Ethical Archaeologies: The Politics of Social Justice 2

Alfredo González-Ruibal
Gabriel Moshenska *Editors*

Ethics and the Archaeology of Violence

World Archaeological Congress

Springer

Ethical Archaeologies: The Politics of Social Justice

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ISBN 978-1-4939-1642-9 ISBN 978-1-4939-1643-6 (eBook)
DOI 10.1007/978-1-4939-1643-6
Springer New York Heidelberg Dordrecht London

Library of Congress Control Number: 2014950680

Printed on acid-free paper

Springer is part of Springer Science+Business Media (www.springer.com)

Ethical Archaeologies: The Politics of Social Justice

Archaeology remains burdened by modern/Western values. Codified, these values harden into ethics with specific cultural and temporal foundations; indeed, ethics are contextual, shifting, and negotiated entanglements of intent and practice that often conflict. Yet, archaeologists may uncritically mask these contexts unless they are adequately aware of the discipline's history and of their location in a globalized world order with its imprint of imperial, colonial, and neo-colonial values. A responsible and socially committed archaeology must historicize its ethical principles, showing how contingent they are and what kind of needs they are serving.

By adopting a global coverage that brings together academic activism for a historicized ethics, universally created lacunae surrounding disciplinary concepts such as the archaeological record, stewardship, and multivocality, as well as broader concerns of race, class, and gender, can be discussed and acted upon. The four volumes comprising the *Ethical archaeologies*: *the politics of social justice* series discuss historically based ethics in the practice of archaeology and related fields—anthropology, museology, indigenous and heritage studies, law, education—and highlight the struggle for social justice, in which the discipline can participate.

In this series we accept that social justice is broadly about equality *and the right to freedom from* any kind of discrimination or abuse. It is about seeking to transform the current order of the world, in which the hegemony of the Western cosmology still reigns with its ideas of individuality, linear time, development, competition, and progress. Thus, social justice is also about the positioning in our research and disciplinary practices of nonmodern values about life, time, past, place, and heritage.

Hardened into reified principles, as they continue to be, ethical concerns have served to reproduce epistemic hierarchies and privileges. If archaeologists are content with what the ethical preoccupations of the last two decades have achieved, their trumpeted engagement with politics and justice is meaningless. If the ethics of archaeology continue to simply further embed disciplinary privileges, social justice is not a horizon of fulfillment. If ethics are just disciplinary preoccupations, ways of better accommodating the discipline to changing times, social justice is an empty

expression. For these reasons, this series aims to position the values of equality and freedom from all discrimination at the center of archaeological thinking and practice. The four volumes are not toolkits or guides for standardized, universal, ethical conduct, but critically informed, self-reflective discussions of ethical problems and potentials.

Cristóbal Gnecco
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Chapter 1
Introduction: The Only Way is Ethics

Gabriel Moshenska and Alfredo González-Ruibal

Introduction

Working in conflict and post-conflict environments presents a number of distinctive challenges for archaeologists. While all archaeological work involves risks and uncertainties, these are amplified and exacerbated in contexts of physical and structural violence. Elements of archaeological practice that are usually thought of as reasonably routine, such as health and safety and site security, can become extremely problematic. Meanwhile the aspects of archaeological work that are generally understood to be problematic, such as the recovery of human remains and working with indigenous communities, are imbued with even greater significance and risk. Those of us who practice what we would regard as socially aware, reflexive archaeology have become accustomed to considering the wider political, economic and social contexts and implications of our work, and building these considerations into our praxis. Archaeologies of violence transform these critical practices from an intellectual exercise into a practical necessity: in a few cases a matter of life and death. In this context it is reasonable to argue that archaeologies of violence require a uniquely comprehensive and critical approach to ethics.

Ethics, and specifically applied ethics, is concerned with establishing right and wrong in human behaviour. The ethical project in archaeology has a long and turbulent history: we are confident that the volume and ferocity of ethical debate is a measure

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A. González-Ruibal, G. Moshenska (eds.), *Ethics and the Archaeology of Violence*, Ethical Archaeologies: The Politics of Social Justice 2,
DOI 10.1007/978-1-4939-1643-6_1

of its good health. Most ethical considerations in archaeology are implicit rather than explicit, but in hazardous environments it is vital that an open and critical ethical discourse be allowed to exist, and that archaeologists approach their work with as clear-sighted a view as possible of its likely implications and effects. As an intellectual community we have a common interest and responsibility to maintain a critical and productive ethical discourse.

The papers in this book are contributions to this ongoing discussion, providing insights into the cutting edge of theory and practice in the ethics of archaeologies of violence. Our aim in assembling these papers has been to draw on case studies from around the world, including historical and contemporary examples, to illustrate the complexities and conundrums of this field. In turn we hope that the papers in this book will be of value to archaeologists working in conflict and post-conflict environments, offering insights based on others' often hard-earned experience. At the same time we want to stimulate debate around archaeological ethics in the widest possible sense, based on the belief that ethics should lie at the heart of archaeological practice rather than being tagged on as an afterthought. The case studies in this book illustrate the hurt, harm, uncertainty and anguish that can result from archaeologies of violence. Our overarching aim for this book is that it can contribute in some small way to the amelioration of these effects in future archaeological work.

Background

The intellectual context from which this book emerges combines two of the most exciting and dynamic threads in archaeological thought over the last decade: the archaeological study of recent and modern conflicts, and the growing concern with the ethics of archaeological practice. These trends are worth examining in a little more detail.

Archaeologies of Violence

The study of violence in the archaeological record is not a new idea. The venerable discipline of battlefield archaeology has formed the basis for wide ranging studies of the artefacts, sites and landscapes of violent conflict, ranging from prehistory to the American Civil War. As battlefield archaeology has evolved it has come to include detailed analyses of human remains and interdisciplinary approaches to combat landscapes (Carman and Carman 2006; Fiorato et al. 2000). The idea of studying the material remains of twentieth and twenty-first century conflicts emerged in part from this tradition of battlefield archaeology, but also drew on a number of other fields (Schofield et al. 2002; Moshenska 2013). From heritage management came the idea that even recent material remains of conflict were worthy of protection, preservation and recording. From material culture studies and

anthropology came ever more sophisticated interdisciplinary approaches to violent heritage as the traces of human agency and interaction, as well as the emerging idea of material agency. From forensic science and criminology came the idea that bodies have stories to tell and that these can serve a therapeutic and commemorative purpose as well a legal one. Finally, the idea that archaeological techniques and concepts could be applied to the very recent or contemporary past has had significant impacts, as researchers have been drawn towards the study of the material manifestations of contemporary processes of oppression and violence. This has also encouraged a more holistic view of the archaeology of violence that recognises the ways in which conflicts affect every dimension of a society: we have moved a long way from the battlefield, into the workplace, the home and the everyday. Two of the most significant outcomes of this process of interdisciplinary growth and evolution have been the widening of the category "conflict" to include both physical and structural violence; and the understanding that archaeological studies of violent episodes in the past share many important features with archaeological work taking place amidst ongoing violence: not least in their common ethical problems.

So far, we have briefly traced the intellectual genealogy of the field, but it would be a mistake to think that the archaeology of contemporary violence is a top–down process (from academia to society). Given the social and political relevance of this research, in many contexts it has been the reverse: members of grassroots associations, victims and victims' relatives, rather than researchers, have been the first to call attention to sites of conflict, often because they or their relatives were victimised there. This is the case in Argentina, for instance (see Salerno and Zarankin 2014). At times people have even borrowed archaeological methods, as in Berlin's topography of terror (Bernbeck and Pollock 2007), or have asked for the collaboration of archaeologists, as with the unmarked graves of the Spanish Civil War and the dictatorship in Uruguay (Ferrándiz 2006; Renshaw 2011; López-Mazz 2014). Thus, it is perhaps better to envisage the archaeologies of violence as a symmetrical field, where a variety of stakeholders and a diverse academic community influence and nurture each other, but may also collide and part ways (González-Ruibal 2007; Moshenska 2014).

Archaeological Ethics

Studies in archaeological ethics over the past decade have seen considerable growth in a number of key areas, and a general expansion and development of the field as a whole. Of particular note are the increased (but by no means universal) levels of intellectual sophistication in discussions of archaeological ethics, as archaeologists have begun to engage with philosophers and scholars in related fields such as bioethics (Colwell-Chanthaphonh and Ferguson 2006; Scarre 2006). This is of particular value, as it is fair to say that archaeological ethics have been generally (and still widely) characterised by poor understandings of ethics as a field of study, leading to a preponderance of dreary texts with little value or impact beyond demonstrating the

authors' good intentions. The growth of archaeological ethics is best demonstrated by the impressive pile of edited volumes published in recent years (e.g., Hamilakis and Duke 2007; Karlsson 2004; Meskell and Pels 2005; Scarre and Scarre 2006; Stone 2011; Vitelli and Colwell-Chanthaphonh 2006; Zimmerman et al. 2003), and by a growing number of articles.

It is worth wondering, however, why it has taken so long to the discipline to develop a profound reflection on ethics (beyond deontology), if compared with other fields, such as anthropology, where debates had already started in the 1970s (Jorgensen 1971). An answer might be that archaeologists have considered that their primary ethical responsibility was to the remains of the past (the object of study) rather than with living communities as is the case with anthropology. Since the reflexive turn of post-processual archaeology in the 1980s, the many stakeholders involved in the archaeological process have been increasingly taken into account. It is probably not surprising that the relationship between archaeologists and indigenous communities has been the object of the first (and fiercest) debates surrounding archaeology and ethics. This long-running discussion is now characterised by a growing degree of constructive dialogue and interventions by indigenous people and archaeologists (e.g. Watkins 2003; Zachrisson 2004). Despite these developments there is a growing sense that while some of the relationships between archaeologists and indigenous peoples have improved in recent years, the main structural inequalities remain intact and the form and forums of these dialogues have changed little in the last quarter of a century or more.

Many of the situations that we encounter in conflict archaeology bear a resemblance to the relationship between archaeologists and indigenous peoples: in both cases we deal with communities (or descendant communities) that have suffered violence and that now want their voice to be taken into account and justice to be done. Ethical issues that have been considered in conflict archaeology include the implications of exhuming mass graves (Steele 2008, see Congram 2014; Blau 2014), the responsibilities of archaeologists working in conflict zones (Heinz 2008) and the work with witnesses and victims in situ (Moshenska 2009). Another key area of ethical discourse in conflict archaeology is around the destruction and looting of archaeological sites, particularly following the US-led invasion and occupation of Iraq in 2003 (Curtis 2009; Hamilakis 2003; Hollowell 2006). The debates focused on the assignment of blame for the damage, and on the appropriate responses to the looting threat, and became particularly heated at the 2003 WAC in Washington DC (Hardy 2014). Many of the ongoing debates have centred around the ethics of archaeologists working in or alongside the military to prevent or ameliorate the predictable negative impacts of military action on archaeological remains (Rush 2010; Stone 2011). These issues in turn became the focus of extremely vigorous debate at the 2008 WAC in Dublin (Price 2009).

The growth of archaeological ethics can also be seen in the emergence of particularising studies of ethics for specific sub-disciplines and areas. These include maritime archaeology (Flatman 2007); underwater archaeology (Iregren 2004); and the archaeology of modern conflict (Moshenska 2008). These wider disciplinary trends provide a background and a context for this volume.

Key Themes in This Volume

The papers in this volume demonstrate the diversity that exists within archaeologies of violence, from the Spanish Civil War and Nazi occupied Europe to contemporary Israel/Palestine and Rwanda. Despite this variety and the extensive temporal and geographical range of the case studies we present, there are a number of important themes that pervade the book, and which are strengthened by drawing on different combinations of the papers it contains.

Violence and Structural Violence

One of the most important aims of this volume is to contribute to the broadening of the concepts of violence in archaeology. In moving the archaeology of violence ever further from the paradigm of battlefield archaeology, we intend to widen both the perspective from which we view episodes of violence, and the ways in which we conceptualise violence itself. In the first case, the papers by Giblin, López Mazz and González-Ruibal et al. illustrate the degrees to which violent conflict permeates deep into the material and social fabric of societies. Salerno and Zarankin's study of sites of memory illustrates the variety of material and immaterial things to which traces of memory can adhere, making them part of the heritage of violence. This ability of episodes of violence to write themselves powerfully and often indelibly onto the material and social worlds underlines the need for more and better archaeologies of violence, and for a greater concern for self-consciously ethical practice.

However the more powerful theme that pervades many of the papers in this volume is that of structural violence, "harm inflicted on people through large-scale social, political and economic institutions or systems, many of them international in scope" (Bernbeck 2008:393). Structural violence is a controversial and problematic concept, arguably synonymous with more familiar terms such as oppression, structural inequality or systematic exploitation. However the value of structural violence as a theory is that it illuminates and forces us to confront the aspects of our society, culture and everyday lives that impact negatively on others, including people physically distant from ourselves: for instance, in general terms, the economic exploitation and ecological despoliation of the Global South by the Global North.

Structural violence is related to Pierre Bourdieu's notion of symbolic violence: "unrecognizable, socially recognized violence," a form of violence which is simultaneously "more present and more hidden," gentle and merciless, and permeates all the social fabric (Bourdieu 1977:191–192). Furthermore, symbolic violence requires the complicity of those who suffer the violence (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992:167). This is the kind of oppression that may occur within academic institutions in dictatorial or post-dictatorial societies, in relations between archaeologists and governments (Dezhamkhooy et al. 2014) and in post-conflict societies, where the memory of open, physical violence is still too alive and people feel forced, by subtle

means, to remain silent and compliant. This kind of symbolic violence has affected Argentina and other Latin American countries and, perhaps more insidiously, Spain: the long duration of soft forms of social violence (especially in rural areas) have turned it structural and difficult to deal with. This has affected archaeologists, anthropologists and historians working on mass graves, since some witnesses and relatives are often reluctant to participate in the research for fear of reprisals and social ostracism (see Renshaw 2011).

Regarding academic and professional environments, Bernbeck's discussion of structural violence in archaeology notes that it ascribes responsibility for violence not only to the impersonal institutions but also to the individuals who work within them, apparently ignorant or uninterested in the effects of their work (2008:394). Viewed through this lens, the papers in this volume take on a new coherence, providing a view of archaeologists on both sides: as victims and, at other times, as perpetrators of structural violence. Perhaps the clearest example of the latter is Greenberg's paper, which describes in detail the author's growing understanding of the intellectual, economic and social structures within which his archaeological work was grounded, and the real and potential harms implicit in those institutions. Congram's examination of the ethical implications of taking part in processes that might constitute unfair "victor's justice" is a very clear-sighted critique of the potential perversions of the legal system into means of inflicting structural violence. Steinel's historical study shows an archaeologist becoming a willing participant in the creation of intellectual structures dedicated to extreme and aggressive processes of structural violence (see also Arnold 1990; Pringle 2006). The overall view that emerges from these and other studies, of archaeologists as often willing (if generally blinkered) components of oppressive structures is by no means an easy one, but it is precisely such discomforting revelations that constitute the most pressing ethical burdens upon us, and reinforce the vital importance of ethical self-interrogation and self-critique such as that in the papers by Greenberg and Giblin.

In contrast, the paper by Dezhamkhooy et al. provides one of the clearest examples of archaeologists (and scholars in general) as victims of structural violence in one of its most straightforward forms, the oppressive totalitarian political regime. This is echoed to a less extreme extent in the papers by Giblin, González-Ruibal et al., López Mazz, Salerno and Zarankin and others, which reflect on the ways in which research into the heritage of violent pasts and the protection of its related sites relates closely to the dominant political and cultural structures in the countries in question, whether operating directly through ministries and state bodies such as the police, or less directly through universities and professional associations. Overall the papers in this volume make it clear that structural violence is too pervasive for archaeologists to exist outside it, or to define themselves as either victims or perpetrators: rather, drawing on ideas of habitus and the reproduction of sociocultural structures, we can aspire to a better understanding of the ways in which our actions serve to reinforce or, conversely, challenge existing structures of power. This desire to better understand ourselves, our work and the contexts within which we enact it is a fundamental component of the ethical project.

The Temporality of Ethics

Time is inextricably related to ethics in the social sciences. Fabian (1983) revealed how the anthropologists' displacement of their objects of study to another time (allochronism) had important ethical implications in the way it constituted them as a prehistoric Other. More recently, Birth (2008) has replied warning of the ethical problems of the opposite (homochronism): dissolving the time of the Other in a Western temporality. We may think that archaeologists do not have this problem, since we do work with people from another time, people that are dead, but is this really so? The archaeology of the contemporary past and, more specifically, the archaeology of modern conflict make the boundaries between past and present fuzzy. It is not only that we work (as anthropologists do) with people that are both the object of our research and living individuals (victims, victims' relatives, witnesses), it is also that we usually work with a "non-absent past"—in the words of historian Ewa Domanska (2005).

Domanska considers the dichotomy present/absent unsatisfactory and suggests the pair of concepts non-present/non-absent. She argues that historical debates have focused excessively on the non-present past (the representation of something that no longer exists) and have forgotten the non-absent. This is a category beyond representation—"a past that is somehow still present, that will not go away or, rather, that of which we cannot rid ourselves"—and that she sees epitomised in the *desaparecidos*, the people kidnapped by the state in the Southern Cone who were never seen alive again. "The liminality and "monstrosity" of the disappeared," writes Domanska (2005:402), "of whom we do not know whether he/she is dead or alive prevents the trauma of loss from being healed by means of rituals." Their ghosts haunt the present: they refuse to become simply absent and therefore condition politics, social and individual memory, the urban space and the relations between the recent past and long-term history (see Salerno and Zarankin 2014; López-Mazz 2014). A similar situation can be found in Spain with the dead and the disappeared of the Spanish Civil War and Franco's dictatorship (Renshaw 2011). Similar to Domanska's ideas are Bevernage's notion of spectral time (2008). He has shown that jurisdiction and history work with antagonistic temporalities. The latter presupposes absence (time as irreversible) and the former presence: the time of jurisdiction is not reversible, but assumes that the crime is not absent, but present and therefore can be punished. As opposed to both, Bevernage suggest a spectral time, based on Derrida (1994), which bypasses the dichotomies of both jurisprudence and historicism. In a sense, we could argue that the non-absent or spectral time is the time of archaeology, because it refers to the past in the present or, rather, of the effects of the past in the present, which is central to archaeological temporalities (Olsen et al. 2012). This has not only epistemological and political consequences, but ethical ones as well, especially when we deal with crimes against humanity (González-Ruibal et al. 2011:60–61). For philosopher Daniel Innerarity (2001:66), the spectral time is not necessarily a problem. On the contrary, by assuming an ethical responsibility towards those who are absent or missing, to the spirit of

victims and to the people of the future, we avoid being closed in a permanent present that sees as a menace any other aspect of human temporality. He argues that there can be no true justice and solidarity without defending the rights of those who are absent (*derechos de los ausentes*). To do an archaeology of violence is, in a way, veiling for the rights of the absent.

We have a particular responsibility towards the spectral past because we help, in a sense, to awake its ghosts. When we work with traces of recent violence we have to reflect upon the potential repercussions of our actions. This is perhaps more so in archaeology than in other related disciplines because our research actually produces tangible evidence: we excavate and expose concentration camps (see Pollock and Bernbeck 2014) and mass graves (Blau 2014; Congram 2014). We show corpses and evidence of horror that could not be seen before (only imagined or remembered). The revelations may cause a psychological shock to the people connected to those stories of violence: in Spain, psychologists often work side by side with archaeologists and forensic scientists in mass graves. They may also cause a political shock: what are the chances that the sites that we excavate and re-materialise are used by political extremists or totalitarian nostalgics? How can we prevent political misuses? These questions are not only pertinent for the recent past: distant times revealed through archaeology are also entangled in different ways with the present. When Indian archaeologists in Ayodhya claimed to have identified the remains of a Hindu temple destroyed during the construction of the Babri Mosque in 1527, riots ensued, the mosque was demolished and around two thousand people died (Bernbeck and Pollock 1996). The remote past and the present can be closer than we think and contemporary conflicts make this particularly evident. A similar situation is explored by John Giblin (2014). Excavating traces of violence in Rwanda cannot be innocent after the genocide: it opens the door to multiple interpretations and may destabilise the new master narrative of peaceful historical coexistence sponsored by the government. Should archaeologists refrain from studying some types of evidence because of their potential effects? In some cases, they probably should.

The above discussion is related to another question of ethics and temporality: the intersections between different forms of historical injustices. López Mazz shows that archaeology is particularly well suited to understand both present injustices in the long term and the relations between forms of violence that might be considered independent. The contemporary depredations of multinationals in Uruguay are in many ways related to early colonial violence in the sixteenth century and the *desaparecidos* of the 1970s. These intersections evince the need to extend the commitment of archaeologists, who should not only be ethically concerned with the people of the present and the artefacts of the past, but also with the people of the past—and the materiality of the present.

Stakeholder Communities

Identifying and collaborating with diverse stakeholder communities has been a growing concern in archaeological ethics for some time, and in a variety of contexts around the world it has led to improved relationships between archaeologists and

the people affected by our work. Archaeologies of violence raise a number of problems for archaeologists wishing to work with and alongside living communities to study the material remains of the past. Violent conflicts can lead to the destruction, displacement or dispersal of local communities through violence or the threat or fear of violence. González-Ruibal et al.'s work on the Spanish Civil War highlights one of the problems with considering "communities" in an uncritical manner: where conflicts in the past have divided geographical communities along religious, political or ethnic lines, these schisms can endure for generations after the conflict has ended. As the authors observe, for this and other reasons civil conflicts raise particularly difficult ethical problems, and require the archaeologists to possess or acquire a detailed and nuanced understanding of the communities likely to be affected by or interested in the excavations.

In studies of episodes of violent oppression in the past, there is often interest from communities who feel an ideological or cultural connection to the events in question, even if they have no direct connection. Such groups can have a positive impact on the archaeology—indeed, they can include archaeologists, as the paper by Salerno and Zarankin demonstrates. However, in cases involving human remains there is often a tension between the interests of the relatives of the dead, who may wish to conceal or downplay the ideological legacy of the dead, and the self-appointed ideological heirs who want to memorialise them in a more strident manner. This also raises a more problematic point, regarding archaeologists who see themselves as political activists, working in politically polarised conflict or post-conflict environments: this applies to a considerable proportion of the papers in this volume. While the idea that archaeological work can be politically neutral is widely and correctly regarded as arcane, archaeologists take a number of risks when they explicitly connect their work to an ideological agenda. These include the risk of attack (both verbal and physical) from those opposed to the archaeologists' agenda; the ridiculing or dismissal of their work as propaganda by political opponents within archaeology; and conflicts with other stakeholders who feel (rightly or wrongly) that their political position has led to their exclusion from the archaeological discourse. In environments where archaeological work is dependent on government licencses or permissions, overtly politicised work can be impacted by changes in the political landscape. In summary, archaeologists whose work is explicitly or implicitly connected to a political agenda—or even if it can be perceived that way—should carefully consider the ethical implications of their work as it impacts on both the stakeholder communities and on themselves. Even when the researcher is not politically committed or does not double as activist, his or her mere presence in a community undergoing conflict can put members of that community at risk (Goodhand 2000). Those who collaborate with archaeologists may be perceived to have taken sides with a particular political faction. This is, of course, very much the case with "embedded" archaeologists and anthropologists.

The displacement and dispersal of communities that often takes place during violent conflicts raises another problematic issue; that of stakeholder communities physically distant from the heritage that they lay claim to. This issue has arguably been conceptualised by Price (2006) as "orphan heritage," focusing on the issue of war graves and memorials spread across the world. In some cases the absent

stakeholders are the victims of ethnic cleansing or, as described in Giblin's paper, the losing side in an ethnic conflict driven into exile. This links to Greenberg's description of working on a West Bank settlement, where the absent stakeholders are those Palestinian families driven from their land and now forming part of a community in exile. They are stakeholders in the excavations of their land but have no ability to influence the work or even to know that it is taking place. Another situation of displacement and exile, with important archaeological and ethical implications, is the one studied by Olga Sezneva (2007) in Kaliningrad (former Königsberg). Here, the German population left at the end of the Second World War. The new inhabitants (Russian and Ukranian) now excavate in the city, destroyed during the war and heavily rebuilt, to look for its German roots and to create a sense of belonging by appropriating an alien past. At the same time, many also dig for financial gain and damage the archaeological record, while the former inhabitants have little say in this expropriation of their history (to which they can only have access by buying mementos from clandestine diggers).

The papers on forensic archaeology and anthropology by Blau and Congram raise a distinct set of problems: the limits to outside stakeholder participation or engagement in the archaeological process when it is carried out as part of the forensic process, i.e. to collect evidence for criminal prosecutions. Here the needs of various stakeholder communities—including, arguably, the dead individuals themselves—are deemed secondary to the main aim of providing the grounds for successful prosecutions of murderers. Furthermore, research goals and practices that are deemed legitimate (or even compulsory) in other contexts cannot be fulfilled in some forensic processes. The ethical obligation to publish the results of excavations, for instance, which is fundamental in archaeology, has to be suspended due to the legal demand of secrecy while the matter is *sub judice*. As the papers demonstrate, these divergent needs can cause a great deal of soul-searching amongst the practitioners, and lead them to raise fundamental questions about the ethical dimensions of their practices. In some cases, however, forensic scientists may face stakeholder communities that do not want to recover the bodies of their victims at all. This can be the case for political reasons, as with some groups in Argentina (Crossland 2000), or for religious ones, as with some Jewish groups (Colls 2012). The sondages conducted by Kola (2000) in Belzec brought an outcry from Jewish communities, because the archaeologist drilled through human remains, which cannot be disturbed in any way according to Halakhic law. The ethical stance here might seem straightforward: not to exhume. In fact, after Kola, other archaeologists have decided to use non-invasive techniques to document bodies or to look for other kinds of evidence (Gilead et al. 2009; Colls 2012). Yet the question is more complex. Neither the Jews nor the relatives of the *desaparecidos* are a homogeneous group. There may be non-observant or secular Jews who may be interested in forensic exhumations being carried out (many of the exterminated Jews, in fact, did not follow the Halakha) and there are relatives and friends of *desaparecidos* who are indeed intent on recovering their bodies. In the case of the Nazi genocide, there is the added complication of many non-Jewish people (Slavs, Roma, homosexuals) having been exterminated along with the Jews; some may want exhumations to take place. In the case of Spain, there are instances

when some relatives wish to exhume the bodies from a mass grave while others do not. The most famous case affected the grave of Federico García Lorca, whose descendants (none of them direct relatives) did not want it to be located and excavated. The problem is that the poet was buried with at least two other people. The case of public persons like García Lorca begs for another question: should the family have the last say? It might be argued that, on the one hand, the killing was a crime and as such it has to be investigated *ex officio*, and, on the other, that the attack on Lorca was not on an individual per se, but on a symbol of Spanish culture.

Hardy's paper raises another important question for archaeologists working alongside vulnerable stakeholder communities in conflict and post-conflict environments, which is how to reconcile the need to protect archaeological heritage with the fundamental human rights of local communities. The problem of looting for subsistence in conflict and post-conflict situations has also been addressed by other authors (Matsuda 1998; Hollowell 2006; also Rush 2014): their research suggests that the destruction of archaeological heritage is more ambiguous and ethically complex than one may think. In any case, it is obvious that the phenomenon of looting in a society impoverished by war and political repression cannot be judged with the same ethical standards as in other situations. Among other things, it leads to the difficult ethical position of placing archaeological heritage on a hierarchy of needs alongside factors such as food, shelter and security. To ask such questions is to enter into a deeply problematic area of academic ethics: equally, to ignore these questions altogether would be just as problematic if not more so. By placing the emphasis on diggers, basic human needs and conflict on the ground, however, we might be overlooking the wider politico-economic picture and its ethical implications: after all, looting is in the first instance a "crime of the powerful," committed by art and antiquities dealers and private collectors (Mackenzie 2011), who often disregard the violent origins of the artefacts they purchase.

The Responsibilities of Archaeologists

One of the most fundamental ethical questions in archaeology is: to what or whom does an archaeologist owe loyalty? This question has been raised in a number of contexts, and requires us to ask further, even more fundamental questions about what an archaeologist is and does; the variety of archaeological careers; and the nature of our relationship to past materials and individuals (e.g. Pluciennik 2001; Tarlow 2006; Scarre 2006; Wylie 2005). Hamilakis's important study of archaeologists as intellectuals (1999) recognises the interconnectedness of these questions and their sociopolitical salience, but hints at the ethical morass that lies beneath them. The papers in this volume take a variety of implicit and explicit perspectives on these questions, focusing on different aspects of, or perspectives on the responsibilities of archaeologists.

Steinel's paper raises uncomfortable questions not only about the role of archaeologists in supporting and reinforcing totalitarian regimes, but also about the

international archaeological community of the mid-twentieth century and its willingness to rehabilitate formerly extremist scholars. Moshenska's study of public engagement in conflict archaeology focuses on the archaeologist as educator, and the wider responsibility of scholars to communicate the results of their work as widely and accessibly as possible.

Congram's ruminations on the problems of international judicial structures highlight the difficulties for specialists such as forensic anthropologists and archaeologists to evaluate the legitimacy of the legal processes within which they are employed. Rush's paper makes a spirited defence of archaeologists working with and within the military in order to better fulfil the professional obligation to protect and preserve vulnerable archaeological heritage. Meanwhile Hardy argues that basic humanitarian concerns should trump archaeologists' responsibilities for the integrity of archaeological sites when the needs of subsistence diggers—looters struggling to provide for themselves and their families—are taken into account.

Many of the papers in this volume confront aspects of what has become known as the "dual loyalty" problem (International Dual Loyalty Working Group 2008). Largely a feature of bioethical debate, dual loyalty refers to the situation of a doctor forced to choose between their responsibility to their patient and their loyalty to their employer or nation, when the interests of the two parties are in conflict. For example, a doctor who had served in the British Army was recently struck off the medical register—effectively barring him from practicing medicine—after he was found to have failed to report injuries to a man who was detained by the army in Iraq in 2003, and beaten to death by British soldiers. The doctor was forced to choose between his loyalty to his unit and his responsibility to the patient in front of him, and chose the former. That he faced censure for his decision is unusual: most discussions of dual loyalty focus on the role of doctors in torture, where they are expected to assess the patient's ability to survive torture and to monitor them during the torture. The core of the dual loyalty problem is the idea that an individual has both a profession that demands certain ethical standards and loyalty to a nation or religious, ethnic or political group.

The concept of dual loyalty in archaeologies of violence is an interesting one, although the only contribution to the discussion to date is by Fritz Allhoff, a bioethicist best known as a strong defender of the torture of terror suspects by the US government (2011). As Allhoff notes, military physicians are obliged to follow orders, but these can come into conflict with their duties as doctors to beneficence and non-malfeasance: to aid the patient and not to exacerbate their suffering. The problem of negotiating what Allhoff calls "simultaneous obligations" (2011:45) is an inherently difficult one made more so when, as in the case of archaeologists, there is no binding disciplinary code of conduct comparable to the Hippocratic oath, nor is there even a consensus as to who or what we owe loyalty—the material remains of the past, the people of the past, the people of the present and future, our profession, our employers or our countries.

In any case, few archaeologists are likely to concur with Allhoff's suggestion that, as they are neither lawyers nor politicians, archaeologists are unqualified to comment on the legality of the Iraq war (or any other war or occupation) and should

restrict themselves to working to protect the archaeological materials, making whatever alliances or compromises are required along the way (Allhoff 2011:51–52). The struggles with dual loyalties in this volume take a more nuanced form. Greenberg's paper is arguably an account of his own realisation that he had been working in a dual loyalty situation for years without recognising it as such. Blau explores these issues in the context of forensic work where the archaeologist's professionalism and professional identity can form a key component of a prosecution or defence case. Hardy's short paper implies that the professional responsibilities of the archaeologist—as compared, perhaps, to a doctor—should weigh little in the balance of loyalties.

Some archaeologists now claim that our ethical responsibilities (and loyalties) have to be extended to the things themselves (Olsen et al. 2012:200–203); that we have to care for neglected, marginalised objects. Irrespective of what our position may be on this, the fact is that we are responsible for the materialities of the past in different ways. We pointed out above that we often reveal material traces of violence that were not visible (or less visible) before our intervention. These traces can have a life of their own. Eelco Runia (2006:306–308) argues that the tortures in Abu Ghraib prison were at least in part motivated by the materiality of the place as a torture centre: "the past may have a presence that is so powerful that it can use us, humans, as its material." Disclosing sites of violence, like opening Pandora's Box, may have unforeseen consequences. Although their effects may not be as critical as reusing a space of torture as a prison, their materiality can still have a negative influence on present society. However, not managing negative heritage is usually more pernicious than the opposite. Through active interventions on sites of violence, we do not only bring attention to an often repressed history, we also open up an arena for ethical debate.

Conclusion

More and more archaeologists are working on sites of past or present violence, whether by choice or by necessity, and are finding themselves faced with the kinds of ethical problems outlined in the papers in this volume. The material remains of violence—physical and symbolic, episodic and structural—are vast and ever-increasing, and they make distinctive demands of scholars. Whether in forensic investigations of crimes against humanity, research driven studies of conflict heritage or developer-funded rescue excavations of sites of violence, archaeologists studying violence in the recent past share a number of common concerns and interests including those outlined above. We cannot offer these papers as solutions to these problems; rather, we consider them to be offerings to the ongoing ethical discourse within archaeology—a cacophonous, occasionally platitudinous and often bad tempered one—to which all archaeologists are invited and actively encouraged to contribute.

For those less familiar with the fields of conflict archaeology, conflict heritage and archaeology in conflict we hope that the papers in this book will be an eye-opening

view of a dynamic and exciting area of research united under the unpleasant but pervasive heading of violence in all its forms. We believe that the lessons that can be extracted from these papers are by no means restricted to the fields of conflict or contemporary archaeology, but rather address some fundamental ethical issues that archaeologists working across different geographical and cultural contexts and research themes are likely to find. Our case studies are drawn from across the world from Uruguay and Argentina to Iran, Israel/Palestine, Germany and Rwanda. They include studies in the history of archaeology, ethnographies of contemporary heritage practices, biographical and autobiographical accounts, popularly held views and unpopular ones as well. As a whole they represent a cross-section of a part of the discipline that is struggling with ethical dilemmas in every aspect of its practice: learning from the past, engaging in the present and preparing for the future.

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Chapter 2
Ethics in Action: A Viewpoint from Israel/Palestine

Raphael Greenberg

In this chapter I would like to offer a personal view of the concept of ethical practice in archaeology—one that has evolved almost independently of the academic discourse on the subject, through experience and direct interaction with the subjects and objects of archaeology in Israel and occupied Palestine. I would like also to address an issue that is often left outside the conference hall: why the past is crucial to conflict resolution, why it should never be left out of the political conversation, and why archaeologists should take the initiative in promoting interpretations of the past that are not inimical to people's well-being in the present. I will begin with the question, "who needs ethics in archaeology?" which I will approach in an autobiographical way. I will follow with some comments on archaeological codes of ethics and with the question, "archaeology—why and for whom?" in answer to which I will try to outline some modes of ethical practice, particularly where the past is contested.

Who Needs Ethics in Archaeology?

Why do archaeological organizations have codes of ethics, in contrast to, say, Assyriologists or Classical historians? The answer, in a nutshell, is that ethics are needed because we are so instrumental in creating our data, rather than merely manipulating it, and because whenever we dig we do so in the public domain and change the world (for better or worse). This, however, requires elaboration, which I shall offer by way of example. Back in my earliest days in archaeology, things seemed simple and clear. I had left behind a degree in English literature, where the clouds of post-modernist theory were gathering on the horizon, and entered into the

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A. González-Ruibal, G. Moshenska (eds.), *Ethics and the Archaeology of Violence*, Ethical Archaeologies: The Politics of Social Justice 2,
DOI 10.1007/978-1-4939-1643-6_2

sunlit world of field archaeology. Facts were stark, waiting to be collected and catalogued, and an enlightened positivism held sway. Although I considered myself politically aware, I held firmly by the dictum I had heard so often from my father, who was a university professor: "politics have no place in academia." I never had the sense to ask what qualifies as politics. I simply assumed that it was anything that had to do with value-based opinions and non-negotiable beliefs, and was therefore not a question of laws of nature, book knowledge, and rational argument. Archaeology therefore was to be about dead people and the things they left behind, most of it broken, useless, and of little effect in the real world.

Digging away in my first paid job, in Jerusalem's City of David (the 1978–1985 Hebrew University excavations), I was certain that our back-breaking labor, our meticulous recording methods, and our commitment to neutrality were the guarantors of scientific, not to say moral, integrity.[1] If the idyll was marred by massive anti-archaeological demonstrations mounted by the Jewish ultra-orthodox community, which claimed that we were digging up Jewish ancestors in order to further our academic careers, that was purely the political posturing of benighted souls, and could have no real relation to our work. And if occasionally our director embellished the facts in order to make a donor pleased, or to flatter a visiting dignitary—well, that was the kind of thing that had to be done to oil the wheels of science. It would not filter down to our fieldwork.

Gradually, things began to get a little less clear. In 1981 I found myself excavating in Deir el-Balah, in the Gaza Strip. This site had been "discovered" by the former Defense Minister Moshe Dayan, who employed Hamad Abu Shmas, a local Bedouin with an eye for ancient tombs, to enrich his private collection. After robbing most of the contents of the magnificent Egyptian cemetery of about 1300 BCE, Dayan finally relented and let one of his personal archaeologist acquaintances in on the secret. She received a consolation prize—a handful of extraordinary tombs that Hamad helped located for her—as well as the site associated with the cemetery: the fascinating New Kingdom fortress of Deir el-Balah (Dothan 2008). On site, we were guests of Hamad and his extended family, with a token IDF guard overlooking the excavation. We were housed in the nearby Jewish settlement of Qatif. We excavated thanks to a deal cut by our director, according to which a huge sand-dune covering the site was to be removed—the expense paid for by selling the sand—and the site was to revert to the local landowner after excavation, to be farmed. There were no "politics" on the site. But there was something surreal in the entire setup: a maze of conflicting interests, a cycle of exploitation, in which Science played a carefully scripted role.

A short while later Dayan died, and his widow sold a large part of his collection of looted antiquities to the Israel Museum for one million dollars (Kletter 2002). To those who knew, the looted anthropomorphic sarcophagai from Deir el-Balah became an emblem of the shady dealings of the antiquities trade and the inherent

[1] "Current archaeological research in Palestine tends to be professional, secular, and free from theological prejudices. It tends to acquire the objective data from field work by utilizing the best methods available…" (Mazar 1990:32). "What is of essence is the care, precision, and thoroughness with which archaeologists recover material and process data…" (Ben-Tor 1992:9).

corruption of military occupation. But in the public eye they became an emblem of Israeli archaeology itself, placed at the very entrance to the Bronfman Archaeology Wing in the renovated Israel Museum. What part did the "kosher" excavations at Deir el-Balah play in the sanitization of the Dayan collection as a whole? What was the moral cost of playing along with the looters, and was there a better alternative than that which was followed? I was beginning to ask questions, but had few answers.

Years passed, and with every new field project the questions multiplied: here a research design would be altered to accommodate the Christian agenda of the overseas participants; there the results would be phrased so as to make a government official happy. Facts became increasingly slippery and mutable, and with them—truth and moral integrity.

The turning point, for me, came in 1984. A number of graduate students had just been laid off by the Israel Exploration Society in response to demands for higher pay and social benefits. An offer came our way to participate in a very unusual excavation—the purported altar of Joshua on Mt Ebal. Now, we had long been hearing of this mysterious site. In fact, the news of its discovery had arrived a couple of years earlier, when we were digging at a site near Tel Aviv. A visitor to the site brought the news: "It's ridiculous," he added, after relating the discovery, "it can't be Joshua's altar; it has to be the tower-temple of the Elders of Shechem!," which is like saying that it's ridiculous to believe that the ancient Egyptians sailed to South America, because Atlantis would have been in the way. We knew that the excavation was in the heart of the West Bank, and that it required living in an Israeli settlement established by national-religious ideologues on the fringes of the large Palestinian town of Nablus. But the director assured us that it would be a "purely scientific" excavation; the funding was to be provided by the University of Haifa, and that he really needed a highly skilled team. I couldn't resist: an intriguing site, a decent salary, and a chance to see the much maligned settlements and the so-called benign occupation (Ben-Ari 1989:379) at close quarters.

I leave aside the politics of West Bank archaeology for now. In professional terms, here is what we saw: An interpretation of the structure had already been formed in prior seasons, so that the renewed excavations were mainly intended to flesh out those preexisting interpretations, i.e., that the structure was a large stone altar furnished with a ramp and surrounding walkway (Zertal 2000). Prior to our arrival, the excavation was not employing standard archaeological context recording methods, much to our surprise. The evidence that we discovered during that season—that the site had at least two phases of use, and that the purported altar was the later of the two, and that much of the supposed evidence for sacrifice came from the *earlier* phase—was incorporated in the interpretation only as long as it did not clash with the general understanding of the site as an early Israelite cult place. Several salient points were brought home to us by our director:

- A site is only worth digging if it poses a physical and logistic challenge. The sheer difficulty of getting to the site makes every visit there an "experience." Drama is a vital selling point for archaeology.
- A site is only worth digging if it provides "added value"—something unique and different from all other sites. If this wasn't really an altar, but some lesser

cult site—or perhaps no cult site at all—the whole excavation will have been for naught.
- Sites have a different story to tell for different people, and it is the archaeologist's business to create these parallel and sometimes contradictory stories and tailor them to their intended recipients.
- The ends pretty much justify the means, so that the truth need not be told in full to anybody concerned, if it can harm the cause.

These principles were not invented at Mount Ebal: they are common, in various guises, in archaeology in general (Holtorf 2007), and certainly in the kind of archaeology perfected and made popular in Israel by Yigael Yadin (Silberman 1993). Yet at Mount Ebal, perhaps because of the stark contrast between the alternate universes inhabited by the settlers, the military, and the Palestinians, these attributes rose plainly to view. On the last day of the dig, when our checks were brought by the local council clerk, the truth emerged: we were in the pay of the settlers, not the University. My "neutral" expertise had been serving the ideological agenda of the settler movement.

I believe the director of this excavation had several contradictory aims in mind when he started out: he wanted to make his mark, he wanted to contribute to the chronological debate on Iron Age settlement in the hills, he wanted to discover new components of material culture. But gradually, the settler-friendly aims became the only ones that were pursued to the full: the site establishes a sacred Israelite presence near Nablus and proves the veracity of the Bible. All the other aims were subject to debate within the archaeological community, and demanded an arduous process of finds-processing and full disclosure. The settlers adopted the altar interpretation without question, championed it and its originator, and could even provide funding. Instead of telling his own, archaeological story and challenging his audience to find its relevance for their lives, the archaeologist told the settlers a story that they liked, and which they could now use to offer scientific legitimacy to their political project.

This excavation revealed to me many unexpected things about the archaeological process, before I ever read a word about reflexive archaeology, before codes of ethics became a common subject of discussion in the archaeological world, before the legislation of NAGPRA and before the birth of WAC:

- That there was no "archaeological record" as such, but only what archaeologists selected and were able to retrieve from the material remains.
- That interpretation begins in the field or even before going out to the field, so there is no methodological guarantee of neutrality.
- That where you stand is very much a function of where you sit or, to shift the metaphor, if you sleep with settlers don't be surprised if you wake up as poster-boy for nationalist archaeology.
- That the archaeological act is very much embedded in the real world, so that every excavation involves a meaningful interaction in the present.
- And, lastly, that interpretation creates responsibility, and has consequences in the world.

It was the first-hand observation of these cracks in the veneer of scientific neutrality that brought home to me the need for a moral compass within the fabric of archaeology. I soon discovered, of course, that all of these points were being hotly debated in Anglo-American archaeology. Before Internet and travel support I was able to form a concept of this debate mainly through publications that found their way, with a delay of a year or two, to the Hebrew University's Institute of Archaeology Prehistory Library: Michael Schiffer's series Advances in Archaeological Method and Theory, Ian Hodder's early work and, most incisively for me, Shanks and Tilley's (1987a, b) publications.

Archaeological Codes of Ethics

With the arrival of postcolonial discourse in mainstream academia, ethics became a popular topic throughout the Anglophone archaeological world (e.g., Zimmerman et al. 2003; Karlsson 2004; Scarre and Scarre 2006; Young and Brunk 2009). Expanding from a focus on "professional best practice," the antiquities trade, archaeological workers' rights (something quickly elided and completely forgotten in this era of fast capitalism), and then, most productively, the rights of indigenous people, were placed on the agenda. Political pressure exerted by aboriginal rights organizations resulted in legislation—notably in Australia and the USA—intended mainly to protect indigenous human remains and to ensure respect for surviving traditions. In the late 1990s, the effects of rapid globalization engendered concern for the survival of local cultures and traditions across the globe. "Communities" became the new indigenes, so to speak, and a series of revised and often highly detailed ethical codes were ratified in national and international organizations. These often seemed to cover all the bases. The EAA Code of Practice, for example, begins thus:

> The Archaeological heritage … is the heritage of mankind. Archaeology is the study and interpretation of that heritage for the benefit of society as a whole. Archaeologists are the interpreters and stewards of that heritage on behalf of their fellow men and women…

And it continues:

> 1.2 It is the duty of every archaeologist to ensure the preservation of the archaeological heritage by every legal means.
>
> 1.3 In achieving that end archaeologists will take active steps to inform the general public at all levels of the objectives and methods of archaeology in general and of individual projects in particular, using all the communication techniques at their disposal.
>
> …
>
> 1.5 In carrying out such projects, archaeologists will wherever possible, and in accordance with any contractual obligations that they may have entered into, carry out prior evaluations of the ecological and social implications of their work for local communities.

ICOMOS is more specific:

> The protection of the archaeological heritage should be integrated into planning policies at international, national, regional and local levels.

> Active participation by the general public must form part of policies for the protection of the archaeological heritage. This is essential where the heritage of indigenous peoples is involved. Participation must be based upon access to the knowledge necessary for decision-making. The provision of information to the general public is therefore an important element in integrated protection.
>
> Legislation should be based on the concept of the archaeological heritage as the heritage of all humanity and of groups of peoples…
>
> Local commitment and participation should be actively sought and encouraged as a means of promoting the maintenance of the archaeological heritage. … In some cases it may be appropriate to entrust responsibility for the protection and management of sites and monuments to indigenous peoples.
>
> Presentation and information should… take account of the multifaceted approaches to an understanding of the past.

The debate around these codes and their dissemination in the professional community has revealed that, while comprising a useful scale against which to measure the performance of various organizations, they suffer from significant shortcomings.

Firstly, they tend to be the end-product of debate, signifying closure rather than an ongoing discourse (Moshenska 2008). This creates barriers to an extension of the discussion to regions and situations —especially where identities and territories are contested—that fall outside the scope of the organizations for which the codes were developed. In Israel, for example, codes are often deemed sanctimonious and irrelevant, especially when "indigenous" is automatically translated into "Palestinian." In Israel, the Jews understand themselves to be indigenous, a view that could be seen as cynical by many Palestinians.

Secondly, the codes do not challenge existing power imbalances: archaeologist appropriate "stewardship," "share" information, "give back" to the community, etc. but never relinquish their vantage point, their knowledge claims or their service as spokespersons of the past. Extant distribution of authority, especially state supremacy, is also fixed and left unchallenged by the codes. For example, the requirement that states be the principle partners in most internationally funded heritage projects often ensures that the voice of communities excluded by state policies will be ignored, and that well-meaning codes that require local consultation or "active participation by the general public" will be construed so as to suppress dissenting voices. Thus, the codes are curiously apolitical, in the deep sense of the word (Tarlow 2001; Hamilakis 2007).

Because of these shortcomings, I would argue that ethical codes in fact have little practical impact. This is particularly the case where they are most needed—in those places where relations between archaeologists and their environment are part of a broader context, characterized by multiple, powerful agents. This is the reality in most government-sponsored work, in the tourism industry, and in contract work, which together account for some 95 % of all archaeological excavations in a country like Israel. It is, of course, the reality in the case of ethnic conflict, where anxieties over identity and history exert constant pressure to conform and reinforce the hegemonic self-image within each ethnic community.

What is needed is a fundamental reorientation of archaeology, such that it is no longer perceived—even at it most practical—as a method for recording ancient remains and for successfully extracting antiquities from the ground. Rather, it has to

be perceived, first by the archaeologists themselves, then by other actors engaged in the archaeological performance, as intellectual and cultural activity that emancipates the past from the stranglehold of economic interest, myth, and unexamined assumptions about the world, and impacts our understanding of the present and our hopes for the future (cf. Shanks and McGuire 1996; Nakamura 2012). Every choice made, from the decision to excavate, through the retention or discarding of material on site or the preservation and destruction of strata and structures, to the very language and venue in which we make our interpretations public is imbued with social and political values.

Archaeology: Why and for Whom?

In order to understand ethical practice, we must return to the question—whom does archaeology in fact serve? What is its purpose? Once these are established, the responsibility of the archaeologist becomes somewhat clearer.

In Palestine and Israel, archaeology has a long history as an ideologically charged practice, associated with imperial concerns, modernist idealism, theological anxieties, and national aspirations. These have set it in a central position within the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, although its role is often misunderstood by those who see it solely as a central plank in the Zionist platform, or obscured by attempts to establish it as a value-neutral science. As currently practiced, I would like to distinguish the justifications and main modes of archaeological practice in Israel/Palestine, in the past as well as in the present, under four headings:

1. *Aesthetic*, referring to the fetishization of ancient objects as aesthetic ideals, now most often encountered in commoditized form and in the prestige industry surrounding the antiquities market, forgeries, and museum collections. Although few archaeologists would admit that their *raison d'etre* is to find beautiful things, fewer still resist the temptation to capitalize on them. Moreover, archaeology maintains its position as middle-class leisure activity, intended mainly to illustrate what we already know about history and to enhance our sense of continuity with the past. Those who are denied access to the production and consumption of archaeological knowledge—the geographic and social-economic peripheries, the minorities and the subaltern—are also elided from the archaeological narrative.
2. *Evolutionary and progressive*. The late-nineteenth and early twentieth century complicity of archaeology (as Science and Progress) with the Western imperial and colonial project has of course been thoroughly documented. But this mode has not disappeared. Suffice it to say that archaeology is still viewed as the burden of the West in many quarters, and the largest grant-making programs are heavily weighted to technology and hard sciences, which are the locus of modern imperialism. Thus, scientific positivism is still alive and well in archaeology, establishing incontrovertible facts that can only be challenged by resort to other high scientific technology. Another aspect of the progressive mode of archaeology is

its complete subservience to capital; at least 90 % of all excavation in the world is "salvage work"—the removal of archaeological sites ahead of development. Under the "polluter pays" principle, the polluters underwrite huge chunks of fieldwork. The effects are far-reaching, and the constraints imposed on practice cannot be denied.

3. *Mythological*. The junction of popular, religious, and national mythologies is a subject that has been well flogged. It is the locus of the greatest degree of denial, since few professionals will admit that they work in the service of mythology. But that is probably because they have a narrow grasp of the concept. Among the most persistent modern myths are those of ethnic identity. In many nations, particularly those born in conflict, the categorization of ancient communities in ethnic terms reifies modern ethnic categories as immutable human divisions. In Israel, it is virtually axiomatic in the public perception, and rarely challenged by historians or archaeologists, that modern Israelis are equivalent to Jews of the twentieth, twelfth or first centuries CE, or even to Israelites of the eighth century BCE. In broad segments of Israeli society modern Palestinians are either theologically equated with Ishmael or Amalek, or are historically deconstructed as rootless migrants of the Ottoman world. Conflict thus becomes endemic and predetermined; peaceful interaction, either in the past or in the future, is hardly an option. Archaeology becomes a weapon in the national struggle (cf. Abu El-Haj 1998).
4. I have termed the final mode of archaeological practice *emancipatory* (following McGuire 2008, 2012), reflecting both the fact that it allows archaeology itself to act independently as an interpretive science, and the fact that its focus on material culture gives it the potential to provide a voice to those whom history has silenced, to record resistance, to expose ideologies, and to even out the playing field. Independent, emancipatory archaeology does not prioritize one culture over another, and does not exclude anything from its purview. It is inherently critical, calling everything into question. An archaeology that frees itself from the discourse on texts and identities is one that tells an independent story that none but archaeologists can tell: In the earliest periods, of which only archaeology can speak, archaeologists are the transmitters of the deep history of human society. For later periods, archaeology gives voice to those whom history has erased, oppressed, or elided (extinct cultures, slaves, women and children, etc.). Like critical historians, archaeologists strive to demythologize the past and reveal ideological distortions of it (see Leone et al. 1987 for a primary statement of this approach). But archaeologists are in a privileged position: they have unrivalled access to the interpretation of material remains: they possess both the structure and theory that can "make the stones speak." Also, the material remains offer many alternative perspectives on the past (and present), so that, in theory, an archaeologist can develop a narrative that is completely demythologized and independent (only in theory, because of the limitations imposed on us by our innate/received modes of thinking, etc.). Finally, emancipatory archaeology is not confined to the distant past: as a science of material culture and its agency, it is bound to no particular time. It begins the moment we walk out of the room.

Of the four modes of archaeological practice that I have just outlined, it is fairly clear where ethical practice lies: it cannot promote the fetishization and commoditization of antiquities, even though they are "feel good" activities that promote the image of archaeology; it cannot promote a capitalist teleology that throws entire cultures and alternative concepts of value overboard; it cannot promote chauvinism and conflict based on imagined histories. Ethical practice in archaeology must lie within an emancipated and emancipating archaeology.

Ethical Archaeological Practice in the Community

Ethical practice is something that can be preached about by globe-travelling academics, but it has to be carried out in specific places. It is a localized practice with global implications. In every local situation, there are multiple stakeholders in the past, so that ethical practice is a process of negotiation between value systems, in which compromise is to be expected. The compromise cannot be over values, as these are defined as core principles that cannot be relinquished. Rather, the compromise lies in the ability of the various participants to relinquish power, or to accept a delay in the gratification of particular desires (for archaeologists, this should be part of their discipline, in the various senses of the word).

There are multiple entry points to the archaeological engagement with a community; in one case this might be an excavation, for another, where breaking ground or uncovering a hidden past are viewed with distrust, engagement might begin elsewhere (e.g., in an archaeology of the contemporary past). Localization of archaeology through community participation is a growing field in Israel and throughout the world. It exists on a continuum that ranges from the highly democratic excavating community (archaeology from below), in which the archaeologist is only one among equal partners to the enterprise, to the top-down efforts mounted by existing educational and municipal institutions in which the archaeologist acts as an expert consultant. The mere fact that the public is involved in some facet of the archaeological endeavor is no guarantee of ethical practice: public archaeology can be as saddled with aesthetic, progressivist or mythological baggage as any other kind of archaeology. Nonetheless, it does offer an excellent setting for an emancipatory practice, because it is, almost by definition, characterized by a negotiation of statuses and of power claims vis-à-vis the material heritage.

Localized archaeology can make a significant contribution to the forging of local attachments, creating a sense of place in the desert of non-places that characterizes our age. In most community projects there is little choice among sites available for excavation and conservation: whatever happens to be in proximity to the community becomes that community's heritage. More often than not, the identity paradigm—the assumption that local people are direct descendants of the people who created the site—has to be abandoned as inoperable, as the site may have little reference to the categories used by the community. Rather than identity, the discourse will more often be about place—geographic, ecological, and often political context.

And, more often than not, thinking about past contexts will engender a discussion of the present. Involvement in an excavation creates a community of practice and interest, and this community can soon be translated into other realms of political action. I have witnessed the election of excavation organizers to local councils, and the evolution of the campaign to save a site into a campaign to save an entire landscape.

I have had the opportunity to direct community excavations at Rogem Gannim in Jerusalem (Cinamon 2006; Greenberg and Cinamon 2011), as well as to observe several other community excavations led by colleagues and former students at additional sites. Nearly all involved interaction between different strata of society: Jewish and Palestinian, or religious and secular. Thousands of people have participated in this work (some 500 at Rogem Gannim alone) and there can be no doubt that many of them had to confront their own preconceptions about the nature of heritage, the different claims to it, and the different ways in which people can view the same bit of landscape and the same fragments of human history. The same can be said of the archaeologists participating in these projects. They too had to abandon many preconceptions about the privileged position of the expert or the rigid divisions of academic research specializations.

At Rogem Gannim, the heterogeneous "digging community" was composed of a great many young children and their parents, many of whom came from a Jewish-orthodox background, where religious codes and scriptures have absolute authority. Habitually, archaeological finds from the Iron Age or the Roman period would be made relevant to such a community through their equation with an ancient Israelite or Jewish text, associated with what is often imagined as a pristine society of believers who have immediate access to prophets, kings and God's own temple. What's an emancipated archaeologist to do? This is where the material perspective becomes an ideal tool for distanciation. Leaving the fundamental value systems of all the participants intact, the archaeologist initiates a discussion from an unfamiliar perspective, e.g., relations of production or political economy. Preconceptions about ethnic identity or historical narrative are suddenly irrelevant. A dialogue begins about economic and political centers and periphery. The site—a center for wine production—becomes the linchpin of a new discussion, about the value and meaning of the landscape in the present and future. Participants begin to reflect on the significance of this place, and on the nature of their interaction with other members of their community. Archaeology becomes a catalyst for political action within Israeli society.

