession in an interview he gave to *Vanity Fair*. According to the article he said,

I don't know where they came from, and I don't care. They all go through Turkish guest workers and other smugglers to Switzerland and Germany and from there to New York and London, where we buy them. Now, everyone in the world will deny it, but 80 per cent of the coins sold throughout the world are 'fresh' [i.e. looted]. It's a tremendous percentage. And it's a percentage the public doesn't want to see. Because it'll scare the crap out of them. Who would buy this stuff if they knew the truth?

(Burrough 1994:84)

Bruce McNall, the millionaire owner of the Los Angeles Kings professional hockey team and a confessed smuggler, made millions of dollars in the illicit antiquities trade. The description of his commercial enterprise in this area, much of it from interviews with McNall himself, highlights the direct connection between illegally removed antiquities, the art galleries and auction house of the West and their respectable patrons (Burrough 1994).

McNall's main company, Numismatic Fine Arts, one of the dominant firms in the ancient coin market, has sold smuggled artefacts for years. McNall admits that his company has routinely broken the export laws of Turkey, Italy and Greece, and other Mediterranean countries. McNall started his antiquities smuggling career at the age of 18 when he began frequenting the antiquities shops of Italy, Turkey, Egypt and Algeria. His personal interest and collecting soon developed into buying and selling for friends and acquaintances, then to commercial dealing. In order to supply the well-heeled clients of his first Beverly Hills Rodeo Drive gallery, he was soon negotiating deals in Switzerland with high-level smugglers he suspected of dealing in guns and drugs as well. At the age of 30, he sold the first \$1 million coin, a silver Greek decadrachm, which he freely admits he bought freshly smuggled out of Sicily.

Taking advantage of the explosively profitable market for antiquities in the late 1970s and the early 1980s, McNall employed a large network of contacts in Europe to procure the finest illicit antiquities. McNall sold these items 'by the truckload' to a wealthy and glittering clientele. He sold Greek and Roman antiquities to Michael Milken, the infamous junk bond trader. He sold Greek and Roman coins to David Geffen, the record company mogul. And he sold more than \$50 million in antiquities to the eccentric Texas oilmen Bunker and Nelson Hunt (Burrough 1994:82).

Although McNall's name appears frequently in a Turkish file of tips on antiquities smugglers, his companies have never faced legal action by any

government. As McNall himself is well aware, in order to reclaim illicitly removed antiquities, a country like Turkey must demonstrate their origin, usually an impossible task given that so many artefacts are looted in midnight digs and quickly spirited away to Switzerland, leaving no record. 'Turkey has no claim, and they never do', McNall says. 'They have to have pictures of pieces *in situ* and you can't do that, so it's not going to happen' (Burrough 1994:82).

Responding to McNall's statements, Dr Richard Elia, Associate Professor of Archaeology at Boston University, noted:

What is so amazing [about this business] is that something that starts out so illegal, so sleazy, so dirty, ends up so clean, so cultured. It ends up in a Park Avenue showroom, with some Wall Street guy in a three-piece suit oohing and ahing at them. But it starts off with someone smashing into a tomb, looting a cemetery, and damaging a country's cultural heritage. It gets smuggled out by the same people that smuggle guns and drugs. It's a fundamentally corrupt market. Worse there's a code of silence, like the code of silence of the Mafia. The whole system is guaranteed to favour the illicit side of it.

(Burrough 1994:82).

The commercial dimension is what drives the clandestine excavations and illicit export of antiquities. Looting continues unabated because antiquities sell for upwardly spiralling prices in domestic and international marketplaces. As long ago as 1985, it was estimated that the total value of stolen or smuggled antiquities traded on the international market ran to over \$1 billion annually, a sum second only to narcotics (Nafziger 1985:835).

Many nations have laws to prohibit the export of their cultural heritage, but most of the stolen materials are smuggled abroad where these national laws have no effect. A vast supply of looted antiquities flows abroad from archaeologically rich countries to art-consuming nations (Meyer 1973; Bator 1981; Prott and O'Keefe 1988).

The recent rise in availability of antiquities from East Asia, for example, is attributable to increased looting in this part of the world and openly acknowledged by some dealers and collectors. An article in the April 1998 edition of *Arts and Antiques*, a national journal for art collectors in the United States, is quite explicit about the connection between looting and the art market:

For upper-quality, mid-range prices...there are quite a few areas in which there are real bargains to be found.... Han and T'ang pieces are part of a deluge of goods smuggled out of Asia that also includes Khmer sculpture from Cambodia and bronzes from Thailand. Thanks to corruption, high-speed boats, and world-wide demand,

the flow continues unabated in spite of antiquities laws designed to protect cultural property. More than 40,000 tombs were pillaged in 1989 and 1990 in China alone, according to the country's State Bureau of Cultural Relics.... When faced with Chinese funerary art or damaged Indian idols, dealers typically justify their purchase on the grounds that such pieces carry a stigma in their homeland, and that, in the case of the Chinese works, some officials tacitly condone their illegal export.

(Lawrence 1998:81)

This illegal, uncontrolled disruption of cultural patrimony enables a few to make profits at the expense of the national, and international, heritage of many. The illicit traffic also diminishes the potential appreciation of universal human civilization by destroying the archaeological context at the site or structure from which the looted object is removed. This destruction also severs the connection between the looted object and the information that would be used to infer its chronological and cultural associations. Ultimately, this separation prevents any hope of verifying the authenticity and historical pedigree of the looted objects (e.g. Elia 1993, 1994a; Gill and Chippindale 1993; Chippindale and Gill 1995). It reduces our knowledge of the diversity of our collective past and, at the same time, obscures the parallel processes of change in world cultures. Nations whose citizens receive plundered goods are sullied by the implied disrespect for their neighbours. Nations that are plundered suffer the double ignominy of irreparable loss and delayed or diminished appreciation of the richness of their prehistory and present cultural life (Meyer 1973:xii-xiii).

The connection between illicit trade in antiquities and other illegal activity is well documented. The international structure of the illicit antiquities trade, the illegal trade in rare and endangered species, and the illicit drug trade are remarkably similar. The three are often intertwined, with the same individuals involved in smuggling all three commodities. For example, in 1985, in the case of the *United States v. Timothy Grayson Smith*, the US Customs Service tracked a smuggler's plane entering the United States from Mexico to the Durango, Colorado airport. The cargo included 350 pounds of marijuana with an estimated value of \$50,000, and thousands of dollars in pre-Columbian ceramic figurines and pots from western Mexico. Two men were convicted of smuggling, and the archaeological material was eventually returned to the Mexican government in 1990 under a 1971 treaty that makes the importation of Mexican artefacts into the US illegal. In the state of Alaska in the United States, a recent US Fish and Wildlife Service undercover investigation into the illicit trade in walrus ivory and drugs revealed a strong connection to the antiquities trade as well. Hundreds of pounds of prehistoric ivory and bone artefacts were found in the homes of defendants during the execution of search warrants.

The structures of the domestic and international illicit antiquities markets may vary in the details (e.g. Meyer 1973; Vitelli 1982; King 1991; McAllister

1991; Nickens 1991; Coe 1993; Pendergast 1994; Elia 1997). However, all of these markets may be broken down into three components: production, distribution and consumption (Coe 1993:273–7; Elia 1997:86–8; Lyons 1998). The production portion of the system involves diggers and small dealers on the local level. The sums paid for objects at this level are very low, but still meaningful to the typically low-income local farmers, peasants and workmen who do the illicit digging. At this level, many fakes also enter the market, further diminishing the likelihood that collectors at the high end of the system will be able to establish the authenticity of objects that come through this system. Distribution is made possible by the larger dealers, galleries, international auction houses and import firms, and the ultimate consumer in the market, the private collector (Meyer 1973:33–43, 123–69; Renfrew 1993, 1995; Tubb 1995; Rose 1997; Watson 1997).

However, high-end professional services provided to those who deal in this market should not be overlooked. This arena involves art historians, art journal publishers, law firms, private and public museums, and some professional archaeologists and laboratories that authenticate antiquities (e.g. Elia 1995; Lawrence 1998; Lyons 1998). Others without whose actions the illegal trade could not be supported include government officials with import and export responsibilities who allow the trade to flourish under their noses by ‘looking the other way’, or actively engage in taking bribes to allow trafficking to proceed.

The illicit antiquities market involves many players and a multitude of conflicting values. The question of what is legal and what is not is compounded by the fact that the legal and illegal parts of these markets are so intertwined that without specific information about particular objects and circumstances—information that is seldom widely shared—it is impossible to separate the legal and the illegal. The practice in the art world of keeping precise origins as trade secrets masks the illegal activity, and protects the guilty. Of course, this secrecy also casts doubt on the authenticity of all objects that come on to the antiquities market.

### **Piecemeal destruction leads to total loss**

Illicit trafficking often destroys the very items sought for sale, by the careless manner in which they are removed from looted sites (e.g. Kirkpatrick 1992; Pendergast 1994). Illicit trafficking also leads to the fragmentation of large architectural objects like Mayan *stelae* or mosaic floors from the Mediterranean and Middle East into segments to facilitate smuggling and to bring in more money:

The concept of destruction or mutilation is relatively simple when applied to a Raphael or Monet: nobody would suggest that a painting be cut into pieces in order to make it ‘go around’ further .... It is the most distasteful aspect of the current art trade that on this question aesthetics and economics sometimes part company, and



that the physical mutilation of certain types of art is rendered profitable because a respectable and lucrative market can be found for fragments no matter how brutally obtained.

(Bator 1981:20)

Such piecemeal destruction has been the fate of countless Maya stelae, Egyptian and Assyrian panels, Indian temples and other ancient architectural, scriptural, and decorative elements (e.g. Meyer 1973:29–33; Russell 1994; Singh 1994). Focus on this destruction in southeastern Asia has made the general news recently (e.g. *Arts and Antiques* 1997; Lawrence 1998). Angkor, in Cambodia, is one of the great architectural and archaeological wonders of the world. Sculptured stone towers and massive stone temples rise from the jungle. Several hundred monuments built of laterite, brick and sandstone, ranging in size from tiny pavilions to vast temples, contain more stone tonnage than the pyramids of Egypt and Mesoamerica. Angkor sculptures are considered the artistic equivalent of any in the world.

Angkor Wat, the largest of the capitals, was built in the first half of the twelfth century. It occupies nearly 2.5 sq. km of cleared jungle, and has been described as the largest complex of religious buildings in the world (Ciochon and James 1994). French scholars have worked at Angkor since the 1800s. The outbreak of war in Cambodia in 1970, however, stopped all professional scholarly work at Angkor; archaeologists did not return until 1986. Currently, Japanese, French, Indian and American teams are working in the archaeological district, and UNESCO has conducted studies and made recommendations for the long-term preservation of the monuments at Angkor.

Unfortunately, even at this very well-known and actively investigated site, ongoing looting is reported. Unsystematic, piecemeal dismantling of the architectural elements of the monument is occurring rapidly (*Art and Antiques* 1997:20). In the early 1990s, officials working on a World Monuments Fund project reported that thieves were operating in the monument area at Angkor and the surrounding areas. The thieves demolished walls with hand grenades and rocket launchers and took what they wanted. In one instance, they made off with twenty-two objects, including valuable stone sculptures (Ciochon and James 1994:48–9). Apparently, the provincial police are hampered in apprehending the thieves and their fences by rules that allow the arrest of only those who transport stolen goods, not those who receive and sell them. They are also powerless to act against the Thai military, which is alleged to play an active role in the trafficking. One American archaeologist working for UNESCO says that he has seen art thieves who come to Angkor to take photographs to show their clients in Thailand, and has even overheard Thai dealers discussing which pieces they are supposed to procure for clients (Ciochon and James 1994:49).

UNESCO has estimated that artworks are being stolen from Angkor at the rate of one per day. To put this into perspective, consider the public outcry if the gargoyles and sacred images of Europe were disappearing at the rate of one

per day. It is safe to assume that a major international effort would be made, regardless of the cost, to save those great cultural treasures. Yet a loss of equal magnitude is taking place in Cambodia, and very few people outside the region are even aware that it is going on. Unless strong measures are taken, the destruction of this priceless cultural heritage of Southeast Asia will soon be out of control (Ciochon and James 1994:49).

### **The destruction of context and the loss of authenticity**

Compare the rich, detailed drawings that reconstruct the royal Moche tomb excavated scientifically and recorded carefully by Walter Alva and his colleagues (Alva 1990; Kirkpatrick 1992; Alva and Donnan 1993) with simple displays or photos of intricate, but detached, individual gold objects found in leading American museums, said to be from Moche contexts and probably looted from similar burials. The excavated remains have an infinitely greater potential for education and information than the disassociated artefacts whose authenticity and historical contexts will forever be in doubt.

Dyson (1998) summarizes this issue as it relates to ancient coins and coin hoards. He notes that some regard the archaeological context of ancient coins and even hoards of coins as unimportant. They say that coins are so common and well known that nothing important remains to be gained from the careful recording and study of the contexts in which they are found. However, Dyson points out that understanding the cultural significance of coins is much more complex. First, he notes that the effectiveness of metal detectors for locating coins within archaeological site areas has led to the destruction of surrounding context when the coins are dug out, disturbing the area around them and destroying information, as well as the context within which the coins themselves rested.

He also notes that the social and economic interpretation of past individual activities and larger social systems hinges on contextual information related to individual objects or groups of objects:

For example, scholars are divided about how complex the ancient Roman economy was. Some follow the late Cambridge historian Moses Finley in arguing for a relatively simple system, while others view it as the most complex in Europe until the Industrial Revolution. Key to resolving this debate is the degree to which money was used in all areas of Roman society, including the countryside. The massive removal of coins from their [archaeological] context by scavengers with metal detectors...destroys the evidence needed to answer this and other important historical questions

(Dyson 1988:6)

Gill and Chippindale (1993) conducted a detailed analysis of the consequences of the loss of archaeological contextual information for Cycladic figurines.

Using archaeological, art historical and art market data, they estimated that only 10 per cent of the approximately 1,600 known figurines are from a recorded archaeological context (Gill and Chippindale 1993:624–5). There are several direct consequences of this very small number of scientifically excavated figurines. One is that the existence of fakes among the corpus of figurines, whilst acknowledged, cannot be precisely known, and for about 90 per cent of the individual figurines archaeological information is unavailable to make an unambiguous judgement. More important is the amount of destruction of the archaeological record of the Cyclades caused by the looting of graves in search of figurines. Gill and Chippindale (1993:625) calculated that the illegal looting to procure the figurines now lacking archaeological context resulted in the destruction of between 11,000 and 12,000 ancient graves. They point out that the looting seems to have been driven by an increase in the ‘aesthetic esteem’ for the figurines and subsequent commercial interest in their acquisition that had developed independent of their archaeological value as guides to learning about the past (Gill and Chippindale 1993:601–8).

A similar appeal to aesthetics followed by commercial exploitation seems also to be driving the increased destruction of archaeological sites in western Africa. The development of interest in so-called ‘primitive art’, beginning in the late nineteenth century and growing throughout the twentieth century, encouraged art dealers to purchase African tribal art, including antiquities removed from ancient African archaeological sites. By the 1970s, trafficking in artefacts from Mali and other west African nations had become big business. Art dealers in Brussels, Paris and New York, including auction houses such as Sotheby’s, were openly dealing in these looted objects. Prices for a piece that would have fetched \$7,000 to \$8,000 in the mid-1970s could command a price in the low hundreds of thousands by the mid-1980s (McIntosh 1993, 1996; Brent 1994; Schmidt and McIntosh 1996). Local farmers in Mali, hired by antiquities dealers to dig the terracotta statues, were given food and caffeine-laden kola nuts to keep them working, with the extra incentive that they might find a piece that would net them a sum equal to ten or twenty times their annual pay as farmers. Meanwhile, European dealers criss-crossed the Malian countryside with bundles of French francs for the purchase of newly found antiquities.

