

‘ONLY CONNECT’: GLOBAL AND LOCAL NETWORKS, CONTEXTS AND FIELDWORK

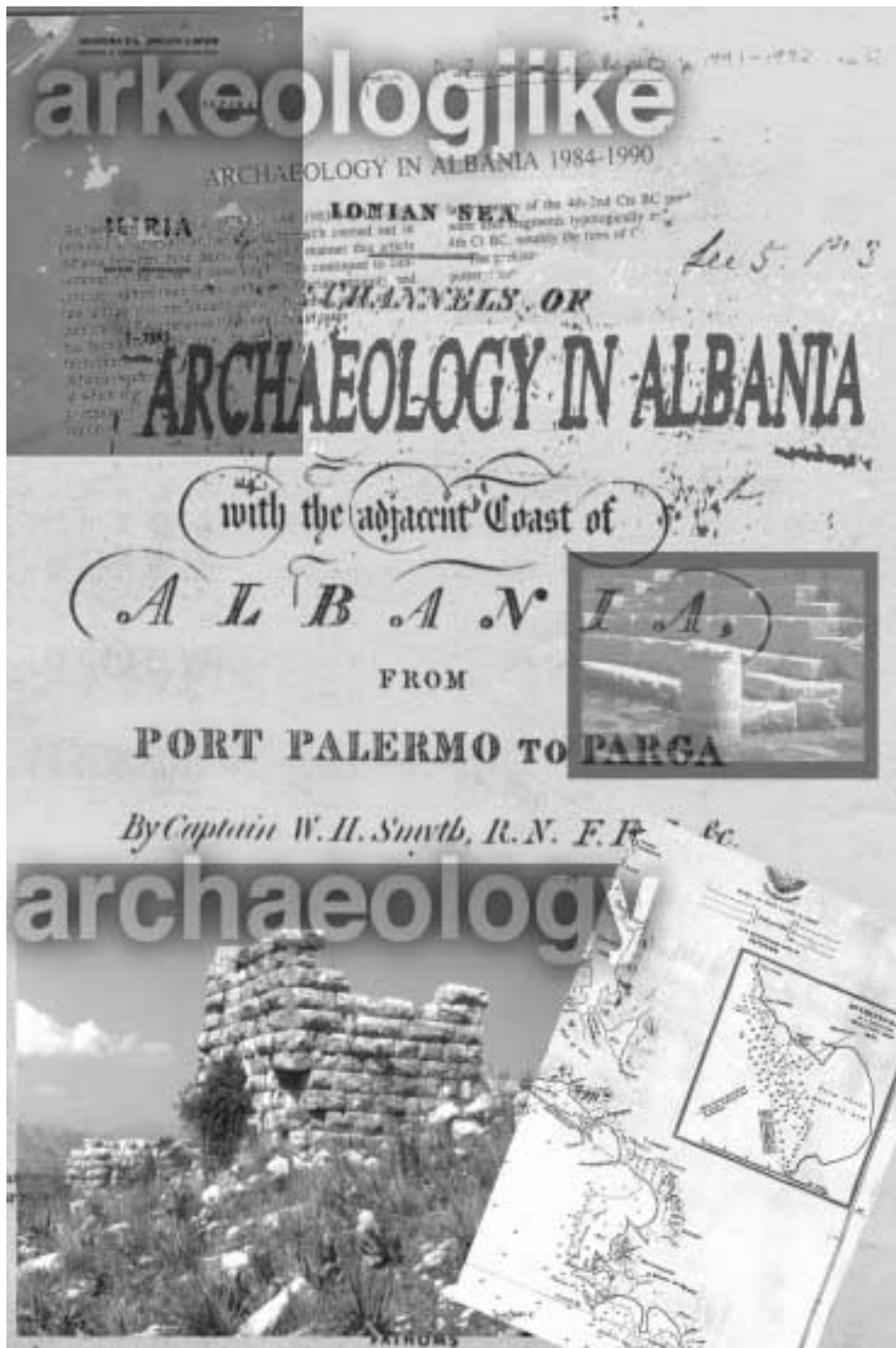
Mark Pluciennik and Quentin Drew

We examine the ways in which the variety of voices and multiple networks that constitute field work are reduced in its representation, particularly within the discipline of archaeology. The interrelatedness of structures, constraints and opportunities which constitute the conditions and outcomes of fieldwork raises issues beyond notions of intertextuality and the ethics of representation. The specificity and contingency of ‘the field’ is demonstrated through a case study set partly in southern Albania. Contrasts are drawn between ethnographic and archaeological experiences and understandings, and the ways in which the metaphor of ‘tourism’ can be understood as relating to both. These issues of the reduction and representation of richness and diversity are also pursued through amalgamation and experimentation in the relationship between form and content, including montage, both visual and textual. In part, a traditional written style of intellectual argument, albeit employing genres ranging from diary and commentary to footnotes, is used. We also integrate less formal text highlighting the different modes and contexts of production of archaeological knowledges, including this paper, along with the use of multiple narratives and interwoven and layered images.

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By early 1998 it became clear that unstable political conditions made it likely that, for the second year running, I would be unable to pursue fieldwork connected with an ongoing project in southern Albania. Driven by various academic imperatives, in the context of departmental and institutional pressures for publication and, indirectly, funding, I began to ponder what I could and should do with the limited amount of information available to me from the previous two seasons of archaeological survey. For a variety of reasons, including the reported destruction or inaccessibility of the primary archaeological material in Albania (see below), any proposed publication, single or joint, on historical landscape use in the survey area would be extremely thin from the point of view of useful additional data or interpretation beyond that already published.¹ The small collection of field notebooks, sketch plans, drawings, unpublished preliminary reports, photographs, site and material descriptions and associated digitized maps and databases was small return for four visits to the area. It also seemed an inadequate representation of the rich and varied experiences, relationships, issues, thoughts and memories which were the product of my and others' involvement with people, institutions and the landscape in southern Albania. On further reflection, however, the reduction of such richness and complexity seemed typical of archaeological fieldwork in particular, where contemporary political and other contexts and personal understandings are generally omitted altogether in any subsequent reports and publications. For different reasons, and with notable exceptions, this reduction is also seen within much recent ethnography (which, however, tends to highlight the personal relationships at the expense of broader contexts),² and (especially physical) geography. This paper attempts to illuminate that middle ground between those authors concerned with the roles of metanarratives and theories of discourse³ and those dealing with issues of personal identity, subjectivity and personal transformation during fieldwork which are so often the sources and topics of ethnographic agonizing.⁴ Multi-layered texts/images are used to try and evoke some of the complex, overlapping and interrelated networks, structures, constraints and possibilities within which a particular season of 'fieldwork' and its aftermath was situated.⁵ It thus attempts to offer, through a case study, a demonstration of the kinds of networks within which archaeological (and other) fieldwork projects are nested, and to highlight some of the ethical and political as well as epistemological considerations this may raise.

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Fieldwork and archaeology

As in ethnography and some parts of geography, until recently (and still in many contexts) fieldwork has been seen as the defining core experience for archaeologists. It is the rite of passage, the successful completion of which demonstrates disciplinary competence and the right to be called a 'real' archaeologist. A vast literature deals with archaeological fieldwork, the majority of which is concerned with methodological and theoretical issues relating to the production and interpretation of empirical data. In common with other disciplines, archaeology has also over the last 20 years or so become embroiled within the 'linguistic turn' and concerns with representation. However, the tendency has been either towards the interior gaze on archaeological practices, archaeologists and their texts, or broader overviews of the relationships between, for example, the discipline of archaeology and nationalism, imperialism and colonialism,⁶ rather than consideration of the specific contexts of fieldwork. This is not to deny the sophisticated and often impassioned debates surrounding issues such as the excavation and reburial of human remains,⁷ and concerns to involve and relate to local communities in issues of archaeology, history and heritage.⁸ But these tend to be couched in terms of case-specific quandaries, or attempts to define general principles of ethical practice.⁹ As such, they are often focused on diadic relations such as those between archaeologists and, for example, Native Americans, or, more broadly, notions of the rights of archaeologists as scientists versus the rights of indigenous peoples. The complexities of the socioeconomic and political structures within which academics and others undertake fieldwork have only recently begun to be explored in geography¹⁰ and ethnography.¹¹ Thus previously these political and ethical concerns have often been voiced within the one-dimensional problematic of representation of the Other and of dialogue between the researcher and the researched, rather than seeing 'the field' as a highly fluid and complex nexus of relationships, structures and dialogues at a variety of political and spatial levels and scales.

In archaeology, beyond methodology fieldwork *per se* has been discussed in very inward-looking terms.¹² As in other disciplines, the impetus towards disciplinary sociologies and alternative epistemologies of archaeology has often derived from feminist critique,¹³ but work specifically in relation to fieldwork, rather than gender biases within the discipline, is so far minimal.¹⁴ Similarly, for example, much effort on Hodder's self-consciously reflexive project at Çatal Höyük in Turkey is directed at problematizing and understanding the ways in which archaeologists arrive at epistemologies and 'facts' during the process of excavation, but despite reference to globalization, the social, economic and political contexts of the project at local and national level are largely ignored.¹⁵

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Commentary from an *other* : Post-excavation is parasitical. It feeds from the toil of others, often only taking effect after a long period of incubation. It generally develops and thrives in an environment sterile and distant, one that has little in common with its host; it operates in a designed, determined and delineated landscape far from that of the sphere of encounter and discovery. When invited to contribute to this paper it was these issues, in particular, that concerned me. The technical construction of



digital maps and artwork, in this instance, was all I felt I could contribute: I have never been to Albania, let alone to Butrint, I do not know any Albanian citizens, and apart from superficial notions gleaned from the popular media, I have no concept of Albanian culture or its sub-cultures and if asked to I would not be able to sketch even an

The Butrint project

I first visited Albania in 1994 as part of a team investigating the archaeological potential of the area.¹⁶ The brevity of the short ferry trip from (Greek) Corfu Town to (Albanian) Sarandë brutally highlighted the contrast between relatively wealthy Greece with a developed tourist industry and infrastructure, and the poverty of an Albania whose political and economic structures had collapsed. It was also during this time that I first met Bardhyl Musa from Vrinë; he and his family were soon to become friends.