A potentially more radical and dangerous mix is encountered in the community excavation at Lod, where remains of the Palestinian *khan* and town of Ottoman and British-mandate times are being rediscovered beneath a plot of open land in the middle of the modern town. In this case, a top-down strategy allows archaeologists to set the agenda for the "community"—local middle-schoolers of Jewish and Palestinian ethnicity recruited through an officially sanctioned, extracurricular, outsourced educational program. This constitutes a rare case where the misapprehension by authorities of archaeology as a harmless, value-neutral leisure activity is turned against itself to support a potentially controversial rediscovery of the

intentionally silenced past of Palestinian Lod. Whether this under-the-radar activity can emerge into the open as a locus of dialogue and reconciliation remains an unresolved question at this time.

Archaeology and Conflict Resolution at Silwan

Contrast these rather upbeat examples of ethical praxis in public archaeology with the situation in the Wadi Hilweh neighborhood in Silwan, built on the ancient mound of Jerusalem, just south of the Haram esh-Sharif (Temple Mount). Here, the material remains of the past have become completely absorbed in the discourse of political power, as both the Israeli national project of unifying Jerusalem and the settler project of breaking Palestinian Jerusalem apart have joined to disenfranchise the people living above and among the antiquities. The archaeology practiced here is completely subsumed to political and corporate motivations that are, however, largely unacknowledged by its "neutral" practitioners, leading to questionable field practice and overtly skewed interpretations of the past. Instead of going into detail about the issues of excavation and interpretation, which I have discussed at length elsewhere (Greenberg 2008, 2009), I would like to consider if there is any way out of the predicament—that is, if there is a way to conduct archaeology ethically in Silwan.

To begin with, archaeologists must take a stand regarding the identity of the affected community. The present excavators consider their work relevant to the local settlers, who comprise a tiny, belligerent minority in Silwan, but who are seen to represent Israeli national interest. This is almost a classic case of residual colonialism, where the people of the indigenous community are deprived of their materiality (Rowlands 2006): they are not citizens of the state, their houses are considered an "illegal" encroachment on antiquities, they are subject to constant surveillance, their children are often detained and deprived of the rights pertaining to minors, and—what is most relevant of all to archaeologists—their history is considered second-rate and of no account in the story of Jerusalem. In such a setting, the very act of talking about the past has to be decolonized. If ethical praxis demands that archaeologists enter into a meaningful dialogue with the local indigenous community, it surely must concern itself with the present and the contemporary past, i.e., the archaeology and ethnography of the village itself—cf. the "archaeological ethnography" espoused by Hamilakis (2011).

Using our craft to map the present archaeologically—i.e., through the material culture (even if only in its most accessible forms, like buildings, streets, and sidewalks)—we can re-inscribe the village as a product of its own agency and create a space for discussion about the more distant past that cannot be ignored, as it interpenetrates the village fabric. This could be our entry point, and one that would serve the village community well in its struggle against de-materialization: talking about the encumbered present before trying to re-evaluate the past.

Dana Behrman, a London-based Israeli architect, has applied the methods of "forensic architecture" (Weizman et al. 2010) to Silwan, focusing on cracks and fissures as

artifacts of the physical impact of the excavated and non-excavated cavities that riddle the subsurface of the village and form part of its "perforated landscape":

> Adopting archaeological methodologies such as meticulous documentation, archiving and cataloguing evidence of fissures in walls and holes in the ground… elevates the cracks in the wall from a by-product of a dispute to an object that contains within it all the forces that act in a spatial conflict. The process of documentation and presentation of the material fissures makes it possible to locate and map the unseen relationships between people and places.
>
> The process of the solidification of the crack in the wall, and presenting it as legal evidence, enters it as a crucial component of the discourse and brings it to the same level of importance as the analysis of the shard found in the ground. By making the invisible visible, turning negative space into positive space, solidifying the event aims to re-evaluate and give equal weight to contemporary forces. (Behrman 2009-2010).

In a place like Silwan, people palpably sense the instability caused by past structures and voids that are woven into the fabric of the village in a multitemporal palimpsest. But in truth, such structures and voids, materialized in Silwan, are extant in collective memories and indeed in every individual mind. The physical entanglement of past and present might be this village's particular misfortune, but it is also a compelling metaphor with broad implications. It is only after the present has been fully acknowledged that we may turn to the past-in-itself. Silwan can teach us something about the role of archaeology in conflict. The coupling of archaeology and of the use and abuse of the past in the course of national and ethnic conflicts has become so commonplace, that any other option is rarely considered. This is reversible. Archaeology can be employed in the resolution of conflict, no less than in its justification. Moreover, I would argue that the use of archaeology to help prevent conflict by insisting on its emancipatory capacity is a moral imperative, if we value life.

Conclusion

Ethical practice is never a mere question of individual choice: it begins with the individual, but becomes praxis when it affects policy or when it becomes a rallying point for collective efforts to change the world in some way—i.e., when it becomes political (González-Ruibal 2012). I have illustrated my own progression from "neutral" archaeology to an engagement in conflict resolution through archaeology, perhaps in an overly schematic way, as a series of steps and experiences. These began with the awareness of archaeologists' roles in creating the record and the location of archaeology in the present. This led to a consideration of extant ethical codes and to a need to re-define archaeology itself an independent field with a potentially emancipatory role. In this role, archaeology is never a self-contained academic discipline, but an intervention that affects communities in both the physical and the conceptual dimension. Every society is riddled with internal contradictions and multiple agendas that recruit the past to support alternate visions of the present and future. Archaeologists' interventions are therefore never innocent and always entail discussion and negotiation. Where intercommunal conflict exists, archaeology will often be

recruited to support rival, often mutually exclusive, concepts of collective identity. It can hence easily become implicated in violence. In three brief case-studies, I attempted to show how archaeology becomes political, either in the sense of community organization (Rogem Gannim), as agent provocateur in a society where collective memory is suppressed (Lod), or as resistance to oppression (Silwan). These cases should not be viewed as exceptional; though each is unique, the typology of power relations that they reveal is one that is reproduced in many places. Hence it seems reasonable to expect that ethical practice will eventually reinvent the discipline of archaeology.

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Chapter 3
Archaeological Ethics and Violence in Post-genocide Rwanda

John Giblin

Introduction

I begin this chapter with an ethical dilemma. In post-violent-conflict contexts, where there is an ever-present threat of new violence, if archaeology cannot be relied upon to produce a past that conforms to present and future national needs, should archaeologists undertake archaeological work, and if they should, should they be made to take responsibility regarding the socio-political legacy of the archaeological materials and interpretations that they produce? This chapter discusses these post-conflict ethical issues in relation to post-genocide Rwanda where objective "scientific" archaeology is desired by the government and its agencies to support highly subjective, if laudable, new national constructions of the past. Through this national case study, this chapter explores the consequences of undertaking positivist, "objective", archaeology, or politically sympathetic, subjective, archaeology, in a highly sensitive post-violent-conflict context where archaeology itself is implicated in past violence and where any new work undertaken may become implicated in future violence.

These issues are illuminated by a discussion of a violent burial, dated to c. 400 AD, that raises questions about my short- and long-term archaeological ethical responsibilities. Following on from this case study, the chapter reflects upon its implications for the development of a critical ethical archaeology. The chapter concludes that, from the outset of any research project, archaeologists must go beyond professional codes of ethics to engage in an uncomfortable and "dynamic ethical discourse" (see Moshenska 2008:163) and take long-term responsibility for the future legacies of the archaeologies that they produce, regarding interpretation and use.

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A. González-Ruibal, G. Moshenska (eds.), *Ethics and the Archaeology of Violence*, Ethical Archaeologies: The Politics of Social Justice 2,
DOI 10.1007/978-1-4939-1643-6_3

I argue that archaeologists who focus solely on ethics of method, not interpretation, and on the immediate social consequences of their actions to the exclusion of the hypothetical long-term future of their archaeological interpretations risk socio-political irrelevance in a disciplinarily constructed comfort zone. In the absence of politically explicit interpretative parameters drawn and redrawn by archaeologists, the significance of archaeological narratives will continue to be either ignored by contemporary political debates or harnessed in support of political programmes that commit direct or indirect social violence.

Background: Post-violent-conflict Archaeology

This chapter is based on a paper that I gave at the 2012 Society of Africanist Archaeologists Conference (SAfA) at the University of Toronto during a Post-conflict Archaeology session. I convened that session to discuss and explore issues regarding the politics and ethics associated with undertaking archaeology in post-conflict regions. However, it was not easy to find speakers who work outside of South Africa that were willing to speak in the session. The most common responses I received from archaeologists working in what I consider to be post-conflict regions were "I don't do post-conflict archaeology" or "I don't deal with political issues". To be frank, my disappointment that these archaeologists did not want to take part in this session was tempered by my surprise that they were willing to admit this. Whilst the use of the term "post-conflict archaeology" did lead some to think that I was only referring to the archaeology of modern conflict, or the archaeology of the recent past, most simply did not see, or were not willing to consider, that their work had political and ethical consequences which might merit discussion. Although disappointing, however, I did not take this to mean that the session was irrelevant; on the contrary, to me it suggested that the session was of even greater relevance, because the collective memory of these archaeologists, who were supposed to be more than just familiar with the politics of the past, appeared to be failing.

The disciplinary failure to keep the politics of the past at the forefront of our archaeological operations is a problem whenever or wherever it occurs. This is especially so, however, in recent post-violent-conflict contexts because the complex relationships that exist in the present between varying official and unofficial perspectives that make claims of, and about, the past are intensified following violent conflict when the production of the past becomes even more focused on the creation of a supposedly better future.

"Never again", "Forgive but don't forget" and "Justice through knowledge" are just a few of the post-violent-conflict slogans that connect the crimes of the past with a message about, or for, the future. Implicit or explicit in each of these slogans is a double message that tells us that whilst crimes should stay in the past and be separated from a more positive future, we must have knowledge of the past and retain that knowledge to achieve the desired future. Within post-violent-conflict contexts then, as with all socio-political contexts, the past is as important as the

future: indeed, the future is dependent on the past. This I believe relates as much to the recent past, the episodes of violent conflict and the immediate events that led to them, as it does to long-term processes and much deeper historical narratives and events. Indeed, there is no temporal cut-off point that necessarily separates the politically problematic from the politically neutral.

This sense that anything can be politically charged is true for all archaeologies undertaken, and for all archaeological materials created, because they all exist in a political context (cf. Shanks and Tilley 1987). However, in a post-violent-conflict context many more aspects of the past are likely to become highly charged, as communities, both real and imagined (cf. Anderson 1991), try to find out what happened and also try to construct pasts that better serve their futures. Indeed, during recent interview work at the national genocide memorials in Rwanda, domestic and international visitors alike told me that it did not matter if the official narrative presented was precise, or even accurate. What was important was that it told a story for the future.

Thus, within post-violent-conflict contexts archaeologists have a problem: for all our postmodern, post-processual, reflections we are still at heart a positivist scientific tradition (cf. Smith 2004). However, how can we justify creating a past, over which we apparently have little control, in a post-violent-conflict context that asks for, demands no less, a particular past that will safeguard its future? Too often this question is not asked by "traditional archaeologists" who instead leave it to the domain of "public archaeology", "community archaeology" or, worse still for many archaeologists, "heritage studies". Indeed, this is treated as though it is solely a heritage issue, an issue of popular and political memory and contemporary identity construction. Archaeology itself is seen as an innocent element, used and abused by non-archaeological others. However, this is an archaeological issue that concerns motivations, theories, methods, practice and dissemination as well as use and abuse.

As Meskell (2009) has highlighted, archaeology has an ethical obligation to consider its role within all of the circumstances in which it is undertaken, to take a reflexive approach to its socio-political contexts and to take responsibility for the effects archaeologists, directly or indirectly, have on society. Thus, for communities that are trying to recover from violent conflict, to understand what they did and what was done to them in the past, with an associated aim of avoiding violent conflict in the future, the practice of archaeology is subject to magnified ethical issues that go much deeper than a consideration of method.

Violence and Ethics

The violence discussed in this chapter concerns the general undertaking of archaeology as work, and the archaeological creation of a violent first-millennium AD burial, in a recent post-physical-violence context. The recent physical violence referred to concerns of ethno-racial attacks in the mid-to-later twentieth century in Rwanda, which culminated in a civil war and one-hundred-day genocide, during

which approximately one million people were killed in the early 1990s (cf. Mamdani 2001; Eltringham 2004). This is a contemporary context, which, it is frequently alleged, is thick with structural violence (cf. Strauss and Waldorf 2011), and, as will be discussed in detail later, is a context in which any new archaeologies produced may contribute to future structural and physical violence. Thus, this chapter discusses archaeology and violence in terms of deep pasts, recent pasts, present pasts and future pasts.

This contemporary political context, which is in part defined by examples of historical, recent, ongoing and potential future, physical and structural violence, presents a full range of professional ethical issues for archaeological research in Rwanda, including motivations, theories, methods and interpretation. However, despite methodological ethical concerns regarding the professional integrity of archaeologists and the integrity of the archaeological record, this is not the focus here. Indeed, as Hamilakis (2003) has discussed in relation to Iraq, archaeological professional ethics must move beyond concern for "the record" to make concern for the people the priority. Thus, this chapter considers archaeological ethics in terms of the future social consequences of archaeology beyond the academy, in terms of the legacy of archaeological interpretation. However, unlike the history of archaeological ethics, which is dominated by the creation of deontological objectified, universalised, professional codes resulting in rulebooks (e.g. Green 1984), that now frequently include the consideration of immediate social consequences alongside threats to archaeological integrity (e.g. WAC 1990; SAfA 2006), this chapter follows more recent trends that promote embedded, reflexive or critical, dynamic archaeological ethics (cf. Meskell and Pels 2005; Moshenska 2008). Thus, I understand ethics here to mean *reflections upon the social consequences of professional*, *including academic*, *choices made*, *or proposed*, *and the subsequent influence that those reflections have on future actions*. In this manner, this approach draws on some themes of teleological ethics (including consequential or utilitarian ethics) in contrast to deontological ones by placing greater emphasis on potential and actual outcomes (Moshenska 2008:162; cf. Pojman 2012).

It is also recognised, however, that ethics, whether present or future orientated, are always based on subjective, historically specific, individual or group, moral conceptions of more or less right and wrongdoing (cf. Pojman 2012). Thus, this chapter also draws upon ideas of virtue ethics as it recognises that an embedded, reflexive or critical, dynamic archaeological ethics must consider not only the external political context at hand but also the internal emotional and political context of the "professional" self or selves (Moshenska 2008:162; cf. Colwell-Chanthaphonh and Ferguson 2006; Winter 2012).

Therefore, I consider a constant dynamic and cyclical process of reflection and adaption, as new contexts are encountered and as old ones change, as morality and its implications shift, both temporally and spatially, to be a desirable form of critical archaeological ethics. However, in this understanding because ethics are at once personal and communal, spiritual and political, geographical and historical, emotional and rational, there will never be strict ethical consensus. Instead, if an embedded or situated ethical approach is undertaken (cf. Hall 2005) then choice,

and consequent variety of approach, will predominate. Although this may lead to criticism regarding relativism, especially when focused on interpretation, I suggest this can be countered by employing explicit political positioning. This would combat relativism by preventing both the distancing of archaeologists from the political legacies of their work and the abandonment of supposedly "neutral" archaeological interpretation to the political agendas of others. This is because archaeologists will be encouraged, if not made, to take more responsibility for the legacy of the interpretative decisions made today, which will be experienced by people tomorrow. These are issues that are brought into sharp focus when contexts of recent or present violence are considered, both within and surrounding archaeology, as the consequences of "getting it wrong" become all too clear.

Archaeology in Post-genocide Rwanda

Today Rwanda is considered to be a post-conflict state. Although, this does not mean that contemporary Rwanda is without structural violence, or cases of physical violence, the end of the 1994 genocide marked more than just the end of a one-hundred-day massacre. Indeed, this juncture appears to mark the end of a period of extensive physical violence that had existed in Rwanda since the mid twentieth century. From the 1950s to the early 1990s Rwandans were subjected to numerous episodes of violence. For example, ethno-racial massacres were carried out in Rwanda from the 1959 "revolution" up to and throughout the 1990–1994 civil war that culminated in the 1994 genocide (Mamdani 2001; Eltringham 2004). However, since the 1994 genocide, Rwanda, with the exception of rebel incursions in the late 1990s, has remained largely peaceful within its borders (Shyaka 2003). Thus, although it cannot be known if extensive physical violence will occur again, I currently consider Rwanda to be a post-conflict context and it is within this context of rapid social, economic and political reconstruction that this case study sits.

The Post-genocide Official Historical Narrative

The ethics associated with the undertaking of archaeological work in post-genocide Rwanda are dependent on the contemporary political context and most specifically, in my opinion, the post-genocide Government of Rwanda's (GoR) official historical narrative. (Published examples of the GoR's narrative include Kigali Memorial Centre (2004), National Unity and Reconciliation Committee (2006) and the Institute of National Museums of Rwanda (INMR) (2008) and it is these documents that the summary presented below is based upon.) The production of this narrative can be understood to be both a reflection of the contemporary political context summarised within a historical account and an attempt to create a desired political context in the present for the future of Rwanda. Furthermore, it is an account that,

through associated legislation (see Longman 2011), controls how the past is presented in Rwanda today. Thus, before proceeding it is necessary to recount key components of that narrative to set the background for the rest of the chapter.

The national narrative begins with the establishment of the Kingdom of Rwanda under the Nyiginya Dynasty, an elite Tutsi family, an event that is variously identified as having taken place somewhere between the late first-millennium AD and the later second-millennium AD (Vansina 2004). The narrative describes how the identity terms Twa, Tutsi and Hutu were not originally ethnic or racial but referred to subsistence economic classes, for example, foragers, herders and farmers, respectively. The narrative makes it clear that these identities were not brought to the territory of Rwanda through the mass migration of peoples but existed on the land since the beginning of time. This, it is said, explains how each group came to speak the same language, Kinyarwanda, were able to intermarry and to enjoy a high degree of social mobility, that is, being able to change identity terms based on subsistence activity.

These three subsistence groups were to coexist in a utopian harmony until Europeans arrived in Rwanda in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. Until this point the Kingdom of Rwanda had remained an isolationist state, successfully preventing the entrance of foreigners into its territory unlike other kingdoms in Great Lakes Africa who had trade and other relations with European and Arab groups from the mid to later second-millennium AD. However, this balance was to be shattered by Europeans and their unilinear social evolutionary understanding of the world. Upon their arrival in Rwanda, the colonisers misinterpreted Twa, Tutsi and Hutu identities, assuming them to be ethno-racial subsistence classes with varying levels of ethno-racial superiority, which had been brought about by ethno-racial migrations. Tutsi were presumed to be remnants of a Hamitic race that had migrated out of the Nile Valley, typically Ethiopia, following the earlier arrivals of the racially inferior Bantu Hutu and Pygmy Twa. Thus, mirroring other colonial administrative systems in the region, the colonials chose to rule the supposedly racially inferior mass majority Hutu, and the minority Twa, through the supposedly racially superior Tutsi, by imposing a non-negotiable ethno-racial identity card system, finally polarising a once fluid social situation.

The official historical narrative describes how the colonial administration ruled Rwanda through this ethno-racial framework until the mid twentieth century when independence from colonialism and majority, Hutu, rule became a possibility. The subsequent 1959 Hutu "revolution", which occurred before Rwanda gained independence and democracy in 1962, resulted in the murder and exile of thousands of Tutsi and the beginning of three decades of Hutu rule in Rwanda, characterised by violence against Tutsi. Under this "Hutu Republic" the colonially constructed ethno-racial migration model of Rwandan precolonial society was used to justify violence against Tutsi because they were believed to be an ethno-racially separate, and recent, coloniser group that should also be evicted from Rwanda as had the European colonials.

Finally, the GoR use the narrative to justify the 1990 invasion of Rwanda by the Tutsi-led Rwanda Patriotic Front (RPF), from whom the GoR are politically descended. This event marked the start of a civil war, which eventually resulted in

the 1994 genocide as Hutu extremists attempted to execute a "final solution" to the Tutsi problem. Of great significance for this chapter, the GoR describe how the colonially constructed ethno-racial migration model of precolonial, colonial and postcolonial Rwanda was tragically but effectively used in genocide inciting propaganda before and during the 1994 genocide. The conclusion to this narrative describes how the RPF alone, in the absence of any international help, won the civil war and stopped the genocide.

The Post-genocide Governmental Response to the Official Historical Narrative

This account is used by the GoR both as a unifying national historical narrative and as a blame-narrative regarding the causes of Rwandan late twentieth century violent conflict. In response to the implications of this account the GoR have removed the identities Twa, Tutsi and Hutu from contemporary society and have replaced these with a single Rwandan national identity. This has been undertaken within contemporary public and political discourses through the creation of two new laws, including a law against ethnic divisionism and a law against the promotion of genocide ideology, that effectively prohibit the use of the terms Twa, Tutsi and Hutu as contemporary identifiers (see Longman 2011:37). This initiative is publicly presented by the GoR as an attempt to prevent the reproduction of the colonial construction of society and the volatile social cleavages it created by removing ethnicity altogether. In addition, a relevant associated approach is the GoR's prohibition of secondary school history teaching, from 1995 until recently c. 2011, due to the colonial ethno-racial nature of previous syllabus content (see Obura 2003; Buckley-Zistel 2009; Freedman et al. 2009, 2011).

Thus, in summary, the GoR present a narrative through their national genocide memorials, related publications and other heritage sites, which suggests Rwanda was a utopian state until the arrival of Europeans who, by dividing society down imagined ethno-racial lines, introduced conflict to Rwandan society. The GoR's intentions are to foster unity and reconciliation through the rejection of divisive ethnic identity categories and the creation of a unified past, as a foundation for the new nation. It is clear, however, that although the official historical narrative is a biased, if laudable, historical construction, the narrative is nevertheless not a total work of fiction, rather an idealised, cherry-picked, deconstruction and reconstruction, based around some sensible scholarship from social historians (see Jefremovas 1997; Mamdani 2001; Chrétien 2003; Eltringham 2004; Vansina 2004; Buckley-Zistel 2009; Newbury 2009). Furthermore, whether accurate or inaccurate, the Rwandan government has established and exploits a powerful moral right to dictate to the international community how its past should be understood. This is because in the GoR's opinion the international community abandoned Rwanda in the early 1990s, and thus allowed the genocide to take place. Moreover, members of the same international community introduced violence to Rwanda, as detailed in the official

historical narrative, and thus are ultimately responsible for factors leading to the 1994 genocide.

What does this mean for academic research in contemporary Rwanda? Put simply, where data does not fit with the GoR's official historical narrative then that data, or the interpretation of that data, is wrong. Furthermore, where an individual, organisation or foreign nation choose to explicitly challenge the government's official narrative it is possible that they will be publicly denounced, "re-educated" within Rwanda (see Thomson 2011) or removed from Rwanda and prevented from returning.

Archaeology and the Official Historical Narrative

Thus, the official historical narrative leaves archaeologists with an ethical dilemma: can archaeology deliver what the GoR require, the exposure of the colonial construction as a false past and the support of the official narrative's precolonial utopian themes? Or, if it cannot be relied upon to do that and there is the possibility of delivering unpalatable pasts, should archaeologists stay away, work in a politically disengaged manner or engage with the wider political landscape?

Based on archaeological work that took place before the civil war and 1994 genocide, there is every reason to believe that archaeology has the potential to produce unpalatable pasts. Indeed, archaeology has by no means been an innocent bystander in the colonial and postcolonial construction and reinforcement of an ethno-racially polarised Rwandan society. Since the earliest archaeological research in Rwanda until the latest pre-genocide research, archaeologists have uncritically reproduced colonially constructed ethno-racial thinking (e.g. Hiernaux 1956, 1968, 1974; Hiernaux and Maquet 1957, 1960; Nenquin 1967; Van Noten 1983; Desmedt 1991; for a summary of the Belgian colonial and postcolonial archaeological ethno-racial agenda see Stewart 1993). This involved the one-to-one association of "pygmoid Twa", "Hamitic Tutsi" and "Bantu Hutu" identities with human remains based on physiology, archaeological ceramics based on a presumed migratory sequence and subsistence remains based on ethnographic assumptions. Furthermore, as discussed by Stewart (1993), explicitly racial modes of thinking persisted in Rwandan archaeology far longer than in other nations in Great Lakes Africa, offering implicit support to racist theories and policies regarding Rwandans. There are, however, exceptions, most notably the work of Van Grunderbeek and her colleagues (e.g. Van Grunderbeek 1981, 1988, 1992; Van Grunderbeek et al. 1983, 2001; Van Grunderbeek and Roche 2007).

How does this affect contemporary archaeological research in Rwanda? Although the identity labels Twa, Tutsi and Hutu may be used if referring to history, any suggestion that they were originally ethno-racial identities would be highly problematic, which means that any discussion of subsistence practices and the mechanisms for their specialised manifestation, for example their appearance in the region through ethno-racial migration, is a very controversial area. In addition, the discussion of ceramic types, most of which were previously given a one-to-one ethno-racial identity, and whose various appearances and disappearances have been associated with

ethno-racial migrations, is also a very sensitive subject. Site location is also problematic because this has been associated with subsistence and thus implicitly with ethnic identity. And importantly for the following case study, the identification of human remains is extremely emotive and of political concern, not only because they may be mistaken for genocide remains but also because previous archaeologists measured human remains and attributed identities to them based on their physiology. Finally, any suggestion that precolonial Rwanda was not an ancient, utopian and generally wonderful place is a problem for a government that is seeking to base the future success and unity of the nation of Rwanda upon an ancient and peaceful foundation that isolates the troubled twentieth century within a much longer, and more desirable, historical narrative.

Thus, although archaeology is uniquely placed to investigate the precolonial past and to provide "scientific evidence" of the past, as desired by the GoR, almost every tenet of archaeological investigation and interpretation is likely to collide with sensitive contemporary political constraints. To reiterate, this is not just a case of upsetting a government and dealing with the personal and institutional problems that this might cause. This is also a case where archaeological materials and interpretations may become implicated in future structural and physical violence, against and within the population, as (with the luxury of hindsight) can now be suggested of some pre-genocide archaeologies.

Therefore, a pertinent, if overly simplistic and oppositional, question here might be whether it is better to work within a supposedly scientific, objective, disciplinary archaeological framework, which says "to hell with the political context, results are results", or to work within a post-conflict, governmental, national framework, that recognises the complexities and responsibilities of knowledge production in post-violent-conflict contexts.

This ethical dilemma is not new for archaeologists in the wider Great Lakes Africa region: Peter Robertshaw (1996) considered this problem in the mid 1990s in relation to the Government of Uganda's (GoU) promotion of a precolonial Cwezi Empire. This historical construction was used by the GoU to foster national pride, ethnic reconciliation and unity by suggesting that the majority of the various peoples that had been grouped together during the colonial construction of Uganda were once unified in a precolonial empire. However, Robertshaw's archaeological work contradicted this assertion, suggesting instead that, "the supposed Cwezi Empire comprised several small and possibly competing polities that might be referred to as 'chiefdoms'" and was not an empire at all (1996:8). The challenge as Robertshaw (1996) saw it lay "in presenting the results of archaeological research to the public without abandoning scholarly integrity, but also without undermining the government's laudatory efforts to use the past to promote national unity". In response, Robertshaw suggests breaking down simplistic Eurocentric social evolutionary notions, such as "empire means developed and inclusive" and "independent polities mean underdeveloped and exclusive", to create a more complex and celebratory understanding of precolonial Ugandan diversity and fluidity, thus avoiding some sort of undesirable "form of moral compromise" by smashing myths through an archaeologically "accurate reconstruction of Uganda's past" in all its complexity (Robertshaw 1996:8–9).

Re-constructing the Past in Post-genocide Rwanda: An Archaeological Contribution

Robertshaw's proposed approach to the precolonial past is one that I adopted for my PhD research concerning Rwanda (Giblin 2010). For this work, I tried to construct a theoretical and methodological research framework that would be academically legitimate whilst also engaging with the contemporary political context and the political needs of the post-genocide state. As Robertshaw suggested for Uganda, I saw great possibilities to use archaeology to explore more textured and nuanced pasts, to promote and celebrate diversity whilst also deconstructing Eurocentric notions of identity. Thus, I rejected all ethno-racial terms and sought to explore regional-, site- and context-specific particularities in subsistence and ceramic variation. I did this to explicitly challenge food production and consumption stereotypes, and migratory models based on ceramics. This I hoped would in turn implicitly challenge better-known ethno-racial stereotypes concerning Twa, Tutsi and Hutu. Thus, when, during test unit survey of surface scatter sites, I excavated an early burial in southern Rwanda; it was an immediately interesting but concerning distraction because not only was it outside of the research framework but also it was, as described earlier, politically preferable to avoid human remains.

The burial was found with Urewe ceramics, a class of ceramic that has been used to identify a period typically, but problematically, called the Early Iron Age in Great Lakes Africa. These ceramics immediately dated the burial to between c. 500 BC and AD 800 (cf. Clist 1987). The dating of the burial has since been improved by three radiocarbon dates, which place the burial at c. 400 AD (Giblin et al. 2010; Giblin and Fuller 2011). The burial was found beneath two pits that had truncated the upper portions of the burial shaft. Within the burial pit, which had been cut into natural gravels, were found the partial remains of an adult and the near-complete remains of a neonate. In addition to the human remains, the burial contained Urewe vessels, both complete and partial, a quartz flake, eggshell beads, iron beads, iron necklaces, an iron bracelet and a cowrie shell.

Initially I believed the partial remains of the adult skeleton were the result of preservation selection brought about by varying environmental conditions within the burial pit. However, analysis of the bones demonstrated that the assemblage was not consistent with partial preservation because some of the most likely to be preserved remains had not survived whilst others, not expected to survive, had. Eventually the bone analyst, Anna Clement, contacted me to report the subsequent stage of the analysis results and asked to speak to me in person because of their serious nature. This is because her analysis of the human remains strongly suggested peri-mortem violence, ritual or otherwise, and she was aware that this did not fit with my intended positive contribution to the reconstruction of the past in post-genocide Rwanda.

To summarise, multiple cut marks of varying size and length, but similar orientation, were identified on the anterior and posterior surfaces of the humerus; the colouration of the marks suggests that they occurred in antiquity and the lack of any healing suggests that they were either peri-mortem or post-mortem in nature;

the distribution of the cuts is consistent with cases of dismemberment, or to use more loaded terms, butchery and skinning; the fracture on the shaft of the humerus is another possible indication of peri-mortem trauma; again, this fracture showed no sign of healing and is therefore unlikely to have occurred ante-mortem, and based on the angle of the fracture Clement (Giblin et al. 2010) suggests that this bone was fractured at or around the time of death. Furthermore, since we published these results the situation has become even more politically problematic. For example, by using more intensive analysis methods, it is now suggested that the human remains contain evidence of marrow extraction and possible decapitation, alongside the other dismemberment activities.

Politics, Violence and Archaeology

How should this burial be interpreted and presented in Rwanda? The Urewe burial is the first of its kind to be excavated and dated in Great Lakes Africa; thus, it is unsurprising that when it was first identified members of the INMR were keen to display it in the national museum in Huye. But how is this going to play out now when the precolonial past was supposed to be utopian and without violence until Europeans arrived? Can a culturally positive narrative be produced that plays down peri-mortem violence and focuses on post-mortem ritual violence that demonstrates the complexities and richness of earlier belief systems in the region? Or, will a narrative be constructed that separates the burial from the national past of Rwanda? But how can this be achieved without resorting to problematic, and now illegal, migratory ethno-racial explanations of population change? In addition, how should this be played out in academic terms? Should we do as David Schoenbrun (2006) has suggested, in reference to east Africa, and reject simplistic responses to Afropessimism that result in only nice things being written about the African precolonial past? Instead, should we face the more than likely possibility that violence is as much a part of Rwandan pasts as it is of all human pasts? However, if we do that can I be held accountable for what becomes of this burial, its future interpretation and public and political consumption? What if someone measures this burial, does genetic testing on it and decides it is a Twa, Tutsi or Hutu? What if someone goes further than saying marrow extraction and says "cannibalism"? What if this becomes part of violence-inciting propaganda in the future?

From Politics to Ethics

The uncomfortable ethical decision that I came to was to tackle the issue head on. Thus, I made it explicit in the title of the original joint-authored paper, *An Urewe burial in Rwanda*: *exchange*, *health*, *wealth and violence c. 400 AD*, that we were talking about a violent burial and discussed the interpretation of violence within the

paper (Giblin et al. 2010). I am yet to find out what the GoR think but since the publication of these results there have been no calls for the burial to go on display in the national museum.

However, I am not promoting a "publish and be damned" approach. As queried earlier in this chapter, I am not suggesting "to hell with the political context, results are results". Nor am I suggesting an undesirable form of "moral compromise", as Robertshaw (1996) has argued against, whereby unpalatable data is ignored, or sympathetically spun, to the government's cause. Indeed, as I have learnt from the burial, despite my best attempts to engage with and contribute positively toward the contemporary political context by producing socially positive, more complex, textured and nuanced alternative narratives, archaeology cannot be trusted to perform in the manner we might ideally desire. Although archaeologists create archaeology and do not simply uncover hidden truths, it is also the case that archaeologists are not in total control of their creations. Thus, upon reflection, my ethical stance is now to take responsibility for the burial and its interpretation, and to explicitly explore its contemporary socio-political context and that of the precolonial past in post-genocide Rwanda more generally as I also recognise and explore my place as a political actor within post-genocide Rwanda.

This leads me back to the second part of the initial ethical dilemma I proposed at the beginning of this chapter: should archaeologists be made to take responsibility regarding the socio-political legacy of the archaeological materials and interpretations that they produce? I think we should. In fact, if we are going to have any relevance, then we must ensure that we do.

As suggested by Martin Hall (2005), I believe that we need to go beyond ethical codes to develop a situational and engaged ethics (see also Hamilakis 2003), and, as noted at the start of this chapter, I believe that alongside a present-particular and short-term future approach we also need a longer term future-general ethics, regarding interpretation. Although we need not throw out professional ethical codes, for these have purpose, we cannot rely upon them alone to direct an ethical practice. These codes if used in isolation become safety nets that we can fall comfortably into instead of landing in the more uncomfortable and complex socio-political situations in which we work. The codes act as a shield behind which we can hide, wash our hands and plod along conforming to ethical points, comfortably assured that we are doing the right thing because the code says so. If uncritically, statically (and thus non-discursively) consumed and employed, these codes allow us to avoid, or prevent us from engaging with, our own positions as political actors within the political contexts in which we work. In contrast, situational ethics are about having context-specific, engaged and reflexive standpoints.

The complementary add-on that I am proposing, a long-term future-general-orientated ethics involving the political positioning of interpretation as an ethical endeavour, requires a continual engagement with the consequences of one's ethical choices as the contexts of those choices change over time. This necessitates that we are explicit about our choices and the reasons we made them, not only in terms of method and dissemination, which are most frequently the concern of ethical codes, but also in terms of the perceived socio-political consequences of the theoretical frameworks we construct and the interpretations we make.

As suggested earlier, taking ethics into interpretation means recognising that archaeology is a method that also creates materials and interpretations, not simply a discipline that exposes pre-existing but hidden truths. For example, a future-orientated ethics suggests that if I had not chosen to undertake the research, it is possible that the burial would not have been created as archaeology and thus would not be a cause for concern in the contemporary political climate. Consequently, I do have to take responsibility not only for the way in which I undertook the research and the way I chose to disseminate the information but also for the burial itself including the violent interpretative narrative produced. Although I believe that I cannot currently spin the burial interpretation to one devoid of violence, my responsibility to that burial and interpretative conclusion must go further than simply adhering to professional standards of excavation and publication. It must involve explicit socio-political contextualisation of the research data and interpretation within every publication, and the intention to return to and reengage with those interpretations periodically as contexts change, which is something that I am only now coming to terms with.

Ethics, Violence and Archaeology

Post-violent Conflict

The burial discussed in this chapter has been dated to c. 400 AD. However, as I have attempted to show, the burial, despite its age, is not without a contemporary socio-political context, and the excavation and presentation of that burial have potential consequences. The suggestion that there is no temporal cut-off point separating archaeologies that might become politically potent from those that will not is perhaps an obvious point but it is an important one. In Moshenska's (2008) discussion of archaeological ethics in relation to conflict archaeology, specifically the archaeology of modern conflict, he describes how "Conflict archaeology is unquestionably a special case in the ethics of archaeological practice, with real minefields as well as ethical ones" (2008:172). This, he suggests, is because of both the effects that these twentieth and twenty-first century conflicts have had on all of our lives and the potential political nature of the findings of these archaeologies. However, whilst there is no unexploded ordinance directly associated with the c. 400 AD Urewe burial, I do not believe that the burial is necessarily less emotive and potentially politically charged because it is not the result of recent violence. Indeed, the now infamous case of Ayodhya mosque, where the alleged destruction of a previous Hindu temple four hundred years ago triggered a wave of very real violence in recent times based on the supposed evidence of old violence, is another example that illustrates this point (cf. Colley 1995; Bernbeck and Pollock 1996). Although the archaeology of recent violent conflict may be "special: in its engagements with the remains of horrors and tragedies and its relentless focus on humanity amidst monumental materiality" (Moshenska 2008:173), this should not be considered as

something wholly separate from other remains of violent conflict or any archaeology conducted in post-conflict contexts. Thus, an intensely engaged ethical practice is required for all post-violent-conflict archaeologies.

Persisting Structural Violence

A particular ethical concern that is yet to be considered here in relation to Rwanda is the undertaking of archaeology in contexts where serious structural violence by the state against the people is alleged. Although this is too complex a situation to develop properly here, it is broadly accurate that for every newspaper article or other political observation that praises the GoR for its progressive post-genocide developmental and reconciliatory policies, there is another that criticises them. These criticisms accuse the GoR of being too authoritarian, of limiting political space and freedom of speech, of pursuing covert ethnically defined punitive policies, whilst also employing laws that publicly prohibit ethnicity to mask ethnic inequalities in the current regime (cf. Longman 2011; and various other chapters in Strauss and Waldorf 2011). Although I can neither confirm nor contradict these claims with strong empirical data because they are outside of my field of experience, I have so far found the GoR's institutions, including the INMR, to be supportive of archaeological research and to be hands off when it comes to interpretation. However, it is important to consider the ethics of working under these alleged conditions, especially as I attempt to push this work further into the political foreground. Thus, my current ethical position is that I should work with the GoR's institutions and not independently of them as I am not Rwandan and I need to respect the current sensitive post-genocide situation. However, to date we have worked in an informal partnership based on negotiation. Thus, I do not feel that I am in the service of the state nor am I taking up an unnecessarily oppositional position. Furthermore, by taking a long-term future-general ethical approach I am committing myself to the political context in which these archaeologies exist and to the concomitant aim of articulating their changing relevance and associated perceived social consequences, which may or may not result in the finding of myself ethically flawed in the future. This will require a continual and thorough consideration of ongoing structural violence in the form of alleged human rights abuses in Rwanda, especially regarding potential overt and covert ethnic repression.

Future Violence

The final consideration here is the potential future use of the archaeologies created, in this case the burial, in newly formulated narratives as propaganda to support structural violence and incite physical violence, as preceded the 1994 genocide. Although I do not have evidence of the direct use of archaeological narratives in genocide propaganda there are many examples of what can be considered

archaeologically related constructions of the past in the propaganda, in terms of precolonial identity definitions, to which pre-genocide archaeologies lent support (cf. Stewart 1993; Mamdani 2001; Chrétien 2003; Eltringham 2004; for a consideration of this issue regarding non-Rwandan contexts see Arnold 2002). Whilst I am not alleging that the archaeologists in question were racist, by not exploring the contemporary socio-political relevance and implications of their archaeologies for Rwandans they have allowed their work to float precariously without political direction and consequently to become associated with twentieth century violence, without archaeological resistance. Indeed, "[if] the connection between memory and politics is not clarified, the past may be ignored, reconstructed or manipulated, employed as a mythological tool for the present" (Hirsch 1995:10, quoted in Arnold 2002:96). Thus, it is necessary to explicitly politically position interpretation to lend direction and intention, within formulated parameters, to the archaeologies we produce. That is not to say, however, that this will necessarily avoid uncomfortable archaeological legacies. Instead, by offering politically relevant interpretive limits, archaeologists are made more responsible for the future use of the archaeologies they create and can remain part of future public discussions regarding these beyond the academy.

Acknowledgements The research that this chapter is based on was conducted as part of a Ph.D. undertaken at University College London (UCL) and was supervised by Andrew Reid. The UK Arts and Humanities Research Council funded the Ph.D. and the UCL Institute of Archaeology, the UCL Grad School and the University of London's Central Research Fund also funded the fieldwork. An earlier version of the chapter was delivered at the 2012 Society of Africanist Archaeologists Conference in Toronto for which my attendance, travel and accommodation were funded by the University of Gothenburg's Heritage Seminar. The final draft of this chapter was written whilst working for the University of Western Sydney. The author wishes to thank the INMR for all of their support and advice whilst conducting research in Rwanda. The author would also like to thank the editors of this volume for their helpful constructive criticisms but note that any errors or omissions are the authors' entirely.

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Chapter 4
All Our Findings Are Under Their Boots! The Monologue of Violence in Iranian Archaeology

Maryam Dezhamkhooy, Leila Papoli Yazdi, and Omran Garazhian

Introduction

The *totalitarian voice* is the only voice heard in a totalitarian world. Media are at its service; nongovernmental organizations are scarce; individuality and agency are hampered by fear and pressure. Opposition hardly exists, and the rebels are either imprisoned or under house arrest and thus their social interaction are seriously curtailed (Zipes 2011; Peters 2006; Koczanowicz and Singer 2005; Arendt 1968, 1973). Although the appearance of ungovernable media over the last three decades, such as the Internet (Waisbord 2006), has resulted in some changes, in spite of tight control, there is still a long way to go in changing the univocality of totalitarianism.

The two main concerns of a totalitarian regime are strengthening its totalitarian power and confronting dozens of invented enemies (Siegel 1998) created by the power structure itself. The illusion of enmity and conspiracy is its solution for survival. Therefore, violence (Magstadt 2010) ends up permeating the dominant discourses of cultural production, including archaeology. Archaeology had shown

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A. González-Ruibal, G. Moshenska (eds.), *Ethics and the Archaeology of Violence*, Ethical Archaeologies: The Politics of Social Justice 2,
DOI 10.1007/978-1-4939-1643-6_4

its potential for misuse as propaganda in totalitarian systems such as Nazi Germany (Arnold 1990) and the former Soviet Union (Trigger 1989:574–575). In such contexts, where Nationalism becomes a social illness (Fromm 1971), archaeology can be an instrument for eliding or eliminating otherness (see Maier 2008; Laplanche and Fletcher 1991). By creating otherness, archaeology constructs the identity, the past and the history of others and confronts them with *us*. Totalitarianism considers that others do not have a worthy past and, therefore, as a mere negative element, they can be eliminated either physically or from discourse. A good example of this radical function of nationalism can be found in Iran during the Pahlavi government (1921–1978), which tried to destroy Egyptian Pan-Arabism (Demant 2006; Halliday 2005) and to foster patriotic tendencies in order to repel the potential danger of an Islamic Republic. Undoubtedly, archaeology in Iran has traditionally been a political instrument rather than a professional one. Foreign and domestic policies influence its approaches and functions rather than theoretical and methodological innovation. This chapter investigates the situation of archaeology in Iran in its sociopolitical context, where a dominant univocality permeates archaeological research under conditions of generalized structural violence.

Our Findings Under Their Boots

Investigating the process of how Iranian archaeology has been made the subject of violence needs a threefold approach: first, we have to examine its sociohistorical and legal context of formation; second, its nature as an academic/governmental and nationalist knowledge; third, the agency and individuality of archaeologists. These three main factors have been relevant in the origins of archaeology and in its transition to the new generation.

Despite changes in power, Iranian archaeology has not experienced many transformations during the last 150 years, because the country has always been ruled by totalitarian or, at least, dictatorial regimes. The government has always shaped the kind of research that archaeologists do and the way they structure and organize their work (Niknami 2000). Therefore, it cannot be denied that archaeology has had a governmental nature from its beginning to our days and, in consequence, the relations between archaeology and foreign counterparts have always been dependent on foreign policy. During the Qajar dynasty (1785–1921), the country had a close relationship with France (Mousavi 2012); later, during the Pahlavi period (1925–1979), the privileged ties were established with the USA and the UK. All these countries sponsored archaeological research in Iran. During the first 20 years of the Islamic Republic, foreign archaeology decreased, but with more open policies in the 1990s (see Moslem 2002), researchers from other countries were granted permission to do fieldwork on a restricted scale. With the rise of radical Islamic groups from 2005 onwards, archaeology faced new limitations. In all the aforementioned political contexts, the archaeological community did not have any active role and what was truly influential in shaping decisions were politics instead (see Kohl 2010).

Today, Iranian archaeologists have to obtain funding and permission to do fieldwork from governmental institutions. In this context, showing any (personal) sympathy for opposition groups may force one to abandon research. Besides, social issues as gender, religious beliefs, and cultural and ethnic belonging can prove decisive for an archaeologist to access data. Furthermore, placing data in governmental institutions such as museums after an excavation means giving trusteeship to the government. Archaeology is taught in state universities only, and courses and educational indicators are unified. The absence of diversity and the lack of any serious evaluation of courses during the last 60 years have brought vast conformity. Old, non-practical courses spoil students' creativity; these courses are in fact instruments for imposing government policies into what is called "cultural heritage." The objective of most archaeology students who want to obtain a job in Iran is working in a cultural heritage institution. There is virtually no other alternative, as all permissions are issued through these institutions.

Therefore, Iranian archaeology is the victim of structural and governmental violence: in other words, it has to tolerate violence in the form of theoretical omissions of some data and perspectives and in having to listen to the *violent monologue* of totalitarianism (Mole 1997; Brueggemann 1991). Iranian archaeology is so suffused with state violence that it cannot concentrate on the violence that has existed in historical processes, such as wars, revolutions, and massacres. Its data are under totalitarian military boots and religious ideological structures, which try to transform archaeological data into a nationalist instrument capable of creating both a mass society and its enemies. Archaeology, in professional terms, is the victim of the first and last solution of totalitarianism: *omission*.

Agents and Parameters Involved in Violence/Constituting Violence in Iranian Archaeology

Historical Background

Archaeology was an imported commodity during the late Qajar period (Papoli and Garazhian 2012). Western antiquarians and their activities in Iran led to the formation of an administrative structure called the "Department of Antiquities" (Moosavi 1990). At the same time, state supervision of antiquarian activities brought about archaeology as an academic field. Qajarid kings viewed archaeology as a commercial and even a leisure-oriented activity. Naser al-Din Shah's (1831–1896) contracts with France (Ma'soomi 2004) is a good example of this. These contracts only emphasized silver and gold findings (see Karimloo 2001); foreign governments were responsible for dividing the golden and silver findings with the Iranian government; they could take the other finds to their own country, as long as they paid an annual fee to Naser's government. It actually seems that these forms of contracts had been directly originated from the Qajar's main idea that "the Shah could own everything, even his people's heritage." According to such an idea, the Shah could

Fig. 4.1 Herzfeld and other foreign archaeologists in Iran in the early 1930s. After M. Mostafavi (1932): Trying to render service to Persepolis and hope to future. Tehran: the Ministry of Culture. Image in the public domain

issue the contracts himself, which were all related to Naser's desires. He had been visiting the West and was interested in the Westernization of Iran. This was manifested in his attempts at introducing modern practices such as ballet, photography (Amanat 1997), and archaeology to the country. Naser al-Din Shah also arranged some site visits as an entertainment activity and was even photographed holding a hoe.

This profit-oriented approach (Karimloo 2001; Marashi 2008) received criticisms during the Pahlavi era. It seems that Reza Shah (1878–1944), the first king of the Pahlavi dynasty, had no particular viewpoint on archaeology, but serious protests by the Iranian intelligentsia led to the ratification of some laws about cultural heritage (Fig. 4.1) and the rejection of Qajar's contracts with foreigners (see Fazeli 2006). It was in this context that Reza Shah took German archaeologist Ernest Hertzfeld with him on one memorable, rain-soaked journey through Southwest Iran in 1928 and they toured a number of sites along the way (Goode 2007).

In the first 10 years of his reign, cultural heritage laws were prepared and finally passed in 1931 (Moosavi 1990). In the process of rising to power, Reza Shah tried to satisfy two main groups: on the one hand, there were traditional and religious

Fig. 4.2 A scene of the 2,500 years celebrations. Courtesy of The Circle of Ancient Iranian Studies (CAIS): http://www.cais-soas.com. Image in the public domain

groups (Hoveyda 2003), for whom civil laws were reconciled with Islamic Shiite jurisprudence (Kambin 2011). It has to be noted that the Shia has been the prevalent branch of Islam in Iran from the seventeenth century onwards, during the Safavid period. Rezah Shah subordinated Shia mullahs, but in turn forced them to consent with the regime. On the other hand, the Shah had to deal with nationalists, who were probably influenced by European nationalism (see Katouzian 2006). This group had a special consideration for Persian civilization and particularly the Achaemenid period. The ratification of the antiquities law satisfied this second group. An important point to note is the absence of archaeological experts in Pahlavid Iran.

The University of Tehran was established in 1935 and archaeology was among the first fields to be present in the new institution. It seems that the need for Iranian experts and the considerable amount of archaeological data and archaeological sites to be managed acted as strong motivations for this. In the first years, archaeology, history, and geography were taught together; in fact it was the dissertations which would define the students' specialty. The establishment of an Archaeology Center in 1971 provided a governmental basis for conducting fieldwork and issuing publications. During the reign of the second Pahlavi king (1941–1979), political relations with the West increased, which allowed American and European archaeologists to conduct long-term fieldwork projects in Iran. During this period, the celebration of the 2,500th anniversary of the Persian Kingdom (see Binder 1962; Longva and Roald 2011; Governmental Canon 1960) was a turning point in nationalist enthusiasm for archaeological data (Figs. 4.2 and 4.3). The ceremony, which was held in 1971, commemorated the coronation of Cyrus, who was the first Achaemenid King.

Fig. 4.3 Bank notes from the time of the Shah with references to ancient Persian monuments. Courtesy of the authors

In 1976, the national calendar, which was based on the date of the Hegira, changed to the date of Cyrus' coronation. The Aryan Myth (Persia as the Land of the Aryans), espoused by the Shah, offered a solution against Pan-Arabism (see Dareini 1999) and, as in Egypt, nationalism became a tool to exercise power over society (Potts 1998; see Trigger 1984, 1996).

The 2,500-Year Celebration enraged fundamentalist Islamic leaders, as well as religious and ethnic minorities (Amirsadeghi and Ferrier 1977). In fact, the propaganda of the Islamic Republic (see Makooyi 1998) still resorts to that conflicting memory in order to raise socioreligious emotions, as it has been doing from the time of the revolution. The 2,500-year celebration marked the true beginning of the instrumental misuse of archaeology: evidence from historical, pre-Islamic periods were privileged as opposed to that from Islamic times and sometimes this preference implied the destruction of Islamic materials. Although the archaeologists themselves were not involved in the anniversary of Cyrus and even condemned it, they

were associated with it by Iranian society. The anniversary produced a transformation of the celebrated past into negative heritage (Meskell 2002) and damaged the image of archaeology.

Archaeology lacked the political authority to resist this situation. Apart from the anniversary, the government of Pahlavi II continuously misused history and pre-Islamic archaeology for political ends (Marashi 2008). As a result of this, research on historical periods would inevitably face nationalist issues. This might explain why most archaeological investigations focused on Prehistory: it was a way of reducing the risk of confronting powerful political nationalists (for similar stories, see Galaty and Watkinson 2004). This can be considered a reaction against the approach of the government, which wanted to take political advantage of Iranian archaeology as a way to construct an invented identity (see Negahban 2005).

The heritage law of 1931 was re-ratified after the 1979 revolution (ICHTO 1997). However, the radical Islamic groups that took power became a threat for archaeological sites—and not only sites. As we have mentioned, Pahlavi nationalist policies made Iranian cultural heritage—especially that of the Achaemenid period—into negative heritage in the eyes of Iranians. As a consequence of this, during the revolution archaeological sites were the object of blind violence and the archaeologists themselves were victimized in different ways during the first years of the Islamic regime. For example, Ezzat Negahban, the head of archaeology department of the University of Tehran, was assaulted and some professors were fired. Others, who conformed to the new system, managed to remain in place. Archaeology had to accept symbolic violence as a way to escape from physical violence.

Archaeologists have become increasingly aware that they are the product of a particular sociohistorical context and that their interpretations and evaluations of plausibility are not independent of that context (cf. Shanks and Tilley 1987). In the case of Iran, totalitarianism has continuously forced them to reproduce social violence in their discipline, either by omitting pasts that are considered alien or by marginalizing those archaeologists who are regarded as Others. Both strategies have been aimed at controlling the past to own the future (Boytner et al. 2010).

Archaeology as a Governmental Matter

As discussed above, Iranian archaeology is of a governmental nature and is fuelled by government budgets (see Abdi 2001). As in any totalitarian structure, the state has a dominant top down perspective and there is no chance for dialogue in such a hierarchical structure (Barke 1996; Markova 2004; Scott 1999). Instead, as we have been seeing, a harsh monologue enforces conformity (Cassirer 1973). In the case of archaeology, it turns historical subjectivities into factual ways of creating otherness and omitting it.

The absence of an organized nongovernmental syndicate has made archaeologists vulnerable to expulsion and soft violence; during the first years after the revolution, the dismissal, emigration, and harassment of some archaeologists met with

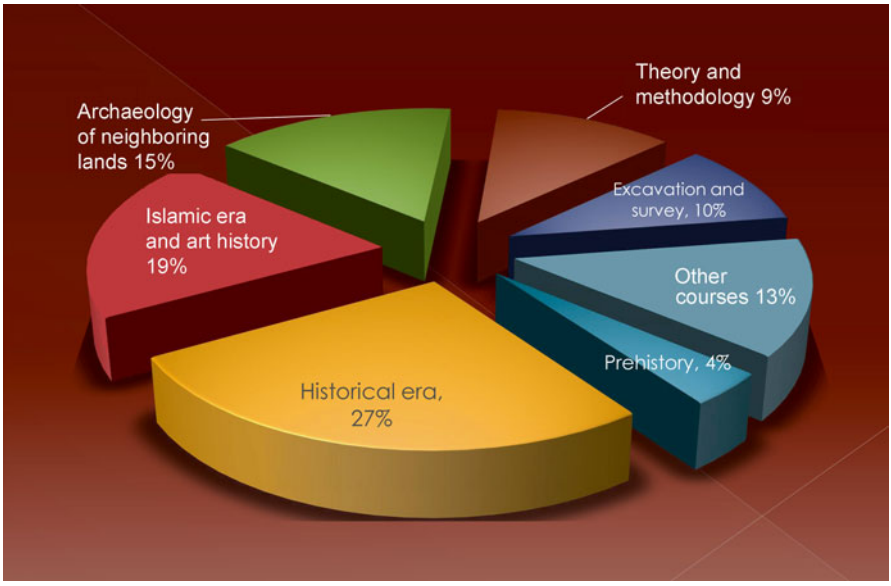

Fig. 4.4 Graph explaining archaeological courses in Iran (BA level). Courtesy of the authors

other archaeologists' silence and even sometimes joy. As a general model, open political structures provide a good context for archaeological activities, whereas totalitarian regimes force archaeology to keep silence. The archaeologist and archaeology altogether have to accept the totalitarian monologue for survival. Therefore, the dominant political perspective imposes a specific theory on archaeology and most importantly a nationalist agenda. Nationalism changed archaeology into a propaganda instrument in the Middle East (Bernhardsson 2006) and some North African countries such as Egypt. In such a context theoretical weaknesses simply degrade archaeology and make it into a tool for spreading ideological violence. Otherness is generated as a historical concept drawn from nationalist explanations of archaeological remains. The Other can be an ethnic, linguistic, or religious minority (Schabas 2000:117; Smagadi 2008:400); he or she is not Aryan, he or she does not have history, he or she is cheap, and finally he or she is guilty. This was the dominant discourse during the Pahlavi era, especially in relation to the interpretation and use of historical data. The same dialogue was again reproduced under the Islamic Republic during the Iran–Iraq war: I am Iranian and he or she is Iraqi, etc. In this way, territory as a concept is tightly associated with history as identity. National identity resorts to archaeological symbols, such as the Faravahar, a Zoroastrian symbol depicting a winged disc, or the Cylinder of Cyrus the Great which was temporary displayed at the National Museum of Iran (Figs. 4.4 and 4.5), on loan from the British Museum. The cylinder was presented as the first human rights charter (Associated Press 2010). The idea is that when Iran is in a critical condition in the international arena, especially regarding human rights issues, we

Fig. 4.5 Cyrus Cylinder in the British Museum. Courtesy of Wikipedia (photograph by Mike Peel). Image in the public domain

can always boast about Cyrus and say that he was already concerned with human rights two and half millennia ago: "you don't have such a history, you can't criticize us!" In this way, archaeology falls into a twofold situation: on the one hand, it subtly becomes the object of structured violence; on the other hand, it is in itself an instrument for exercising violence.