In the beginning, such clandestine digs were poorly organized. As market demand grew, more and more peasants were diverted from traditional farming, thus destabilizing the local economy. Even modest local dealers began forming their own crews, and eventually more than 1,000 peasants soon engaged in looting year-around within a 160 km radius of Mopti, a town at the confluence of the Niger and Bni Rivers (Brent 1994). In some areas of the Middle Niger, the consensus estimate is of a yearly loss of 10 per cent of the archaeological sites (McIntosh 1993, 1996).

The archaeological context of the sites being targeted for looting was poorly reported and not well-understood until scientific excavations at the site of Jenne-jeno got underway in 1977. The investigations at this site provided the

archaeological and historical context and dates for the Malian art and the communities that produced it. Regarding the importance of the archaeological interpretations from their work and the effect of the looting on interpretations of the past, McIntosh and McIntosh have noted:

The illegal...exposure and commerce in this art permanently prevents an archaeological appreciation of the dynamism of the African past. The illicit commerce directly perpetuated the view of the past as somehow peripheral to that of other peoples, or even backward.

(McIntosh and McIntosh 1986:56)

Their research and the work of others has revealed that the floodplain of the Middle Niger was home to societies with rich and varied examples of indigenous food production, the growth of complex societies, urbanism, the emergence of states and higher political institutions.

In September 1993, the United States enacted an emergency import ban on antiquities from Mali. The action, requested by Mali, implemented the terms of the UNESCO convention. Since then, direct shipments to the United States have ceased, but a more circuitous route through Europe is now being utilized, and looting continues. The pillaging of Mali's past by peasant looters serving local dealers and, ultimately, wealthy European collectors remains uncontrolled. Not since the wholesale rape of Egypt's archaeological treasures in the first half of the nineteenth century has a country been so methodically stripped of its national heritage (Brent 1994:26).

## **LOOTING AND TRAFFICKING IN THE UNITED STATES**

The United States, although a wealthy, developed country, also must deal with archaeological looters. For example, describing archaeological looting in the United States, Brinkley-Rogers (1981) and Nickens *et al.* (1981) list and describe incidents in Arizona, Colorado, New Mexico and Utah, places where archaeological looting has been recognized as a problem since the late 1800s. The first US law protecting archaeological sites, the Antiquities Act of 1906, resulted from recognition that unsystematic, unscientific, private collecting and removal of artefacts was destroying the educational, informational and commemorative values of these sites (Lee 1970; McManamon 1996).

More recently, reports of looting in the US Southwest and elsewhere continue, though with the caveat that the casual looting associated with collecting as a hobby and the thoughtless picking up of artefacts as souvenirs may have diminished due to more public education and outreach by public agencies (General Accounting Office 1987; Subcommittee 1988; King 1991). Although the Four Corners area of the US Southwest has long been a focus of activity and concern, the looting of archaeological sites in the United States

occurs throughout the nation. The National Park Service maintains a data base of prosecutions of looters (Knoll 1991) which now includes information on about 400 cases, most of them dating from the last two decades. These cases come from all regions of the United States and involve looting at historic as well as prehistoric sites (e.g. see McManamon *et al.* 1993:60–5).

Statistical views of the extent of the archaeological looting problem in the United States vary, but, there is only one national source of quantitative information. Since 1985, the National Park Service has been working cooperatively with other federal land-managing agencies to collect information about looting on federal land (Keel *et al.* 1989; McManamon *et al.* 1993; Knudson *et al.* 1995; Haas 1997). In the United States, federal agencies are responsible for millions of hectares of land, mainly but not exclusively in the western half of the country. The total area managed by federal agencies is about 300 million ha, or approximately 32 per cent of the land mass of the United States (Haas 1997:12). Agencies have reported on the extent of archaeological looting, and these statistics are summarized in Table 19.1.

Readers must be warned of three aspects of these summary data to keep in mind when interpreting them. First, it certainly represents only the tip of the iceberg of archaeological looting. The reported incidents are those that were discovered and reported by agency officials; because much of the federal land is remote and not intensively checked annually, we can expect that many looting incidents are undetected. The difficulty of detection of incidents is enhanced because looters are anxious not to be discovered and so hide the results of their activities. The second aspect to be aware of is that not all agency offices have reported comprehensively for every year. Some of the fluctuation in the data are due to this irregularity of reporting. Finally, not all the data are chronologically consistent. For example, the 'prosecutions' and 'felony convictions' categories include cases related to incidents and arrests made in past years. For these sets of categories in the table, there is not a one-to-one relationship among the cases in the different categories.

Despite these faults, the data do indicate some important points about archaeological looting in the United States. First, it clearly is occurring: every year reported shows that, at a minimum, hundreds of looting incidents are reported, with no pattern of diminishment detectable. Agency personnel and law enforcement officials are attempting to fight against these destructive activities, as shown by the steady number of arrests made and citations issued. United States Attorneys and other prosecutors are also pursuing accused looters in courtrooms. The quantitative measures of these categories of action do not display a pattern of increased workload or effectiveness, but rather of steady effort. It is also clear that relatively small percentages of those who loot are apprehended and prosecuted in court.

The pattern in the category for 'felony convictions' provokes a more hopeful response. One can detect an increase in the number of felony convictions from 1992 onward. This may very well reflect improvements to the Archaeological Resources Protection Act (ARPA) made by amendments in 1988 (McManamon 1991). These amendments made the law easier to use by lowering the threshold

**Table 19.1** Looting and related information from federal lands in the United States

<i>Year</i>	<i>Reported incidents</i>	<i>Arrests or citations</i>	<i>Prosecutions</i>	<i>Felony convictions</i>
1985	436	72	48	9
1986	627	43	61	2
1987	657	68	62	6
1988	564	152	53	2
1989	475	69	23	3
1990	664	87	52	1
1991	306	69	35	2
1992	524	92	58	8
1993	770	127	80	13
1994	672	211	65	17
1995	674	86	48	23

*Note:* Information for table from Keel *et al.* 1989; McManamon *et al.* 1993; Knudson *et al.* 1995; Haas 1997.

of damage to a site necessary to prove a felony offence, and by making the 'attempt' to loot also a felony offence. Also contributing to the increased numbers of felony convictions may be the cooperative programme in training and technical assistance developed since then by the National Park Service and the Department of Justice. This programme has enabled United States Attorneys and their staffs, as well as other law enforcement officials, to attend specialized training in using ARPA and other archaeological protection laws, regulations and technical information (e.g. Carnett 1991, 1995; Hutt *et al.* 1992; Hutt 1994) to conduct successful prosecutions.

The looting summarized in Table 19.1 relates only to federal land; however, on other kinds of public land, e.g. land owned by states or local governments or by Indian tribes, and on private land, archaeological looting also occurs. In some situations, the problem is worse on these other kinds of land because there is even less active protection and monitoring than is available on some federal land. Many states and some tribes do have specific laws to protect archaeological sites (Carnett 1995), and some state and local laws, such as prohibitions against trespass, can be invoked against looters. When state, tribal or local laws are violated as part of archaeological looting and interstate transport of the looted objects is involved, a violation of ARPA has also occurred, and federal authorities can become involved in investigations and prosecutions.

One recent case in the Midwest United States exemplifies such a situation. In 1988, archaeologists in Indiana became alarmed that a Hopewell Indian mound site located on private land owned by the General Electric Company was being looted. It was determined that the collection of looted artefacts dated to about 2,000 years ago. The site turned out to be one of the five largest Hopewell sites in North America. Nothing of its size or complexity had been found in Indiana. Local and state law enforcement

agencies began an investigation; when it became clear that the interstate trafficking prohibition of ARPA was at issue, the Federal Bureau of Investigation entered the case.

The investigation revealed that a heavy equipment operator had uncovered Hopewell-style artefacts while working on a state highway project that included part of the site area. The construction worker concealed the presence of artefacts, in violation of provisions of the state contract his company had signed. He took the artefacts that he had found to his home in Illinois and contacted a well-known antiquities collector and dealer. The dealer, Art Gerber, promotes one the largest artefact shows in the United States in Owensboro, Kentucky. Gerber paid the worker \$6,000 in cash for artefacts and for information about the location of the site.

Gerber and three associates attacked the site, trespassing on General Electric Company property several times in July and August 1988. They removed artefacts until a security guard caught them and ordered them to leave. Gerber and the others sold some of the looted artefacts at the Owensboro, Kentucky, artefact show in 1988. In transporting the looted artefacts across the state line and trafficking in them, the men violated ARPA, which is a federal offence.

The US Attorney's Office for the Southern District of Indiana learned of this activity and organized a complex intergovernmental investigation and prosecution. In 1992, the men pleaded guilty to violations of ARPA for interstate trafficking in archaeological resources obtained in violation of state trespass and conversion laws. Gerber was sentenced to one year in federal prison, three years of supervised release, ordered to pay a \$5,000 fine, further ordered to pay \$4,750 in lieu of forfeiting vehicles used in committing the crimes, prohibited from engaging in artefact trading for three years except when the proceeds from sales of legally obtained artefacts would be used to pay fines, prohibited from attending artefact shows or exhibitions during that period and ordered to return the stolen artefacts. Gerber appealed his conviction and sentence.

On 22 July 1993, the United States Court of Appeals for the Seventh Circuit affirmed Gerber's conviction (*United States v. Gerber*, 999 F.2d 1112 (7th Cir. 1993)), and held that ARPA is not limited to objects removed from federal and Indian lands. Instead, the ruling interpreted ARPA as a provision designed to support state and local laws protecting archaeological resources. As such, it resembles other United States statutes that affix federal criminal penalties to state crimes when they are committed in interstate commerce. Gerber then sought United States Supreme Court review of the Appellate Court opinion. The Supreme Court denied his petition on 18 January 1994. Gerber subsequently served his time in a federal jail and is carrying out the other aspects of his sentence. This case provided important support for the prohibition of archaeological looting, by publicizing another legal tool to fight those in the illegal commercial network who cross state and national boundaries to conceal their activities or to flee from law enforcement

authorities. It also demonstrated how national laws in the United States that apply broadly to archaeological protection on federal and tribal lands also assist in archaeological protection at the state and local levels.

### **Loss of United States antiquities to the international illicit market**

Although the United States is considered to be one of the premier art-consuming nations, few citizens of the US are aware that large quantities of American antiquities are entering the international market and leaving the country for sale abroad. The continuing strength of the international market for Native American antiquities was demonstrated by the \$90,000 sale of a single Alaskan prehistoric ivory figurine bought at an auction house in Paris in December 1993. The transfer of American antiquities overseas is a process that began perhaps twenty years ago, and is only more noticeable now because it has been accelerated by international economic shifts in the last ten to fifteen years (Lange 1992, 1993).

ARPA prohibits the export of American archaeological resources that have been illegally removed from federal or Indian lands, or removed from non-federal lands in violation of state or local law. However, this law is not one that the US Customs Service has aggressively enforced, and it has had little or no effect in preventing archaeological resources from leaving the country as illegal traffic.

Under the 1970 UNESCO convention, the signing parties agreed to put export laws into place that would protect their own cultural property, and to form a reciprocal network of protection for all of the signing countries. However, the US has yet to implement such legislation, and recognizes the export restrictions of other countries on only a case-by-case basis (Hingston 1989; Kouroupas 1995). The case studies presented throughout this chapter reveal a few glimpses of the sheer size and ubiquitous nature of the illegal network that is destroying the cultural heritage of America and the world for the sake of private profit.

### **CONCLUSIONS: HOW TO ELIMINATE LOOTING AND ILLEGAL TRAFFICKING**

The long-term solution to eliminating the looting of archaeological sites is to make the holding, collecting, selling, donating or accepting of archaeological material that has not been scientifically excavated, removed, described, analysed and reported socially abhorrent (Elia 1994b, 1997:97; O'Keefe 1997:61–4; cf. King 1991:88–91). Achieving this goal will require many, many years, but it is an important goal to recognize and at which to take aim. How can it be realized? There are educational means that must be utilized, some broadly and others precisely focused. There are legal means that must be enforced and also used in complement with some of the educational efforts. In order to move



effectively and efficiently towards our goal, we must understand how and why archaeological looting and antiquities trafficking occur; we must use existing tools to combat the current looting and trafficking; and we must take action now to prevent looting and trafficking in the future.

### **Understanding the problem**

During the past twenty years, archaeologists, curators, law enforcement officials and others concerned with the problem have come to understand the details about how archaeological looting is carried out, how it relates to illegal trafficking and the organization of the illegal traffic itself. In the early 1970s, the scope of this destructive problem was being recognized and described by a few. Coggins (1972) reported on what was happening to ancient Mayan cities in Guatemala, Mexico and other Middle American countries. Meyers (1973) expanded our understanding by illuminating the problem generally and also by reporting on specific instances in the Mediterranean countries, as well as Middle America. Wiseman *et al.* (1974) summarized the key archaeological, curatorial, educational and public policy issues of looting and illegal trafficking at this early stage of understanding the problem.

Since the early 1970s, when these topics achieved a new prominence in concerns about the preservation of the archaeological record, a great many more details have been reported about looting in different parts of the world. In particular, there have been investigations of the problem in the United States, even by the Congress (General Accounting Office 1987; Subcommittee 1988). Other investigations and research reports have been more focused. There are examples of studies of looters, e.g. Seward Trumann's (1987) interviews with artefact collectors and local dealers in Arkansas; Knowles' (1990) and Nickens, *et al.*'s (1981) studies of the same in the United States Southwest; and van Velzen's (1996) description of the world of Tuscan tomb robbers, or *tombaroli*.

Articles describing the destruction caused by looting and its relationship to trafficking, often in general circulation magazines, have appeared with greater frequency. In the United States, news reports describing the looting and related trafficking problem at eastern Civil War battlefields and prehistoric sites in the Midwest and southwestern United States have appeared regularly (e.g. Goodwin 1986; Robbins 1987; Pagan 1988; Harrington 1991; Landers 1991; McAllister 1991; Nickens 1991; Wilkinson 1991; Draper 1993; Neary 1993). Even that staple of American popular culture and supermarket magazine racks, *People*, has featured the topic (Howe and Free 1996), reporting favourably on the federal government's prosecution of a notorious looter, Earl Shumway, in Utah. In the professional literature, there has also been an increase in attention to the topic, by both archaeologists and law enforcement experts. Examples come from around the United States (Wylie and Nagel 1989; DesJeans and Wilson 1990; Ehrenhard 1990; Snedker and Harmon 1990; Williamson and Blackburn 1990; Downer 1992; Higgins 1992; Waldbauer 1992). Of special interest in

understanding trafficking are reports related to legal cases aimed at seeking the return of illegally removed or exported antiquities. When such cases are presented, the normally carefully and deliberately hidden commerce, exchange and transport of antiquities is illuminated (e.g. Elia 1995b; Munson *et al.* 1995; Rose and Acar 1995; Eyster 1996; Rose 1997; Slayman 1998).

The connection between looting, trafficking and collecting has been revealed in the details of reports on incidents and legal cases from countries throughout the world, developed and developing. No country's archaeological heritage is safe from this destruction. Since its publication, the generalities drawn about the antiquities trade in *The Plundered Past* (Meyer 1973) have been confirmed by other examples and the details of looting and trafficking more completely exposed. The truth of many of the quotations in the book has been affirmed repeatedly:

The sale of antiquities is a business unlike the others. In the shard trade, most of the dealer's stock has been acquired, at one point or another, through a violation of law. The matter was stated plainly by John D. Cooney, curator of ancient art at the Cleveland Museum, who in March, 1972, told a reporter that ninety-five per cent of the ancient art material in the United States had been smuggled in. 'Unless you are naive or not too bright', Mr. Cooney went on, 'you'd have to know that much ancient art is stolen.'

(Meyer 1973:123)

With our expanded understanding of the details, how can those concerned about this problem combat it?

