Anarchy and Archaeology

Introduction

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Why Anarchism?

Events of 2016, including the UK referendum result in favour of Brexit and Donald Trump's presidential election victory in the US, signalled a broad shift towards populism and ethno-nationalism that caught many by surprise. This trend has been perceived by some to indicate a new threat to archaeological heritage and research in numerous countries (for the US, see Werkheiser 2016): the rhetorics of austerity, economic development, and populism steamroll, sometimes literally, efforts to study, conserve, and interpret the past – particularly when ethno-nationalist, neoliberal, and patriarchal ideologies are undermined.

Thus, it is with some urgency that many archaeologists have come to embrace an interest in anarchism in some form (e.g. Angelbeck and Grier 2012; Black Trowel Collective 2016; Borck and Sanger 2017). There is no singular overarching form of anarchist thought, nor any orthodox way of being an anarchist. The simple unifying idea is the questioning of hierarchy in human societies. Among archaeologists, there are varying degrees of commitment to anarchist thought, not to mention the revolutionary projects that many anarchists commit to pursuing. Within this diversity of approaches and relationships to anarchism, though, there are common threads. One is a deep and abiding scepticism of and resistance to authority and orthodoxy. Another is a quest to redefine social and ecological relationships on more egalitarian terms, including with non-humans.

Researchers have explored how anarchism can contribute to fields such as anthropology (e.g. Graeber 2004), heritage studies (e.g. Vagnone and Ryan 2016), and geography (e.g. Springer 2016). In this forum, we ask what anarchism can do for contemporary

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archaeology, and vice versa. In particular, we explore three major questions that relate to the use of anarchist principles and practices in contemporary archaeology and the archaeology of the recent past: (1) what can archaeology tell us about recent and contemporary anarchist movements?; (2) what does anarchist thought do for contemporary archaeology?; and (3) how might archaeology inform contemporary anarchisms? We begin here with a brief summary of some of the primary archaeological engagements with anarchist thought and practice, in order to provide some context for the subsequent discussions in the forum.

Archaeological Anarchisms

Terms like "anarchist", "anarchy", "anarchism" have been uncommon in archaeological literature until very recently, though there is a long-standing archaeological engagement with "egalitarian", "heterarchical", "horizontally-organised", "middle-range", or "acephalous" societies (e.g. Cashdan 1980; Crumley 1987). More explicit engagement with anarchist thought in archaeology has emerged within the last decade (see Rathbone 2017 for a review). The intellectual genealogy of this engagement is certainly variable among different "anarchist archaeologists", who have come to both archaeology and anarchy from sometimes radically different backgrounds (Black Trowel Collective 2016).

In North America, where archaeology and anthropology have close links, David Graeber's foundational text *Fragments of an Anarchist Anthropology* (Graeber 2004) has been particularly influential on those engaging with archaeology and anarchy. The work does not does make use of the kinds of diachronic perspectives offered by archaeology, but Graeber has since demonstrated their relevance by adding archaeological collaborations to his body of work (e.g. Wengrow and Graeber 2015). The works of James C. Scott (e.g. 1998, 2009) have also been influential, as have those of more "classical" anarchist scholars and activists, such as Pierre-Joseph Proudhon (e.g. 1994 [1840]), Mikhail Bakunin (e.g. 1950 [1872]), Peter Kropotkin (e.g. 1902), and Emma Goldman (e.g. 1969 [1910]).

There is no singular, "big-A Anarchy" with which archaeology engages (thus we use the broader term "anarchism" to allow for a multiplicity of approaches and perspectives; see Borck and Sanger 2017), but there are a few common threads in the extant works that are worth outlining. One primary area of inquiry stems from dissatisfaction with, and deep scepticism of, linear narrative building that places capital and the state as inevitable endpoints of cultural evolution. This framework is reflected in the kinds of archaeological heritage deemed worthy of recognition and protection (e.g. Borck, this volume). Further, these kinds of discourses can be used to naturalize the current colonial, capitalist order (e.g. Diamond 1999; see subsequent critiques in McAnany and Yoffee 2009). As a counter to this, there is a renewed focus on heterarchical or consensus-oriented societies that reflects on the ways that people in the past resisted the emergence of hierarchy. Rather than equating anarchy with "chaos", non-hierarchical societies are seen as representing alternative forms of order (Bettinger 2015; Denham, this volume).

Anarchist archaeologists reject the more or less implicit notion that certain societies should be seen to "lack" or to have failed to evolve hierarchical social organization. Rather, people have in many cases actively chosen to organize themselves in a way that prevents individuals from accumulating too much power (see Angelbeck 2009;

Angelbeck and Grier 2012; Borck 2016). In addition to questioning how and why hierarchies emerge, or not, in the first place, anarchist archaeologies are broadly interested in the ways that resistance is enacted where hierarchical societies, particularly states, do exist. This includes both in the deeper past and in more recent colonial situations where state and non-state societies have interacted (Flexner 2014). These types of concerns extend beyond archaeologies explicitly labelled as "anarchist". For example, archaeological analyses of coalition and consensus (e.g. De Marrais 2016), or the use of witchcraft as a means of limiting and making dangerous power and authority (e.g. Fowles 2014), offer overlapping and complementary perspectives.

Beyond theoretical inspiration, many archaeologists also engage with anarchist praxis on some level. This means working to eschew or undermine certain forms of authority, including those we ourselves might be given (as academics, professionals, or experts, for example). Anarchist archaeologists aim to work collaboratively with various communities and groups of people in relatively egalitarian ways, for example integrating anarchist concepts into our pedagogical practices (Gonzalez-Tennant, this volume). Even in that most fundamental of archaeological activities, excavation, there is room for a bit of anarchic inspiration (Morgan and Eddisford, this volume). In some cases, the communities archaeologists work with can be seen to point the way forward through their own habits of resisting the state or practising consensus-based leadership (Angelbeck and Jones, this volume; Flexner, this volume; Welch 2017).

Turning to historical and contemporary archaeology more specifically, there is currently little in the way of published material that directly engages with anarchism. Rather than reviewing a field that largely doesn't exist yet, we suggest a few directions that an anarchist contemporary archaeology might develop in the near future, while the other authors in the forum engage with the cutting edge of this topic in the present.

Archaeology of Anarchist Movements

Modern anarchist movements trace their roots to the mid-nineteenth century, a time of upheaval as workers and capitalists struggled to establish new forms of social relationships in a context of rapid industrialization. The formation of radical labour unions coincided with the rise to prominence of various intellectual perspectives critiquing capitalism and the modern nation-state. The first anarchists – represented by figures such as Proudhon, Bakunin, and Kropotkin – argued passionately for the abolition of both, to be replaced by self-determining collectives that would exist without coercive authorities.

However, the anarchists were largely (and intentionally) overshadowed in the long term by Marx and Engels, who saw a similar end-goal of a communalist, egalitarian society, but a very different historical mechanism through which it could be accomplished. Where the anarchists wanted to prefigure and create a stateless society in the here and now while resisting the impulse to impose their personal beliefs on what ultimate form that might take, Marxists believed society had to evolve through specific, well-defined stages before the ideal society could be realized (see Graham 2015).

From these origins, anarchist movements have existed (or are at least perceived to exist) largely on the fringes of broader movements concerned with workers' rights, gender and sexual equality, ecological justice, and individual self-realization (see chapters in Amster *et*

al. 2009). Occasionally, anarchists have come to the forefront, as when they disrupted the World Trade Organization meetings in Seattle in 1999, or during the Occupy movement (Taylor *et al.* 2011), but generally they have not drawn much attention to themselves. In some ways, this may be a strategy, as avoiding attention can also be a way of avoiding persecution by state powers (e.g. Scott 2009).

One can ask, then, what the archaeology of contemporary and recent anarchists might teach us (see Jamieson, this volume; Lagarde, this volume). Does the material culture of anarchists, or the landscapes they inhabit, differ significantly from those living in the mainstream? Do these things differ when compared to other revolutionary movements, including Marxist ones? What does an anarchist material culture even look like? Is there an archaeologically visible anarchist aesthetic (cf. Birmingham 2013)? How does anarchism relate to overlapping but potentially distinctive alternative material cultures, such as punk (Caraher *et al.* 2014; Morgan 2015; see Richardson 2017 for a critique of "punk archaeology"), or hippie (Parkman 2014)?

Anarchism for Archaeologists

In the most pessimistic analysis of the discipline, archaeology as practised today is a form of "disaster capitalism". Particularly in colonial settler societies such as the US, Australia, and Canada, archaeologists can be described as professional bureaucratic "managers" removing primarily indigenous but also colonial heritage to make way for economic development (Hutchings and La Salle 2015). Even where the "colonial/indigenous" binary is not perceived as applicable, a similar pattern of erasing heritage to make way for the advancement of capital is prevalent. While we acknowledge and in many ways agree with this critique, we wonder if the problem lies less with the archaeologists, and more with current forms of capitalism and the state in which archaeologists find themselves. We ask the question whether is it futile to attempt a reform of archaeology without addressing the underlying causes of its problems, which we would argue are found in contemporary states and their relation to capital. What happens when we realize that in the twenty-first century, *everything* is a form of disaster capitalism?