That visit and subsequent work was almost entirely funded by the Butrint Foundation, a trust established in 1993 with initial resources of £500 000 by Lords Rothschild and Sainsbury. Economic regeneration through the tourist potential of the newly accessible Antique and Byzantine city of Butrint and the surrounding area was to go hand in hand with excavation, conservation, other heritage-related development and management, and archaeological and environmental survey. Given the aims and the high-level contacts (often at embassy and governmental level), the Butrint project was thus always obviously highly political in terms of funding, permissions, logistics and implications and aims. It was set up with an eye on development as well as research, a more explicitly hybrid project than most within field/academic archaeology. Practically, the project was cross-institutional and multidisciplinary and involved many aspects. As far as I was concerned the most directly relevant were the palaeoenvironmental and geomorphological investigations which were to be integrated with the results of the archaeological survey. The original plan was for John Moreland to excavate selected sites in the countryside surrounding the ancient city, depending on the results of the surveys. In the city itself there was to be extensive further survey and joint Anglo-Albanian excavations, but also work on conservation, restoration and development of the museum, and the construction of tourist trails and notice boards. It thus involved the presence in the team of architects, art and architectural historians, classicists and others as well as archaeologists. The archaeological and other fieldwork was understood to be in part directed towards the wider goal of economic regenera-

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outline of Albania's national borders. As an archaeologist I have always had first-hand experience of the *site*, either through direct involvement with the survey or excavation, or through purposefully visiting the location. Likewise, as an *artist*, I have always felt it crucial to immerse myself in the subject - not so much as to 'get to know the subject', but rather to highlight my own pre-conceptions and bias. Here, however, I am posed with the problem of a lack of any sensory or emotional involvement, yet

tion for the area, although this aim was obviously beyond the control of the individual archaeologists or members of the project more generally, let alone the local inhabitants. It was always apparent that the Butrint project was enmeshed in various relationships with many other individuals and organizations, apart from the official collaboration with the Albanian Institute of Archaeology in the national capital of Tiranë. There were local villagers from Vrinë and archaeologists based in Sarandë, the nearest town; the local authority, the Albanian government (there were ministerial visits), the project funders, Lord Sainsbury and Jacob Rothschild (also frequent visitors), the World Bank (see below), UNESCO (Butrint was declared a World Heritage Site in 1992), and many others. On the ground, it also became clear that contacts with Albanian or other people who had the ear of members of the old or new political elites were important.

A brief recent history of Albania

Given the recent history of Albania, the possibility of visiting the country was intriguing from a political, cultural and archaeological point of view. Albania came into existence as a nation-state in 1913. Before that time the lands which now constitute the country had often fallen under the rule or influence of much broader empires: the Romans, Byzantines, Ottomans and Austro-Hungarians all played their part, and in the later nineteenth and early twentieth centuries Albanian areas, as with much of the Balkans, were fields of contest for the Great Powers, complicated by Greek claims on parts of southern Albania and later Italian desires to make Albania a colony of Mussolini's new 'Roman empire'. But soon after the Italian invasion of 1939 Albania became engulfed in the wider war, during which the Communist resistance grew steadily in strength. From 1948 until 1991 Albania was ruled by a Communist regime, for most of that time under the repressive dictatorship of Enver Hoxha. After breaking with Soviet authority in 1960, Albania

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While a few individuals have rapidly grown extremely rich, the naive expectations of most Albanians from capitalism were shown by the growth of fraudulent 'pyramid schemes' offering unsustainable rates of return, which collapsed in 1997 and left a huge proportion of the population without any form of savings, resources or means of subsistence.

for a brief while allied itself with China, but pursued an increasingly independent line. For most of the postwar period Albania has been the poorest and most economically, culturally and politically isolated country within Europe. In the wake of the fall of Communism in eastern Europe generally from 1989, Albania followed suit in 1990-1. Although national elections have been held since, in 1991, 1992 and 1996, these have been of dubious fairness and validity.¹⁷ For geopolitical, economic, religious and humanitarian reasons, various international and European organizations (e.g. the EU, OECD, OSCE, World Bank, IMF and religious bodies both Christian and Muslim) and national governments (especially Italy and Greece) have attempted to intervene in and influence Albanian affairs. With the collapse of border controls, there has been much mainly illegal emigration, sometimes on a massive scale, to Italy and especially Greece. The collapse of state-organized structures led to widespread unemployment and shortages. While a few individuals have rapidly grown extremely rich, the naive expectations of most Albanians concerning capitalism were shown by the growth of fraudulent 'pyramid schemes' offering unsustainable rates of return, which collapsed in 1997 and left a huge proportion of the population without any form of savings, resources or means of subsistence. The resulting protests led to insurrection, violence and chaos, the eventual fall of the government, a new wave of refugees to Greece and Italy, the looting of army and police barracks and the subsequent dispersal of arms throughout the country.

The deliberate policy involving the rejection of capitalist Western values and ideals under Hoxha which tends to be glossed as 'isolation' can be seen from another point of view as an assertion of autonomy. This notion of a 'fiercely independent' Albania accords with many Albanians' understandings of their essential national characteristics and history. These draw on a variety of sources, including classical references to the tribes of mountainous Illyria, travellers' tales of Albanian bandits, and the stirrings of recent Albanian nationalism and identity often personified in the cruel but cunning ruler of much of the area under the Ottomans, Ali Pasha. After the Second World War intellectual and other contacts were confined to countries to the east; innovation was largely stifled and always filtered through Marxist-Leninist and bureaucratic sensibilities. These constraints applied equally to archaeologists, though the discipline was highly regarded and received much support from Enver Hoxha's Party of Labour. This contrasted with the position prior to the Second World War, when there were no official Albanian archaeologists. By agreement with King Zog, under pressure from foreign governments, archaeological affairs were entrusted to the French in northern Albania and the Italians in the south of the country. In 1924 teams from the respective countries began excavating at the classical sites of Apollonia and Butrint. Both missions came to an end during the early part of the Second World War.

The first Albanian institutions and archaeologists were established soon after the end of the war. However, their role was severely circumscribed: the main task of Albanian archaeologists was to demonstrate the 'ethnogenesis of the Illyrians ... the problem of Illyrian-Albanian continuity, the autochthony of the medieval Albanians, and the formation of the Albanian nation'.¹⁸ This led to a relative lack



of academic interest in Greek and Roman archaeology, although the major classical remains such as the ancient cities of Apollonia and Butrint were maintained as tourist sites and housed museums, for the benefit both of Albanians and foreign visitors on state-organized tours. However religion played no part in this version of Albanian history and identity: for 50 years Albania was the only officially atheist country in Europe.

With the fall of the Communist regime, as in much of Eastern Europe, the new opportunities also proved highly attractive to academic researchers, including archaeologists, from rich Western countries, with the tempting vision of a combination of under-resourced local archaeologists and under-explored sites and landscapes. It is perhaps ironic that at a time which some have described as the ‘end of history’,¹⁹ current archaeological research in Albania might be seen with a certain sense of *déjà vu*: along with the ingress of American academics, the French are back at Apollonia, and a team with strong associations with Italy are investigating Butrint. However, rather than the naked Great Power interest and explicit Italian colonialism of the interwar years, the context of these present collaborative projects is different. They are thus taking place in a climate of postcolonial sensibilities with an expectation on both sides of partnership, rather than expropriation or exploitation, although pressure at a governmental and diplomatic level can be and is brought to bear when foreign nationals feel they are being unduly thwarted. One result of these changes is that alongside the academic and cultural justifications, the Butrint project also has an explicit moral aim of sustainable development. Nevertheless, the politics of differential access to financial, technical and other resources add many nuances to discussions over collaboration (or exploitation), local control (and international kudos), methodologies and equipment (or marginalization) and publication (and career development).