### **Combating the problem**

Looting and trafficking must be attacked using the existing national and international legal framework. Nationally, laws protecting *in situ* archaeological sites must be enforced effectively. This requires that public agencies responsible for such protection have the trained personnel to accomplish the task. In many countries, unfortunately, the financial resources to ensure effective protection are not used for this purpose. Even developed nations, like the United States, do not devote to this effort sufficient funds and staff to be certain that archaeological sites are protected. In the United States, progress is being made with more effective law enforcement. A modest increase in government funding at the Bureau of Land Management and the National Park Service in the early 1990s has continued to be earmarked for archaeological resource protection (McManamon 1991:266–7). The Department of Justice, through various national programmes and United States Attorney offices in many states, has improved substantially the education of its staff in enforcing archaeological protection laws. Many more prosecutions of looters and traffickers are being made by these federal offices, as indicated by Table 19.1 in an earlier section of this chapter. Domestically, other national governments, as well as governments

at regional, state and local levels, must also make efforts to protect archaeological sites from looting through strong laws effectively enforced.

This need also points out another aspect of combating the problem: archaeologists cannot expect to be effective by working alone. Experts in other fields, such as law enforcement, must be included in efforts. Political and popular support must be cultivated, obtained and held. Unfortunately, there are some problems: poverty, lack of education, and absence of gainful employment opportunities, for example, often make archaeological looting an attractive source of income. These large-scale economic and social conditions are not susceptible to solution by archaeologists alone. Yet it also is not enough for archaeologists to throw up their hands in frustration and feel that they can ignore the matter because they cannot directly improve the situation. Pendergast (1994) has urged action by archaeologists working in impoverished parts of the world to reduce the attractiveness of looting and low-end trafficking. Writing from his perspective as a Mesoamerican archaeologist, Pendergast advocates the involvement of local Maya in archaeological research projects in the region. He suggests

the creation of what might be termed an information loop, in which Maya and archaeologist work together to uncover the past while the archaeologist learns from the excavators, where possible, about the materials extracted from the ground...[and the excavators] come to understand more about why the work is done, what steps follow excavation, and how much can be learned through analysis of the material recovered. As the fieldwork ends and excavators return to their communities, the loop ultimately extends to a wide range of Mayas without direct involvement in archaeological work.... The failure to establish such a loop is ...[Pendergast asserts], one of the causes of the participation of Maya in the sacking of their ancestral communities.

(Pendergast 1994:2)

In the Sipan area of the north coast of Peru, archaeologist Luis Alva also found that by incorporating local residents in archaeological investigations of unlooted sites, he was able to obtain their support in reducing further looting by other locals (Kirkpatrick 1992:137–53; Dempsey 1995).

Internationally, the concern about looting and trafficking has existed for centuries. In recent decades, concerns have increased due to an increase in the amount of activity and the rapid rate of archaeological destruction that this indicates (e.g. Meyer 1973; Wiseman *et al.* 1974:223; Gill and Chippindale 1993; O'Keefe 1997:14–16; Lawrence 1998). The 1970 UNESCO Convention on the Means of Prohibiting and Preventing the Illicit Import, Export and Transfer of Ownership of Cultural Property made an important statement deploring the looting of antiquities and the subsequent trafficking. The lofty principles encompassed by the convention have been spread and been adopted by

professional organizations concerned with this problem. However, most 'art-importing' nations have not implemented the convention (Prott 1995:59–61). A new international convention has been prepared and accepted by a number of nations. The UNIDROIT Convention on Stolen or Illegally Exported Cultural Objects, if adopted, would increase the diligence with which dealers and collectors would have to check on the provenance of antiquities and other kinds of cultural objects before purchase in order to protect their investment (Prott 1995:61–5, 1997). The UNIDROIT convention, like the UNESCO convention, addresses the issue of archaeological looting, deplors it, and makes it clear that such activity is illegal and that antiquities obtained in this fashion are considered 'stolen' within the context of the convention. We shall have to wait and see whether art market countries accept the new convention. In the United States, dealers, collectors and some museums and museum organizations are opposed at the present time (Merryman 1996; Vincent 1997).

Many archaeologists, archaeological organizations and others concerned about illegal trafficking have determined to combat the problem by refusing any association with individuals, objects and activities involved in it (Boylan 1995; Coggins 1995; Elia 1995a; Getty Museum 1995; SAA 1996; Lynott 1997). Individual and collective actions such as these can also be used to oppose trafficking, although there is not complete agreement about the effectiveness or appropriateness of such actions. In the past, considerable cooperation between high-end collectors and archaeologists was much more common. Coe (1993) describes a series of Mesoamerican examples from the early and middle part of this century. Differences of opinion exist on this topic; some prominent archaeological scholars, in particular those who focus on texts, form and visual images, argue that this important information can be obtained, even from looted objects. David Stuart, an expert in Mayan glyphs, for example, has noted, 'I work with looted objects routinely... [such material can be] scientifically useful. If I'm going to look for a glyph say the glyph for 'cave', I'm going to look for as many examples as I can get' (quoted in Dorfman 1998:32). Yet this perspective and position is not the common one among archaeologists for whom contextual information is almost always essential for accurate and detailed interpretation (e.g. Wiseman *et al.* 1974; Renfrew 1993; Coggins 1995). Even in other disciplines, for example art history, for which the objects of study hold substantial intrinsic information, knowledge of the context of discovery is often essential to establish authenticity (Gill and Chippindale 1993:629–41).

A final kind of action that can be taken to combat looting and trafficking is to publicize its illegal and destructive nature in as many ways as possible. Highlighting legal cases against those who break laws and are prosecuted and convicted can have substantial positive effects in deterring similar behaviour in others. *Archaeology*, a magazine published in the United States with a circulation of 200,000, *Common Ground*, a publication of the US National Park Service, and the recently initiated *Culture Without Context*, published by the McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research, regularly provide reports and summaries

of particular cases, prosecutions and convictions of those charged with destroying archaeological sites. Although the circulation of only the first of these publications approaches a 'mass market' audience, the latter two can provide the basis for more mainstream news stories if the information is picked up by reporters for newspapers, journals or other media outlets. Among the legal community, the relatively new journal, *International Journal of Cultural Property*, now published by Oxford University Press, is serving a similar purpose, as well as publishing scholarly legal articles on related topics.

Another means of publicizing this issue and making public an archaeological preservation perspective is for organizations to enter actively into legal frays in appropriate cases. The Steinhardt case (Slayman 1998) currently being reviewed by the United States court in New York, and described in an earlier section of this chapter, presents an example of such action. In that case, the Archaeological Institute of America, the Society for American Archaeology, the Society for Historical Archaeology, and the United States Chapter of the International Committee on Sites and Monuments have entered an *amicus* brief in support of the government's case against Mr Steinhardt. This action is a clear statement opposing the collecting of illegally obtained antiquities, trafficking, and the looting that destroyed the original context of the object in question. Being involved in the case enables the organizations involved to state publicly in court, and to any news outlets that pick up and broadcast the story more widely, the view that archaeological sites merit careful, scientific, public treatment, not simple and destructive plunder.

The idea of archaeologists and others opposed to looting and trafficking cooperating with dealers and collectors to create some kind of deal in which legitimate, provenanced antiquities would be made available to the market has been suggested by some (King 1982, 1991; Merryman 1995; Weihe 1995). O'Keefe (1997) reviews the arguments on this idea without reaching a recommendation about whether or not it should be implemented. From an archaeological perspective, Coggins (1995:76) sees little hope for a 'licit trade' in antiquities. Too many differences in perspective, goals and means stand between the scholarly community and the dealers and collectors with a passion for investing in or personally owning antiquities.

### **Preventing the problem**

Preventing the looting of archaeological sites will require a broad change in attitude about the value of these cultural resources. All the kinds of individuals currently involved in the cycle of looting, trafficking and collection of antiquities must have a change of heart and mind on this subject. From the poor local people residing near the sites who dig into sites searching for loot to sell locally, to the network of dealers who sell the objects up the chain as far as their commercial value will take them, to the high-end collector who prizes the antiquity, there must be a change in perception. The new perception must reflect the goals of modern archaeology which focus on illuminating our understanding

of the past and present through careful investigation and analysis and clear, understandable interpretations. The acquisition of objects is normally part of this process, and a small percentage of the remains recovered are indeed 'wonderful things'. However, such extraordinary objects should be available for all to benefit from the wonder they might inspire.

Realistically, we cannot expect that this change in attitude will occur naturally or simply by pointing it out. The process of creating such a perspective must begin within the formal education that most humans go through as they are raised. The perspective needs to become infused into regular school curricula. It should also be used by individual archaeologists, archaeological organizations, and public agencies of all kinds that support archaeological protection in public presentations and interpretation. O'Keefe (1997:101) summarizes the perspective and its relative merit in the light of other claims on antiquities:

Although the trade in antiquities is very old, this does not mean that it and those who benefit from it have overriding interests. States need to make clear that the primary value of an antiquity lies in the information it can impart on the history of humanity .... If the antiquity has an aesthetic, as well as an archaeological value, that is to be welcomed but it is of secondary importance.

In the end, perhaps Karl Meyer, whose book can be said to have substantiated the modern concern about the destruction of archaeological sites from looting and trafficking, should have the last word on this topic. In the final sections of the concluding chapter of *The Plundered Past*, Meyer (1973:170–211) reviews the 'claims on the past' by various sorts of individuals, and ranks them in ascending order of importance and legitimacy. He identifies, first, nationalists who have used archaeological sites and artefacts to support their political causes. He also recognizes collectors who appreciate artefacts and antiquities for their artistic merit (see also comments about connoisseurship in Gill and Chippindale 1993). He notes curators who, like collectors, are also individuals, but who, given their training and expertise, can appreciate a broader spectrum of values of artefacts. In the end, however, he concludes that archaeological resources are most valuable as remains and information for all humanity:

The nationalist, the collector, and the curator all have made a claim upon the past, and each in his own way has made a contribution. But each looks upon the past as a piece of property. Another approach is possible to see our collective cultural remains as a resource whose title is vested in all humanity. It is a non-renewable resource; once exhausted, it cannot be replaced. And in our lifetime we may see it dwindle meaningless away, not so much because anyone willed it, but because not enough people know

that the problem exists.... In the world's cost accounting, the past is a small item; it makes a negligible contribution to the Gross National Product; its preservation is scarcely a central concern of the modern state. But one can manifestly contend that if the remains of the past should disappear, our lives will be poorer in ways that a statistician can never measure, we will live in a drabber world, and will have squandered a resource that enlivens, offers a key to our nature, and not least, acts as psychic ballast as we venture into a scary future.

(Meyer 1973:203–4, 209)

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## 20 *America's archaeological heritage: protection through education*

JEANNE M. MOE

### INTRODUCTION

In 1988, the United States Congress amended the Archaeological Resources Protection Act (ARPA) to require that 'each Federal land manager shall establish a programme to increase public awareness of the significance of the archaeological resources...and the need to protect such resources' (16 U.S.C. 470ii (c)). This legal mandate (McManamon 1991a), plus the growing realization that the Americas are rapidly losing their heritage through thoughtless vandalism, spurred the archaeological community to action. In response, several programmes designed to teach the citizenry of an entire nation to cherish and preserve its cultural legacy have emerged. National organizations, various federal and state agencies, museums and private individuals, all have contributed to these efforts. Although Canadian legislation is more limited in scope, many Canadians are also actively involved in archaeology education (Smardz 1991; MacDonald 1994). The Public Education Committee of the Society for American Archaeology, the hemisphere's largest professional archaeological organization, has been instrumental in launching and coordinating national and international education efforts and in disseminating information.

North Americans are certainly not alone in their efforts to educate people and thereby protect archaeological sites (Stone and MacKenzie 1990; Stone and Molyneux 1994). Archaeologists all over the world are contemplating the role of history and prehistory in modern nations, what antiquities mean to citizens, and how best to protect archaeological resources through education.

The ultimate goal of archaeological education is straightforward: protection of our fragile and irreplaceable archaeological resources through public education. Simple, yes, but the task immediately raises a series of questions. What are the challenges in educating an entire nation about its cultural legacy? How can we best transmit our message to the public? In other words, where do archaeology and education interface and how can one enhance the other? What are appropriate audiences and venues for our message? Similarly, how do we

know when we have succeeded or at least made some progress? How do we best proceed based on past successes and failures?

Whilst archaeology education in the United States and Canada has taken many forms and reached many audiences in recent years (McManamon 1991b; Smith 1991; Messenger and Friedman n.d.; Herscher and McManamon 1995), this chapter focuses on one audience: teachers and their students.

## THE CHALLENGES OF EDUCATING THE PUBLIC

Widespread public perceptions of archaeology reflect a lack of information and a misunderstanding of basic archaeological concepts (Pagan 1984; Feder 1984, 1995; Turnbaugh 1994). Most Americans do not realize that sites and artefacts are irreplaceable links to the past, nor do they understand the role of sites and artefacts in archaeological inquiry. Without this knowledge, we cannot expect people to recognize the importance of preserving archaeological resources let alone count on them to take personal responsibility for protecting sites and artefacts. If we are to protect our archaeological heritage, we must first improve public understanding of the science of archaeology and strengthen public attitudes about the importance of preserving archaeological resources. Most of our education efforts so far have been directed toward these goals.

### Perceptions of archaeology

Archaeology education workshop? I wonder if I should buy a trowel? We'll probably spend most of the time digging.

(Teacher, after registering for an archaeology education workshop)

The only reason that archaeologists want us to leave sites alone is so that they can have the fun of digging up the goodies themselves.

(Artefact thief in San Juan County, Utah  
[US General Accounting Office 1987])

What is the most exciting archaeological discovery you have ever made?

(A question that I am asked several times a year)

The public's understanding and perception of archaeologists and their work leaves much to be desired (Pagan 1984:177, 1994). This is small wonder, because in the eyes of many people it is not a real science that contributes to contemporary life. Success is based on making a great 'discovery' rather than on rigorous application of the scientific method and painstaking investigation. In the worst cases, archaeology is seen as an irrelevant and expensive nuisance

delaying modern progress, or as a treasure hunt in which archaeologists enjoy huge profits from the sale of antiquities (Pagan 1984:177). Archaeologists themselves are often stereotyped as eccentric characters who dig marvellous treasures out of the earth (Pagan 1984:177; Judge 1994:2).

North American public perceptions of archaeology are an important consideration in educational efforts because they are closely related to attitudes about resource protection (Pagan 1984:178; Jameson 1994). The San Juan artefact thief quoted above understands something about archaeological process, but is still missing some essential information—he does not understand the significance of archaeological knowledge. If archaeology is not a real science and archaeological knowledge is of no relevance, then artefacts and sites are not real data, and thus do not merit protection.

Teachers generally share in these widespread perceptions of archaeology. Dorothy Krass studied a New England high school and found that even among the social studies teachers, 'Archaeology was seen as window dressing—attractive, but not utilitarian—not a tool for analyzing and understanding the world' (Krass 1994:6). Although some of these teachers discuss archaeology in their classrooms, they do not use it as a mode of inquiry and do not connect it to historical analysis. It is, instead, equated with simple discovery and used primarily to hook student interest.

### **Attitudes on stewardship**

Do you mean to tell me that if I find an arrowhead lying on the ground out in the middle of the desert, I can't have it? Someone else will just pick it up if I don't do it first.

(Teacher, on learning that it is against the law to collect artefacts on public land)

Many citizens lack basic knowledge about the legal protection of archaeological resources on public land. Perhaps more importantly, citizens do not understand the rationale behind the laws—that archaeological sites on both public and private land must remain undisturbed and artefacts left in context so that their accurate interpretation can add to our knowledge of human history (Pokotylo and Mason 1991).

Underlying our efforts to educate the public is our assumption that attitudes about stewardship stem in large part from perceptions of the science itself and its importance. In other words, if a person understands that context is vital to archaeological inquiry and that the knowledge gained from the inquiry process is significant, then he or she should be less likely to damage sites or steal artefacts.