Iranian archaeology has been prey to extreme nationalism, which misuses both the discipline and the past for propaganda purposes. Iranian archaeology experiences nationalism periodically in unstable political conditions. Nationalism selects some parts of the past and removes others by omitting them, marginalizing them, and considering them as negative; it cannot accept a multivocal system. It defines identity as isolation and egocentrism: it cuts links with the external world. Archaeology is both the victim of the structured ideological violence of governmental nationalism and part of the problem. It is for this reason that no archaeologist has worked on the last 200 years of sociopolitical evolution: nationalism dictates that archaeology seeks only for "the first" and "the best."

One of the most significant aspects of nationalist violence is the criterion for granting cultural heritage status. Changes in the political regime lead to changes in the valuation of cultural property and whatever cannot be used for political ends is defined in negative terms. As a case in point, the Islamic legacy during the Pahlavi era and the pre-Islamic sites in the present government can be cited. Intentional destruction of ancient Iranian archaeological sites has increased in recent years.

Physical violence against monuments is the last link of the symbolic chain of nationalist ideologies (Kohl et al. 2007). In periods where heritage is heavily misused for political reasons, the system easily removes archaeologists from sight (such as during the 2,500 Years Celebration and the change of calendar with Mohammad Reza Pahlavi). In the case of the anniversary, those archaeologists that protested, such as Negahban, experienced violence and replaced by historians who complied with the regime's policies. Archaeology experienced again a similar situation under the Islamic regime. In recent years, the government's tendency to totalitarian rule has had negative outcomes for archaeology and its agents and many research approaches and elements of cultural heritage have been omitted. However, the present situation, as shaped by government politics, does not necessarily reflect public ideas about the past.

Archaeologists

In 1980, Negahban, one of the academic founders of archaeology in Iran, was attacked at the entrance of the Humanities faculty of Tehran University. He was seriously wounded with a knife. Negahban decided then to leave Iran; he lived in Pennsylvania until his death in 2009. Violence against Negahban continued in the form of nonphysical violence. Other archaeologists suffered physical or nonphysical violence: Yousef Majidzadeh and Golzari were both fired, while S. was threatened and G. had to give up her projects following accusations based on the files of Islamic groups. Respected and experienced professors were replaced by young revolutionists and this caused a decline in the quality of higher education. Archaeologists were deemed to be the tool of the Pahlavi dynasty and their western orientation was denounced. In fact, the continuous governmental pressure on archaeologists during the Pahlavi era was key in weakening the Department of Archaeology, especially when it was taking MA students during the 1960s. Although archaeology as a discipline had not participated in the nationalist process promoted by the government, it was condemned and disapproved on those grounds after the revolution by the new regime.

It is interesting that the situation repeated itself again after the 2009 election, but this time it was the ministry of science who was responsible for firing and threatening academics. Archaeologists were also under pressure from the Cultural Heritage Organization, an administrative institution which was responsible for fieldwork projects. As a result, some had to emigrate and others either lost or gave up their jobs. Iranian archaeologists were forced to declare their political position distinctly. Structured violence in the form of the political nationalism of the Pahlavi regime or the religious nationalism of the present government has not stopped producing a monologue that penetrates into the private life of every archaeologist, her or his field projects and the scientific way of looking at data. Irrespective of whether they cooperate with the system or not, Iranian archaeologists are always the object of violence. In the case of cooperation they are involved in an endless monologue of symbolic

violence (see Bourdieu 1977:190–196) and in the case of resistance they become the victims of physical or nonphysical repressive violence. In general, what categorizes archaeologists is not their specialty or their theoretical framework but their political tendencies. In what follows, we attempt a general typology, focusing on the archaeologists' individuality and agency. We will use a series of vignettes to depict the diverse ethical positions.

Scene 1: The totalitarian system calls me!

– I had a call from the Ministry of Science. X ordered us to stop Project Y. The site that this project is studying is located in the middle of the Ministry's fields.
– Sure, Sir.
– Do you know the director of the project?
– Yes, Sir, don't worry, I call him right now and ask him to stop the excavation…

The most powerful archaeologists are those who never say "no" to power. They can conduct their research work and projects in exchange for serving the system. In fact, they are the category of archaeologists interviewed and shown in governmental media as "the" archaeologists. Through time, archaeology has been restricted in mass media to publicizing this kind of archaeologists and their works. These archaeologists never show any opposition to the orders of totalitarianism, even if they go against professional and ethical standards.

Scene 2: My duty is just going to the university and coming back home!

– I am not a political kind of person.
– But, listen! Please, sign this petition; some students have been arrested! They may think differently than you, but they are archaeologists anyway.
– Look! My duty is just working on archaeological data.
– But professor! They have protested for our sake…
– They shouldn't have done it! I go to the university every morning and come back home every evening, I am just concerned with my data; I think that all of us should stick to our work! They should not have protested!

Another group of archaeologists are those who keep silence in the totalitarian environment; this group may comprise most Iranian archaeologists. They prefer to remain silent in relation to the system's policies and nationalism. They generally limit their work to visiting sites and classifying their material. The extreme growth of interest in Prehistory, in comparison with historical archaeology, seems to be the outcome of such a conservative approach. Prehistoric archaeology focuses on a period which is totally finished and has seemingly little connection with the present. Due to the absence of state structures in most periods of Prehistory, there is little possibility of comparing that era with the modern world, so Prehistory is a safe period in a totalitarian regime! Free from potential violence.

Scene 3: Back in the day, it was my way but now…!!!

– When we were young we did the same! I spent 2 years in prison. Do you know why? Because of being a protester… at the beginning of the *2,500 Years*

Celebration many archaeologists were arrested to prevent any potential protest. "Oh! Cyrus the Great, sleep! We are awake!" This was Mohammad Reza Shah's slogan. They destroyed an Islamic mosque, located in front of Cyrus tomb so that the Shah could have a good view during the celebration. Now tell me! Was our protest effective? Power structures are permanently repeated, from the 1960s to the 1970s to now… Do you know who the real winner is? The archaeologist who just visits sites and nothing more…

The thought of intellectuals (mostly left-wing) during the 1960s had an impact on the subjectivity of archaeologists, it was a time in which the number of students interested in new political theories, modern literature and art increased rapidly. The system itself encouraged archaeologists to study the higher degrees in Europe and the USA, where the intellectual movement of the left was at its peak. On the other hand, studying abroad made the younger generation familiar with the European youth movements of the time. These students started translating modern anthropological archaeology after they returned to Iran. Archaeologists like Negahban introduced new courses with an emphasis on theory and anthropology. Some young archaeologists were arrested because of their opposition activities over these years, and after the revolution the same thing occurred to a younger generation of archaeologists. Harsh security measures, torture, and expulsion made many archaeologists feel repressed and alienated, as most of them chose silence and disappointment as a solution.

Scene 4: I protest, therefore I am!

– Don't talk to me so brusquely! You are talking to a professor!
– If you don't stop complaining, you will lose your project.
– My choice is my honor… As an engaged archaeologist I don't cooperate with you, I keep protesting.

Opposing archaeologists usually face harsh reactions from the power structure. Soft violence such as rumor regarding unethical conduct in the private lives of academics and discontinuation of payment is a common solution against dissenting archaeologists. They are also subjected to interrogation. Facing a lack of any powerful union or association and other means of support, they have to struggle alone with the system in most cases. Most disciplines in Iran have a nongovernmental association to represent them (such as the society of sociologists or anthropologists). In the case of archaeology, despite there being two syndicates (one governmental and one nongovernmental), professionals are worse off, since the associations fight each other and promote disunity within the discipline. In addition, direct governmental supervision of archaeological organizations results in a black list of opponents who have lost their projects and payment. Therefore, the socioeconomic status of Iranian archaeologists is closely tied to their position in relation to the government. Engaging in social issues places them in the center of an endless cycle of punishment. In contrast, going along with the power structure can bring advantages such as promotion and grants. In both situations, archaeologists are the object of violence—symbolic or open. But the only ethical way out are resistance and the deconstruction of the archaeologist's situation in relation to the system.

Archaeological Legal Issues

As a scholar in the field of the humanities, archaeologists have the obligation of challenging, while at the same time existing in relation to, social contexts. They have to investigate them with a contextual and multidimensional perspective. The Iranian tradition has no deep understanding of historical monuments. Religious texts consider them as mere examples. This sociocultural and historical tradition is reflected in laws and laws are mostly based on Islamic jurisprudence. Thus, civil law, in its Principle 11, no. 1, says that properties are divided into two main groups: portable and importable (Mansour 2002). This can be applied to archaeological remains by just adding the adjective "cultural." Legal and nationalist terms, in the absence of archaeological ones, engendered a vulgar form of antiquities law. In this way, archaeological remains have been labeled "treasure," a term originating in jurisprudence. The concept of "antiquities" has been more widely used during the Qajar and early Pahlavi periods in administrative and legal documents, and the name was also employed for administrative departments. The following are two statements of Iran's civil law, which are reviewed critically here. Third chapter, paragraph 26, "on properties without any distinct owner," covering "historical monuments:" these portable and importable properties belong to the state as national resources, and cannot be used as private properties; the same is true of properties belonging to provinces (Mansour 2002). Fourth chapter, paragraph 165, "on discovered objects": if someone finds something in ruins or abandoned, he can own it; there is no need for a legal process except if the object belongs to the contemporary time.

Iranian archaeology, then, is not the outcome of the Iranian society's needs and conditions, as they are expressed in their laws. On the contrary, the political and economic needs of the government or a need for data for propaganda purposes culminated in the emergence of archaeology; as it had not undergone a typical formation processes, the discipline suffers from a lack of theory and method. Being dependent on governmental structures, archaeology could not build up a framework for itself: the continuity of nationalistic archaeology during the 1970s can be cited as a proof of this. In general, archaeology laws are far from being professional. Based on them, any skilled "expert" can decide on matters related to archaeological remains; however, the law does not specify whether the "expert" has to be an archaeologist or not. Thus, archaeologists can be simply rejected.

Administrative Issues

The administrative structure of Iranian archaeology was limited to an Archaeology Center under the supervision of the Ministry of Culture since 1971 (Moosavi 2009). After the revolution, a Cultural Heritage Organization was founded and then supervised by the Ministry of Science. Afterwards, the Cultural Heritage Organization and the Archaeology Center were responsible for work permits.

Governmental universities and, later, private universities have been in charge of training archaeology students. Until 1997 the University of Tehran was the only university in the country with studies in archaeology.

Archaeology, in general, has been divided into an administrative and an academic structure. The administrative section has an operative research function strongly dependant on the government (now under the control of the President's office). Archaeologists have to receive work permits and budget from the administrative section, which can act as a filter supporting projects related to political needs and not necessarily scientific purposes. In such circumstances, archaeology becomes a governmental structure that forces archaeologists to accept a particular framework in a bureaucratic process: the differences between such processes and those at work in democratic countries are clear. The level of academic education, the research perspectives of related organizations such as Cultural Heritage, and the relation of archaeology with Iranian society are among the most important problems. The Cultural Heritage Organization was divided into several sections in 2010 and disintegrated into a few small offices in different cities. This incident is a powerful symbol of the disaster which is the outcome of the governmental structure of archaeology (Papoli and Garazhian 2012).

Sanctioned laws are another facet of the problem. According to the Cultural Heritage Organization, the concept of a historical artifact is inflexible: an object must be at least 100 years of age to be considered historical. Therefore, the past is a limited concept and the archaeologist is tied to it. Such a definition per se makes the relations of archaeologists with modern society weak and separates the past from the present. The laws are rarely re-evaluated and bureaucratic feedbacks tend to increase. They restrict research possibilities especially with regard to the recent past. Currently, material culture up to the end of the Qajar period is recorded in the National Heritage list. To study data belonging to a time period less than the designated 100 years is not legally the duty of the archaeologist. This is an administrative approach that values objects depending on time, not historical and culture significance.

Educational System

Archaeological courses were first suggested and ordered by Prof. Negahban in 1967. From that time on the students had to pass specific courses in order to complete a BA degree (Fig. 4.4). It has been years since archaeologists have realized that these courses are out of date and should be revised. But the problem is that all the process has to be supervised by the Ministry of Science. Despite long discussions and a conference, it was not possible to change the courses. In general, this is because the centralized academic system prefers to have weak archaeologists. Thus, none of 22 persons that applied for professor positions in Tehran University was successful even in the first stage. Even if they had been successful, the political views of the new professors would have to be revised by the Ministry of Information and Ministry of

Science. As a result, the archaeologists working as professors in universities are still mostly from an older generation who prefer not to change the situation.

The educational systems of other fields of humanities also encounter several problems, but there is a main difference between archaeology and other fields such as sociology. From the Middle Ages onwards, Iran has developed different fields of knowledge such as sociology, history, philosophy, and geography in traditional forms and in the modern academic sense. The theoretical framework and methodology of these disciplines is rooted in the written and oral culture of traditional and modern academies. As an imported commodity, however, archaeology is an exception among the human sciences. It was introduced in the country by Westerners as antiquarianism and with disregard to the local sociocultural context. Today, Iranian archaeology is an incomplete version of the culture-historical archaeology imported at the beginning of the twentieth century. Unfortunately, fieldwork methods, rather than theoretical perspectives, have been adopted from foreign archaeologists. As an alien science, its structures and functions have not been adapted to the Iranian reality in the long term. On the other hand, its theoretical perspectives have not been updated at least during the last 50 years (Garazhian 2010). This is the case with academic courses: most archaeology courses have traditional descriptive content such as pottery categorization, or offer art history, like Egyptian Art, Indian art, etc. Others are deeply influenced by traditional history, especially historical archaeology courses. Prehistoric courses are usually descriptive, with the exception of cultural anthropology and basic archaeology. It should be mentioned that 87 % of courses are professional and the rest (13 %) are general courses on religion and the 1979 Revolution. Passing them is necessary for all university students. Since the educational system does not grant any importance to the human sciences and their practical uses, students find theoretical courses (such as cultural anthropology) very demanding and pointless. Of 430 questionnaires answered by BA students, 97 % believed that first semester courses were really heavy. Sixty-six percentage complained about the high number of courses on art history and Islamic architecture. Sixty-four percentage believed that academic courses are not useful for obtaining a job. Seventy-one percentage pointed out that prehistory courses are too few and about 60 % were dissatisfied with the traditional historical basis of historical archaeology courses: “they are not really archaeology!” they insisted.

The educational system of archaeology in Iran has basic problems but the main problem is a higher system encouraging the whole field to remain apolitical and unreflective. Modernization may change archaeology and make it a more active field from a social and political point of view. It seems that this is one of the reasons the changes that have been suggested to archaeological courses have always encountered with insurmountable obstacles.

Therefore, Iranian archaeology has limited itself to the description and categorization of archaeological materials in keeping with traditional approaches. The low rate of theoretical growth during the last century is the outcome of such circumstances. There is a relative interest in importing methodological innovations instead (Vernoit 1997). Actually, archaeology is still obsessed with fieldwork, description, and museum studies following limited theoretical frameworks and subject matters.

Its obsession is working on excavated materials. The scarcity of Persian publications is also a problem: 15 archaeological journals (see Moosavi 2012) are published in Iran on average. All these factors have undermined the relations between archaeology and society; the Iranians see archaeology as a useless activity. A big gap separates archaeologists from their colleagues in sociology and anthropology.

Professional Ethics

Either the study of social issues, such as violence and long-term power structures, or social engagement is considered an archaeological concern in Iran. Theoretical frameworks are lacking and the same occurs with laws. In a reductionist approach, which is the product of the culture-historical context of formation of the discipline, Iranian archaeology has committed itself to "the material," to record and conserve things. As a result, Iranian archaeologists have no implication in society and are marginalized. Archaeology has lost almost all its connections and has no understanding of itself as a human science. The country has experienced unstable sociopolitical conditions for the last 200 years and, although some opposing, revolutionary and even reformist movements have existed, no archaeological inquiry has been conducted on them. Our only sources are historical narratives.

In a long-term process, archaeology has been emptied of social agency in Iran. Archaeology and its practitioners, archaeologists are generally the victim of political structure. They have to work within a political system which is administratively managed by nonspecialists who only use archaeology as a political tool in the purpose of nationalistic propaganda. They also suffer from a defective and outdated educational system in which political and ethical reflections are discouraged. In such a context, an ethical reflection on the role of archaeologists vis à vis the profession and society at large could change their political perspective and align them with the opposition.

Discussion: Iranian Archaeology and Archaeologists as Victims of Violence

Iranian archaeology is a marginalized field, a victim of ideological violence and an instrument for exerting violence. Instead of accepting its obligations to society, it has decided to line up with the government. The government determines the time, scale, and form of its inventions. The time has usually coincided with sociopolitical tensions.

A cycle of reproduction of violence has led archaeology to reductionism. To stop the cycle, the archaeologist should critically deconstruct her/his relation with the government, with society and with themselves. Archaeology has no deep understanding of its position as a human science, mostly because of the low quality of education.

Archaeology's negative agency (see Wardlow 2006) has actually helped the reproduction of violence. The lack of self-consciousness and ethical reflection has made archaeology's relationship with society unstable in spite of at least 70 years of academic tradition. This means that the popular awareness of archaeology in society is haphazard and only flares up in case of a museum robbery or similar situations.

Approaches that were imported at the beginning of twentieth century (mostly by German and French archaeologists) have returned to the country as "permanent laws" which have rarely been criticized. The same phenomenon, in the case of education, resulted in a dogmatic, reductionist archaeology. These issues have severely hampered the growth of archaeology. To debate theoretically on the nature and functions of archaeology has been considered unnecessary and this has led to a minimal understanding on the discipline's position in society, the world, and among other sciences. Trying to break the cycle of symbolic violence usually ends up in omission—as has occurred to a small group of engaged archaeologists, GAP END, working on contemporary archaeology.

Iranian archaeology is the target of violence. In general, the dominant power structure is interested in conformity and the removal of subjectivity. Subjectivity can bring agency out of structural actions and against the power structure. To avoid that, nationalism has become a useful tool to keep archaeology nonfunctional and as a tool of exclusion (Vinson 2004). In both situations, objectivity appears. Violence takes the place of discourse, exercising power as a monologue. For this endless structured violence, its trademark is identity and its main theme control—the control of subjectivity. The selection and support of certain kinds of projects and the omission of others is its best weapon.

Besides, the ambiguous relationship of archaeology with society and the rest of the academic world make the problem more complex. The low quality of education and the unstable links of archaeology with society have facilitated harsh governmental control and the reproduction of violence. The processes to which archaeology is subjected Iran are not different from those that have affected other traditions elsewhere in the world, with the outcomes of omission, mass killing, and racism (Wiwjorra 1996; Jones 1997). As long as our data are under their boots, their interpretation, professional ethics, and the research subjects are under their boots too.

For Iranian archaeologists, it is not the time for changing the world (Stottman 2011); it is rather the time for changing the world around themselves and their relations with the world. While archaeology and archaeologists remain involved in the reproduction of the cycle of violence, examining violence in historical contexts is impossible, since they cannot even adequately comply with professional ethics. The solution passes for being able to deconstruct the contextual functions of archaeology, becoming independent from governmental policies, and understanding the historical and contextual circumstances of the discipline. In order to stop being mere instruments of the government, changing the logic of the logos, reconstituting subjectivity, and redefining cultural identity have to become academic concerns.

Acknowledgements We would like to thank Yousef Madjidzadeh for his comments and for the great honor of letting us use his real name in the chapter. Furthermore, we thank Mariam Naeemi and Arman Masoudi and also La'ya Alinia for editing the chapter. Any errors in this chapter remain our own. We also are very grateful to the volume editors for their valuable suggestions that have helped improving the chapter.

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Chapter 5
Archaeology of Historical Conflicts, Colonial Oppression, and Political Violence in Uruguay

José María López Mazz

Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to trigger discussion in the philosophy and ethics of archaeology in its relationship to the various conflicts and episodes of oppression, both historical and recent, where archaeologists work as professionals and live as citizens. In Latin America, archaeologists work in scenarios related to historical and cultural processes of social and political violence (Fondebrider 2006), as well as conflicts derived from economic and environmental speculation (Observatorio Minero del Uruguay 2011) and ideological oppression (Haber 1999). The nations of South America have just celebrated their 200 years of independence; however, the decolonizing process has not yet ended (López Mazz 1992; Mignolo 2002). Coloniality, with its numerous prejudices, still shows its relevance in the delicate social and political order and in the almost total absence of theoretical debate in archaeology, both in academia and in private practice, which is where original archaeological knowledge is usually produced.

In recent years we have witnessed an increasing interaction between civil society and archaeologists around the historical past and the public policies related to cultural and historical heritage. One of the most valuable activities of public archaeology in some Latin American countries has been its collaborations in the recognition of indigenous and Afro-American rights (Eremites and Levi 2010; UNESCO 2011). Another burning issue is the fight against the looting of cultural heritage, antiquities trafficking, and archaeological fakes (Femenías and Florines 2004; Meneghin 2008). The non-sustainable exploitation of natural resources (mining, soy agribusiness,

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A. González-Ruibal, G. Moshenska (eds.), *Ethics and the Archaeology of Violence*, Ethical Archaeologies: The Politics of Social Justice 2,
DOI 10.1007/978-1-4939-1643-6_5

and deforestation among others) provokes social reaction and theoretical debates around the management of the common goods (*bien común*) and the future of the planet. All these scenarios emphasize the need for the development of a critical ethics, in relation to the continuity of the prevalent social order or the improvement of the living conditions of the people.

However, where ethical debates reach their maximum intensity in Latin American archaeology is, without a doubt, in the search for the disappeared (*desaparecidos*) of the military dictatorships of the 1960s to the 1980s (Funari et al. 2010; Zarankin et al. 2012). It is an uncertain and risky scenario, both from a political and from a professional point of view, where archaeologists have to venture into novel and original fields of research, working praxes, and human relations.

These contemporary ethical dilemmas as a whole are not exclusively Latin American, but postcolonial in general. Nonetheless, they have their own characteristics in the subcontinent, which are the product of 15 millennia of independent historical and cultural experience. A stereotyped vision of the conflict between indigenous peoples and Europeans was used in the construction of the original national historical narrative. This portrays the Indian as a problematic being, opposed to both colonization of the territory and extensive cattle farming (López Mazz and Bracco 2011). In Uruguay and Argentina, the young countries were built around a fundamental contradiction between barbarism and civilization (López Mazz 1986:211). This national history, which remains alienating today, has nevertheless had the anthropological effect of becoming a foundational myth, which forms the basis for powerfully symbolic literary productions. In these, a blue-eyed Indian called Tabaré stands out (Zorrilla de San Martín 1897). The modern republican state was successful at concealing and forgetting the indigenous holocaust that lies in its origins and focused all its attention in the values and hopes associated with progress and modernity (Fig. 5.1).

Archaeologists have always worked on important issues, but never so much as today have they been immersed in scenarios of decisive economic, social, and public relevance. Paradoxically, part of the success of the archaeological activity in

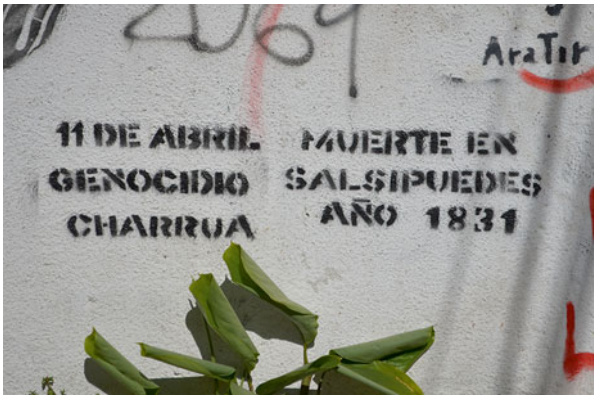

Fig. 5.1 Montevideo. Wall in the street dedicated to General Rivera, who in 1833 ambushed and exterminated the last indigenous group of Uruguay. Courtesy of Jose María López Mazz

Uruguay and the rest of Latin America lies in its abandonment of all pretension of producing knowledge embedded in humanist values and social compromise. By working at the service of the established order, progress and capital, archaeologists have definitively been incorporated into the wage-earning collective of the new middle classes, where economic imperatives make professional activity and academic freedom look sometimes like intellectual complicity (Díaz del Río 2000).

Despite regional economic growth and the demand for archaeologists, professional activity in this context does not have many questions to ask. There is no agenda, no ethical discussion, no theoretical debate, and no association that reflects upon what is happening. This chapter identifies some critical social scenarios, of oppression and violence, which are part of the most classic Latin American history. These scenarios foster opinions and debates with regard to the ethical dimension of the archaeologist's work. In these scenarios, the ethical work of archaeologists is regulated, from outside, by public policies and the legal framework alone. However, archaeological knowledge today offers an added value, which can contribute to the production of new meaning to old conflicts, such as that over land ownership, the responsible management of natural resources, a healthy revision of national history, the rights of cultural minorities, and an integrated management of cultural heritage (Criado 2012).

I present here the experience of the Research Group in Forensic Archaeology (Grupo de Investigación en Arqueología Forense, GIAF) (2005–2012) of the University of the Republic of Uruguay (UdelaR). Different aspects of our work are described, in relation to the search for the people disappeared under detention during the last dictatorship (1973–1984), in the context of a regional coordination of repression that also involved Brazil, Argentina, and Chile. Since the GIAF depends on a national public institution, as opposed to what happens in the private practice of the profession, explicit ethical questions were considered from the beginning with regard to the scientific–academic objectives of our work and its social outreach.

Social Oppression, Economic Violence, and Archaeological Ethics

The long-term processes of structural violence and oppression, involving indigenous populations, Afro-descendants, and the victims of the liberal economic policies, were continued by the dictatorships that perpetuated the disappearance of social collectives. Underdevelopment in Latin America has been characterized, among other factors, by the exclusion of large sectors of society from economic growth, land ownership, and labor rights, through disenfranchisement and ethnic and cultural discrimination. In this context conflict, oppression and violence appear under different guises, at different moments and with different intensities, to frame the public and professional activity of archaeologists.

From the mid-1980s onwards, the trauma of dictatorship led the general public to develop a particular sensibility towards—and pay renewed attention to—the indigenous genocide. However, the professional associations of Uruguayan archaeologists have never declared their position clearly with regard to this issue of enormous historical relevance. In the MERCOSUR countries,[1] the indigenous genocide allowed the local oligarchies (criollos) to appropriate millions of hectares of land during the first third of the nineteenth century, which were rapidly exploited for extensive cattle farming. This mode of production, inspired by medieval Iberian models, gave way to large states and surplus value, which benefited from the work of baptized Indians (Guarani) and African slave labor (rural and industrial), especially in the Portuguese areas (Bracco and López Mazz 2011; Borucki et al. 2004). In the case of Uruguay, the vanity of being a white country was questioned by the coup d'état of the 1970s. This forced a far-reaching historical revision that was expressed in the rejection of the political figures responsible for the indigenous extermination of 1833, which had been hitherto considered national heroes. In the same way, a very dynamic cultural movement has emerged that reconsiders the indigenous world in a positive light. Indigenous culture inspires a variety of artistic productions and intense activity by numerous organizations of people who claim descent from the Charrúa group.[2] Recently, some researchers have produced new research (Bracco 1999) which tries to better understand the official narrative that always minimized the cultural and moral development of American Indians and justified their extermination (Padrón 2004). With the exception of the directions of the National Museum of Anthropology (Ministry of Education and Culture) and the Institute of Anthropological Sciences (UdelaR), the collective of professional archaeologists has refused to express an opinion in relation to the violence against the indigenous peoples or other philosophical or critical debate. These debates, however, have taken place with varying intensity in neighboring countries.

Uruguayan archaeologists seem to consider the issue of the original peoples as solved and their ethical codes are not concerned by a problem perceived as remote. This attitude does not derive from a critical analysis, but gives precedence to the convenience of avoiding political (and business) problems and devoting more time to working on environmental impact assessment, which has opened a hitherto unthinkable labor market for archaeologists. Despite working to a large extent with the material culture, settlements, and human remains of autochthonous peoples, archaeologists have not felt forced to link their research with ethical issues related to the extermination of this original populations and the marginalization of their numerous descendants. The violent extermination of the indigenous groups in 1833 that directly benefited cattle farming also reinforced the rigid class structure of the rural areas. Today, progressive governments are concerned with improving the social inclusion of many minorities. However, a large part of those intellectuals who

[1] The Economic Market of the South (MERCOSUR) is constituted by Brazil, Argentina, Venezuela, Uruguay and Paraguay.

[2] There is an organization that coordinates the groups of descendants of the Charrúa Nation (Conacha), which has been active since 2005.

consider themselves liberal and progressive continue to be dominated by the colonial identity, based on an urban and European sensibility, which is proposed as a national narrative by the hegemonic theory of the immigration avalanche. Behind a false urban/rural dichotomy, large cities continue to exercise an internal colonialism in the countryside (Stavenhagen 1981). In this context, the ethical apathy of (mainly urban) archaeologists is not surprising, and neither is the fact that the indigenous Charrúas are the object of mockery in the Carnival of Montevideo.[3] It is perhaps more paradoxical that this mockery is celebrated by a leftist public, who does not seem to realize that it reproduces the "primitivist" prejudices held by the Uruguayans who were involved in the Indian extermination of 1833.

African slavery in America is another public issue where political paternalism has precedence over explicit ethical reflection, despite its unjust and violent history. The first introduction of slaves in Uruguay (by British and Dutch traders) was through Colonia del Sacramento during the seventeenth century. Montevideo, in turn, was the exclusive port of entry for the traffic of slaves in the Southern Cone from the late eighteenth century onwards (Borucki 2008, 2011; Montaño 2001). The Plata River also received part of the Portuguese traffic, from Río de Janeiro to the Brazilian coast Borucki 2011).

National history has whisked away the fact that Montevideo was a slave emporium. Later, the battalions of *pardos y morenos* (brown and tan) were the human fuel employed in the Balkanization of the Spanish colonies of the Plata River. The dissolution of the United Southern Provinces (Provincias Unidas del Sur) led to the fragmentation of the colonial territories and the emergence of dislocated and independent national entities, such as Argentina, Paraguay, and Uruguay. During the nineteenth century, the proposed path of the Uruguayan state towards liberty included sending thousands of Africans to serve in the army in the War of the Triple Alliance against Paraguay and later in bloody civil wars.

Some ongoing investigations show the social impact of the historical revision carried out through archaeological works conducted in symbolic places of the African Diaspora. Research in the Valongo, which was the place where slaves where disembarked and sold in Rio de Janeiro, has had a very positive impact in the Afro-Brazilian community, who recovers in this way a place of commemoration of great historical significance in the continent (Andrade Lima 2012). Both the minorities and the multicultural state benefit much in their principles and current social objectives. A similar situation is happening in Uruguay with research focused on the identification of a slave depot that was active between 1797 and 1825 (Bracco and López Mazz 2011; Onega and Curbelo 2004). It is calculated that not less than 500,000 Africans entered the country through Guanabara Bay in Brazil and not less than 60,000 through Montevideo (Montaño 2001; Borucki 2008, 2011). Archaeology has a strategic role and a unique cognitive potential in these circumstances and places, as an auxiliary science to history. Since it is a discipline capable of producing expert

[3] The couplet Murga La Catalina of the Uruguayan Carnival of 2010 portrays the Charrúa Indians as extremely primitive. It was the object of a public debate between the author and some representatives of the "official culture" of Montevideo.

information in loco, archaeology automatically acquires an ethical responsibility in the writing of this page of Uruguayan history that is still waiting to be written. At present, the National Committee for Cultural Heritage (Ministry of Education and Culture) is developing research activities and engaging in the public management of African cultural heritage and at the same time collaborating in the debates around the creation of "places of memory" and "slave routes," following the UNESCO proposals (2012).

Public politics in relation to the protection of historical and cultural heritage have been tightly linked to the national historical narratives and their identity stereotypes, which privilege the avalanche of European immigration during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. Only a few years ago have places related to the pre-Columbian and African diasporic past started to be recognized as heritage sites.

The weak Uruguayan national identity has suffered with the attacks on the objects and places that constitute the tangible heritage of a history always under discussion. This situation is dangerously reflected in the arrogance of the "treasure hunters" who loot wrecks, the uncontrolled aggression of real estate businesses against the coast of Montevideo, the clumsiness of some ministries that violate heritage laws and the voracious antiquities dealers. The Law 14.040 (1971) that regulates the management of the historical and cultural heritage created for this task an Honorary Committee, which is systematically under pressure from capital and its political representatives. Despite the inadequacy of this committee, the public agenda of heritage tries to do justice to some forgotten rights, as a tool of democratization and inclusion, as it recognizes the leading role played by minorities in history and promises to respect its landmarks in the national territory.

Another scenario where we can trace the links between archaeology, ethics, and conflict is in the environmental impact assessments of production activities and development models, in the wider context of the natural environment. The global division of labor and the unequal development of productive forces have burdened Latin America with the colonial stereotype of producer of raw materials. This renewed profile of subaltern economy, however, has taken new aspects with the growing consumption rate of the large world economies and the interests of speculative financial capitals.

In this way, open mining, forest and agro-industrial (rise and soya) megaprojects increase their impact at the same time that environmental controls are continuously adjusted to lower levels of quality and are being questioned both scientifically and ethically by civil society (Observatorio Minero del Uruguay 2011). The link between the politicians in charge and the companies is always unclear. The "revolving door" that moves civil servants from the government to private companies justify the ethical critique and mistrust towards many projects, which state agents strive to sell as "sustainable."

Paradoxically, as the market demanded more and more archaeologists, the Uruguayan Association of Archaeology became weaker and weaker until it dissolved. It was founded in 1991 as a tool for the development of the discipline in the framework of a professional activity of social and public interest. However, with the advance of capital and before ethical questions could be absorbed in its agenda,

this association disappeared. Many colleagues are afraid that union activity can compromise contracts. The liberal professional exercise of archaeology and profit have taken precedence over other consideration, including ethical ones. The absence of union activity and critical literature in relation to the conditions of work, to the use of scientific information and to the environmental assessment of economic (and logistical) projects itself is highly problematic. As in the rest of the region, the huge demand for studies of impact has meant that many people without expert training participate actively in these projects, without at the same time taking responsibility for the good management of archaeological heritage.

It is difficult to understand a model of praxis independent of ethics. Yet this is what seems to happen with this archaeology that engages with economic "frontiers." The debate is of present relevance and the challenge is to produce sense from multivocality and multiculturalism, to better understand the national historical process and to ensure that future generations can enjoy heritage. This can be achieved through the integral management of archaeological heritage, which has to be carried out while taking into account its social and public value and without straying from archaeological rationality and critical ethics (Criado 2012).

The Search for the Disappeared

The archaeologists of the twenty-first century practice their profession in scenarios of renewed ethical responsibility (López Mazz 2010; Moshenska 2008). This is particularly evident in the context of recent political conflicts, for example, the coordinated repression of the military dictatorships of Argentina, Uruguay, Brazil, Chile, and Paraguay between the 1960s and 1980s. These regimes carried out the Doctrine of State Security that was then espoused by the USA in Latin America. The outcomes of those *años de plomo* (years of lead) included thousands of political detainees *desaparecidos*, murder victims and kidnapped children, who were considered war booty.

In different ways and with different levels of intensity, the democratic governments of the late 1990s tried to give an answer to the problem of the disappeared. Although this issue was part of the post-dictatorship political discourse and agenda, it was the constant work of civil society organizations, Human Rights NGOs, the grassroots movements, and the relatives of the disappeared such as the Mothers and Relatives of Uruguayans Disappeared under Detention (Madres y Familiares de uruguayos Detenidos Desaparecidos 2004) that led to the implementation of effective projects for the recovery of the disappeared.

A Peace Committee created during the government of President Jorge Batlle (2000–2004) inaugurated a proactive state policy of search for information about Human Rights violations. The Committee was able to obtain some testimonies regarding the fate of some kidnapped children in 1976. However, the gathered information was not successful in finding clues of the disappeared under detention. On the contrary, due to the lack of an adequate methodology, the Committee gradually granted veracity to the military versions, which were deliberately distorted, of the

final destiny of the disappeared. One of the most discussed issues in this Committee was the existence, according to the Army, of a military procedure, called Operation Carrot. This operation, which was organized shortly before the democratic restoration, consisted in locating and recovering human remains that had been clandestinely buried, in order to burn them and erase all traces of their existence. The exhaustive nature that the Committee accorded to this Operation Carrot was the main reason for its failure, since it transformed the alleged operation into a tool to perpetuate the active concealment of the military crimes: the effect was to discourage all kind of search promoted by relatives of the victims.

In 2004, the President of Uruguay Tabaré Vázquez asked for the support of the University of the Republic (UdelaR) to solve pending problems in relation to Human Rights. From the beginning, some faculty were well disposed to collaborate in the search for the disappeared, and proposed to identify through aerial photographs the alterations that occurred in military terrains, during and after the dictatorship, so as to orient archaeological works in the field (Panario et al. 2004). The first ethical challenge was to propose a strategy that presented archaeology and forensic anthropology as the only possible way to write the history of those that hitherto did not have any. In addition, the research implied the uncomfortable and risky situation of entering a murky and dangerous scenario. On the one hand, there was the active mistrust of the military. On the other, the positive but very ambiguous intentions of the politicians. Justice, press, and public opinion, however, were key in democratizing information and backing up the search.

In these circumstances, the Group for Research in Forensic Archaeology (Grupo de Investigación en Arqueología Forense, GIAF) was organized under the auspices of the Department of Archaeology of the School of Humanities. Among the tasks of the law that regulates the activity of the public Uruguayan university are the production of new, original knowledge and the training of human resources in order to better understand and solve the great national problems, as well as to contribute to the improvement of the citizens' quality of life. It is in the ethical framework determined by these principles that the academic activity of forensic anthropology was able to obtain the support of students, professors, and alumni. In other countries of the region the situation is different and the search for the disappeared has been carried out through institutions of diverse kind. The Argentinean Team of Forensic Anthropology (Equipo Argentino de Antropología Forense, EAAF) originated as an NGO (Fondebrider 2006); in Chile, the work was carried out under the direction of the forensic experts of the state (Cáceres 2012); in Brazil, the army has collaborated in the recovery of some human remains, without making their results public, and in Paraguay everything remains to be done (Funari and Vieira 2006). Despite the diversity of institutions and collectives involved, the objectives are basically the same. The GIAF established as the main goals for its work in Uruguay the production of original information that allowed the removal of the issue of the disappeared under detention from the space of pure political speculation and created a material basis to the different narratives (López Mazz 2005). The team of archaeologists and forensic anthropologists, in close collaboration with historians (Rico 2005) also took the role of recovering testimonies and constructing a memory of repression,

capable of producing a new and more balanced historical narrative of the events occurred during the dictatorship.

Among the specific objectives of the project are locating burials and clandestine cemeteries, excavating unmarked graves and recovering as fully as possible the human remains and contextual elements, identifying the victim, elucidating his or her conditions of imprisonment and the cause of death. The initial ethical dilemmas of this work have to do with the Human Rights of the family. But they can also be considered the rights of the victims of state terrorism themselves, whose bodies have been erased and whose ideas, for which they died, were supposed to be erased as well (López Mazz 2012).

The ethical strategy discussed by the GIAF to work in such a complex scenario had four points of departure: (1) the ethical postulates of the University of the Republic, in relation with the big problems of the nation; (2) the collaboration and compromise with the other actors, with whom we share the responsibility for the fulfillment of the Human Rights and the search (government, relatives, press, justice, politicians, NGOS, unions, etc.), but preserving our own distinct identity, that of a scientific and independent team (both technically and politically); (3) the collaboration with the criminal justice system, like any other citizen, but acting as experts in the production of specific evidence in relation to specific problems; (4) the ethical compromise with a new historical memory, with material bases that deviate from existing dominant narratives.

The work has taken different paths and different circumstances have affected its development, some of which were envisaged while others were not. The ethical questions that we have been forced to face have also been diverse. One line of work has been to carefully design original lines of work to verify a diversity of existing testimonies without a reliable origin. In addition to the objectives delineated at the origin of our work, in 2005, we had to assume others, of high methodological value. To look for the kind of proof required for each kind of problem allowed us to advance in an effective way in our research. We had to bypass different obstacles, but one of the main problems has always been our sources, essential to carry out research in the field. The archaeological work had thus to venture outside its usual territory and occupy new fields, which were not particularly strange, due to our anthropological training: I am referring to the ethnographic work through which quality information was sought regarding the burial places of the disappeared. Interviewing witnesses with different degrees of relation to the events has been a fundamental activity, capable of producing not only precise spatial information, but also to recover opinions, impressions and self-criticism among the military of diverse ranks. The testimony of the repressors' subaltern staff, who had direct contact with, or knowledge of, the violations of Human Rights, are a rare and valuable historical and anthropological document. Many witnesses are reluctant to take part in the legal process, but they are ready to offer their testimony to researchers. In this sense, the protection of their identity is usually considered equivalent to the protection of their personal safety and places the researcher under an unavoidable professional responsibility. These circumstances can involve misunderstandings and conflicts with Justice, if it demands the name of a witness from an archaeologist.

Another instance where the ethical critique is essential is during the process of identification of human bone remains coming from a clandestine burial. The protection of the relatives against bad professional practice is an element that has to be taken into account, as it has happened more than once. Unnecessary situations of wrong identification due to lack of skill have been created by some forensic institutes in charge of providing scientific proof both in Chile (Cáceres 2012) and in Uruguay (Página/12 2008). These mistakes in the identification of the disappeared by the expert services of the state make clear the need for achieving of the greatest possible scientific rigor during the process of identifying human remains.

There is disagreement regarding the procedures and techniques employed in identification by public forensic services and university anthropologists. This situation led to the Inter-American Court of Human Rights (Corte Interamericana de Derechos Humanos) in 2011 to ask for an Uruguayan protocol for the search for people who disappeared under detention during the last dictatorship. A similar situation led to a profound restructuration of Chile's public forensic service (Cáceres 2012). The archaeological search for clandestine burials has to be conducted within the framework of a legal procedure and for this reason, good relations between archaeologists, prosecutors, and judges is essential (Fig. 5.2).

Despite the ethical compromise, a necessary distance has to be kept with the relatives, so that the scientific work can be carried out under the assurance of technical autonomy and the construction of its own independent reasoning can be guaranteed. Regarding this issue, there have also been opportunistic and demagogic attitudes among university professionals that denaturalize the entire scientific endeavor and appropriate a sensibility which does not belong to them. We maintain an intense cooperation and solidarity with relatives, but we have developed different viewpoints on a variety of questions.

With the military there has been a correct professional coordination in all logistical issues. The logistical coordination has not implied any compromise whatsoever to the archaeological agenda, since we have always been given access to all the military property in the different places where we have asked permission to work. However, the offering of quality information to find more disappeared people continues to be an unsettled debt of this institution. In this context, the role of Justice is essential, as all archaeological interventions are channeled through open criminal cases. It is worth mentioning that the search for the *desaparecido*s has also allowed two different social sectors to get acquainted: that of the university students that take part in the project as part of their education and the young army officers who want to distance themselves from the past of violence. This has important ethical implications, but also political strategic ones, in relation to the present and future of democracy in Uruguay.

The relationship of archaeologists and government is also multifaceted and an ethical critique is essential to gauge the kind of cooperation that is developed and to discern the role of both actors. The economic and political costs of the search are covered by the Presidency of the Republic, which assures the continuity of the work. Until now, no resource that has been demanded has been rejected. On the contrary, there is good coordination between different state departments and this

Fig. 5.2 Clandestine burial of a detained/disappeared (2005). Battalion Number 13. Courtesy of GIAF/Jose María López Mazz

allows us to solve many problems that often turn up. However, since archaeologists and anthropologists are not the government either, it is crucial to practice a conscientious professional autonomy which maintains public credibility for the actions that are undertaken or proposed. Academic freedom, which is granted by our university statute, is very useful in this context and allows us to develop our reasoning and negotiate the conflicts that may come up.

From Operation Condor to Operation Carrot

The coordination between the different Southern Cone dictatorships from the 1960s to the 1980s had as a direct outcome the increased communication and fluid exchange of experiences between the repressive forces. Many testimonies of survivors bear witness to the joint activities of repressors from different countries. The greater communication and the joint evaluation of the repressive practices allowed an intensification and specialization of some violent procedures, which were considered by the perpetrators as particularly effective. The material correlate of this repressive cooperation can be seen in the homogenization of some practices and the standardization of their products.

Among the similar procedures that seem to be carried out in the different countries we can point out the systematic concealment and destruction of the victims' bodies. In Argentina and Chile, the bodies of victims were thrown into the sea. In Uruguay, they were hidden in the reservoir of Rincón del Bonete. Paradoxically, in all cases the bodies resisted the final destination given to them by the perpetrators and slowly appeared on the shores, thus revealing the fact of their murder. Operation Carrot refers to the disinterment of bodies in dates close to the restoration of democracy in Uruguay. It was carried out to prevent or hamper the eventual legal inquiry into the fate of the disappeared. This operation of concealment and systematic destruction of bodies, which was conceived by both civilians and military personnel in 1983 (Comisión para la Paz 2000–2004), was complemented by the intentional and systematic elimination of unidentified bodies that existed in different Uruguayan cemeteries. As a result of the death flights and the fortuitous appearance of bodies, many unidentified corpses accumulated between 1976 and 1980 in the coastal departments of Uruguay (Rocha, Maldonado, Montevideo, and Colonia). Also in 1983, an order was given to send all NN remains to the ossuaries. This order meant that specific human remains were separated from the identification tag that is given to them when they enter the cemetery. In this way, the possibility of associating the information of the circumstances of the finding with the bones disappeared and with it all hope of identifying the person. It is important to note that the first denial of identifying the corpses came from the forensic doctors when they were found. The forensic experts certified that the bodies belonged to Asian sailors, victim of mutinies in the sea. The consignment of the human remains to ossuaries was intended to continue this concealment and the denial of identification of both the victims and the crimes themselves.

Operation Carrot was offered by the military to the Peace Committee in 1999 as an argument for the impossibility of finding any remains of people disappeared under detention. A similar operation was conducted by the Chilean military with the name "removal of televisions." The name comes from the public effect that resulted from the fortuitous finding of the bodies of people killed for political reasons inside a mine (Cáceres 2012:61). The archaeological demonstration of Operation Carrot needed a special design, which focused on the materiality that could witness and prove the different episodes that constituted such an operation.

Fig. 5.3 Photographs showing the zone of Operation Carrot. Battalion Number 14. Courtesy of GIAF/Jose María López Mazz

The testimonies gathered by our team from former military personnel on the operation are of a better quality than those provided by the Army Commands to the Peace Committee in 2004. In this way, we could delineate the areas in Battalion 13 and 14 where bulldozers belonging to the Corps of Engineers were seen working between 1983 and 1985. Stratigraphic evidence recovered in these places confirms and are coherent with the characteristics of the machinery that was described to us. This evidence came in the shape of traces of drilling equipment used in the search for clandestine burials and backhoes employed in the exhumation of the remains (Fig. 5.3).

From an osteological point of view, further evidence was provided by the finding of a fragment of a radius, in an area stratigraphically altered and previously pinpointed by witnesses. There are also bone micro-remains which are now being analyzed in the laboratory. Although the original administrative order of 1983 has not yet been found, it does not seem to be a coincidence that the sending of all the unknown bones to the ossuaries in that year has been recorded in the documentation existing in the cemeteries. In those exceptional circumstances in which the bones remained in place, it has been possible to identify the killed and disappeared persons. The most recent case occurred in the town of Castillos, eastern Uruguay, where a Chilean citizen was found, that had been detained in Buenos Aires in 1977: another, tangible proof of the cooperation between the different dictatorships of South America.

Discussion and Conclusions

In Latin America, the economic growth and policies of social inclusion impose an ethical dimension to the work of archaeologists and forensic anthropologists. The political violence of the late twentieth century constitutes a singular chapter that shows how the sciences in the different countries involved has become immersed in contemporary dramas. Archaeological ethics are more than ever present in a series of different problems with a common historical origin.

The ethical questions can be posed case by case in the present, but they also emerge through a long-term reading as a set of socio-historical problems. On the one hand, we see the need for an ethics geared towards the revision of a national history that has been repressive until now—for the minorities excluded from the land, economic benefits and social memory. On the other hand, we see an increasing irresponsible and neocolonial management of the natural resources. This not only compromises the social conditions and the future economic development, but it is also radically opposed to Amerindian philosophy, which is characterized by its careful and respectful management of nature. University education in Uruguay (Ley Orgánica 1958) establishes that scientific research in the Human Sciences is an activity of public interest and a way of attaining objectives of social interest linked to human development. This situation is pertinent to the different specialties that make up the so-called anthropological sciences. A historical contribution to university ethics was the Colloquium of Human Sciences of 1956 in the School of Humanities. With the active participation of Paul Rivet, founder of the Musée de l'Homme in Paris, this colloquium marked the beginning of academic archaeology and anthropology in the country in the framework of an explicit humanist ethical responsibility (López Mazz 1999). This path towards anthropological sciences, with an ethical concern and engaged in the problems of Latin American decolonization, was later consolidated by the presence of the anthropologist and educator Darcy Ribeiro, who was exiled in Uruguay between 1964 and 1966. The emergence of Latin American Social Archaeology during the late 1960s was also a powerful force in the construction of an ethically-oriented discipline (Vargas and Sanoja 1999). However, the authoritarian governments targeted these scholars in their repressive actions.

The archaeological and anthropological study of contexts of violence and political oppression has to be devoted to the service of Human Rights, peace, history, justice, and human understanding. Irrespective of academic responsibility, these ethical dimensions are also related to the social need for a historical memory of the dictatorships, which is mainly being produced by a science practiced under democracy. In the context of violent conflicts, archaeological ethics is also constructed case by case, issue by issue: supporting the relatives and justice, but always trying to avoid political demagogy and careful not to expose informants to any danger.

Applied science is more and more in need of an applied ethics. It is difficult to understand a research strategy oriented towards contemporary problems that considers ethics and the profession as independent realms. Ethical debates gradually reach archaeological businessmen from civil society and public heritage authorities,

Fig. 5.4 Illegal trafficking of archaeological remains. Fishtail-shaped lithic point robbed from the Municipal Museum Beto Pérez, Castillos (Rocha province) in 2001. Courtesy of Jose María López Mazz

who demand more technical coherence and responsibility in environmental and archaeological issues. Ethics is not a condition inherent to things, but has to do with the behavior of people as citizens or professionals. A basic ethical resource is then to be found in the education of every common citizen, which is regularly updated in relation to new social dilemmas, particularly in relation to Human Rights and cultural heritage (Fig. 5.4). The university curricula that are used to educate archaeologists and anthropologists have to take into account, now more than ever, a set of specific social problems, which are not small and in which the fate and reputation of these disciplines are once again at stake.

In addition, the work of associations is meant to have a positive effect on the ethical dilemmas that confront the daily work of archaeologists. They should associate to defend the quality of their work and be more supportive of their colleagues, who work on violent conflicts or in economic projects that undermine archaeological expertise to make unethical use of natural resources. In this same line, academic events (conferences and seminars) should become arenas of discussion where theoretical aspects of contemporary professional praxis are discussed. The archaeological perspective that interprets long-term processes constitutes a valid methodology for environmental impact assessment. In relation to the violation of human rights, the technical diagnostic of the forensic anthropologist imposes an inescapable philosophical reflection, in terms of political violence and contemporary democratic values.

An old colonial prejudice towards the undeveloped world has favored the opinion that the technical advancement in science makes theory unnecessary. This is a Third World fantasy from which we should awake as soon as possible. Ethics is inherent to theory, as much as technique is to science. In Latin America, archaeology without theory and ethical reflection would be condemned to continue being an old

bourgeois game, or just an immature science. This is particularly serious, because, as we have had the chance to see in the historical–political context examined in this chapter, violence has deep roots. Therefore, the professional practice of archaeologists and anthropologists has to make the effort of going beyond mere good intentions.

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Chapter 6
Discussing the Spaces of Memory in Buenos Aires: Official Narratives and the Challenges of Site Management

Melisa A. Salerno and Andrés Zarankin

Introduction

In this chapter we consider the sites of memory in the City of Buenos Aires, Argentina. We focus our attention on those spaces officially recognized by the state in the last decade or so. They comprise a series of former clandestine detention centers, parks, and some other sites (small squares, commemorative plaques, etc.) which refer to the tragic consequences of the latest military dictatorship in the country, and are declared to be of public importance. All of these places allow us to discuss the complex relationship among memory, space, and narrative in Argentina. Furthermore, they give us the opportunity to consider the ethical challenges of managing sites connected to trauma and/or devoted to the reflection on a sensitive past. From an archaeological standpoint, we approach the materiality of the places of memory and the narratives they help to create on the recent history of the country. Finally, we consider whether the official sites can effectively achieve their goals, and we point out some of the tensions they involve regarding the construction of memory in an always situated present.

Probably the starting point of the work was the experience of one of the authors (Andrés Zarankin) during the archaeological intervention of a former clandestine deten-

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A. González-Ruibal, G. Moshenska (eds.), *Ethics and the Archaeology of Violence*, Ethical Archaeologies: The Politics of Social Justice 2,
DOI 10.1007/978-1-4939-1643-6_6

tion center in Buenos Aires. The place known as "Club Atlético" (which received its code name from the real name of the institution: "Centro Antisubversivo" -Antisubversive Center) was in operation in the basement of the Federal Police Warehouse in Buenos Aires, between February and December, 1977. The building was located at the current intersection of Paseo Colón Av. and 25 de Mayo Highway, a few minutes away from downtown. Club Atlético could accommodate 200 prisoners at the same time, and it had some rooms devoted to torture. Approximately 1,500 people (most of whom were never seen again) were taken and kept captive there. The building was demolished at the end of 1977, when the military government decided to build part of the 25 de Mayo Highway. The remains of Club Atlético were inaccessible for 25 years. It was only with the return of democracy that survivors, victims' relatives, and members of human rights organizations started to demand an archaeological intervention to materially prove the existence of the center and reconstruct its history of denial.

In 2003 (after a first experience conducted by archaeologist Marcelo Weissel 2002), the Human Rights Department of the City Government opened a bidding process for a new archaeological project. The proposal "Archaeology as Memory: Archaeological Interventions at Club Atlético Clandestine Center of Detention and Torture" (Bianchi Villelli and Zarankin 2003) was finally chosen. The general goals were to study the spatial organization and repressive strategies of the former prison, and to collaborate in the construction of a material memory of the events connected to Club Atlético. The research and site management project depended on a Commission of Work and Consensus. The latter was composed of survivors and victims' relatives, members of human rights organizations, government authorities, engineers, architects, conservation professionals, and archaeologists. The experience was most stimulating, as archaeologists—frequently used to run projects connected to the standards of a "neutral" science distanced from society—transformed themselves into part of a collective effort for elucidating one of the darkest sides of political repression in Argentina. Working in places connected to trauma and/or devoted to the reflection on a sensitive past demanded a new commitment on the part of professionals.

At the end of 2002 (and in the context of the preceding archaeological project), it was considered relevant to open the archaeological site to the community. Nevertheless, taking into account the organization of the opening, and after several months of work in the new project, some archaeologists started to wonder if—despite their own intentions and those of the survivors, victims' relatives, and some human rights organizations—the symbolic capital of the project was being manipulated by some state authorities. For instance, economic resources provided to conduct the activities were minimal, and most of the requests made to solve daily problems were ignored. This situation eventually led to some questions. What kind of stories on the recent past of Argentina were shaped through the materiality of the places of memory? Which considerations needed to be followed for an ethical management of the sites? Which was the role we had to play as professionals (including the cases when we participated in the archaeological intervention of historical places, and/or we commented upon the relationship between materiality and memory in our own society)?

Club Atlético was officially declared as a historic site in 2005. Approximately since the end of the 1990s and the first decade of the millennium, the City (and in some cases the National Government) declared the public relevance of many places connected with the memory of the tragic consequences of the latest military dictatorship. The sites of memory officially recognized in Buenos Aires make up a heterogeneous group. Some of them had their origins in the latest military regime, both as spaces for repression which were subsequently resignified (clandestine detention centers) or as spaces for resistance (such as the meeting point where the mothers of the disappeared asked for the whereabouts of their daughters and sons). Some other places were created with government support during the constitutional period (parks, small squares, commemorative plaques, etc.). Regardless of their trajectory, all of these sites are officially connected with the goal of rewriting history (taking distance from previous master narratives), commemorating the victims of the latest military regime, creating awareness on the dangers inherent to all dictatorships, promoting the defense of fundamental rights.

Some Concepts

One of the first scholars who pointed out the importance of the "places of memory" (*lieux de memoire*) was Pierre Nora, who said that they involved "from material and concrete [stuff], possibly located geographically, to the more abstract and intellectually elaborated [things]" (Nora 1984 in Graves 2010:1). He stressed that the discrete locations of memory were a sort of response provided by modernity to the fall of tradition (previously present in all aspects of social life). For Nora, the places of memory did not only include different kinds of spaces (landscapes, museums, memorials), but also archives, objects, among others. As time went by, the Anglo-Saxon expression "sites of memory" became increasingly used to refer to the materiality of spaces connected with commemoration (Huyssen 2003). The creation and/or declaration of sites of memory is nowadays part of a worldwide phenomenon, and the expression "sites of memory" is widely used not only by social scientists, but also by several people involved in the management of the places as well as society in general.