Rather than trying to fix one problem or the other independently, we see possibilities for reforming archaeological practice in a way that also involves transformation of the structures of capitalism and the state at some level. Historical and contemporary archaeology already contain elements of critical and sometimes radical analysis of phenomena such as fascism (e.g. González-Ruibal 2010), poverty (Orser 2011), late capitalism (Hamilakis 2015), human rights (Ribeiro 2015), and animal welfare (Sayers 2014), not to mention the discipline's longstanding association with Marxism (e.g. McGuire 1992; Leone 1995). Perhaps as archaeologists, it's time we realize that we have potential allies in the world of anarchism, and to engage seriously not only with ideas and aspects of anarchist praxis, but also with the bigger project of "building a new society in the shell of the old one".

Contemporary Archaeology for Anarchists

Perhaps the most important thing archaeology does is to "expand the realm of the possible" (Scott 1985, 326) in relation to the human past. Anarchists are interested in

imagining alternative ways of organizing society outside of capital and the state, and archaeologists have access to many ways that humanity has done just that over tens of thousands of years (see Graeber 2004 for a similar perspective from anthropology). Archaeologists study the various ways that people have lived: with and without agriculture; sedentary and mobile; with and without rulers; with and without writing. Further, the long view taken by archaeologists shows the resilience of ordinary people, even in times of great upheaval, which is surely a valuable perspective for the contemporary world (e.g. McAnany and Yoffee 2009).

In both the deeper and more recent past, many non-state peoples sought "to stay out of the archives" (Scott 2009, 34) when living on the margins of state space. Here is another place where archaeology can contribute: archaeology is uniquely equipped as a discipline to document and interpret the material remains of people living in literate societies who are unlikely to contribute substantially to the documentary record. How do we apply this knowledge to contemporary radical projects? Can archaeological knowledge be revolutionary knowledge, and what does that mean for transforming society in the present and future?

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The authors who have been invited to contribute to this forum respond to these and other issues from a variety of perspectives. Here we want to emphasize that anarchist archaeologies are only beginning to emerge. We see contemporary archaeology as an integral part of the pursuit, and remain excited to see where this will take us as a discipline, and as human beings towards near and more distant futures.

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Direct Actions and Archaeology: The Lil'wat Peoples Movement to Protect Archaeological Sites

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Introduction

Through direct action, activists seek to establish and exemplify their beliefs about how relationships ought to be, whether between employees in the workplace, between neighbours in a community, or between people and their environment or territory. This is particularly so for setting examples of alternatives in immediate opposition to existing relationships that are viewed as exploitative, domineering, or oppressive. Here, we consider the implications of direct action by such movements for archaeology. As our case study, we draw upon the history of direct action in Lil'wat territory. Throughout the 1990s, the Lil'wat Nation found that they needed to turn to direct action to protect their heritage sites from development by industrial logging operations. These sites contain pictograph panels, burial sites, and other traditionally important or sacred areas, and conservation attempts through the existing system, which provided permits to enable such development, was not working. In response, the Lil'wat Peoples Movement was established, and engaged in blockades to stop the developers' actions.

Here, we discuss the history of direct action as a key part of the anarchist tradition, and consider the case of the Lil'wat Peoples Movement's actions to protect archaeological sites. We also consider how direct action has a long tradition not only in anarchism, but also as a part of indigenous movements; this has been called anarcho-indigenism. We also discuss relationships as a form of direct action, and their implications for archaeology in collaborating with descendant peoples as well as in working for the protection of archaeological heritage. These actions, as well as the related formation of non-hierarchical

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alliances to enact them, help to prefigure the type of relations that should be operant between archaeologists, indigenous peoples, and heritage.

Direct Action: A Background

According to the classic definition of the American anarchist Voltairine de Cleyre, "[e]very person who ever thought he had a right to assert, and went boldly and asserted it, himself, or jointly with others that shared his convictions, was a direct actionist" (de Cleyre 2005 [1912], 273). Action that aims to achieve societal relations that are equitable rather than oppressive are "direct" when they do not operate indirectly through intermediaries such as politicians, parties, or institutions. Examples include acts of disruptive civil disobedience such as sit-ins, occupations, strikes, boycotts, work stoppages, and blockades. Richard Day (2005, 18) suggests that "an orientation to direct action and the construction of alternatives to state and corporate forms opens up new possibilities for radical social change that cannot be imagined from within existing paradigms", and as T. V. Reed (2005, xviii–xix) remarks, these involve the "'organizing' of people to take control of their own lives". In this way, direct action is not just a means to an end, but involves directly pursuing the ends – it is a union of means and ends that prefigures the relationships that actionists want to establish.

Direct action has played an increasing role in the history of organized labour (Ness 2016), and "direct action groups" have been a characteristic component of environmental groups (Doherty 2002) and post-1960s movements (Day 2005; Reed 2005). The Lil'wat Peoples Movement is just one example of Northwest Interior groups undertaking direct action to protect their ancestral sites from threats such as logging (Angelbeck 2008).

Direct Action of the Lil'wat Peoples Movement to Protect Archaeological Sites

In February 1991, Lil'wat peoples organized to protect sites they considered sacred near Ure Creek, along Lillooet Lake near Pemberton, British Columbia, and which are attested as culturally important by the presence of pictographs, culturally modified trees, and burials (Simonsen 1994), including those of smallpox victims and still-born children (Plumtree 1991). The place is also an area sought out for solitude in intensive quests by shamans and others seeking spirit powers, as noted by an ethnographic report:

> *Mkwal'ts*, Ure Creek is the training place for the *Scwena7em* (Indian Doctor) […] this area is *A7xa7* [sacred] This area is also a burial ground for *Scwena7em* and their people. […] People were not allowed to go to *Mkwal'ts* unless they asked the *Scwena7em*. There are instruments in this area that the *Scwena7em* used that should never be touched or moved.
>
> (Kennedy and Bouchard 1975)[1]

An archaeological survey of the area conducted prior to logging recorded seven sites, and the report authors acknowledged that Lil'wat individuals informed them about the burials. Although they did not conduct any test excavations, the surveyors recommended

1. The character "7" in the romanization of Canadian indigenous languages indicates a glottal stop.

avoidance of these areas. Despite Lil'wat opposition, the project proceeded. Soon after development began, construction workers damaged one of the pictograph panels (site EbRp-2) (Archaeology Branch of BC 2017). Shortly thereafter, Lil'wat peoples organized to blockade the road.

One of us, Johnny Jones (whose Ucwalmicwts name is Yaqalatqa7, meaning "Weather Changer"), participated in these episodes. In the weeks following, a blockade was set up to prevent the bulldozers and logging trucks. Not long after, 63 of the Lil'wat individuals blocking the road were arrested (Plumtree 1991). Jones, though, was not arrested and maintained his presence as an observer, and first sought solitude among the traditional sites. The logging crews thought the arrests had ensured the work could continue; however, Jones emerged from the forest and stood in front of the construction workers in regalia and warpaint (Figure 1), an incident narrated by the filmmaker Sonia Bonspille Boileau:

> Johnny Jones produces three carved pieces of wood that he describes first as "death sticks" and then "healing sticks" used to cure the sick. They are painted with intricate symbols in red, white, and black.
>
> Kneeling among the dynamite containers, Jones embeds his sticks in the ground like three pickets in a row. He declares that the road must not be extended beyond this line. (Bonspille Boileau 2016)

As Bruce Clark, a lawyer for the Lil'wat throughout these events, recounted, the bulldozer operator was told to move forward and that the lone protester would certainly move out of its way (Clark 1999, 109). The large blade of the bulldozer was raised and pointed towards him, heading forward, but Jones held his ground: "The blade stopped, inches from his face. The operator shook his head, turned the machine off, dismounted, and walked away. […] The construction crew was spooked, either by Johnny Jones or the media or both. For whatever reason, they retreated" (Bonspille Boileau 2016) The blockaders in jail joked afterwards that they didn't need so many protesters – just one person to stop the loggers. Yet, those acts were part of a broader direct-action strategy of the Lil'wat Peoples Movement that eventually led to an agreement between the Lil'wat Nation and BC Parks by which the land is now formally protected as a conservancy that prevents logging, mining, and other development but allows for Lil'wat traditional practices to continue (BC Parks and Lil'wat Nation 2012).