### **The interface between archaeology and education**

Archaeologists are faced with educating a public that lacks basic information about archaeological resources and their protection and is misinformed about the nature of archaeological inquiry. The challenges are substantial and the tasks

of delivering basic archaeological information to an entire nation and influencing the attitudes of an entire population are enormous. There are existing conditions that support the efforts, especially in the arena of nationwide public education for schoolchildren.

Archaeology readily captures the attention of people (Pokotylo and Mason 1991:16), and children are no exception (Smith *et al.* 1992:1–2). In many respects, archaeology provides a vehicle for state-of-the-art instruction (Onderdonk 1980; Rogge and Bell 1989; Rogge 1991; Moe and Letts 1992). For example, it lends itself well to hands-on activities as well as to the application of critical thinking skills and problem solving. It can be used to address multiple learning and teaching styles and is easily adapted to cooperative learning environments. Archaeology draws on a variety of other disciplines for analysis and interpretation, thus providing a means to integrate the curriculum in the classroom. Finally, it can be used to help students understand 'the commonalities of being human and to respect the rich diversity of human culture' (Messenger and Enloe 1991:157) on a global basis. Children form lifelong values at a young age (Good and Brophy 1986:117–23), and archaeological examples can be easily applied to lessons about social values.

I have selected two examples of educational programmes for classrooms. One is aimed at teachers and subsequently their students; the other is aimed more directly at students, to illustrate the use of archaeological education for schoolchildren. Both programmes cover the basic concepts and processes of the science as well as stewardship issues.

### **PROJECT ARCHAEOLOGY: INTRIGUE OF THE PAST**

The Bureau of Land Management, US Department of the Interior, has launched a far-reaching programme to educate all young Americans about their rich cultural legacy (Tisdale *et al.* 1991). A major component of this effort is 'Project Archaeology: Intrigue of the Past', a programme designed to bring archaeology education to classrooms nationwide. It was established in Utah in 1990 and is currently being implemented in several other states.

Utah's Project Archaeology is designed to teach young people about their cultural heritage so that they are equipped to make wise decisions concerning the use and protection of archaeological sites. The programme targets teachers in the fourth to the twelfth grades. By working with teachers, the information can reach a larger number of students, as well as new students who are taught by the trained teacher in subsequent years. The programme in Utah consists of three integral components:

- 1 High-quality educational materials: *Intrigue of the Past: investigating archaeology, a teacher's activity guide for fourth through seventh grades* (Smith *et al.* 1992). The guide contains thirty-four lessons that cover the basic concepts and processes of archaeology, Utah's prehistory and issues



surrounding archaeological conservation. Several activities encourage students to take action based on their new knowledge and values. Each lesson is self-contained or requires a few readily available materials.

- 2 Training and delivery of materials through ten-hour workshops instructed by teams of qualified educators and archaeologists. Lesson procedures are modelled and teachers are instructed in archaeological concepts, principles and issues.
- 3 Ongoing professional support for educators using the programme. Workshop participants receive a subscription to a biannual newsletter, access to a toll-free number for assistance, and opportunities to compete for the annual Archaeology Education Award and to take additional classes and field schools.

Following their training, educators decide how, when and how much they will use Project Archaeology in their curriculum. The programme is designed to be used entirely within the classroom and does not include excavations of any kind.

### **CAMP COOPER ARCHAEOLOGY PROGRAMME**

The Camp Cooper Archaeology Programme is one aspect of the Tucson Unified School District's environmental science campus located near Tucson, Arizona (Gregonis *et al.* 1994:1). A mock thousand-year-old Hohokam village site, complete with house floors and unprovenanced artefacts, has been constructed on the campus by archaeologists and volunteers.

Using the mock village site as a focal point, students in the Camp Cooper Archaeology Programme go through the scientific process—developing research questions, obtaining data by excavating artefacts and features, analyzing that data, and reaching conclusions based on the information discovered at the site.

(Gregonis *et al.* 1994:1)

Instructors emphasize the purpose of all archaeological inquiry, including excavation: to learn what happened in the past and why. The artefacts that the students have excavated and analysed themselves are then used to demonstrate stewardship principles. Students are asked what information would be lost if certain artefacts had been removed prior to excavation. This is a 'direct and personal way to discuss preservation because it capitalizes on the sense of ownership that the students develop while working with the artefacts' (Gregonis *et al.* 1994:2).

Participation is restricted to classes. Teachers are expected to attend a workshop and to teach a unit on archaeology prior to attending the Camp Cooper programme. Instruction may vary widely from class to class, depending on the age of the students and curricular goals. The programme

instructors have noted that teacher training and preparation of students prior to the field experience is paramount to the success of the field programme (Fratt 1994, pers. comm.). A guide for teachers and students, *Archaeology: window on the past* (Gregonis and Fratt 1992), explicates archaeological procedures and provides background information for the Camp Cooper programme as well as classroom use.

## **PROGRAMME EVALUATION: HOW ARE WE DOING?**

After several years of developing and implementing programmes such as those described above, archaeologists throughout North America have begun to ask questions: 'Do programme recipients understand archaeological concepts?', 'Have attitudes about archaeology and the protection of archaeological resources changed because of education?' and 'Have we increased site preservation through education?' Evaluation of existing programmes has long been called for (Hawkins 1991:155), and archaeology educators have recently responded. In 1994, the Public Education Committee of the Society for American Archaeology sponsored a symposium devoted entirely to formal evaluation of educational programmes and has established guidelines for evaluating educational materials (Smith 1994).

Evaluation of the affective domain (attitudes and values) is much more difficult to accomplish than evaluation of the cognitive domain (knowledge and understanding), simply because objectives often cannot be stated in behavioural terms (Bennett 1989; Iozzi 1989a, 1989b). The objective of archaeological education is to teach people 'not to do' something, i.e. not to damage sites or steal artefacts. It is difficult to measure 'not doing' something in behavioural terms or as learning outcomes. In other words, we are asking a question that is impossible to answer: 'How many sites were not damaged because of an education programme?'

Despite this difficulty, we can learn something through formal evaluation. We can ascertain how often various educational programmes are being used, measure student learning (the cognitive domain), and discover changes in attitudes (the effective domain) as a result of the new knowledge.

### **Evaluating Project Archaeology: Intrigue of the Past**

Utah's Project Archaeology conducted a formal programme evaluation in 1993 (Moe and Letts 1994). Approximately 550 educators who had participated in workshops received an evaluation instrument designed to solicit information concerning programme use in the classroom. In addition, participants were asked to assess how many of their students learned about archaeological resources and their need for protection and how many acquired responsible attitudes toward those resources through their participation in the programme. The evaluation results showed that, for the most part, this programme is fulfilling

its objectives. The teaching materials are being used, and students are learning archaeological concepts and acquiring responsible attitudes concerning conservation (Moe and Letts 1994).

A survey of Texas teachers, trained in Project Archaeology and using it in their classrooms, described similar results regarding stewardship (Wheat and Few 1994). The Texas educators considered sites to be an important source of scientific information, and indicated that their destruction constitutes a significant loss of information. Presumably the teachers in this survey are passing the stewardship message along to their students.

Although Project Archaeology evaluation results were overwhelmingly positive, the programme was somewhat less successful in producing 'responsible attitudes' in rural areas than in urban areas. Moe and Letts (1994:8–9) reasoned that the discrepancy was due to attitudes concerning archaeology protection already held by rural residents. In the rural Western US, residents have collected artefacts from both public and private land for generations, never considering it to be wrong (Nickens *et al.* 1981). Similarly, some commercial looters in Utah believe that 'the public has the right to artefacts located on public land' (US General Accounting Office 1987:23–4). It may be difficult to change present attitudes in certain geographical areas, but if we can transmit our message to the next generation, there may be hope for the future.

### **Evaluating Camp Cooper Archaeology Programme**

Student learning was evaluated directly at the Camp Cooper programme. Two groups of students, a class of sixth graders and a class of seventh graders, were asked to complete a pre-test before the unit began (Gregonis *et al.* 1994:2). Questions included the following: 'What do archaeologists study?', 'What do archaeologists do?', 'Is archaeology important to you and why?', 'Should archaeologists study the past?', 'Do you think it is important to save sites and preserve artefacts?' and 'Who does the past belong to?'. Students answered the same questions at the close of the unit and answers were compared.

Gregonis *et al.* (1994:4) discovered that 'the experience of excavating the site and using the artefacts that they had found and that they had analyzed did increase students' appreciation of what archaeologists do and contributed to the expression of a preservation ethic'. Students effectively learned what archaeologists do and why it is important to protect sites and artefacts during the course of the programme. Whilst many students answered 'correctly' to the stewardship questions on the pre-test, their answers on the post-test were much more sophisticated based on their new knowledge. They understood that each artefact was an important 'piece of the puzzle'. In other words, they demonstrated a greater understanding of and appreciation for the process of archaeological inquiry.

Cathy MacDonald, a high school teacher in Toronto, Ontario, uses archaeology as a focal point for her eleventh-grade history classes. Participation in an actual excavation is an important part of the curriculum. MacDonald (1994:9–10) found that the excavation experience served to pull many important concepts together.

It also involved students directly in the process of historical inquiry as never before. She also discovered that adequate preparation in archaeological ethics and research goals was necessary prior to excavation. If this was not done, the students viewed the experience as a treasure hunt rather than as a small part of a historical inquiry process that is designed to answer major questions about the past. Van Mondfrans *et al.* (1994) obtained similar results while evaluating the use of Project Archaeology in conjunction with a teacher field school.

## CONCLUSIONS

Several successful archaeology education programmes that address stewardship attitudes and public perceptions are already in place and functioning. Some have even withstood the test of formal evaluation.

### Perceptions of archaeology

Archaeology is so much more than digging. I had no idea of everything that went into it.

(Same teacher quoted above who thought she should bring a trowel to learn about archaeology, after completing a workshop)

Archaeology educators are actively addressing public perceptions about archaeologists and their work. Although we are undoubtedly making inroads in some places, recent surveys assessing what college students know about archaeology present a disheartening picture to say the least. Kenneth Feder (1984, 1995) found that new students taking introductory archaeology courses did not know much more about archaeology in 1994 than they did in 1983, despite considerable nationwide efforts in public education during the decade between the two studies. William Turnbaugh (1994:12) obtained similar results, but concluded that it may still be too early to see the widespread benefits of our educational efforts.

More importantly, we ought to consider how accurate perceptions of archaeology and the nature of archaeological inquiry translate into 'correct' attitudes. Would awareness of the nature and significance of archaeological knowledge change the attitudes of the San Juan artefact thief and others like him? Would they see the value of leaving artefacts in place? We hope so, but at this point we really do not know.

### Attitudes on stewardship

If you take an artefact from an archaeological site, you are taking away an important piece of the puzzle.

(Teacher after learning about the importance of cross-dating in archaeology)

Are we making progress in changing attitudes about the conservation of archaeological resources? Most archaeology educators believe that we are. Given adequate understanding of concepts and the issues surrounding conservation, it is possible to influence attitudes regarding site protection. There are several well-designed education programmes currently in use throughout North America that are apparently doing a good job of transmitting the stewardship message (Smith 1991).

Our task may be far more difficult, however, in some geographical regions than in others, depending on long-held beliefs regarding the 'ownership' of archaeological resources on public lands (see Moe and Letts 1994) and the pre-eminence of landowner rights where private land is concerned (Nichols *et al.* 1989:29). Certain educational techniques or specific programmes simply may not work as well in some places or with some audiences as in others.

Finally, we still have not successfully evaluated whether or not the 'correct' attitudes have actually changed behaviour and increased site preservation. For example, would recognizing the value of leaving artefacts in place actually deter the San Juan artefact thief from illegally removing them? We hope so, but at this point we really do not know.

## **FUTURE DIRECTIONS**

Many have noted that archaeology is a potent pedagogical tool for integrating standard educational curriculum and providing interesting, enlightening connections between traditional subjects (Onderdonk 1980; Rogge and Bell 1989; Rogge 1991; Moe and Letts 1992, 1994; Krass 1994). We have not yet succeeded in transmitting that information widely to the educational community in general (Krass 1994). It is essential for educators and their students to grasp the role of archaeological knowledge in reconstructing the past and gaining insight into contemporary life and the future, if archaeology is to find a regular place within traditional subject matter in the standard educational curriculum. Thus, we may need to go beyond instruction in inquiry processes and stewardship principles to convey the entire message (Judge 1991).

Teachers, like the rest of the public, get most of their information about archaeology from the media rather than from professional archaeologists (Krass 1994:8-9; Turnbaugh 1994). Thus, it is not surprising that archaeology in the classroom is usually equated with discovery. Teachers should be receiving information on a professional basis, at their meetings and in their journals (Krass 1994:10). The entire archaeological community needs to apply its energy and creativity to the transmission of knowledge (Pagan 1984, 1994; Judge 1991:279; Herscher and McManamon 1995). Workshops, currently part of several professional educational programmes for teachers, including the two discussed here, provide a relatively convenient point of contact between archaeologists and educators in a professional setting and should, therefore, be continued.

However, the immensity of the task of educating a nation is staggering. How can we teach every teacher and reach every schoolchild with the message and rationale of site preservation? Although the programmes discussed above are well designed and successful, the numbers of teachers and students actually reached thus far is very small compared to the totals. As Project Archaeology expands both in Utah and nationwide, it reaches more teachers every year. The programme promises to grow substantially, but the number of students exposed to archaeology will remain small in comparison to the population for many more years. Thus, it may be useful to employ alternative delivery methods, such as self-contained lessons distributed without training, to reach more teachers and students (Hawkins 1991:155). Educational materials that have been distributed without the benefit of teacher workshops or direct student training have not yet been evaluated, so we do not know whether the desired messages of stewardship are filtering their way down to students.

Archaeology educators face a difficult dilemma. We need to streamline the delivery of educational materials to reach greater numbers of teachers and students. At the same time, we know that it is important to contact teachers as professionals and train them in the nuances of inquiry and conservation. The question arises: should we build on existing programmes that have withstood the test of formal evaluation, even though they are labour intensive and reach relatively few, or should we try alternative approaches to reach a larger audience?

A multifaceted approach seems appropriate. The archaeology education community consists of a diverse, but philosophically united and highly motivated, group of individuals, organizations and agencies. Talents, resources, funding and educational climates vary from state to state and region to region. What works in one area may not be feasible in another. It makes sense to capitalize on existing programmes and projects and the talents of the individuals who operate them. National programmes should help bolster and expand local efforts. Efforts of every scale are valuable.

There is no one answer for the future of archaeology education in North America, but one thing is certain: the entire professional community must devote substantial energy and resources to enlisting the public in our fight to protect our heritage, lest there be nothing left to save.

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## 21 *Public interpretation, education and outreach: the growing predominance in American archaeology*

JOHN H. JAMESON, JR

While it will always be true that archaeologists need to communicate effectively among themselves, it now is abundantly clear that unless they also communicate effectively with the general public...all else will be wasted effort

(McGimsey and Davis 1977:89)

Attention to public education by many professional archaeologists is minimal. To continue in this way is folly....

(McManamon 1994:76)

### **INTRODUCTION**

In the United States, there is a growing realization within the profession that, with increased public interest in archaeology, we can no longer afford to ignore mechanisms and programmes that can communicate archaeological information to the lay public. This realization is also a global phenomenon, as evidenced by recent international discussions of the unique role of archaeology in education and outreach (e.g. Stone and MacKenzie 1989; Stone and Molyneaux 1994).

This chapter outlines the trend in American archaeology toward more public-oriented thinking and practice. This trend is a logical progression supported by nearly a century of federal laws establishing cultural resource enhancement and protection programmes for the inspiration and benefit of American citizens, with the resultant flood of archaeological and historical information that these programmes have generated (McManamon 1996). This trend is also a measure of recent success in raising public awareness about the magnitude and importance of archaeological resources. When correctly carried out, education and outreach efforts have contributed to greater public appreciation of archaeological resources and to greater public demand for information, though we are just beginning to think of how to measure this. Following a review of the basic issues that have shaped these

developments, this chapter highlights the role of the National Park Service in providing leadership among federal agencies in the United States in carrying out protection mandates and in promoting public interpretation and outreach.