Experiencing Albania

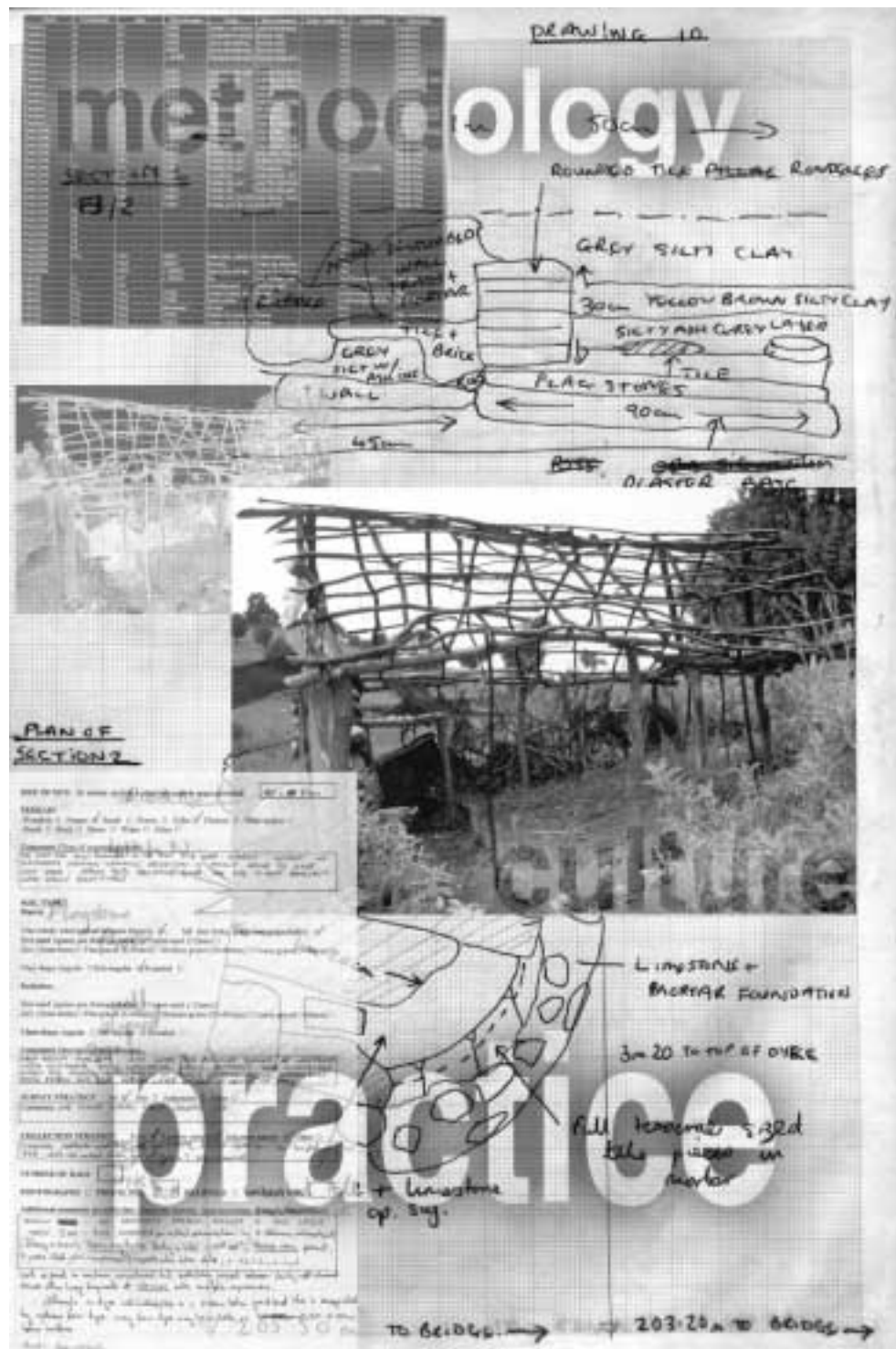
This mix of different historical, political and material experiences, expectations and contexts of the archaeologists and the local people manifested itself in various ways. Sometimes in conversations with Albanians, historical resentments surfaced, such as that against Churchill and Roosevelt for 'dealing away' Albania to the Soviet sphere of influence at Yalta. In more personal terms, it was difficult for someone like me to comprehend the experience of a regime such as that of Hoxha's Albania. In the house next door to Bardhyl Musa and his family lived the widow of a man who was caught making a comment about Greek television at a time when it was illegal to watch it. He was taken away to prison. When he was brought back to the house 15 years later he could not walk or talk and was incontinent. He died six months later. Bardhyl and his family visited his widow to give her food and comfort by climbing over the fence at the rear after midnight. Yet to risk getting a bad 'biografi' (state file) in Albania through such actions was a potential disaster. The paranoia Hoxha aimed towards the outside world was expressed internally too. There were many spies in every community, and people with 'good' and 'bad' biografis were encouraged to mingle, marry and work together to ensure that everyone was watching everyone else. If you managed to escape across the Greek border from Vrinë or elsewhere, then your family - parents, children, uncles, siblings, cousins to the third degree - got bad biografis or much worse.

still playing a crucial role in the creation of that which is to be a testament to others’ work. Conversations with Mark Pluciennik revealed tantalising glimpses of the trials and tribulations surrounding the project, and I was present on some occasions during the frantic phone calls to Greece (see below). However, from the secure and serene

Archaeological cultures

During that first and subsequent visits (Easter and late summer 1995) I also participated in exploratory work with geomorphologist Sarah O’Hara and palaeoenvironmentalist Adrian Lane, and with John Moreland and others also undertook a small trial excavation at the site of Diaporit, a few kilometres from Butrint. During the second 1995 visit field survey began properly, with systematic field walking and collection of surface material, working closely with Albanian archaeologists. Differences in archaeological ‘culture’ on survey and excavation had to be discussed and negotiated. For example, the local Albanian archaeologists were used to being notified of sites brought to light by agricultural work, rather than walking all fields at 10m or 20m intervals. Sampling techniques, such as the insistence from our side on collecting all types of ceramic materials and not just the obviously diagnostic and more easily datable fine wares, were also discussed. Some of the different methods and emphases related to different research questions and theoretical backgrounds. Albanian archaeology tended to use a ‘culture-historical’ understanding of material culture, often focused in this period and area on identification of indigenous ‘Illyrian’ material as opposed to, say, Greek or Roman. This was clearly linked to nationalist frameworks emphasizing the continued existence of native (‘Albanian’) traditions, identity and ethnicity. One Albanian archaeologist told me how this had led to a ‘refusal’ to admit the widespread existence of ‘Slav’ pottery (understood to denote the ‘Barbarian’ invasions of the sixth and seventh centuries AD), because this threatened the ‘purity’ of Illyrian/Albanian prehistory and history. This culture-historical approach, though still common in many parts of Europe, especially the east and south, contrasted with that of the British team, who were much more sympathetic to anti-essentialist views of identity as fluid and contextual.²⁰ Especially in the area of Butrint, close to the border with Greek Epirus, it was difficult to maintain the fiction of even a contemporary essential Albanian identity, linked to religion, language or any other cultural feature. In recent times much of the population was at least semi-mobile and in a state of flux. In Vrinë, people with ‘Muslim’ and ‘Christian’ surnames intermarried, and seemed to place little store on religious identity. Many of the inhabitants of the nearby town of Xarra sometimes described themselves as Koutsovlach - traditionally transhumant pastoralists of northern Epirus who descended from

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environment of a university department neither of these routes of contact had personal meaning. Experience with other research programmes often shows the difficulties of providing an engaging narrative that reflects a background upon which the archaeological description is based. The social framework of the research programme

the mountains to the coast for the autumn and winter. But when questioned directly, one answered: ‘It depends who’s asking.’²¹ Speaking Albanian, Greek and Vlach, and formerly used to moving across borders at will, their identity was a self-consciously mobile feast. Further up the valley, the town of Çuka largely comprised gypsies, who like the Koutsovlachs were forced into sedentism by Hoxha’s regime, which saw unsanctioned movements and transgressive categories as threats.

Similarly, at a more practical level, there were differences between the archaeologists during our trial excavation: British archaeologists tend to prefer to participate as ‘diggers’ themselves, rather than employing and supervising labourers. Nonetheless, as archaeologists Albanian and British participants tended to get on well on the ground, though we were often aware of tensions filtering down from above. Among the team this often seemed to diffuse in the form of informed gossip, with stories of ‘requests’ for special fees or even the purchase of a new Mercedes jeep to ease ‘difficulties’. These were often understood by the British in the context of ‘corruption’, even though we were acutely aware of the vast disparities on a personal level between our wages and conditions and those of the Albanian archaeologists and labourers.

Archaeologists in the landscape

Thus the 1996 season had constraints of history and expectations, collaboration and tension, as well as taking place within broader awareness of contemporary Albanian politics. As for the previous season, we were to be housed in ‘bed and breakfast’ accommodation in the small village of Vrinë, a few kilometres from Butrint. This was much preferable logistically and socially (despite the poverty of the village and its facilities) to living further away in Sarandë; we also felt more comfortable seeing our money going directly to obviously poor villagers for accommodation, meals and drinks.

For those visiting Albania or perhaps southern Europe for the first time, the landscape around Butrint is beautiful, exotic, strange and exciting. To the north of Vrinë, which sits on a hummock in the middle of the rich and fertile plain of Butrint, the slopes of the hills are marked by human activity. The once marshy plain itself was the subject of a large drainage project from the 1950s onwards, and the excavated channels cut through the alluvium sometimes revealed buried Roman buildings, often on a massive scale. The white scars just below the scarp beyond the plain mark the recent sites of gun emplacements, facing south towards Greece. Lower down towards the potholed road there are the concrete blisters of pill-boxes built under the Communist regime: there is said to be one for each

member of the Albanian population. The linking slit-trenches often provide useful sections and exposures for archaeologists undertaking survey. On the slopes there are rows upon rows of stone terrace walls: the result of years of activity in the summer work camps in which people were 'encouraged' to take their 'holidays'. Those which were finished supported olive and citrus trees. But by the time of our visits many of the walls had been partly demolished to improve houses in the nearby villages, and the trees burnt for firewood or destroyed by browsing goats and cattle. Hardly anyone could be seen working in the landscape apart from a few shepherds.

Part of the archaeological attraction of such relatively 'underdeveloped' landscapes is the potential for survival of past landsurfaces, structures and intact archaeological and environmental information, compared with many areas subject to Western European postwar agricultural regimes, with deep ploughing encouraged by economic growth, general intensification and most recently by EU subsidies. Working in such a landscape thus offers an element of 'salvage archaeology'. Archaeologists often have an ambivalent attitude towards development. While many within the profession/discipline would consider themselves sympathetic to 'Green' and 'conservationist' approaches, they also have an interest in development as providing opportunities, for example, for excavation ahead of construction, and concomitantly often making available state or private funds for archaeological research.