The sites of memory represent an effort to avoid forgetting certain events and people (Carrier 2005). They express the tensions, preoccupations, and sensitivity of the cultural world. Furthermore, they provide a relevant tool for making visible some stories traditionally ignored/denied. Although the specific events and people the places commemorate vary from context to context, on several occasions they have been devoted to the memory of massacres and genocides (in other words, to remember the dead and reflect on the flagrant violation of human rights). Thus, in Germany, World War II and its consequences have led to the establishment of many sites of memory, whereas in Argentina the latest military dictatorship and the disappearance of people have become a topic of prime importance (Zarankin and Salerno in press).

The first sites of memory relevant to silenced groups are often created in a spontaneous fashion. They are a sort of counter-memory (in opposition to master narratives), and they intend to take advantage of the gaps in the logics of power. As time goes by, they enter a period of institutionalization or routinization (Winter 2010). On some occasions, the national states become interested in previously ignored/denied stories. This can be an attempt to respond to growing social demands, but also to other factors (such as taking distance from previous state policies, creating a dialogue with international rule). State participation is materialized through the official declaration, creation, and management of sites of memory. It is through the materiality of space that the construction and consolidation of narratives on a sensitive past can be encouraged. Official narratives are part of an effort for creating a comprehensive story which provides a sense of identity and belonging for the average citizen.

It is thus clear that the sites of memory have a potential to tell stories; and as far as these stories concern a sensitive past, are supported by state policies and intend to have a public outreach, the places need to be managed with care. This section comprises two parts. In the first one, we present three notions underlying the definition of "sites of memory," that is, the ideas of memory, space, and narrative. In the context of the work, and from an archaeological standpoint, we pose the following questions: what do we mean by memory?; what kind of memory are we specifically referring to?; what is the role of the material world in the definition of memory?; how is the materiality of places important in that definition?; how is it possible that the materiality of space can stimulate the creation of a narrative on the past? In the second part, we bring to the front the ethical dimension of the sites of memory. In this way, we reflect on some of the following questions: What do we mean by ethics? Are there any general considerations regarding the ethical management of a site of memory? What about the specific commitment of archaeologists?

Memory, Space, Narrative

The notion of memory has been widely debated by philosophers, social scientists, and other researchers (see, for instance, Halbwachs 1950/1992; Connerton 1989; Ricoeur 2004). Our purpose is not to make a direct contribution to this debate, but only to present our understanding of memory. Memory needs to be conceived as a process intimately bound to action. It defines the way in which human beings get involved with the past and make sense of it in the present. Memory can never provide an absolute understanding of the past. On the contrary, it is made up of a series of fragments that allow us to create a particular narrative of past events. In this sense, it is possible to stress that memory keeps a close relationship with forgetting. This relationship is not necessarily defined by opposition; instead, it presumes a permanent state of tension (Buchli and Lucas 2001). It is only possible to remember certain events as long as some others are forgotten. But it is also true that some

events that were supposedly forgotten can be remembered once again some time later (and vice versa)—considering that the frontier between memory and forgetting is always unstable, changing, and dynamic.

In this work we are mainly concerned with what some authors call collective memories. But as these memories are intimately bound to other kinds of memories, we will refer to them as well. Autobiographic memory can take us back to our own life story. It can strengthen the bonds among people who have experienced the same events (Halbwachs 1950/1992). But it can get lost when these bonds are not maintained. Unlike autobiographic memory, historical memory involves other people's stories. According to Hirsch (1997), what she calls "postmemories" are nothing but the memories of previous generations (the people who played the lead role in past events). Past events are eventually narrated by descendents or other people who communicate—without excluding their own interpretations—what was transmitted to them. Considering this, Sarlo (2005) stresses that postmemories are memories produced by others, which end up creating a story of the stories.

Individual memory accounts for a matrix of memories which defines the relationship that a given person establishes with the past (by means of autobiographic, historical, or other kinds of memory). Meanwhile, collective memory describes a series of memories that exist beyond the individual and are situated at the level of social groups. Individual memories have a close relationship with collective memories. According to Halbwachs (1950/1992), individual memory is particularly conditioned by collective memory. Social groups can produce in individuals memories of past events which were never experienced directly. Furthermore, social groups can encourage individuals to remember certain events and forget others, connecting these circumstances with different cultural values. In this sense, some researchers believe that it is impossible for individuals to remember in a coherent way outside the social world (Olick 2007). Although it is also true that the act of remembering can only take place in individuals.

As Winter (2010) points out, the spaces of memory demand group activity. In this way, if the places involve one of the types of memory we have previously mentioned, it should be especially but not exclusively collective memory. Sites of memory imply a shared understanding of the past. Without the strength of the group, they can disappear. In the sites connected with trauma and/or devoted to the reflection on a sensitive past (such as massacres and genocides), the people immediately affected are the survivors and victims' relatives. Therefore, their life stories are particularly taken into consideration. When the spaces of memory are institutionalized, and they become part of the state policies, other actors get involved. In the creation, recognition and management of the sites eventually participate, beside survivors and victims' relatives, members of human rights organizations, civil servants, experts in several disciplines, etc. Finally, the community as a whole is included, as the memories are expected to have a public outreach.

Memory needs the aid of traces to keep active. Traces are marks that allow the reconstruction of past events (traditionally understood by the metaphor of the seal's imprint in a piece of wax). Marks can be defined as a sort of presence of the absence.

Memory traces can have a material and/or immaterial character. Ricoeur (2004) mentions the existence of cortical imprints (which account for the changes that a particular situation produces in the brain structure), psychic marks (which refer to the imprints that certain events leave in the individual's psyche), and written imprints (which account for the written testimony emerging from past experience). It would be possible to add material imprints themselves to the list. Some decades ago, archaeology started to be defined as the study of the social world through its material dimension (Hodder 1982; Tilley 1989). Materiality is relevant as it plays a dynamic and active role in the definition of social relationships, and it is particularly intertwined with meaning (Beaudry et al. 1991; Little and Shackel 1992).

It is worth noting that the material and immaterial aspects of memory are related. In Ricoeur (2004), cortical and written imprints have a concrete materiality (which manifests itself in the organic dimension of the individual or the materiality of the text). It is probably more difficult to identify the materiality of psychic marks. Nevertheless, it is relevant to point out that all imprints (whatever their kind) express people's engagement with the world—a world that can hardly be thought in the absence of materiality. Material imprints themselves bear witness to certain events. It is usually said that, if our chances to remember were only dependent on our subjective abilities, then the extension of our memory would be shorter (Oliveira 2000; Yates 2007). Some scholars believe that the materiality of things, places, etc. represents an extra-somatic record of memory (Almeida 2005). At this stage, we think it is possible to state that objects are only extra-somatic as long as they surpass the frontiers of the physical body. Nevertheless, they are not external since they can be embodied—we can gain familiarity with them through daily contact (Bourdieu 1999; Merleau-Ponty 1945/1993).

Francis Yates analyzed people's ability to memorize certain events in an effective way. He stressed the impact of images for their abundance, intensity, and durability. The agency of images precisely resides in the capacity to transform themselves into imprints (which can be subsequently employed in the reconstruction of a past event). Images are the result of sensory experience (in other words, of the engagement with a world that clearly has a material dimension). In the social universe, not all senses are equally valued (Stewart 1999). For instance, sight is privileged among Western people (particularly in the context of modernity) (Thomas 2001). This situation does not exclude the participation of other senses (such as smell, sound, taste) in the construction of memory. In all cases, images stimulate emotions in a simpler way than other kind of data. Emotions (such as love, anger, fear, distress) play a significant role in the constitution of subjectivity, ensuring the perdurability of memories (at least, when these memories are not repressed) (Narváez 2006). As the images of past events are generally rooted in specific places, space plays an important role in the definition of memory.

Material traces—including the materiality of places—recall experiences and emotions that are related to specific meanings. These meanings are subsequently ordered and connected in a narrative sequence—which, at least in some cases, does not differ from the structure of a story (Crites 1997; Potteiger and Purinton 1998; Ricoeur 2004). The idea of narrative is particularly relevant for memory studies.

Here it is worth mentioning that narrative involves the human ability to represent the complex experience of time (Ricoeur 1984). It is through narrative that we can construct linear successions of events; and that we can define a past, a present, and a future. From this standpoint, memory exceeds the association with the past. Narratives are not lists of past events. On the contrary, they are rooted in action (Potteiger and Purinton 1998). It is precisely through practice that social actors and their motivations become relevant (both in the present and in the past).

Sites of memory encompass a wide array of places, such as historical sites, memorials, monuments, and museums, among others. These places cannot be defined as empty spaces or containers. Therefore, they can only be understood by reference to its materiality; the interaction of structures, things, and people. Sites of memory resort to different material devices to stimulate perception and emotion, as well as the construction of specific narratives. When the spaces are institutionalized, and they become part of state policies, the use of these devices is carefully planned. However, in spite of the efforts made, the sites can be contested and their materiality can be interpreted in unexpected ways.

Ethical Considerations

Discussions on ethics have a particular history in archaeology. Our interest is not to contribute to the definition of the concept, but to present some ideas that can be useful in the context of this chapter. Following Wylie (2003), when we talk about ethics it is relevant to distinguish between a normative and a real dimension. Ethics suggests how people should live in community, but it does not describe how we actually do it. Ethics reflects on good and evil, what is right and what is wrong. It provides a critical assessment of human behavior, and it gives us advice on which path to take (especially regarding problematic situations). But ethics does not only refer to norms and limits; it also refers to values, ideals, aspirations, and the search of personal and community fulfillment (Scarre and Scarre 2006). Vitelli and Colwell-Chanthaphohn (2006) remind us that ethics cannot be equated with the law. Even though the law frequently takes up some ethical principles, what is legal is not always ethical. While the law is strictly codified and mandatory, ethics accounts for ideal models that do not necessarily have that force.

As previously noted, many present sites of memory are devoted to tell stories about a sensitive past, especially connected with the violation of human rights. As long as these places can be institutionalized, they can be included in state policies and have a public outreach. In this context, it would be relevant that site management could follow some ethical considerations on a general level. These should guide the actions of all people involved in the projects. Nevertheless, the prime responsibility probably lies with the state. In democratic governments, the state is the guarantor of citizens' rights. At least on an ideal level, state authorities should set an example to all citizens. Experts should also have a particular commitment to the social world. Later we will refer in detail to the case of archaeologists.

We will try to answer some of the following questions: on which values should the narratives suggested by the sites of memory be based? Which social actors should be allowed to participate in the construction of the narratives? What goals should guide the creation and/or official declaration of the sites? What are the resources necessary for a correct management?

- The narratives shaped by the sites of memory should encourage respect for the human rights (especially the rights of life, freedom, and equality). They need to take distance from the violent narratives that attacked those same rights in the past. The sites should stand for the ethical ideals of tolerance and respect that allow for a peaceful collective life.
- The narratives should highlight the importance of justice and reparation for the affected groups (including victims, survivors, and their relatives). Nevertheless, they should not support revenge. Otherwise, they could contribute to the reproduction of the same conditions of violence they intend to take distance from.
- When the sites of memory are part of state policies, state authorities should be responsible for undertaking effective actions that back up their public discourse. For instance, when the sites of memory highlight the value of justice, it is relevant that the demands could be satisfied by the legal system.
- The sites of memory officially recognized by the state are aimed at a wide public. Therefore, it is important that the narratives associated with these places could be shaped by a collective effort.
- Victims and relatives are especially concerned with the spaces of memory. These people have to be granted a key role in the construction of narratives. As previously mentioned, the stories of victims, survivors, and their relatives were frequently ignored or denied in the past. Recovering these voices is a form of social reparation.
- Society as a whole should also be considered, if citizens are expected to participate in the sites of memory.
- Although historical conditions have changed, some social actors can insist in supporting the ideologies which encouraged violence in the past. This should be the ethical limit to the collective construction of memory. Cultural relativism should not be equated with ethical relativism (Salmon 1997). If we value all visions of the past on the same terms, then we cannot disapprove the dreadful realities that violate the same rights we want to respect (Vitelli and Colwell-Chanthaphohn 2006).
- Narratives should be nuanced and well balanced; they should not deny the complexity of the social world and historical reality.
- The sites of memory should be thought as projects devoted to commemoration (including the memory of the dead, and the reflection on the consequences of violence in past, present, and future society). Many scholars have referred to the existence of an ethical imperative to remember. However, memory should not be considered an imperative, but something that needs to reach a consensus (especially with affected groups).

- Sites of memory should not be appropriated by people with petty economic or political interests (for instance, profit or elections).
- When the sites of memory are officially recognized, the state needs to provide the resources necessary for their adequate management. The sites should be protected. This is critical for historical sites, and especially for those locations that offer material evidence for Justice. The sites of memory need financial support to encourage their construction, value enhancement, and maintenance (including supplies, personnel).
- State intervention in sites of memory should be part of a long-standing commitment beyond the decisions of the government in office.

As long as archaeology is concerned, it is relevant to note that for years professionals had not been explicitly interested in ethics. Archaeologists faced ethical dilemmas all the same, but they solved them according to their own ideas of what was right or wrong. The development of post-processual archaeology, and the recognition of subjectivity and personal commitment on the part of scholars, led to an increasing interest on the subject. Archaeologists have created since then a variety of codes of ethics that offer a guide for professional behavior. These codes encompass a series of proposals elaborated by professional organizations (most frequently at a national level); some others (at a national or international level) regarding the relationships between researchers and communities; some others consisting of general goals and principles (McGill et al. 2012).

Some years ago, archaeologists started working in sites connected to trauma, such as concentration camps, clandestine detention centers, and mass graves, among others. In these cases, researchers did not only have to analyze the material dimension of the findings (including structures, artifacts, and even bodies). They also had to interact with several social actors, as the projects usually had a collective character. Some historical sites connected to trauma have been officially recognized as places of memory. When we, archaeologists, participate in the research and management of these sites, we should comply with the same ethical considerations as the rest of the social actors. Furthermore, we should request other people to comply with these considerations too. Since these projects are collective undertakings, individual actions can affect the results obtained by the whole team.

Despite what we have just said, we believe that there is a series of ethical considerations that specifically concern the work of archaeologists at the sites of memory. Here we will pose some new questions: What should be the goal of the investigations? What criteria should guide fieldwork activities? How should be treated the material remains recovered at the sites? What should be the relationship between archaeologists and other social actors?

- Archaeologists should contribute to the construction and strengthening of collective memories (particularly when this is a request of the affected groups). They need to encourage the respect for human rights, and the search for justice and reparation.
- Archaeology is a relevant tool for recovering evidence on human rights violation (especially when a long time has passed between the moment in which the crime

was committed and the moment in which investigations are undertaken). Researchers must collaborate with Justice, becoming experts and witnesses in trials (as long as these actions do not affect other ethical commitments).

- It is assumed that archaeologists who decide to work in sites connected to trauma have a personal perspective on past events (such as massacres and genocides), and that they cannot (and neither should they) set aside their ideas in the research. The neutrality requested by Justice is not opposed to scholars' subjectivity when they face their findings. Dead bodies and repressive devices are evidence of crimes: the undeniable reality revealed by a professional practice which is not possible without an ethical commitment that makes it subjective.
- Archaeologists need permission to conduct any intervention on the sites. These permissions can be officially provided by any of the powers of state administration (be it judicial, legislative, or executive at a local, regional, or national level). Researchers also need the consent of other social groups (such as survivors and victims' relatives).
- The archaeological record is irreplaceable (SAA 1996; SHA 2003). As a result, researchers should commit themselves to minimize fieldwork impact. They also should work for the correct preservation of material remains and documents created during the investigation.
- Professionals should have the sensitivity necessary to "humanize" the often called "objects of study"—especially but not exclusively dead bodies. What they find on the autopsy table is never mere evidence, but a person that needs to be reintegrated into the social fabric (Perosino 2007). Something particular also happens in the case of the structures and artifacts. Archaeologists should not understand them as passive or inert objects, since they could shape (and in fact have shaped) the lives of people. From this point of view, material things are inevitably connected with social actors by emotional bonds (Salerno et al. 2012).
- Archaeologists should consult affected groups (SAA 1996). It is relevant to consider their interests and encourage their collaboration. Depending on the case, survivors and victims' relatives can provide information on past events and social actors (including DNA samples to identify human remains); remind us of the emotive dimension of loss; etc.
- The relationship with survivors and victims' relatives frequently depends on interviews. Information provided by these people should be confidential as a means to protect their privacy. This is an implicit pact between the researcher and those giving testimony. It is worth mentioning that there are no informed consents for the administration of sensitive data (Perosino 2007). However, there is a series of protocols, recommendations, and reflections on the treatment which should be given to survivors and victims' relatives (see, for instance, Comisión Internacional de la Cruz Roja 2003).
- Archaeological projects should integrate the community as a whole through outreach activities and education (SAA 1996; SHA 2003). As a result, it becomes possible for citizens to help in the interpretation and protection of the archaeological record. In the sites connected to trauma outreach activities usually involve the opening of excavations, interviews with neighbors; guided visits (where sur-

vivors meet their own history, and other people become aware of what it meant to live under terrible conditions); etc. (Compañy et al. 2012; Di Vruno 2012; Zarankin and Salerno 2012, in press).
- Professionals should present the results of their work in publications or other means not only to their colleagues but to other social groups as well (SAA 1996; SHA 2003).

Finally, we would like to add that even when archaeologists do not participate directly in the management of the sites, they can make a significant contribution to that task by offering a critical perspective on their materiality.

Spaces of Memory Officially Recognized in Buenos Aires

The latest military dictatorship in Argentina lasted from 1976 to 1983. In an international setting dominated by the Cold War and the consequences of the Cuban Revolution, the coup was a response to the growth of leftist movements, the discontent of popular groups and the consolidation of revolutionary parties. The National Process of Reorganization intended to annihilate political resistance and defend the so-called values of the Western and Christian civilization. Military's most lethal weapon was enforced disappearance (including the persecution, kidnapping, captivity, torture, and death of those considered to be enemies). The results of this policy were tragic. With the return of democracy, the Comisión Nacional sobre la Desaparición de Personas (National Committee for Disappeared People) registered more than 9,000 cases of enforced disappearance (CONADEP 1984/2005). Meanwhile, other human rights organizations including Asociación de Madres de Plaza de Mayo, and the Servicio de Paz referred to more than 30,000 cases (Madres de Plaza de Mayo 2005). Beyond this figures, it is worth mentioning that the state forces conducted a dirty war against the civil population.

Buenos Aires is the capital city of Argentina, and it concentrates a large part of its economic resources, population, etc. It is one of the first cities in the country where citizens created spontaneous sites to commemorate the victims of the latest military dictatorship. Just to give an example, before the return of democracy, a group of artists proposed to draw a series of silhouettes on papers to cover the streets of Buenos Aires. The appropriation of space was an attempt to make present the absence generated by disappearance (Longoni and Bruzzone 2008). During the so-called *Siluetazo* the spaces of memory were created through practice. The fleetingness of the actions, and the fact that they did not leave a durable material trace were necessary to express a social demand in times of dictatorship. The spontaneous spaces of memory had a major impact on society. They made evident what many people suspected, but did not want to talk about. For this reason, they created memory.

The institutionalization of the sites of memory was debated among survivors and victims' relatives (usually gathered in human rights organizations), as some people were interested in the process and others were not. Still, spaces of memory were not officially acknowledged for years. These circumstances were especially connected

with the Argentinean political setting. The year 1983 marked the end of dictatorship and the return of democracy. During the presidency of Raúl Alfonsín, a leader of the Unión Cívica Radical with a progressive agenda, a Commission of Truth was created with an aim to investigate the crimes committed by state terrorism (CONADEP). The report elaborated by the Commission was later part of the evidence considered by Justice. Argentina was the first country were military authorities accused of crimes against humanity were judged by a civil court. Although the legal processes were intended to prosecute all people responsible for state terrorism, the pressure of military groups and the threat of a new coup d'etat interrupted the trials. During the government of Raúl Alfonsín, two different laws were enforced (1986–1987): the full stop law (where it was said that all legal processes against people responsible for state terrorism should be ended—Law 23.492, La Nación 2005a) and the law of due obedience (where it was established that officers and subordinates should not be punished as they were following orders from their superiors—Law 23.521, La Nación 2005b).

During the presidency of Carlos Menem, a member of the Partido Justicialista with a liberal orientation, a series of decrees (1989–1990) eventually pardoned all people previously sentenced for their participation in the episodes of political violence during the 1970s (including military authorities and the leaders of some guerrilla organizations). Apparently, the idea was to grant an amnesty which could lead to a process of national reconciliation. The decision was fiercely criticized by human rights organizations and even public opinion. In this context, the relevance of memory became clear. The state eventually had to respond to social demands. The official declaration of the sites of memory started timidly at the end of the 1990s, when Carlos Menem was completing his term as president of Argentina. The first plaques, squares, and streets carrying the names of the victims of political repression appeared at that moment. The Buenos Aires city council approved a project for creating a museum of memory in the late 1980s, but there was no agreement on where to locate it. In 1998, Menem decreed that the Escuela de Mecánica de la Armada, ESMA (an infamous clandestine detention center), should be demolished and that a monument should be raised in its place. The proposal was dismissed by human rights organizations, pointing out that it was a vain attempt to "bury the past" (Wright 2007:164).

Since the government of Néstor Kirchner (2003), a leader of the Partido Justicialista with a leftist perspective, there was a break with the liberal project of Carlos Menem. Néstor Kirchner led a new politics of Memory, Truth, and Justice. He said he was influenced by his personal experience as a victim of ideological persecution during dictatorship. He forced several members of the Army Forces to retire, and he purged the Federal Police. He was successful in lobbying for the repeal of the full stop and the due obedience laws (Faulk 2013) and also attacked Menem's decrees of pardon. The Justice responded positively. This situation paved the road to new trials (Wright 2007). In 2004, Néstor Kirchner held a ceremony at the ESMA, where he asked for forgiveness on behalf of the state for the crimes committed during dictatorship and the years of silence during democracy. Finally, he announced the transformation of the ESMA into a museum of memory (Bevernage 2012). This political setting had a profound impact on the materialization of the

sites of memory. Most places in Buenos Aires were officially recognized between 2003 and 2005, during Kirchner's presidency. After his mandate, very few sites have been created, although the authorities continued with a program of management.

The Instituto Espacio para la Memoria (2009) has as its goal to "recover the places […] where [clandestine centers of detention, torture and extermination] operated in the past or where some other emblematic circumstances of the period [that is, the latest military dictatorship in Argentina] occurred, encouraging their integration to the memory of the city." The institution needs to "mark those places where [*clandestine detention centers*] *operated*, *including private or state buildings*, *as well as other places of memory*" (the translation is ours). Considering this, it is clear that the IEM participates in the management of some of the sites officially recognized in Buenos Aires. The relationship that the IEM has with the city government is peculiar. It is part of the decentralized administration of the government. It is mostly made up of members of human rights organizations, but it also counts on the participation of civil servants from the executive and legislative powers. The IEM has an autonomous functioning, as long as it has the right to elect its own authorities and define its policies. But it has an autarkic economy, as long as it depends on the financial support of the government.

In 2009, the authors of this chapter conducted a survey of the sites of memory officially recognized in Buenos Aires. The information gathered during the procedure was published in a previous article (Zarankin and Salerno 2012), where we discussed the materiality of the places both from an experiential and interpretive standpoint. Here we will consider some of the data with an aim to discuss the relationship among space, memory, and narrative; as well as the considerations guiding the ethical management of the sites. We will intend to discuss if the sites are effective in achieving their goals, and we will reflect on some of the tensions that they involve regarding the construction of memory in the present. Considering these subjects, we defined a series of variables: events or people commemorated by the places, social actors participating in the projects, degree of visibility of the sites, possibility of identifying their meaning, accessibility, structures and formal features, relationship with the surrounding space, use by members of the community, general maintenance, etc. In our work, we used as a guide a list of sites provided by the IEM (2009).

Considering that the sites of memory make up a heterogeneous group, we will use some categories to facilitate their description. First, we will consider the spaces which date back to the latest military dictatorship in Argentina. On the one hand, we will refer to the places which had been used for repressive purposes, and that were subsequently reappropriated and resignificated during democracy (for instance, former clandestine detention centers). On the other hand, we will present some other sites which had been used as a strategy for resistance by some people particularly affected by the military rule (for instance, the public space where the mothers of the disappeared claimed for their sons and daughters). Second, we will consider the spaces which only date back to the democratic period, and which were especially created for commemorative purposes. We will use the distinction that the IEM established between "parks of memory" and "other places" (such as small squares, commemorative plaques) as we find it useful (IEM 2009).

Sites Dating Back to the Latest Military Dictatorship

Former Places of Repression

In most cases, enforced disappearance was connected with a network of clandestine detention centers. In these secret prisons, detainees were interrogated by means of torture. Furthermore, they were kept captive until the military forces decided their fate (usually death and the secret burial of the bodies). The clandestine character of detention centers transformed them into some kind of "non-places" (*sensu* Zarankin and Niro 2006). First: detention centers were not officially recognized. Second: neighbors had no certainty of what was happening inside those buildings (even though they could suspect it). Third: military forces wanted the prisoners to ignore the location of the centers (even though they eventually realized where they were). All of these factors attempted to transform people into *desaparecidos*. It is worth mentioning that the City of Buenos Aires had a large number of clandestine detention centers, and that they had the capacity to accomodate hundreds of prisoners at the same time. At the end of the dictatorship, military groups intended to destroy all evidence of repression. In this process, they made important changes in the buildings previously used as clandestine detention centers, Furthermore, some structures were demolished. Most of the former illegal prisons continued under the control of security forces. Some other buildings were sold to other people and they started serving new purposes.

With the return of democracy, some survivors and victims' relatives demanded the former clandestine detention centers to be appropriately sign-posted as places of torture and death. On several occasions, projects presented to the government asked for the expropriation of the places and the construction of new spaces for reflection. From 2002, the City Government (in some cases through the establishment of agreements with the National Government) started to respond to some of these demands. Once the places where expropriated, the Government encouraged the creation of Groups of Work and Consensus to carry out new projects of research and management. The Groups were made up of survivors, victims' relatives, human rights organizations' members, and experts from several disciplines. The places were declared historic sites (most frequently city sites, and sometimes national places). They eventually fell under the control of the IEM (2009). Among the former clandestine detention centers which were officially recognized by the government it is worth mentioning the ESMA, Club Atlético, El Olimpo, Virrey Cevallos, Automotores Orletti.

On some occasions, archaeologists played a significant role in the projects and therefore acquired an important ethical commitment to the social world. Here it is worth noting the investigations conducted at the former Club Atlético and the ESMA. In the first case, archaeologists were called by the city government—as a request of affected groups—to find the remains of the clandestine detention center (the building had been demolished in 1977 to construct the 25 de Mayo Highway). Professionals found the basement of the building where prison cells and torture rooms were located (Bianchi Villelli and Zarankin 2003; Abuelas de Plaza de Mayo 2005; Zarankin and Niro 2006). In the second case, forensic archaeologists were called by

the Justice to search for human remains at the ESMA. Despite all efforts, it was impossible to find any bodies. Long-term investigations (2002–present) at the Club Atlético were important for the construction of the site of memory. During this period, archaeological teams have changed as a result of disagreements in the management of the site. Investigations at the ESMA were conducted in 2011 and, although not actually critical in the construction of the site of memory, they were important as a means to respond to the Justice and the requests of affected groups.

The transformation of a former detention center into a space of memory demands the resignification of an element intimately connected with repression. The previous logic of these places offers an opportunity to counter-argue the official history that the military dictatorship intended to create. On the one hand, clandestine detention centers were widely distributed in the city (practically, every neighborhood had one) (CONADEP 1984/2005). Their location facilitated the transfer of illegal detainees and it did not alert the citizens. At present, the location of former detention centers allows transforming these sites into spaces of reflection for many people (particularly for neighbors). On the other hand, with an aim to keep them secret, the exterior of clandestine detention centers hid their true purpose (CONADEP 1984/2005). Military authorities frequently used preexistent structures and reorganized the interiors. From the outside, buildings gave the impression they were serving their old purposes (for instance, parking lot, vehicle repair shop). The reappropriation of clandestine detention centers transforms them into symbols of state terrorism and their sadistic strategy of extermination/denial. For the citizens to identify these places and recognize their meanings, it becomes relevant to disclose their secrecy.

In most cases, the clandestine centers recognized as sites of memory were effectively resignificated. Considering the exteriors, these sites demand passers-by's attention in several ways. First: their presence is sign-posted by means of plaques that make explicit their old purpose and their new role in society. Second: some of the walls are frequently covered with artistic expressions or messages left by survivors or victims' relatives. Inner space (or what has been left of it) is preserved as a testimony of what happened there (and of what most citizens ignored). The goal is to stimulate in visitors experiences and feelings that can hardly be put into words: in some cases, facing their own past; in some others, identifying (at least to some extent) with victims' sufferings, and becoming aware of the dangers of repression. Some other activities take place in former detention centers, and they are particularly oriented toward bringing the community together (not only by means of spreading information on state terrorism but also by sponsoring other social projects such as cultural workshops).

Former Places of Resistance

In the case of Buenos Aires, and as we have previously mentioned, the first places associated with the call for support or the reflection on the tragic consequences of state terrorism appeared spontaneously. Among the places of resistance, we can

probably mention the sites where victims' relatives met. Here we will particularly consider the case of Plaza de Mayo. In 1977, the mothers of the disappeared started to walk around the Piramide de Mayo (a monument in the main square of the city) to ask for an audience with the military authorities and find information on their sons and daughters' whereabouts. As in that moment Argentina was in state of siege, the government had forbidden all public meetings (Calveiro 1998; CONADEP 1984/2005). The mothers decided to move, not to stand still, around the Piramide. This is how they found a gap in the rules of the system, and they eventually became able to express themselves (although they also had to face persecution and in some cases their own enforced disappearance).

The place we are here referring to was connected to memory from its inception. Mothers' meeting in Plaza de Mayo is widely known not only in Argentina, but also in many other parts of the world. The declaration of the point as a national historic site in 2005 describes its integration into the official history of Argentina (Law 1653/2005). Plaza de Mayo is located downtown, and it is the main square of Buenos Aires. Thousands of people visit Plaza de Mayo everyday. Around the Piramide, it is possible to observe some white scarves painted on the floor. The scarves that victims' mothers wore on their heads were a symbol of their fight. Even though the paintings cannot be recognized from the street, those who walk through Plaza de Mayo will not have any difficulties in finding them. Argentineans will immediately know what they are about (and even tourists will be able to find it out quickly). The paintings are not accompanied by commemorative plaques, but they do not need anything else than their mere presence to tell their story.

Spaces Dating Back to the Last Years of Democracy

Parks

There are some parks in different areas of Buenos Aires especially devoted to commemorate the victims of state terrorism and create awareness on the consequences of dictatorships. Here we will refer to the so-called Park of Memory, a place that intends to reflect on national trauma and the wounds still open in society (Robben 2005). The idea of the park came up at the same time when human rights organizations rejected the proposal of demolishing the ESMA and creating a monument for reconciliation during the government of Carlos Menem (Wright 2007). The project of the park was approved by the city government in 1998. It would be located outside the urban palimpsest, and it would be part of a major project connected with the reactivation of the coastal area (Huyssen 2003). There was a design competition for the project, and it was won by a group of Argentinean architects (Baudissone, Lestard, Varas, Ferrari, and Becker). Costanera Av. is usually covered by car or bus, but not on foot. It is possible that people may contemplate the area of the park without knowing exactly what it is. The thing is that from the Avenue, and except for the presence of some contemporary works of art, the park looks like a

green space. The sign indicating the entrance point and the name of the place is pretty small if you compare it with the immensity of the area. Most people visiting the park are not casual visitors. On the contrary, they come with the only intention of visiting the site. Those who get in the park have the opportunity to experience a different place to that observed from the avenue. Behind an open square, there is an enormous architectural complex that leads to the river. This complex includes the monument to the victims of state terrorism, some offices, works of art, and a large auditorium.

According to the Pro-Monument Commission (2007), the location of the park was especially chosen for its vicinity to the Río de La Plata, where victims were pushed from military aircrafts or helicopters. The park is defined by a zigzag pattern which represents the wound caused by state terrorism on the social body (Comisión pro Monumento a las Víctimas del Terrorismo de Estado 2007). The design of the monument seems to be inspired on Vietnam Veterans Memorial (Hass 1998; Huyssen 2003; Sion 2008). We refer to the use of walls where victims' names are clearly indicated. The walls of the monument still show empty plaques, waiting for new names to be added (as long as victims' relatives are extending formal complaints on enforced disappearance). Leaving aside the style of the monument the park has a profound impact on its visitors. It is a place where the plaques and names seem to be endless, transmitting a sense of anguish as one perceives the true dimensions of murder (Tapattá de Valdez 2003). The park is not a recreational site. On the contrary, it is a place that imposes silence and reflection. It is a sort of cemetery where bodies are absent, even though the names (representing individual identities) are present.

Other Places

Unlike the other categories of places, what we here define as "other places" are numerous and widely distributed throughout the city. They are part of an attempt to "decentralize" memory, considering major projects such as those carried out in some clandestine detention centers and in the Park of Memory (Tufró and Sanjurjo 2010). Here we will consider two different groups of "other places," as they concentrate the vast majority of the sites included in the category: (1) the commemorative sites located in Puerto Madero, (2) the "spare or remnant places" of the 25 de Mayo Highway. Puerto Madero is the newest neighborhood in Buenos Aires. It is also a refuge of the wealthy. In Puerto Madero it is possible to find different sites of memory, including a boulevard, a small square and statues that commemorate the disappeared and the people who fought against repression. The creation of some of these sites dates back to the government of Carlos Menem (Feitlowitz 2011), when national state policies granted amnesties and talked about national reconciliation. Probably except for the boulevard, these places present similar traits. The signs indicating their names are difficult to find (even more for those ignoring their existence). They are particularly small (especially when compared to other surrounding

places—such as big squares, skyscrapers) and are not appropriately maintained (the signs are rusty and the names of the places are blurred).

The construction of the 25 de Mayo Highway implied a series of transformations which left some empty areas, difficult to develop, that the city government calls "residual." Some of these places are located in neighborhoods close to the city center (such as San Telmo and San Cristóbal), which are mostly occupied by low-income families. Neighborhood associations progressively turned the empty areas into public squares which were named after notorious citizens such as local artists. In 2003 the City Government decided to commemorate the mothers of Plaza de Mayo who disappeared during the military regime. As a consequence, state authorities decided to rename the empty places of the 25 de Mayo Highway (Law 1128/2003). This situation sparked a debate in 2004. Neighbors pointed out that they had not been consulted, and that even a neighborhood association renowned for its work in a clandestine detention center of the area was not informed by the authorities on the decision made (Tufró and Sanjurjo 2010).

The fact that the government defines the places as "residual" sheds light on some of its main features. Their location with respect to the 25 de Mayo Highway can have several interpretations. On the one hand, it is a particular way of reappropriating and resignifying a space created by dictatorship. On the other hand, the location of the commemorative sites can give the impression that memory still occupies a space limited to resistance. Although the sites are near downtown, the streets are not frequented by many cars or passers-by (except for people living in the surroundings). Those walking or driving through the area will have trouble realizing that the places seek to commemorate the victims of dictatorship. The squares only show a plaque with a name, without explanations on the life of the person commemorated. The characteristics of the sites do not make them attractive. The small squares have a dark appearance. Furthermore, the squares were surrounded by fences that are kept open during the day. The fences stimulate the feeling that part of the materiality of the places was explicitly designed to force people out instead of inviting them to get in. Nevertheless, the "spare places" have some elements (such as tables, benches) that could be used by the community. In most cases, these elements are not well maintained. In spite of this, some neighbors still chose to make use of the places (suggesting the importance of improving their conditions).

Final Remarks

The history of the sites of memory in Buenos Aires dates back to the military regime and extends to the present. The first sites were created spontaneously, but as time passed some places were institutionalized and new sites were created. The participation of the state was sometimes debated. Some groups of survivors and victims' families were interested in an official recognition of their memories, but some others were not comfortable with the idea (as they wanted to be independent from a

state that was responsible for repression in the past). In any case, and as a result of several factors, the state decided to create a new narrative on dictatorship and its aftermath. Here we consider the narratives suggested by the sites of memory analyzed in the previous sections, and we refer to the considerations guiding their ethical management. We question whether the spaces of memory from Buenos Aires are effective in achieving their goals, and we think about the tensions that the places involve regarding the construction of an official memory in the present.

Considering that the sites officially recognized by the government present different characteristics, first we reflect on the narratives created by these places. Among the sites dating back to the dictatorship we made a distinction between those connected with past repression and those connected with past resistance. In the first case, we stressed the present relevance of former clandestine detention centers. These places are numerous, are widely distributed, and have good visibility (or are properly sing-posted). They address the people who live or visit the area, and they create a clear narrative on what was simultaneously visible and concealed. Visiting the interior of the centers is much more touching, as it makes people think about the experience of captivity, torture, and death in a complete state of defenselessness. The traditional places of resistance are also relevant. Even though their materiality (as in the case of the white scarves painted in Plaza de Mayo) is not so outstanding, the thousands of images reproduced in the media and the present continuity of the meetings are certainly enough to elaborate a powerful narrative on the search for justice. Sites of repression and resistance establish a direct relationship with the past, as they are located in the same places where past events took place. They were created by past practices and they managed to get projected into the present through new acts. They take us back to previous times and they confront us with the ethical question (especially for those of us who did not experience the events): what would we have done in those circumstances?

Among the sites of memory created during the democratic period we considered the parks of memory as well as a group of sites under the category “other places.” The Park of Memory is relatively distant from downtown, and it is not extremely striking from the exterior. Nevertheless, it offers a different experience for those who get into the square. Its materiality continually resorts to emotions and feelings, and it has the capacity to create an effective narrative on the dimensions of death, stimulating reflection on the dangers of all dictatorships. Finally, the “other places” distributed in Puerto Madero and the “residual” sites of the 25 de Mayo Highway, though numerous, share a generalized invisibility. Most of them are poorly sign-posted (they present signs with no other reference that a name or small plaques that are almost lost in a major space), and they are at the shadow of other works of visual prominence. As Tufró and Sanjurjo (2010) point out, the lack of information on the lives of past social actors represents a loss of their biographic density. As the places are not easily identified and do not stimulate significant emotions and feelings, they have little chances of creating a narrative on what happened during the latest dictatorship. The Park of Memory and the “other places” were not a result of repression or resistance exercised in situ in the past. Therefore, these sites need to make a

different kind of effort to create memory. The park of memory is oriented in this direction. Nevertheless, the "other places" cannot achieve—at least not in an effective manner—their expected goal.

The creation and declaration of the sites also respond to considerations regarding an ethical management. Furthermore, it is relevant to stress that the places were a result of different politics of memory from the 1990s onward. Among the sites dating back to dictatorship, clandestine detention centers were transformed into places for commemoration and reflection as a result of collective projects. The creation of Groups of Work and Consensus accounts for this reality. Affected groups were the first to be consulted, but also other groups such as experts, the local community, civil servants. The institutionalization of the sites took place in a context of political change, when references to Justice made by the places were accompanied by trials against people responsible for crimes against humanity. Archaeologists were part of the projects. They provided evidence to Justice, tried to create collective knowledge, etc. Their work also faced some difficulties, including the lack of economic resources and disagreements in management decisions..

Among the sites dating back to democracy, the Park of Memory was also part of a collective effort with the participation of several groups and public outreach. The Park intended to represent the fracture created by state terrorism in Argentina and the dimensions of genocide.[1] The project was born at a time when human rights organizations demanded an alternative to the museum of national reconciliation proposed by Carlos Menem (when the trials were suspended). And it gained strength, after several delays, during the 2000s in a new political context. Finally, considering the "other places," it is worth mentioning that not all of them were the product of a process involving several actors. For instance, in the case of the "residual" sites of the 25 de Mayo Highway, this situation was expressed in the discontent of the neighbors. The sites in Puerto Madero were created at the end of the 1990s, and they seem to be part of a state policy that found it easier to place a plaque or rename a street than to commit to memory and justice. The "residual" sites of the 25 de Mayo Highway were established in the early years of the 2000s, and they do not have the capacity to deal with a highly sensitive subject.

Some intellectuals understand that the construction of an official memory that connects almost exclusively the defense of human rights and the fight against state terrorism could be—at least in some respects—a form of avoiding responsibilities on other past and present conflicts. Here it is worth mentioning the genocide of

[1] The term "genocide" is widely used by the legal system, civil rights movements, and the social sciences in Argentina to refer to the systematic murder of politically persecuted people during the most recent dictatorship (Feierstein 2007). In this context, the term is not exclusively used to define the attempt to destroy an ethnic or a national group, but any given group (be it racial, religious, or political, among others) in part or in its entirety (Melson 1992; Charny 1994). Among other things, the use of the term genocide was relevant for prosecutors to transform the actions of the military regime into crimes against humanity which could not possibly prescribe (the average period in which homicides prescribe in Argentina is of 10 years).

indigenous peoples during the construction of the nation-state, and the present condition of vulnerability (marginality, exclusion, etc.) that many indigenous communities are facing. Even though some human rights organizations have pointed out these circumstances, the thing is that most government authorities have showed little interest on the subject. We agree with Huyssen that the memory should not be transformed into "victimology" (Bardotti 2010), that is, a sort of competence among different groups that unfortunately have been subjugated (in this case, by state forces). Nevertheless, we also believe that the politics of memory should not be circumscribed to only one problematic.

The issue of dictatorship and its consequences, clearly manifest in the spaces of memory of Buenos Aires, has been excessively appropriated by some authorities. Some intellectuals even think that the appropriation of such a sensitive subject has been transformed into a tool to disqualify any kind of dissidence (Abraham in Fenández 2011). We are worried that the direct association of the politics of memory with certain people could eventually lead to disinterest among citizenship (as the public image of politicians can change and even deteriorate along time). And this is a cost that the subject should not face. From a critic standpoint, it is also relevant to consider those authorities that show little or no interest on the subject. There have been many complaints regarding the budget which is officially assigned to the management of the sites of memory in the City. Financial difficulties can be currently identified in the state of the places, and the interruption of some of the activities which were expected to take place there. Huyssen states that the abuses of memory can be dangerous. But he believes that it is probably more dangerous to renounce to memory (Bardotti 2010). We certainly agree with him.

As archaeologists, and specialists in the relationship between materiality and society, we should contribute to the construction of memories. Nevertheless, it is also part of our role to critically reflect on this process. In this work we have attempted to approach the spaces of memory officially recognized in Buenos Aires, highlighting the definition of narratives, the management of the sites, and the tensions they involve. The impact of the last dictatorship in the country was so profound that 30 years later, it is still part of the agenda. The challenge is to keep memory alive as affected groups and society demands it, and transform it into a reflexive experience on the past and present of our own reality.

Acknowledgements We would like to thank the Conselho Nacional de Desenvolvimento Científico e Tecnológico (CNPq, Brazil), the Universidade Federal de Minas Gerais (UFMG, Brazil), and the Consejo Nacional de Investigaciones Científicas y Técnicas (CONICET, Argentina) for their support. We also want to thank Alfredo González-Ruibal and Gabriel Moshenska for their invitation to participate in this volume, and for their valuable comments and suggestions. Finally, we would like to thank Jullie Ann for helping us with the organization of the bibliographic references; and María Celeste Perosino for transmitting us her experience on bioethics and the professional relationship with survivors and victims' relatives. We are solely responsible for the ideas presented here.

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Chapter 7
Ethics, Archaeology, and Civil Conflict: The Case of Spain

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Introduction

If doing conflict archaeology always entails difficult ethical situations (Moshenska 2008), this is the more so in the case of civil wars. One of the reasons for this is that they rarely heal easily or fast, especially when there has not been an active policy of reconciliation in the aftermath. The Spanish Civil War is, in many ways, a prototypical civil confrontation and as such a review of the ethical implications of its research can provide elements of comparison for similar phenomena elsewhere. At the same time, it presents very particular features: unlike the Latin American dictatorships, the Balkan wars, or the apartheid regime in South Africa, in Spain there was never an official initiative that allowed its citizens to come to terms with their past, such as processes of restorative justice, truth commissions, or the construction of a democratic master narrative. The belated forms of mourning and claims for justice that have emerged since 2000 pose unique ethical questions to those archaeologists that engage in the study of the war and the dictatorship.

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A. González-Ruibal, G. Moshenska (eds.), *Ethics and the Archaeology of Violence*, Ethical Archaeologies: The Politics of Social Justice 2,
DOI 10.1007/978-1-4939-1643-6_7

The Spanish Civil War of 1936–1939 started as a failed coup d'état by a mixture of reactionary and fascist officers against the legitimate government of the Second Spanish Republic. The republican regime had been inaugurated in 1931 and at the time of the coup a leftist coalition (*Frente Popular*) was in power. The coup unleashed an extraordinary wave of violence on both sides (Preston 2012). On the rebel side, it was backed up by the highest authorities, whereas on the Republican side, although it was supported or at least accepted by leftist political parties (Ruiz 2012), it was never encouraged by the government as such—quite the contrary: it took steps to put an end to it and by 1937 parastatal violence had drastically diminished. Rebel violence continued unabated after the end of the war, although it was progressively carried out in a more structured and institutional way. By the late 1940s, around 150,000 people had been killed by the Franco regime or its collaborators (around 50,000 were killed in Republican territory during the war)—see Preston (2012) for an updated account. In addition to this, around 30,000 people died in Francoist prisons or concentration camps due to illness, torture, or hunger. Thousands of children were kidnapped, many more were interned in fascist schools (*hogares sociales*) for indoctrination and Republican women suffered all kinds of humiliations: many of them, who were bereft of all means of survival after the death of their husbands and the confiscation of their properties, took to prostitution. Hundreds of thousands of people fled into exile, including the most prominent university professors and scientists of the time. Public mourning for the Republican dead was thwarted and it had to take private and silent forms of expression (cf. Ferrándiz 2010; Renshaw 2011). While the new regime strove to punish the "Reds" and erase all traces of their existence, it engaged in an ambitious program of memorialization, which included systematic exhumations of the people killed by revolutionaries and a thorough reinscription of the landscape with monuments, plaques, and memorial buildings, the most important of which is the monumental Valley of the Fallen, where General Franco is buried.

The end of the dictatorship came in 1975, with the dead of Francisco Franco. This led to some private initiatives to recover the bodies of relatives that had been killed, but they were stopped after the failed coup of 1981 (Ferrándiz 2011:487). It was deemed that the time was not ripe for vindicating the memory of the vanquished. The situation did not change until 2000. In that year, 13 corpses were recovered from a mass grave in Priaranza del Bierzo (León). From this experience emerged the Association for the Recovery of Historical Memory (ARMH in Spanish), which began a thorough memory campaign throughout the country. Many other associations appeared in the wake and during the following decade hundreds of exhumations have been carried out in almost every region of Spain (cf. an overview in Ferrándiz 2009).

While exhumations are the most visible phenomena of the archaeological work related to the Spanish Civil War and postwar period, other activities developed simultaneously (González-Ruibal 2007): amateur associations started cataloguing fortifications and other material remains from battlefields and archaeologists and heritage managers included Civil War sites in inventories and in cultural impact assessment projects. In addition, some "war routes" through trenches, pillboxes,

and air-raid shelters were designed by local authorities in collaboration with historians and archaeologists. Thus, the ethical issues involved in the archaeological study of the Civil War are not restricted to the field of exhumations, but relate to manifold scenarios with a diversity of stakeholders and memory practices.

This article is divided into two parts: in the first one, we discuss some general ethical issues that confront archaeologists and anthropologists studying the Spanish Civil War and the subsequent dictatorship. In the second part, we examine three case studies related to different contexts of violence: mass graves, concentration camps, and battlefields.

Ethical Choices in a Civil War Context

We will not be dealing here with deontological ethics or any other normative type of ethics. It is not our intention to offer guidelines or advice that may orient the behavior of the archaeologist or forensic scientist in a conflict or post-conflict situation—for a critique of the shortcomings of professional ethical codes see Hamilakis (2007) and Moshenska (2008). Our focus in this chapter is different. On the one hand, we have an interest in descriptive ethics: we aim to explore the ethical positions of the many groups involved in the recovery of the material legacies of the Spanish Civil War and Franco's dictatorship. This includes the archaeologists themselves. On the other hand, we are concerned with the manifold and inextricable relations between ethics and politics. Their inseparability is nothing new: Eagleton (2006:128) reminds us that for Aristotle, politics and ethics were not clearly distinguished, as they both were understood as the "science that studies the supreme good for man." While ethics and politics are always entangled, this is more so in the case of political conflicts and particularly in those past conflicts whose effects linger in the present due to a lack of justice and recognition of victimhood. Hamilakis (2007:21) has noted that debates on ethics during the 1980s occurred in contested political arenas and struggles for emancipation (such as the anti-apartheid campaign, which gave rise to WAC). During the following decade, instead, ethics became mostly a matter of norms and regulations and the political edge of early post-processual archaeology was largely lost. The ethical debate in the study of the Spanish Civil War is a good occasion to rekindle the question of the political in archaeological ethics.

Our work lies within the scope of the ethical critique, and as such is closer to the diremptive ethics defined by Buchli and Lucas (2001:124). It is far from our intention, however, to dismiss the redemptive drive that guides most archaeological endeavors on the Spanish Civil War. In fact, the work of two of us (XAV and AGR) regularly combines critique with the search for justice. However, while the redemptive and the political are very present in exhumation works and other historical memory initiatives (see Renshaw 2011), and deontological ethics have been subject to debate and have brought about a variety of codes and protocols,[1]

[1] http://politicasdelamemoria.org/protocolos-de-intervencion-en-fosas-nacionales.html

ethical critique and the connections between ethics and politics have generated much less reflection.

In this section we will examine the ethical dilemmas that arise during the study of Spanish Civil War remnants. These are different depending on whether they are human remains, spaces of repression or battlefields. Generally speaking, a line can be drawn between military contexts and violence behind the lines (or after the war). In the first case, the situation is more balanced and less controversial: we are dealing with two groups of armed men that fight each other: they both killed and were killed. People who are interested in battlefield archaeology are usually less politically committed and tend to eschew both political and ethical controversies. In the second case, there are people that kill, torture, and humiliate, and unarmed people that are killed, tortured, and humiliated. In this second case, we are more likely to encounter both persons that are traumatized (victims' relatives) and persons who are reluctant to accept the violence revealed by archaeological and historical work, because of their relationship to the repressors. Furthermore, one can also find individuals who are ready to defend human rights violations (executions, mass imprisonment, torture) as a legitimate state procedure (mostly Franco sympathizers, but also some people in the left), or at least exonerate them.

The Dead

Ethical issues are more pressing in the context of recovery of human remains than in any other kind of archaeological intervention (see Congram 2014; Blau 2014). The Spanish Civil War is quite unique in that the dead lie in a liminal time: they are too recent to be considered just archaeological evidence (or heritage) (Montero 2009) and too old to be studied within the framework of a criminal procedure (for Spanish, but not international law). General recommendations for handling archaeological human remains apply, but these are not necessarily unambiguous. Geoffrey Scarre (2006:182) has questioned the idea of "respect" that is supposed to guide our work with human bones (also Moshenska 2008:162). Scarre notes that in many traditions, respect may imply not touching the bones in the first place. Conversely, we might question whether bones always require respect: consider Rudolf Hess' bones that were exhumed and destroyed in 2011 to prevent neo-Nazi pilgrimages. Do the bones of a Republican soldier who sacrificed himself in the last day of the Battle of the Ebro to slow down the Nationalist offensive and a Nazi member of the Condor Legion deserve the same respect? For the government of Catalonia, it seems it does, as the remains of all combatants in the Ebro are deposited inside the same monument to promote reconciliation and a collective remembrance (Solé 2010:129). While some measure of respect may be accorded to the remains of all human beings, it seems obvious that not all deserve commemoration in the same way (the Nazi bomber pilot, the Stalinist agent, and the voluntary nurse, to put three clearly different cases). This is a problem that affects archaeologists as well. When we dug the corpse of the abovementioned Republican soldier, many people in the nearby

village wanted to bury him in the local cemetery, and not with their former enemies in the official monument. Should archaeologists voice their opinion in these matters or are these just political issues beyond their scientific duty? The opposite might happen: a community may not want to bury a war dead that does not consider its own: what shall archaeologists do in this case?

In fact, excavating battlefields in which human remains are likely to appear involve important ethical problems. As opposed to the First World War dead, there is neither a protocol or the protocol (as in the case of Catalonia) leaves much to be desired: what are archaeologists to do with the corpses that they have, in some way, brought back to life? This begs the question of whether we should excavate dead soldiers in the first place (Moshenska 2008:167–168). We think we should (also Desfossés et al. 2008). Apart from the fact that there is a possibility of finding relatives, recovering the bones and possessions of the killed and giving them a proper burial is a form of remembrance and commemoration—an archaeological form of showing care (Puig de la Bellacasa 2011; Olsen et al. 2012:206–207). It can be argued, however, that the fact that there are no relatives looking for the deceased makes the retrieval superfluous. This would mean that the dead individual does not have rights: in the same way that it has been argued that the dead have the right not to be disturbed considering a "timeless ascription of attributes" (Scarre 2006:196), it can be argued that they do have the right to be exhumed and given a proper burial. A timeless attribute is the iniquity of a violent, forgotten death. More problematic from an ethical point of view is the fact that human remains and the associated artifacts actually provide much information, including specific burial practices that are not known by documents or are insufficiently known (Penedo et al. 2008:74; Wilson 2012). Is it ethical to exhume a Napoleonic soldier for scientific reasons but not one fallen in the Spanish Civil War? Where should we put the time limit? Do we dishonor the dead in some way by subjecting them to scientific scrutiny?

Most of the exhumations in Spain have focused on the thousands of Republicans killed and buried in unmarked graves (Ferrándiz 2009, 2010; Renshaw 2011). These exhumations are almost always promoted by either relatives of the killed or associations of historical memory or both. Unlike in other cases of civil conflict, exhumations are not the result of a legal inquiry or have been ordered by a national or international court. In fact, the attempt to insert the search for the Civil War dead into a criminal process ended up with Spain's top judge, Baltasar Garzón, expelled from the judiciary. Between 2008 and 2012 the exhumations, although still promoted by relatives and grassroots associations, were largely funded by the government. With the new right-wing government the funding for exhumations and other work related to Civil War repression has come to an end. Contrary to what is commonly thought, the grants offered by the socialist government were not devoted to the recovery of the Republican dead only but to all activities related to violations of human rights during the Civil War and the Francoist dictatorship. In fact, there were a few projects aimed at studying revolutionary *chekas* and massacres, the most significant of which has been the identification of dozens of bodies of people killed by revolutionaries and thrown into a mine shaft in Camuñas (Toledo).

The stakeholders involved in an exhumation are usually relatives (often grandchildren and children), political groups, members of historical memory associations, and local historians. To this we have to add a variety of experts, from ethnographers to psychologists. The ideology of the promoters of exhumations varies: from the Catholic Church (as in the case of Camuñas) to a variety of communist parties and the entire political spectrum in between. In the case of the left, there are important conflicts between different groups of communists, anarchists, and social-democrats, which have led to continuous tensions, fissions, and regroupings in the associations (see Renshaw 2011). Regarding relatives, some of them show political motivations, but many others are mostly interested in retrieving the corpses of the deceased for personal reasons. Still others do not even seem to be interested in the whole process, which is led instead by historical memory groups. This is a complex and often volatile scenario in which archaeologists, forensic experts, and cultural anthropologists have to navigate. Ethical dilemmas appear at every step of the research project. Should archaeologists and anthropologists collaborate with all kinds of associations, irrespective of their ultimate political ends? What is the role of relatives and associations in setting the agenda? This is an important point when they provide the funding for the exhumation, via government grants, because archaeologists enter a contractual relationship. What happens if the relatives' agenda and that of archaeologists collide? Should archaeologists participate in acts of commemoration? Under which conditions? In any case, we have to be aware that "the representations and uses of controversial archaeological research will remain largely outside the archaeologists' control; we must weigh up the values and risks with a careful and critical eye" (Moshenska 2008:165).

Sticking to the status of the archaeologist as a scientist is not necessarily the solution. First, one problem that has to be taken into account is that activists may want to use archaeologists to bestow an aura of scientific respectability on their struggle. It is as if the objective, contrasted knowledge provided by experts (this person was killed in this way) extended beyond the archaeological/forensic fact itself to give scientific legitimacy to their entire interpretation of history. Thus, both right-wing (as in Camuñas) and left-wing activists relish the technical details of forensic reports, which are sometimes used as a kind of infallible weapon against ideological enemies: as if the documented atrocities of the others proved a political cause right. Second, archaeologists and anthropologists may identify themselves with the political cause in question (Moshenska 2008:165). Is this unethical? Not necessarily. On the one hand, as we have pointed out, ethics and politics cannot be separated; on the other, as has been abundantly proved, in this kind of research there is always a political standpoint at work. What would be unethical is to deny it. Nevertheless, from an ethical and practical point of view, it is important to distinguish publicly between the personal commitment as an activist and the scientific compromise as a professional (see López-Mazz 2014). The moral authority that emerges from scientific expertise, however, also implies an enormous ethical responsibility.