## **THE RISING PRIORITY OF PUBLIC EDUCATION AND OUTREACH IN THE USA**

In the United States, the procedural focus on implementing laws and protection mandates sometimes blurs the ultimate purpose and *raison d'être* of the compliance process: to allow public enjoyment and appreciation for the rich diversity of past human experiences. In contributing to the achievement of this lofty goal, archaeologists fulfil an ethical, as well as a legal, obligation by participating in programmes that effectively communicate technical archaeological information to the lay public (Jameson 1994, 1997; Herscher and McManamon 1995; Lynott and Wylie 1995).

### **Legal mandates**

It has been over thirty years since the passage of the National Historic Preservation Act, the key statute that began a swelling tide, some would say flood, of federally mandated archaeological investigations, the magnitude of which the United States had not experienced before. The level of attention to archaeological resources in public projects fundamentally changed the profession of archaeology in the United States (e.g. Schiffer and Gummerman 1977).

Since passage of the Act in 1966, hundreds of thousands of technical reports have recorded millions of archaeological and historical sites containing hundreds of millions of cultural objects. Nearly everywhere in the United States, investigations as part of public projects have sampled and recorded the rich archaeological and historical heritage left behind by past generations of Americans. The magnitude of this record is overwhelming; professional archaeologists recognize the value of this information and these artefacts. The improvement of field methods and recording standards has sharpened our ability to focus on the important aspects and attributes of a rich and diverse cultural heritage. In fact, we often cite these success stories as principal arguments and justification for continually building and adding to this vast resource base.

With the 1971 signing by President Richard Nixon of Executive Order 11593, Protection and Enhancement of the Cultural Environment, federal agencies were directed to take the lead in establishing programmes for the protection of significant historic resources, 'for the inspiration and benefit of the people'. The spirit of this landmark directive, a central focus in the historical development and ultimate success of federally mandated cultural resource management (CRM) programmes, requires that archaeological information

recovered by the public programmes is provided to the public in an informative and entertaining manner.

The Archaeological Resources Protection Act of 1979 (ARPA) is well known for its provisions protecting archaeological resources located on public lands and Indian lands, and for establishing stiff civil and criminal penalties for violations of the act. It is significant, however, that the 1988 amendments to the act include provisions to establish programmes that 'increase public awareness of the significance of archaeological resources...and the need to protect such resources' (McManamon 1991:122).

### **Redefining the compliance process**

The textbook approach to CRM has four basic components: (1) inventory or survey of the resources; (2) assessment or evaluation of the resources; (3) planning; and (4) action or treatment of the resources. Action often takes the form of monitoring, research, maintenance, preservation in place, data recovery or excavation, or restoration/rehabilitation measures. The conservation ethic in archaeology, enunciated by Lipe (1977) and well documented in the American and global literature (e.g. Schiffer and Gummerman 1977; Cleere 1991; Fowler 1992), has encouraged a preservation-in-place treatment. However, restoration/rehabilitation and reconstruction of sites has also been carried out on a large number of archaeological sites (Jameson and Hunt 1994; Stone 1998).

An expanded, and I believe more appropriate, definition of treatment would include interpretation, education and public outreach activities as the last stage or culmination of the compliance process. We should not be content with measures such as physical avoidance or data retrieval, for example, as the sole results or products of compliance. This would be in line with the letter and spirit of legal and executive mandates such as the National Historic Preservation Act and ARPA (Jameson 1994; Ellick 1998).

### **An ethical imperative**

There is an even more compelling reason to promote public education and outreach, and this comes from the standpoint of professional responsibility and ethics. Recent promulgations by professional organizations have underlined this important connection between public education and outreach and professional standards (Hersher and McManamon 1995; SAA 1996; AIA 1997). In fact, providing accurate, interesting archaeological information to the public is identified by the Society for American Archaeology task force on reviewing American archaeology as an important social justification for the practice of archaeology (Lipe and Redman 1996; SAA 1996).

We need to communicate with the public in a manner and using language suitable for public interpretation and outreach, rather than the technical text of archaeological research. Just as archaeological methodology is guided by well-defined research goals, public interpretation must be guided by an understanding

of the lessons one wants to teach, and the audiences to whom the lessons will be taught. Public interpretation and outreach link with the ethical responsibility accepted by professional archaeologists to explain the past and to empower people to participate in a critical evaluation of the pasts that are presented to them. Successful programmes provide an understanding of the process of archaeological interpretation and an appreciation of the relevance of the past to the present (Davis 1992, 1997). Opening archaeological research to public view and critique can also add multiple voices to archaeological interpretation. Effectively executed public interpretation initiates a variety of dialogues informing simultaneously on the present as well as on the past. This dialogue can help to make archaeological research more complete, or at least more wide-ranging.

Whilst most people do not have the professional background necessary to evaluate the results of archaeological research directly, they can and should be given this information in an accurate and 'de-jargonized', yet entertaining manner. When research is not adequately translated or made meaningful to the non-specialist, it is ultimately an empty endeavour. As noted in the quotations at the beginning of this chapter, archaeologists need to communicate effectively among themselves, but unless they also communicate effectively with the general public, their efforts have been in vain. Public interpretation is therefore an integral part of the modern practice of archaeology.

## **THE LEADERSHIP ROLE OF THE NATIONAL PARK SERVICE**

### **Historical mission and policy**

In the remainder of this chapter, I shall describe how one public agency in the United States is developing and carrying out programmes of archaeological education and outreach. In the United States, among the best equipped organizations to meet these challenges is the National Park Service (NPS). The mission of the NPS is to preserve, protect and interpret the cultural and natural treasures of the US National Park units. The NPS also provides leadership for archaeological and historic preservation throughout the nation and for America's natural conservation movement. Among NPS activities are the various historic preservation programmes through which the NPS gives grants and other forms of aid or recognition for important archaeological and historic resources throughout the United States. The mission of the National Park Service extends beyond managing the places that are set aside as America's national parks to leading the conservation and preservation movement throughout the United States, working with other public agencies and private and professional organizations with similar preservation and conservation goals.

The NPS Strategic Plan, recently completed and approved, establishes an overall vision for the NPS, and specifies goals and objectives for accomplishing that vision in the twenty-first century. Key elements of the plan related to

education and outreach include: (1) helping people to forge emotional and intellectual ties with America's cultural heritage resources; and (2) promoting the recognition and perpetuation of heritage resources and their public benefits.

### **The Parks as Classrooms Programme**

'Parks as Classrooms' is a special public outreach initiative of NPS that seeks to enroll participating schools in learning activities using park resources. Hundreds of these programmes have been developed and implemented at NPS sites throughout the country. For example, at Ninety Six National Historic Site in South Carolina, programmes include special hands-on activities for schoolchildren during the 'French and Indian War Era Encampment' and 'Revolutionary War Days' programmes held in the spring and autumn. More importantly, a 200-page Teacher's Guide, including five subject lesson plans and outlines for five on-site nature and science activity stations, is in its second year of use. The reconstructed components at the park are important elements in providing realism and spatial relationships for the children (Jameson 1998).

Two exemplary archaeology education programmes are located at two other national parks units in the state of Georgia. Ocmulgee National Monument in Macon has a Children's Workshop for ages 6 to 12, an artefact identification day, regularly scheduled lectures, and a discovery lab associated with the local school system and universities. At Fort Frederica National Monument on Saint Simons Island, the park and a local primary school have joined forces to create a unique programme to teach historical archaeology to fourth and fifth grade classes. Funded by a \$40,000 'Parks as Classrooms' grant from the National Park Foundation and a \$10,000 grant from the Fort Frederica Association, a state-of-the-art archaeology laboratory and classroom have been created. Teachers are instructed about archaeological techniques by staff from NPS, the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, the US Bureau of Land Management, and local universities. A curriculum has been designed and tested on the fourth- and fifth-grade students from the school. Following several weeks of in-class sessions, the students are allowed to dig, under professional supervision, at an actual site located at Fort Frederica. The artefacts are taken back to the school, where the students perform post-dig activities such as identification, analysis, curation, cataloguing and interpretation.

### **Education and outreach through national publications**

In recent years, a variety of publications have been produced that support archaeology education and outreach:

- 1 *Common Ground* (known previously as *Federal Archaeology* and *Federal Archaeology Report*). This quarterly magazine is read by nearly 15,000 archaeologists, land managers, preservation officers, museum professionals, Native Americans, law enforcement agents and educators. Each issue offers

in-depth coverage of a topic—such as working with Native Americans, managing archaeological sites in wilderness lands, or African American archaeology—as well as hard-to-find or otherwise unavailable information on protecting sites, public outreach, caring for collections, training, publications and more.

- 2 *Participate in Archaeology*. This well-illustrated brochure gives guidance on source materials such as books, films, videos, magazines and local contacts to learn about archaeology.
- 3 The National Park Service's archaeology bookmarks urge the public to 'Take Pride in America' by helping to protect our fragile historic and archaeological sites; hundreds of thousands have been distributed nationally. Available in a variety of colours, each bears an artist's rendition of artefacts such as pottery, bone carvings and rock art. Other public agencies and organizations have developed similar outreach projects of their own.
- 4 *Everything We Know About Archaeology for You to Use in Your Classroom*. The purpose of this packet, originally presented to the Heritage Education Fair in 1990, is to identify some educational materials about archaeology and archaeological methods that are available for classroom teachers. Included are a number of articles and essays on archaeology in school programmes, in addition to lesson plans for teaching about cultural history and site preservation.
- 5 *Archaeology and Education: the classroom and beyond*. The Public Education Committee of the Society for Historical Archaeology responded to the need to make information about archaeology more accessible to the public by sponsoring a symposium that resulted in this publication. From an evaluation of the historical archaeology curriculum at the undergraduate level to a discussion of elementary and secondary curricula, these articles provide useful information on various programmes' successes to help educators develop their own public outreach strategies.
- 6 *Technical Briefs*. This seventeen-volume series provides information on a wide variety of site protection and education topics ranging from site stabilization to the organization of 'archaeology week' programmes.
- 7 *Archaeology and You* (Stuart and McManamon 1996). Over 27,000 copies of this forty-one page booklet have been distributed. The booklet is written for the general public, introducing the excitement of archaeology and contemporary archaeological issues.
- 8 NPS centres throughout the United States have also produced education and outreach products with regional and specific project-focus, including posters, brochures, booklets, public education plans and popular histories. One example is the Southeast Archaeological Centre (SEAC)'s award-winning *Beneath These Waters* (Kane and Keeton 1993), a popular history that emphasizes a maximum of information coupled with engaging, non-jargon explanations. This was funded by the US

**Table 21.1** Major themes and activities to date of the Public Interpretation Initiative

<i>Date</i>	<i>Venue/activity</i>	<i>Theme/case study focus</i>
November 1990	NAI National Interpreters' Workshop concurrent session	Park programmes; popular histories
April 1991	SAA symposium	Park programmes; public outreach
October 1991	NAI National Interpreters' Workshop: 2-day seminar	Examples of successful programmes; On-site critique of museum exhibits
January 1992	SHA symposium	The archaeologist's role in public interpretation
October 1992	NPS-sponsored interagency 4-day training course	Archaeologist's and interpreter's role/communications; Developing effective interpretive programmes; On-site museum programme critique; Educator/curator/designer planning triad
October 1992	ASALH invited session	African-American oral histories, park programmes and popular histories
December 1992	AAA symposium	Interpreting culture for children
April 1993	SAA symposium	Sensitive interpretation of cultural resources in multicultural societies
November 1993	NPS-sponsored interagency 5-day training course	Archaeologist's and interpreter's role and communications; Developing effective programmes; NPS and non-NPS case study examples; Interpretive planning; On-site programme/exhibit critiques

Army Corps of Engineers and has been used extensively in classrooms at all academic levels.

- World Wide Web Developments. Like a rapidly increasing number of organizations, the NPS archaeology programme and archaeological centres are developing educational and interpretive programmes accessible through the Internet and the World Wide Web. The NPS web site 'Links to the Past' (<http://www.cr.nps.gov/>) and the Southeast Archaeological

**Table 21.1** Continued

<i>Date</i>	<i>Venue/activity</i>	<i>Theme/case study focus</i>
November 1993	NAI National Interpreters' Workshop: all-day symposium	Conveying the Past to the Future: Interpreting Cultural History for Young Audiences
November 1994	NPS-sponsored interagency 5-day training course	See above descriptions
March 1997	<i>Presenting Archaeology to the Public: Digging for Truths</i> publication	General case studies (20 articles, including Introduction and Index)
April 1997	SAA Session: To Reconstruct or not to Reconstruct: the Pros and Cons of Reconstruction vs. Preservation in Place	12 presentations
October 1998	NAI workshop on archaeological interpretation 2-day session	Condensed training course
May 1998	NPS-sponsored interagency 5-day training course	See above descriptions
1997–1999	NPS Archaeologist-Interpreter shared competency curriculum development	Interdisciplinary communication and coordination for more effective public interpretation programmes
1998–2000	<i>Digging for Truths</i> second volume;  <i>Reconstructions from Archaeological Evidence: Dissidence and Dilemma</i> volume	General case studies (10–15 articles): follow-up to <i>Presenting Archaeology to the Public</i> ; Philosophical approaches and case studies (15–20 articles) derived from the April 1997 session and contributed articles

Center web area (<http://www.cr.nps.gov/seac/seac.htm>) provide access to a wide range of cultural resource and education issues.

### **The Public Interpretation Initiative**

The Public Interpretation Initiative is a public outreach effort initiated and coordinated by the NPS's Southeast Archaeological Center in Tallahassee, Florida (Jameson 1991, 1993, 1994, 1997). The initiative programmes have been



designed to facilitate communication among the various practitioners in the field, including archaeologists, interpreters and educators. A major tenet of the initiative is that all of these professions must act in tandem to focus the public eye on learning about and appreciating archaeological and historical resources. National and international activities have included the organization and coordination of separate symposia, workshops, and training sessions presented in a variety of professional venues (Table 21.1).

The initiative responds to the growing public interest in archaeology and the realization within the professional community that archaeologists can no longer afford to be detached from the mechanisms and programmes that attempt to communicate archaeological information to the general public. The initiative helps to accomplish the goals set by the Secretary of Interior in his statement for a national strategy in federal archaeology. The statement outlines basic elements of the national strategy for the preservation of archaeological sites, which emphasize public education and participation, as well as interagency information exchange. The initiative also helps to accomplish Section 10 of ARPA, which requires each federal land manager to 'establish a programme to increase public awareness of the significance of the archaeological resources located on public lands and Indian lands and the need to protect such resources'.

The basic premise of the initiative is that many past failures in the realm of public interpretation of archaeological and historic sites have resulted from intrinsic differences in perspective between archaeologists and professional interpreters and educators. This difference in perspective stems from the more technical and academic interests of the archaeologist versus the general communication goals of exhibit designers and interpretive planners of providing uncomplicated, educational, yet entertaining interpretive programmes. Archaeologists and interpreters need to communicate more effectively to ensure that the common goal of creating interpretive formats easily absorbed and appreciated by the general public, yet accurate with appropriate archaeological detail, will be achieved.

SEAC has coordinated an interagency training course entitled 'Issues in the Public Interpretation of Archaeological Sites and Materials', designed to provide the 'basic tools' necessary for interpreters, archaeologists, and programme managers and specialists to develop effective public interpretive presentations. In addition to National Park Service and other federal agency personnel, the course was offered to persons working in state and local government, as well as private institutions. The course addressed such topics as: initial planning procedures; mutual understanding of archaeological technical information by interpreters, exhibit designers and archaeologists; the archaeologist's and interpreter's respective roles; NPS and non-NPS case studies; on-site programme/ exhibit critiques; the importance of an interdisciplinary approach and the interaction among the interpretive team players in developing goals and principles; and the effective application of interpretive methods in public programmes.