Thus, although some project members (at least) had considerable sympathy with the idea of rapid and extensive development as a way of raising the standard of living for local people, there were also factors favouring a slower (but quite possibly more stable) process including smaller-scale 'eco-' or heritage tourism, arguably leading to more sustainable development. These debates also have to be seen in the context of recent preferences of the educated middle classes of developed Western countries (including academics and archaeologists) for romantic, historical, 'authentic' and ecologically friendly travel rather than modern, 'inauthentic' and ecologically destructive mass tourism.²²

is rarely discussed and wider political considerations glossed over. The impact of the fieldwork and research community on those local to the study area, and *vice versa*, is generally omitted as being peripheral to the specific concerns of the study. Both a symptom and a cause of the general pattern described, is that the writing of archaeology and presentation of data (in either pictorial or textual format) is often highly regulated and thus generally uniform in style. The format for publication is pre-determined by all involved parties, from the author, funder to publisher (and to an extent the consumer). The universality of the Web and hypertext has in some ways addressed this issue, allowing greater freedom (and thereby artistic licence) to the author and reader. Complex linkages between different aspects of the narrative in hypertext break down the chronological nature of traditional discussion. However, hypertext is unable to address the issue of narrative construction in the arena that the



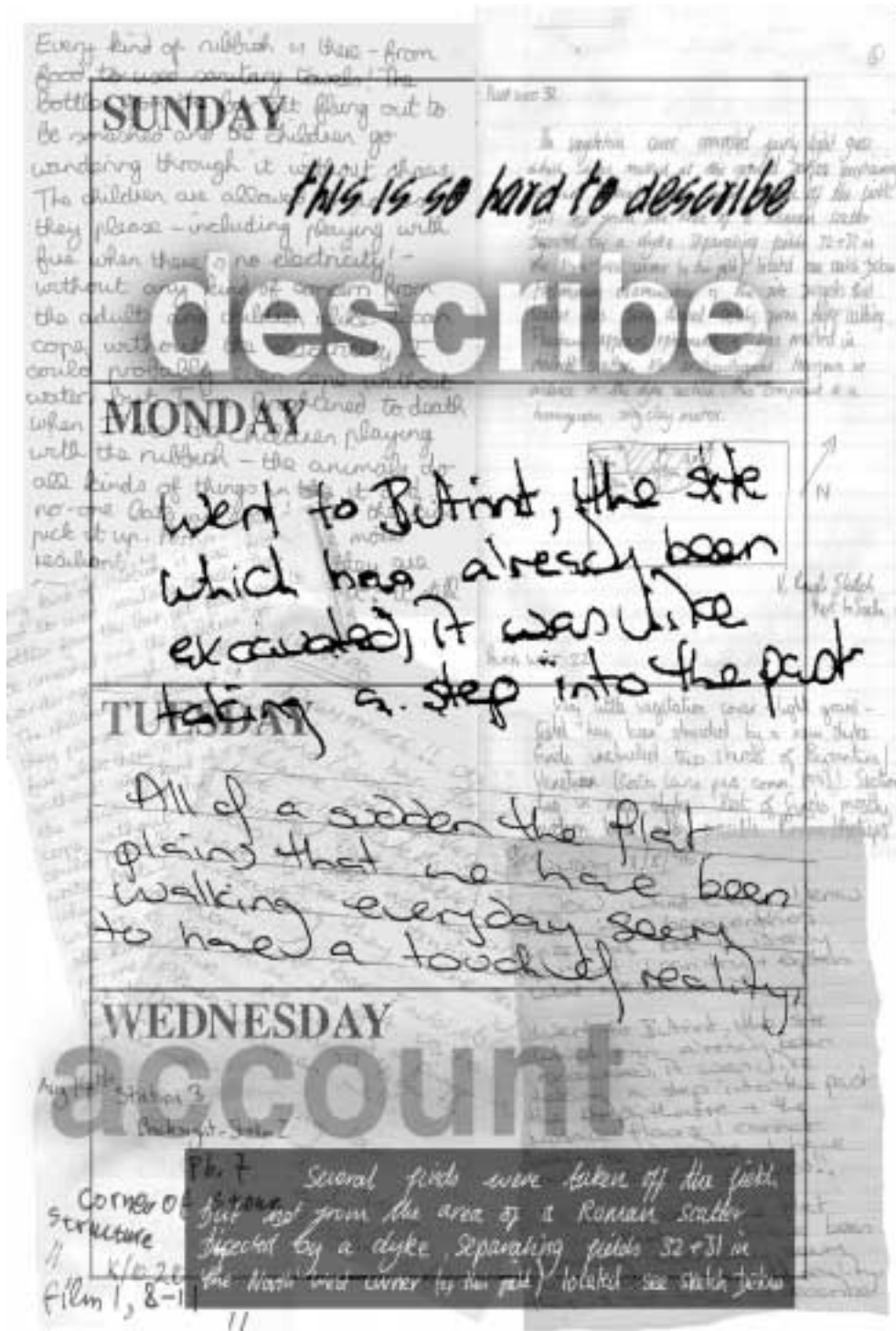
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Diaries and narratives

The 10-strong survey team, with myself in charge, arrived in Sarandë from Corfu in early August 1996 for a planned season of just over three weeks. We were met by friends who had arranged transport for us to Vrinë, the village near Butrint where we were staying. The team was a mix of previous visitors and new students. After an introductory walk around the area and some of the archaeological sites, the daily routine was established: systematic fieldwalking and site recording from early morning until lunchtime, followed by a break during the afternoon, and then further fieldwalking, finds and data-processing during the late afternoon and early evening. For most of the first two weeks the work proceeded relatively uneventfully, once the new team members had acclimatized themselves to the novel conditions of working, living and eating. Relationships with the villagers and others were good, and many acquaintances were made or renewed. We had assistance of various kinds from many different people.

By the end of the second week, however, a series of tensions manifested themselves through episodes which can be characterized as ranging from misunderstandings to threats. Many of these derived from conditions and events emanating from elsewhere, and were to do with the wider politics of the project and Albania more generally. I was summoned to a meeting with archaeological representatives from Tirana, told that no official permission had been granted for the survey, accused of looting and told to stop. A formerly friendly policeman insisted one morning on a list of names and full addresses of team members to be supplied within minutes, though these had been supplied on entry to the country. Team members were followed by known police informers.²³ Members of Bardhyl's family were threatened by secret police, at least partly for their known closeness to our team, and I subsequently tried to minimize potentially compromising contact. From a different source, though more immediately frightening to some team members, came the concerns associated with the arrival of an expatriate villager from Athens who was now working as pimp. There were physical and verbal threats to women team members. Part of one morning was spent politely refusing a (friendly) offer of looted antique statues from a self-styled local gangster. Some team members were aware of recent peripheral (to us) violence - the killing of a guard dog and the firebombing of a friend's car as part of the local 'tourist wars'.

There was a hierarchy of ignorance (or knowledge) within the survey team.²⁴ I withheld some of my uncertainties and the more unsettling stories, except from the two field team leaders. Although I was in a privileged position, I knew that I also had only a partial view and was myself often unaware or only partly aware of the political machinations going on around and above me. I was also conscious of the fact that, as the project's current representative in the field, what I said or did might well be used in different contexts as part of other people's strategies. Given these difficulties and constraints on the fieldwork, I was concerned when the time





vast majority of archaeological discourse is presented, i.e. the medium of print. It was a conscious decision that this paper would try to address the limitations posed by formal routes of publication, and that hypertext, though providing liberation to authors, in this instance would evade the fundamental issues of traditional publication.

The use of *montage* allows the authors further associations and emphases

came to leave Albania and we were kept waiting at the port of Sarandë while two (of three possible) ferries left for Corfu. Recent publicity about the detention of an archaeologist and equipment on leaving Bulgaria was fresh in my mind,²⁵ and I was worried about team members (especially younger students) being selectively prevented from leaving. I told only the two survey team leaders about my concerns at the time, and discussed what they should do if I were detained. I was acutely conscious that in my luggage were (archaeologically) annotated military maps of the area which were now supposedly legitimately available, but whose discovery could well provide the police with an excuse for detention. In the event we were allowed to leave on the last possible ferry, with a noticeable air of relief among the whole team.

Aftermath

Normally, the aftermath of a field season is the routine though time-consuming activity of what is generally called in archaeology ‘post-excavation’ - artefact conservation, recording, drawing, analysis, interpretation, planning for the following season, and other processes leading to publication, with subsequent effects on research profiles, funding and careers.²⁶ Other networks are joined and produced, and other audiences sought; the services and skills of many who have no immediate contact with Albania or Albanians are used to produce new representations of the archaeological materials and the landscape, past and present (see the associated texts and images in this article by Quentin Drew). The ‘field’, and perceptions of it, become extended and transformed through intertextuality, other networks of contacts, collaborations and enabling and constraining structures within research institutions and elsewhere. It has been argued that ‘field sites thus end up being defined by the crosshatched intersection of visas and clearance procedures, the interests of funding agencies, and intellectual debates within the discipline and its subfields’,²⁷ but this understanding of what constitutes ‘the field’ has to be broadened. As Staeheli and Lawson point out: ‘The fields and researchers’ positions within them are ambiguous because academics operate in many fields and because the boundaries between fields are blurred.’²⁸ In this instance the ‘nor-

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that may otherwise be restricted due to a rigid publication format. Importantly, *montage* presents information to the receiver allowing more diverse individual reactions and understandings. As the information is 'layered' there is also greater potential for further levels of readership, from superficial comprehension to informed critique. As with text, the reader is given the tools to allow for further enquiry, though encounter with montage is not intrinsically chronological, and indeed the received narrative itself may alter with each 'reading'. Montage is not, however, without its own con-



mal procedure' of the post-excavation process was 'interrupted' by the political situation in Albania during early 1997 (see above). My friends Bardhyl, Oljana and their young son tried to leave for Greece, at first legally. During attempts to obtain visas and send official letters of invitation for them, I and other project members were in contact with various embassies and consulates in Albania and Greece. A Greek-speaking colleague in my university department kindly spent time telephoning border posts and other authorities in northern Greece. For the first time in my life I heard machine-gun fire, albeit over the telephone while speaking to Bardhyl in Vrinë. Later I heard that a man had been killed attempting to throw a hand grenade into the bar where we had spent much of our time. The team's closest acquaintances are now safely (and legally) out of Albania, but other friends and acquaintances have been reported wounded or killed. Given the dispersal or disappearance of friends, local relationships and networks, the resumption or resurrection of archaeological 'field-work' in southern Albania seemed not only unattractive at that time but curiously irrelevant. In early 1997 Butrint was placed on the List of World Heritage in Danger 'due to the looting of the site museum'.²⁹ Although the material gathered from the survey seasons was reported dumped, destroyed or looted, along with the contents of most other museums, stores and sites in Albania, to bemoan the loss of archaeological information seemed, under these circumstances, wholly inappropriate.³⁰