In the 1990s, such blockades became common throughout BC as indigenous groups became intolerant of further development in their traditional territories. Blomley (1996, 30) emphasizes how these roadblock actions "mark[ed] out a claim to place"; that is, they establish a direct relationship between a people and their land and the heritage associated with it. He also notes that the blockades in a sense are valid actions against colonial structures:

> [B]lockades […] speak to a systemic and enduring failure on the part of the dominant society to accommodate the legitimate demands of colonized peoples. In that sense, the more important and, thus, more troubling blockades of British Columbia are not established by First Nations. They are those of the dominant society, established over a century ago and

THREATENED HERITAGE: Mount Currie band member Johnny Jones points to red ochre pictograph

Roadblock aim to halt loggin

Indians reinforce roadblock defences

Observer 'prays to the old ones'

A one-man roadblock

PEMBERTON — It is 8 o'clock yesterday morning and Johnny Jones is apologizing to his ancestors for waking them.

From deep in the forest his rhythmic chants pierce the air and quiver high above the clearing at the end of the logging road where the tiny knot of foresters and newspeople listen and shrug.

He emerges through the dense screen of trees in warpaint and full regalia. The cameras click and whir.

He says he was "praying to the old ones," more than 7,000 of whom are buried on this side of Lillooet Lake so their spirits can receive the morning sun.

Bob Stall

Stall Stories

Jones is the official observer, duly appointed by the council of the Lil'wat Nation on the Mount Currie reserve in accordance with a B.C. court injunction that prohibits any more of the native blockades that tried to stop the extension of this logging road.

Stuck in the earth at the end of the road are several red plastic canisters about the size and shape of tennis-ball cans.

They are open at the top ends and empty, awaiting sticks of dynamite that will be inserted and ignited to blast the road farther into the sacred burial grounds. Then the trees will be logged and the spirits, say the natives, will be upset.

Johnny Jones produces three carved pieces of wood that he describes first as "death sticks" and then "healing sticks" used to cure the sick. They are painted with intricate symbols in red, white and black.

Kneeling among the dynamite containers, Jones embeds his sticks in the ground like three pickets in a row. He declares that the road must not be extended beyond this line.

Two of the people watching are foresters surveying for the road. They had not expected to be confronted by "the observer." Clearly confused, they retreat.

Johnny Jones is a one-man blockade.

■■■

Eight hours earlier, 30 kilometres away, another blockade was in full swing.

This one, organized by the white people of Pemberton, was an anti-blockade blockade.

It was a few minutes after midnight yesterday on Highway 99 outside the Petro-Canada Self Serve (64.3 cents) and Convenience Store (24 hours). About 50 people stood at the northbound fork to the road, Pemberton 30 seconds to the left, Mount Currie five minutes and a world away to the right.

A large log fire on the median illuminated them in a flickering golden light, periodically swept white by the high beams of approaching traffic.

The Pemberton people were armed with a list of natives they regarded as "environmentalists and other troublemakers." Aided by informers from the reserve, they identified every native known to have sympathized with last summer's blockades on the Duffey Lake Road. They compiled a list of 150 of Mount Currie's 1,300 inhabitants.

Those listed could not pass.

"Tit for tat," said an RCMP constable in the lobby of the Pemberton Hotel.

The police had been allowing the Pembertonians to stop traffic on the highway since 2:30 Sunday afternoon.

Privately, police said it satisfied a vital need for residents to let off steam nonviolently because resentments are huge and tempers are hot among the populace of Pemberton, many of whom lost much money during the summer blockades that isolated their town and choked its economy.

Eight hours later — at the same time Jones was chanting in the forest — the anti-blockade blockade came down at police request. They had let off enough steam.

Pemberton residents vowed their roadblock would rise again the next time the Indians blockaded. They said it was the only way they could stop people arriving to man the native barricades.

They didn't know about Johnny Jones.

Read Bob Stall on Sundays, Tuesdays and Thursdays.

Province photo by John Berry

Lil'wat Indian observer Johnny Jones dances a watch prayer.

FIGURE 1. Newspaper accounts of Johnny Jones engaging in blockades to protect archaeological heritage in Lil'wat territory, c. 1991.

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> systematically maintained by the forces of economic marginalization, political paternalism, and cultural racism. The problem, in other words, is not the First Nations blockade, but the oppression that calls it forth.
>
> (Blomley 1996, 30)

Blockades will no doubt continue to be a direct-action tactic against ongoing and future development, as the recent Standing Rock demonstrations against the Dakota Access Pipeline (DAPL) in South Dakota have demonstrated.

Collaborative Archaeologies to Protect and Project Archaeological Sites

Largely because Jones was effective in his role as observer at Ure Creek, he soon afterwards became an archaeological technician for the Lil'wat Nation. Ever since the early 1990s, he has built on his personal knowledge and experience of heritage in Lil'wat territory, which he has then marshalled when participating in, reviewing, or surveying any projects within the boundaries of its territory. In the process, he has compiled lists of traditional sites, along with notes, research, and maps concerning the heritage of their lands. These lists of sites contain numerous locations that do not appear in official provincial archaeological records, and they have been compiled from Elders and knowledgeable community members as well as from oral history research, ethnographies, and ethnohistoric documents. On behalf of Lil'wat Nation, Jones wanted to formally record these sites, so that they would have a greater chance of being protected by being placed within the scope of BC's Heritage Conservation Act.

Since 2008, we have worked together on numerous projects, surveying, recording, and investigating scores of sites. Some of these efforts were funded by Lil'wat Nation themselves as part of the development of their Lands Management Plan (Lil'wat Nation and the Province of British Columbia 2008). Our work has included the recording and mapping of pithouse villages, pictograph sites, culturally modified tree sites, cave sites, rockshelter sites, quarry areas, seasonal camps, subalpine hunting blinds, traditionally carved canoes and canoe blanks, storied sites, battlefields, and sites associated with *scwena7em* (shaman) vision-questing sites. More recently, we have engaged in excavations at several pithouse village sites as part of a collaborative research project between Douglas College and the Lil'wat Nation. We have involved community members as assistants and volunteers, including both indigenous and non-indigenous students from Douglas College as well as archaeological colleagues. These efforts thus far have identified one of the oldest radiocarbon dates in Lil'wat territory, from an Archaic Period hearth at 5500 BP (Dupuis 2016). This research builds on our past efforts, and is tailored to the research interests of the Lil'wat Nation. Historically, not much academic research has been conducted in their territory, but members of the Lil'wat Nation have confidence that archaeological documentation will confirm what their own oral histories have always stated concerning their long continuity of occupation within their lands.

Lil'wat continue to live in their unceded traditional territory, which indicates that no treaties were ever signed to negotiate for settler presence and development within their territory; this means that settlement is contrary to the Royal Proclamation of 1763 issued by King George III of Great Britain after the Seven Years War, which underscored the

need for treaties prior to colonial settlement throughout the rest of Canada. As such, much of the archaeology of British Columbia is conducted quite differently from the rest of North America, meaning that research can focus on helping to substantiate oral histories and claims for aboriginal rights and title. Lil'wat have pursued this aim through heritage research and surveys by Jones since 1969, as well as through our recent work described here. The point here is that archaeology can have a direct impact on strengthening contemporary positions of Lil'wat as a sovereign First Nation in its relationship with Canada and the province of BC.

Direct Action and Anarcho-Indigenism

In many respects, direct action has been a part of indigenous struggles since the onset of colonialism (Churchill 2002; Hill 2010), in recent decades demonstrated in the context of the Red Power Movement for self-determination and the American Indian Movement, especially occupations at Alcatraz in 1963 and at Wounded Knee in 1973 (Smith and Warrior 1996; Josephy *et al.* 1999; Cobb 2008).

Taiaiake Alfred (2005) explicitly identifies direct action as an important part of indigenous ways of seeking rights, protecting lands, and maintaining sovereignty. He points to the Oka Standoff of 1990, which was about protecting an archaeological site and a burial ground of their ancestors, and states that there were "commonalities between indigenous and anarchist ways of seeing and being in the world", particularly in the rejection of exploitive and colonial relationships or any structures of oppression (Alfred 2005, 46). Another commonality was "a belief in bringing about change through direct action" (Alfred 2005, 46). The similarities of the two warranted an "anarcho-indigenism" (Alfred 2005, 45) as part of the indigenous stance towards their struggles as warriors against state power.

From a state perspective, he noted, the oppositional stances of indigenous and anarchist movements are regarded as "challenges to state authority" (Alfred 2005, 46). We might say that indigenous peoples, much more so than settlers, have a clear sense of how the state can be an imposition on their own lives, with laws and forms of enforcement that constrain where they live within their territories and limit their movements as to where they can hunt game, fish, or gather plants, as well as when they can engage in such traditional activities. This of course extends to control over their own heritage, as we have seen in some of the actions discussed above.