Supporting a cause in a context of civil war is always complex. There is the tendency among leftist activists in Spain to somewhat condone or minimize the atrocities committed by their political forebears during the war. It is often difficult

to discuss violence behind Republican lines, especially in places were members of leftist parties were massacred and their families punished and forced to remain silent for decades. However, this is compulsory both from a moral and a scientific point of view. In fact, the increasing radicalization of historical memory groups and their refusal to accept the others' pain has worked against them and against their cause, as it has alienated many potential supporters among the less politically committed. Archaeologist can play an important role here, by balancing the one-sided views of some (by no means all) activists and providing more even-handed accounts. Far from damaging the anti-Francoist cause, accepting the objective facts of anarchist or communist violence can only give it moral legitimacy.

Another important issue has to do with the visibility of the human remains and its social and psychological impact. While it might be argued that showing the bones or describing the wounds can be unnecessarily obscene or voyeuristic (cf. Buchli and Lucas 2001:125), it is also true that the shocking images of mass graves in Spanish media during the last decade have done more to change the Francoist mentality than many laws, papers, lectures, and classes in schools. Maybe we are all voyeurs of suffering (Sontag 2003:42), but the act itself of witnessing a forgotten horror has transformed Spaniards, even if they did not want to. The problem is that the effect might be wearing away and the use of gruesome pictures could seem less well justified now. This compels scientists and activists alike to develop new, subtler forms of transmitting the message and keeping the pathos, in order to avoid the opposite effect of saturation and refusal to believe (Sontag 2003:82, 105). The situation is similar to that of other crimes against humanity, such as the Rwandan and Nazi genocides.

Finally, there is an important point regarding the division of labor in the work of exhumation. In the case of traumatic events, such as the massacres of the Spanish Civil War, conducting interviews might be extremely difficult. Archaeologists who are not trained in ethnography or psychology can do more harm than good when trying to talk to victims or victims' relatives without adequate expert support. We have been involved in situations that were uncomfortable to the victims because the interviews were not managed professionally (often by relatives' or media instigation). This may cause psychological damage to the person who is being interviewed and scientific damage to the work, as he or she might decide to withdraw information crucial for the project. As Moshenska (2008:165) points out, the emotional well-being of witnesses is also the responsibility of the researcher.

The Battlefields

Between 2008 and 2012 one of us (AGR) led a project whose aim was to construct an archaeological narrative of the Spanish Civil War and the early dictatorship (González-Ruibal 2012). For this, a series of sites were excavated that were deemed representative of different war and postwar episodes: from battlefields to internment camps. The research entailed collaboration with different associations. In the case of

battlefields, the groups concerned were quite different from those promoting exhumations. The ethical dilemmas that emerged from our interaction with them have to do mainly with issues of authority and the image of the past that is constructed. Regarding authority, the balance is not always easy. For some associations, we are unwelcome intruders in a field that they know well. It is, in fact, quite difficult to match the extraordinary technical knowledge that many amateurs have in relation to the materiality of the war and resorting to them is essential to identify finds and use the correct historical terms for the types of ammunitions or fortifications. At the same time, part of this knowledge comes from the systematic looting of Civil War sites with metal detectors. Although we have also collaborated with detectorists, our uncompromising attitude towards looting has sometimes generated friction. The question here is: how to defend archaeology's ethical standards without alienating an enthusiastic collective? This needs understanding, in the first place, the amateurs' ethical positions. These are by no mean homogeneous, but we can distinguish at least two groups: there are those who have an attitude of care and respect for the material remnants of the past which is akin to that of archaeologists and heritage managers. They understand that a care for the material remains is an extension of the respect for the people related to them and this care implies understanding the remains as heritage, helping their conservation and sustainable use and fostering the public dissemination of knowledge. The second group is made of people who detach their respect for the history (people and events) from their material traces. They understand their exploration (and collection) of Spanish Civil War remains as an intense, but private, relationship with the past. Whereas the first group has a true ethical (future-oriented) perspective, the second does not. This does not mean that the second group is impervious to dialogue or to ethical quandaries. Meaningfully, our post on the consequences of looting is the eighth most visited in our project blog (out of a total of 400 entries) and was widely discussed on Internet fora.[2]

Another issue has to do with the history that is constructed by amateur historians, "bunkerologists" (Bennett 2011) and re-enactors and the way it converges or collides with the history constructed by archaeologists. Here the situation is exactly the reverse of that of exhumations: whereas historical memory groups have usually strong political motivations and somehow expect archaeologists to share them, history amateurs boast of their neutrality and present it as a virtue, because it makes their work more objective. One of the associations even proposed a "neutrality test" for people studying the war (Morcillo 2008). While this apoliticism is strongly defended among right-wing associations, it also exists in other groups where leftists are the majority. The misunderstanding here emerges because amateurs tend to consider that the work of academic archaeologists is biased (and thus ultimately unethical) when they do not claim impartiality. It can be argued that the amateur's perspective has all the ethical and epistemological problems of relativism and that objectivity and neutrality are not the same things. Terry Eagleton (2006:136) has argued that…

> objectivity and partisanship are allies, not rivals. What is not conducive to objectivity on this score is the judicious even-handedness of the liberal… The liberal has difficulty with

[2] http://guerraenlauniversidad.blogspot.com.es/2012/01/historias-que-ya-nadie-podra-contar.html

situations in which one side has a good deal more of the truth than the other—which is to say, all the key political situations.

The question is: is it ethical *not* to take sides in the Spanish Civil War? This might be misleading. People usually think that taking sides implies fully identifying oneself with one side, party or group of combatants, something which is extremely problematic in any conflict and even more in a civil one. We would argue that the ethical position here is to defend a particular set of values and, by extension, the side that better complies with those values. This defense has to be, of course, critical. The values in question are those minimally accepted under a democratic regime. Thus, in the case of the Second World War nobody would say that no sides have to be taken because all committed atrocities. We do not opt for neutrality because we agree that "one side had a good deal more of the truth than the other," as Eagleton puts it, even if that side carpet-bombed cities. We take sides with values (democracy; freedom of speech; equality before the law; nondiscrimination; rejection of wars of aggression, of political killings, etc.), not with the RAF Bomber Command or with Churchill's Conservative Party. Precisely because we strive to uphold those democratic values, we find ourselves in a moral position that allows us to criticize those who claim to defend them but fail to.

In our case, the ethical issues arise when we collaborate with history associations in open days. During 2011 and 2012, as part of the public activities related to our research project, we collaborated in the commemoration of the so-called "Forgotten Battle," the Offensive of the Alto Tajuña River, which took place during the Spring of 1938 and ended in stalemate (despite 8,000 casualties on both sides). The central act of the commemoration consists in reenacting one episode of the battle by living history groups. After the fray, the "soldiers" from both sides come together and embrace each other fraternally. The idea is that reenacting and commemorating the war in this way is a form of learning from history and avoiding its repetition. But what do we actually learn? Despite all attention to technical detail in uniforms, weapons, and tactics, the war is crassly misrepresented. There is no reenacting of soldiers shooting prisoners (as actually happened in this battle), of Republican soldiers being herded into concentration camps, where many would die of hunger or beatings, or of neighbors looting the corpses after the war; there is no reenacting of how the war started either, with an unusually bloody coup organized by the brutalized Army of Africa (Nerín 2005).

This is a sanitized version of a historical snapshot from which there is very little to be learnt in ethical and political terms: in fact, it is in-keeping with the conservative perspective that holds that the civil war was pure madness with no motive and no purpose. The only way of learning a practical lesson from the Spanish Civil War is exploring and understanding the causes and reasons that led to it and this means inevitably dealing with politics. Otherwise, commemorating and bemoaning war as madness is like saying that we want to learn from an aircraft accident so that it never happens again, but instead of examining the causes of the accident, we just mourn the dead. By doing an archaeology of violence that contents itself with offering selective pictures of horror, we "stand back from an engagement with Spain as a country with a history. It is to dismiss politics" (Sontag 2003:9). Is it then ethical to

participate in these events that disremember and neutralize history? The problem is that there are other kinds of knowledge that are produced through reenacting: it keeps the memory of the war alive, it creates empathy towards the suffering of the soldiers, and it introduces us to the rich and complex materiality of the conflict. There are other audiences that are reached, too: people that may not be interested in historical memory and quests for truth and justice, since some of the reenactors and the public that attend are clearly conservative. Similarly to archaeology, living history in its particular way also makes things public and fosters encounters between people with different political agendas and visions of the past. It can be argued that it is better that these differing perspectives coincide in a specific event than that they never meet. Besides, we, as archaeologists, had the chance with our participation to reach a wider and more varied audience.

Another important ethical issue involved in the excavation of battlefields has to do with the way we break into other people's lives. Archaeology allows us to go deep into the intimate lives of soldiers. This issue has been raised with regard to corpses. Scarre (2006:181) notes that "from an ethical perspective the highly intrusive nature of this study raises problems," but the same could be said of going through the personal belongings that individuals lost in the trenches, sometimes before being killed, sometimes in the chaos of a combat. Now that the difference between our cultural and biological materiality starts to be blurred (e.g., Olsen et al. 2012), this problem looks more acute than ever. What is more constitutive of our personhood, our femur or our wallet full of documents and photos? As with bones, we might presume that an individual would not have liked us handling the buttons of his underpants, his pencil, or the bottle of perfume that his wife gave him as a souvenir when he left home. This is even more the case when we find written evidence that permits us to individualize people: in the concentration camp of Castuera (Badajoz), for example, we found fragments of metal sheet with the names of prisoners and their wives. These pieces were used as letters and exchanged between inmates and relatives. The ethical situation, however, is not different here from that in which historians regularly find themselves, when they dig up private information regarding individuals in the archives.

The Moral Economy of Spanish Civil War Research

Excavating remnants of the Civil War is unlike any other kind of archaeology for a variety of reasons, some of them obvious: we are dealing with a painful recent history that divided the country along several fault lines, most of them not yet overcome (such as those related to religion, nationalism and the model of state). However, this is only one of the problems that archaeologists face when they work on this period. Much less attention has been paid to the moral economy that regulates every approach to the traces of conflict. As in any moral economy, there are a series of unwritten codes of proper moral behavior that are rarely made explicit in a direct way. In a way, being an archaeologist of the Civil War is not different from

being a sacristan in a church, to mention the example offered by Pierre Bourdieu to illustrate an economy of symbolic goods. According to Bourdieu (1998:113) "Sacred tasks are irreducible to a purely economic and social codification: the sacristan does not have a 'trade'; he renders a divine service." In both cases our work, although technical, is not only regulated by an amoral economy of labor, in which some things are exchanged for others (e.g., scientific or clerical work for money), but also by a symbolic and moral economy in which specific values are presupposed and underscore all memory practices related to the civil war. These values are both of a political and an ethical nature. However, while the first are not necessarily expected, the latter always are. To participate, totally, partially, or not at all in this moral economy involves important ethical dilemmas for an archaeologist. Let us illustrate this with several examples extracted from our own experience.

The archaeology of the Spanish Civil War, more than anything else, is constituted by a large and varied community, probably larger than that of any other subfield of archaeology. As we have been seeing, archaeologists compose only a fraction of all the people actively involved in the process of recovering the traces of the conflict. Within the profession itself, there is little homogeneity: some archaeologists come from universities or public research institutions, others from the private sector and yet others were trained as archaeologists but now work in different fields (some very removed from any intellectual activity). This creates an important division: there are those who do their work for free and there are those (as the people who write this article) who earn a salary for their work (which does not mean, of course, that they do their work for the money). The problem is that those who participate in the recovery of civil war memories on a purely voluntary basis tend to regard with suspicion those others who do their work as paid professionals—although they can simultaneously be military history amateurs, activists, or reenactors, a fact that is often disregarded. The problem is that while amateur historians, voluntary archaeologists, bunkerologists, and members of historical memory associations fully participate in the moral economy of excavating the traumatic past (see Renshaw 2011), professional archaeologists often do not. Thus, a grassroots association operating in NW Spain complained to one of us that with the funding that we had employed in excavating two mass graves in Castuera (Badajoz), they could have excavated many more—a large percentage of our funding covered the salaries of archaeologists and anthropologists. Implicit (but not too much) was the idea that we were putting our wages before the task of recovering the corpses of those who had suffered untold violence and whose relatives were still awaiting for healing their psychological wounds. This view was again voiced by a group of bunkerologists based in Madrid, who have a love-hate relationship towards our abovementioned project on the remains of the Spanish Civil War. While they admire our research in the last instance, some of them have accused us on Internet for doing battlefield archaeology for the grants—that is for spurious economic reasons—and not for pure altruistic impulses, as it is the case with their work. They are forced to have a day job to pay for their hobby which they consider to be not too different from the kind of work that we, archaeologists, do in a professional way.

Now, what the groups and individuals that raise this criticism seem not to realize is that the same point is defended by those who are *against* the archaeology of the Spanish Civil War and the recovery of historical memory more generally, as well as those who want to neutralize the truly critical potential of these endeavors. For them, if this kind of archaeology has to take place at all, it has to be carried out without state support, without funding and on a purely voluntary and private basis—something that the right-wing government that came to power in 2011 has largely achieved. This weakens the impact of archaeology, hinders the dissemination of the results, lowers professional standards, and fosters sociopolitical atomization. In fact, the lack of central coordination and professionalization has seriously damaged the movement for the recovery of historical memory. Thus, we would rather reverse the equation: the existence of a moral economy does not mean that ethical standards are higher, but rather, it creates ethical and political problems: how has the fact that many practitioners were not properly qualified and did not have the time or the means to conduct their work properly affected the scientific study of the war and the Francoist repression? What are the ethical implications of espousing a nonprofessional practice? How may this potentially affect the image of archaeology in society as a scientific discipline? For us, the ethical choice is clear: to do archaeology outside a moral economy does not mean to do an amoral archaeology. Research on political violence and human rights violations always comes from a sense of moral responsibility towards the dead and those who have suffered injustice. It serves the memory of the vanquished better if we take out our inquiry from the religious realm of the sacred—as proposed by Agamben (1998) in relation to the Nazi genocide—and back into the terrain of knowledge and politics.

Case Studies

In the remaining of this article we explore three different situations based on our personal experience: an intervention in a battlefield, an exhumation of two mass graves, and the exploration of a landscape of armed resistance to dictatorship. Each of these cases posed both similar and unique ethical dilemmas.

Case 1. When Archaeologists Become Bunkerologists

The northern part of Spain was part of the frontline between the beginning of the war in July 1936 and early October 1937. The Republican Army fortified the mountain passes and established a defensive line reinforced by the difficult topography and adverse climatology. In September 2011, we carried out an archaeological intervention in a specific position of this long frontline, in the village of Puebla de Lillo (León) (González et al. in press). While the municipal capital served as a center for the elite troops command of the Nationalist Army, the neighboring mountain pass of

San Isidro was in the hands of the Republic (Álvarez Oblanca and Serrano 2010). In this area, we excavated Cueto de Castiltejón, a fortified hill in first line of the front, reusing an Iron Age hillfort. The municipality of Pueblo de Lillo witnessed a brutal repression unleashed by paramilitary groups of the Nationalist side at the beginning of the war and again after the Republican defeat in October 1937. The medieval tower of the village was transformed into a torture center, directed both against the civil population and the prisoners of war, who were later executed against the cemetery walls. Later, during the postwar period, the persecution of the anti-Francoist guerrilla was also ruthless. This traumatic past had an enormous weight in the design of our project of public archaeology, because we found a local community that mostly turned their backs on us and on any attempt at making the remains of the Spanish Civil War visible as cultural heritage. Many people from different towns in the provinces of Asturias and Castilla y León participated in the open days, but no neighbors from the area. During the excavation we only had the clear support of two individuals, both of them with a clear political consciousness: one of them was the son of an *huido*, a person who had escaped to the mountains to avoid reprisals by the rebels, and the son of an assistant of Major Morán, the Republican commander in charge of defending this part of the frontline.

We soon realized that our research team was the only collective interested in promoting a heritage process of the frontline in the county. On the one hand, the administration of the regional government (Castilla y León) gave green light to the project from a purely bureaucratic perspective, but also showed a complete lack of interest and any knowledge of the situation (a defensive fighting position in Cueto de Castiltejón is still catalogued as a medieval tower). Besides, the heritage administration does not do anything to prevent the destruction of Civil War remains in the area: a Republican command post, for instance, was recently demolished to build a hotel. In turn, the local authorities are struggling to consolidate the image of Puebla de Lillo as a top tourist destination linked to the Natural Park of Picos de Europa and the ski resort of San Isidro. This vision of an idyllic landscape is in disagreement with the fact that the natural landscape is also a landscape of war of the recent history. Local politicians use the European cohesion funds to promote seasonal winter tourism, the construction of interpretation centers and even, sometimes bordering surrealism, the maintenance of a Museum of Wild Fauna in which the collection of a notorious local poacher is in display.

Finally, there is no local association for the recovery of historical memory, as there is in many other places in Spain, interested in dealing with the material remains of this front (not to speak of locating and exhuming mass graves). Interest is only shown by other actors, such as the associations of bunkerologists, who focus on the study of military architecture (Prieto et al. 2007), without any link to the local community, many detectorists that are active in the area, or the local historian, who is, however, more interested in prehistoric remains than in the recent, traumatic history of the region.

An important ethical problem is that the only way of convincing the local community and the politicians in charge of local development is to devise a project that is openly and simply based on the commoditization of the Spanish Civil War remains: something that has an immediate and direct economic benefit for the local

population. This pragmatic model of heritage leaves aside, of course, any potential critical discourse and makes impossible any research that vindicates the role of materiality to understand and make visible political repression and the instauration of the dictatorship. In this context, in which the landscape of war is anything but a heritage appropriated as such by the community, the administration and the managers of rural development, is it legitimate and ethical to undertake an archaeological intervention such as the one we conducted in 2011, an intervention that only benefits the curiosity of bunkerologists, detectorists, and local scholars, who are, in turn, suspicious of the work of professional archaeologists? The archaeology of the Spanish Civil War does not seem to be in a position to compete with hiking, climbing mountains, wild fauna, snow sports and, most especially, with the lack of ethics of a political class that continue to work within the developmentalist model bequeathed by the dictatorship.

Case 2. When Archaeologists Become Political Activists

The Archaeologist's Perspective

The village of Castuera is the capital of La Serena region in the autonomous community of Extremadura. The coup failed here in July 1936 and the town remained loyal to the Republic. During the following weeks three *sacas* of right-wing prisoners took place that ended with the lives of dozens of people. The *sacas* were a widespread phenomenon during the first months of the war and consisted in militiamen going to prisons and taking prisoners for a "ride" (*paseo*) in which they were executed. Before the conquest of Castuera by Francoist troops in July 1938, the town became the capital of the Provincial Council of Badajoz. The repression unleashed by the Nationalists in the region from the summer of 1938 onwards meant the establishment of a regime of terror, in which militiamen, the civilian population (including women) and prisoners of war were massively executed. In March 1939, shortly before the end of the conflict, a concentration camp was built in Castuera (López Rodríguez 2006). This was a typical classification center, whose mission was to sort out the political allegiances and responsibilities of the prisoners of war that had fallen into Nationalist hands. It was active until April 1940. With the connivance of the Army, groups of fascists (*falangistas*) had free rein to enter the camp and take those prisoners who were politically prominent. They were killed outside the camp and buried in different graves located in the surroundings, including the old cemetery of Castuera.

During the last years, a local association for the recovery of historical memory has managed to preserve the remains of the concentration camp, which achieved the category of Property of Cultural Interest (BIC), the highest form of protection for heritage elements in Spain. In 2011, the association obtained government funding to carry out the exhumation of mass graves in the cemetery. Two mass graves were discovered with dozens of individuals. In 2012, another grant was given by the central

government to continue the research in the cemetery and to conduct excavations in the concentration camp. We had already excavated in the camp in 2010 and the association asked us to take charge of the project again in 2012—the 2011 archaeological and forensic works were carried out by another archaeologist (Laura Muñoz).

As in Puebla de Lillo, the memory of the war in Castuera is still traumatic. However, unlike in the other village, repression here was carried out by both sides. It is true that there is a big difference between both, since Francoist violence was sanctioned by the authorities, the number of victims it provoked was much higher and violence continued well after the war under a new legal framework. In any case, there is an unsolved and ongoing memory conflict in Castuera and the exhumation works are not widely supported. A large part of the population either rejects the initiative or simply shows indifference. There is even a dynamic revisionist group, led by a *falangista* priest who is active in the media (including his own blog) and who denies the history of the concentration camp and vindicates another memory, that of the people killed by revolutionaries. After the war, however, the corpses of the right-wing victims were exhumed, honored, and reburied in a monumental mausoleum erected by Regiones Devastadas, a service created by the dictatorship to reconstruct regions destroyed by the war. There is, thus, an obvious inequality. This inequality, coupled to the brutal Francoist repression and the resistance of part of the population today to honor the victims of the dictatorship are factors that explain the radical political activism of the local association for the recovery of historical memory. Almost all the members of the association are communist militants of Izquierda Unida, a leftist coalition that covers a wide political spectrum—from eco-socialists to traditional communists. This strong political identity is a handicap when it comes to social recognition and it conditioned the archaeological project. In Castuera, we tried to develop our usual public approach to archaeology: the excavation and exhumation works were open to the public, we incorporated volunteers, the results were made available in real time through our blog, weekly lectures were organized, etc. Nevertheless, the involvement of the local community was almost nonexistent. Despite the exhumation being carried out in the municipal cemetery, which is still in use, virtually no neighbor from Castuera visiting her or his relatives' graves showed any interest for the exhumation. In turn, the lectures that took place at the "Popular University" only attracted people who were affiliated or related in some way to the local association. The field season ended with a moving tribute to the 17 victims exhumed in the cemetery. The homage was organized by the local association and it was attended by the archaeological team, relatives of the victims and members of the association.

The sociological characteristics of Castuera were all too evident from the beginning of our intervention. It is for this reason that our team tried, if not to reverse the situation, at least to understand the underlying motives for this collective behavior. Our intention to explore the perspective of the defendants of the other (Francoist) memory brought about an aggressive reaction from the association, whose members were surprised and outraged. From an ethical point of view, it was not possible to put at the same level our research on the victims of Francoism and a far-right priest (something which we were not doing, anyway). This situation showed that we were

not seen as researchers, critical and independent, but as a mere technical staff hired to exhume Republican victims. It also shows that redemptive and diremptive ethics (Buchli and Lucas 2001) can at times collide. In addition, we could hardly reach the moral level of our hirers: while volunteers and affiliates devoted their lives altruistically to the recovery of historical memory, we were wage-earning professionals. Our subaltern position could only be overcome by showing a compromise that was beyond our contractual relationship or professional expertise. This unflinching ethical position led to the generation of unnecessary frictions, since it often overlooked technical requirements and the negotiation of divergent interests. Thus, the search for mass graves inside the municipal cemetery had to be carried out at all costs, without showing any consideration to collateral damage, such as the inconveniences caused to neighbors who wanted to visit the cemetery or the physical impact on recent funerary structures of archaeological works.

In this context of political activism, it is easy to see the great amount of ethical dilemmas that appear to the archaeologist: should we distinguish between a professional and a political profile? Is it adequate to participate, as an archaeologist, in a homage to the victims? What would happen if instead of being victims of Francoism, the remains were of the victims of revolutionaries and the act were organized by the far-right (as in the abovementioned case of Camuñas)? Should we take part only as citizens? In our case, we have to say that the whole research team actively participated in the ceremony organized by the association, under the flag (today illegal) of the Second Spanish Republic. Yet not all Spanish archaeologists consider that this is the proper behavior that is expected of aseptic, objective scientists.

Beyond this act of commemoration, that stages and makes visible a political compromise, the exhumation entailed other ethical problems. The establishment of the concentration camp meant that many Republicans from different parts of Spain were taken to Castuera. Many of the mass graves in the area hide the corpses of individuals who nobody has claimed and who will be in all likelihood impossible to identify with certainty. This is what happened with the two mass graves exhumed by our team. This situation was already known from the exhumations carried out in 2011. There are, however, other graves in Extremadura and Spain who have reliable documentation or witnesses that make it possible to recover the identity of specific individuals. Besides, the acidic soils of Castuera severely damage osteological remains and seriously hamper the collection of reliable DNA samples. Furthermore, except in one case, there are not actually relatives that have asked for the exhumation. This fact is in contrast with the legitimate ethical principles of an association that declares their compromise with the victims' relatives. In a context of economic crisis, when government funding for memory projects is coming to an end, we can ask: is it licit to invest money and efforts in this kind of exhumation and under the conditions that have been described? After the laboratory analysis, the corpses of the 17 victims that we have exhumed will be reburied under a monument in the cemetery of Castuera. Archaeology does not seem to have much to offer in this model of memory practice whose goals seem to be fulfilled with the erection of an anonymous ossuary.

The Ethnographer's Perspective

Setting the boundaries of the exhumation space became a recurring point of discussion throughout the Castuera excavation, an archaeological project where I (RC) became the resident anthropologist. "Archaeology is politics, that's why we're here," explained Xurxo Ayán, the leader of the research team that was contracted by the local historical memory association to carry out the excavations. The association was a key player in defining the exhumation project: they informed us where we needed to dig, filled us in on the local history from their publications and interviews, and—for those of us who were not students—signed our paychecks.

August 10, 2012. "Whatever you want, if it's possible from a technical point of view, obviously, we intend on giving it our all in that if we don't find one grave, we intend to excavate another grave. We are here, 'full time,' as they say." It was our first meeting with the association and the field director had set the tone of the meeting, demonstrating to the association that we were friendly yet professional, flexible but within reason. "It is known what happened here, but not what will happen," he chuckles sheepishly because it is true—we do not know what we will find, or what kind of consequences this discovery will have on the present and future.

Only later did I realize just how insightful this initial encounter was into future discussions between the association and the research team over how to interpret the exhumation site. The politics and ethics of space—that is, the question of how to manage the material as well as immaterial space of the dead—challenge the very ethos of the exhumation. The exhumation has come to develop its own language and culture, often making it difficult to be critical of this problem space without encroaching on one's personal ethics.

How then should this space be remembered? David,[3] the town historian and a member of the historical memory association, considered the exhumation and its heavy shadow on Castuera society as spaces that needed to be properly defined:

> We have our own rituals, so we will have a memorial service and bring the Republican flag, we're advising you now so that if anyone has a problem with this, well, they can exit or leave the service, ok? We have our own way to revindicate what we're doing, you all have a technical point of view, but we have a point of view that we uphold that gives importance to what we're doing.

The cemetery is an extension of Spanish society, serving as a "vehicle for reproduction of ideologies and power; it has also been a construction through which power groups experimented with models for the city that was developing under their control" (McDonogh 1986:167, writing on the sociology of elite families in Barcelona). In the same manner, the exhumation and its social extension have been converted into a closed forum despite its very public visibility.

David continued: "The visibility of something that is pending, that we do it in the way that we're doing it, no?" The sudden opening of a fan sharply cuts across the hot and stuffy living room. He begins to pick up speed and momentum, "Our

[3] Names have been changed in order to preserve anonymity.

association has this point of view that is very important, and at no time are we going to curtail this, this mold, this technical [aspect]. I'm telling you this [now] because… we had a problem, and this year, at least for me, I am not going to allow it."

Personal ethics therefore become a very natural part of the exhumation, molded into the site itself; the association was, in essence, the exhumation. Unlike the association, the archaeology team viewed the exhumation space as a public arena and potential forum to physically examine a repressed point in Spanish history, a recent past whose consequences are easily visible in Spanish society today. Aside from their personal ethics, the team's commitment to public archaeology (González-Ruibal 2007; Ayán Vila 2008) sought to recuperate material and immaterial remains, and offer other perspectives of controversial, silenced histories. The principles of the association, however, would not waiver: the exhumation was not a space for everyone and the flag, although a free expression and extension of their personal ideology could deter other members of society from becoming part of the exhumation space.

What kind of space then is this for society? In addition to the memorial service, there was also concern at the meeting where and how information on the exhumations should be communicated to the public. The field director drawing on his experience in public archaeology, suggested "bar-ferencias" in which the archaeological team would present their findings to the community at large through the everyday space of the local bar, but this was not well received by the association, allegedly because the situation in the town was "a bit complicated." Again, the principles of the association maintained that the exhumation space and its extension into society was a subject that needed to be protected and controlled. In the end, the talks were given at the community center where the audience mainly consisted of the archaeology team, members of the association, and their friends and family. In addition to the talks, dispersion of information while the exhumation was taking place was limited to a local paper that published once a month, online-only articles published in the regional newspaper, and a private media company paid by the association to put together a documentary. One interviewee noted to me that he "had seen us" on the local news channel—in a byline.

Apart from the archaeologists' blog, these three essential sites where local community information is shared and discussed—the cemetery, the bar, and the newspaper—were precisely the spaces the archaeological team wanted to employ in order to bring a discussion of the exhumation into the public eye. Being in conversation with these public arenas would carry the exhumation beyond the grave and into the everyday. For example, what does the local priest or corner barman think of the exhumation? Other perspectives beyond that of the association or the archaeology team, however, were limited.

Although the exhumation was designated as a private space, people created their own ideal alternative spaces to express the pain and confusion surrounding the exhumations. As one archaeological student, Mateo noted, "the problem is almost psychological; the material [remains] not only express culture but it constructs it as well." The uncertainty to talk about this history and memory, explained Mateo, became registered in the material. I would suggest, however, that historical memory is constructed no less powerfully in the immaterial as well. The uncertainty of this

repressed period is also located in dreams, in salvaged (and sometimes very expensive eBay-sought) civil war memorabilia for homegrown shrines or museums, or in the collective imagination of the Gamonita mine where mass executions of the concentration camp are said to have taken place.

Carmen had searched as a child for her father in her dreams and in the benches of the main plaza where the elders of the community gathered all day to chat, and as adult with her daughter, Sonia, they searched for him in the exhumation and on the internet. Carmen's mother never talked about what had happened to her father "as a form of protection" although his memory "was floating in the air," she told me. Only later did Sonia and her mother begin to find out who he was and what had happened to him:

> With my mother, I think we started to talk a type of dialogue and have a [type of] relationship that up until this point we had never had because in my house my father was a person very much of the [ideological] right…So I started to tape my mom, do you remember, Mama, in the kitchen? We would go to the kitchen, with my dad already watching the TV, and we would do a kind of questionnaire…and well, I discovered a tremendous world because imagine—it's as though you have in your house a room that has been there all your life and you've never opened this door, and one day you open it—well, first you discover that this is a room, and later you open and discover it: Dear God, but what is this? I did not know it existed, that is, with 40 years [of age]…it is almost a lifetime, no?

The virtues of the home, while a private space, became a vital space of discussion and discovery to talk about the past that was not entirely possible through the exhumation site for reasons explained above. Reflecting on the association's demands for the memorial service, I asked Sonia what she wanted for the homage. She was a member of the association and would often come to visit us in the cemetery while we were exhuming. She was smoking a cigarette and looking down at six exhumed bodies, tied together by the wrists with wire. Speaking from inside the grave, she said, matter-of-factly, "For me this is the homage."

As the French philosopher Michel Foucault once said, ethics lies within the self: illuminated in our actions, it holds us accountable. Ethics is "the kind of relationship you ought to have with yourself…and which determines how the individual is supposed to constitute himself as a moral subject of his own actions" (Foucault 1983:237–238). That is, our private ethics drive our thoughts and actions and, in the case of Castuera, the ethics surrounding how to define the space and extended space of the exhumation were not up for negotiation. If ethics lies within the self, how then can we critically study and understand the exhumation space? Rather than question which ethics best functions at the exhumations, or search for an ethical universal, an ethnography of ethics chooses to explore those moments when ethics and morals are paused, suspended, or placed into doubt (Scheper-Hughes 1992). Without labels, without claims to be an "activist," perhaps sometimes quietly and creatively, an ethnography of ethics permits the anthropologist to plug-in to societal concerns (Biehl and Locke 2010) in the best way he or she can, be it scholarship, blogging or digging. An ethnography of the ethical looks for those pauses that take shape in patchworks of life stories, seeking to capture silenced histories, alternative conclusions, "unpopular" perspectives, and indigenous voices that otherwise may go unnoticed (Haraway 1988; Harding 1995; Narayan 1993).

Case 3. When Archaeologists Become Memory Guerrilla Fighters

After the end of the Spanish Civil War, a movement of armed resistance was organized in different parts of the country (Winter 2012). This anti-Francoist guerrilla was very active between 1944 and 1947 due to the allied advances and eventual victory in the Second World War. This offered hope for the restoration of a democratic regime in Spain. However, the new geopolitical context of the Cold War benefited Franco, who managed to exterminate the last strongholds of the guerrilla at the beginning of the 1950s. Public institutions have barely contributed to the recovery of the memory of the anti-Francoist resistance. In the case of Northwestern Spain, the electoral triumph of leftist parties in the local elections has granted some support to this work of research and memorialization. In the case of León, where the first political organization of the guerrilla movement was created (Federación de Guerrillas León-Galicia, in 1944), all the work has been carried out by grassroots associations, including the exhumation of mass graves. Academic research on this topic is monopolized by modern historians, who pay scarce attention, if at all, to oral sources and material remains. Archaeology is, thus, marginalized and material culture only counts as a mere illustration of what we already know through historical documents.

Our archaeological work on the guerrilla in Galicia has tried to cover this void, documenting the absent landscape of the anti-Francoist resistance and emphasizing the material evidence generated by the repression (Ayán Vila 2008). For this, we undertook the study of a specific region (Terra de Lemos), using as a starting point the ambush of Repil (1949), which led to the killing of many guerrilla leaders of León-Galicia.

The establishment of the democratic regime in 1978 led to a politics of oblivion that relegated to the rubbish heap of history the Republican exile and the armed resistance against the dictatorship. In fact, a significant part of the population still accepts the Francoist narrative that portrayed the guerrilla fighters as criminals, social misfits, and bloody terrorists that attacked common people. This discourse of fear was disseminated during decades and explains recent behaviors: a commemorative plaque installed in the cemetery of Monforte de Lemos as a homage to the guerrilla fighters killed in Repil was destroyed the same night it was inaugurated. In addition to propaganda, we have to take into account the strategy of terror developed by the militarized police (*Guardia Civil*) to finish off the resistance: they encouraged betrayals and denunciations and tortured and killed the civilians who helped the guerrilla. In this context, our research entails important ethical problems: whistleblowers and spies were awarded jobs by the dictatorship, while those who helped the guerrilla were condemned to exile. It is difficult to overcome the barrier of fear, but once this is achieved we encounter another problem: witnesses do not want us to make public the real names of victims, executioners, and informers. In small rural communities, silence is the guarantee for coexistence. The conflict between commitment to historical truth and respect to informants is inevitable.

Under these conditions, it is extremely difficult to undertake a critical history of the anti-Francoist resistance.

At the same time, as in the case of Pueblo de Lillo discussed above, our experience with local communities advised against trying to turn the guerrilla landscapes into sites of memory. The only option is to participate in a sanitized discourse that places the guerrilla fighters at the same level of other mythical beings and creatures that are celebrated along hiking trails through the mountains. Conflict is also inevitable when support is given by nationalist local governments, which transform the anti-Francoist resistance into a precedent of the Galician national struggle, despite the fact that the guerrillas were mostly communists, socialist, or anarchist and some individuals even had a scarce political commitment and were only fighting for their survival. At any rate, our work with the silenced cartographies of the anti-Francoist guerrilla shows again the varied sociopolitical pressures that conflict archaeologists and anthropologists have to face and the ethical dilemmas to which they are subjected in relation to the needs and desires of the present social actors.

Conclusions

In this chapter we have seen two main types of ethical problems that emerge in any engagement with Spanish Civil War sites. Some ethical problems are related to the sociology of knowledge (who has the right to produce knowledge and under what circumstances), the other to politics of memory. Regarding the politics of memory, the problem is that there is a lack of a master narrative of the conflict and its aftermath. Today, perspectives that defend the coup d'état and the establishment of the dictatorship are deemed as respectable as those that support the constitutional regime of the Republic. Furthermore, it is sometimes depicted as unethical to try to delegitimize or marginalize these undemocratic voices. This is quite paradoxical in a country where the deniers of the Nazi Holocaust can be prosecuted by law and imprisoned. The problem is that while there is a strong master narrative on Nazism accepted in Spain, there is not a similar shared account regarding Francoism. We need a "successful meaning work" (Alexander 2004:12) and we believe that archaeology can be a good ground to start producing a new story.

Here we have tried to present some of the actors that participate in the recovery of Civil War memories. Their ethical stances are often divergent: the members of the Catholic Church that promoted the exhumations of Camuñas follow a religious ethics that relies on a firmly established sacred code. Most grassroots associations, however, follow secular ethics, usually shaped by political ideas, which sometimes collide with the religious ethics of victims' relatives who might want to exhume their dead out of a religious conviction. Forensic scientists, anthropologists and archaeologists may have their own particular moral perspectives, but they all comply (or should comply) with deontological ethics specific of their fields. Sometimes these deontological ethics also lead to clashes with other actors, such as amateurs or politicians. Of course, the groups delineated here are not clear-cut. The role of

archaeologist, military history enthusiast, activist, and victim's relative can coincide. This makes the ethical choices more complex.

Finally, an issue that has to be considered at every point in the archaeological process is what other actors are being forgotten? Which other voices are being unrepresented? In which way the memory practices to which we, as archaeologists, contribute help make other people invisible? In relation to this, the memory that is being produced by means of archaeological and anthropological work has two biases: on the one hand, it puts too much emphasis on men (which made the bulk of the killed and the large majority of soldiers, especially after January 1937) and in that it might have the undesired effect of forgetting or downplaying the suffering of women, as combatants and resisters, as victims of a repression that often leaves scarce material traces and as relatives in charge of maintaining the memory of the dead alive for generations. On the other hand, we are creating a Spanish memory (and also Catalonian, Basque, and Galician memories). Yet the Spanish Civil War was an international conflict almost as much as it was national and this not only due to the involvement of the International Brigades or the Italians and Germans, who, after all, have taken care, to a large extent, of their own memories. It was also an international conflict because it was also a reversed colonial conflict, in which up to 80,000 Moroccans and Sahrawi people participated (Nerín 2005). They occupy a negative place in the collective memory of Spain, due to the atrocities they committed during the war (albeit not more brutal than those committed by Spaniards themselves). First hailed as heroes by Francoism and then forgotten, they constitute a difficult memory to deal with and, being simultaneously victims and victimizers, an enormous ethical problem that cannot be simply bypassed.

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Chapter 8
A Gate to a Darker World: Excavating at the Tempelhof Airport

Susan Pollock and Reinhard Bernbeck

In the summer of 2012 we began an excavation on the grounds of the former Tempelhof airport in Berlin. A project such as this, located in the midst of a bustling urban environment and investigating the recent past of a country in which the twentieth century is marked by episodes drenched in blood and terror, is bound to provoke discussion. Indeed, from the start the project has led to a variety of reactions, both positive and negative, on the part of those engaged in archaeology as well as those outside the field. In this chapter we briefly sketch the history of the airport, the genesis of the archaeological project, and a few of the intersections of conflict and contention in the ways this past is dealt with in the present.

Tempelhof Airport: "Gate to the World"

The former Tempelhof airport covers approximately 400 ha in what is today the south-central part of Berlin (Fig. 8.1). The history of the grounds extends back until at least the Middle Ages. Here, however, we limit our discussion to the recent past, and indeed, the time after World War II is the period with which most Berliners connect the airport.

In June 1948 Stalin began a blockade of West Berlin, in which all land, water, and rail routes into the city from West Germany were shut. As an island in the midst of then-communist East Germany, West Berlin, under control of the Western Allies of WWII, was entirely dependent on access to West Germany for supplies of all kinds. In response to the blockade, the US military, which had occupied Tempelhof

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A. González-Ruibal, G. Moshenska (eds.), *Ethics and the Archaeology of Violence*, Ethical Archaeologies: The Politics of Social Justice 2,
DOI 10.1007/978-1-4939-1643-6_8

Fig. 8.1 Aerial photograph of a portion of the Tempelhof airfield taken in spring 1945. The traces of bombing are visible in many places. The *white circle* indicates the area of a Lufthansa forced labor where our excavations in the summer of 2012 took place. To the south of this camp (below and to the right in the picture, indicated by the *white arrow*) is the old airport, built in the 1920s (Photo: Luftbilddatenbank Dr. Carls GmbH 1945-04_3109)

airport since July 1945, began an intensive airlift with the help of the British Royal Air Force, flying all food, fuel, and other supplies into the besieged city. Although the formal blockade was suspended by the Soviets in May 1949, the airlift continued until September of that year.

The Berlin Airlift provided more than just the physical needs of the people of Berlin. It also was exploited—then as well as now—for ideological purposes. As "Berlins Tor zur Welt" (Berlin's gate to the world), Tempelhof airport and the Berlin Airlift produced a major psychological shift for Western powers; instead of the city as the symbol of the hated enemy, Nazi Germany, Berlin became a threatened bastion of freedom in a sea of communism. This connection remains prominent in the minds of many Berliners and is an oft-repeated *topos* in local tourist guides and recent histories (e.g., Heisig and Thiele 1998), as is also evident in the official designation of the airport grounds as "Tempelhofer Freiheit" (Tempelhof Freedom).[1] The airlift is memorialized in a monument erected in 1951 at the Platz der Luftbrücke, just outside the grounds of the airport; formerly, a "Rosinenbomber," one of the Douglas C54 planes used in the airlift, was displayed at the edge of the airport grounds, along the major thoroughfare, Columbiadamm.

[1] "Tempelhof is a symbol of freedom. Tempelhof airport acted as the center of the air lift during the Berlin blockade of 1948/49." [http://www.tempelhoferfreiheit.de/en/ accessed 16 August 2012]

In 1994, following the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989 and the subsequent reunification of East and West Germany in 1990, the airport was formally turned over from American forces to Germany. However, with the airport's central location in the midst of residential districts, it was perhaps no surprise that Tempelhof's days as an active airport were numbered. In 2008 it was closed, both to air traffic and to public access. This move was accompanied by protests, both for and against the closure. One group, "Squat Tempelhof," tried to occupy the airport grounds on 20 June 2009. The group protested plans for the building of luxury apartments and other investment designed to turn the area into a money-making venture. Although the occupation of the former airport was prevented by a massive police presence, its goals were partially met by the decision to open the grounds for public use 1 year later on 8 May 2010. At the time of this writing, the former airport is used as a park with opportunities for barbequing, lounging, kite flying, skateboarding, gardening in raised boxes, baseball, basketball, and more. Money-making has by no means been abandoned; portions of the massive airport building, constructed in an austere Nazi style in the late 1930s by the architect Ernst Sagebiel and at the time the largest building in the world, are rented for various events, such as the semi-annual fashion show "Bread and Butter." Until a decision in the summer of 2012 led to its relocation, the International Garden Show was scheduled to take place on the airport grounds in 2017 (http://www.tempelhoferfreiheit.de/, http://www.stadtentwicklung.berlin.de/planen/tempelhof/index.shtml).

Genesis of the Archaeological Project

Despite the suggestive labels associating it with fights against communism and especially Stalinism, Tempelhof airport has another, much darker history, one of Nazi terror, torture, and exploitation. Immediately after their rise to power in 1933, the Nazis used the Columbia-Haus, an erstwhile military prison built in 1896 on the northern edge of the later airport grounds, as a Gestapo prison. In 1934, it was turned into one of the earliest concentration camps and the only one to be located within the Nazi capital. During the 3 years in which it was in use as a concentration camp, an estimated 10,000 prisoners, most of them arrested for their political convictions (communists, social democrats, union members), but also Jews, intellectuals and homosexuals, passed through Columbia-Haus, where they were subject to humiliation, degradation, and torture (Schilde and Tuchel 1990). People who were held in the Columbia-Haus were transported during the day to the Gestapo and SS Headquarters in the Prinz-Albrecht-Straße for interrogation, a location infamous for abuse and torture (Rürup 1987:82–84).

The Columbia-Haus was demolished because of Hitler's plans for a grandiose airport. Construction took place in the years 1936–1939, but remained unfinished due to WWII (Dittrich 2008). An older airport from the 1920s served both civilian and military purposes; the new one was never used under the Nazis as an airport. Rather, its immense spaces became one of the major locations for the construction of

war planes, foremost among them the feared "Stukas" (*Sturzkampfflugzeuge,* or Junkers Ju 87), and the maintenance and repair of military planes, both of which were conducted to an overwhelming extent by means of forced labor (Budraß 2001). Forced labor camps were constructed in several places on the airport grounds, with a major expansion in their size in late 1942 and early 1943 in the course of the *Lagerbauaktion* under the Minister for Armament, Albert Speer (Bräutigam 2003b:120–122). Barracks at Tempelhof Airport housed the hundreds and later thousands of forced laborers from many European countries, including the Soviet Union, who were put to building, maintaining, and repairing military planes for the companies Lufthansa and Weser Flug (Wenz 2002: 132–140; Assatzk 2012; Heisig 2012).

The general public and visitors who come to enjoy one of Berlin's most popular green spaces generally know little of these elements of the Nazi history of Tempelhof. This situation, although beginning to change, is perhaps unsurprising when one considers decades of public discourse, art, and other media that have given pride of place to the Berlin Airlift and juxtaposition of Western freedom versus Soviet communism.

Archaeology and Tempelhof Airport

It was within this framework that we began our archaeological project. As of this writing, we have conducted one season of fieldwork and plan to continue the project in 2013.[2] We excavated in five areas, two of which were in the area of a former forced labor camp of Lufthansa, with the remains of a barracks, a covered ditch used for air-raid protection, and a *Feuerlöschteich*, a deep basin for extinguishing fires from air attacks. Three others areas of work were in the location of the old airport from the 1920s and adjacent hangars, today thoroughly overgrown and unrecognizable to the untrained eye. Because of the preliminary state of the investigations, we concentrate primarily on the conceptualization, structure, and planning of the project, giving only a brief overview of the results.

A crucial element in understanding the project's genesis is its context in the politics of Germany and German higher education in the early twenty-first century. At present, there is effectively no academic archaeology of the contemporary past in Germany. It is not that sites dating to recent times are not excavated; as in many western countries, German laws dictate that archaeological prospections must be carried out prior to government-funded construction projects. However, there is no academic home for archaeological research on the contemporary past; rather, there is a deep-seated skepticism regarding the contribution that a study of material remains can make when compared to the testimony of written documents (but for a much more positive perspective, see Dejnega and Theune in press).

In this context one of our principal goals in initiating the project at Tempelhof is to demonstrate the relevance of an archaeology of the contemporary past in Germany and, more specifically, to make a contribution, however small, toward the

[2] This paper was written in the summer of 2012. The project continued until mid-2014. The referendum of 25 May led to the cessation of any construction, and thereby also excavations, on the Tempelhof field.

establishment of such an archaeology in universities. A university basis is desirable for a number of reasons. It ensures that excavated and documented materials do not remain unexplored in the recesses of out-of-the-way storage areas and that reports and publications on the work move out of the realm of inaccessible gray literature. Specific methods will only be developed to adequately engage with the objects and features and their links to massive archives, oral testimonies, and photographs if archaeology of the contemporary past is established as a field in which students can pursue their studies and write theses and dissertations (see also Orser 2004; Hall and Silliman 2006; Hicks and Beaudry 2006). This, in turn, is essential for the build-up of systematic archaeological methods that enable us to deal with the specific problems of an archaeology of modernity. For example, we encountered in Tempelhof a difficult type of context that we refer to as *Maschinenlandschaften*, that is, landscapes produced with the use of heavy machinery such as steamrollers, bulldozers, and backhoes. Our goal is to produce knowledge about recent periods that can offer a basis for comparative assessments in combination with similar finds from elsewhere. For example, we cannot make a well-informed statement about the building materials and quality of construction of the barracks we have found unless we can arrange to consult the original excavation documentation housed in the respective cultural heritage offices of each German state. At present, we find ourselves at a loss when we wish to consider the interpretation of our finds *in relation* to those of similar archaeological discoveries.

In addition to establishing the importance of an archaeological perspective in the face of overwhelming amounts of written documentation, an important element of any research on the recent past in Germany is the connection to a well-developed and often self-consciously promoted *Erinnerungspolitik*, or memory politics (Benz and Distel 1994; Welzer et al. 2002; Leggewie and Lang 2011; Tillmanns 2012). To a large extent a product of the coming-of-age of the post-WWII generation in the late 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s, German society and politics today remain heavily engaged in efforts to deal with the legacy of National Socialism and the silencing of Nazi times for the two decades following WWII. *Vergangenheitsbewältigung* (coming to terms with the past) can be encountered on an everyday basis: in discussions about city planning and memorialization (Ladd 1997); in museum exhibits, school programs, and plaques on houses (Jordan 2006); in the naming of streets, the placement of *Stolpersteine* ("stumbling stones"; Schrader 2006), and the heated debates over how to deal with neo-Nazis, ultra-right wing political parties, and a vigorous *Antifa* (antifascist) movement classified as "extremist" by many politicians. Historical responsibility is understood by some people to include a duty to warn against Germany's power in the world and as a staunchly anti-national and anti-nationalist stance. Others argue that enough time has passed to allow Germans to return to "normality" rather than constantly confronting a highly problematic heritage in ways that keep wounds open (Rohloff 1999; Logan and Reeves 2009; for a non-conciliatory account that takes the side of a victim of the Nazis see Améry 1966). In such a general climate, planning decisions cannot be taken lightly, with quite sophisticated discussions emerging from citizens' groups as well as official institutions concerning the ramifications of construction, demolition of buildings with specific significance for victims or perpetrators, representation, and so on. In the complex web of interests

Fig. 8.2 Remains of the *Splitterschutzgraben* (covered trench) which workers living in the Lufthansa forced labor camp would have used during air raids. The portion depicted here includes a section that was destroyed by a bomb (Photo: Excavation 1873, Tempelhof Airfield, Photographer Edward Collins/Jan Trenner, Archive Landesdenkmalamt Berlin)

and concerns that arise from a close engagement with *Erinnerungspolitik*, an archaeological project has a sensitive role to play.

Excavations are *Sichtbarmachungen*—they bring things to light that are incontrovertibly there. For example, remains of the basement of the *Reichssicherheitshauptamt* where the Gestapo and SS tortured prisoners cannot be as easily ignored as a historical text that gives an account of these brutalities (Jordan 2006:47–52). On the other hand, archaeological materials are never unequivocal but often, if not always, lend themselves to a variety of interpretations. For instance, *Splitterschutzgräben* (covered trenches in which to take shelter during air raids) in a forced labor camp such as the one we are excavating are signs of the urgent need to prevent the loss of a substantial labor force that repaired war planes (Fig. 8.2). Most young German men were conscripted to fight on various fronts, and the consequent labor shortage for armament industries, essential for the continuing war of aggression, could only be replenished with forced labor from abroad (see Herbert 1999:153–220). The protective trenches could, however, also lend themselves to an unfortunate misreading of the situation to mean that there was real concern by Lufthansa and other companies for the lives of these workers. Written documents leave no doubt, however, that Lufthansa followed the principle articulated by the head of all work forces, Fritz Sauckel: “Alle diese Menschen müssen so ernährt, untergebracht und behandelt

werden, dass sie bei denkbar sparsamstem Einsatz die größtmögliche Leistung hervorbringen"[3] (cited in Sprink 2003:76).

Archaeology has also the power to provide Germany, and to a somewhat lesser extent Europe as a whole, with an identity very different from the one many people would wish it to have. The German collectivity is unavoidably constructed on a Nazi past that includes the spreading of murder, torture, and violence across all of Europe as well as parts of Asia and North Africa. Archaeology has the potential to reveal a dense network of memory sites that speak to these events, thereby preventing unjustified pride in a collective past that includes this legacy (for accounts of the (ab-)use of memory, see Kunstreich 1999; Leggewie and Lang 2011).

Turning more specifically to our work on the ground at Tempelhof, there are four main elements of the recent past of the airport grounds that we are investigating: (1) a forced labor camp run by Lufthansa and situated near the early airport building that was constructed in the 1920s, (2) the old airport building itself, which served civilian airlines and became a major hub for the *Luftwaffe* (German air force) after the start of WWII, (3) a forced labor camp belonging to Weser Flug GmbH and located on the northern edge of the airport along Columbiadamm (Wenz 2002), and (4) the Columbiahaus, Gestapo prison and later concentration camp.[4]

In 2012, our work focused on the first two of these, and particularly on the Lufthansa forced labor camp whose workers served the so-called *Kontrollwerkstatt* where war planes underwent maintenance. The Weser Flug barracks housed forced laborers who were involved in the building of the "Stukas," while the Columbia-Haus was not just an early concentration camp used to repress political dissidents; it was also a training ground for commanders who "could be sure to have a career in the perverted world of concentration camps" once they had occupied the commander's post at Columbia-Haus (Tuchel 2007:77). These SS officers, including Karl Otto Koch and Richard Baer, later ran some of the most infamous concentration camps, including Buchenwald, Sachsenhausen, and Lublin-Majdanek (Tuchel 2007). The old airport was a showplace for the wealthy and adventure-seekers in the 1920s but also the site from which families of members of the SS and the *Wehrmacht* (armed forces) were able to leave Berlin to visit their relatives at the eastern front during the war.

Our interests in the four areas listed above have to do first and foremost with exposing and investigating a prominent element of the airport's multi-layered history, its Nazi past. We do this precisely because this historical segment plays little role in most people's conception of the place. More specifically, we hope to find sufficiently well-preserved remains to allow us to examine the daily life (*Alltag*) of the laborers and prisoners who were forced to toil for the armaments and

[3] "All of these people have to be fed, lodged, and treated so that they produce maximal output with the most thrifty means."

[4] It should be noted here that the area was examined using remote sensing by T. Schenk from the *Hochschule für Technik und Wirtschaft* in Berlin to investigate whether any remains of the KZ Columbiahaus are left underground. The results were negative. However, the reinforced concrete of the Nazi airport building and the car traffic on Columbiadamm posed serious interference. In the end, only archaeological soundings can determine whether structural remains of the concentration camp survive.

aviation industries at the airfield during Nazi times. Current sources allow the reconstruction of many historical aspects of that past, but quotidian life is not among them. Administrative documents of the perpetrators, which exist in huge numbers, provide an official version of the events and the structures of exploitation and murder. The US Clinton administration forced the German industry to pay reparations to former forced laborers (Niethammer 2007). In the process, historians have been drawn into interviewing these victims, and several of these documents as well as letters provide insights into the perspective of the victims (Pagenstecher et al. 2008). However, memory, especially when returning to traumatic events, is not necessarily concerned with a difficult but nevertheless somewhat routinized life in the barracks of forced labor camps, but rather with the painful re-living of dangerous, violent, and horrifying events (Langer 1995; Caruth 2000). Photographs, of which there are only very few, also do not offer much help in the search for the daily drudgery and hunger, freezing cold, and dirt that were part of life in conditions of war and enforced labor.

Overall, the sources at our disposal have relatively little to offer in the way of evidence about how those forced to work for Weser Flug, Lufthansa, or other industries present at the airport in the WWII-years coped with the struggles of everyday life, from eating to personal hygiene to connections to families and communities back home. It is in this realm that archaeology has a potential contribution to make to a history of forced labor in Nazi Germany and to questions of the adequacy of the restitution for those laborers who are still alive, as well as for their family members.

Getting such a project started is far from simple, particularly in a context in which university-based archaeologists rarely engage in the excavation of twentieth century remains, not to mention in a system of higher education in which archaeologists are separated into distinct departments based on the geographic areas where they work. Both of us, for example, are currently members of an institute of Near Eastern archaeology, prompting more than one amused question about why we would wish to excavate in Berlin.

Our first serious engagement with the Nazi past of Tempelhof came about through a chance contact to a citizens group, the "Förderverein für ein Gedenken an die Naziverbrechen auf dem Tempelhofer Flugfeld e.V."[5] The group has tried to raise awareness of the Nazi history of the airfield and argue for the construction of a *Gedenkstätte* (memorial) to remind visitors of Nazi abuses on the grounds. Through this small group of energetic residents, we made contact with the *Landesdenkmalamt*, the historical preservation office for Berlin. Some key individuals were immediately interested in the project. For one thing, building plans (at the time linked to an upcoming International Garden Show) necessitated archaeological prospections to determine what remains were left below the ground.[6] Secondly, a spectacular archaeological find from the Nazi period in the middle of Berlin had awakened considerable public excitement and interest in an archaeology of modernity. The so-called "Skulpturenfund"

[5] http://www.thf33-45.de/

[6] These plans were abandoned in the summer of 2012.

had been uncovered in 2010 in the course of excavations in the context of constructing a subway line in the center of the city. The find, in the bombed remains of a multi-storey house, turned out to consist of 16 Expressionist sculptures from the Nazi exhibit of so-called "degenerate art" (*Entartete Kunst*) that were thought to have vanished in WWII (Wemhoff 2011).

In this context we proposed to the *Landesdenkmalamt* that we, as representatives of the Freie Universität Berlin, would undertake excavations that would be conducted with specific research goals in mind, while at the same time fulfilling the regulations of the *Landesdenkmalamt* that cover any excavations that take place within the city. One of the surprising outcomes, to us at least, of these and other discussions was the overwhelmingly positive responses we received to our proposed project. In marked contrast to the situation in the 1980s, when citizens initiated excavations at the Prinz-Albrecht-Strasse at the spot of the SS and Gestapo headquarters (the *Topography of Terror* area; Frank 1988), an acceptance of the need to, if not desirability of, publicly exposing the crimes and atrocities of the Nazi past seems to have become a part of the dominant ideology in the realm of *Erinnerungspolitik*.