At present, the NPS is developing a set of job standards, and SEAC and the NPS Stephen T. Mather Employee Development Center are linking archaeology and interpretation. The new standards are competency-based, that is, they identify the knowledge and skills needed to provide effective public interpretation for archaeological resources and topics. These interdisciplinary 'shared competencies' among archaeologists, interpreters and museum educators reflect the premise that archaeologists and interpreters share the responsibility of presenting archaeology to the public (Jameson 1999).

## **OTHER EXEMPLARY FEDERAL PROGRAMMES**

Other US federal agencies besides the National Park Service have developed exemplary education and outreach programmes in recent years. For example, the Bureau of Land Management's 'Intrigue of the Past' programme was designed to combat the vandalism and theft of archaeological resources by educating young citizens to value and conserve the past. The programme targets teachers and their students in the fourth to the twelfth grades (about ages 10–18 years) and consists of three integral components: quality education materials; in-service and pre-service training for teachers in archaeology education, and on-going professional development for 'Intrigue' educators (Moe and Letts 1998). The National Forest Service's 'Passport in Time' is a national government programme designed to give volunteers the opportunity to assist in survey, excavation and restoration of significant historic and archaeological sites on public land. The programme also emphasizes sensitive interpretation and relevancy to Native American history and culture.

## **CONCLUSIONS**

The quotations at the beginning of this chapter, made seventeen years apart, continue to ring true among archaeologists as we enter the twenty-first century. As a profession, we need to focus attention on effective communication with the general public. A review of the growing importance of education and outreach efforts in modern American archaeological practice indicates a heightened realization that archaeologists must assist and empower the public to understand and appreciate archaeology and archaeological interpretations. We do this by providing the opportunity and tools to learn about archaeology and by opening the doors for involvement. In so doing, we are building a foundation of awareness and cultivating an appreciation of our nation's cultural heritage that will serve us all for generations to come. The National Park Service, in association with both public and private partners in resources stewardship, has championed, at the regional, national and international arenas, the profession's moral and legal obligations to protect and interpret archaeological resources 'for the inspiration and benefit of the people'.

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## 22 *The crisis of representation in archaeological museums*

NICK MERRIMAN

There is now an extensive literature concerned with the representation of the past through museums (e.g. Hewison 1987; Shanks and Tilley 1987; Lumley 1988; Vergo 1989; Gathercole and Lowenthal 1990; Karp and Lavine 1991; MacDonald and Fyfe 1996). The essential critique that emerges from this literature is that museums represent a partial, commodified and mythical past. This serves to legitimate the dominant forces that brought it into being, and to exclude other versions of history that might provide a different perspective on the apparent inevitability of the contemporary social structure.

Such a perspective has often been coupled with critiques grouped together under the umbrella 'post-modernist', which have challenged the whole basis of approaches to rationality, truth and evidence on which museums and archaeology have been based. In the works of Baudrillard, Derrida and Foucault, the apparent certainties of modernist thought, such as origin, evolution, progress, tradition and value become replaced by the concepts of transformation, discontinuity, rupture, disorder and chaos. Many have described how these writings relate to the post-modern condition of public history, which is considered to be a depthless 'heritage' devoid of critical content and meaningless other than as a commodity to be bought and sold (Crimp 1985; Pearce 1992:229–38; Walsh 1992; Negrin 1993; Thomas 1993).

In a similar vein, it has long been recognized that archaeological and historical interpretations are fundamentally informed by the social context in which they are developed. Trigger's (1984) classification of nationalist, colonialist and imperialist traditions, for example, has helped to emphasize the diversity of archaeological approaches across their world, and their contingency on changing political circumstances.

From this perspective, it can be seen that the overarching effect of archaeological interpretive traditions has been the production of historical myths that have served the needs of different interest groups to construct identities for themselves and those around them. The myths exhibited in archaeological museums tend to be those that receive establishment and academic approval. These coexist with a series of non-establishment myths that exist outside official institutions and which develop to provide a past for

disenfranchised groups with no access to official media of representation. One example of the latter in Britain would be the various interpretations of Stonehenge put forward by non-academics (Chippindale *et al.* 1990). Another would be the stories that have circulated amongst the present-day black communities of Bristol and Liverpool that local caves were used to house slaves believed to have been brought to the port in the days of the slave trade (Mehmood 1990).<sup>1</sup>

Although many working within the western tradition of objective rational analysis in archaeology would dispute the term 'myth' when applied to current interpretations of archaeological evidence, a glance at the history of archaeological writing and representation shows how much they have provided contemporary societies with identity-affirming origin myths. For example, Demoule (1982) has shown how the Gallic myth in French archaeology came to the fore particularly during the Second Empire, when Napoleon III was attempting to situate his regime on a nationalist and populist base. He also notes that the myth of the 'pit dwellings'—holes in which prehistoric people were supposed to have lived—persisted far beyond the time that the archaeological evidence could support it, because people took so long to relinquish the 'primitivist' notion that enabled them to dissociate themselves from their prehistoric ancestors. Similarly, recently renewed interest in critical histories of British archaeology has pointed out, for example, the myths surrounding the Anglo-Saxons and their use in developing notions of Englishness (Lucy and Hill 1993), and the ways in which the idea of Celticness has been used in identity construction (Merriman 1987).

Like it or not, museums continue to be used to construct new national and ethnic myths and to form new identities to mould together historically disparate interest groups. In the former communist countries, old museums are being given facelifts as new versions of history are given prominence. The importance of museums and heritage in the construction of identity has been no more forcefully depicted than in the former Yugoslavia, where their destruction has gone hand in hand with processes of 'ethnic cleansing' (Chapman 1994). With the end of the conflict, no doubt new museum displays are being constructed to legitimate new ethnic identities and boundaries.

As a result, the representation of the past in museums has come in for intense critical scrutiny over the last decade. The core of this scrutiny relates to the question of whether museums, developing from a background of white, western, imperialist, monolithic and modernist attitudes, can serve a valid function in a culturally diverse, post-modern, post-colonial world.

One of the more pervasive myths created by museums has been that of the superiority of the western world. This myth, justifying and maintaining western global expansion and exploitation, is reflected in formerly colonized countries where museums developed as part of the colonial apparatus; in the colonizing countries, such as Britain, where museum collections reflected the looting of the

Empire; and in still-colonized countries, such as Canada, the USA, Australia and New Zealand, which have a majority white population of colonist origin existing alongside strong, living, indigenous traditions. The ways in which anthropologists have responded to this problem (e.g. Ames 1986) are instructive for the possible approaches that archaeologists might adopt.

Realization of the problematical nature of the historical inheritance of ethnographic collections, in the light of the critiques enunciated above, has created what has been termed a 'crisis of representation' in museum anthropology (McManus 1991). To a large part, this has come about because of external pressure on museums from groups not represented on museum staff. As a result, indigenous peoples have, in many museums, become an integral element of exhibition teams, and some have trained as curators (Ames 1990; Butts 1990; O'Regan 1990). As well as from indigenous groups, protests have come from other minority groups normally not given a voice in museum history displays. For example, protests by the black community in Ontario about an exhibition on the colonial experience, 'Into the Heart of Africa' (Schildkrout 1991; Young 1993) caused the cancellation of its tour, and criticism in Britain about the absence of representations of cultural diversity (Ramamurthy 1990) has led to a number of initiatives, including a gallery on the Transatlantic slave trade at Merseyside Maritime Museum.

The conjunction of political pressure and academic critique has prompted anthropologists in museums to re-evaluate their notions of representation, which had until relatively recently seemed a transparent and value-free exercise. In archaeology, however, the absence of an external political imperative to make a thorough review of representation has meant that this self-critical re-examination has been slower to take hold. There have, of course, been some notable exceptions, such as the work of Mark Leone and his colleagues at Annapolis (Leone 1984; Potter 1994), and the wide-ranging feminist critique (e.g. Chabot 1989; Jones and Pay 1990; Kirby 1996), but despite an extensive literature dealing with interpretation and representation within academic archaeology, little impact has been made on everyday interpretation in museums, which continue to interpret archaeological material as if it were an objective reality. In ignoring the partial and historical contingency of their representations, museum archaeologists are doing themselves and their publics a disservice, and by continuing to present the past as if it had an objective reality, they might find themselves ignored as quaint anachronisms by the public, and isolated from their peers. If museum archaeology does, however, assimilate the debates going on elsewhere in the social sciences, how should this affect the way in which the past is displayed to the public? It is this dilemma that could be called a 'crisis of representation' in archaeology.

The principal characteristic of the 'crisis of representation' is the notion that there is an objective and monolithic past that awaits revelation by the informed expert. This perspective has been challenged and replaced by the view that there are many versions of the past, all constructed in relation to the present and hence

changeable. This then leads to a challenge to the authority of the academic or curator, whose version of the past can be seen as just one amongst many competing versions. This in turn results in a challenging of the role of the academic and a questioning as to whom he or she speaks for, as alternative views of the past, and the perspectives of other interest groups, receive greater prominence.

There are two possible reactions to this shift. The first is to retreat further into the familiar territory of academic scholarship and to hope that the debate over representation is a passing fad. The second is to take the critique seriously and to work constructively with it in order to transform notions of archaeological representation in museums into something more responsive to the needs of the coming century. This latter view is, without doubt, the one that bodes better for the future of museums. How, then, might we go about doing it?

The first step must be to examine the notions of objectivity and subjectivity in museum display. Does the challenging of the notion of objectivity and progress mean that narrative should be abandoned, that subjectivity reigns supreme and that anyone's view of the past is as good as anyone else's? Does this mean the figurative 'death of the curator'?

### **Narrative and evidence**

It is the role of museums to enable visitors to depart with some idea of 'What happened in history'. In the Museum of London, my previous employer wanted visitors to learn something about the development of the city in the Roman period, and to follow its cycles of rise and decline in order to understand something of the city today. Museums would be failing in their aims if they did not attempt to tell some stories about the past.

However, what museums have not hitherto done on any appreciable scale is to suggest that there may be many different stories, and that they are all historically contingent. A major step towards taking account of this would be to see museums not just as places where stories are told, but also as places where people learn to evaluate evidence. This means that we must also examine the museum as an institution and archaeology as a discipline within the context of the displays. The collections of foreign archaeology in British museums, for example, could be presented within the context of global exploration, trade and empire, which might reveal something of the attitudes and motivations of the collectors and the partiality of their collections. Westernized countries could be explored in their colonial context. Possibly, the relationship between these museums and indigenous concepts of heritage could be explored to see whether elements can be incorporated into a non-western museum (Butts 1990; Ronning 1990).

Even more significantly, a critical self-awareness in museum display must involve exposing the hitherto hidden process whereby one moves from evidence to interpretation. In academic writings, it is normal practice to assemble a wide



range of evidence to support an argument that can be critically evaluated, and the theoretical perspective behind the interpretation is usually explicit. In museums, however, this process is generally completely invisible. Evidence, in the form of material culture, is presented and then assertions are given as to its meaning, with no indication of how these assertions are arrived at, or that they might be anything other than completely objective and true. This approach rather denigrates the public, and it is not surprising that some remain sceptical as to the validity of the statements made and prefer to explore alternative explanations (cf. the popularity of 'astro-archaeology' and interest in 'strange phenomena'). The challenge for museums lies in generating ways in which to give people an understanding of the process of interpretation in a way that is accessible and enables them to look at the source material in a critical way.

One way of doing this might be to develop an area within the museum that is complementary to the narrative artefactual displays, which deals with archaeological and museological theory and process, rather in the manner in which the Science Centre, dealing with scientific principles, complements museum displays of the history of science and technology. The aim of the centre would be twofold: to look at material culture, particularly as archaeological and historical evidence, and to look at the cultural and historical context of the museum and its collections.

A leader in the first aim has been the Archaeological Resource Centre in York (Jones 1995), where visitors handle archaeological material from excavations, sort it into different materials, and gain some understanding of how it is used to say something about the past. This initiative could easily be widened to include a more critical perspective on the types of interpretation offered. It would also be possible to show something of the normally hidden museum processes of collecting, documentation, conservation, storage and display, particularly by concentrating on the collecting instinct that is followed by such large numbers of the public.

### **Multiple interpretations**

From giving visitors an understanding of how the evidence used in exhibitions is generated, and an understanding of the historical context of the disciplines they are generated in, and of the institution they are displayed in, it is then possible to give some indication of how different interpretations are arrived at. The potential mechanisms for doing this are many and varied, and can also be used in the more conventional narrative exhibitions.

It would be possible to show how, through time, the same evidence has been differently interpreted (e.g. the Neanderthals, as shown by Stringer and Gamble [1993]), or to present a number of different views of the same evidence. For example, it would be instructive to set out indigenous peoples' views of their origins alongside the archaeologists' views, or to show popular views of monuments along with 'official' interpretations. The technology for exploring multiple interpretations need not be daunting. In Britain, archaeologist Barbara Bender has produced a panel-exhibition on different groups' interpretations of

Stonehenge (Bender 1998), and the Birmingham Museum has produced an interactive video giving four different perspectives on a group of New Guinean ethnographic material (Peirson Jones 1992). 'Multivocalism' therefore need not mean large amounts of text. It is also now possible to use solid-state, hand-held sound guides as 'talking labels' that can introduce a variety of perspectives. At the low-tech end of the spectrum, revolving labels on drums or lift-up flaps can fulfil the same functions.

The introduction of 'multivocalism' into museums has the possibility of transforming the whole of the museum enterprise. From a history of conducting a monologue with a largely passive visiting public, there emerges the potential for the museum to conduct an active dialogue with the public. From the transmission of facts, the aim of the museum now becomes the exploration of the nature of evidence and interpretation of the past, leading to a critically informed judgement about the past. Potter has termed a similar—but not identical—process 'appropriating the visitor' (Potter 1994). By embracing the idea of dialogue, it could become possible for museums to transform themselves from vehicles for the transmission of myths to places where myths can be critically evaluated and challenged, and thus places where communities can come together for mutual self-understanding.

### **The museum of dialogue**

The notion of the museum of dialogue, or the active and interactive museum, necessitates a rethinking of the relationship between the museum and the public. From being passive receivers of information, the public become perceived as active participants and informants, who are collaborators in the interpretive process. For example, intensive study through quantitative market research and focus groups of the perceptions of non-specialists of archaeological and historical subjects, can inform presentations that incorporate alternative views of archaeological sites and periods. Sometimes the collections shown in the museum are highly emotive, and elicit quite differing responses depending on the context of the display and the visitor. A display of classical sculptures in Britain will mean something quite different to a similar display in Greece, and all will be interpreted quite differently by Greeks in Greece, Greeks living in Britain, British tourists in Greece, and British people in Britain. Surveying the subjective and emotional responses of visitors to displays, and incorporating this into the interpretive process, can potentially add quite another dimension to the rather impersonal and distanced tone usually adopted by museum displays. In the Art Gallery of Ontario, visitors have been encouraged to describe their reactions to the paintings and even sketch their own versions of them, which has revealed quite different interpretations than those envisaged by the curators, and these have been incorporated into the display itself (Worts 1995). There is no reason why this approach could not also be adopted in archaeological displays.

As well as dialogue occurring in an indirect sense through market research, the incorporation of different viewpoints and through invitations to comment

on the displays, it can also occur more directly in a dialogue with museum staff. Interpretation by living people rather than by labels and pictures is nothing new, but tends to have been developed principally in living history museums. However, given that the museum label and panel is essentially a poor substitute for the voice of the curator, there is no reason why 'live' interpretation cannot be used successfully in archaeological displays. There is no reason at all, either, why it has to be restricted to costumed interpreters adopting a 'first person' stance, pretending to be living in the past. 'Live' interpretation can include dialogues with curators and educators in the galleries, full-time trained interpreters to promote discussion and present different viewpoints and theatrical programmes designed to stimulate discussion of the interpretive process in museums, such as has been successfully carried out at the Canadian Museum of Civilization (Cannizzo and Parry 1994).