In *Red Skins, White Masks*, Glen Sean Coulthard (2014, 166) explicitly identifies direct action as the first of "Five Theses on Indigenous Resurgence and Decolonization". Actions against state power – whether occupations, takeovers of unused government buildings, or roadblocking access to indigenous lands – are instances of direct action, he argues, for three reasons. First, they seek "immediate effects", consistent with a union of means and ends. Second, such acts help to decolonize one's mindset; for indigenous peoples, this means a "loosening of internalized colonization". Third, direct action prefigures decolonized relationships:

> [instances of direct action] are prefigurative in the sense that they build skills and relationships (including those with the land) that are required within and among indigenous communities to construct alternatives to the colonial relationships in the long run. (Coulthard 2014, 166)

To adapt Coulthard's implications for archaeologists, indigenous or settler, we extend his three points more explicitly towards heritage, which is likely implied in his account as part of their relationships to land. Thus a direct action to protect a site seeks the "immediate effect" of saving the site, with the hope that permanent protection will follow; while those who engage in collaborative or community-based archaeologies, as opposed to the historical structures of past (and still common) archaeological practices, develop a decolonial mindset. This in turn helps lead to decolonial relationships, including with archaeological heritage sites and traditionally sacred places.

Collaborative Archaeologies as Direct Relationships

In the literature on direct action, the focus predominantly concerns confrontational acts, typically strikes or blockades. However, this understates the change in mindset and relationships as identified by Coulthard (2014) and discussed above. On this last point, de Cleyre explains that it is not just that collaborations are needed for direct action, but that collaboration is itself a direct action:

> Every person who ever had a plan to do anything, and went and did it, or who laid his plan before others, and won their co-operation to do it with him, without going to external authorities to please do the thing for them, was a direct actionist. All co-operative experiments are essentially direct action. (de Cleyre 2005 [1912], 274)

In this way, hierarchical relationships can be avoided or constrained.

This is akin to the idea of "democracy of direct action", which has been used by ethnographers to describe the Occupy movement in Slovenia as a better description of direct democracy, based in consensus-based decision making (Razsa and Kurnik 2012), and that may also apply to the alterglobalization movement, as with Quebec City Free Trade Area of the Americas (FTAA) protests of 2001 (Graeber 2009). Direct action and direct democracy go hand in hand; both are examples of direct relationships. For archaeology, this indicates a participatory politics, for all parties involved, and such forms of consensus could increasingly be incorporated into archaeological procedures, whether involving the protection of sites or their investigation.

Direct action, it should be noted, often takes one of two forms, non-violent or confrontational. Non-violent direct action, the legacy of Gandhi and Martin Luther King, is more commonly discussed and implemented, while confrontational – some would say violent – direct action is enacted by groups such as "black bloc" protestors. However, Juris (2005) has argued that the latter, as seen at the G8 meeting in Genoa in 2001, are only symbolically violent, undertaking "performative violence" meant to convey messages that highlight incongruities. Notably, this violence is directed not against people but rather against things, while the media largely represents such acts as "senseless violence". Further, non-violent protestors sometimes find themselves involved in violence in response to acts of suppression by the state. For some indigenous activists, giving up the tactical option of forcible or violent resistance can lead to continued repression, as stressed by Ward Churchill (Churchill and Ryan 2017 [1998]), who referred to "Pacifism as Pathology". He argued that there is a "hegemony of non-violence" among progressives, and that such

non-violent actions were not intended to truly transform current relationships of dominance and prevailing positions of privilege. Indigenous peoples, he argued, needed to keep the tactical option of violence in hand. His work has contributed to debates among activists concerning the spectrum of possible actions to best attain results. In this manner, there is a dialectic of ideas and action in relation to any direct action.

We maintain that there is a spectrum from mindset to action, or from theory to practice (Figure 2). The flow is from ideation to action, the gradations consisting of how ideas and knowledges become stances, positions, and even critiques of other ideas or positions. Further manifestation in practice involves the formation of relationships, of alliances for action – as noted above, this is a form of direct action in itself (de Cleyre 2005). With allies, engaging in concrete action, we can enact and prefigure the outcomes we aim to achieve. Engaging in relationships and action facilitates one's perspective, in a recursive or dialectical manner, with theory informing practice, and practice informing theory, and so on; this is a form of praxis.

From a Marxist perspective, Randall McGuire (2008, 3) provides a definition of praxis, a unity of theory and practice, that resonates with direct action. Specially, he refers to three goals: "to know the world, to critique the world, and to take action in the world" (McGuire 2008, 38). All three are necessary for a successful and effective praxis, and with the emphasis on change in the world, activist archaeologies (e.g., Stottman 2010; Atalay *et al.* 2014) are necessarily direct archaeologies. Any actions towards seeking change in the world that you would like to see involves direct action.

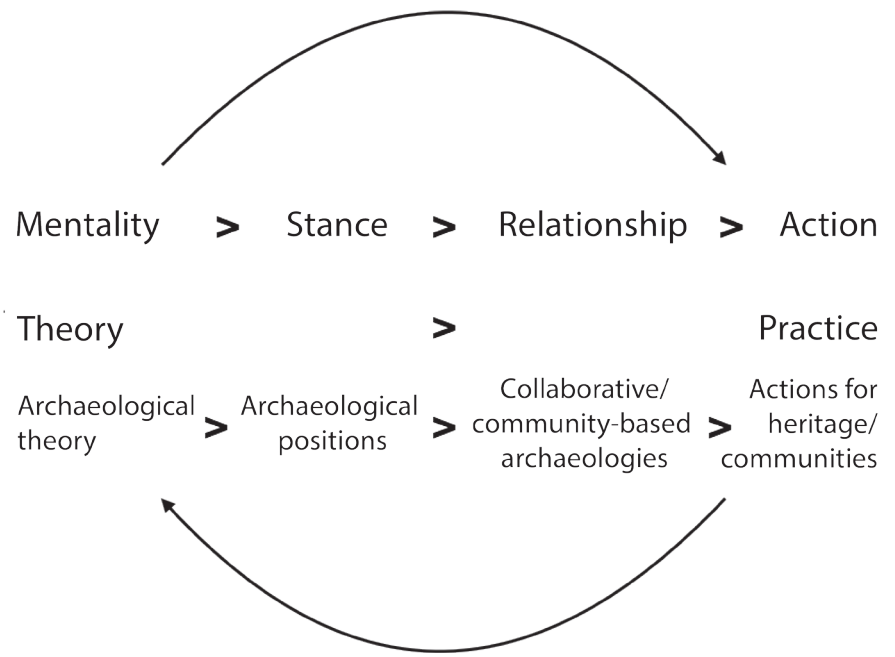

Figure 2. A model of praxis, indicating the recursive relationship of ideas and action.

For our work in Lil'wat territory, our collaborative effort in our investigations have the aim of prefiguring how relationships between Lil'wat and their heritage should be. The Lil'wat Peoples Movement has sought to protect Lil'wat territory and sites through direct action. As archaeologists, we are in a position, as those knowledgeable of our craft, to aid indigenous peoples in this protection of their heritage (Shanks and McGuire 1996; Angelbeck and Grier 2014). From this, collaborative archaeologies (e.g., Colwell-Chanthaphonh and Ferguson 2008; Silliman 2008) and indigenous archaeologies (e.g, Bruchac *et al.* 2010; Watkins 2000; Nicholas 2010) evince direct relationships.

In our investigations, we have engaged in many practices that prefigure how relationships with heritage should be in Lil'wat territory, forefronting the interests of descendant communities to their heritage. All CRM work is done under Lil'wat Permit; a Lil'wat referrals committee provides consultation for projects in their territory. This has led to increased influence over who does the archaeological (as well as ethnographic work) in their territory. All research-based investigations are done in collaboration, including determinations about which sites to survey or excavate. This has in turn led to coordination of the structure of archaeological surveys, now informed by interviews conducted for related ethnographic projects, such as Traditional Use Studies, so that the archaeological survey can better ground-truth community knowledge. No matter the type of project, whether applied or academic, as an archaeological team we have reported first to the Lil'wat Nation any issues occurring in the field, in the lab, and in reporting (e.g., Budwha 2005). The structure of collaborations in the archaeological projects, whether CRM- or research-based, helps to produce more meaningful work that the Lil'wat community is interested in pursuing.

Conclusion

In this essay, we have tried to explain how direct action has been important for the protection of archaeological heritage. It often is necessary, as with the accounts of the Lil'wat Peoples Movement discussed here, to stand against the currents of development to protect sites. Direct action will often be necessary to protect the heritage of a people. Direct action can also prefigure the relationships that should be operant between a community and its heritage. More than just being confrontational, direct action is also about directly engaging with people in collaborations and alliances for archaeological research and heritage protection. In this way, direct action can provide guidance for multiple relationships. While top-down organizations run their orders through hosts of intermediaries to those who are remote, bottom-up forms of organization involve direct and immediate relationships and actions that can prefigure the kinds of non-hierarchical and non-exploitive relationships we would like to see present between communities, land, and heritage.