This is not to say that all parties to the agreement that allowed us to proceed with the project were equally enthusiastic about the work. Money continues to play a role: would our work take too long and therefore incur substantial costs (real or imagined, in terms of projected gains that might not be realized)?[7] Would it be seen in a negative light by visitors to the park, resulting in complaints and declining revenues? After several months of intense discussion and negotiation, a formal agreement was signed among five parties, just a few days prior to the beginning of work in early July 2012.

First Results

As already indicated, we are still[8] at the beginning of the project. Nonetheless, there are several areas in which results already highlight some of the sensitivities with which such a project is confronted. We discuss a few of these themes here.

Our excavation areas were laid out with reference to existing air photos that allowed us to locate the outlines of the barracks of the Lufthansa forced labor camp constructed near the former Lilienthalstrasse, not far from the 1920s airport building. Although the buildings are not as well preserved as we had hoped—for example, we have not encountered any intact floors—we have nonetheless made some provocative and unsuspected discoveries. For one, the barracks foundations show a particularly shabby construction, saving concrete by inserting fragments of broken concrete pieces from other buildings, despite the fact that existing documents

[7] Logistics are complex: the soil is contaminated with ammunition and ordnance from WWII, necessitating the constant presence of a specialist who checks whether the objects found pose any dangers.

[8] At the time of writing in summer 2012.

Fig. 8.3 Excavations of the concrete foundations of the western end of one of the barracks that housed forced laborers working for Lufthansa (Photo: Excavation 1873, Tempelhof Airfield, Photographer Edward Collins/Jan Trenner, Archive Landesdenkmalamt Berlin)

indicate that concrete was requisitioned by Speer's Ministry of Armament for the purpose (Fig. 8.3). We know from written sources that the walls of the barracks were constructed of wood by the forced laborers themselves. Although no remains of the superstructure are preserved, the numerous nails recovered with a length of 7 cm suggest very thin wooden walls in years when winters were particularly severe. Indications for small ovens, so-called *Kochmaschinen,* as well as the remains of a toilet area with washing rooms and hot and cold water pipes were discovered. The end of one barrack also seems to have had electricity on the outside. These finds should not be conceived of as indications of luxury; the light was likely for surveillance. A warm water supply was necessary when one recalls that the people living in these barracks worked on airplanes and had to deal with the oils, greases, and chemically aggressive cleaning materials used in their maintenance. Furthermore, hygiene was of extraordinary concern to German officials, as many forced laborers developed contagious diseases ranging from tuberculosis to typhus and diphtheria

Fig. 8.4 A small piece of wire reinforced glass from a door or window, warped by extreme heat from a bomb (Photo: Excavations 1873, Tempelhof Airfield, Photographer Jessica Meyer, Archive Landesdenkmalamt Berlin)

(Bräutigam 2003a:43–44). Preventing the spread of such diseases, which brought with them the consequence of lowered productivity, was a major motivation behind the efforts to provide adequate toilet facilities.

The scarcity of mobile finds, especially possessions of forced laborers points to a larger issue, in addition to the obvious implications for those who lived in these barracks (Fig. 8.4). This is what one of us (Bernbeck 2005:113) has called "political taphonomy": independent of time and place, people who are marginalized in life are often represented by only ephemeral traces in the material record, in notable distinction to the more powerful whose archaeological footprints are often gigantic in comparison. In the case of the forced labor camp, we have a particularly extreme example of this situation.

An unexpected facet of the airport's history came to light in our first excavation area. The remains of graves from the former Neuer Garnisonfriedhof (today Friedhof Columbiadamm) appeared. These graves once held military "heroes" and their families from the time of the German Kaisers of the late nineteenth century up to and including World War I. Many of the burials had been relocated in 1937 to a cemetery across the road, as part of the plan to turn the airport into a *Luftstadion*, an amphitheater-like form, for the military aviation shows planned by Hitler even before there was any sizeable air force (Dittrich 2008:15). The bodies and grave markers had been removed, as we expected, but the outlines of the grave pits—and in some cases of the second pit that had been dug in order to disinter the bodies—were visible in neatly ordered rows. We discovered that although the bodies were exhumed and reburied, the action was not characterized by "German thoroughness"; substantial remains of

coffins were present in almost all of the grave pits excavated, along with occasional disarticulated human bones.

Once again, however, the archaeological evidence reveals more than just physical traces, in this case of the old cemetery and the removal of the portion that did not fit into the Nazi planning for the airport. It also shows the macabre irony of a place where the empty graves of German military "heroes" lay directly beneath a forced labor camp that was built on the spot only 5 years after their removal. As numerous examples show, the direct superposition of monuments and other material remains as well as the events that form part of them often have highly emotional consequences (Bernbeck and Pollock 1996, 2004). To add one more layer to the picture: most of the barracks in the Lufthansa camp were gone by the end of the war just a few years later, as can be seen in air photos from the spring of 1945. After a very brief interval under Soviet forces, who occupied the airport on 27 April 1945, the airfield was taken over by the American military in July 1945—another case of "heroes," first in the form of conquerors and soon thereafter, at the time of the Berlin airlift, as those who rescued Berliners from the threat of communism. One could perhaps speak of the ambivalence of a place, but more importantly such a multi-layered history allows for no single "original meaning."

The American presence at the airport is also one that is well represented in the archaeological remains we have so far recovered. In one area of the former forced labor camp, large quantities of rubbish have yielded numerous articles of American manufacture that are connected to masculine hygiene and bodily care and thereby to a particular construction of masculinity (Whitton 2010) (Fig. 8.5). The objects range from empty tubes of shaving cream and bottles of hair tonic to toothpaste and, particularly frequent, military-issued prophylactic ointment against venereal disease. Here we see the normally invisible background to the public face of the American male soldier as hero as well as the fear of the consequences of sexual relations with German women. In US war propaganda, they were depicted as a major danger, cunningly put in place by the enemy (http://www.atlantic-times.com/archive_detail.php?recordID=363; cf. Biddiscombe 2001).

Concluding Thoughts: Ethical Dimensions of an Archaeology of Conflict

The recognition of a multi-layered history of the Tempelhof grounds is a double-edged sword. On the one hand, by uncovering and presenting the Nazi history of the site, one is reminded of that which came in the middle, between the "good times" before and after. But a kind of *longue durée* approach, in which each slice of time is treated equally serves to underplay the importance of any single one, and in this case to minimize the horrors of the Nazi system of exploitation, torture, and death. Decisions about a specific focus or defocus, and also about an "equal" treatment of all times and epochs are always ideological and political—and in this case, we are unapologetically concerned with training the spotlight on the period from 1933 to

Fig. 8.5 A stratified pit filled with rubbish, in the southern area of Lufthansa's forced labor camp. The lower layer contains material from the time of the forced labor camp. Separated by a thin layer of clay is an upper fill directly under the humus that consists primarily of rubbish from the time of the American military occupation of the airport (Photo: Excavation 1873, Tempelhof Airfield, Photographer Edward Collins/Jan Trenner, Archive Landesdenkmalamt Berlin)

1945. Walter Benjamin's elaborations on *Eingedenken* (1992:154–155), a way to move away from linear time and its forgetfulness about the immeasurable duration of suffering, is at the core of moves that expose small sections of time.

In a related fashion, our project falls squarely within disputes over comparative approaches to historical epochs that are marked by violence and conflict. Tempelhof could be seen as a symbol for the discourse on totalitarianism à la Hannah Arendt (1951) that places the Nazi dictatorship on the same plane as that of communism. In the planning of the project, we heard more than once a reference to the "two German dictatorships." Comparisons may be an integral part of scientific and intellectual work, serving to establish a grid upon which to give an account of the past. But they also have a political and an ethical dimension. On April 4, 2009, the European parliament passed the motion on "European Conscience and Totalitarianism" which installed September 23—the day of the Molotov-Ribbentrop pact—as a "Europe-wide Remembrance Day for the victims of all totalitarian and authoritarian regimes, to be commemorated with dignity and impartiality."[9] This move, effectively making an equation of the Nazi regime and communism the official policy of the European Union, has had deep consequences for German memory politics. Germans are thereby relieved of the burden of *negative exceptionalism*. According to this doctrine,

[9] http://www.europarl.europa.eu/sides/getDoc.do?type=MOTION&reference=P6-RC-2009-0165&language=EN

having supported the Nazi regime and by that being responsible for the Holocaust is no longer something unique.

For us, such a stance, which was already at the core of the 1980s *Historikerstreit* that was provoked by the revisionist historian Ernst Nolte, is entirely untenable (for a documentation of the *Historikerstreit* see Piper 1987). Putting the Holocaust and Nazi war crimes on a par with Stalin's murderous regime has led to a relativization of the unimaginable Nazi atrocities. In the shorthand public understanding of the past, the result is the effective equation of a regime that was at the root of millions of unspeakable atrocities and industrialized killings, with another, the East German "real socialism" whose authoritarian and often violent governmentality is not in dispute. Nor is the terror of Stalin's regime, which was the object of Arendt's initial theory of "totalitarianism" but which also is an historically specific case that must be understood in its own terms.

By itself, the concept of a comparability of extreme historical regimes undermines a necessary sense of responsibility for the past. Günter Morsch (2010:119–121) rightly admonishes historians and those working in the field of historic preservation to recall that they are responsible for the *protection of the dignity of past victims*. Instead of leveling the terrible fate of millions of victims by parliamentary decree, as the European Union did, it is the task of historians, archaeologists, and all those working in related fields to preserve the *specificity of memories* of past injustices. This certainly pertains for the Nazi past, and the most important goal of our project is a contribution to such memory work. A generalized European "culture of memory" dilutes the necessarily painful memories for communities whose members derive from perpetrators and victims of past murderous regimes, massacres and violence. Those particular diachronic relations are anchored in social groups today and are also tied to specific places.

A generalized archaeology of internment (Myers and Moshenska 2011) or a comparative history of *Lager* (Agamben 1998) run the risk of neglecting the importance of positionality of both historical processes and research on them (Editorial Collective FKA 2012:184–186). Comparisons must not be allowed to work as broad-brush pictures that obscure both factual and ethical differences that make each case unique and that thereby distract from historical responsibility. Only by making sweeping, and we would argue unjustified, generalizations can one end up with the label "Tempelhofer Freiheit."

Acknowledgments The archaeological excavation at Tempelhof is funded by the Berlin Senate and carried out in cooperation with the *Landesdenkmalamt* Berlin. We are grateful to Karin Wagner, head of the Department of Garden Monuments and Archaeology of the *Landesdenkmalamt*, Manfred Kühne, head of the Department of Urban Planning and Projects of the Berlin *Senatsverwaltung für Stadtentwicklung und Umwelt*, and the Freie Universität Berlin for their continuing support of the project. We thank Edward Collins, Beatrix Nordheim, Maria Theresia Starzmann, and Jan Trenner for their hard work and commitment to the project. We would also like to acknowledge the many others, including Matthias Heisig, Kornelia Kasperkiewicz, Jessica Meyer, Nilufar Reichel, Beate Winzer, and all the students whose engagement with the project became crucial for its realization. Finally we thank Alfredo González-Ruibal and Gabriel Moshenska for the invitation to contribute to this book and their patience as we juggled our overfilled schedules.

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Chapter 9
Archaeology, National Socialism and Rehabilitation: The Case of Herbert Jankuhn (1905–1990)

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The "synergy which developed between German archaeology and the Hitler regime" (Halle and Schmidt 2001:269) was profoundly disturbing. Through their scientific work and other activities German archaeologists lent intellectual, theoretical and sometimes practical support to National Socialist racist policies and expansionist ambitions. Although their complicity may seem negligible in view of the enormity of the crimes committed between 1933 and 1945, it also raises fundamental questions about individual scientific responsibility in authoritarian regimes.

This chapter explores the career of Herbert Jankuhn, one of the most prominent German archaeologists of the twentieth century. It describes his membership of National Socialist organisations and illustrates the process leading to his rehabilitation in the post-war period. By focusing on an individual, the analysis transcends generalised references to an "involvement with National Socialism". Instead it provides a detailed and vivid image of a scientist's activities and behaviour, thus facilitating an adequate evaluation of his personal and professional rehabilitation.

It emerges that, ultimately, active membership in National Socialist organisations or the formulation of ideologically expedient interpretations often had little to no bearing on post-war careers. Although the Denazification process had been specifically instituted to do away with Nazi ideas and personnel, Herbert Jankuhn's particularly prominent case shows that the process frequently led to speedy rehabilitation, rather than to a candid assessment of an individual's actions and behaviour during the 1930s and 1940s. Practical considerations, such as the desperate need for exceptional intelligence and skills to rebuild post-war society, superseded ethical ones.

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A. González-Ruibal, G. Moshenska (eds.), *Ethics and the Archaeology of Violence*, Ethical Archaeologies: The Politics of Social Justice 2,
DOI 10.1007/978-1-4939-1643-6_9

"National Socialist Archaeology": Ideology, Politics and Organisational Polyvalence

Archaeology and prehistory in particular proved useful vehicles for a number of ideological messages communicated by the National Socialist regime to the German public. Central notions were the exceptional sophistication of Germanic/German cultural expressions and the historical and political continuity from prehistoric Germanic to contemporary German times. The practical politico-ideological implications are obvious. With characteristic callousness, the belief in a distinctively Germanic cultural and political resourcefulness provided the rationale for a supposed German civilising mission, which took the form of the brutal subjugation of other European peoples and nations. Real or alleged evidence of unbroken cultural influences, early military campaigns or continuous settlement were used to justify the regime's policy of aggressive territorial expansion and mass murder (Arnold 1990; Haßmann 2002; Kroll 1998:44–48; Veit 2002; Wiwjorra 1996).

The ruling authorities acknowledged this propagandistic value and rewarded the (relatively young) discipline with unprecedented institutional and financial support. In the early years of Nazi rule several new prehistory chairs were created at German universities, student numbers soared, doctoral dissertations multiplied, and degree and course options broadened. At the same time, funding for prehistoric excavations became widely available, new research institutes sprang up, and museums were established (Arnold 1990:468; Haßmann 2002:89–90; Pape 2002:170–175). In return for this sponsorship, pre- and protohistorians joined the National Socialist party and its affiliate organisations in droves both before and during the National Socialist *Machtergreifung* (Pape 2002:186–189).

The organisational and institutional structures of German pre- and protohistory in the National Socialist state were markedly polyvalent. Cultural policy in general and archaeological research in particular were dominated by two cultural-political institutions, which were engaged in a bitter power struggle throughout the 1930s and 1940s. The *Amt Rosenberg* (Office Rosenberg), established in January 1934 as an agency of the National Socialist party, and the *Ahnenerbe* (literally: ancestral heritage), set up by the head of the *Schutzstaffel* (SS) Heinrich Himmler in July 1935, represented the Nazi regime's official vehicles for the direction, manipulation and exploitation of pre- and protohistoric research (Bollmus 1970; Kater 1974).

The two organisations competed both at home and abroad. Although plans for the establishment of a centralised German institute for prehistory, pursued by Hans Reinerth, the *Amt Rosenberg's* notorious chief of prehistory, ultimately flopped, Reinerth and Rosenberg succeeded in alienating a large proportion of the archaeological community, and in splitting German pre- and protohistorians into two distinct camps (Bollmus 1970:162–178; Bollmus 2002; Schöbel 2002). In addition, both Rosenberg and Himmler held wide-ranging powers in the occupied territories and aggressively asserted them over cultural-political matters. On a number of occasions

their respective task forces clashed over the investigation, collection and removal of prehistoric and ethnographic material abroad (Heuss 2000; Kater 1974).

The politicisation and exploitation of pre- and protohistory during the National Socialist period thus did not follow a consistent pattern. On the contrary, archaeological institutions and personnel were fragmented and often antagonistic. However, such a composite system enabled individual scientists to exert considerable influence in their field, as will be seen below.

Science and Service in the National Socialist State: the Pre- and Protohistorian Herbert Jankuhn (1905–1990)

Herbert Jankuhn (1905–1990) is widely considered as one of the most influential German archaeologists of the twentieth century. Born in East Prussia in 1905, Jankuhn attended the universities of Königsberg, Jena and Berlin, studying prehistory, German language and literature, history, philosophy and sports. He received his doctoral degree from the Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität (today's Humboldt-Universität) in Berlin in 1932. The initial stages of his exceptionally successful career were intertwined with the emergence and consolidation of the National Socialist political system.

From the early 1930s Jankuhn became associated with a number of National Socialist organisations, including the *Sturmabteilung* (SA), the Nazi party's paramilitary "storm troopers" and the National Socialist league of university lecturers (Pape 2001:68). He joined the National Socialist German Workers' Party (NSDAP) in May 1937, following a 4-year freeze on new memberships imposed in response to the party's inability to cope with the colossal quantity of membership applications received in the months following Hitler's seizure of power.

In June 1938 Jankuhn joined the SS, the most powerful military and security organisations in National Socialist Germany. He was appointed to the controversial research foundation *SS-Ahnenerbe* and soon placed at the head of its archaeological unit. Jankuhn, now in his mid-30s, had acquired considerable bureaucratic clout within the National Socialist hierarchy and effectively become one of the most powerful pre- and protohistorians in Germany. He remained an active and integral member of the SS until the end of the war.

In parallel to his increasing involvement with National Socialist organisations during the 1930s, Jankuhn acquired a reputation as a skilled archaeologist. In 1935 he completed his habilitation on "Viking Age defensive structures between the Schlei and Treene" at the Christian-Albrechts-Universität in Kiel, and was subsequently granted a teaching position at that university. In May 1938 and at the age of only 33, he assumed the directorship of the Museum of National Antiquities in Kiel. It was in this context that he was entrusted with the excavation of the early medieval trading centre and settlement Haithabu in close proximity to modern-day Schleswig in Schleswig-Holstein. The study of Haithabu was to become a focal point of Jankuhn's scientific career.

Jankuhn escaped nearly unscathed the process of Denazification set in motion by the Allied powers after Germany's unconditional surrender, and re-entered the archaeological scene in 1949, holding major academic appointments at the universities of Hamburg, Kiel and Göttingen until the 1980s. He died in 1990 (Steuer 2001, 2004).

Brittany's Megaliths and the Bayeux Tapestry: Jankuhn's Activities on the Western Front

The following sections explore Herbert Jankuhn's activities in the SS, using as examples expeditions to France, Ukraine and the Caucasus. The aim is to demonstrate his involvement in the activities of the SS-*Ahnenerbe*, illustrate the politico-ideological implications of his assignments and describe his involvement in the power struggle between the *Ahnenerbe* and the *Amt Rosenberg*.

Following the German invasion of France in the spring and early summer of 1940, preparations for the investigation of French cultural heritage were swiftly set in motion both by the *Amt Rosenberg* and by the *Ahnenerbe*. In October 1940 Jankuhn travelled to Brittany to prepare for a "thorough recording and documentation of [the region's] megalithic monuments" (Jankuhn 1941). Upon learning at the local headquarters that a scientist from the *Amt Rosenberg* had already visited Carnac and undertaken exploratory excavations, produced sketches and taken measurements of the stone alignments of Ménec and Kermario over the past fortnight, Jankuhn—frustrated—reported to his boss, secretary general of the *Ahnenerbe* Wolfram Sievers:

> This affects our plan considerably… I don't know whether [the scientist from the Amt Rosenberg] plans to examine these issues or whether he has more far-reaching objectives. In any case, [his] presence guarantees half-baked work… Reinerth [the head of the Amt Rosenberg's prehistory section] will tackle and fail to unravel weighty problems under propitious circumstances but with inadequate means, thereby ensuring that fruitful activities are made impossible for years to come (Jankuhn 1940a).

In response to this development, *Reichsführer-SS* Heinrich Himmler called off the *Ahnenerbe*-mission (Jankuhn 1941). However, having been entrusted with another highly sensitive task, Jankuhn's month-long stay in Brittany proved far from futile. In the hope of further destabilising France, a number of Nazi authorities—among them the SS—had devised plans to exploit separatist tendencies among the native Breton population (Heuss 2000:218; Legendre et al. 2007). In this context Jankuhn had been given orders to gauge political views and tendencies among the rural population. His findings were subsequently compiled in a classified report and passed on to the *Reichssicherheitshauptamt*, a German intelligence service (Jankuhn 1940b, 1941).

Following the *Ahnenerbe*'*s* failed attempt to take control of the archaeological investigation of Brittany's megaliths, the organisation found an alternative research focus in occupied France: the famed Bayeux Tapestry, which depicts the Norman conquest of England. Jankuhn was put in charge of an exploratory mission scheduled

for May 1941 and received a dispensation from military service for the purpose (Sievers 1941a, 1941b, 1941c).

Jankuhn clearly recognised the politico-ideological potential of the Bayeux Tapestry. Although he acknowledged that the artwork could not be taken as objective historical evidence, he held that it nevertheless illustrated "the Norman conception of the state" and "the most important event in England's medieval history from the perspective of the victor". To his mind the embroidery represented a "documentary rationalisation" of the Norman—and thus Germanic—claim to England, and expressed William's "desire to justify as great an undertaking as the invasion of England in 1066 as an indispensable measure and a political necessity". Jankuhn also eulogised the state-forming capacities of the Norman/Germanic invaders: far from being mere raiders and looters, the Normans had, in "countless expeditions" to western European coastal areas, conceived and exported a new form of political organisation, which was characterised by a centralised government, an independent officialdom, a permanent army and the "subordination of science, art and religion to a worldly power". In Jankuhn's word, a "rather insignificant island on the periphery of Old Europe owed its cultural development almost exclusively to settlers emanating from the continent" (Jankuhn n.d.a).

Jankuhn's reading of William's operation in the eleventh century is patently ideological. By emphasising the state-forming capacities of the Norman invaders and the import of a new political system, his interpretations justified Nazi Germany's plans for an invasion and occupation of Britain on the grounds of historical precedent. The rationalisation of early Germanic—and, by implication, contemporary German—colonial activities due to a presumed political and cultural mission features prominently and widely in Jankuhn's scientific writings in the 1930s and 1940s. Moreover, his description of the new Viking form of political organisation, which consisted of a strong centralised government and prescribed the "subordination of science, art and religion to a worldly power", evoked the authoritarian political system of Nazi Germany.

The Breton and Norman episodes bear out that Jankuhn's involvement with the *Ahnenerbe* was far from "purely scientific". The interference of the *Amt Rosenberg* is only one in a series of similar clashes, and exemplifies the institutional antagonism which characterised archaeological policy and research and in which Jankuhn played an active part. His intelligence work in Brittany represented a clear contribution to Nazi Germany's political and military aims. Furthermore, Jankuhn provided a highly politicised and ideology-laden interpretation of the Bayeux Tapestry on whose basis the modern-day policy of territorial expansion could be justified.

"Safeguarding" Prehistory in Times of War: Jankuhn's Activities on the Southeastern Front

The first discussions concerning a possible *Ahnenerbe*-mission to south Russia and the Caucasus date to 1941, and occurred largely on Jankuhn's own initiative. An exploratory mission, which included Jankuhn and was expressly backed by

Himmler, was carried out in the early months of 1942. Upon his return, Jankuhn filed a report urging the deployment of a more substantial mission in response to which Himmler authorised the formation of a small task force, the *Sonderkommando Jankuhn*, to investigate south Russia's archaeological heritage (Jankuhn 1942). Following Jankuhn's enlistment with the *Waffen-SS*, the combat arm of the SS, and his admission into Himmler's personal staff, the *Sonderkommando* was deployed in July 1942 "to take measures for the protection of important sites and valuable collections" on the south Russian front (Sievers 1942).

The *Sonderkommando Jankuhn* travelled extensively throughout the Ukraine, south Russia and the Caucasus, and visited regional museums containing archaeological, historical and ethnographic material. The team established the degree of damage inflicted on collections through combat action, marauding troops and the civilian population, and gauged the risk to which they remained exposed. If collections were considered at risk, they were moved to a new location and recorded photographically. The most important pieces were wrapped up and shipped to Germany.

The activities of the *Sonderkommando Jankuhn* were never conceived of in purely scientific terms. The investigation of the area's cultural heritage was justified on an historical basis. According to Jankuhn, the region had witnessed several incoming population waves from the late Stone Age to the early medieval period, which had culminated in the foundation of a Russian Gothic empire by northern Germanic Vikings. The latter had supposedly also left a racial imprint on the Russian population. He argued that, due to a lack of written sources, only the archaeological record could illuminate these migrations. A thorough investigation of the southeastern material was crucial to complement the existing historical picture, particularly since Tsarist and Bolshevist analyses had purposely neglected evidence for an early Germanic presence in the region (Jankuhn n.d.b).

The *Sonderkommando Jankuhn's* main objective was thus to substantiate a continued Germanic colonial presence in Russian and Ukrainian territories through human settlement, the remnants of material culture or racial elements. These renderings of local pre- and protohistory are disconcerting, since they provided an intellectual basis for the Nazi's planned extension of so-called *Lebensraum* through the "Germanisation" of large swathes of eastern Europe. The *Generalplan Ost*, devised in the early 1940s to be applied to a region stretching from Estonia to the Black Sea, foresaw the re-settlement of millions of ethnic Germans and the enslavement, deportation and extermination of large proportions of the non-German population (Benz 1985; Burleigh 1988).

By packing and despatching archaeological and other cultural material to Germany, the *Sonderkommando Jankuhn* also participated in the art and heritage plunder perpetrated by the National Socialists on a massive scale (Chamberlin 1983:9; Heuss 2000). By the time of the Second World War, international legislation had been put in place, and art seizures were classified as "war crimes" during the Nuremberg trials (Merryman 2006:7–8). As a driving force in the planning and execution of the *Sonderkommando*, Jankuhn thus played a decisive role in a fundamentally unlawful operation.

The *Sonderkommando's* mission was accompanied by the same institutional infighting that had characterised Jankuhn's expeditions to occupied France. He considered his room for manoeuvre as seriously constrained by the activities of other organisations, harshly criticised the "safeguarding" measures taken by other authorities, and appealed to his superiors to wrest the investigatory authority over particularly significant archaeological remains from his competitors (Jankuhn n.d.b). Archaeological remains became pawns in a rampant institutional power struggle.

The highly ideological mission of the *Sonderkommando Jankuhn*, the appropriation of cultural heritage in the occupied territories, and the confrontations with competing German authorities reveal an intricate entanglement of politics and science. Jankuhn was firmly positioned in the National Socialist organisational hierarchy, he carried out the highly questionable assignments expected of him, and actively shaped the ideological constructs that were used to justify some of the system's most brutal policy aims.

Denazification as Rehabilitation

Jankuhn's activities in the SS took on a more purely military character as the war progressed. According to his Denazification questionnaire, he became increasingly involved in intelligence activities on the front, which also reflected the declining fortunes of the German army (Jankuhn n.d.c). After the German capitulation on 8 May 1945, he was held in an Allied internment camp. Following his release in 1948, his Denazification tribunal was formally set in motion. His case was based on a self-completed questionnaire and a number of character references written by fellow academics, colleagues and students, which, unsurprisingly, were cast in a manner that would maximise his chances of acquittal.

The references—nicknamed *Persilscheine* in German, in reference to their purpose of *clearing* the accused of charges of National Socialist involvement—exemplify the lack of rigour with which the Denazification process was carried out. In addition to praising his personal character, the referees commented on Jankuhn's political stance. Their shared conclusion was that he could not be characterised as a convinced National Socialist. He was seen as free from "political inclination"; his affiliation with National Socialist institutions had been merely "nominal" (Zylmann 1947). In the words of Pieter Felix, a Dutch academic and colleague, Jankuhn had in private conversations distanced himself from the regime's brutal methods and voiced a desire for a continued exchange with other European countries, notably England (Felix 1947).

His referees also attested to Jankuhn's outstanding scientific integrity. He was an "excellent researcher and outstanding organiser" who had attempted to "steer his science and himself through these difficult situations as irreproachably as possible" (Gripp 1948). Further accolades included Jankuhn's "outstanding capabilities", "eminent scientific weight", "sober accuracy" and "incorruptible scientific sobriety", all carried by his "scientific idealism" (Felix 1947; Wildhagen 1948; Zylmann 1947).

According to his referees, the National Socialist period had not corrupted his scientific activities.

One of the most incriminating factors in Jankuhn's résumé—his SS-membership—was essentially explained away:

> At that time, the SS annexed scientific institutes and research centres on a large scale in order to secure its authority in historic, prehistoric and ethnographic matters… To ensure a personal influence and to guarantee the institutions' complete entwinement with the SS, the leading scientists within those research centres were automatically signed up with the SS and granted intermediate or higher ranks. Following the seizure of Haithabu at the hands of the SS, Jankuhn was thus automatically accepted into the SS and conferred the rank of Lieutenant (Madsen 1947).

Jankuhn's SS-membership was thus portrayed as a mere formality and something over which he had no control. In other accounts the Amt Rosenberg featured more prominently:

> [The Amt Rosenberg] did not see its main occupation in the promotion of prehistoric research but in the elimination of those scholars who were conducting unbiased research… The protection of the Reichsführer-SS was secured for a small circle of scientifically and personally upright prehistorians. This gave rise to a paradoxical situation: Himmler became the guardian of scientific liberty in opposition to the terroristic endeavours by the people surrounding Rosenberg. This protection could only be effective if the people in question sought asylum directly with the SS. Professor Jankuhn… had to take this path to protect his scientific work and his students from obliteration. Nobody who is familiar with the state of German science could reproach him for taking this step at a point when no German could have gauged the true character of the SS… He has been punished severely enough for this aberration, which was committed for the noblest of reasons (Wildhagen 1948)

In light of the highly ideological and often preposterous research carried out by Ahnenerbe scientists, Himmler's portrayal as a "guardian of scientific liberty" and bulwark against the nefarious influence of the *Amt Rosenberg* is absurd (Kater 1974). However, the notion that the *Amt Rosenberg* was primarily responsible for the manipulation and politicisation of German archaeology has proved surprisingly long-lived (Halle and Schmidt 2001:271–272).

Jankuhn's referees concurred on his presumed reasons for joining the SS: had he not taken sides and enlisted with either the *Amt Rosenberg* or the *SS-Ahnenerbe*, the groundbreaking scientific work at Haithabu may have ceased entirely. Acting like a real scientist, he had taken a personally unwelcome course of action to save his project from politicisation and exploitation. The possibility that he had pursued his personal benefit in the form of professional advancement was never acknowledged.

Jankuhn's self-assessment helped to neutralise his SS-membership and related activities (Jankuhn n.d.c). Its section on "travel or residence abroad" features a striking omission. While he referred to his missions to Brittany and Normandy (albeit without including his intelligence work), no mention was made of his extensive stay in south Russia and the Caucasus from 1942 onwards. In doing so, he withheld vital information from the authorities, since his activities in the *Sonderkommando* represented a defining aspect of his SS-membership. Any evaluation of Jankuhn's involvement that did not take into account the highly politicised nature of his assignment and the unlawful seizure of foreign archaeological material

on the southeastern front was bound to be strongly debatable. Jankuhn's undoubtedly conscious failure to disclose this information is certain to have influenced the outcome of his Denazification case.

The verdict followed the same rationale. Jankuhn's personal character and professional abilities were seen as outstanding, and his enrolment with the *Ahnenerbe* was depicted as an act of professional self-defence and scientific commitment. The Denazification judges concurred that institutional backing from the *Ahnenerbe* had shielded the Haithabu-project from the blatant political and propagandistic pressures exerted by the *Amt Rosenberg*. Rather than furthering his own career, Jankuhn had shouldered his scientific responsibility. His SS-membership had been nominal and his support for the National Socialist system marginal. Jankuhn's most brazen tactic also paid off: his work for the secret service in Brittany and his involvement in the unlawful confiscation of cultural heritage in south Russia did not affect the judges' decision, quite simply because they were unaware of them. In 1949 the Central Denazification Committee classified Jankuhn as a "non-offender", clearing him of all charges (Bunjes et al. 1950a, 1950b).

The Denazification case was ultimately based on inadequate and misleading illustrations of Jankuhn's involvement with the National Socialist system. By providing incomplete to insincere information, Jankuhn and his referees successfully minimised his institutional involvement. As was customary, the *Persilscheine* served to whitewash, rather than candidly assess, the actions and behaviour of the individuals involved. Since Jankuhn's exoneration was based on questionable and partial evidence, his complete professional and societal rehabilitation appears seriously flawed.

Pragmatism or a Second "Faustian Bargain"?

The relationship between German archaeology and the National Socialist regime—the willingness of scholars to turn their science into ideological tools in return for personal professional advancement, research opportunities and institutional support for their discipline—has aptly been described as a "Faustian bargain" (Arnold and Haßmann 1995). As the case of Herbert Jankuhn illustrates, esteemed and competent scientists readily joined such criminal organisations as the SS, committed war crimes in the form of heritage plunder, and contributed to the perpetuation of ideological narratives that underpinned a profoundly inhumane regime. Although the responsibility of archaeologists almost pales into insignificance in view of the magnitude of the crimes committed between 1933 and 1945, the lack of any serious and lasting repercussions for Jankuhn's post-war career is startling.

The nature of the Denazification process itself partly explains this phenomenon. The task of ridding German politics and society of National Socialist ideology and personnel, faced by the newly established Allied military government after 8 May 1945, was daunting. Historians mostly agree that the instituted procedures were neither practicable nor effective. On one hand, Denazification measures exorcised a highly specialised bureaucracy, thereby leading to a virtual paralysis of public

administration. One of Jankuhn's referees hinted at this problem in his *Persilschein*: "The spirit, with which [Jankuhn] pursued his studies during times of the gravest terror, is the same we now desire for the reconstruction of our world" (Wildhagen 1948). In the academy the Denazification authorities mostly condemned or absolved individuals on the basis of institutional rank, which led to the uninterrupted occupation or subsequent re-employment of a large number of former National Socialist activists (Strübel 1986:170–171). Unsurprisingly, their exceptional and specialised skills remained valued and serviceable in a society drained by years of war.

It has been argued that Denazification was never likely to lead to a comprehensive purge of National Socialist currents and personnel. German society had been too intricately connected with and auxiliary to the National Socialist system; a "clear separation of regime, state and people" had become all but impossible (Vollnhals 1995:370). In this sense, the obvious entwinement of politics and science in Herbert Jankuhn's work is characteristic of the period. As a result, Mass Denazification translated into fast and large-scale rehabilitation and the pragmatic admittance of former National Socialists into the Federal Republic's fabric, thus facilitating the establishment of stable political structures, Germany's swift reconstruction and the near-miraculous economic upturn in the post-war period (Vollnhals 1991:63–64).

Nonetheless, the leniency and, arguably, frequent failure of the Denazification process should not only be seen as a result of post-war disorganisation or the pragmatic and understandable response of a society in desperate need of reconstruction and, quite simply, normalcy. As the above analysis demonstrates, Jankuhn's classification as a "non-offender" and his subsequent re-integration into respectable German society in general and academic circles in particular was based on partial and faulty information provided by himself and his referees. Their statements represented—probably deliberate—attempts to downplay and obfuscate his actual involvement in National Socialist institutions and the more dubious aspects of his missions, which resulted in a morally questionable compromise.

The post-war period saw the development of a specific narrative on the role of pre- and protohistorians in the National Socialist system, which drew inspiration from the power struggle between the *SS-Ahnenerbe* and the *Amt Rosenberg*. Historians of archaeology often held that the *Amt Rosenberg* had been primarily responsible for the manipulation and politicisation of archaeology in the Third Reich, while the *Ahnenerbe* had tolerated and even fostered relatively free and neutral research and therefore exerted a certain attraction on pre- and protohistoric scholars (Bollmus 2002:30–32; Haßmann 2002:84–85; Kossack 1999). Jankuhn's own site Haithabu was held up as a project that, despite the organisational and financial involvement of the SS, had remained scientifically sound (Kater 1974:81). Discrepancies in post-war evaluations of Rosenberg's and Himmler's (largely comparable) activities in occupied eastern Europe also point to a patent pro-*Ahnenerbe* bias (Pape 2002:185).

More recently the accuracy of this dominant historical account has been called into question, and suspicions have been voiced that it was contrived by former staff members of the *Ahnenerbe* in order to "transfer blame exclusively onto Hans Reinerth of the *Amt Rosenberg*" (Halle and Schmidt 2001:270–271). Whether or

not former *Ahnenerbe*-staff actively colluded to publicise this narrative, the above analysis shows that more complimentary characterisations of the *Ahnenerbe* and its scientists are partially Fabricated and hence difficult to sustain. Nonetheless, they served to foster and smooth Jankuhn's professional rehabilitation.

Although in practice ethical considerations had little impact on Jankuhn's exoneration and re-admittance into the German academic community, his case study raises the fundamental issues of scientific responsibility and moral conduct in a dictatorship. Jankuhn's involvement in the National Socialist system is demonstrable and undeniable: he was a member of the Nazi party and other political organisations and propped up the dominant ideology through his scientific work. However, situating him on what Arnold (2004:191) has called a "sliding ethical scale" is by no means simple. To what extent can party membership be taken to indicate support for the regime? Are political activism and scientific conformism motivated by genuine conviction or do they serve individual self-interest? And how does one weigh up the risks associated with non-compliance, which may range from professional standstill to societal ostracism and, ultimately, threats to one's own and one's family's lives?

A possible response to this borderline situation is the differentiation between "popular" and "real" science, which is apparent in Jankuhn's work on the early medieval settlement Haithabu. Books and articles on the site published during the National Socialist period range from propagandistic monographs (e.g. Jankuhn 1937a) to dry and value-free reports (e.g. Jankuhn 1937b). As suggested previously, the German archaeological community as a whole also attempted to draw a clear, if mostly artificial, line between the "serious" scientific activities of the *SS-Ahnenerbe* and the politicised and ideologically charged archaeology practised by the *Amt Rosenberg*.

Assessments of an individual's actions ultimately occur in retrospect and are often based on accounts from those who were equally caught up in the events in question and whose objectivity may be doubted. The mutual recriminations and blame game which ensued between different factions of the German archaeological community after 1945 are cases in point. Ethical appraisals of historical actors should thus be treated with great caution. At the very least they necessitate exhaustive studies of individual biographies. On the other hand, ethical considerations remain relevant for today's researchers. In democracies, too, state involvement in science, such as through the targeting of funds for specific disciplines or topics, is a daily reality. In this sense an awareness of the dangers entailed by all-too close links between politics and science may help to preserve academic independence and objectivity.

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Chapter 10
The Ethics of Public Engagement in the Archaeology of Modern Conflict

Gabriel Moshenska

Introduction

As the violent conflicts of the twentieth century begin to fade from living memory there has been a growing interest in the super-abundant material remains that they left behind. Over the past ten years the field of modern conflict archaeology has grown considerably, expanding across the globe and sparking considerable popular and scholarly interest (e.g. Schofield et al. 2002). Given the proximity in time of the events under investigation, as well as their social, political and historical significance, it is unsurprising that episodes of modern conflict archaeology often provoke powerful responses from individuals and communities who feel a connection to these violent pasts. In my fieldwork on Second World War sites in the UK—where the history and memory of the conflict is relatively uncontroversial—I have encountered a wide range of response from excavation visitors and participants, including anger that the work is taking place, excitement at the opportunity to recount stories and sadness at the memories brought to the surface by witnessing the excavation.

Studies of conflict history, memory and heritage have consistently demonstrated that communities that have been affected by violent conflict—whether as participants, victims, eyewitnesses or descendants—build historical narratives to reflect their experiences and perspectives, and that these can, in turn, contribute to the formation of "official" histories and popular perspectives on the past. Archaeological work on conflict sites creates new narratives, which may or may not be congruent with the existing histories, and in many cases these historical disagreements have caused considerable difficulties and antagonism towards the archaeologists, including threats of violence (e.g. Renshaw 2011). Given the inevitability of public interest in archaeological

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A. González-Ruibal, G. Moshenska (eds.), *Ethics and the Archaeology of Violence*, Ethical Archaeologies: The Politics of Social Justice 2,
DOI 10.1007/978-1-4939-1643-6_10

work and the likelihood that it will lead to tensions and disagreements, I believe that it is vital for archaeologists working on sites of violent conflict to build a comprehensive public engagement programme into their research from the outset.

Proactive public engagement can, in most circumstances, help to promote positive engagements with the affected communities, building productive working relationships and avoiding unnecessary confrontations. In practice, public engagement work in the archaeology of modern conflict is in many cases impossible or undesirable, and is almost always fraught with difficulties and tensions. Nonetheless I am convinced that efforts towards conducting public engagement and engaging with affected communities are a vital component in carrying out conflict archaeology in a responsible and ethical manner (Moshenska 2008, 2009). In this chapter I want to explore the ethical aspects and implications of conducting public engagement activities in the archaeology of modern conflict, taking into account the diversity of the field and some of the different circumstances in which such work takes place.

I approach this issue from the perspective of a conflict archaeologist with extensive experience of public archaeology including media work, education and outreach activities, and writing for popular audiences. I have worked on excavations of First and Second World War sites in the UK and Poland, focusing in particular on the archaeology of civil defence and the civilian experience of total war (Moshenska 2007, 2008). In addition, several of the excavations of modern conflict sites that I used during my PhD research were designed from the outset as exercises in public archaeology, specifically to involve local communities and other interested groups in the investigation and interpretation of the sites in question (e.g. Moshenska 2007).

What Does Public Engagement Include?

At this point I want to outline the range of activities that I regard as the key components of a public engagement strategy in archaeology. In practice every public engagement programme is shaped by a number of factors including the needs of the public; the resources available to the archaeologists; legal and safety-related restrictions; the demands of funders and developers; and the need for commercial efficiency and confidentiality. For the purposes of this chapter I am examining those parts of modern conflict archaeology that take place within the frameworks of rescue or CRM archaeology, academic research, amateur archaeology, and (a large and growing part) work undertaken at the instigation or encouragement of the media. I am explicitly not including work undertaken as part of the forensic investigation of war crimes or crimes against humanity, which take place under radically different circumstances from most other archaeological work. Having taken these restrictions and distinctions into account, the key activities that make up public engagement with archaeology include site open days, viewing platforms and guided tours, field schools, museum exhibitions, print and broadcast media coverage including television and radio, and text and image-based publications including teaching resources, pamphlets and books. Most public engagement activities in archaeology involve some combination of the

activities, resources and infrastructure listed above, shaped to fit the requirements of the specific site and project.

A good example of the range of possible activities is the Museum of London's 2005 excavation of a Second World War bombsite in Shoreditch Park, east London (Simpson 2012). The park was laid over the foundations—bomb damaged and subsequently demolished—of several blocks of slum houses; hundreds of homes in all. The community living around the park, a large proportion of whom live in social housing, consists of a large proportion of first and second generation immigrants to Britain as well as other minority ethnic groups, and the descendants of the already ethnically mixed population who inhabited the area before and during the Second World War. The excavation was designed from the outset as a community archaeology project with the aim of involving local schools, families and community groups.

The excavation was run by staff from the Museum of London, the Museum of London Archaeology Service and the nearby London Archaeological Archive and Research Centre (LAARC). This staff, together with volunteers, supervised the work of school groups and family groups excavating on the large open area excavation and processing finds in the LAARC. Alongside this mini-field school experience, with each group having one day working on the site, there were opportunities for interested participants to return at the weekend and carry on working. In addition, visitors to the site—while excluded from the excavation for safety reasons—were provided with information panels, explanatory tours, and for several days during the three-week project there was live interpretation on the site from 1940s re-enactors. Those visitors who had lived in the area during the War were encouraged to share their memories as part of an onsite oral history programme that I carried out as a site volunteer.

As well as extensive media coverage coordinated by the Museum of London press office, the excavation was filmed by Channel 4's *Time Team* for a special episode that was first broadcast in 2006 and has since been shown repeatedly. Materials from the excavation were used to create teaching resources aimed at schools in London, and formed the basis for a museum exhibition. The diversity of publicity and public engagement initiatives linked to the Shoreditch Park project demonstrate many of the wide range of activities available to archaeologists working on modern conflict sites.

This project also demonstrates how even relatively uncontroversial, uncontested histories can present ethical quandaries to the archaeologist. Britain's perception of its own role in the Second World War is (whether deservedly or not) largely a positive and uncomplicated one: we were the good guys and we won. With the exception of the Channel Islands there is no problematic or shameful legacy of occupation and collaboration as there is in much of mainland Europe, and victor's justice has allowed British war crimes such as the carpet-bombing of German cities to remain largely unremarked and unpunished (cf. Grayling 2006). Nonetheless, at Shoreditch Park a number of visitors to the site, particularly older residents who took part in the oral history project, appeared to find the excavation troubling to some degree, or found that visiting the site provoked powerful memories of traumatic or shameful events. This should have been taken into account, particularly in the design of the oral history dimension of the project. While many of the visitors to the site seemed

keen to connect their memories with well-established narratives of Home Front Britain such as evacuation, others wanted to present narratives that consciously opposed some of the more idyllic versions of this period. For this minority the excavation was a chance to promote a view of the war as seen by the very poor working class who largely occupied the area, a view that they regarded as having been written out of history. In a small way, their desire to use the excavation as an opportunity to present this alternative view of history demonstrates the possibility—more commonly found at violently contested sites—of the researchers' own narrative being contested by individuals or groups with their own historical agendas. In public engagement with archaeology the public are rarely if ever merely passive consumers—in a variety of ways they make their own histories.

Memory Dynamics and Archaeological Sites

To appreciate the value of public engagement in maintaining control of the historical narrative created around the archaeological site, it is worth briefly reviewing the dynamic processes of memory narrative creation and contestation, which relate particularly to histories of violent conflict. This model, drawing on the work of Ashplant et al. (2000) and others is based on an understanding of *remembering* and *commemorating* as agent-led actions, located in spatial, temporal, political and social contexts (Moshenska 2010a).

Memory narratives of specific events or periods of time are typically formed through discussion and interaction within small, face-to-face communities of people with common or shared experiences—for example a military unit or the residents of a village. The narrative that emerges from this process is typically formed from numerous people's individual experiences, and can come to be regarded as first-hand memory by people within the group who did not necessarily experience the events in their entirety. This narrative becomes the form in which the community's experiences is articulated, and which the community may try to promote or communicate to larger audiences through a variety of means, in part to reinforce its legitimacy and influence. Memory communities use a variety of means to create "memory arenas" in which to promote their narratives, making use of anniversaries, public memorial events, exhibitions, news stories and various media forms.

An example of this process can be seen in the response to the film *U-571*, an American-made production based on real-life events in which the Royal Navy captured a Second World War U-Boat and its Enigma code machine. The film portrayed a fictionalised version of these events in which the heroes were American rather than British. This led to considerable anger amongst British ex-servicemen and their families, who came together to form a vocal opposition to the film, leading to criticisms by the then prime minister Tony Blair, questions in parliament, and a letter of apology from the then president Bill Clinton. The film was amended with a closing text acknowledging the role of the Royal Navy (BBC 2000). In this case, as is fairly commonly the case, the memory narrative of the participants in the wartime events,

which had previously existed in a less public, intra-group format, was projected into the public arena using the publicity surrounding the film. As this case demonstrates, high-profile public events such as film releases or the erection of memorials can become sites of memory—*milieux de memoire* in Nora's formulation—around which historical events are contested, sometimes violently (Nora 1989). Archaeological investigations of sites of modern conflict are often highly visible interventions into the past that inspire considerable media and popular interest: as such, it is inevitable that some of these sites will become arenas for the contestation of memory narratives. For this reason, I would argue that archaeologists working on such sites have an ethical imperative to pre-empt this process by engaging with affected communities before, during and after the work takes place.

Who Are the Publics for Conflict Archaeology?

A common mistake in archaeological public engagement activities is to imagine "the public" or "the community" to be a generally uniform group with roughly identical interests and needs. In fact the precise nature of the public remains one of the most pressing problems in public archaeology, and one that is gaining an increasing level of interest and concern (Matsuda 2004; Pyburn 2011). In general, the publics for public archaeology and the communities for community archaeology are best conceived as amorphous, imaginary, overlapping categories based on every imaginable demographic, geographic or temporal factor and a whole lot more besides. In conflict archaeology it is sometimes slightly easier to distinguish between different publics, not least in cases where they have armed themselves and declared war on one another. In understanding the different types and categories of public in conflict archaeology it is most useful to consider the types of conflict, as each forms and maintains different divisions and categories.

Large-Scale International Conflicts

International conflicts of the kinds that have shaped the map of the world tend to have casualty numbers—the killed and injured—numbering in the hundreds of thousands to millions or even tens of millions. In the aftermath of these conflicts there are a number of clearly identifiable "publics" with an interest in the ways in which it is remembered and commemorated. The most powerful of these are the former military personnel, both as individuals and as parts of ex-service organisations which can be charitable, social or in some cases (such as post-1918 Germany) paramilitary in nature, and are usually organised by nation and subdivided by service, unit and/or geographical area. Another large albeit usually more dispersed public is made up of the family and friends of combatants, although this can make up virtually an entire nation: in post-1918 France there was allegedly barely a single family

that had not lost a member in the war. In these conflicts it is also important to distinguish civilian populations directly affected by war—including by bombing, exposure to fighting or military occupation—from those indirectly affected by, for example, economic hardship or restrictions to civil liberties. This difference can be particularly pronounced in asymmetrical warfare: the impacts of the Vietnam War were felt very differently by non-combatant populations in Vietnam and the United States. Any investigation into the archaeology of a major international violent conflict will have a very large number of differently defined, overlapping population groups with an interest or stake in the findings.

Civil Wars, Insurgencies, Occupations and Terrorism

The aftermaths of civil wars, insurgencies and terrorist campaigns create vastly more complex overlapping communities of memory. Civil wars create or amplify divisions within society that can remain long after the conflict has ended. Victims of violence and their families can live alongside the perpetrators of these acts and their families or descendants. In some cases truth and reconciliation exercises or similar efforts to mend fractured communities can remove the sharper divisions between these groups, but they usually remain clearly demarcated. In many such post-conflict environments there are enduring social, political and legal barriers to identifying with the losing side or even commemorating them, while subsequent political upheavals such as the revival of democracy in former fascist states in Europe and South America can reverse these situations drastically, suppressing the formerly dominant historical narratives and elevating those that had previously been silenced.

Protests, Strikes and Civil Unrest

Like the more obviously militarised civil wars, episodes of strikes, riots, protests and civil unrest can also create long-standing divisions within a society, often between minority or socially excluded populations and state bodies such as the police. Like civil wars these events—often wholly or mainly non-violent—create new and often enduring communities based on common experiences of adversity or loss, including memorial associations. Unlike civil wars and more intensive political violence, these smaller-scale conflicts can endure over long periods of time, with continuous or regular episodes of low-level conflict or violence, often spread over wide geographical areas. Examples include the Civil Rights movement in the United States, the post-9/11 *Stop the War* protests, and the *Occupy* movement. Archaeological studies of these and similar conflicts tend to be of greatest interest and concern to non-state bodies, affiliated and descendants communities and scholars.

Genocides and Crimes Against Humanity

It is in the nature of genocides and episodes of ethnic cleansing that the people most likely to have an interest in the archaeology of the events are either dead or displaced from the area in question. It is easy and not entirely inaccurate to characterise the three populations in these circumstances as victims, perpetrators and bystanders, although this necessarily elides a great deal of nuance. In considering the archaeology of genocides and crimes against humanity it is these three populations and their descendants who are the principal stakeholders with an interest in the narratives that the archaeology produces. In many cases political and cultural organisations claim the right to speak on behalf of the victim (and more rarely the perpetrator) populations: the efforts to gain control of the historical narrative will almost certainly bring them into contact or conflict with the archaeologists, and this must be anticipated and prepared for.

Other Factors

The variety and makeup of the communities or "publics" for conflict archaeology depend on a variety of factors aside from the nature or type of the conflict in question. Principal amongst these is time: for more recent conflicts there are likely to be far more eyewitnesses and living participants who can intervene in the archaeological work in various ways, and for whom the emotions raised by the study of the past are likely to be strong and often negative. In contrast, for conflicts on or beyond the edge of living memory the distance in time has often (but by no means always) blunted the rawest emotional connections to the events in question, and descendants of the participants often find it easier to integrate new findings and stories into their narratives of the conflict. However this is often not the case where perpetrator communities or nations refuse to acknowledge or apologise for the events in question. Another important factor in the creation of stakeholder communities is education: where the history of a conflict has become part of the formal or informal education for young people in a community then there are likely to be a greater number of people with an understanding of the events in question and an interest in the archaeology. Equally, in places where the history of conflict has been suppressed, archaeology can be seen as a means of accessing hidden episodes of the past.

In summary, work on the archaeology of modern conflicts needs to take into account a broad range of interested and affected publics or communities. These groups are defined not only in relation to the events in question and the participants in those events, but in relation to the places where they occurred, the broader socio-political themes that they represent, and the ways in which they have been represented in the present through education, popular culture and the media.

Ethical Challenges in Public Engagement

The principal ethical challenge in public engagement for the archaeology of modern conflict is to identify the populations affected by or interested in the work and to take their needs and interests into account as far as possible in designing, carrying out and following up the archaeological work. Despite any such laudable aims there are many circumstances in which public engagement work would be totally impossible, highly inappropriate or simply unnecessarily provocative, and (more commonly) circumstances in which different communities or stakeholder groups make requests or demands that are irreconcilable. In this section I want to look in more depth at two specific circumstances where different forms of public engagement in the archaeology of modern conflict has taken place and addressed these issues in practice.

Excavating for the Cameras on the Western Front

One of the main driving forces in modern conflict archaeology has been the considerable number of excavation and survey projects being carried out on the battlefields of the First World War by individual scholars as well as research organisations and groups. Amongst the latter, the international team *No Man's Land* have distinguished themselves for their work on the Western Front where they combine high quality archaeological work with historical research and post-excavation analysis, particularly of human remains (Fraser and Brown 2007; Price 2004). As Price (2004, 2007) has discussed, *No Man's Land* emerged in part in response to growing media interest in First World War archaeology, particularly from television production companies. This has led to the group taking part in a number of collaborative projects with independent production companies based in the UK and Canada (Price 2007:179–182).

Media collaborations as a form of public engagement present a number of advantages, as well as drawbacks and ethical dilemmas. In terms of communication, much of the print and broadcast media offer an enormous advantage in reaching interested members of the general public in very large numbers. Popular programmes often reach audiences numbering in millions, and well-received programmes are often broadcast repeatedly over a fairly long period of time, and are often sold to broadcasters in other countries. For archaeologists working with the media another common advantage is more practical: media companies often have budgets that are, by archaeological standards, enormous, and they are able to pay for equipment and services such as non-invasive surveys which might otherwise be prohibitively expensive. However, there is always a risk that archaeological research driven by media money will be shaped more towards spectacular and narrative-driven discoveries rather than more scholarly rigorous if comparatively mundane work. This is certainly a widespread perception amongst archaeologists, and something that I have experienced on several occasions. That media money might make bad archaeology calls into questions the value of its communicative effect: it might be better to not communicate

at all than to communicate poor or incorrect information. This is an ethical question that archaeologists working with the media must face.

Price's discussion of *No Man's Land*'s experience of working with television production companies addresses these issues head-on (Price 2007:180). The team was approached by independent media company Maya Vision to make a documentary for the BBC about the war poet Wilfred Owen, including an excavation of a site on the Western Front where he served and which formed the basis of some of his work. Fraser and Brown (2007:154) give a fairly acerbic account of the producers' interference in the archaeological process, including the absurdity of refusing to pay for geophysical surveys as this was regarded as one of a competing programme's "trademarks". As Price notes, the outcomes of the excavations did not precisely match the media producers' hopes, but the documentary was produced giving a fair account of the work. The tension between the narrative that the producers wanted to present, and the narrative which the archaeologists believed that their work supported, is a function of the tension outlined above in the work of Ashplant et al. (2000). It could be argued that the producers' aim was to reinforce the now-dominant popular narrative of the First World War which focuses on the futility and tragedy of the war as seen through a largely literary and specifically poetic frame. In contrast, the narratives produced by archaeological studies of the conflict are generally more finely grained, focusing on the activities and experiences of individuals and small groups in specific places and time periods.

However in this case the archaeological findings, which included several sets of identifiable human remains, became the basis for a different media collaboration for *No Man's Land*, the popular and acclaimed series *Finding the Fallen* made in collaboration with Canadian company YAP Films and focusing much more on the narratives that could be created more firmly around the archaeological work. The analysis and identification of the human remains from the first collaborative media project led to the team identifying two of the bodies recovered during this dig: German soldiers Jakob Hönes and Albert Thielecke. Fraser and Brown (2007) describe the details that the team's historians were able to uncover about the two men's lives and service records, as well as the families that they left behind. Both men were re-interred in German military cemeteries, and members of the family of Jakob Hönes were able to attend the funeral. With the exception of these few descendants of the casualties recovered from the battlefield, the public engagement work of the *No Man's Land* group refers to communication between the archaeologists and the wider community of people interested in the events of the First World War for personal, national, intellectual and other reasons. The ethical responsibilities of the archaeologists in this situation remain complicated, not least where the demands of the public—as mediated by the media companies—threaten to compromise the archaeology. Beyond these fairly straightforward ethical issues there are more complicated questions such as whether or not excavated human remains should be shown on screen, and how the findings can be represented in a manner that does justice to both the historical narrative and to the people whose remains were uncovered. Unusually amongst conflict archaeologists, the members of the *No Man's Land* team have engaged with these issues in writing and presentations based on

their work, and have also addressed the complicated issue of emotion in conflict archaeology and the recognition that the archaeological team are themselves a "community" whose interests and concerns need to be taken into account (Brown 2007; Fraser and Brown 2007; Price 2007).