The essential point is that museum galleries become no longer a 'temple' where knowledge is reverentially passed on uncritically, but instead become a 'forum' for public dialogue and debate (Cameron 1971). If the debate can link to current issues such as the environment, land use, population and city planning, then the displays are likely to be seen as even more relevant and interesting. By breaking down artificial subject boundaries between natural history, geology, archaeology, ethnography and social history, and dealing with contemporary issues in the long term using evidence from all disciplines, museums have the potential to promote highly relevant dialogues by a community with itself on issues that matter to itself rather than just the curators. One example recently undertaken was the 'Peopling of London' exhibition at the Museum of London, which used archaeological and historical evidence to place recent immigration from overseas into long-term context and to make the explicit point that immigration was a normal aspect of London's life and not a recent, post-war problem (Merriman 1997).

### **The role of the expert**

The embracing of the concepts of multivocalism and dialogue in museums leads to a final problem: the role of the expert, and the validity of different interpretations.

In such a vision for museums as described above, the role of the curator or educator becomes firstly that of the enabler, the person who organizes community input into exhibitions and who solicits different interpretations of the material available. However, this does not mean that the curator has no individual voice. It is crucial that museum staff consult widely in their programmes and invite different perspectives from members of different communities. However, this does not mean that only certain people can 'speak' about particular cultural matters. As Potter (1994:105) notes, carried to its logical extreme, this approach leads to paralysis: 'If Americans ought not interpret Africans but only other Americans, should Californians interpret Ohioans? Should Los Angeleans interpret San Diegans?' His solution is to be

explicit about the agenda of any exhibition and, in doing so, to encourage visitors explicitly to agree with or reject the stance taken. This need not be the only approach: some exhibitions will benefit from an explicit and univocal storyline; others will benefit from a multiple interpretation where no opinion is offered as to the relative merits of each one. However, the danger in any open system such as this is that it has the potential to be hijacked by particular groups. The curator therefore has a role in the exercise of expertise to challenge the manipulation of museums in overt ways, perhaps by showing alternative interpretations of the same evidence.

The ultimate issue, therefore, is not whether the curator has a right to speak on certain issues or not. The good curator will have both the expertise to be able to marshal and present convincing evidence, will have the imagination and vision to consult widely and incorporate alternative views when they are widely shared and held with conviction, and will have the independence and courage to take a stand on certain issues. What is needed perhaps more than anything to achieve a good balance in the interpretation of the archaeological past in museums, is to broaden the base of recruitment into the field through the proper implementation of equal opportunities and training policies, and to encourage the active recruitment or collaboration of indigenous people and other interest groups, as has successfully happened in anthropology.

## CONCLUSIONS

In this chapter, I have argued that museum archaeology can no longer ignore the implications of many years of debate and criticism in archaeology and anthropology on the nature of representation. However, in doing so it is not necessary to take a pessimistic view that anarchy prevails and true knowledge is not possible. By looking at subjectivity and historical contingency, it is possible to envisage a new and more dynamic future for archaeological museums in which they work actively with their publics in a process that involves dialogue and a variety of perspectives. In seeing museums as places in which evidence is assessed, as well as where narratives are told, it will be possible to show that some versions of the past are less likely than others, and so avoid a descent into relativism. As a result, the curator or educator has a new role, which is that of the enabler, arbitrator and critic.

## NOTE

- 1 There is no evidence that ships carrying slaves sailed from West Africa directly to Britain. The triangular slave trade involved ships sailing from British ports laden with commodities that were exchanged in West Africa for slaves. The ships then sailed to the Caribbean where the slaves were sold, and the ships loaded with the produce of the plantations, which was transported to Britain.

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## 23 *Museums and the promotion of environmental understanding and heritage conservation*

PETER DAVIS

### INTRODUCTION

The Museon in The Hague, The Netherlands, seeks to illustrate 'the fascinating story of man and his world', and through a wide range of exhibitions explores natural history, geography, archaeology, ethnography and human cultures (du Weyden 1989). The interdisciplinary approach taken in addressing a wide variety of themes is particularly refreshing, and was especially so in a temporary exhibition mounted in the 1980s called the Ecos gallery. Described in the museum's guidebook as 'a very unorthodox educational show, meant to make people aware of the environment in which human beings play a highly influential part', it was certainly unconventional, having few real specimens or objects. Visitors sat on benches, in an environment reminiscent of any domestic situation; all the features of the dining room, kitchen and bathroom were present; stairs led to the bedrooms. In this setting, a multimedia programme delivered dialogue between an environmentalist and a stereo-typical surly civil servant. The presentation was complemented by powerful images of the natural environment and human impacts. As the discussion progressed, the room came to life. The plant in the corner instantly grew 3 m as the discussion centred around photosynthesis and the ways in which green plants trap energy. The door of the refrigerator opened mysteriously to reveal flasks of bubbling chemicals, nicely illustrating the fact that our varied diet, in reality, is nothing more than an intake of energy-providing molecules. When the discussion reached the fate of that food, a cut-away dog descended through an opening in the ceiling, flashing lights marking the route of the alimentary canal. To make the point about the fate of waste products, the seat of the toilet in the bathroom lifted eerily. Issues of pollution, the loss of natural resources, social issues and population growth rounded off the discussion, with the latter being emphasized as the root cause of the many environmental and social problems that affect the world. At this juncture a bed appeared, swinging from the wall of the bedroom at the top of the stairs, and the duvet began to move rhythmically.

By creating the link between environmental issues and the familiar surroundings of a suburban home, the designers had created an intensely powerful interpretive medium. The message that humankind is part of the environment, and makes contributions to its degradation, was clear and disturbing; despite the gadgets and special effects, it did not trivialize the concerns. The uncompromising way in which the problems of pollution, global environmental change and overpopulation were addressed was particularly admirable. There was no question of fudging the issues and no reticence in taking a strong environmental stance. No attempt was made to defend the polluting industrialist, and the figure of 'authority' in the slide presentation ably demonstrated his lack of understanding of biological and chemical cycles, and the failure of government to take urgent action.

The exhibition is just one example of the way in which the conservation ethic has been adopted by museums in response to the phenomenon of environmentalism, particularly in natural history museums (Davis 1996). However, it is far more overt in its conservation messages than most museum exhibitions. Indeed, some museologists might think the exhibition was a little too forthright, that it took a stance that was too biased, or even that it could offend or disturb visitors, especially children; in other words, it was far too controversial. It is much safer for museums to have 'conservation'-oriented displays that focus on the loss of old meadows, the decline of the otter, the fall in fish stocks due to overfishing, or the fate of the great whales. Also, one cannot disagree that it is important that museums devote space to systematic, behavioural and habitat-based displays, to awaken interest in the natural world and explain the diversity of nature. The presentation of beautiful, bizarre and amazing specimens is still an important museum role.

There are numerous examples of such traditional exhibitions, including *Disappearing Forest Wildlife*, and *Monsters of the Deep* at the Yorkshire Museum (Howard 1991), *Fish* at the Royal Museum of Scotland, Edinburgh (Davis 1992) and the *Earth Galleries* at The Natural History Museum, London (Bassett and Owens 1996). These themes are important, and commendable, bringing the public's attention to how wonderful nature is, and, to some extent, the impact that people have on the natural environment. The latter has often been achieved very simply by the addition of short, hard-hitting messages, for example by 'ecolabelling' aquaria, or by delivering a powerful message as the finale to exhibits, such as that in the Baltimore Aquarium's immersion rainforest, which states simply that 'Without firing a shot we may kill one fifth of all species on this planet in the next twenty years.'

## **CONTROVERSY IN EXHIBITIONS**

Should museums go further, and approach more controversial issues in the way that the Museon has done so successfully? As people continue to destroy the



natural and built environment, do museologists have an obligation to adopt a more radical approach, in order to promote greater awareness and even positive action? At the height of environmentalism in the 1970s, Hubendinck (1972) was firmly of the opinion that museums should defend the environment at all cost in their exhibitions. He urged activism even in the defence of controversial viewpoints, pointing out that these perspectives often served as badly needed counterweight against the short-sighted economical interest. Twenty-five years ago, feelings ran high; yet in the late 1990s, exhibitions that attack fundamental environmental issues, for example the simple fact that there are too many human beings, and that the so-called 'civilized' countries of the world are too greedy, are thin on the ground. Why have museums avoided these issues, or failed to make the messages strong enough? Is it because it is too harrowing to contemplate where humankind is going? Or simply that the need for increased visitor figures demands 'nice' exhibitions, and that political expediency demands controversy be carefully avoided?

Perhaps we need first to define what the fundamental environmental issues are. Using a broad interpretation of the term 'environment', they can be identified as:

- 1 the biodiversity crisis;
- 2 the wise use of natural resources;
- 3 global environmental change;
- 4 preservation of the aesthetic heritage; and
- 5 pollution.

Elements of all these appear in the exhibitions cited above, although inevitably, natural history museums, with large numbers of specimens at their disposal, usually address environmental themes that emphasize the loss of biodiversity. It is also a relatively safe topic, despite the fact that human action is responsible for loss of habitat and species extinctions. Even some of the best examples of environmental exhibits, such as *The World in Our Hands* in Edinburgh or *The Delicate Balance* at Des Moines, Iowa (Johnson 1992), focus primarily on loss of habitat and species. To date in the UK, only the Horniman Museum's Centre for Understanding the Environment (Ballinger 1996) has broken the mould.

Dealing with the other four issues becomes much more controversial, because they place human beings firmly at the centre of the debate, and, more often than not, need to address conflicts between different factions of human populations. Such conflicts may be on a global scale (developed versus developing world, multinational business versus national interests), at a national level (wind energy policies versus national park policies) or at the local scale. In all these cases, society, economics and politics intervene, and museum curators and exhibition designers can face considerable pressure. This is especially true if they try to address environmental problems that affect local or regional individuals and interest groups.

Local issues about the environment are always in the news, whether it is bait digging in a coastal nature reserve, strip-mining proposals or developments in green-belt land. Local museums, being small and self-sufficient, can often react quickly to such developments, and, with limited resources but strong local connections, can be a venue for wider debate. For example, Woodspring Museum's Severn Barrage exhibition addressed a topic so politically controversial that it was carefully ignored by all the larger museums in the southwest of England. The local authority and Civic Society were against the barrage; local traders and those in the construction industry were supporters. As it was seen as a viable form of renewable energy, the national organization Friends of the Earth supported the barrage scheme; the local branch were active opponents. In this instance, what stance is the correct conservationist one to present to your visitor? To support the barrage as a commitment to wise use of a continuous source of power? Or to condemn it as a project that would destroy a major ecological system? In the end, Woodspring could only present the arguments and leave their visitors to decide (Coles 1991).

Another excellent attempt to explain a complex local environmental issue was Darkened Waters, an exhibition mounted by the Pratt Museum in Homer, Alaska, which sought to discuss the causes and consequences of the Exxon Valdez oil spill (Garfield 1992). Emphasis was placed not on wildlife and ecology, but on local people, who gave their views of the incident on tape recordings in the exhibition. Links were made to the consumer society and the importance of oil to the US economy, the ultimate force behind a major environmental disaster. The exhibition did not attempt to blame any organization or individual, but left visitors to decide for themselves, having taken notice of the differing viewpoints of biologists, oilmen and local fishermen.

The California Academy of Sciences adopted a similar approach when examining the impacts on fragile desert ecosystems of mining, agriculture, military activities and recreation. Kulik (1992) recorded the controversy that surrounded the opening of Vanishing Desert. The exhibit sparked objections a few days after its opening. The American Motorcycle Association and others protested strongly and demanded that changes be made. The strident voice of the biking community continued to make its presence felt for several months, demanding changes that the academy refused to make. The academy's position was that the changes requested would have compromised scientific accuracy. In this the academy had strong support from the conservation lobby. The latter were well aware of the ecological damage that trail bikes can cause to burrowing desert animals and fragile plants. However, it was largely due to the careful research carried out prior to the exhibition, and the presentation of a balanced viewpoint, that it could be defended by staff, directors and trustees, all of whom had been involved at an early stage in exhibition planning. Interestingly, both Vanishing Desert and Darkened Waters created controversy because they addressed ecological problems close to home. Unlike distant rainforests, the plight of the local desert and coastline were accessible and

pertinent. This echoes the experience of the Yellowknife Museum in the North West Territories of Canada when examining the facts (and rhetoric) surrounding trapping and the fur trade in their exhibition *Trapline, Lifeline* (Irving and Harper 1988).

Exhibitions that portray historical world events can also create controversy, none more so than *Seeds of Change*, the Smithsonian Institution's exhibition that celebrated the arrival of Columbus in the 'New World'. Accompanied by an illustrated catalogue (Viola and Margolis 1991), this exhibition created controversy on a grand scale, largely for its omissions rather than its content. The five seeds or agents selected for the exhibition were sugar, corn, potato, the horse and disease. The latter, in addition to persecution and warfare, led to the death of 90 per cent of the American Indian population. Not surprisingly, the reaction of the descendants of Native Americans was mixed; the black community also felt that slavery issues related to the introduction of sugar cane had been too carefully scripted. One of the most surprising elements missing from *Seeds of Change* was tobacco, since its cultivation and impact on world health have been one of the greatest forces for change. People were a significant focus in this exhibition. The exhibit explained how the impact of the five seeds was felt not only as modifications to the land, but also by the people (Sewell 1991).

Another Columbus exhibition, *First Encounters*, organized by the Florida Museum of Natural History, aroused similar feelings and protests. Demonstrations by students were followed by threats of legal action to close the exhibition; on tour, the exhibition continued to court controversy, with some museums revelling in this, deflecting criticism and holding special conferences to discuss the views of the local people. Commenting on their experience with this exhibit, Milbraith and Milanich (1991) defended it strongly. They argued that if exhibits were to avoid being dull, middle of the road consensus, how could they or should they avoid controversy? They suggested some controversy should be welcome to make the public more sensitive to the issues and ideas presented.

## **PRESENTING THE CONSERVATION OF HERITAGE**

If natural history museums have adopted the conservation ethic, then, similarly, it can be argued that museums of archaeology, art or ethnography—indeed any museum—could use their collections to promote the need for the conservation of 'heritage' in all its forms. Of course, all museums have a remit to conserve objects, a transportable (and traded) heritage, and to display them in an aesthetic and educational manner to increase public understanding and enjoyment. It could be argued, however, that all museums could do more to promote a general understanding of the need to conserve the cultural heritage in general, whether it is precious objects, those of scientific value, and especially that part of the heritage that lies beyond the museum. If natural history museums have a mission

to promote biological and geological conservation, can archaeological and historical museums play a parallel and key role in conservation of the wider human heritage?

Taking a strident conservationist stance is not always possible for these museums, especially as museums strive to increase their visitor figures and income to survive. Any conservationist concerns are likely to remain hidden beneath the need to create more popular exhibits. Yet, history curators in Sweden have recognized that cultural history cannot be properly understood without some knowledge of the natural environmental preconditions and frameworks (Nillson and Rosen 1988). In other words, to comprehend the culture of a community, it is important to have a clear understanding of the natural environment, natural resources and their impact, a need for a holistic approach that includes all aspects of heritage. There is also a role for art galleries, which can also stimulate day-to-day awareness of the aesthetic rewards, or their deplorable absence, in each person's environment (Pankhurst 1971).