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straints. It is constructed and designed and as an illustration is subject to the formats prescribed by publishers. The cost of producing colour illustrations for this particular paper has determined the black / white format of the montages within. All the accompanying illustrations were created at the outset in a greyscale mode, resulting in particular types of images from the project being given preference over others. The use of colour would have allowed for a wider spectrum of expression from the authors. Decisions taken by the two authors of this paper over which images were

From politics to ethics

To see fieldwork as a travel practice highlights embodied activities pursued in historically and politically defined places. This worldly emphasis contributes to an opening of current possibilities, an extension and complication of ethnographic paths. For as the travelers and research sites of anthropology change in response to geopolitical shifts, so must the discipline.³¹

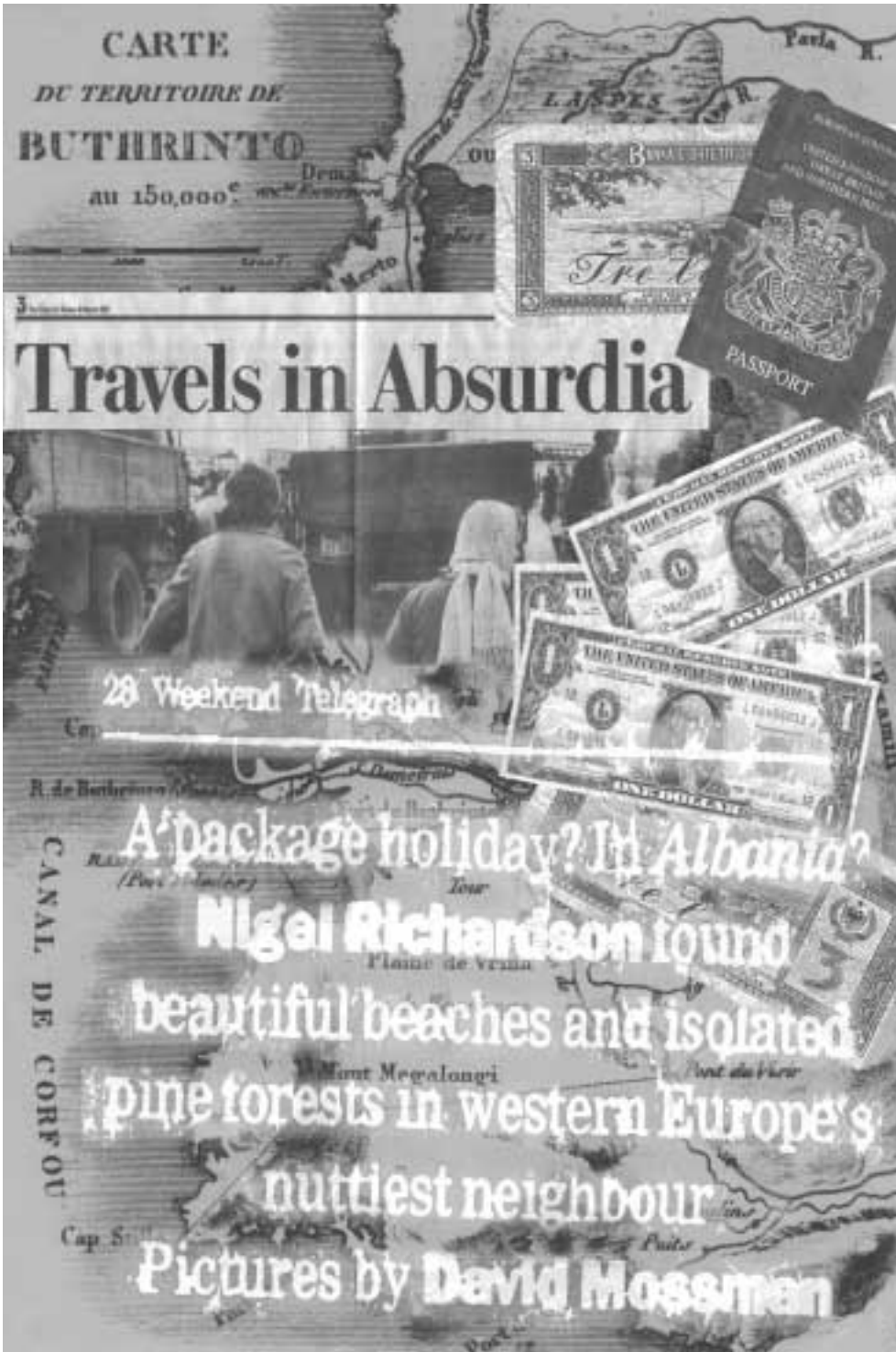
One might add that to see fieldwork as an ‘embodied activity’ also raises personal, political and ethical issues which archaeologists have often been content either to ignore, or treat as yet another opportunity for theoretical reflection and academic capital. Indeed, this paper may be seen as a hypocritical attempt to do precisely that. What Clifford calls ‘the translation of ongoing experience and entangled relationship into something distanced and representable’³² inevitably also involves reduction from a variety of sensual experiences, usually to the single medium of text. As Sidaway observes, much ethnographic literature ‘too easily treats problems of cultural translation and cultural difference primarily as problems of writing’, whereas the issues of the ‘social context, conditions and consequences of the overseas fieldwork *per se* have been neglected’.³³ Working on the boundaries of ethnography and history, Wagner argued that ‘the political milieu imposes itself at every step of historical research whether the historian wants to admit it or not’.³⁴ She concluded: ‘As historians, we must burden ourselves with political awareness. We must take into account the larger context in which we and those whom we encounter have no choice but to operate.’³⁵

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Archaeologists as tourists

Since Malinowski and Boas, ethnographers have seen fieldwork as the time and place in which they grapple with the difficulties of being an outsider attempting to see as (or translate from) an insider. The myth of the ethnographer as the objective observer ultimately presenting realist texts has largely been buried,³⁶ though discussion of the nature of an ethnographer's involvement, responsibilities and types of relationship with individuals and communities and subsequent representations continues. In sociology, geography and ethnography, much of the exploration of the (often radical) politics and situationist epistemologies of participant research has come from feminists. These reject supposed neutrality and attempt to 'give' voices to or otherwise act or empathize with the 'oppressed' through an explicit political engagement. 'Through this move, we can create a noninnocent research process and start to establish a feminist politics that acknowledges privilege and exploitation, a politics that recognizes and seeks to transform the structures that create "our" privilege and "their" marginalization'.³⁷ However, the 'oppressed' who may be the subject of archaeological (or historical) analysis are usually dead; although their histories may be recuperated or transformed, their oppression may not. In this sense archaeological fieldwork has usually been distanced from these direct concerns with the researched, although much has been written about the 'past in the present' or 'who owns the past', especially in the context of working with 'indigenous' communities with claims to cultural continuity.³⁸ The political and heritage aspects are often treated as a separate issue from the empirical 'facts' of the archaeological record derived from fieldwork. This has made it easier to add supposed analytical objectivity and political neutrality to genuine temporal distance. The archaeological data, representing the past as an object of analysis, are perceived as separated from current concerns and conditions, except insofar as they may impinge on methodologies of recovery. Thus recently Bintliff claimed: 'I am devoting the major part of my research time to a study of Classical manuring evidence [through a large survey project]: I challenge anyone to deconstruct that politically!'.³⁹ This claimed ability to separate the facts derived from fieldwork from the various material, cultural and political frameworks within which the very possibility of fieldwork exists posits the past as somehow existing out there 'in the field', and hence as incorruptible and unchangeable (even if multiply interpretable). Thus publication of archaeological fieldwork often involves in an even more extreme and partial form than ethnography the reduction of fieldwork experience to particular forms of representation and knowledge.

A further implication derives from this attitude. It can easily lead to local people being seen as peripheral facilitators (and at worst considered a hindrance) to the archaeological fieldwork.⁴⁰ The 'real' topic is neutral and recordable, and hence the knowledge and results derived from survey (and artefacts and ecofacts from excavation) are in principle and sometimes in practice moveable and ex-



used in the montages were rarely disputed, though as the person directly responsible for their construction, I often found myself focusing on particular themes, which I was conscious may have over-emphasised or contradicted the running narrative. Aesthetic considerations were also paramount in their construction, with many early illustrations either being discarded or being re-worked for clarity.

Running parallel with the montages are the three textual narratives, one of which you are reading now. The main text, from which the montages evolved, takes

portable. Thus the essence of archaeology in the field does not necessarily depend on the local population, although access to it may. However, archaeological fieldwork still requires personal presence and investigation. But if anthropologists traditionally sought the exotic, sometimes archaeologists are much more like some of Clifford's travellers,⁴¹ or even tourists purchasing mementoes and other forms of symbolic capital.⁴² Much archaeological information (pollen and sediment cores, micromorphological sections, pieces of pottery and worked stone, plans of structures, electronic and paper maps and other databases) is in principle recoverable, recordable and transportable from anywhere to anywhere - a question of routine archaeological work and techniques. Thus for many archaeologists pursuing fieldwork abroad, the focus of analytical interest is not the current context, which is rather experienced as an often attractive backdrop and setting. Archaeological fieldwork can be exotic and open-air, involving summer evenings in new locales (restaurants, bars), often largely interacting with the archaeological team more than local people. The ambience can be more like that of a travel group on a package tour than in-depth ethnographic interaction. Because, eventually, the *archaeological* material is the thing, language abilities for most may be minimal. Relations are often at least initially confined to those who can perform services (provide food, drink, accommodation, necessary tools, goods, labour, transport, permits), or whose presence sanctions that of the visiting team, such as indigenous archaeologists or other officials. However, many archaeologists who work abroad also feel that they are gaining a kind of authentic travel or privileged cultural experience, rather than being confined to the 'tourist gaze'.⁴³ This is sometimes reinforced by, for example, the siting of fieldwork away from typical or potential holiday locations, and activities such as the bulk purchase of foods or of labouring equipment which involve a more 'normal' interaction with the local population.