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Constructing the Future History: Prefiguration as Historical Epistemology and the Chronopolitics of Archaeology

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> We are not makers of history. We are made by history.
> – Martin Luther King, Jr, *Strength to Love* (1963)

Heritage management and the preservation of archaeological sites is a major component of contemporary archaeological activity. Questioning the impact of decisions that arise through this practice is not new, nor is describing the context that has shaped the cultural structures in which these decisions are made. In this article, I use the anarchist and anti-oppressive activism concept of prefiguration to argue that archaeological sites are being mobilized not just to legitimize the state, but to create a future history where alternative power structures—egalitarian, non-state, Indigenous, pre-colonial—seem impossible to achieve; or worse, are forgotten.

The quote that opens this article serves to highlight a dialogic process within societies. When King wrote "we are not makers of history", he wasn't saying that we don't create history; he was arguing that most people are not often the ones that *historians* will argue made history. And by saying "we are made by history", he was acknowledging that history is a potent and unavoidable force for the construction of the present. This reveals

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an important rift because it presents history as being constructed by peoples whose names are known—generally the rich and powerful, the elites—and not the majority of humanity. It also means that our constructed history serves to create the present world, the social institutions, and the worldview in which individuals live their lives. In that way, then, we can say that how researchers *construct* history serves to create the world in which contemporary people live. We *are* made by history.

But this is not temporally stationary. Time and the construction of history work in a dialogic process where time moves the creation of history forward in an ever-unfolding network of responses. Mikhail Bakhtin encapsulated the recursive nature of the formation of past histories and the construction of future histories:

> There is neither a first nor a last word and there are no limits to the dialogic context (it extends into the boundless past and boundless future). Even past meanings, that is those born in the dialogue of past centuries, can never be stable (finalized, ended once and for all) – they will always change (be renewed) in the process of subsequent, future development of the dialogue. (Bakhtin 2010 [1975], 170)

In archaeology, this consistent dialogic process is particularly important because archaeology, and more generally the construction of history, is inherently a memory-making practice (Adams 1993; Van Dyke and Alcock 2003; Sauer 2003; Sinopoli 2003; Ferguson and Colwell-Chanthaphonh 2006; Levy 2006; Mills and Walker 2008; Beisaw 2010; Hendon 2010; see also Lowenthal 1985; Connerton 1989; Halbwachs 1992).

As archaeology is, at its most basic, a process for constructing history from the material record, decisions about what to use to create that history are unavoidable political acts (*sensu* Castañeda 1996; Sinopoli 2003; McGuire 2008). The type of archaeology being enacted does not matter. There is no division between an apolitical archaeology and a political one (Castañeda 1996, 24), only between the implicitness or explicitness with which the researcher acknowledges this political nature. When archaeologists, and museum professionals, make decisions about what to research, what to preserve, or what to highlight, this is political practice. The unavoidability of archaeological research as political praxis also means that the decision on what not to research has political repercussions as well, and serves to construct a future history that is missing the excluded portions (*sensu* Sauer 2003). In the case of preservation-focused activity, these decisions might be permanent as unprotected sites and objects are lost to development, to environmental processes like erosion, to acts of destruction during wartime—themselves usually political (Sauer 2003, 162)—and to the antiquities trade. Forgetting—whether intentional or through decisions based on unacknowledged bias—is always a powerful, political act that can either support the structures of power, or hegemonic ideas, that create the unacknowledged bias (Arnold 1999; Giroux 2013) or undermine and contest that power (Arnold 2014, 2446; Bakunin 1973 [1873], 28, 1971a [1842], 57).

The political act of history making is one of the primary ways that archaeology serves to construct, and enforce, the power of the state (see Fowler 1987; Politis 1995; Meskell 2013). Archaeology can, of course, contest its supporting role in the rise of the nation-state (e.g., Schmidt and Patterson 1995), but, along with history (e.g., Tamm 2016), it

has grown in lock-step with the notion of the state (Meskell and Preucel 2008, 316). Prefiguration is one way to understand how support of the state arises from ingrained bias.

Carl Boggs defined prefiguration as "the embodiment within the ongoing political practice of the movement, of those forms of social relations, decision making, culture, and human experience that are the ultimate goal" (Boggs 1977, 100; see also Rucht 1988, 320; Calhoun 1993, 404; Franks 2003, 18; Maeckelbergh 2009, 81,89). Boggs was expanding on a concept developed by anarchists (Bakunin 1970 [1882]), radical feminists (e.g., Freeman 1972–1973), New Left social movement practitioners (e.g., van de Sande 2015; see also Polletta 2012), and the Industrial Workers of the World's goal of "forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old" (Industrial Workers of the World 1905). Breines described the prefigurative practices of 1960s "New Left" social movements as "recognized in counter institutions, demonstrations and the attempt to embody personal and antihierarchical values in politics [...]. The crux of prefigurative politics imposed substantial tasks, the central one being to create and sustain within the live practice of the movement, relationships and political forms that "prefigured" and embodied the desired society" (Breines 1989, 6).

Prefiguration has been extensively examined, supported, and critiqued (Calhoun 1993; Bookchin 1995; CrimethInc 2008; Gordon 2008; Maeckelbergh 2011; Franks 2014; Springer 2016), although its use and discussion within archaeology has been limited (e.g., Black Trowel Collective 2016; Borck and Sanger 2017). Prefigurative politics have become well known in recent years with the rise of the horizontally organized "Newest Social Movements" (Day 2005). David Graeber, one of prefigurative politics better-known advocates, has written extensively on how "the organizational form that an activist group takes should prefigure the kind of society we wish to create" (Graeber 2013, 23; see also Quail 1978, x; Graeber 2002; Franks 2003, 17; 2006, 17; Yates 2015).

Prefiguration is one of the primary reasons that anarchism, what one could call libertarian socialism (Rocker 2004 [1938], 28; Chomsky 2005, 180), separated from Marxism, a form of statist socialism (Franks 2014). Differing ideas about how to bring about social change turned into one of the fundamental ideological differences between Marx and early anarchists like Bakunin and Guillaume. For Marxists, change was started in the state apparatus before horizontal power could be achieved (Lenin 1970 [1902], 149; Trotsky 1973 [1938], 36). Anarchists, however, argued that such a process would only create another form of hierarchical power (e.g., Bakunin 1950; Rocker 1956, 111; Goldman 2012). This is often discussed as the difference between "the means create the end" (anarchism) and "the ends justify the means" (Marxism).

Beyond being simply a practice-based way to look at how to change society, prefiguration argues that change *necessarily* follows in the shape of actions—either explicit or implicit, purposeful or accidental, conscious or subconscious—that create that change (e.g., Proudhon 1876 [1840], 153; Rocker 1956; Bakunin 1971b [1842]; Bey 1991, 2; Kropotkin 1992 [1885]; Ince 2012; Springer 2016, 7). The underlying idea for prefiguration is that means have consequences (Maeckelbergh 2011, 16), but also that these consequences are necessarily linked to the form of the means (Franks 2006, 98–99). Therefore, prefiguration is performative (Schlembach 2012) and practice based. As Maeckelbergh notes (2011, 3) "prefiguration is something that people do […] the alternative

'world' is not predetermined: it is developed through practice and it is different everywhere." Prefiguration encompasses not only class issues, but also incorporates "every aspect of social existence" (Boggs 1977, 104). In many ways, this aligns prefigurative action with intersectional counter-cultural movements, because prefigurative actions are multi-threaded and not targeted at individual goals (Maeckelbergh 2011, 12–13).

Thus, prefiguration is more than just a performative practice. While the vast majority of researchers and practitioners who engage with prefiguration do so as a political practice to create spaces and societies free of oppression, they are doing so because they fundamentally think that ends and means are consequentially linked.

It follows, then, that this essential difference in understanding about the consequences of our actions means that prefiguration is "not only a theory of political practice; it is a theory of meaning" (Cohn 2006, 80). Taken epistemologically, prefiguration is simply that the means are *necessarily* reproduced into the ends. The configuration of the means does not matter. Far from being simply related to creating a just society, this also implies that hierarchical means will prefigure hierarchical ends. Understood this way, prefiguration is the means and ends as process. Thus, archaeologists use the past in the present to construct a history for the production of the future.

Constructing the Future History

> Yes, the long memory is the most radical idea in this country. It is the loss of that long memory which deprives our people of that connective flow of thoughts and events that clarifies our vision, not of where we're going, but where we want to go.
>
> – Bruce "Utah" Phillips, liner notes for the album *The Long Memory* (1996)

Since archaeological practice is inherently political and our practice prefigures the ends (at least without direct intervention), what are current archaeological preservation practices prefiguring? What future history are we constructing?