Exhuming Mass Graves in Spain

One of the most interesting recent developments in the modern conflict archaeology has been the range of studies relating to the remains of the Spanish Civil War (1936–1939), from trench systems and air raid shelters to the mass graves that litter the countryside (Gassiot et al. 2007; González-Ruibal 2007, 2009; Moshenska 2010b). The public and political significance of this work is beyond question, as González-Ruibal (2007:203) has noted "the disclosure of war objects—bones, prisons or bunkers—provides an occasion for fierce disputes that go well beyond disagreements on historical matters and profoundly affect the way in which democracy is played out in the present". During the war there were numerous episodes of extra-judicial killings away from the battlefields, with killings and massacres committed by both sides, and the overwhelming majority carried out by supporters of the fascist coup against supporters of the democratically elected government. In the aftermath of the conflict a further period of mass imprisonment and mass murder occurred, as the now-dominant fascist state sought to "cleanse" the nation of undesirable elements including members of left wing political parties, intellectuals, teachers, atheists and others. Many of these massacres occurred on small scales around the country, perpetrated by members of small communities against others within their own or a neighbouring community. Victims were typically abducted from their homes by armed gangs, marched out of the village or town, shot and buried, a process described as *paseos*: taking a stroll (Renshaw 2011:22). In fascist Spain the relatives of people murdered as *Rojos* or Reds, particularly female relatives, were often subjected to public humiliations and were explicitly excluded from the highly ritualised and socially significant processes of grieving and widowhood. The widespread sense of shame and social exclusion, often combined with the presence within their community of the murderers and their families, meant that many relatives of the dead maintained a silence about their loss and grief long after the collapse of the fascist regime and the return to democracy in Spain in the 1970s.

The movement to exhume these murdered victims of right-wing death squads and the large programme of archaeological and anthropological work that it created was instigated not by the archaeologists but by the descendants of the dead. This grassroots campaign began in 2000 with journalist Emilio Silva's public appeal for information regarding the burial place of his grandfather and other *desaparecidos*. Silva and others formed the Association for the Recuperation of Historical Memory (ARMH), a charity that has grown into a national campaign able to call on the expertise of volunteer academics and experts in archaeology, history, forensic science and other fields (Elkin 2006). In practice, as Renshaw's (2011) research has shown, the relationship between these different groups can be complicated and nuanced.

Renshaw (2011:36) identifies three "constituencies" in the exhumation of the Civil War dead: the relatives of the deceased; the members of ARMH or other historical memory groups; and the members of the scientific teams conducting the exhumations. In her study she identifies the different aims and interests of these communities, and their often highly divergent desired outcomes of the exhumation projects. For the families of the deceased, particularly older relatives with a longer memory of the period of murder and oppression, the excavations of the mass graves are often the first opportunity they have had to publicly recognise their loss and express their grief and anger. This can make their experiences of the excavations particularly powerful and emotional. While many of the second group, the ARMH campaigners, are also relatives of the dead they tend to be younger, educated and urban-based, and so their experiences of the excavations—mostly in small rural communities—are that of outsiders less affected by the enduring atmospheres of social and cultural repression. Renshaw observed that these first two groups differed strongly in their views of the excavations: while the ARMH activists regarded them in political terms as part of an on-going struggle against the right-wing, the church and the military, the relatives of the dead often regarded the politicisation of the excavations as dangerous and potentially harmful. The third community or constituency is the archaeologists and anthropologists working on the exhumations and post-excavation analysis of the remains. While many of the volunteer experts had family connections to the *desaparecidos* themselves, their aims for the excavations are largely scientific, and to a certain extent they control the other constituencies' access to the process: for example, the off-site laboratories are typically closed to the public in a way that the excavations are not.

Renshaw's participant-observer study of exhumations in two rural communities highlighted the interplay between these constituencies around their interactions with the dead (2011). Her research highlights many of the ethical problems that confront archaeologists working in post-conflict environments, and in particular the tensions that arise when different communities want to use or experience an excavation site for different purposes. In the cases she discusses, broadly speaking, the archaeologists and anthropologists' principal aim was to recover, analyse and identify the human remains. The ARMH activists shared this aim, while adding a strong political and historical dimension: more than either of the other constituencies they wanted to use the excavations as a means of renegotiating the dominant historical narratives in Spanish society as a whole, honouring the memories of the Republican dead and raising awareness of the mass-murders that took place during the conflict. The close relatives of the dead, in contrast, often wanted to follow fairly conventional religious and cultural practices of mourning. The challenge to reconcile and satisfy these different needs is the main ethical problem for archaeologists working in these and similar situations.

Alongside the constituencies discussed above, there were elements within Spanish society and the local communities who did not want the exhumations to take place (Elkin 2006). Renshaw records the fear that remains within the affected communities during the collection of oral histories, as several informants expressed concerns for their safety if seen to be involved in the research, citing specific people that they were concerned would harm or attack them. Renshaw also reports instances

of threats made against archaeologists volunteering with ARMH, including threatening phone calls and emails (2011). It is up to the individual researcher to decide to what extent these opponents of the research process constitute a community whose needs should be taken into account in ethics assessments and research designs.

Conclusion

The field of public archaeology and public engagement with the human past in general is a diverse and well-established one. Within this field of scholarship and practice there are numerous well-established methods for communicating archaeology to the public, of identifying stakeholder communities and interest groups, and tailoring messages to their specific needs. At the same time, since at least the first World Archaeological Congress there has been a growing awareness that for many communities around the world archaeology plays a powerful—and often negative—role in their everyday lives and their relationships to governments and other structures of power. For this reason one of the most intellectually interesting strands within archaeology and public archaeology over recent years has been a resurgent interest in applied ethics, both in terms of ethical codes and (more constructively) ethical debates around key issues of interest and concern (e.g. papers in Karlsson 2004; Pluciennik 2001; Scarre and Scarre 2006).

At the same time, as the field of modern conflict archaeology has emerged over recent years, there has been a groundswell of interest in its findings from a very wide range of individuals, groups and communities. Much of this interest has been scholarly or largely based on historical interest and curiosity, and this interested group forms most of the market for popular publications, museum exhibitions and media productions focused on the archaeological remains of modern conflicts. At the same time a great deal of work has been driven by archaeologists and other scholars with personal connections—usually familial—to the events in question. For this reason it is important not to present public engagement in modern conflict archaeology as taking place across a simple divide between the practitioners and the interested public: very often there is an overlap between the two.

However, as this and other studies in this volume have demonstrated, there are many cases when the popular metaphors of conflict archaeology opening old wounds and unearthing suppressed pasts are all too accurate. An archaeological investigation of a modern conflict site takes place within the political, social, cultural and psychological contexts of the legacies of conflict. These can buffet and impinge upon the archaeologists, but they also raise the possibility that our work can do harm as well as good. In public archaeology one of the main challenges in carrying out public engagement work is to identify your audiences and create resources to match their different needs and interests. In conflict archaeology, with its power to open old wounds; to traumatise, enrage and divide, this is all the more important. It is also more difficult: while it might be hard in general archaeology to communicate with, say, experts and small children at the same time, in conflict archaeology the

different audiences often represent opposing sides in the conflicts in question, as in the Spanish example above. In other cases there may be political or (in the case of the First World War excavations discussed above) media pressure to present a certain narrative of the past that corresponds with dominant or "comfortable" perceptions of violent pasts. The task of the conflict archaeologist is to negotiate this hazardous terrain as best they can, to do justice to the people of the past, the people of the present, and the archaeology itself.

Like archaeological fieldwork, public engagement work in archaeology is an art, a science and a craft learnt through practice and improved by experience. Public archaeology involves a wide range of skills from writing and speaking to non-expert audiences, working with a diverse range of print, broadcast and digital media, and the tact and diplomacy necessary to interact with different individuals and stakeholder groups. Ethics are (or should be) a core component in public engagement, something that is built into the planning and execution of engagement strategies from the start rather than added as an afterthought. An ethical approach to public engagement in modern conflict archaeology is grounded in a strong understanding of the multiple contexts within which the work takes place, knowledge of the different stakeholders and their needs and interests, a genuine desire to communicate, and a wide range of public engagement skills and tools with which to reach out to as many of the different constituencies as possible. Given the potential risks in post-conflict environments we should feel ourselves duty-bound to ameliorate the harms and amplify the benefits that our work can create.

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Chapter 11
Partnership Versus Guns: Military Advocacy of Peaceful Approaches for Cultural Property Protection

Laurie W. Rush

The Challenge

Like it or not, disposition and management of cultural property has been a component of warfare since the beginning of human conflict. It is given that during the course of global military operations, military personnel are going to encounter cultural property including archaeological sites in their areas of operation. The question is whether those personnel will be prepared with maps, background information, a basic awareness of cultural property issues, and an appreciation for the potential significance of those issues. We know what happens when that preparation is missing, and most archaeologists find those consequences to be unacceptable (MSNBC 2004). However, when members of the military are thoroughly prepared and provided with sufficient planning and background information, damage to cultural property and archaeological sites can be completely avoided or minimized. The critical point is that for the archaeological education and information to be available in this capacity, it is necessary for archaeologists to work with the military.

Background

One of the best-kept secrets in the US Department of Defense is the fact that archaeologists have been on the payroll steadily since the early 1980s. In the United States, military land is managed in full compliance with federal environmental laws

The opinions expressed in this chapter are the personal opinions of the author and do not reflect the position of Fort Drum, the US Army, or the US Department of Defense.

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A. González-Ruibal, G. Moshenska (eds.), *Ethics and the Archaeology of Violence*, Ethical Archaeologies: The Politics of Social Justice 2,
DOI 10.1007/978-1-4939-1643-6_11

including the National Historic Preservation Act (NHPA). This compliance is a derivation of the fact that all federal lands in the United States including military lands are held in trust for the American people. Failure to comply with the NHPA and other historic preservation laws can result in civil penalties, vulnerability to lawsuit, and in extreme cases, criminal charges against military personnel who are held responsible for environmental quality. The Department of Defense employs nearly 200 year round full time archaeologists who work to identify and protect archaeological sites on military lands. Many of these programs are supplemented by the expertise of archaeologists from universities, field schools, internships, and commercial cultural resource management firms. Over the past 30 years, these archaeologists have inventoried millions of acres, discovered tens of thousands of archaeological sites, and have rewritten prehistory for entire regions of North America (Hydrogeologic 2007). Even more important, these archaeologists serve as advocates for site preservation, working in partnership with members of the Native American communities whose ancestors the sites represent (Scardera 2011).

From my experience, the concept of an archaeologist working for the US Department of Defense did not become overtly controversial until the US invasion of Iraq in 2003. It is true that events surrounding US intervention in Vietnam and covert actions in other sovereign nations created a schism in the United States between the academic and military communities, especially in the realm of the social sciences. Historic events like Project Camelot, proposed in 1964 and shut down in 1965 when scholars voiced their concerns are often mentioned as examples of the schism between the military and the social science community. Carolyn Fluehr-Lobban's edited volume "Ethics and the profession of anthropology" (2003) offers a detailed and thoughtful history of the strained and complex relationship between the military and anthropology. David Price's (2011) volume "Weaponizing anthropology" also provides a detailed discussion of historical context for the current issues surrounding US military efforts to incorporate knowledge of culture into planning, strategy, and preparation of deploying personnel. Price (2003) also provides historical context for archaeologists and the military in his article "Cloak & Trowel."

Even with the tension of the events in Vietnam and with ethical guidelines emerging from the American Association of Anthropologists, many anthropologists of that generation, training in the 1970s, were delighted to accept funding support from a range of US agencies including the Department of Defense.[1] However, few of those same individuals gave any thought to whether acceptance of those dollars engendered any obligation to the US taxpayer or secondarily to defense of that same government. Even today, it would be interesting to raise the question of government obligation to National Science Foundation grant recipients for archaeological research. Even as over one hundred anthropologists established careers as military installation archaeologists working for the US Department of Defense, the Vietnam era anger and concerns have continued to simmer for decades in some academic anthropology departments across the United States.

[1] The author was a National Science Foundation fellow with full US government support for all but the first year of graduate school.

It is important to note that there is no historic relationship between past employment of anthropologists by defense for intelligence and strategic purposes and the military archaeologists who are employed by defense to keep military installations in compliance with the NHPA. Installation archaeology is part of the Installation Management Command (IMCOM) Public Works Environmental portfolio. This component of the military is a completely different command from the fighting commands, and distinct from the Defense Intelligence Agency. Installation archaeology and cultural resources management programs emerged in all of the services for every large acreage military installation during the mid-1980s. Since then, judicial actions on behalf of respect for Native Hawaiian, Native Alaskan, and Native American ancestral and sacred places located on military land have reinforced the importance of cultural resources management and archaeological expertise for managing military land. For example, the Native Hawaiians secured a court injunction against military training at Makua on Oahu because of the sacred nature of the Makua valley (McAvoy 2011).

During the Iraq invasion, one situation that ignited some of the latent academic anger toward the military was a problematic program called the Human Terrain System (HTS) that was sold to the US Army with a goal of putting anthropologists on the battlefield (CEAUSSIC 2009). As the controversy surrounding HTS unfolded, there was a portion of the anthropological community that failed to distinguish between archaeologists trained as anthropologists who were working with Defense in order to educate and plan for the protection of archaeological sites and other forms of social science participation in the conflict like HTS. In addition, there were archaeologists who viewed the cultural property protection efforts of their colleagues in a political light and characterized those efforts as an attempt to "legitimize" US actions in Iraq especially in the days following news of the military damage at Babylon and the looting of the Iraq National Museum in Baghdad. As the controversy unfolded, many of us began to think about the ethical questions related to our decisions to work on site preservation overseas from within the military context.

Introduction to the Ethical Questions and Value Systems

Ethics: (1) A system of moral principles, (2) Rules of conduct recognized in respect to a particular class of human actions or of a particular group, (3) Moral principles as of an individual. Consider simple definitions of ethics, in the former case from dictionary.com (2012), and following here from the Oxford Dictionaries (2012) online (1) Moral principles that govern a person or group's behavior. Clearly, behavioral choices are evaluated from within the context of values shared by members of a group. However as definition (3) above demonstrates, individuals ultimately make their own behavioral choices, following their own individual sets of moral guidelines. Ultimately, then as individuals, our behavioral choices are evaluated by members of our own groups as well as by members of other groups. This dynamic of individual versus group definitions of ethical behavior contributes to the passionate

consideration of whether it is ethical for an archaeologist to work with the military in order to save archaeological sites and heritage features in the landscape.

As we consider ethics from the group and individual perspective, it is critical to recognize that the communities of academic archaeologists and the military are two social groups that differ significantly in terms of backgrounds, values, priorities, and goals. Many members of the academic community are unaware that the US Army has a value system which many members of western societies would embrace that includes honesty, loyalty, personal courage, integrity, honor, respect, and selfless service. These values are often exhibited in poster form on the walls of conference rooms and other public spaces within Army buildings. Sometimes military leaders remind gatherings of the installation work force of the values and hand out copies in wallet card form. In contrast, and in my personal experience, university communities tend not to advertise their value systems in such proactive ways. If one were to generalize, it might be fair to say that members of academic communities may be working in contexts where actions guided by value systems are more individualized.

Comparison of Missions and Goals

It might be more productive to compare individual choices against the goals and missions of the two organizations. Clearly, one goal for the military that is not shared by the academic community is to be prepared to fight and win when commanded to by the US government. Another common mission of the US military is to provide response to disasters like earthquakes and tsunamis. However, a force that is prepared to be successful in both of these types of missions must be educated, aware, and "armed" with detailed knowledge of the landscape where they are assigned. It is in the area of education and access to knowledge where we find common ground between the military and academic communities and where the role of archaeological expertise can become critically important very rapidly.

Response of the Academic Archaeologists: Three Groups

Early in the course of the invasion of Iraq, US and Polish forces were assigned to secure the ruins of ancient Babylon (Burda 2005; U.S. Department of State 2009). The damage associated with the presence of these forces made headlines all over the world (MSNBC 2004). One group of people who responded with anger and frustration was composed of academic archaeologists, especially those whose regional specialties focused on ancient Mesopotamia. In fact some of them had attempted to work with the Department of Defense prior to the invasion (Gibson 2009; Cogbill 2008), providing coordinates for the Defense Intelligence Agency "no strike" list, a source of data that contains the targets that need to be avoided. Many of these archaeologists were outspoken in terms of criticizing the military and lamenting the

mistakes made that resulted in damage to one of the most iconic archaeological sites in the world (Curtis 2004).

Members of the community of academic archaeologists who responded to the situation in Iraq and the associated damage to archaeology there could generally be classified into three groups. One group shifted their focus in research and writing to criticism of the military and documentation of damage to archaeology and cultural property associate directly and indirectly with military intervention. Some members of this group enhanced their arguments by advocating for militarization of site protection. Some of the very same archaeologists who vocally criticized the collateral damage resulting from the military presence in Babylon questioned why the military was not providing site protection throughout ancient Mesopotamia. At least one academic archaeologist was reported to have interspersed her criticisms of the military with expressions of frustration over the fact that no one was shooting looters on archaeological sites (Kennedy 2003). A second group began to engage in abstract discussions and publications about whether it was ethical for archaeologists to work with the military in any capacity. A third group recognized that prevention of damage by the military in future similar situations would require educational intervention. These individuals began to proactively look for ways to interface with the military, including initiation of a program that offered to provide lectures about heritage and archaeology to military personnel.

Ironically, none of the members of any of these three groups appeared to be aware of the fact that there were already nearly 200 archaeologists with advanced degrees already working for the US Department of Defense in their capacity as archaeologists. This disconnect was largely due to the fact that most of the US Defense archaeologists trained as anthropologists first, specializing in archaeology with a focus on indigenous people of the Americas. Most of the archaeologists who work in ancient Mesopotamia and the Middle East trained as art historians or in the classics first then specializing in archaeology as their preferred research method. Quite often, in the university setting, these two types of archaeology are found in completely different academic faculties or university departments. As a result, networking opportunities for the two groups have been minimal with few connections either in graduate school or at academic conferences. They also read completely different journals. The US Defense archaeologists mostly belong to the Society for American Archaeology, while archaeologists specializing in the Old World belong to the Archaeological Institute of America. Fortunately, as both sides of the profession respond to the challenges of stewardship in conflict zones, new pathways and partnerships are forming every day.

Academic Group One: Criticism and Advocacy for Militarization of Site Protection

In order to consider the challenges from an ethical perspective, it would be useful to consider the three groups in greater detail. Group one was characterized by outspoken criticism of the military while calling for greater protection for archaeological sites.

From the outside looking in, the consistent goal for this group was to advocate for site protection and preservation. It is clear that their hope was that at the end of the conflict, as much archaeological material would survive in the most intact condition possible. This group was caught in a difficult situation conceptually. The most effective form of site protection at the time would have consisted of members of military forces deployed as site guards. These archaeologists envisioned personnel with weapons surrounding a site perimeter, perhaps enhanced by airborne forces. However, US personnel deployed at Babylon demonstrated that they had not received the necessary preparatory training or guidelines that would enable them to occupy and protect an archaeological site without causing additional damage by their presence. Militarized site protection requires special training for the military forces assigned to protect archaeological sites. Effective special training of this nature requires archaeological expertise.

When considering the case of Iraq, there is a further challenge. The archaeological wealth of ancient Mesopotamia is overwhelming. Had coalition forces made a commitment to provide armed site guards, there would not have been sufficient personnel to protect all of the important archaeological sites, never mind all of the other important Iraqi assets and people that required extra protection. How would the priorities have been set? As we look at the UNESCO world heritage lists and other measures of archaeological value, it quickly becomes clear that the lists of sites that may matter to representatives of the west, namely Europe and the United States, may not be the same lists that matter to other groups, especially citizens of local communities where the sites are actually located. The disparity between only two sites in Iraq achieving listing on the World Heritage List and the thousands of sites identified on the National Archaeological Atlas of Iraq only scratches the surface of the problem.

The dissonance between what archaeological sites might mean to outsiders versus local community members raises a host of complex ethical issues for archaeologists. In some communities where the presence of a significant site means potential for tourism, archaeological missions and a labor market, combined with pride in heritage, it is possible to meet members of local communities who will risk their lives to protect archaeology. In contrast, in places like Qurna, Egypt and Petra, Jordan, people who made their homes in archaeological areas for centuries have recently found themselves forcibly moved to manufactured settings. Archaeologists, both domestic and foreign, with interests in these areas have found themselves in situations where their discoveries prompted those government decisions that have brought misery to many (Meskell 2000, 2005). In my personal experience, the anger of the people banished from Petra to Umm Seyhoun is palpable, even when one just drives through.

The question of protecting local features of great value that would not even be recognized by outsiders as features is a related one. For example, in Afghanistan, there is a pointed rock formation in a remote rural village. For anyone from the outside looking in, it is a pointed rock. To the members of the village, it is the tooth of the dragon that was slain by the ancient founder of the village so that the people might live (Omrani and Leeming 2011). What are the roles and responsibilities of

archaeologists and the military when it comes to identifying and protecting significant features of this nature?

US military personnel will protect whatever they are ordered to protect. So the operative question is, is it ethical to ask political leaders to order military personnel to protect archaeological property that may matter to you but not to me? A related and possibly even more challenging question is, is it ethical to arm and train host nation personnel to protect an archaeological site that is of great value to members of US or European communities but of less value to the local community where it is located? Is it ethical to arm and train host nation personnel and put them at the perimeter of a site where local people want access in order to loot the site? In this scenario, outsiders may be pitting members of a local community against one another. Does this approach lead to a greater good? Is the protection of archaeological property worth a human life? There are many situations where western trained and equipped site guards have died. Who is responsible for lives lost in these circumstances? What was gained by these sacrifices?

Many academic archaeologists routinely work in foreign countries. Prior to many of the recent conflicts, the economic model for western archaeologists who worked in areas like Mesopotamia and ancient Egypt was to establish a mission or dig house and return to the same site year after year. Local laborers did the actual digging and relied on this source of employment to support their families. When international communities impose sanctions or when an area becomes too dangerous for archaeologists to work safely or bring students, the western archaeologists fail to come for the field season, and the laborers are left unemployed (Pastore 2001). In these situations, some of the unemployed local laborers end up resorting to looting the site in order to support their families. Sometimes this action is taken with deep regret. When officers of the Italian Carabinieri apprehended looters in Nasiriyah province of Iraq in 2003, they found many of the situations to be heart rending. One of the looters was an unemployed history teacher who was deeply ashamed but whose children were hungry (Rush 2011; Benedettini and Rush 2011).

An additional complicating factor is that over the years of working on an archaeological site, many of the laborers become extremely knowledgeable. For example, Sheik Altubi and his sons, caretakers of Uruk, which is also part of the land where he and his extended family live, can provide an extremely detailed tour of the site, using accurate German terminology learned from members of the German Institute who excavated there for decades. The German Institute sent payment to the Altubis to protect the site via Lieutenant Colonel Joris Kila of the Netherlands, a cultural property officer, transported to the site by Americans (Kila 2012). It should be noted that the University of Chicago successfully preserved the site of Nippur by successfully transporting funds to pay local families to protect that site as well (Hanson 2011). However, in many other locations, the Universities and Missions were unable to provide and/or convey the necessary financial support to the laborers and families. As a result, these well-trained individuals often knew exactly where to focus looting activity in order to maximize discovery of marketable material. For example, experienced laborers might know the location of a cuneiform tablet library or an area rich with burials. As eminent archaeologist Geoff Emberling pointed out to

his colleagues at the 2007 Society for American Archaeology meetings during a discussion concerning the situation in Iraq at the time, "we trained these looters." Emberling has also discussed these issues in his exhibition and catalog "Catastrophe" and his 2008 article "Archaeologists and the military in Iraq, 2003–2008: compromise or contribution."

In summary, the militarized approach to site protection requires a complex set of calculations, some pragmatic and some ethical. Does the integrity of the site matter to members of the host nation community where it is located; enough to ask them to risk their lives to protect it? If the site matters to members of external communities, is it appropriate to assign members of their armed forces for site protection? If so, will these forces have the education, training, tools, and equipment required to occupy and protect the site responsibly? Will members of the community of trained archaeologists provide the expertise necessary for the proper preparation of these forces? Is it ethical for archaeologists to share their expertise with the military in order to achieve this goal that would, at this point, be a shared goal between the military and the community of academic archaeologists?

Academic Group One Continued: Research Concerning Effects of Conflict

As mentioned above, in response to archaeology damaged during conflict, there were members of the academic archaeological community, "Group One," that began to focus their careers around researching and writing about the issue. In addition to the questions raised in their lectures and publications concerning site protection discussed above, there are also ethical questions to be raised surrounding motives for and applications of this type of research. At the height of controversy swirling around all aspects of the Iraq War, it was relatively easy to generate press coverage and even popular interest in academic discussions concerning looting of archaeological sites.

The analysis of aerial and satellite imagery for evidence and patterns of looting by professional archaeologists is an extremely useful undertaking. This research generates information that can be of great value to security and military forces that are charged with the responsibility of securing the regions where these illegal activities are taking place. For example, the work of Sarah Parcak who effectively monitored sites using satellite imagery during the recent change of government in Egypt and who used this information to advocate for site protection directly with the Egyptian government illustrates the importance of research of this nature. The question then would be whether the archaeologists following these lines of research are making every effort to apply their work to site protection efforts and stability in the regions where the archaeological sites of interest to them are located, even if this effort were to require direct contact and cooperation with the military. Unfortunately, at least one author of this type of research complained to representatives of the Iraq

State Board of Antiquities about potential US military damage to archaeological sites without making any attempt whatsoever to contact either the US State Department or military representatives with his/her concerns within a time frame where a meaningful response was possible (Rush 2009).

Group Two, Abstract Discussion Concerning Engagement with the Military

As mentioned above, a second group of academic archaeologists began to publish and present papers that considered the question of whether any form of engagement with any form of the military would be a form of ethical behavior for a professional archaeologist. Hamilakis (2009) offers an example of this type of research and writing. Discussions of this nature were taking place in the context of the politics and controversy surrounding the United States initiated invasion of Iraq. One of the memorable events surrounding this controversy occurred at the World Archaeological Congress meeting in Dublin in 2008. As Hamilakis correctly states, the decision was made to exclude any archaeologist who worked with the military from the academic session. When the board of WAC decided to create a special session for papers concerning archaeology and conflict by authors associated with military organizations, the speakers were completely surprised by the presence of police protection when they arrived for the session. Clearly, the controversy had escalated way beyond the parameters of academic discourse. The President of WAC has discussed the course of these events in her media release (Smith 2008).

One of the interesting questions raised during the controversy was whether it would be ethical for an archaeologist to work with the military in some conflicts but not in others. The challenge for an archaeologist who works for the military already and directly is that in the United States and the UK, the military is sent into conflict by the government/politicians, and the military does not get to select which conflicts in which it will and will not participate. It is true that codes of behavior, for most if not all western militaries, include provision for disobeying an illegal order from a superior, but that provision, to my knowledge, has never been implemented at the total conflict level. A position that determines working with the military to be unethical also limits an archaeologist's opportunity to contribute to disaster recovery efforts in situations where military personnel are providing the primary response.

Another dimension of this discussion that was explored by some archaeologists was whether it would be ethical to divide military activity into phases and to work with the military only during pre- and post-conflict phases. See also Stone's edited volume (2011), *Archaeology ethics and the military*. At the very least, this approach offers a solution to the disaster response problem.

Academic Group Three: Proactive Support for Military Education and Operations Planning

The first response of the third group of archaeologists was to proactively initiate a series of lecture programs for military personnel. Spearheaded by Brian Rose, then President of the Archaeological Institute of America, the Soldier Lecture Program, to date, has resulted in an extremely successful series of presentations to military personnel delivered on the verge of their deployments to some of the most archaeologically sensitive areas of Iraq and Afghanistan (Rose 2007). As the leader of a highly respected academic organization Rose's public position as an advocate for working directly with the military resulted in a shift of attitude. The Archaeological Institute of America (AIA) became the only academic organization composed of social scientists in the first decade of the twenty-first century to offer partnership with colleagues who worked in military contexts. AIA initiatives, meetings, and workshops have generated a more formal partnership arrangement known as CHAMP, Cultural Heritage by AIA Military Panel, http://aiamilitarypanel.org/. Even more important, this relationship has produced a wide range of educational and awareness materials designed to support military education and planning for cultural property protection.

The proactive response of AIA leadership and members raises an oppositional ethical question. Can the decision not to participate be an unethical one? For the purposes of argument, let us consider a scenario that challenges our counterparts in ethnographic anthropology. During the early months of the Iraq conflict a series of news stories reported on episodes at military check points where innocent families of civilians drove forward toward a US soldier who was using the hand gesture of arm extended, hand hyper-extended, palm forward. This gesture in the United States means stop. When these families continued forward they were shot and many were killed. However, in many parts of the Middle East this same hand gesture means welcome or come forward. For the sake of the scenario let us hypothesize that the reader is an anthropologist who specializes in hand gestures who is also an ardent pacifist and that there is an easy way for this anthropologist who has this critical information to contact the military. Is it ethical for this anthropologist not to immediately contact and inform the soldiers using a hypothetical hot line to the check point? If this anthropologist fails to contact the soldier, who bears the responsibility for the second carload of innocent civilians who are killed in this way?

For archaeologists the ethical challenge of failing to participate rarely if ever results in the loss of human life. However, there are many colleagues who have skills and knowledge that if offered to the military could be of extreme value in terms of archaeological site preservation during the course of military operations. For example, archaeologists who have completed extensive surveys of specific regions could provide these data to the Defense Intelligence Agency for use in developing the no-strike list. Provision of this type of data by archaeologists from the United States and the UK working together during the recent conflict in Libya helped to save the ancient cities there (Walda 2011; Wilson 2012; D'Emilio 2011). Specifically, these data combined with high technology precision targeting saved

the Roman fortification at Rasaimergib where Gaddafi forces had deliberately placed a radar installation (ANCBS and IMCuRWG 2011). Other archaeologists may have experience in site stabilization or may teach in an institution with an active Reserve Officer Training Corps program. These individuals all have the potential to assist in education of personnel and providing critical information for mapping and planning military operations. The purpose of forming partnership organizations like CHAMP is to make this potential participation easier and as productive as possible.

Defense Archaeologist Response to Conflict and Military Operations

With reference to engagement with conflict situations, the archaeologists who were already working for the US Department of Defense in 2001 can generally be divided into two groups. The first group continued to work purely in their domestic capacity in terms of land management, archaeological site identification, preservation, and Native American advocacy. The second group worked to add archaeology awareness and cultural property considerations to deployment preparation and training for military personnel. The second choice meant that the installation archaeologist had to attempt to inject themselves into the pre-deployment preparation for the personnel training at their installation and/or into the pre-deployment process overall and to add those efforts to domestic responsibility and installation program activity while attempting not to compromise domestic cultural resources management requirements. This second choice also required support from the individual's supervisory chain of command.

There is a third and extremely important group of archaeologists associated with the military, and these individuals are men and women in uniform who have either trained as archaeologists or who serve in reserve forces and are professional archaeologists in their civilian lives.

Defense Group One: Domestic Cultural Resources Management

It is important to articulate the fact that the US Department of Defense does not hire archaeologists to manage archaeological and historic property on military land as an altruistic contribution to American society. It is the role of the military archaeologist to keep the installation command in compliance with a range of US federal preservation and Native American law while maximizing training access to military lands. When the archaeologist does this job responsibly, he/she enables the training and new construction that supports the process of preparing deploying soldiers, sailors, marines, and airmen to go to war. When an archaeologist accepts a position working

for the US Department of Defense either as a military civilian employee or as a defense or university contractor it has to be with the full knowledge that this work contributes to military effort regardless of the nature of conflicts raging anywhere in the world. The choice to engage in this type of employment is an ethical decision from the very beginning.

Defense Group Two: Becoming a Part of the Deployment Process

Just like the hypothetical hand gesture anthropologist of the scenario described above, there was a community of military archaeologists who upon hearing the news of damage at Babylon (MSNBC 2004) realized that they had the skills and experience necessary to offer solutions. The military anthropologists in place and already on the US Department of Defense payroll were able to bring the following attributes to the table; they had experience teaching and working with military personnel; they understood the Defense approach to archaeological site preservation; and as trained archaeologists they were uniquely positioned to serve as interlocutors between concerned archaeologists with expertise in the region of concern and the military programs that could be called upon to address issues of cultural property protection forward.

Probably the most critical asset was the understanding that the responsibility for archaeological site protection during global operations in the US Department of Defense falls under the environmental portfolio. The Defense archaeologists had been working within this context for years and understood how to bring the DoD's own regulatory system to bear on military leaders and units forward who, whenever they inadvertently damaged cultural property within their area of operations, were violating the military's own rules (Office of the Under Secretary 2007; U.S. Central Command 2008). Archaeologists who have the opportunity to work from within the military structure are offered the potential to make meaningful changes to help prevent future deploying units from repeating the mistakes made at Babylon. Since Babylon, these efforts have assumed a variety of forms that generally fall into the categories of education, mapping and planning, developing stronger regulatory guidance, and research.

Defense Group Two: Preventing Inadvertent Damage Through Military Education

In considering the phenomenon of military damage to archaeological property, experience in Iraq and Afghanistan has shown that if we are to measure negative impact by cubic meter, the vast majority of damage occurs after the violent conflict has ended. Most of the documented damage has been during the post conflict phases

when military personnel are occupying archaeological property or expanding existing bases. Ironically, destruction of cultural property can also occur during military sponsored projects that are designed to assist local communities with infrastructure improvement. Much of this damage is completely avoidable and is also a violation of the 1954 Hague Convention for the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict, Section 402 of the NHPA, and even Central Command Environmental Regulation 200-2 (2008) whose cultural property protection section was authored by military archaeologists.

Educational responses range from the well-known archaeology awareness playing cards to development of professional military education curriculum for cultural property protection. Three types of cards have now been produced that focus on protection of heritage in Iraq, Egypt, and Afghanistan. Over 130,000 of these decks have been distributed to deploying personnel. Heritage reference websites are now available also focusing on Iraq, Egypt, and Afghanistan and a web portal has been established as a cultural property protection reference, see www.cchag.org (Zeidler 2011). Dozens of lectures and training events have occurred, many in partnership with members of the Archaeological Institute of America (Rush 2010). Use of archaeological sites, both real and replica, is increasing in military field training in both the United States and the UK. The education and planning efforts are also beginning to cross international boundaries. Archaeologists, art historians, and cultural property officers from the United States, the UK, Austria, the Netherlands, Egypt, Switzerland, Italy, Bosnia, Turkey, Poland, Jordan, and Hungary are either actively working with the military in an educational capacity or are searching for ways to establish programs in their nations.

Mapping and planning is another critical component for successful cultural property protection. The military archaeologists as of 2011 have begun to work directly with the keepers of the data that generate the no-strike lists at Defense Intelligence Agency. The no-strike approach has been extremely effective in terms of protecting archaeological sites from aerial bombardment. The challenge now is to insure that all ground forces have access to the same type of information and that this information is used to incorporate cultural property considerations into planning. Detailed maps are also critical for disaster response. The approach to a damaged or destroyed cultural institutions or sacred spaces like museums, churches, or mosques is necessarily different from response to destruction in vernacular structures like homes and office spaces.

Defense Group Three: Archaeologists in Uniform

The US military can be proud of the accomplishments of the third defense group mentioned above, the archaeologists in uniform. There is Sergeant First Class Carlson (2011) who noticed contractors excavating archaeological material for fill at Forward Operating Base Hammer east of Baghdad. He was able to use the newly signed Central Command regulation to obtain the military order not only to stop the activity

but also to put up site protection signage. First Lieutenant Roberts convinced his commander to use emergency response funds to rebuild the tourist amenities at Agar Quf Iraq, Airman Daryl Pinckney used his unassigned time at Warrior Base Kirkuk, built on the ancient city and tell, to volunteer as the installation cultural resources manager, Sergeant Jesse Ballinger was instrumental in the protection of a tell during his Iraq assignment, Civil Affairs Officer Major Cori Wegner (2008), an Art Museum Curator, assisted in recovery efforts at the Iraq National Museum in Baghdad, and there are many additional examples. Increased participation by archaeologists and related professions in the armed forces with a military structure that would allow them to serve in their professional capacity would be a powerful and effective way forward, not just in terms of full US Defense compliance with the 1954 Hague Convention but also for engaging in a comprehensive way with cultural property protection issues that include the ethical questions. At this point in time, there is no quantitative data available in terms of the scale of impact resulting from recent initiatives. However, the saved sites and recovered collections speak for themselves.

In Summary, Partnership Versus Guns

This chapter has defined groups of military and academic archaeologists who have responded in very different ways to the challenge of archaeological stewardship in the face of conflict and natural disaster. Ironically, as we consider the range of responses, we find that both the academic and defense archaeologists who have become engaged with the military have evolved into the more passionate advocates for education, planning, paying site guards, and local capacity building to achieve the goals of archaeological stewardship. All of these approaches are nonviolent. For those of us who work with the military, this response is not surprising at all. "You will never find a more passionate advocate for peace than a combat veteran." The Fort Drum Garrison Commander made this comment to me as we were preparing for a head of state visit that included the Onondaga Clan Mothers and Faith Keepers. Even after several years of working for the Army, I had still managed to underestimate the ability of an experienced military officer to immediately find common ground with the Native American guests who were also advocates for peace. Fortunately, he pointed out my error, and his words have stayed with me.

The opportunity to work with military personnel and to travel on behalf of the military has also provided the chance to see partnership and capacity building working to save archaeological sites in real life situations. Correspondence with soldiers who received the playing cards revealed that protection of ancient Mesopotamia was a source of common interest as they worked to build relationships with Iraqi counterparts. It was through these messages and comments that we began to realize the potential power of heritage protection as a form of conflict resolution, and we can better appreciate similar experiences and observations as reported by colleagues like Scham and Yahya (2003). Just as heritage and cultural property has the power to ignite conflict, protecting it can lead to peace. The first time that officials from all

former Yugoslavian states agreed to meet together was to attend a UNESCO sponsored cultural property protection training course given by the Austrians at the Defence Academy in Vienna. The Blue Shield post conflict inspection of sites in Libya demonstrated the commitment of local communities to save archaeological sites, with individuals putting their own lives at risk.

It is normal for human beings to stereotype and develop misconceptions about other people and groups of people that they may have never met or know nothing about. These stereotypes also contribute to the emotion often expressed when members of very different social groups begin to question each other's ethical choices from outside of each other's groups and value systems. When I began to work for the US Army at Fort Drum, New York in 1998, I certainly never expected to meet soldiers like our pacifist Garrison Commander or the General who invited me to Iraq to help expedite the transition of the Ancient City of Ur to the Iraqi people. I suspect that many of my academic colleagues, who have not had the privilege to work closely with US military personnel, still suffer from many of the misconceptions and stereotypes that I brought with me to Fort Drum the first day I reported to work. I also suspect that some of the academic archaeologists who advocate for militarized site protection or who wish to equip host nation site guards with more weapons have never fired a weapon or experienced violent conflict first hand. I do know that the quality time that I have spent in the relative safety of bunkers in Baghdad and Kandahar has encouraged me to continue to advocate for as much education, planning, and capacity building as this world will allow, and that approach, in my opinion, offers an ethical solution.

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Chapter 12
Cognitive Dissonance and the Military-Archaeology Complex

Derek Congram

Introduction

Throughout my early career I struggled with ethical dilemmas confronted in the rapidly expanding practice of forensic archaeology, some of which I found myself unwittingly in the middle. Remarkably, these dilemmas have caused more psychological stress than that which comes from dealing with victims of mass killings and their grieving family members (which is not to downplay the reality of the latter, cf. Wright 2010). Despite having raised some questions, shared experiences and explored some possible solutions to ethical challenges in forensic archaeology (e.g., Congram and Bruno 2008; Congram and Fernández 2010; Congram and Steadman 2009; Congram et al. forthcoming, 2014), my limited education and training in ethics has precluded me from making any significant contribution relative to what is needed. The need for debate about ethics is particularly acute given the relatively juvenile state of forensic archaeology and lack of professional organization and oversight. I am probably among the many about whom Scarre and Scarre's (2006:2) profile apply:

"One may be a serious and conscientious researcher and a decent human being to boot, without necessarily finding it easy to appraise moral claims, weigh up and decide between conflicting interests, or determine the dutiful or virtuous thing to do." In this chapter I will present different contexts in which forensic archaeological expertise was employed or was applicable, focusing on contexts of (post) armed conflict in what is sometimes rightly or wrongly referred to as "Victor's Justice." The competing interests that an archaeologist has to address in these investigations, often on behalf of or in association with governments or militaries that were participants

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A. González-Ruibal, G. Moshenska (eds.), *Ethics and the Archaeology of Violence*, Ethical Archaeologies: The Politics of Social Justice 2,
DOI 10.1007/978-1-4939-1643-6_12

in the conflict, result in dissonant emotions and beliefs that may influence their work. I argue that because archaeologists are not jurists it would be arrogant of them to think that they can adequately judge the legitimacy of judicial processes, particularly in the nascent and complex field of international criminal law (to say nothing of the relativity of concepts of justice held by different groups and individuals). Supporting this sentiment, Lucas (2009:94–98) attributes the angst felt by anthropologists [and archaeologists] over the ethics of their past activity with the military to what he calls "…jurisdictional fallacy, in which individuals or organizations might erroneously assume responsibility for events that are out of their jurisdiction and beyond their reasonable control." Nevertheless, l argue here that forensic archaeologists are also professionally and ethically obliged—as best as possible—to carefully judge the context, mandate, legal, and sociopolitical consequences of their work in making decisions about where they work. I contend that two of the best measures of just investigations are: How democratic they are (i.e., how closely connected to the victim community, or bottom-up, they are); and how universal they are (i.e., if all victim groups are being treated relatively equal).

Background

In the mid-1980s archaeologists began assisting truth commissions investigate political killings in Latin America. Investigations in Argentina started with cemetery workers and firefighters being used to conduct judicial exhumations. Add to this, there was a perceived bias of a government investigating alleged crimes of a previous government. These problems served as the impetus for using civilian, nongovernment archaeologists and anthropologists in the investigation of crimes as had been called for by victim families (Bernardi and Fondebrider 2007). This altered what had previously been a very top-down approach to investigations. When the United Nations Security Council established ad hoc courts for Rwanda and the former Yugoslavia, members of the Latin American forensic anthropology teams, on account of their vast experience investigating large-scale killings and mass burial sites, figured prominently in the teams to investigate on behalf of the UN prosecutors. The dynamic under UN auspices, however, was different from that of Latin America. Contextual and philosophical differences were lost on those who, such as the author of this chapter, gained their first forensic experience while working for the UN tribunals. The concept of archaeologists and anthropologists directly representing the interests of the primary stakeholders in an investigation—the families of the victims—had very much been sidelined, or at least obfuscated, in these latter investigations (Fondebrider 2009). This change reflected an investigative focus away from bottom-up victim family rights and towards prosecution of high-ranking offenders, a fall-back to the World War II Nuremberg and Tokyo trials. Although the investigative methods employed, evidence recovered, interpretations of the evidence and reporting of it might all be nearly the same in these and other contexts, the professional and ethical implications of forensic archaeological work is to a degree context dependent, as the following examples will demonstrate.

WWII

In 1941, the Nazis were taking over territory in Eastern Europe that since 1939 had been occupied by the Soviets. Mass burials of those executed by the Soviets at the start of the war in places such as Katyn, Poland became known to the Nazi authorities who ordered systematic investigations of dozens of the graves in 1943. The investigations were led by German medicolegal experts, and overseen in part by more than a dozen other medicolegal experts from other European countries as well as a representative of the Red Cross, who ably demonstrated Soviet culpability for the killings (Kamenetsky 1989). Ironically, with the victory of the Allies and the establishment of the Nuremberg Tribunal Soviet prosecutors charged the Nazis with these mass killings. Although the tribunal had been criticized as exemplifying "Victor's Justice," Justice Robert Jackson dismissed these charges against the Nazis (O'Brien 2011). Although the Nazi-led grave excavations took place in a highly propagandized environment—the primary purpose of excavations was to garner the support of nationals in occupied territory by highlighting crimes of the Soviets—well-documented grave excavations provided a form of evidence that demonstrated Nazi innocence with respect to the killings discovered in the graves at Katyn and elsewhere in former Soviet-occupied territory. The Nazi excavations preceded by 2 years the excavation of over 150 graves in Germany by the British military at the end of the war, which, in contrast to the Soviet accusations at Nuremberg, *did* provide evidence of Nazi war crimes (Mant 1950, 1987). The British War Crimes Investigation Units were set up by and were directly accountable to the British military. Neither the Nazi nor the British grave excavations employed archaeologists although anatomists, pathologists, and in the example of the Nazi excavations a pedologist, served as specialized consultants as would an archaeologist. These experts, all under military direction and in an extremely politicized context, appear to have effectively demonstrated the group and occasional individual identity of victims, circumstances, and timing of their killings and the probable offenders. The same type of information is often discovered and analyzed by forensic archaeologists and anthropologists in more contemporary investigations.

It is impossible to fully and accurately anticipate all of the ways that a scientist's work will be used (or misused) but I believe that one can approximate such things and work to mitigate misuse or misinterpretation of one's work. In the case of the Nazi grave excavations in 1943, it is clear that although the investigation served propaganda purposes, scientists also exposed the truth about Soviet crimes, answering questions pertaining to the fate of tens of thousands of people who went missing during Soviet occupation. Although the case against the Nazis for the mass killings at Katyn and other places was rightly dismissed by the court at Nuremberg, the biased mandate of the court prevented it from using the evidence excavated from the graves to hold the Soviets accountable for the massacres. Had Justice Jackson accepted the Soviet charges of Nazi culpability, the European scientists involved in the investigation would have been ethically obliged to speak out against the falsification of the findings, which would have seriously discredited the legal proceedings.

For Mant and colleagues, it was clear that their mandate was strictly limited to the investigation of crimes against British military personnel on behalf of the British military, a sort of "Victor's Investigation" (Mant 1950:3–10). Does the one-sidedness of such a mandate make their participation unethical? There can be no doubt that there are a plethora of cases to which forensic archaeological expertise could have been applied in the investigation of crimes committed by the allies, but this option did not exist at the time. Is the investigation of one party to a conflict, one of many who are all guilty of war crimes, better than none? In the end, two separate investigations were directed by two national groups at opposite sides of the conflict. In both cases, investigations were politically motivated and top-down. Despite this, the scientific integrity of both investigations was such that despite there being no formal tribunal to hear the evidence collected during the Nazi excavations, today we can fairly judge the responsible parties for their respective crimes. The tragic irony for the communities where victims uncovered by the Nazis—who *prima facie* in 1943 were receiving some just attention for crimes against them—was that they would continue to be victimized terribly under Nazi occupation.

The following examples show that the international legal and political context has evolved in a way that eases some ethical dilemmas related to bias that would be faced by forensic scientists investigating atrocity crimes. Nevertheless, this evolution has followed a course of punctuated equilibrium (and at some points perhaps even regressed). Thus, significant responsibility for making educated judgments about the ethics of investigations remains with individual scientists (Blau 2009, 2014).

United Nations International Criminal Tribunals

The mid-to-late 1990s heralded the mobilization of a great number of anthropologists and archaeologists in the service of the Office of the Prosecutor of the International Criminal Tribunals for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY) and Rwanda (ICTR) (Steadman and Haglund 2005). ICTY's mandate is to investigate all alleged crimes committed in the territory of the former Yugoslavia, which includes those that may have been committed by NATO. Ironically, NATO forces have been crucial to the success of the court by facilitating investigation scene security, supporting the serving of arrest warrants, and by providing intelligence on crimes committed by other parties.

In light of a potential conflict of interest that has proven essential to the effectiveness of ICTY, what ethical implications are there for individual scientists who are called upon to work for the court? Criticisms of the quality and reliability of work by prosecution experts hired to excavate mass graves came to the fore during their cross-examination, first in Arusha (Prosecutor v Rutaganda, case number ICTR 96-3-T, pp. 1156–1160) and later in The Hague (Prosecutor v Vujadin Popović et al., Case IT-05-88-T, pages 8913–9009 and 23880–24000). The criticisms were often developed in court by archaeologists and anthropologists who had been hired by defense counsel to review the work of the prosecution. Although defense experts

rightly (and, in some instances in the opinion of the author, wrongly) identified shortcomings of the prosecution's investigations, the act of experts themselves being put under the microscope in court serves to enforce ethical and balanced professional practice (and ultimately justice). Even before trial, complaints made by some forensic grave investigation team members prompted the ICTY prosecutor to form an oversight committee of forensic anthropologists and pathologists to review if evidence from exhumations had been compromised because of mismanagement. Steele (2008) claimed that forensic archaeological investigations of mass graves lack a peer review process and although this may have been true in the context of Iraq where Steel had worked, the claim is contradicted by the adversarial process demonstrated in the UN courts. Further, many excavations of clandestine graves in the former Yugoslavia have been conducted by national commissions with experts from other countries (e.g., the countries of the alleged perpetrators of the crimes) and other organizations (e.g., UN ICTY, International Commission for Missing Persons) in attendance as observers and/or advisors.

Despite the plausibility of external review of one's work, there is great potential for bias in the work of an expert in an adversarial system. For those employed by the prosecution in high-profile and often highly publicized cases, it is difficult to imagine an archaeologist (or any other reasonable person) who does not want to see those responsible for the murder of dozens, hundreds, or thousands found guilty and punished. The important question is really about whether or not this desire affects methods and interpretations. In an article based on an anonymous survey of forensic pathologists Lorin de la Grandmaison et al. (2006) implied that experts working in the Balkans who had an association with human rights organizations were inherently biased in favor of the prosecutor. They also reported apparent bias when ICTY investigators chose not to investigate found mass graves based on the believed Serbian (rather than Bosnian-Muslim) ethnicity of the victims. Unfortunately, the authors of the study do not report (and presumably do not know) the reason that graves of possible Serbian victims were not excavated by a particular group. It is also unclear how pathologists were aware of such decisions as their workplace was typically in the mortuary, rather than in the field. Although there is a possibility that investigations were biased, the most likely explanation for a particular team bypassing a grave is on account of the existence of ICTY investigative teams tasked with investigating different criminal events or cases (e.g., one team was tasked with investigating crimes against Muslims and another tasked with investigating crimes against ethnic Serbs). Add to this the fact that one generally does not know what a result will be prior to analysis (i.e., without excavation, how can one know who is buried in a grave?),[1] Lorin de la Grandmaison and his colleagues repeat an accusation leveled at an anthropologist during cross-examination in court that because of membership or association with a Human Rights organization, the expert is biased. Such statements are absurd and are based on two related misconceptions (or deliberate misconstructions):

[1] ICTY investigators examined documentary evidence and interviewed potential witnesses. Forensic scientists would then be brought to investigate scenes and generally worked with little background information.

(1) that those concerned with human rights inherently favor one party in a conflict over another (the "victim group" over the "offender group"); and (2) that this association biases their work. To suggest that a scientist concerned with human rights is biased implies that the scientist believes that all crimes were committed by one party of a conflict against another, completely innocent party. It stands to reason that if a forensic scientist is a member of a human rights organization, the greatest risk of bias that they may have is against all parties in a conflict. Archaeologists and physical anthropologists in particular, which are most familiar with human kind's long history of interpersonal and intergroup violence, will know that the popular binary of "good guys" versus "bad guys" is absurd.

There have been allegations of bias by the UN tribunals, and the approach adopted was very top-down, which risked not only the politicization of trials but also raised the probability that the interests of the families of victims might not be prioritized. Legal scholars have debated the fairness of the UN trials (e.g., Peskin 2005; Schabas 2010). More pertinently for forensic scientists, however, is the fact that the work of their colleagues at the tribunals has been thoroughly scrutinized through expert review by peers and during cross-examination. Offenders from all major groups in the conflict have been investigated and tried, and throughout the investigation process, archaeologists/anthropologists have had a degree of interaction with witnesses and victim communities. These things all give credence to the fairness of the justice being served by the UN tribunals.

Iraq

In 2003, the Iraqi Governing Council was given authority by the Coalition Provisional Authority (the US administration in Iraq) to create the Iraqi Special Tribunal, later the Supreme Iraqi Criminal Tribunal. The Tribunal's mandate is limited to crimes committed by Iraqi nationals between July 17, 1968 (the date of the Ba'athist Coup) and May 1, 2003 (ICTJ 2005). One might suggest that such a restricted remit is evidence of political bias (i.e., "Victor's Justice"). There is some truth to this, to be sure, but temporal and other jurisdictional limits are routinely placed on post-conflict tribunals and Truth Commissions (e.g., Historical Clarification Commission in Guatemala, Truth and Reconciliation Commission of South Africa) and these limits are often pragmatic necessities rather than, or as well as the result of political manipulation.

Further contributing to the conception of justice being that of only the victors in Iraq is the lack or apparent lack of representation of victims and their surviving family members. A lack of outreach to victims' families is cited by the International Center for Transitional Justice (ICTJ 2005:15) as one of several factors that have complicated exhumations, exemplified in the forensic investigation by a US expert team of an alleged mass burial site that lacked remains, having previously been dug up by locals. Hunter and Simpson (2007:277) claim that…

> there is rarely a direct relationship between the archaeologists and anthropologists and the community in question… there is inevitably an intermediary, or some organizational or

administrative third party involved, or even military, which can inadvertently generate a strained operation environment.

Sadly this is sometimes, and perhaps in the experience of Hunter and Simpson always, true. It is important to remember, however, that the identity of those who have yet to be exhumed and analyzed is generally presumed rather than known. There are, however, many exceptions to Hunter and Simpson's characterization, contexts where scientists have interacted directly with the families of the missing and even lobbied on their behalf, particularly in Latin America, but also to an extent in Kosovo and certainly in Spain (see below). The security situation in Iraq during mass grave excavations for the Iraqi tribunal precluded scientists from free travel and access to victim families and communities except in a couple of instances. This complicated the ability of anthropologists and archaeologists to work towards just investigations because of their distance from victim communities. Anthropologists examining personal effects of those exhumed arranged via the US Embassy to work with the Kurdish community to create catalogs of Kurdish clothing to compare with that being found in graves. The description and recording of how clothing differed—if only by name—from that of other ethnic groups was merely an initiative taken up by the individual anthropologist working on the case (rather than an explicit objective prior to starting the investigation). The repatriation of remains following analysis was also something that had not been planned by the organization but which was insisted upon by individual scientists and ultimately enacted. Such efforts demonstrate how a scientist with reasonable freedom and initiative can conduct good work and even alter the work plan of an investigation despite serious contextual and preliminary conceptual limitations.

Despite these laudable examples, the author's experience in Iraq and conversation with other colleagues who have worked there show that several archaeologists and anthropologists had unrealistically ideal notions about the justice that would be served by mass grave investigations and only the vaguest appreciation of the sociopolitical and legal implications of their work. Some colleagues in Iraq were oblivious to accusations of a biased Iraqi–US legal process for those under investigation and failed to appreciate the serious human rights violations and mass death that were the inevitable consequence of the violent change of political power initiated by the US-led coalition (which facilitated investigations of those at the losing end of the invasion). Hamilakis (2003, 2009) directed similar criticisms against archaeologists serving the attacking military services to help protect Iraqi cultural heritage despite the enormous cost to human life that came as a result of the invasion. No one can question the value of the investigation of those executed by the Ba'ath Party Regime, but we must carefully consider the cost of the interventions that enable investigations.

If assessing the ethics of participation in a project in a utilitarian way, how much weight should be given to the direct and immediate good of uncovering horrific crimes; the identification of victims (at the group or individual level); victim repatriation to surviving families and communities; the contribution towards a complex judicial process (and the degree of confidence that the process is satisfactory to those it is meant to serve); and the indirect but real association with an illegal military invasion that instigated fighting, which resulted in the death of tens of thousands of

combatants and civilians? Those scientists that do not struggle with a cognitive dissonance about their involvement in any (though especially this) forensic context, I would argue, are either gloriously naïve or deliberately ignorant.

One forensic bioarchaeologist was asked by a soldier about why she was in Iraq. When she informed him that she was investigating allegations of human rights violations and mass graves from the Ba'ath Party regime, the soldier—apparently oblivious about why mass graves warrant investigation—went on to describe with élan about the mass burials he had witnessed firsthand that were necessitated by the large numbers of dead bodies of those killed while fighting during the advance of foreign militaries (including his own) towards Baghdad in 2003. The bioarchaeologist promptly pushed the soldier—with a digital camera around his neck and a holstered sidearm—into the swimming pool by which he was standing. When the confused soldier clambered out of the pool and began screaming at the anthropologist, she pushed him in a second time. The pushy colleague was among many others who worked in Iraq for the USA or UK militaries who very clearly understood the competing goals and concerns related to working in Iraq (e.g., Congram and Sterenberg 2009; Hunter and Cox 2005:204–225). The recognition and acknowledgment of the ethical challenges are critical to working towards just and fair investigations. The reasonable freedom of scientists to do their job according to professional standards is a second critical element. What becomes of that work, however, can be a problem—albeit secondary—for forensic scientists. Forensic archaeology is almost always at the behest of a government body (directly or indirectly) and therefore investigation results run an inherent risk of being politicized (Skinner et al. 2003). It was feared by some that Iraqi tribunal investigations would be used as a justification for the US-led invasion, particularly in light of the fact that the Iraqi tribunal was being funded mostly by the USA (ICTJ 2005). Although US plans for an Iraqi tribunal began before the invasion, Steele (2008) points out that the trials also served as a justification after failed US efforts to find weapons of mass destruction (Steele 2008:424, also Kadhim 2006).