Some of these issues were highlighted by the particular circumstances of working in Albania, in which cultural and economic perceptions and values of the visiting archaeologists were sometimes palpably in tension with those of local villagers and other groups, especially within the context of a tourist development project.⁴⁴ We sometimes found ourselves acting as the conduit for information, since the local people were rarely if ever officially informed about potential sources of economic and other changes for their area. For example, the World Bank had a

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plan to turn a large part of the landscape around Butrint into a national park. It would involve a new road skirting the mountains to the east, new water supplies and other infrastructural improvements, and some tourist developments. The total sum involved was said to be \$64 million. Local consultation was minimal, though some of us from the Butrint project spent a day with an ecological consultant from Washington flown in by the World Bank. Regarding less official relationships, it was rumoured that a ‘fee’ of \$200 000 was paid by an Italian company to a government minister in Tiranë in order to facilitate the granting of planning permission for a suitably ‘protected’ tourist village in the area. Politicians were also said to be involved with other foreign companies who wanted to build hotels and marinas in this (to our eyes) largely unspoilt and spectacular landscape. Villagers who had looked across to Corfu and watched Greek television were tempted by the idea of mass tourist developments and the associated work and perceived relative prosperity. But meanwhile other people from developed countries wrote reports encouraging the World Bank to put a green gloss on any development money, especially in the light of criticism voiced at the Rio Earth Summit.⁴⁵

These conflicts of interest led to uncertainty among some members of the project about the roles we were playing: whether, for instance, we might be colluding with development plans (whether from World Bank or private enterprise) and participating in wider networks with whose aims or effects we did not necessarily agree. There was the realization that, because of our contacts and access, we were in a position of potentially far more (though still minor) influence than were many of the people in whose area we were working. Because of the particular conditions, issues of democracy and politics were thus foregrounded to a greater extent than in many other archaeological projects, although such concerns have been raised by archaeologists from or working with indigenous communities in a context of political activism.⁴⁶ The ethical dimensions of fieldwork have also been highlighted particularly by those working within ‘applied anthropology’, where ethnographers have been made particularly aware of having sometimes conflicting allegiances to various individuals, communities, organizations and agencies local, regional and national.⁴⁷ In a similar way, many of the moral issues are commonplace to those concerned with the field of development ethics, in which the meanings of development in relation to human needs, democracy, personal and community potential and fulfilment, and cultural autonomy and relativism are discussed.⁴⁸



the central position. Initial designs for the layout of the paper were for a format in which the main narrative was irregularly dislocated and superimposed over the accompanying montage. The use of different fonts and text sizes would have forced the reader to re-approach the presentation and to question the order of received information. The intention was to break down the relationship between text and illustration,

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The impetus for this article derived from a conjunction of structures and processes at various spatial and chronological scales, which in themselves represent parts of the complex conditions governing the nature of fieldwork and its outcomes. The processes of archaeological fieldwork such as that described here in Albania may raise many issues ranging from development ethics and the relation of the global to the local, to politics at different scales and in a variety of contexts - academic and research funding, ongoing rights and responsibilities towards individuals and local communities, and relationships with local, national and international communities, organisations and structures. These networks go way beyond the methodological and epistemological concerns typically highlighted in (especially archaeological) fieldwork and studies of landscapes.⁴⁹ The analytical convenience of the reductive categories in which archaeological fieldwork is usually expressed should not be allowed to obscure that those 'facts' and the fieldwork itself are partly constructed and contingent. Thus we must not only problematize the representations of the complex genealogies, locations and movements of the researched (in the past or present), but also widen our reflexive understandings of the multiple positions of the researchers and constructions of 'the field'. It is also useful to remind ourselves of the complexities of the concept of 'context' whether applied to the past or the present, and to suggest that nodes in networks and positions in places may be more than just metaphors for situated gazes.⁵⁰

which were to become one and the same. The revised format, which is presented here, is a compromise that allows for greater continuity and clarity to the main narrative. The third textual narrative is one that is an amalgamated and abstract collection of linguistic terms used in the technical construction of both this paper and the post-excavation research associated with it. This third narrative reminds the reader of the dislocated presence of post-excavation and its distant and sterile character. The final product, therefore, consists of three responses to the Butrint project: a response (as

presented by Mark Pluciennik) of the familiar and involved, a response mediated through methodology and technology (as presented in the third narrative and in parts within some of the montages) and finally the response of a distanced receiver (as presented by myself through this narrative and the construction of the montages). My use of montage does not, or even attempt to, break down the ‘parasitical’ character of post-excavation, but rather its aim is to throw a spotlight onto this failing. The intention behind the ‘cut and paste’ feel of this production was to reflect partly the fractured character of excavation (including survey) and subsequent off-field research. The result still invokes censorship in terms of what is excluded and what can be accessed, yet through its explicitness, it is also an honest attempt to liberate the narrative from the monologue. Such an approach allows the archaeologist to demonstrate (though only partially) the complexity of any research; that it does not proceed within a vacuum nor is it within the complete control of the project manager.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank all those who took part in survey in Albania, but especially Ros Aitken, Kate Edwards, Dionysis Flevotomos, Andrew Heck, Claire Kinch, Chris Lane, Chris Pickard, Sarah Pink, Adrian Turgel and Dave Tyler. The fieldwork was funded by the Butrint Foundation. I would also like to thank Sally Martin, Ollie Gilkes and Richard Hodges for facilitating my participation and organizing logistics; John Moreland and Prue Chiles in particular for political and ethical discussions during and after the fieldwork seasons; and Sarah O’Hara and Adrian Lane for their collaboration. In Vrinë (and now also elsewhere), heartfelt thanks to Bardhyl and Olliana Musa, Bardhyl’s parents, Zymbule, Fahdil, Lili (now reported killed), and the other villagers; and archaeologists Gjergj Saraci, Kosta Lako, Petraq Damko and Luane; and Wilma and Ani for their friendship, help and support. At Lampeter, thanks to Yannis Hamilakis and Maureen Hunwicks for trying to assist in a border crossing. I am grateful to Catherine Nash and Paul Rainbird for directing me to pertinent references, and thank Sarah Tarlow for comments on a draft of this text. Under the circumstances, it is particularly important to emphasize that this paper is a personal perspective and that others may not agree with the analysis or presentation of the material offered. (Mark Pluciennik)

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Notes

¹ R. Hodges, G. Saraci, W. Bowden, O. Gilkes, K. Lako, A. Lane, S. Martin, J. Mitchell, J. Moreland, S. O'Hara, M. Pluciennik and L. Watson, 'Late-antique and Byzantine Butrint: interim report on the port and its hinterland (1994–95)', *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 10 (1997), pp. 207–34.

² Thus much recent discussion has related to the ethics and politics of representation, or is couched in terms of the personal and subjective dilemmas of the author *vis-à-vis* dialogue, for example. A classic and influential text is P. Rabinow, *Reflections on fieldwork in Morocco* (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1977), which offers a commentary on the personal relationships involved in producing the (separately published) monograph. However, earlier ethnographic fieldwork relating to 'acculturation' and 'colonialism' from the 1930s and 1940s was often situated in a broader context: see pp. 19–25 of A. Gupta and J. Ferguson, 'Discipline and practice: "The Field" as site, method, and location in anthropology', in A. Gupta and J. Ferguson, eds, *Anthropological locations: boundaries and grounds of a field science* (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1997), pp. 1–46. There has recently been a resurgence of emphasis on larger-scale structures understood as world systems or globalization as well as the local, though usually in terms of the researched rather than the researcher: see e.g. G. Marcus, 'Contemporary problems of ethnography in the modern world system', in J. Clifford and G. Marcus, eds, *Writing culture: the poetics and politics of ethnography* (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1986), pp. 165–93; G. Marcus, 'Ethnography in/of the world system: the emergence of multi-sited ethnography', *Annual Review of Anthropology* 24 (1995), pp. 95–117; and J. Robbins and S. Bamford, eds, *Fieldwork revisited: changing contexts of ethnographic practice in the era of globalization: special issue of Anthropology and Humanism* 22 (1997). Cf. A. Appadurai, 'Putting hierarchy in its place', *Cultural Anthropology* 3 (1988), pp. 36–49, who argues that one should 'remain aware that ideas that claim to represent the "essences" of particular places reflect the temporary *localization* of ideas from *many* places . . . [and] encourage the production and appreciation of ethnographies that emphasize the *diversity* of themes that can fruitfully be pursued in any place' (p. 46) (emphasis original). Most fieldwork considerations in ethnography are still intensively focused on moments of personal revelation: e.g. B. Jackson and E. Ives, eds, *The world observed: reflections on the fieldwork process* (Urbana, University of Illinois Press, 1996); but see Gupta and Ferguson, 'Discipline' for a much wider-ranging discussion. *Inter alia*, they remark that 'With the idea that knowledge derived from experience in "the field" is privileged comes a foregrounding of face-to-face relations of community, while other, less localized relations disappear from view' (p. 15). For an excellent earlier discussion of the multiple roles, relationships and dilemmas of the ethnographer, however, see M. Punch, *The politics and ethics of fieldwork* (Newbury Park, CA: Sage, 1986).

³ E.g. T. Asad, ed, *Anthropology and the colonial encounter* (London, Ithaca Press, 1973); E. Said, *Orientalism* (New York, Pantheon, 1978); M. Rowlands, 'A question of complexity', in D. Miller, M. Rowlands and C. Tilley, eds, *Domination and resistance* (London, Unwin Hyman, 1989), pp. 29–40; M. Rowlands, 'The politics of identity in archaeology', in G. Bond and A. Gilliam, eds, *Social construction of the past: representation as power* (London, Routledge, 1994), pp. 129–43; M. Bernal, 'The image of ancient Greece as a tool for colonialism and European hegemony', in Bond and Gilliam, *Social construction*, pp. 119–28.