A brief examination of UNESCO cultural preservation decisions in North America and the Caribbean through a prefigurative lens highlights what Western, and colonial, societies valorize and what type of history we are creating through heritage preservation decisions. Out of the 61 UNESCO World Heritage Cultural Sites in North America[1] only six (10%) can best be described as horizontally organized (Figure 1).[2] This marginal number does not accurately reflect the sociopolitical history of North America and the Caribbean, where far more than 10% of human history consisted of some form of horizontally organized governance (although see Wengrow and Graeber 2015).

These listings can have dehumanizing aspects as well. While this article focuses on UNESCO World Heritage Cultural Sites, there are also many other World Heritage Natural

1. Data was compiled from the UNESCO World Heritage List and included all of the cultural and mixed cultural/natural sites from the three countries that comprise North America: http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/.
2. Data is available at https://github.com/lsborck/2016UNESCO_Cultural/tree/2018UNESCO_Cultural. Coding these sites as either a vertical or horizontal sociopolitical organization necessarily reduces these political forms from a continuum into a binary. However this reduces obsfucastion and allows potential patterns to be clearly visible.

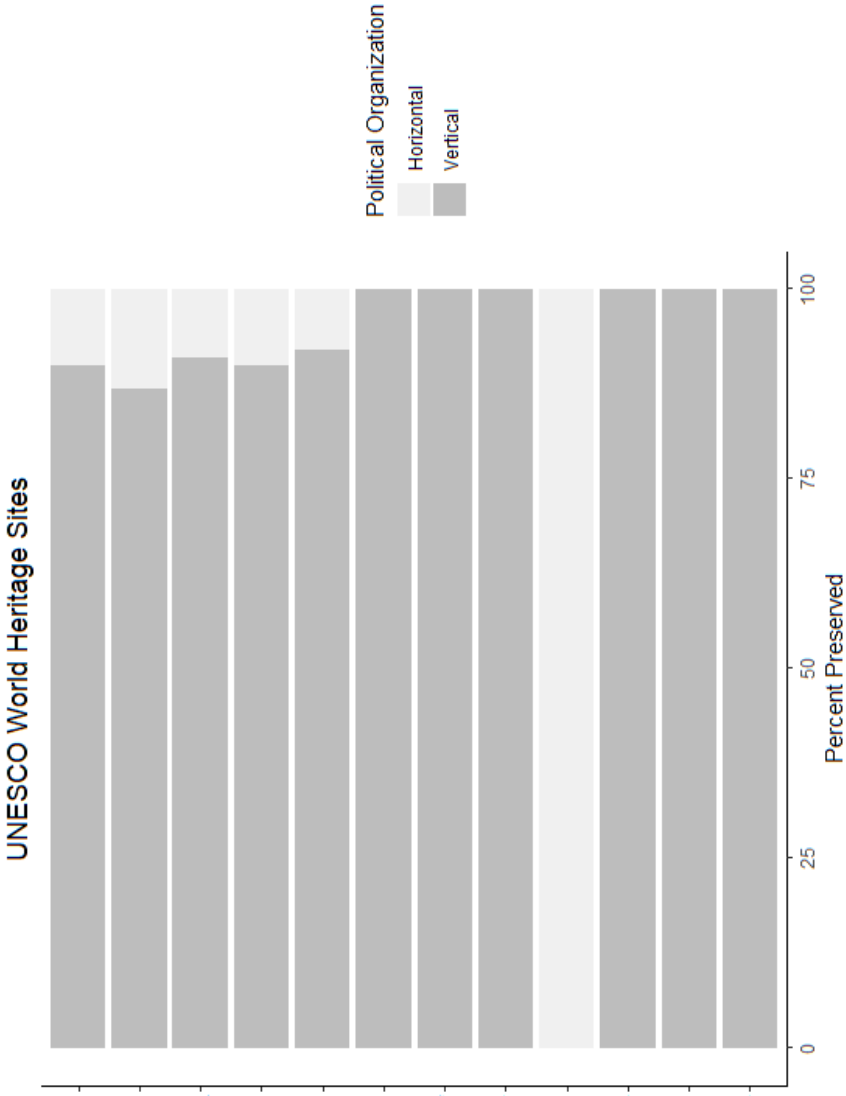

FIGURE 1. Proportion of UNESCO World Heritage Cultural Sites in North America and the Caribbean that are primarily vertically or horizontally organized along a socio-political continuum.

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Sites, like the Grand Canyon, that also contain archaeological histories and many of these histories represent alternative ways of organizing. As such, their categorization as Natural Sites also serves to further delegitimize horizontal forms of power by situating this practice within a non-human, "uncivilized", and non-intentional framework (see Bandarin 2007, 195).

Archaeological preservation decisions, as political as any other archaeological action, prefigure our future shared history. Creating a hierarchical history limits our ability to imagine, both implicitly and explicitly, alternative ways to organize collectively outside of top-down power structures. The forever shifting present, then, is a transitional period where decisions lead society to one of several alternate futures. This transitional positioning of the political present was one of the important aspects of Wallis's ideas on chronopolitics (Wallis 1970) and one of the reasons that archaeological preservation decisions are chronopolitical.

Chronopolitics is a broad term that was implemented in the study of geopolitics to offset the overreliance on spatiality (Klinke 2013, 675; *contra* Foucault 1980 [1977], 149) and introduce temporal concerns. It focuses on the time perspectives of individuals and groups and how those perspectives influence their political behavior (Wallis 1970, 102). An important addition to this is that the present is always impacting the future, so contemporary decisions have temporally long-reaching consequences (Wallis 1970; see also Witmore 2013 for a past-oriented chronopolitical discussion of how archaeological material constitutes the present). Thus, those who are making the decisions in the present can control the future (e.g., Gellner 1964).

Klinke (2013, 680) has argued that chronopolitics are intimately linked with Bakhtin's concept of chronotopes, or timespaces (Bakhtin 2010 [1975], 84). When understood prefiguratively, archaeological sites embody Bakhtin's chronotope concept because their "space becomes charged and responsive to the movements of time, plot and history" and because they are where time "thickens" and becomes "visible" (Bakhtin 2010 [1975], 84; see also Witmore 2013). This is part of the reason that archaeological practice cannot be fundamentally separated from political practice. These sites become "'where the knots of narrative are tied and untied" (Bakhtin 2010 [1975], 250).

When that narrative constructs a past that overlooks non-state efforts at communal organization—or mainly focuses on the hierarchical forms of communal organization and fails to incorporate small- and large-scale democratically-organized or horizontally-organized societies—then that past is inherently mobilized in the present to construct a future history that underrepresents societies like these. Worse, it creates a future history where organization outside of the hierarchical state doesn't even seem possible at a large scale. Chronotopes control which interpretations are possible and which are not (Allan 1994). Thus, preserved archaeological sites are chronotopes that leverage chronopolitics to control these interpretations. In many ways, this is a self-replicating process that, through time, decreases our historical imagination of alternative political organizations. It is the archaeological contribution of what Klinke (2013, 674) called the "progressive othering at the core of western geopolitics".

The anarchist geographer Piotr Kropotkin (1898) warned about this erasure when he wrote about how life and education within and under the state has permanently impacted

the way that we view the world. Alternative ways of organizing, alternative ways of existing and being, are lost. This is the naturalization of the state (see also Flexner 2014, 82–85; Faryluk 2015). Questions about how to organize politically, from a context where the state is naturalized, replicate existing forms of state organization because these are assumed to be the only effective options. In this context radical answers become difficult to hear, much less accept (Toulmin and Goodfield 1965, 43–44).

Thus, the use of archaeological sites to naturalize the hierarchical state delegitimizes horizontal power structures (for similar discussion from a memory/forgetting perspective, see Mills 2008, 82–83; Hayes 2011, 206–212). In North America, this serves a nefarious, but again implicit, purpose, since most horizontal (or alternating horizontal and vertical) power structures are Indigenous. Archaeological preservation decisions that naturalize, and are naturalized under, the state necessarily marginalize and erase the many creative forms of Indigenous management of power (both vertical and horizontal).

This is visible in how many UNESCO World Heritage Sites in North America and the Caribbean (68.9%) focus on European, or Western, colonial powers. Countries like Cuba, a Marxist-Leninist socialist state with the vanguard political goal of using the state to create a stateless and classless society, serve as indicators of the effects that the naturalization of the state has on the construction of history. Cuba, with seven UNESCO World Heritage Sites, only preserves colonial period sites with vertical political organization. There, horizontal organizations and Indigenous societies are not preserved through UNESCO.