Despite potential, political, or ideological misuse of evidence from mass graves, if carefully documented and presented clearly, the evidence itself can be indisputable. Regardless of motivations for the investigation, scientifically sound methods and interpretations will work to confirm or refute allegations of serious crimes. In rare circumstances, the results may not be what a sponsor agency expected and the archaeologist may be torn between competing obligations: that to a sponsor organization, confidentiality that is inherent in many medicolegal investigations, and the need for communicating results to stakeholders. Skinner (2007) provides an excellent example of the competing interests that might come to bear on a case and also how a scientist can work to ensure a relatively transparent process (see also Tracevskis 2003).

Unlike the relatively public trials of the UN tribunals, details about forensic grave excavations in Iraq since 2003 have lacked transparency, fueling potential criticism of unjust proceedings. Steele (2008) provides a thoughtful analysis of her experience excavating graves in Iraq but also outlines the serious restrictions imposed on those who wish to make the work more transparent. A series of oral presentations were given at the annual meeting of the Society for Historical

Archaeology in 2008 by Iraq mass grave excavation team members, although these remain unpublished. Recently, a chapter outlining methods and results from grave excavations was published (Trimble and Malin-Boyce 2011), albeit in an obscure and, for a report on forensic mass grave excavations, quixotic forum (Thomas King's *Companion to Cultural Resource Management*, 2011). The publication is, of course, welcome as it helps make public the work of the excavation and analysis team. Unfortunately, it also reveals problems with the work: confusion over the number of bodies and cultural objects recovered and analyzed (Trimble and Malin-Boyce 2011:523–525), a grave that was only partially excavated because of a lack of facilities to process remains with soft tissue, the embarrassingly erroneous statement to military intelligence officers that dead bodies do not give off heat (p. 530, cf. Congram and Bruno 2008:41, 42 among others), and although in no way the fault of the excavation team, we learn that the name of the US military base at which the laboratory was based was atrociously named "Camp Slayer."

Also somewhat disconcerting is the military language used by the archaeologists both here and in Hunter and Simpson, in describing their archaeological work: "tactical unit," "intelligence gathering," "mission," "hostile action/environment," "insurgency" and the adoption of the misleading phrase used by the US administration starting in July 2003 of "post-conflict" operations. Such language is, one hopes, only an unconscious adoption of the *lingua franca* in conflict and post-conflict environments where reliance upon local and foreign militaries is often critical for housing, transportation, demining, and security of sites (e.g., Scheffer 2012). Nevertheless, it behooves the forensic archaeologist to consciously and publicly maintain their independence as a civilian professional who works *with* the military and not necessarily *for* the military (see also Hamilakis 2003 and 2009 on the danger of "the adoption of the rhetoric of the invader and coloniser"). Cognitive dissonance, I assert, is a normal condition in this context that assists a scientist ascertain when, where, and how it is acceptable to participate in forensic investigations. The degree to which a scientist can fairly assess the nature of an investigation as well as their ability to positively influence the investigation greatly work towards satisfying ethical concerns over just investigations that directly serve victim communities.

Spanish Civil War

The exhumations and analyses of victims of the 1936–1939 Spanish Civil War and postwar repression generally lack active government involvement (e.g., Congram and Steadman 2009; Etxeberría 2012; Zapico Barbeito 2010), and therefore can only be considered quasi-forensic. Nevertheless, the circumstances of the cases and methods employed make this context informative to a discussion of forensic archaeology ethics and justice in conflict contexts.

Controversy surrounds victim exhumations in Spain, in part due to an attempted investigation by judge Baltasar Garzón. After initiating his investigation, Garzón was put on trial for malfeasance because civil groups alleged that it was beyond the

professional remit of Spanish investigative judges. Garzón was eventually found not guilty but he had dropped the case. I had provided a briefing to the judge on my experience in Spain and other contexts during his preparation of the investigation. Through formal and informal interactions with family members of victims and other Spaniards both in favor of and opposed to exhumations, I was acutely aware of the controversy provoked by the victim exhumations (e.g., Renshaw 2011).

Despite such contention over the value of exhumations, I believed that it was both ethical and important to participate rather than abstain (the latter being advised by one colleague), out of concern for the families of the victims who desperately sought professional, technical assistance and in light of government disinterest in investigations. Furthermore, in 2002 a United Nations working group added Spain to its list of countries that held the responsibility of resolving cases of disappeared persons (Commission on Human Rights 2003). It is also worth noting that local government and landowner permission for exhumations was granted in all instances, so far as I am aware, of exhumations conducted in Spain since the year 2000.

Spain presents a tragic example of what happens when there is only ever "victor's justice." For 70 years following the war, families of over 100,000 civilians or prisoners of war who were executed in the rebel rear guard had no recourse to justice, or even acknowledgment of the killings. This contrasted sharply with postwar exhumations conducted by the victorious rebel government, as part of the *Causa General*, which was a nation-wide and highly propagandized investigation of crimes committed by those who supported the former democratic government during the war (Espinosa 2006:95–97; Richards 2007). Those exhumed were transferred to a massive memorial carved into rock called the Valley of the Fallen, which had been built under brutal conditions by thousands of prisoners of war (Moreno 1999:341, 342). Further adding to the insult of those who lost the war, it is believed that mass graves of those killed by the rebels were also exhumed—unbeknownst to the victim families—and entombed in the memorial that honored their killers. For this reason, judge Garzón's proposed investigation involved a census of bodies at the memorial and the removal of some of them so that they might be identified and returned to surviving family members (Diez 2008; Europa Press 2008; Junquera 2010).

Since 2000, grass roots groups have taken the initiative of locating unmarked victim burials and repatriating their remains as part of a movement of "Historic Memory." The work in Spain may be described as the antithesis of Victor's Justice. The active participation of (forensic) archaeologists has exemplified the power of the individual scientist to work towards justice, in the face of state inactivity. Contemporary exhumations have been bottom-up and they work to equalize the past injustice of one-sided investigations of only those killed by supporters of the Republican government. In this context, the words of Romanian poet Ana Blandiana serve: "When justice does not succeed in being a form of memory, memory itself can be a form of justice" (as cited in Mark 2010:281). Even beyond memory *as* justice, Anfiset (2009:178) notes that "with increased social and political involvement, the archaeologist can create a foundation or basis for political decisions." As such, the informed action of a forensic scientist can lead to justice, one way or another, despite government disinterest.

As a final comment on this case, I believe that it is important to note the willingness of some professionals in Spain to assist victim families of both sides of the war. Contemporary exhumations in Spain focus almost exclusively on victims of rebel violence, mostly because they are the ones who remain missing (victims on the other side mostly having been exhumed previously by the Franco government during the *Causa General*). Notwithstanding, victims from both (or neither) side of the conflict continue to be missing and deserve professional assistance towards victim location, identification, and repatriation.

Conclusion

Victor's Justice falls short as a descriptor in many instances, but is most appropriate to the Nuremberg and Tokyo trials. The debate over the legitimacy of the label describing different contexts features in legal literature and it is upon the assessment of subject-matter experts that forensic scientists should primarily rely when attempting to judge whether or not they should participate in an investigation. The adoption of a "just doing my job" attitude, accepting whatever assignment is offered, is irresponsible. Still, the legitimacy of an organization sponsoring investigations may take years to establish (e.g., Nettlefield 2010; Scheffer 2012) and may be contingent in part upon the work of good scientists in the investigation of alleged crimes. Contextual considerations and a critical approach towards the participation of a forensic archaeologist in an investigation are important. In making these decisions, it may be inappropriate to copy and paste criteria assessed in other branches of archaeology. Unlike academic or, to a lesser extent CRM archaeology, forensics is almost always at the behest of and in direct association with government and/or military agencies. Forensic archaeology is also typically subject to greater privacy concerns, mostly related to *sub judice*. As such, we cannot have the same expectations of transparency—in timing or degree. Unlike research archaeology, only specific aspects of forensic investigations are directed by archaeologists. Nevertheless, in disparate contexts forensic archaeologists have demonstrated an ability to not only change the direction of an investigation but to influence the use and distribution of information. Most forensic archaeologists are connected in one way or another to academia and publish, albeit most often in forensic rather than archaeology journals (Steele 2008:417).

This chapter highlighted several cases of forensic or quasi-forensic excavation of mass burials and examined ethical considerations that should be considered by archaeologists with regard to their participation. Table 12.1 summarizes these cases and illustrates what I consider to be primary factors related to whether or not the cases lend themselves to criticism of serving Victor's Justice.

In commenting on an article by Moshenska (2008), Carman (2009) refers to forensic archaeological work as archaeologists seeking to prove a theory (as opposed to testing a hypothesis). Victor's Justice is suited to such instances and reflects the common perception of forensic archaeology rather than the reality. Proper forensic

Table 12.1 Comparison of forensic archaeological contexts and evaluation of "Victor's Justice"

Context	Nature of investigator	Investigation dynamic	Universality of justice
WWII	Nazis in occupied territory	Top-down	One-sided
WWII	Allied Forces in conquered territory	Top-down	One-sided (countering previous case)
Former Yugoslavia	United Nations	Mostly top-down	Mostly universal
Iraq	Occupying forces in support of National Court in conquered territory	Top-down	One-sided
Spain	Grass roots with, in some situations, mostly local or regional government support	Bottom-up	Mostly one-sided but consequence of circumstance; democratic

scientists treat background information on who, what, when, why, and how people (e.g., bodies in a grave) came to be in a place (or if there are people there at all) as hypothetical. Forensic scientists should not, and generally do not treat the belief of an investigator who leads them to a site as anything more than a working hypothesis. Forensic archaeologists should be just as content with refutation as with confirmations and Carman's (2009:174) statement that "a 'forensic' activity is frequently carried out under a 'redemptive' ethic—one driven by a clear idea… of what is 'right' and 'wrong'… that does not allow space for reflection or for ambiguity" makes forensic archaeologists out to be any or all of simple technicians, prosecutorial lackeys, or bad scientists. There is always ambiguity and if there is no space allowed for reflection, then we are merely finding and describing, which should remain a part of the archaeological past (i.e., the old way of doing archaeology). Does lack of combat fatigues imply that bodies in a mass grave were all civilians? Not necessarily. Does a leg of cured pork commingled with bodies in a mass grave (the author has actually seen this) mean that those buried in the grave were not Muslim? Not at all. These matters, that fall within the professional purview of forensic archaeologists in the context of medicolegal investigation, require critical reflection and often involve a significant degree of ambiguity.

This chapter argues that contextual considerations of politics, law, scope, manner, and objectives are critical for a forensic archaeologist in assessing the ethical acceptability of their participation in investigations. The potential for politicized direction and management of an investigation is omnipresent. In some contexts, the gross politicizations may be such that bias can reasonably be foreseen as inevitable, in which case a scientist should refuse to participate. Most instances, however, involve a complex interplay of politics, values, objectives, resources, costs, and benefits. A very accomplished forensic practitioner in Spain has asserted that one must be objective and impartial, but that these must not be confused with neutrality (Etxeberría 2012). Scientists have a choice to participate in investigations or not. They are limited in their ability to know and accurately assess much about areas in which they are inexpert. If involved, they should continually assess the nature and

direction of investigations and their participation in it and acknowledge that by participating they can often influence the direction of a project, ensuring that it is done well and for good purposes.

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Chapter 13
Working as a Forensic Archaeologist and/or Anthropologist in Post-conflict Contexts: A Consideration of Professional Responsibilities to the Missing, the Dead and Their Relatives

Soren Blau

Introduction

Investigations of human rights abuses that involve single or mass killings typically rely on physical evidence as an important component of the work process. Whether the killings are the result of political, ethnic and/or religious violence, the physical evidence recovered at the investigation site (be it clothing and personal effects, grave cuts with surviving tool marks, ballistic evidence or skeletal remains demonstrating trauma), potentially plays a number of fundamental roles in an investigation. Such evidence may assist in proving or denying that a crime was committed and/or reconstructing the events leading up to death (e.g. addressing questions about when the victim or victims were killed; if there was evidence of torture prior to death; or if the victim or victims were killed in the grave, near or in a different location altogether). Evidence may also provide a links between a suspect and a crime scene, and /or assist in determining a cause and manner of death, or establishing whether a grave or killings were premeditated. The careful recovery of physical evidence may also assist in confirming the identity of a deceased person/s and subsequently establishing whether the individual/s were soldiers or civilians, or corroborating verbal witness testimony about specific events.

When located, properly collected, recorded and preserved, physical evidence is independent from memory or oral statements provided by a witness and therefore cannot lie or be forgotten. Physical evidence is, therefore, fundamental in developing a reliable and factual account of events for the historic record (Kirschner and Hannibal 1994).

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A. González-Ruibal, G. Moshenska (eds.), *Ethics and the Archaeology of Violence*, Ethical Archaeologies: The Politics of Social Justice 2,
DOI 10.1007/978-1-4939-1643-6_13

With expertise in the search, location, recovery and recording of physical evidence archaeologists and anthropologist have contributed their skills to the investigation of "domestic murder cases and multiple fatalities resulting from natural disasters such as floods, forest fires, earthquakes, etc. and human induced events such as transportation accidents, building fires, or terrorist incidents" (Blau and Skinner 2005:451). Archaeologists and anthropologists are increasingly involved in forensic investigations in post-conflict contexts (Blau and Skinner 2005; Burns 1998; Connor 1996; Cox 2003; Haglund 2001; Haglund et al. 2001; Hunter et al. 2001; Steadman and Haglund 2005).

The importance of contextual information to aid personal identification was recognised as early as the 1970s (Ferllini 2003; Haglund 2001; Kirschner and Hannibal 1994). However, it was not until the 1980s that archaeological techniques were applied to the investigation of human rights abuses following periods of conflict. This process commenced in 1984 in Argentina where approximately 10,000 people were reported missing during seven years of military dictatorship (the so-called Dirty War 1976–1983). With the establishment of a truth commission following the return to civilian rule in 1983 (Bernardi and Fondebrider 2007), initial attempts to find and recover victim's remains were haphazard and uncoordinated. Argentine human rights organisations advocated for more coordinated and independent forensic investigations (as opposed to those undertaken by the State, employees of which were thought to be implicated in committing the atrocities).

Part of this initiative included the training of a combined team of archaeologists, anthropologists and doctors to undertake the controlled excavation of graves (Doretti and Fondebrider 2001; Doretti and Snow 2003; Fondebrider 2012; Ferllini 2007:12–14; Snow and Bihurriet 1992). The work undertaken in Argentina resulted in the formation of the Argentine Forensic Anthropology Team (EAAF) in 1984 and to their credit over the past 30 years, EAAF have worked in over 40 countries investigating human rights abuses in post-conflict contexts. Since the late 1990s, there has been a significant increase in the involvement of professional archaeologists and anthropologists in investigations in post-conflict areas (Steadman and Haglund 2005). In addition, there has been the formation of organisations[1] advocating the use of archaeological and anthropological methods and techniques in investigations worldwide.

Since the 1990s, professional archaeologists and anthropologists have been routinely employed by organisations such as United Nations (UN) and non-government organisations (NGOs). While the approach to investigations may differ between organisations (e.g. NGO projects are often community led), practitioners investigate mass graves to provide evidence for international criminal tribunals (e.g. the ICTY and ICTR—Rainio et al. 2007; Stover and Shigekane 2002:851;

[1] Organisations such as the Guatemalan Forensic Anthropology Team (FAFG), Peruvian Forensic Anthropology Team (EPAF), Physicians for Human Rights (PHR), the International Commission for Missing Persons (ICMP), the Centre for International Forensic Assistance (CIFA), the International Forensic Centre of Excellence for the Investigation of Genocide (Inforce Foundation) (see Juhl and Olsen 2006:418–419 for more details) and the International Committee of Red Cross (ICRC) which has had a Forensic Unit since 2004.

Connor 1996), national courts (e.g. Argentina, Snow and Bihurriet 1992; and Stover and Ryan 2001:8–11; Fondebrider 2002:886–887; Kirschner and Hannibal 1994:451; Stover and Shigekane 2002:850; Honduras, Haglund 2001:30–31) and truth commissions (e.g. in Kirschner and Hannibal 1994:459; Haglund et al. 2001).

The diverse applications of archaeological/anthropological methods and techniques have seen the emergence of the disciplines of forensic archaeology (Hunter and Cox 2005) and forensic anthropology[2] (Blau and Ubelaker 2009; Dirkmaat 2012). Defined as the application of archaeological field and laboratory principles, methods and techniques within a legal context, forensic archaeology (distinct from forensic anthropology which deals with the analysis of human remains within a medico-legal context), is concerned with the understanding, recognition, control and interpretation of space, site history, site formation and the context and attributes of (usually) buried evidence (Blau and Skinner 2005:451).

Because of the gravity of the consequences resulting from physical evidence potentially recovered by forensic archaeologists and anthropologists assisting in an investigation, it is vital for archaeology and anthropology practitioners who take on the mantle of "forensic" to be aware of the range of professional responsibilities they have and understand that their work may be questioned in a court of law. The following chapter discusses a range of issues that need to be considered by forensic archaeologists and anthropologists who choose to undertake work in post-conflict contexts. The aim of this chapter is to highlight the ways in which many of the professional responsibilities raise ethical dilemmas. In contemplating such dilemmas and posing questions, it is hoped that this chapter will heighten the practitioner's awareness about the depth of the work in which they may become involved (Blau 2006).

The Realities of Practising as a "Forensic" Archaeologist/ Anthropologist

> Forensic archaeology is not for everyone, just as any particular brand of archaeology does not appeal to all archaeologists, or pathology to all doctors (Hanson 2007:84).

Regardless of the investigation remit, given the reality that archaeological investigation is a destructive process (Hunter 1997), archaeologists and anthropologists have a responsibility to professionally collect and record all available evidence. While archaeology has been seen by some as a straightforward process of discovery followed by description, interpretations of evidence are significantly influenced by

[2] While forensic archaeology and anthropology are viewed as separate disciplines in the UK, there is no such sharp division throughout Latin America. In the USA, the Physical Anthropology section of the American Academy of Forensic Sciences is working on a name change to acknowledge the role of archaeology as used by forensic anthropologists as the majority of practitioners receive training in both fields (Congram, personal communication).

the practitioner's own experiences of the world (Parker-Pearson 1999:28), not to mention the realities of financial and logistical constraints and the limits of the investigation mandate. The ways in which archaeological material culture are used and interpreted for contemporary political purposes have been widely observed and discussed (e.g. Layton 1994; Starzmann 2008). The power of interpretations of the past therefore places professional responsibilities on the archaeologist to accurately recover and record material culture. Similarly in a forensic context, forensic archaeologists and anthropologists may be seen as technical experts required to provide scientific evidence in an objective and independent manner (Congram and Bruno 2007:45–46; Rainio et al. 2007; Skinner 1987; Skinner et al. 2003; Wright et al. 2005). At the same time, the social relevance of forensic archaeology has begun to be discussed (Cox 2001; Hunter and Cox 2005) and the idea of practising in a social, cultural and/or philosophical vacuum questioned (Blau 2006; see also Hanson 2007). The reality is that all of the evidence recovered by forensic archaeologists and anthropologists can potentially be employed at difference scales for a myriad of not necessarily mutually exclusive purposes, some of which are outlined below:

- Humanitarian: the evidence may be important in identifying an individual, (thus restoring dignity to the deceased), and in the subsequent repatriation of the remains, providing closure for the family.
- Legal: evidence may be pivotal in the prosecution of perpetrators of single and mass killings.
- Historical: evidence may be used for historical documentation to contest dominant interpretations of history (e.g. as in the case of the exhumations of remains dating to the Spanish Civil War (Renshaw 2011); or historical documentation whereby a particular society is judged (as in the case of the implications of Serbia in the 1996 genocide in Bosnia (Hanson 2007:71). In the case of East Timor (Timor-Leste), the positive identification of some of the victims of the 1991 Santa Cruz massacre provided irrefutable proof that many of the individuals were subjected to extreme acts of violence prior to death, a claim refuted by the Indonesian military (TNI) (Blau and Fondebrider 2010).
- Political: in some cases, particularly when dealing with deceased bodies, the evidence may be used to boost political gains and provide a sense of nationhood. For example, the bodies of some individuals killed during the Indonesian occupation in East Timor were provided a State funeral in recognition of the fact that they had died fighting for Timorese independence.

The politics of the dead has been widely discussed. In post-conflict contexts the evidence recovered by the forensic archaeologist and anthropologists is typically highly sensitive in nature and has extreme and long lasting consequences for families, communities, survivors and perpetrators. Evidence may include the remains of male and female victims of all ages; remains may be differentially preserved with perpetrators often going to extreme lengths to disfigure or destroy the individuals to hinder identification, including burning, disarticulating by explosives, mutilation, dismemberment and decapitation (e.g. López and Umaña 2007:174–175; Hanson 2007). Bodies may also have been disposed of in rivers, ravines, caves, mineshafts

or wells; victims may be buried in clandestine graves, within regular cemeteries, in clandestine cemeteries and/or within large machine-dug mass graves having been executed elsewhere and brought to a location where disposal and burial of remains has been premeditated (López and Umaña 2007:176–183; Hunter and Simpson 2007:267). Therefore, in addition to technical competency and proficiency, it is fundamental that practitioners working in post-conflict environments are cognizant of the realities (as opposed to television and film dramatised accounts) of the types of environments in which they may have to operate, the range of work they may have to undertake (from encountering violent forms of death and corruption to talking with living survivors and relatives of the dead—Hanson 2007:70) and the potentially unpleasant nature of the evidence they may have to recover (Congram and Bruno 2007). The shift from working in a domestic to an international context may not always be easy or within the mental capability of those who think they can undertake the work without being affected at a subconscious level.

The surge in fascination for things "forensic" has seen an unparalleled increase in interest in being a "forensic" archaeologist or anthropologist. The lack of regulation within forensic archaeology and anthropology has been noted on many occasions (Black 2003:189). Subsequently, the quality and competence of practitioners working within the field are now being subjected to competency and monitored (Blau 2009:459–460; Hunter and Cox 2005:15–18; see also Skinner et al. 2010). With a wide selection of standard operating procedures (SOPs) and protocols for forensic archaeology practice being developed over the years (Hunter and Simpson 2007:268–269; Skinner et al. 2003), each organisation seems to have taken on the responsibility of creating its own sets of procedures. Fortunately, many of these follow a fairly straightforward approach to the work.

The conduct of those working in international environments encompasses a wide range of personal responsibilities that encompass professional behaviour on site to privacy issues related to discussing cases outside professional circles (Hunter and Cox 2005:204–225; Webb 2006). Similar to debates in conventional archaeology regarding the treatment of human remains (e.g. Cantwell 2000; O'Sullivan 2001), forensic archaeologists and anthropologists have differing opinions on the merit and use of gathered or recovered information (e.g. Steadman and Gassiot 2011). Some anthropological practitioners view the vast amounts of data collected during the investigation of human rights violations as invaluable for the development of the discipline and improvement of identification (e.g. Schaefer and Black 2005; Schaefer 2008; Kimmerle and Baraybar 2008). In contrast, others are of the opinion that forensic archaeologists and anthropologists must be aware that investigations are not academic research projects (Bernardi and Fondebrider 2007:230–231) primarily due to the outcomes of their work being hugely significant for surviving families. Therefore, the recovery/collection, anthropological analysis and long-/short-term storage of human remains can all be seen as controversial (e.g. Mann 2001) with both legal and ethical implications (Thompson 2001; France 2012).

In addition to providing closure to the families of victims through the return of remains, the evidence recovered from mass graves can also potentially have significant ramifications for alleged perpetrators, including the death penalty (Blau 2009:463;

Hunter and Simpson 2007:269). Forensic archaeology and anthropology practitioners must be clear about the legal systems under which they work and the potential use of the evidence they recover within these systems.

Making Choices About Where to Work

The opportunities to secure full-time employment as a forensic archaeologist are extremely limited and few position are advertised. Practitioners may find sessional employment with local institutes or international agencies while typically longer term contracts may exist through international criminal tribunals or courts that "relate to the investigation of war crimes, crimes against humanity and genocide" (Hunter and Cox 2005:212). Each job will come with its own legal framework and specific mandate. While it has been argued that organisations and agencies are responsible for policies and practises (e.g., Lucas 1989; see also Wright and Hanson 2009), in reality, the responsibility must fall with the individual when accepting to work for an organisation. The individual practitioner must also take responsibility for understanding the consequences of the focus of the investigation (Hunter and Simpson 2007:271–272), particularly in terms of the wider social and legal context (Congram and Bruno 2007).

Following the cessation of military actions in Iraq in 2003, the Coalition Provisional Authority (CPA) employed the US Army Corps of Engineers under the protection of the US military and with responsibility to the Regime Crimes Liaison Office (RCLO) (e.g. US Department of State 2003; Simons 2006; Johnson 2004; Cox 2003:227) to undertake several controlled excavations of mass graves sites identified by previous military investigation teams and reassessment by the CPA Forensic Team (UN Report 2004). Being employed by the US military had different repercussions than working for a community-led investigation conducted in Iraq under Saddam Hussein's regime in 1991 (e.g. EAAF 1992) (Blau 2006). An important question to answer is: does a government or an affected community have greater authority to direct an investigation in a post-conflict context when issues of sovereignty are not clear and extensive human rights violations have been committed? This is particularly challenging in contexts where the State is implicated in the disappearances but denies any responsibility (e.g. McEvoy and Conway 2004).

Practitioners must also be clear about whether they are comfortable working in a situation where their technical expertise is used to seek answers for a judicial as opposed to a humanitarian process. While the two outcomes are not necessarily mutually exclusive (e.g. examining the cause of death in a court of law requires the identification of an individual), typically, investigations are focused on one or the other remit. For example, forensic archaeologists working for the UN in Kosovo in 1999 were tasked by the International War Crimes Tribunal to collect and record volume evidence that focused on cause and manner of death rather than evidence associated with identification (e.g. Baraybar et al. 2007; Fondebrider 2002:889). These decisions resulted in complications in subsequent efforts to locate the missing

that have still to be addressed (Baraybar et al. 2007:265). Such cases highlight important questions: is the pursuit of justice more or less important or legitimate than providing answers to the families of the missing? Should identification of the dead be secondary to cause and manner of death? (Blau 2009; Juhl 2005; Juhl and Olsen 2006).

For instance, in Colombia there are examples of judicial investigators temporarily suspending or terminating excavations without complete recovery or all remains at a site (López and Umaña 2007:187). Similarly, in a case in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, eyewitness information indicated the location of a grave believed to contain the remains of between 50 and 60 individuals. As the action of mass killing was undisputed, the judge overseeing the proceedings gave direction to focus the recovery efforts on recovering a sample of only women and children, in order to prove that the killings were targeted (John Byrom, personal communication). The focus of legal proceedings on obtaining evidence to prove that a specific group of person (men or women and children) were targeted in a killing by a particular individual is not unprecedented (Hunter and Simpson 2007:271) and is often required to prove specific charges (e.g. executed male prisoners for war crimes versus execution of non-combatants such as women and children to prove crimes against humanity). However, such foci calls into question decisions to prove a crime versus attend to the individual rights of the deceased.

It has been argued that "legal and humanitarian goals are not mutually exclusive, but rather dependent on each other" (López and Umaña 2007:187). Regardless of the context, it is the forensic archaeologist and anthropologist's responsibility to undertake complete[3] and detailed recording of a site during excavation and recovery. A holistic approach ensures that the potential for prosecution remains a future choice for the families and/or governments if they so wish (Blau and Skinner 2005:458).

Responsibilities to the Families of Victims

The evidence recovered by forensic archaeologists and anthropologists often contributes to addressing questions about the deceased's identification. In addition to enabling a family and a community to mourn, bury and perform the relevant death rituals to initiate closure, confirmation of a person's identify brings about a separate range of other social, psychological (Keough et al. 2004; Hanson 2007) and legal consequences. Identification may be required to: reconstruct the circumstances of an accident or crime and therefore aid effective prosecution; facilitate settlement of estate and/or inheritance; address issues of insurance and compensation; or facilitate the ability of the surviving partner to remarry (Blau and Hill 2009).

While families often experience grief mixed with gratitude when the fate of their missing relative is confirmed with certainty, it is well recognised that families and

[3] Exactly what constitutes "complete" is open to discussion. I am grateful to Derek Congram for raising this important question.

friends with missing relatives typically wish to have or view the mortal remains of their loved one. Without a body there continues to be a haunting possibility for surviving families that their loved one may not be dead and could, one day, return home (Sturcke and Addley 2007; Williams and Crews 2003:252) (a belief often falsely encouraged by the perpetrators, McEvoy and Conway 2004; see also Juhl and Olsen 2006:416). Therefore, the evidence recovered from an excavation or exhumation has significant ramifications for the families of victims: an exhumation may, for the first time since the disappearance of a loved one, irrefutably prove that the relative is deceased. Excavation and exhumations are thus seen as playing a primary role in the "processes of postconflict mourning, reconciliation, and reconstruction" (Renshaw 2011:9).

In light of the powerful nature of the evidence potentially recovered from clandestine graves, it has been argued that families of victims have the right to be present during and/or contribute to excavations or exhumations (Blau et al. 2011; McEvoy and Conway 2004:560; Hanson 2007:87–88). Others, however, are of the opinion that the investigation of a mass grave is a scientific procedure, a detached and unemotional science (Wright 2006), and therefore should be undertaken in an objective manner: until scientific tests are complete identification of the deceased cannot be guaranteed and therefore relatives cannot know who is in the grave (e.g. Hunter and Simpson 2007:276).

Some forensic archaeology practitioners are of the view that "there exists no difference between a lone burial feature in the middle of a cornfield in Iowa and a large mass grave in Bosnia" (Dirkmaat et al. 2005:16). Further, many practitioners choose to view human remains as specimens, property and/or evidence (Williams and Crews 2003:251; see also Larsen and Walker 2005:113). Such attitudes and views facilitate the need amongst some practitioners to avoid becoming emotionally involved with the relatives of the missing. While technically there "may be little difference between the excavation of a 700-year-old burial and a seven-year-old one" (Congram and Bruno 2007:47; see also Hanson 2007:73), such opinions suggest that the practice of excavation and exhumation can be undertaken in a social, cultural, emotional and political vacuum, the ethics of which is clearly questionable (Blau 2006). More importantly, while "the rights and status of the living and their dead are inextricably linked" (Renshaw 2011:12), debates have highlighted the ways in which the needs of the victim's families may not always concur with those of the investigative authorities (Stover and Shigekane 2002; see also Williams and Crews 2003; Congram and Bruno 2007).

Regardless of whether families of victims are present during the exhumations, forensic practitioners have the responsibility to ensure that effective communication channels, be it through local newspapers, radio channels or street flyers, are in place and that the appropriate information is disseminated to all interested parties (Williams and Crews 2003:252). Families of the missing have the right to information about the investigation process and results. Such details may include:

- Who is undertaking the investigations and under which authority?
- The time required to undertake the work: the investigation of mass graves typically requires significant amounts of time (cf. Fondebrider 2004). Families are entitled to understand that an immediate answer to their questions are unlikely.

- Why ante-mortem interviews are important; the types of questions that will be asked and by whom, and why it may be necessary to meet with the families more than once. The ramifications of poor ante-mortem interview have been highlighted (Quiñones 2010).
- Methods and techniques of how a deceased person can be identified.
- Why familial reference samples may be required for the identification process. A clear understanding by relatives means that informed consent can be given with the full appreciation of who will have access to the sample/s, where the results/data will be stored; and whether the results will be published (Blau 2009:461).
- The advantages and limitations of the field and laboratory approaches and techniques employed by the forensic experts.
- The reality that it may not be possible to find and identify their relative.
- That psychosocial services may be available.

In order to avoid misunderstandings, it is also important to ensure that translators and/or interpreters are appropriately used in contexts where the forensic specialists are foreigners in the place they are working. "[E]stablishing credibility and developing trust is crucial as in many cases people with missing relatives have been waiting years for an answer" (Blau et al. 2011:137). Finally, although reference has been made to "the families of the victims" it should be remembered that very often there are different views and needs within and between families and communities with missing relatives (e.g. Blau et al. 2011:141; Crossland 2002; Renshaw 2011:34). While some relatives may push for investigation and exhumation, there are examples where some people or groups do not support exhumation, whether for political, cultural or social reasons. In Argentina for example, some groups deny that individuals are actually dead claiming the "excavations were part of a conspiracy to suppress the truth about crimes of the military dictatorships" (Crossland 2000:146). In the case of East Timor, the Government supports the view that the past (and therefore exhumations which reveal the past) should be left alone in order develop good international relations with Indonesia and promote strong economic ties (e.g. Blau and Fondebrider 2010). (See also Congram 2014, for discussions about the different reactions to excavations of mass graves undertaken by the Nazis in Poland). Effective communication strategies are therefore important to ensure all voices are heard.

Standards and Local Capacity

Post-conflict situations produce a myriad of economic, social and logistical issues that rightly or wrongly often outweigh the need to investigate the missing (e.g. Olumbe and Yakub 2002). Consequently, the logistical and technical expertise and even infrastructure required to run a functioning mortuary (including running water, lighting, autopsy equipment, secure storage) may not exist. Forensic practitioners must be clear about their own expectations when confronted with working

in such environments and the concept and extent to which accepted standards of practice can be applied in post-conflict contexts. Variables such as time, security and/or political pressures may make it logistically unfeasible to implement the same levels of standards that would be applied in domestic settings. Further, the ability to implement certain standards may be affected by whether the investigation is community led (not often state endorsed and therefore resource poor) or undertaken by a government-backed institution (e.g. Cordner and Coupland 2003). Questions with ethical ramifications must then be asked about whether it is "better to reject a role in a scenario because the methodology is likely to be sub-standard (from a 'western' viewpoint)" or have an outcome that is unacceptable? (Hunter and Simpson 2007:269; Blau 2006).

Depending on the nature of the forensic work being undertaken, it may be appropriate to consider incorporating local people into the investigation process (e.g. Fondebrider 2004). The provision of training potentially contributes to the development of local capacity as well as diminishes "the perception of 'colonialism' that internationalism tends to foster" (Hunter and Simpson 2007:278).

Occupational Health and Safety

In addition to the forensic archaeologists and anthropologist's responsibilities to the missing and their relatives, practitioners must also be mindful of their own personal health and safety. Relevant vaccinations prior to deployment are essential (Rainio et al. 2007:61–62), as are up-to-date health and travel insurance.

Depending on the specific context and the formal authority under which the work is being done, post-conflict environments may be politically unstable during the time forensic investigations are undertaken: resources may be limited and the infrastructure fragile (Hanson 2007:79). The working environment and scale of numbers of deceased are typically different to domestic homicide cases, and potentially pose risks to the mental and physical well-being of practitioners, as well as political and logistical challenges (Ferllini 2007:17; Wright et al. 2005; Wright and Hanson 2009).

Hanson (2007) thoroughly describes the stress response and emotional impact forensic archaeologists and anthropologists potentially experience working in post-conflict environments. Physical risks on site may include unexploded ordnance (UXO) as well as the potential risk of personal violence: perpetrators may often remain in the area where graves are being investigated. In addition to death threats (Hanson 2007:74), ambushes on convoys moving to and from site and kidnapping incidents have been noted (Anonymous 2006; Hunter and Simpson 2007). It is imperative to understand the threat levels and potential risks and draw on those with the relevant expertise dealing with unexploded ordinance and improvised explosive devices (IEDs) if located at a site (Hunter and Simpson 2007:273). Fundamentally, practitioners must understand the limitations of their expertise and their role as a team member (Juhl and Olsen 2006:417) and to behave accordingly.

Conclusion

"Archaeologists have traditionally operated on the assumption that they are not implicated in the representation and struggles of living people" (Meskell and Pels 2005:123). However, for archaeologists and anthropologists who choose to work in post-conflict areas, it is very much the living that influence where, why and how they work. Whether investigations requiring the skills of forensic archaeologists and/or anthropologists are undertaken reactively or proactively (Blau and Skinner 2005; Blau and Fondebrider 2010; Olumbe and Yakub 2002:896), the surviving families and wider communities have a wide range of needs. Combined with the political sensitivities associated with investigating the location of graves and providing an identity to the deceased, such needs must all be considered to be an important and continually ongoing part of the practitioner's professional responsibilities.

Acknowledgements I am grateful for comments on this chapter provided by Jon Sterenberg and Luis Fondebrider. I also thank Derek Congram who provided a range of comments and brought my attention to some useful references. Kerry Johannes was very helpful in locating a number of references.

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Chapter 14
Virtues Impracticable and Extremely Difficult: The Human Rights of Subsistence Diggers

Sam Hardy

Poverty is a great enemy to human happiness; it certainly destroys liberty, and it makes some virtues impracticable, and others extremely difficult (Samuel Johnson, 7th December 1782, cited in Boswell 1952:494).

In the bloody and destructive aftermath of the U.S.-led Coalition's invasion of Iraq in 2003, cultural heritage workers debated how to prevent or suppress the looting of museums and archaeological sites. At the Fifth World Archaeological Congress (WAC5), which was held in Washington, DC 3 months after the invasion, the destruction and looting of Iraqi cultural property, and the ethical responsibilities of archaeologists, were central concerns. Troubled by the explicit statements of some archaeologists and the implicit tone of others, I submitted *Proposition 15*. It cited the human right to "a standard of living adequate for the health and well-being of himself and of his family [*sic*], including food, clothing, housing and medical care and necessary social services" (UN 1948:Art. 25, Para. 1); and it concluded that WAC5 should recognise that "[s]o long as a standard of living adequate for health and well-being is not [otherwise] accessible… [a] person has a moral right to 'loot'" (Hardy 2003). It was not passed by the Congress Business Plenary. In subsequent discussion some archaeologists and other cultural heritage workers labelled the proposition "irresponsible" and a misapplication or misappropriation of human rights—for a more detailed, theoretical exploration of the conflicts between economic and cultural rights see Hardy (2004).

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A. González-Ruibal, G. Moshenska (eds.), *Ethics and the Archaeology of Violence*, Ethical Archaeologies: The Politics of Social Justice 2,
DOI 10.1007/978-1-4939-1643-6_14

In this chapter I will review the immediate and long-term causes of illicit digging; assess the logic and value of cultural heritage professionals' calls to use violence in order to protect cultural heritage sites from plunder; argue that there is a morally defensible and practically effective alternative to violence; and query cultural heritage workers' and law enforcement agents' categorisation and treatment of subsistence diggers. I contend that it is illogical to categorise subsistence diggers alongside entrepreneurial and organised criminal looters, and that it is unjust to treat subsistence digging as a criminal activity.

The Causes of Illicit Digging

Apart from the sheer profit motive for entrepreneurial and organised looting, there are certain underlying, social and economic problems that perpetuate illicit digging and smuggling, many of which were explicitly identified years ago by the then National Director of Arts and Culture in Mali, Téréba Togola (2002). They comprise environmental factors; humanitarian crises; health insecurity; lack of education; corruption; lack of political will or law enforcement; and (consequent) economic insecurity. Environmental factors include gradual climate change and desertification, abrupt natural disasters, and multifactor crises like droughts and famines; victims of droughts in rural Mali "sometimes tur[n] to looting as a way to survive" (Sidibé 2001:27). Those and other humanitarian crises, like conflicts, worsen existing insecurity, as the Tuareg rebellions have done in Mali (Insoll 1993:631). Furthermore, they create acute needs in local communities and displaced populations; even if communities can manage their own problems, they will often be pushed into chronic debt, as they have been in Niger (Harding 2012). Health insecurity, through exposure to disease and/or lack of access to healthcare, can cause or contribute to individuals' and communities' economic insecurity. Lack of education may contribute to an individual's lack of job options; and it may lead to a lack of awareness of the possibility of sustainable cultural tourism, so that a community with two otherwise equally poor short-term options may choose to dig (and thus harm a long-term option). Corruption, and lack of political will or law enforcement, both undermine alternative economic options, and underpin a flourishing illicit antiquities trade.

Economic insecurity—whether in the form of widespread, chronic, deep poverty or in the form of a general precarity of existence—makes illicit digging either efficient or essential. And the illicit antiquities trade itself can cause economic insecurity and undermine basic elements of developing countries' economies: for example, in Nigeria, farmers who had previously survived on half-a-dollar a day "let their crops rot because they were too busy digging for terracotta" because it could fund 2 months' subsistence per piece (Labi and Robinson 2001). Having established the generic causes of illicit digging, it is now possible to examine proposals to suppress illegal excavations by killing looters and/or by arming cultural heritage site guards.

Stopping Looting: Shooting Looters in Iraq

Between 1990 and 2003 the United Nations' sanctions, combined with the Ba'athist regime's first non-cooperation then manipulation, devastated Iraqi society. There was a "lack of some essential goods, and inadequate or inefficient use of existing essential goods," primarily clean water, food and medicine (Garfield 1999:1); that problem caused the deaths of "at least several hundred thousand" infants (Rieff 2003) and an equal number of older children and adults; and that measurable outcome was "the tip of the iceberg among damages" (Garfield 1999:34). A clinical professor of public health, David Garfield (1999:37), concluded that the "humanitarian disaster far… exceed[ed]… any reasonable level of acceptable damages;" and that, had the sanctions been imposed as part of a military occupation, the "den[ial of]… adequate access to food and medicine" to more than twenty million civilians would have constituted a war crime. Despite facing the death penalty, "impoverished," "desperate" Iraqis, without "basic necessities" and with "nothing left to sell," were driven to digging up and selling off antiquities (Russell 1996). Furthermore, the sanctions caused cultural budget cuts within Iraq and blocked cultural aid from outside, thus removing sources of protection for archaeological sites and sources of income for local communities.

After the U.S.-led invasion in 2003 localised looting became nationwide mining. It was suspected that the "same international gang" targeted both the National Museum (in Baghdad) and Mosul Museum (Mosul Museum director Bernadette Hanna-Metti, cited in Atwood 2003a); the gang took "what they wanted," then locals took "whatever they could" (Mosul Museum curator Saba al-Omari, cited in Atwood 2003a). Outside urban centres tribally supported, politically protected "[h]eavily armed" antiquities dealers established control of archaeological sites, then "hundreds of farmers" moved in and dug for antiquities, earning money piece by piece (Farchakh Bajjaly 2008:136). Zainab Bahrani (2003) stated that "all of us [archaeologists had] said the top priority [for the Coalition] was the immediate placement of security guards at all museums and archaeological sites;" yet at least some archaeologists agreed with Lieutenant Colonel Richard Long, who had identified the responsibility to preserve archaeology as the last piece in a "mosaic of ensuring food, water, electricity [and] sewage" (Andrews 2003).

Archaeologist Elizabeth Stone had visited Iraq and learned that Coalition soldiers were "reluctant" to confront looters "because" if they intervened "people were going to get killed" (cited in Bennett 2003). A fortnight after WAC5 Stone said either that she "would like to see helicopters flying over there shooting bullets so that people know there is a real price to looting this stuff" (cited in Bennett 2003) or that she "would like to see some helicopters flying over these sites, and some bullets fired at the looters" (cited in Kennedy 2003). Either way her wish was clear as Stone insisted that "you have got to kill some people to stop this" (cited in MacLeod 2003). The World Archaeological Congress (WAC 2003) did condemn these calls to arms as "intolerable" but it was clear that a number of its members did not agree. At the same time, the then Director General of the National Museum of Iraq,

Donny George Youkhana, had judged that "if they steal from mankind… it is fair they should be shot" (Lovell 2003). It was also clear that, even if archaeologists did not think looters ought to be shot, many considered any illicit digging of antiquities to be a kind of crime against humanity, a "crime against culture," a wilful destruction of cultural property, prohibited under customary international law (Francioni and Lenzerini 2006:36–37). At WAC5 at least one archaeologist had defined the digging as "genocide."

In fact, the Coalition *was* "flying helicopters low over archaeological sites, firing warning shots to shoo away looters" and had been for nearly 2 months when Stone and Youkhana made their interventions (Atwood 2003b). Moreover, at least "several looters" *had* been killed, shot to death at an unnamed archaeological site; and, even if "rarely enforced," some antiquities looters were still given the death penalty (Salman 2008).[1] A US Army captain commented to *Mother Jones* "[t]hat's all they [the relevant Coalition units] can do right now.... After one or two incidents like that, maybe looters will start to get the message" (cited in Atwood 2003b). For a variety of reasons, diggers and looters did not get that message.

Deterring Looting: Armed Guards Around the World

Aside from advocacy for killing suspected looters without trial, there have been more reasonable and reasoned arguments for armed guards for cultural heritage sites. Cultural policy scholar Lawrence Rothfield encouraged the arming of site and museum guards (around the world) to enable them to do the "brutal policing job required to prevent looters and professional art thieves from carrying away items" (cited in Hooper 2011). Responding to others' reporting of his views Rothfield (2011b) clarified that "no one is encouraging guards to shoot subsistence diggers" and that the guards would be armed in order to "deter.... mafia-like-organized looting gangs" who would be "much less likely to attack if they knew the guards were armed" and supported. While it is true that they would be less likely to attack sites and museums with armed guards they might not simply abandon the business entirely. In Peru, a few famous sites like Sipan have twenty-four-hour armed guards but the rest have none (Nash 1993); so those guards *displace* rather than *prevent* pillage per se, as looters just hit other, unguarded sites instead.

In fact, Iraqi and Egyptian guards *were* armed, but they were "driven off [site]" by attacks or "threatened with harm to themselves and to their families;" Rothfield's (2011a) answer was that they "need[ed] more guns" and/or automatic rifles instead of handguns. Rothfield (2011a) acknowledged that it was a "stopgap.... [i]n the absence of police;" but the presence of police is no guarantee of safety. When nine Afghan police officers confronted an antiquities-looting warlord's militia at

[1] Similarly, despite China's application of the death penalty, the supply of looted Chinese material has gone from a "trickle" to a "flood," "especially because" a farmer can get a year's income for one night shift on an illicit excavation, or for one (good) find (Time Asia 2003).

Kharwar, four of the police officers were killed (Rothfield 2009:25; see also Abdul Samad Haidari, 1st June 2011, cited in la Piscopia 2011). Furthermore, as Italian Army heritage specialist Patrizia la Piscopia (2011) recognised, any time when police could not function would be a time when armed guards could not function either; armed guards would have the same concerns for their own and their families' security and subsistence as police officers.

In theory, in Iraq, archaeological site and museum guards were able to do more—they had automatic rifles—but in practice they were "afraid to kill" because they "fear[ed tribal] reprisals" against their families (U.S. Army Major Eric Holliday, cited in and paraphrased by Atwood 2003a). Even without taking lives in the course of duty, officials' own lives were in danger: when Iraqi customs agents arrested a few antiquities dealers and confiscated the dealers' hundreds of objects the agents' convoy was intercepted and eight of the agents were killed (Farchakh Bajjaly 2008:138). Regardless of the number and power of the weapons an empty threat is no deterrent—arms will only function as a deterrent if they are used (sometimes). The Director of the Norwegian National Museum of Art, Sune Nordgren, refused to arm its guards because that "would only result in thieves outgunning them" (paraphrased by AP 2004). As the French Musée d'Orsay fatalistically accepted "'not a lot… can be done" to stop machine-gun-toting gangs (cited in AP 2004).[2] At best, armed guards could be somewhat effective in deterring opportunistic thieves or (very cynically) minimising harm by redirecting thieves' targets from the most valuable cultural heritage to the least. At worst, they could be practically ineffective in fending off organised criminal endeavours *and* they could put themselves and others at great risk (as, by being armed, they would constitute a credible threat to any armed robbers; thus, they would increase the risk of the robbers using violence). At the same time, the split and clash in local community interests could create resentment against cultural security personnel, which would undermine the community's support for cultural security and the police's efforts to gather information on serious organised crime. It would also create an association of cultural heritage sites and staff with state authorities rather than local communities, which could make them political targets in future violence. Therefore, even if guards only ever used their arms in self-defence, there would still be serious concerns about the practical effectiveness of armed guards at cultural heritage sites. States might be better advised to invest in technology to disrupt criminal activity and generate forensic evidence, and in intelligence-led policing to capture and prosecute criminals with the minimum risk possible.

It is undeniable that looting has been *facilitated* or *encouraged* by weaknesses in the system for the protection of cultural property from a lack of documentation or a lack of computerisation of paper documents; to a lack of infrastructure for communication and action; to understaffing—1,200 guards for 10,000 sites (Salman 2008)—and under-equipping of existing staff; to personnel's own financial and physical

[2] For example, the Head of Security at the Swedish National Museum refused to install 'automatic metal bars that would close to keep thieves inside the museum because thieves "may take a hostage"' (cited in AP 2004).

insecurity, and thus the ease of their corruption or intimidation. It is also undeniable that looting has been (greatly) *exacerbated* by organised crime groups, paramilitaries and terrorists, which profited from or funded their activities by smuggling and trading antiquities (Bogdanos and Patrick 2005:249). Nonetheless, looting has also been *driven* by poverty and a lack of alternatives. Still, the scale of looting has been incomparable to the problem before 1990. Demonstrably, war has played an essential role in the increase in the systematic looting of sites.

Reducing Illicit Digging in Mali

According to the United Nations Development Programme, in Mali, 51.4 % of the population survive on less than $1.25 a day (UNDP 2011); and, according to the Oxford Poverty and Human Development Initiative (OPHI), 86.6 % endure multidimensional poverty (Alkire et al. 2011). Locals "concerned only with problems of survival" engage in subsistence digging (Sanogo 1999).[3] Exploiting that situation, antiquities dealers employ "[w]hole villages" and even "encampments of immigrant workers" to strip-mine archaeological sites (Shyllon 2011:139). The villagers and labourers commonly earn the most meagre wages humanly possible, survival wages, a day's work for "the price of a day's food" (IARC 2001).

It is possible that 45 % (Brodie et al. 2000:20), 75 % (Robinson and Labi 2001), or even 80–90 % (ICOM 2000:11) of Malian archaeological sites have been plundered. Illicit diggers have struck all four of Mali's UNESCO World Heritage Sites: the Tomb of Askia in Gao (Insoll 1993); the Cliff of Bandiagara in the Land of the Dogons (Hammer 2009; Labi and Robinson 2001); the Old Towns of Djenné (ICOM 2000:10–11) and Timbuktu, where they looted "thousands of objects" every year (Duval 1998:8A; see also Brodie 1998). One team of archaeologists has called it "a true cultural genocide [un vrai génocide culturel]" (Bedaux et al. 2005:1).

There is some hope: a combination of economic development, community education, political commitment and law enforcement has had remarkable success in reducing illicit digging. Communities have established local museums, and thus protected their cultural patrimony, built community pride and local education, and provided the infrastructure for a sustainable economy of cultural tourism. By earning locals' trust—and thus getting volunteer site guards (Sidibé 2001:27)—and by recruiting "informants" in villages and running effective investigations of their tip-offs, Malian authorities have achieved a 75 % reduction in the illicit export of cultural property (Labi and Robinson 2001); Jenne-Jeno is "no longer looted" (Sidibé 2001:26). This demonstrates that, sometimes, it is possible to reduce illicit digging even in very challenging environments. However, the current political crisis in Mali threatens to undo all of this good work and elsewhere communities without such an alternative have continued and will continue to dig to subsist.

[3] There is some evidence of committees of village elders selling their communities' cultural property in order to fund basic infrastructure (e.g., Hammer 2009).

The Human Rights of Subsistence Diggers

UNESCO's Director of Cultural Heritage, Lyndel Prott, stated in *the UNESCO Courier* that "[a]s soon as the local population is convinced of the importance of cultural heritage they become a site's best curators" (Prott and Bessières 2001:21). And when UNESCO rhetorically asked "what entitle[d] archaeologists to prevent poverty-stricken farmers from looting their ancestors' graves if that enable[d] them to feed their families" it simply answered that "[l]ooting does not feed the looters.... On the contrary, maintaining a site constitutes an economic resource for local populations" (Prott and Bessières 2001:20). An archaeological site *may* constitute an economic resource for a local community, and maintaining an archaeological site *may* produce a local economy, *if* the state directly employs locals as custodians, archaeologists employ locals as custodians or workers, and/or tourists bring money into the local economy. When that happens, then locals will naturally become a site's curators. However, until that happens, those locals will still need a source of subsistence; if locals are digging up and selling off artefacts in order to subsist, that suggests that, so far, the state has been unable or unwilling to provide or support a sustainable subsistence; and sometimes "looting" is the only thing that *does* feed the "looters."

Perhaps in Belize and Ukraine, looting operations are largely side-interests of international drug gangs and mafia (Government of Belize Department of Archaeology 1979:54/114, cited in Gilgan 2001:77; *the Scotsman* 2002); and in southern Italy, looting is largely the preserve of mafia-like specialist gangs that pay mafia clans for permission to loot (Nistri 2011:185–187), while smuggling is largely the preserve of mafia clans themselves (Melillo 2009: 90). Perhaps in Peru, even during crises that leave 70 % in poverty, poor villagers still only "*supplemen*[*t*]" their incomes with looting (Wilford 1994, emphasis added; see also Nash 1993), rather than *subsist* on digging. Yet in Palestine, where 43 % live in poverty, and "looting grows at the same rate as unemployment," most illicit excavators "dig as a way of surviving poverty" (Yahya 2010:97–98). In Jordan, villagers dig archaeological sites in "a desperate effort to feed their families" (Politis 1994:15; see also Bisheh 2001:115). In Niger, where many sites have suffered 50–90 % destruction by illicit digging, the "guilty" are "the poorest population in the world at the limit of [their] daily survival" (Gado 2001:58).

In Iraq, "all these people [antiquity-diggers]" live on "well below" $1.25-a-day; and "[*m*]*ost* of them are not starving" (Farchakh-Bajjaly 2007:51, emphasis added), i.e. some of them *are*. Assyriologist Benjamin Foster, Ancient Near Eastern art scholar Karen Foster and cultural property lawyer Patty Gerstenblith explicitly stated "The money is urgently needed by the extended families of the diggers for basic living expenses and medical supplies. Without it, the mortality rate, especially for infants and children, would climb even higher in Iraq" (Foster et al. 2005:220).

Some archaeologists recognise that "in the current situation," without a viable economic alternative such as agriculture, "forbidding people from looting archaeological sites would mean condemning them to starvation" (Farchakh-Bajjaly 2007:52). Nonetheless, during the discussion of Proposition 15 certain archaeologists asserted

that while (other) people "should" have access to their basic human rights when they had to choose between accessing those basic human rights (through subsistence digging) and refraining from damaging cultural heritage sites "'sometimes the right [choices were] not the easy ones." Other archaeologists who acknowledge subsistence diggers' struggle for existence still insist that we "should… reject any excuses presented by the diggers… to justify their actions" (e.g. Yahya 2010:99).

I contend that it is illogical to put these subsistence diggers in the same category as entrepreneurial and organised looters. Unlike commercial looters, subsistence diggers would stop excavating illicitly if they had an economic alternative. Furthermore, I contend that it is immoral: given the evidence for the necessity of subsistence digging in Iraq and elsewhere, and given the evidence of a moral, effective alternative to imprisonment or violence in Mali, I argue that it is unjust to treat subsistence digging as a criminal activity when and so long as there is no viable alternative economic means for subsistence diggers to access their human rights to clean water, food and medicine.

Ethical Implications

In Ricardo Elia's (1993:69) oft-quoted words "collectors are the real looters." Individuals and institutions that purchase illicit material create and maintain a market for looted material; they either directly fund or indirectly underwrite looting. However, even ethical archaeological projects, galleries and museums, which would neither directly nor indirectly finance the illicit antiquities trade, must be mindful that they may create trends in collecting culture and thus the antiquities market; they may expose archaeological deposits to the risk of commodification. In general, ethical codes require professionals to conserve excavated materials and sites, and to respect communities' cultural rights in their work: see, for instance, the (British) Institute for Archaeologists' Code of Conduct (IfA 2012), the European Association of Archaeologists' Code of Practice (EAA 2009) and the World Archaeological Congress's First Code of Ethics (WAC 1990). However, they do not require professionals to establish local, sustainable preservation programmes, or to support vulnerable local communities' economic rights. (For example, it would be ethical to import a team, dig down to bedrock, then deposit the finds in a central national museum store). This creates two tied problems: first, cultural property is preserved without regard to local communities' economic needs, which breeds a feeling of resentment rather than a sense of stewardship; and second, simultaneously, surrounding and connected places' cultural property is exposed to the attentions of the antiquities market, which creates an opportunity for unethical collectors to exploit still-vulnerable communities' struggle for subsistence. Thus, an archaeological project may save a site but lose a landscape.

Adapting existing principles of archaeological practice to address archaeological work in extremely economically vulnerable areas, ethical codes should expect cultural heritage professionals: to assess the economic as well as social and environmental implications of their work for local communities; to minimise any likely detrimental

effects of their work on the economic conditions of vulnerable local communities; to recognise their obligation to employ and/or train economically vulnerable local communities on their projects; and to conserve archaeological sites and material in vulnerable areas as sustainable economic resources for the community.

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A. González-Ruibal, G. Moshenska (eds.), *Ethics and the Archaeology of Violence*, Ethical Archaeologies: The Politics of Social Justice 2,
DOI 10.1007/978-1-4939-1643-6