⁴ E.g. Jackson and Ives, *The world observed*; D. Kulick and M. Willson, eds, *Taboo: sex, identity and erotic subjectivity in anthropological fieldwork* (London, Routledge, 1995); Clifford and Marcus, *Writing culture*; R. Lawless, V. Sutlive and M. Zamora, eds,

Fieldwork: the human experience (New York, Gordon & Breach, 1983); Robbins and Bamford, *Fieldwork revisited*.

- ⁵ Of course, no representations are 'innocent' in their selection of style, form or content, and each discipline has a distinctive mix of genres, perhaps widest in such subjects as geography, anthropology and archaeology which span the arts/sciences divide. Nonetheless, archaeology can be argued to have been extremely conservative in its textual and other strategies and analyses: see M. Pluciennik, 'Archaeological narratives: and other ways of telling', *Current Anthropology* **40** (1999, in press). This paper attempts to at least open up to debate issues of the politics and poetics of writing fieldwork, beyond the simple, often quantitative textual analyses which have typified some archaeological commentary, such as the discussion of megaliths in C. Tilley, *Metaphor and material culture* (Oxford, Blackwell, 1999), pp. 82–101; J. Thomas, 'Discourse, totalization and "the neolithic"', in C. Tilley, ed., *Interpretative archaeology* (Providence, RI, Berg, 1993), pp. 357–94.
- ⁶ E.g. B. Trigger, 'Alternative archaeologies: nationalist, colonialist, imperialist', *Man* **19** (1984), pp. 355–70; D. Fowler, 'Uses of the past: archaeology in the service of the state', *American Antiquity* **52** (1987), pp. 229–48; R. Layton, ed., *Conflict in the archaeology of living traditions* (London, Unwin Hyman, 1989); Y. Hamilakis, 'Through the looking glass: nationalism, archaeology and the politics of identity', *Antiquity* **70** (1996), pp. 975–8; P. Gathercole and D. Lowenthal, eds, *The politics of the past* (London, Unwin Hyman, 1990).
- ⁷ For recent reviews and references see e.g. D. Jones and R. Harris, 'Archaeological human remains: scientific, cultural, and ethical considerations', *Current Anthropology* **39** (1998), pp. 253–64; S. Powell, C. Garza and A. Hendricks, 'Ethics and ownership of the past: the reburial and repatriation controversy', *Archaeological Method and Theory* **5** (1993), pp. 1–42.
- ⁸ E.g. V. Raharijaona, 'Archaeology and oral traditions in the Mitonga-Adrainjato area (Betsileo region of Madagascar)', in R. Layton, ed., *Who needs the past? indigenous values and archaeology* (London, Unwin Hyman, 1989), pp. 189–94; P. Stone, 'Interpretations and uses of the past in modern Britain and Europe: why are people interested in the past? Do the experts know or care? A plea for further study', *ibid.*, pp. 195–206; T. Ferguson, 'Native Americans and the practice of archaeology', *Annual Review of Anthropology* **25** (1996), pp. 63–79; J. McDonald, L. Zimmerman, A. McDonald, W. Tall Bull and T. Rising Sun, 'The Northern Cheyenne outbreak of 1879: using oral history and archaeology as tools of resistance', in R. McGuire and R. Paynter, eds, *The archaeology of inequality* (Oxford, Blackwell, 1991), pp. 64–78.
- ⁹ E.g. M. Lynott and A. Wylie, eds, *Ethics in American archaeology: challenges for the 1990s* (Washington, DC, Society for American Archaeology, 1995); J. Mulvaney, 'Past regained, future lost: the Kow Swamp Pleistocene burials', *Antiquity* **65** (1991), pp. 12–21; Jones and Harris, 'Archaeological human remains'.
- ¹⁰ J. Sidaway, 'In other worlds: on the politics of research by "First World" geographers in the "Third World"', *Area* **24** (1992), pp. 403–8; H. Nast, 'Opening remarks on "Women in the field"', *Professional Geographer* **46** (1994), pp. 54–66; L. Staeheli and V. Lawson, 'A discussion of "Women in the field": the politics of feminist fieldwork', *Professional Geographer* **46** (1994), pp. 96–102.
- ¹¹ E.g. C. Katz, 'All the world is staged: intellectuals and the projects of ethnography', *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* **10** (1992), pp. 495–510; O. Salemink, 'Mois and Maquis: the invention and appropriation of Vietnam's Montagnards from Sabatier to the CIA', in G. Stocking, ed., *Colonial situations: essays on the contextualization of ethnographic knowledge* (Madison, University of Wisconsin Press, 1991),

- pp. 243–84; T. Turner, 'Representing, resisting, rethinking: historical transformations of Kayapo culture and anthropological consciousness', *ibid.*, pp. 285–313.
- ¹² E.g. I. Hodder, 'Writing archaeology: site reports in context', *Antiquity* **63** (1989), pp. 268–74; C. Tilley, 'Excavation as theatre', *Antiquity* **63** (1989), pp. 275–80; B. Bender, S. Hamilton and C. Tilley, 'Leskernick: stone worlds; alternative narratives; nested landscapes', *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society* **63** (1998), pp. 147–78; but see P. Healy, 'Archaeology abroad: ethical considerations of fieldwork in foreign countries', in E. Green, ed., *Ethics and values in archaeology* (New York, Free Press, 1984), pp. 123–32.
- ¹³ E.g. J. Gero, 'Sociopolitics and the woman-at-home ideology', *American Antiquity* **58** (1985), pp. 25–32; J. Gero, 'Gender division of labour in the construction of archaeological knowledge in the United States', in G. Bond and A. Gilliam, eds, *Social construction of the past* (London, Routledge, 1994), pp. 144–53; J. Gero, 'Archaeological practice and gendered encounters with field data', in R. Wright, ed., *Gender and archaeology* (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1996), pp. 251–79; M. Conkey and J. Gero, 'Tensions, pluralities, and engendering archaeology: an introduction to women and prehistory', in J. Gero and M. Conkey, eds, *Engendering archaeology* (Oxford, Basil Blackwell, 1991), pp. 3–30; M. Conkey and J. Gero, 'Programme to practice: gender and feminism in archaeology', *Annual Review of Anthropology* **26** (1997), pp. 411–37; A. Wylie, 'The interplay of evidential constraints and political interests: recent archaeological research on gender', *American Antiquity* **57** (1992), pp. 15–35; A. Wylie, 'Good science, bad science, or science as usual? Feminist critiques of science', in L. Hager, ed., *Women in human evolution* (London, Routledge, 1997), pp. 29–55.
- ¹⁴ H. Kuklick, 'After Ishmael: the fieldwork tradition and its future', in Gupta and Ferguson, *Anthropological locations*, pp. 47–65, in her historical overview of the origins of anthropological fieldwork, Kuklick notes that 'the association of fieldwork with manly heroism that became conventional during the nineteenth century has persisted in all sciences of the field' (p. 63). However, the prevalence and persistence of physical machismo, for example, on archaeological excavations remains unexamined, though Gero, 'Archaeological practice', argues that gendered valorizations are present in the most basic of archaeological practices. G. Rose, *Feminism and geography: the limits of geographical knowledge* (Cambridge, Polity Press, 1993), pp. 68–73, 104–9, offers a more complex view of the specifically geographical forms of masculinist epistemologies in relation to fieldwork and landscape.
- ¹⁵ I. Hodder, '“Always momentary, fluid and flexible”: towards a reflexive excavation methodology', *Antiquity* **71** (1997), pp. 691–700; but see I. Hodder, 'A response to Yannis Hamilakis', *Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology* **12** (1999), pp. 83–5.
- ¹⁶ There are, inevitably, other networks of personal and academic connections here too. I first heard of the possibility of working in Albania while staying at the British School at Rome (BSR). The then director, Richard Hodges, told me one evening that he was attempting to set up a project investigating particularly the later history (late antique and early Byzantine) of the ancient city of Butrint. Richard made it clear that, although there were research imperatives, he also saw this as an opportunity to produce economic benefits for the immediate area through the development of cultural tourism. This should also enable the project to raise large amounts of funds from aid or development budgets. Some time later I was invited, through John Moreland, to join a team visiting Albania in the late summer of 1994 to investigate the archaeological potential of the area for associated field survey work. I had first met Richard Hodges while I was an undergraduate at Sheffield, where he was John Moreland's PhD supervisor. John, an early medieval archaeologist, was subsequently appointed a

lecturer at Sheffield archaeology department, where we later became friends and colleagues, collaborating on John's excavation project in central Italy. I also knew many others involved in the Butrint project through visits to the BSR and to Richard's excavations in Italy during my own PhD research.