Archaeology is a chronopolitical discipline that can, and in many cases does, limit historical memory through preservation-management decisions. But this also means that we are in a unique position as practitioners to prefigure future understandings of political organizations that do not enforce or grow social inequality. This involves a critical personal analysis as chronopolitical practitioners and an awareness that our contemporary decisions are always in process of creating a future replicated on them (following Birmingham 2013, 170). This also demonstrates that site preservation management decisions cannot be done on a site by site basis. Instead, preservation organizations should look at the corpus of their preservation activity to determine what archaeological sites, and thus histories, they should focus on to balance the story that our past is creating and to preserve a diversity of political forms.

Until this happens, we will continue to construct a future history that sees no *practical* alternative to inequality and the hierarchical state.

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Anarchism, Decolonization, and Collaborative Archaeology

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Introduction

This article discusses anarchism's rejection of hierarchy as it relates to collaborative archaeology, which I view as being part of the overall decolonization of archaeological practice. Increasingly seen as an ethical obligation, engaging the public on equal terms and as valued collaborators – basically amounting to the removal of unnecessary hierarchical posturing on the part of archaeologists – continues to face numerous obstacles, which manifest in educational and professional settings. The neoliberalization of the university continues to work against collaboration, as it devalues work not associated with the production of peer-reviewed articles or the securing of external funding. The

additional time required to produce an engaged and sustainable collaborative archaeology is seen as counterproductive in relation to these two "measurable" activities. Similarly, professionals wishing to decolonize their practice face obstacles associated with the concept of "disaster capitalism" and the fact that many private sector archaeologists are willing to "sell out" heritage as part of their daily practice (Hutchings and La Salle 2015).

Anarchism offers a corrective to these challenges by highlighting the types of relationships archaeologists might craft with other interested parties. Engaging with anarchism has altered my practice of archaeology in substantial ways, although I have rarely discussed this interest in print. This is due in large part to the negative misconceptions fellow archaeologists and the public have regarding anarchism. Several (mostly senior) colleagues have warned me against publishing on this topic; these negative attitudes are as unfortunate as they are misinformed, and tend to mirror critiques leveled against anarchism in the nineteenth century. In the following pages I engage with the history of anarchist pedagogy and the development of collaborative learning environments (Suissa 2006) to counter erroneous conceptions about anarchism. After reviewing some of this work, I offer a brief discussion of how anarchism's commitment to a non-hierarchical education supports my own form of collaborative archaeology. This is particularly relevant as archaeologists decolonize their practice (Lydon and Rizvi 2010) and explore ways of reducing or eliminating the hierarchical posturing which limits our engagement with the public.

My case study is drawn from ongoing work at the site of Rosewood, Florida (González-Tennant 2018), where a 1923 race riot resulted in the complete destruction and forced migration of an entire African American town and community. My work in Rosewood continues to utilize new media and information technologies alongside my personal commitment to an "anarchist archaeology" as I work with others to explore Rosewood as a living community. This research continues to benefit from new insights that are possible when researchers decolonize their practice and prioritize public interests alongside their own (González-Tennant 2014).

Anarchist Pedagogy as a Model for Collaborative Archaeology

What does an anarchist philosophy of education look like? How does it differ from neoliberal forms of education? This section draws on Suissa's (2006) work to answer these questions. These issues matter because higher education does not exist in a vacuum, and many of the same oppressive developments in other social settings are introduced and even reified in academic settings. The present educational system in the US, Europe, and other locales is a neoliberal one relying on state-sponsored, hierarchical structures. This pressures us to package knowledge in predictable (and mundane?) ways that limit free expression and thought. The rise in contingent faculty, pressure to attract external funding as austerity spreads, and proliferation of journals that few have time to read are all examples of this hierarchical creep. Today, the university is less about exploration of ideas and more about the reproduction of hierarchy. Only the naivest would expect archaeological education to have escaped this trend.

These developments are certainly not new, but I think the trend is worsening. Anarchism continues to offer a substantive critique of oppressive practices. Unfortunately, anarchist views on education have received little attention. Why is this? I think the answer

partly lies in the hostility our entrenched higher education system produces regarding ill-informed conceptualizations of anarchism. This hostility mirrors common critiques of anarchism. Suissa (2006) helps us to better understand this hostility by categorizing (and addressing) common critiques of anarchism in the following three ways:

1. Many believe that the rejection of authority by anarchists precludes a coherent theory of education. This view conflates the rejection of hierarchy with a rejection of order. Anarchists are not against order, and in fact focus much of their energy on developing horizontal power structures (Deleon and Love 2009).
2. Anarchism's argument against the state goes against universal education. However, anarchism's rejection of the state here is based on a nuanced view of human nature, which is typically glossed over by critics who bring up this point. The central question here is what system we create to replace the modern, state-controlled one (for an answer, see below).
3. How can anarchism teach non-coercively while still contributing to programs of social transformation? Basically, is anarchism's value of education oriented towards societal change or personal growth, and are the two mutually exclusive? The answer is no.

The first critique above assumes that a state-sponsored education system provides a way to teach without privileging any single politicized view. Critical pedagogy has long understood that neoliberal systems of education masterfully reproduce, preserve, and entrench the status quo. The second critique assumes that anarchism's positive assumptions about human nature are naïve and utopian. Suissa, though, cites Kropotkin (1902) to demonstrate anarchism's long-standing and sophisticated treatment of human nature. Kropotkin saw human nature as bifurcated between selfish and altruistic impulses, and believed that the latter were rarely nurtured in capitalist societies. This echoes another nineteenth-century anarchist thinker, Mikhail Bakunin, who saw the development of altruistic societies as possible only if certain conditions were met. Once met, the

> [m]aterial well-being, as well as the intellectual and moral progress which are the products of a truly humane education, available to all, will almost eliminate crimes due to perversion, brutality, and other infirmities.
>
> (Bakunin, quoted in Suissa 2006, 32)

Modern education and its focus on "common cores" does little to foster such sentiments. As such, William Godwin's words from a 1783 pamphlet[1] still ring true today,

> Modern education not only corrupts the heart of our youth, but the rigid slavery to which it condemns them, it also undermines their reason, by the unintelligible jargon with which they are overwhelmed in the first instance, and the little attention that is given to accommodating their pursuits to their capacities in the second. (Godwin, quoted in Ward 2004, 51)

1. *An Account of the Seminary that will be Opened on Monday the Fourth Day of August, at Epsom in Surrey, for the Instruction of Twelve Pupils in the Greek, Latin, French, and English Languages*.

There exists in anarchism a sincere dedication to equality between educator and pupil, a sentiment echoed in more recent work on critical and engaged pedagogy (González-Tennant 2017, 153–156). This intersects the third critique outlined by Suissa. Many approach the idea of non-coercive, socially liberating education by drawing on authors like bell hooks. After all, creating an engaged pedagogy "means that teachers must be actively committed to a process of self-actualization that promotes their own well-being if they are to teach in a manner that empowers students" (hooks 1994, 15). Such sentiments neatly intersect anarchist pedagogy and the ability to successfully craft a supportive environment. The key here is the decision on the part of faculty to engage with students as equals. This is a deceptively simple task as inequalities based on race, class, gender, and age continue to work against faculty approaching students as equal (if intellectually less developed – *younger*) co-participants in the practice of education.

This approach is like concepts at the heart of collaborative archaeology. Unfortunately, shedding hierarchical posturing is a skill rarely taught to archaeologists. Indeed, the opposite is often fostered as a part of the disciplinary identity many archaeologists assume – the *expert*. One potential solution is to encourage archaeologists to learn about building rapport from their sociocultural colleagues (not too suggest that sociocultural anthropologists are less likely to fall into the same trap of *expertise*, but it's a start). Like anthropology's fascination with reflexivity, shedding hierarchical posturing requires more than a brief statement at the beginning of a book, chapter, article, or report. A truly collaborative process requires that archaeologists include the concerns and perspectives of non-archaeologists throughout a project's entire lifespan.

The following case study highlights my own application of the above ideas to building a collaborative archaeology. In some ways, my approach is familiar to most public archaeology projects. The difference lies in the ways I interact with the public daily. In this regard, it is about cultivating an attitude that minimizes the hierarchical posturing that is often expressed by archaeologists in numerous, often unconscious ways.

Anarchism and the Archaeology of the African Diaspora

The site of Rosewood, Florida is located approximately nine miles from the Gulf Coast in north central Florida, and a couple of hours north of Tampa by car (Figure 1). Rosewood was a majority African American community until it was destroyed during a race riot in 1923 (González-Tennant 2018). African Americans owned property there, educated their children at higher rates than their White neighbors, and operated their own businesses. This ended tragically on New Year's Day 1923 when a White woman in neighboring Sumner fabricated a Black assailant to hide injuries sustained after fighting with her extramarital lover, a local White man. By 6th January at least six African Americans had been brutally murdered and a White mob began the systematic burning of Rosewood. The African American community of Rosewood fled the area, never to return. Survivors and descendants waited for seven decades to receive justice. In that time, Rosewood lingered at the edges of collective memory until a 1994 landmark decision by the State of Florida awarded them compensation.