When considering the built environment and *in situ* heritage conservation, many museums have played an active role, with Ironbridge Gorge Museum being one of the best-known examples. The preservation of a frequently geographically dispersed archaeological or industrial archaeological heritage has proved to be a major focus of attention in recent years, no more so than in the North Pennines of England (Davis 1996:117). This area was Britain's largest and most successful lead-mining area, with 30 per cent of the country's lead being mined there; the two major companies employed thousands of men and boys. As a consequence, the physical remains of the industry—abandoned buildings, smelt mill chimneys, spoil heaps, flues, mine entrances—are everywhere in evidence. It is these sites that have acted as the key interpretive facilities. Buildings and equipment have been carefully restored, with the driving force in many cases being the local community, brought together by the North Pennines Heritage Trust. At Allenheads in Northumberland, and Nenthead in Cumbria, the trust has been the driving force behind local museum developments, closely linked to economic regeneration. At Killhope, in County Durham, the Lead Mining Centre is based around a huge overshot waterwheel that has been restored to working order; reconstructed mine workings and ore-washing floors help to create a valuable educational visit. A little further down the valley of the River Wear, the Weardale Museum at Ireshopeburn is a traditional folk museum, founded and run by local people, which interprets the history of the local area and its people. Here many of the artefacts associated with the life of the lead miner are on display. Individually, each of these museums tells a significant story; together, they provide a holistic view of a harsh and unforgiving environment and a past way of life, and an interpretation of the modern landscape. The combination of community and environment is close to the concept of ecomuseology, and even to that of holistic museology proposed by Corsane and Holleman (1993). Such a philosophy and practical approach holds much promise for environmental

conservation and interpretation in geographical areas with a recognizable cultural and natural identity.

## ECOMUSEUMS

In Argyll, Scotland, the developments at Kilmartin demonstrate once more the power of a community to preserve a unique resource, in this case one of the richest archaeological landscapes in the British Isles. According to Rachel and David Clough, co-founders of the Kilmartin House Trust, the museum both affects and is shaped by a strong local community, and aspires to the ideals of the ecomuseum. However, they confess that

when we set out we were not attempting to found an ecomuseum, nor did we know what an ecomuseum was. Now, three years on, we find that what has grown, through following our instincts, and through listening to the hopes and worries of those around us, does perhaps approach the ecomuseum ideal

(Clough and Clough 1996:1)

They quote part of Henri Rivière's definition of an ecomuseum as '...a mirror for the local population to view itself, to discover its own image, and in which it seeks an explanation of the territory to which it is attached and of the population that have preceded it' (Rivière 1985:182).

The landscape of Kilmartin has been moulded by ice, and the fertile land, peat bogs and mountains that surround the area bear witness to human occupation since earliest times. Neolithic and bronze age chambered and round cairns, stone circles, standing stones, rock carvings, iron age forts, duns and crannógs help to trace the history of settlement. The culture and language of the area was influenced by the introduction of Goedelic or Irish Gaelic by the Scots who colonized the area; the language was reinforced by the coming of Christianity in AD 563, when Columba was given permission to found a monastery on nearby Iona. It is this unique heritage that the museum of Kilmartin is seeking to preserve and interpret to the public, but working with, and as a part of, the local community to do so. It is perhaps worth emphasizing that heritage conservation in the *'territoire'* of this museum, and in the North Pennines, is being achieved by non-traditional museums, with local people being motivated to conserve sites and traditions that are important to their identity and their locality.

The ecomuseum is of French origin (Davis 1996:114–23), and is a concept that has been used to good effect in the country to promote local identity and to conserve objects, buildings and other sites of heritage value, including watermills, factories and farm dwellings.

Ecomuseums are primarily located in rural areas, and are frequently associated with areas of high scenic value. Good examples are found in and close

to the Cévennes National Park, a wonderful mountainous area clothed in chestnut forest and rich in wildlife, with a long history of human settlement. Three ecomuseums have been created there to interpret its cultural and natural heritage (Davis 1996:117–21), at Mont Lozère, on the Causse Méjean, and within the Cévennes National Park itself. The consortium of eleven elements that make up the ecomuseum of the Cévennes (with museum buildings at Saint-Hippolyte-du-Fort, Saint-Jean-du-Gard and Le Vigan) all seek to explain the interrelationship that existed in the past between man and environment. They describe how the sweet chestnut was used as a basic food source, the advent of the cottage-based silk industry, the mixed agriculture of goats, sheep, vines and other crops grown on terraces cut from the steep hillsides, and the transhumance of sheep flocks from high mountain pastures to the valleys at the end of the year. They link the cultural and natural environment by demonstrating how traditional methods of cultivation and husbandry have influenced the landscape as we see it today.

Sadly, there is little reference anywhere to present-day issues—the impact of extensive forestry on the landscape and wildlife, the effect of increasing levels of tourism on a fragile ecosystem, the abstraction of water from the major rivers of the Cévennes to supply the needs of distant Montpellier. If ecomuseums wish to earn their ‘eco’ tag, then surely they should also refer to the present environment, and the demands humans are making on it, in addition to the ways in which it has been shaped in the past.

## THE MUSEUM ROLE

Museums, especially natural history museums, have become part of a wider movement to conserve the natural environment and cultural heritage that lie beyond the confines of the museum. As such, they must convey conservation values and ideas. Museums have many advantages and skills at their disposal: the specimens, the design expertise, the technological knowledge, a sound academic base and creative minds across a range of disciplines. Environmental exhibitions, and conservation ethics, are the preserve not only of museum biologists, but also of ethnographers, Egyptologists, geologists, fine artists, education staff and social historians. All can devise exhibitions with an environmental approach; all can be involved in heritage conservation. Museums need to explain human behaviour, describe how some cultures use their environment in a sustainable way, and discuss how developments in modern science and medicine might resolve pressing environmental concerns. There is also a need for an interdisciplinary approach, and cooperation across traditional geographical and subject boundaries. Perhaps museums need to follow new models, less traditional in their outlook, and more closely geared to their local communities to be truly effective in promoting heritage conservation on the ground. Holistic museology and ecomuseology, although swathed in mystique and unnecessary jargon, seem in practice to provide a way forward.

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## 24 *Teaching archaeology at the Museum San Miguel de Azapa in northernmost Chile*

JULIA CORDOVA-GONZÁLEZ

### INTRODUCTION

One of the most remarkable features of the extreme north of Chile is its arid condition which has lasted over 10,000 years. Though unfavourable to humans and wild life, this environment has, paradoxically, proved quite favourable to the preservation of organic materials. Human burials, even from early periods, are found with well-preserved organic materials, food and religious tokens left as burial gifts. The Spanish of the historic colonial period did not pay much attention to burial remains, except to destroy some *chullpas* (sacred burial grounds) because they were considered heretical under the new Christian religious order. There was also a certain amount of destruction of the *chullpas* due to looting for metal work and fine textiles.

From the eighteenth to the twentieth century, Europeans (e.g. Forster 1777; La Perouse 1797–9; Philippi 1860) visited the area and removed mummies and their burial gifts, taking them to their respective countries. A succession of more recent archaeological projects, resulting in finds being taken back to their own museums by researchers (e.g. Latcham 1938; Bird 1943; Mostny 1964), led to the development of local interest in archaeological preservation. In 1967, a local amateur research group joined forces with the local university, the Universidad de Tarapaca. This merger of interests resulted in a museum collection of about 6,000 archaeological specimens, mainly from burial sites, being transferred to the Museo San Miguel de Azapa, also part of the university. Thereafter, the University Department of Archaeology and its museum planned their work on an interdisciplinary, scientific research basis, adding thousands of new cultural remains to the collections, coupled with records not only of cemeteries, mummies and burial offerings, but of occupation sites, fortresses, storage places, temples, rock art and other kinds of sites.

In developing museology from the early 1970s, the department recognized the need for conservation, computerized registration, and both display and communication of ideas about cultural remains, within the special environment



of a museum. These museological trends were spreading globally at that time and the department was receptive to such new approaches. Where Europe and the United States have a long tradition of specialized museum education, it is relatively new in Latin America. One such pioneer development at the museum was in archaeological textile conservation, when the museum's specialist travelled to Europe to learn contrasting techniques in textile conservation. This resulted in the prevention of natural and mechanical destruction of hundreds of wool, skin, hair and vegetal fibre tissues.

## **MUSEUM EDUCATION AT THE MUSEO ARQUEOLOGICO SAN MIGUEL DE AZAPA**

Whilst archaeology and museology have common goals in preserving cultural remains of the past and the diffusion of ideas about that past, they use quite different languages. Archaeological communication is scientifically precise and technical. Museum education, on the other hand, has to address the uninitiated, those who may never have come into contact with the subject before.

The department's message is not only about the beauty of ancient art, or the astonishing preservation of mummies and other cultural objects, or even just a deep insight into prehispanic history; rather it includes a sense of pride in belonging to such an ancient tradition. The department wishes to empower the native population to rekindle its pride in its ancient past, after 500 years of cultural submission to imposed European ideals. Prehispanic history does not yet appear in any educational curriculum, so the population has lost a great deal of its sense of ethnic identity, even to the point of abandoning origins, names and language. The educational system has forced the native population to choose in favour of a general *criollo*, or Chilean culture, rather than their indigenous cultural groups.

To begin to fulfil this social aim, museum education has had to develop interactive communication face to face or through multimedia interpretation. The museum provides charts and catalogues to explain the contents of the displays, knowing that exhibitions will have different meanings for each visitor. In fact, most people request assistance from a specialist. The hidden complexity of a culture is not easily grasped directly from objects or re-creations of their contexts; this is especially so when common cultural prejudices are challenged by archaeological evidence. An example of this is the problem of explaining displays relating the development of appropriate technologies before European colonization.

### **Problems in museum education**

When I was first appointed as a museum guide, the only prerequisites were to be a qualified teacher and speak English. Though these qualifications seemed adequate at the time, I very quickly realized that opportunities to instruct and

educate in the museum were totally different to those in a classroom. Several attempts were made to carry out research about how people learn in a museum, but were always undermined by lack of funding. The case for different methods for different audiences was a very difficult one to make at that time.

The International Council for Museums, Committee on Education and Cultural Action (ICOM CECA) were helpful. Its members shared information about the problems that arise in practice. Discussions with other museum educators also helped us to learn how to predict future demand. I personally undertook museum and heritage studies at the University of Delaware, USA, and post-graduate studies at the Ironbridge Institute, University of Birmingham, UK.<sup>1</sup> These greatly assisted me in developing an all-round understanding of the field.

Since becoming a museum educator, I have taken two main lines of action to assist the public with museum displays: organizing school parties into a scheduled annual programme, and being open continuously to public demand. Methods applied in both cases have had to be adjusted many times.

During these twenty years of practice, I have noticed that museum education has two main challenges to face, and one overarching limitation. The challenges are to address the needs of each individual and to investigate the social pattern of museum visiting. The limitation is severely restricted time in which to structure useful and successful communication when visiting groups who demand different things.

The variety among museum visitors is enormous, each differently motivated, each differently inspired. Each brings a particular level of prior familiarity with the collection. Thus to make sense out of an archaeological exhibit, characteristically distant in time, it is necessary to take each separate individual into account. If the variations in individual capacities are ignored, museums can only offer instruction. Museum education aims to bring about a change in perceptions about the past. Also, museum collections cannot be appreciated, much less understood, in a single visit, least of all when it spans an archaeological heritage of 10,000 years. Thus, our objective is to generate multiple repeat visits.

The social pattern of museum visiting also restrains our attempt to consider individual visitor needs. Visiting appears to be spontaneous, mostly in family groups (especially parents and children), across a wide spectrum of individual characteristics and/or interests in museums. Another trend is organized group visits in two categories: groups organized specifically for study (ideal for the museum educator) and school groups (often a problem as the museum visit is seen as a break from school). In the latter case, the opposite is sometimes true, where some school groups are overtaken with exercises in the museum. Often, such tasks are developed by teachers unaware of the museum's collections and support materials. When such student tasks are inappropriate, great care must be taken not to highlight any apparent shortcomings on the part of the teacher.

## RESEARCH AND PRACTICE IN MUSEUM EDUCATION

We have identified three research aims: (1) to understand how people can learn from static presentations; (2) to describe accurately who the museum visitors are; and (3) to clarify the relative position of the museum among other urban attractions. Currently, we aim to develop computer interactives, matching users' autonomous and self-generated inquiries with different information levels available in the museum displays or other products. Museum education is not just about information, so these programmes have to address different cognitive levels.

### **'Conociendo a los Abuelos' (Finding about the Old Grandparents)<sup>2</sup>**

This project had two objectives, both related to our first research aim listed above. We wanted first to find the learning capacity of children under 5 years of age, and second to elaborate methods and strategies to communicate an archaeological understanding to this young age group. The project was carried out in 1988 in collaboration with pre-school specialists from the University Education Department, and the corresponding sections of the community education system (Junta Nacional de Jardines Infantiles). Through a census-type survey among kindergarten programmes, a number of institutions were chosen for the project. University education students designed and built the teaching equipment: archaeological replicas, gigantic puzzles, sand tables to recreate field work, loom miniatures for weaving practice, classifying boxes, and fishing artefacts to catch paper fish. Though extraordinarily successful, the programme was terminated due to circumstances beyond the museum's control. Therefore, we were unable to answer completely the questions related to our original objectives. We did, however, find through the project activities the dual benefit of engaging university students in museum educational programmes. First, the museum as a permanent teaching resource was introduced to future educators; second, fresh and innovative minds were engaged in developing the museum education service's activities.

### **Who visits the museum?**

To answer our second and third research aims, two surveys were conducted in 1993,<sup>3</sup> one addressed to the local community and the other to visitors. The survey results presented us with a dismal picture: a third of the community had never visited the museum or had been to it only once. The vast majority of visitors were tourists attracted by the uniqueness and antiquity of the mummies in our collections. We concluded that we should refocus efforts on attracting local communities.

In reply to an open question about general city attractions, less than a third of respondents mentioned the archaeological museum. But, once the museum was mentioned, it gained the highest ranking amongst the city's many attractions. The

museum is perceived as an attractive educational centre. The need for someone trained to help visitors by explaining objects was also mentioned repeatedly in survey answers. We concluded that people need to be at ease, to find fun at the museum, not just reading or listening, and that interactive interpretation must be increased to make the museum more user friendly.

### **Current research**

Following the survey, we are now concentrating efforts on devising automatic orientation and interpretation programmes using computer multimedia.<sup>4</sup> Even though there are many examples of such an approach in the fields of arts, biology, earth sciences and others, it has not yet been attempted with archaeological heritage in Chile.

A network of ten work stations will allow multiple-level, tailored interpretation, and will increase access to expert information for school parties by a minimum of 500 per cent. The work stations are designed to be used continually. They could perform eight hours per day, seven days a week, twelve months a year. We hope that every visitor will find the work stations and information they provide fully satisfying. If so, the museum will have reached its social goals of raising awareness of regional archaeology and redeveloping senses of cultural identity; this would be a wonderful outcome.

My work in museum education has followed a very tortuous path due to having to work alone, due to lack of knowledge of what was happening in other parts of the world, and due to a general lack of awareness in a field that had not previously been considered distinct from other aspects of museum work. Nevertheless, museum education at the Department of Archaeology and Museology in the Universidad de Tarapacá is rapidly matching best practice anywhere in the world, whilst tailoring practice to very specific local needs.

### **ACKNOWLEDGEMENT**

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### **NOTES**

- 1 The post-graduate studies referred to were sponsored by the British Council, the Fundación Andes and the Universidad de Tarapacá.
- 2 The research project was supported by the Universidad de Tarapacá, 1988–9 (see Cordova-González *et al.* 1989).
- 3 The project was a joint one between the Department of Archaeology and Museology and the Department of Philosophy and Psychology (see Cordova-González *et al.* 1994; Cordova-González and Cuadra 1996).

- 4 A three-year project, FONDECYT no. 1960683, 1996–8. The author coordinated the research with team members Yanko Ossandón, Diego Aracena and Ibar Ramírez (Department of Computing and Information), Jorge Bernal (Department of Economics and Finance) and Carlos Herrera (Department of Education).

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