- ¹⁷ Human Rights Watch, *Statement of concern: violations in the Albanian elections* (Helsinki, Human Rights Watch, 1996).
- ¹⁸ Z. Andrea, 'Archaeology in Albania, 1973–83', *Archaeological Reports* 30 (1983–84), pp. 102–19. This emphasis on ethnogenesis is typical of much Eastern European archaeology, both mainstream and that associated with the wilder fringes of ethnonationalist myth-making: see D. Austin, 'The "proper study" of medieval archaeology', in D. Austin and L. Alcock, eds, *From the Baltic to the Black Sea* (London, Routledge, 1990), pp. 9–42; P. Dolukhanov, 'Archaeology and nationalism in totalitarian and post-totalitarian Russia', in J. Atkinson, I. Banks and J. O'Sullivan, eds, *Nationalism and archaeology* (Glasgow, Cruithne Press, 1996); V. Shnirelman, 'Alternative prehistory', *Journal of European Archaeology* 3 (1995), pp. 1–20. In Albania the theme of ethnic continuity from the Bronze Age to modern Albania identity was also expressed in numerous conferences dedicated to Illyrian studies and in popular archaeology books. The extent of state control over archaeological agendas is confirmed by interviews with archaeologists quoted in E. Morina, *Albanian archaeology after the First World War: ideology, politics, and national identity* (dissertation, Institute of Archaeology, University College London).
- ¹⁹ F. Fukuyama, *The end of history and the last man* (New York, Free Press, 1992), who equated this state of affairs with the 'victory' of liberal capitalism.
- ²⁰ E.g. S. Shennan, ed., *Archaeological approaches to cultural identity* (London, Unwin Hyman, 1989); P. Graves-Brown, S. Jones and C. Gamble, eds, *Cultural identity and archaeology* (London, Routledge, 1996); S. Jones, *The archaeology of ethnicity* (London, Routledge, 1997).
- ²¹ Recounted by Dionysis Flevotomos, a member of the survey team who carried out interviews in conjunction with investigations into the use of the hill of Kalivho, near Butrint, traditionally used for winter pasture. For accounts of Koutsovlach and other mobile pastoralists of the region, see e.g. A. Wace and M. Thompson, *The nomads of the Balkans: an account of life and customs among the Vlachs of northern Pindus* (London, Methuen, 1914); C. Chang, 'Pastoral transhumance in the southern Balkans as a social ideology: ethnoarchaeological research in northern Greece', *American Anthropologist* 95 (1993), pp. 687–703.
- ²² J. Urry, *The tourist gaze: leisure and travel in contemporary societies* (London, Sage, 1990).
- ²³ For similar experiences in an even more worrying political context, see M. Wagner, 'Both sides of the border: the impact of the political milieu on field research in Burundi and Tanzania', in C. Keyes Adenaike and J. Vansina, eds, *In pursuit of history: fieldwork in Africa* (Portsmouth, NH, Heinemann, 1996), pp. 18–28.
- ²⁴ It should be emphasized that, of course, there were and are hierarchies and differential networks of access and communication, not only within various teams, but also within the project as a whole.
- ²⁵ 'Spy row prompts dig halt', *Times Higher Education Supplement* 1192 (8 Sept. 1995), p. 2; D. Bailey, 'Checkmate', *ibid.* 1194 (22 Sept. 1995), pp. 15, 17.
- ²⁶ Cf. D. Patai, 'U.S. Academics and Third World women: is ethical research possible?', in S. Gluck and D. Patai, eds, *Women's words: the feminist practice of oral history* (New York, Routledge, 1991), p. 139. See also Punch, *Politics and ethics*, for an excellent description of the dilemmas which arose when authorities connected with his department and his researched institution (a public school) wanted control over the nature

of the resultant publications. For a sociological example of the clash of the normally separated fields of academia, the law, research fieldwork and government agencies, see M. Brajuha and L. Hallowell, 'Legal intrusion and the politics of fieldwork: the impact of the Brajuha case', *Urban Life* 14 (1986), pp. 454–78.

²⁷ Gupta and Ferguson, 'Discipline', p. 11.

²⁸ Staeheli and Lawson, 'A discussion', p. 98.

²⁹ UNESCO, *Report of the 21st session of the World Heritage Committee*, <http://www.unesco.org/whc/sites/570.htm> (1998).

³⁰ Cf. J. Chapman, 'Destruction of a common heritage: the archaeology of war in Croatia, Bosnia and Hercegovina', *Antiquity* 68 (1994), pp. 120–6, on wartime destruction in the FYR. In fact, a recent visit (April 1999) proved that survey material had been disturbed but not destroyed, though more intrinsically valuable, 'small finds', including coins from excavations, had disappeared, along with material from the museum.

³¹ J. Clifford, 'Prologue: in medias res', in *Routes: travel and translation in the later twentieth century* (Cambridge, MA, Harvard University Press, 1997), p. 8.

³² J. Clifford, 'Spatial practices: fieldwork, travel, and the disciplining of anthropology', *ibid.*, p. 57.

³³ J. Sidaway, 'In other worlds: on the politics of research by "First World" geographers in the "Third World"', *Area* 24 (1992), p. 404.

³⁴ Wagner, 'Burundi and Tanzania', p. 20.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 28.

³⁶ E.g. G. Marcus and D. Cushman, 'Ethnographies as texts', *Annual Review of Anthropology* 11 (1982), pp. 25–69; Clifford and Marcus, *Writing culture*, S. Webster, 'Realism and reification in the ethnographic genre', *Critique of Anthropology* 6 (1986), pp. 39–62; M. Strathern, 'Out of context: the persuasive fictions of anthropology', *Current Anthropology* 28 (1987), pp. 251–81.

³⁷ Staeheli and Lawson, 'A discussion', p. 97. See also F. Harrison, ed., *Decolonizing anthropology: moving further toward an anthropology of liberation*, 2nd edn (Arlington, VA, Association of Black Anthropologists/American Anthropological Association, 1997), for Marxist-influenced emancipatory calls for political action and engagement within and through anthropology as a means of combating racism and other forms of oppression.

³⁸ See e.g. Layton, *Conflict*; Gathercole and Lowenthal, *Politics of the past*.

³⁹ J. Bintliff, 'A siege mentality at Lampeter? Let Ludwig in – he's a friend', *Archaeological Dialogues* 5 (1998), p. 41.

⁴⁰ In ethnography too, the objectification of informants and the observed raises ethical and representational issues (see Rabinow, *Reflections*, for an early articulation of this problem). However, informants are always directly relevant to ethnographic concerns and centrally involved in personal relationships with the observer, in contrast to almost all archaeological work.

⁴¹ Clifford, 'Prologue'.

⁴² In the sense used by P. Bourdieu, *Distinction: a social critique of the judgement of taste*, trans. R. Nice (London, Routledge, 1984), p. 291. For an earlier equation of ethnographers with tourists, see M. Crick, '“Tracing” the anthropological self: quizzical reflections on field work, tourism, and the ludic', *Social Analysis* 17 (1985), pp. 71–92. 'Tourists are temporary residents in another culture. They normally are more affluent than those among whom they stay. Access to the other culture is very limited; their interests are fairly specific. When abroad, tourists are awkward and always marginal. Their identities lie in the home culture and interests derive from that culture, not from the one being visited. They return home and recount tales about their

encounters . . . This brief description summarizes salient features of the tourist experience, but everything here also applies in some measure to the anthropologist' (pp. 78–9).

⁴³ Urry, *Tourist gaze*.

⁴⁴ 'There is no other international trading activity which involves such critical interplay among economic, political, environmental, and social elements as tourism': J. Lea, *Tourism and development in the third world* (London, Routledge, 1988), p. 2.

⁴⁵ There has also been extensive criticism of the role and effects of the World Bank and its sister organization, the International Monetary Fund. For a damning indictment of its elitism, alleged corruption and promotion of policies which maintain structural inequalities, see former IMF economist D. Budhoo, *Enough is enough: Dear Mr. Camdessus . . . an open letter of resignation to the managing director of the International Monetary Fund* (New York, New Horizons, 1990).

⁴⁶ E.g. H. Fourmile, 'Who owns the past? Aborigines as captives of the archives', *Aboriginal History* 13 (1989), pp. 1–8; J. Riding, 'Without ethics and morality: a historical overview of imperial archaeology and American Indians', *Arizona State Law Journal* 24 (1992), pp. 11–34; L. Zimmerman, 'Made radical by my own: an archaeologist learns to accept reburial', in Layton, *Conflict*, pp. 60–7; J. Erlandson, C. King, L. Robles, R. Ruyle, D. Wilson, R. Winthrop, C. Wood, B. Haley and L. Wilcoxon, 'The making of Chumash tradition', *Current Anthropology* 39 (1998), pp. 477–510.

⁴⁷ E.g. C. Colfer, 'Rights, responsibilities and reports: an ethical dilemma in contract research', in M. Rynkiewicz and J. Spradley, eds, *Ethics and anthropology: dilemmas in fieldwork* (New York, John Wiley, 1976), pp. 32–46; R. Kiste, 'The people of Enewatak Atoll vs. the U.S. Department of Defense', *ibid.*, pp. 61–80; M. Rynkiewicz, 'The underdevelopment of anthropological ethics', *ibid.*, pp. 47–60; A. Burns, 'Feds and locals: stages of fieldwork in applied anthropology', in Lawless *et al.*, *Fieldwork*, pp. 129–42; C. Fleuhr-Lobban, 'Ethics and anthropology in the 1990s and beyond', in C. Fleuhr-Lobban, ed., *Ethics and the profession of anthropology: dialogue for a new era* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1991), pp. 213–36; B. Frankel and M. Trend, 'Principles, pressures, and paychecks: the anthropologist as employee', *ibid.*, pp. 177–97; M. Gilbert, N. Tashima and C. Fishman, 'Ethics and practicing anthropologists' dialogue with the larger world: considerations in the formulation of ethical guidelines for practicing anthropologists', *ibid.*, pp. 200–12. See also Punch, *Politics and ethics*. Political as well as methodological concerns have also been addressed in sociology; e.g. P. A. Adler, P. Adler and E. Rochford, 'The politics of participation in field research', *Urban Life* 14 (1986), pp. 363–76.

⁴⁸ For recent philosophically grounded reviews of the field of development ethics, see D. Crocker, 'Towards development ethics', *World Development* 19 (1991), pp. 457–83; D. Gasper, 'Culture and development ethics: needs, human rights, and western theories', *Development and Change* 27 (1996), pp. 627–61; and M. Raiser, 'Destruction, diversity, dialogue: notes on the ethics of development', *Journal of International Development* 9 (1997), pp. 39–57. The ethics of tourism development are discussed in J. Lea, 'Tourism development ethics in the third world', *Annals of Tourism Research* 20 (1993), pp. 701–15, and ethics and the environment in the context of economic development and business are considered by J. Singh and E. Carasco, 'Business ethics, economic development and protection of the environment in the New World Order', *Journal of Business Ethics* 5 (1996), pp. 297–307.

⁴⁹ Cf. Gupta and Ferguson, 'Discipline', p. 13, for ethnographic 'fields': 'The image of arriving in "another world" whose difference is enacted in the descriptions that follow, tends to minimize, if not make invisible, the multiple ways in which colonialism,

imperialism, missionization, multinational capital, global cultural flows, and travel bind these spaces together.'

⁵⁰ D. Haraway, 'Situated knowledges: the science question in feminism and the privilege of partial perspectives', *Feminist Studies* 14 (1988), pp. 575–99.