I began investigating Rosewood in 2005 and it became the subject of my dissertation at the University of Florida in 2008. My ongoing project crosses several disciplinary

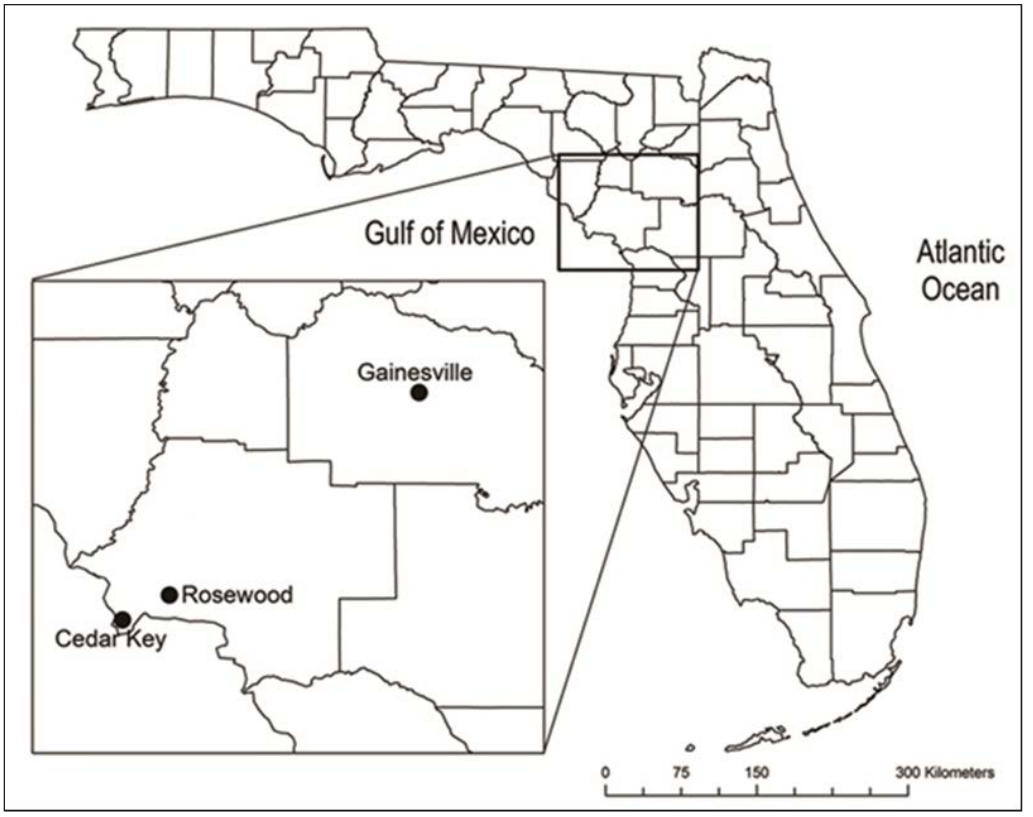

FIGURE 1. Location of Rosewood, Florida (credit: author).

lines and includes a considerable amount of documentary research, oral history, and geospatial technologies to reconstruct historical property ownership spanning a 50-year period between 1870 and 1930; it also includes traditional archaeological investigations at several localities across the town, and a complete virtual reconstruction of the town as it existed in late 1922. I have also explored digital storytelling to share both my results and the life histories of survivors (whom I interviewed during 2009 and 2010).[2]

From the beginning, my research into Rosewood has centered on descendant voices. The virtual reconstruction was motivated by discussions with this community, obligating me to learn new methods which are uncommon among archaeologists, such as 3D modeling and video-game design. My decision to commit to this was a result of the community's desire to make Rosewood's history accessible to a new generation, and this mix of new media and collaborative archaeology has driven new engagements with both the descendant community and property owners. None of the African American descendants still possess the properties owned by their families a century ago. Instead, their properties were purchased by White neighbors (at rates below fair market value)

2. The virtual reconstruction, digital documentary, and other data (e.g., oral history transcripts) are available online at www.virtualrosewood.com.

over the years. As such, crafting a collaborative archaeology that successfully navigates the divisions within Rosewood's descendant community and the White landowners has required a commitment to non-hierarchical behavior. My principal strategy has been to respond to the requests of these groups in as timely a manner as possible, according them equal importance alongside my research questions. The results have not always fascinated archaeologists, but this approach has played a part in driving a growing public conversation in the area on the event, a contentious topic to this day. While I have gained expertise on the topic of Rosewood, survivors, descendants, landowners, and members of the public know that I am a person who will take the time to listen to their concerns.

Unsurprisingly, this type of project has attracted a lot of public attention in the state. Newspapers, radio stations, and television networks have run numerous stories on the project. These in turn draw the attention of locals. One such report a local newspaper motivated the owner of Rosewood's African American cemetery to reach out and invite me to visit his property. He invited me to assist him in documenting and preserving the site, and in the intervening five years we've continued to conduct work here, including subsurface investigations using ground penetrating radar (GPR). We've also held public outreach events, including the organization of a site visit by a group of high school students in 2017 as part of a statewide initiative to introduce these students to the humanities. He and some of the descendants don't always get along, but I've been able to encourage new relationships.

In Rosewood, shedding a traditional hierarchical posture has required the mastery of new methods, resulted in new research questions, and prompted new engagements between researchers and the public. This stands in contrast the experiences members of the public in Rosewood have had with other researchers. For instance, previous interactions between the cemetery landowner and researchers have ended negatively, as these university-based scholars have ignored the wishes of both Black descendants and local, White landowners. This has understandably created an atmosphere of distrust between parties that are in fact aligned in their desire to openly discuss this history and engage in a process of racial reconciliation. Instead, an approach sincerely drawing on anarchism's commitment to non-hierarchical work continues to reach across lines of difference and heal wounds between scholars and the public. Adopting an approach wherein the archaeologist minimizes hierarchical posturing makes new discoveries possible. Anarchism is good for science, too!

Conclusion

Anarchism is a theory of ethical praxis. A unifying theme of anarchism is the interrogation of hierarchy and creation of horizontal power. This is evident in anarchism's commitment to engaged pedagogy, which holds important lessons for collaborative archaeology. Anarchism's interest in dismantling vertical power structures and the rampant hierarchy of the modern world is a useful frame for crafting engaged archaeological projects; one which moves beyond participatory models where researchers may listen to public concerns while still privileging their own interests.

Anarchism offers a fresh perspective on collaboration. It makes engagement less about the photo-op and more about the elimination of trends which distance us from

the experiences of those groups whose histories we are privileged to study. This means democratizing the methods and topics we choose, as well as exploring new ways of sharing our knowledge. Crafting inclusive projects is increasingly difficult in an era of fast capitalism. Even academic faculty are feeling the effects of our era's push to speed everything up, although it should be noted that junior faculty, temporary faculty, and faculty of color experience this more acutely.

Anarchism reminds us that equity requires humility. This is difficult in a world which rewards egotistical posturing, adopted by younger archaeologists as a form of disciplinary enculturation. CRM firms compete to underbid one another to impress clients, while academics center their personal accomplishments to curry favor with funding agencies and college administrators. Building an anarchist archaeology begins with the decolonization of our minds. Anarchists tend to be optimists, and I'm hopeful that such a process is underway in our discipline, and that anarchism may prove fruitful for those willing to explore its rich and nuanced history.

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Single Context Archaeology as Anarchist Praxis

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Introduction

Excavation animates archaeology. It is the public face of archaeology, appearing on television screens and illustrating news articles – a golden trowel symbolizes the highest recognition of archaeological professionalism (Flannery 1982). Digging is a deeply evocative archaeological practice, yet it is the most undervalued mode of archaeological knowledge production, the least cultivated skill with fewest monetary rewards, and considered so inconsequential that non-specialist labour is regularly employed to uncover our most critical data sets. Additionally, most archaeological fieldwork remains deeply hierarchical with rigid, top-down structures of authority and varying degrees of alienation of labour in academic and professional settings.

Shanks and McGuire (1996) position archaeology as a craft, identify divisions within archaeological labour, and propose a return to a master/apprentice-based model of enskillment. Yet the proposed "master" and "apprentice" are never defined beyond an amorphous teacher/student relationship that is contrasted with a "factory model" of contract archaeology that emphasizes efficiency. That Shanks and McGuire draw from a "factory model" is significant; the construction of *worthwhile* fieldwork as primarily propping up academic enterprise can minimize the potential contribution of commercial archaeological labour to meaningful knowledge production. The accompanying class connotations also remain problematic. Importantly, while field archaeologists in the past "defined themselves in opposition to the labourers on their site" through nationality or class, current commercial archaeologists in the helmets and high-visibility vests of construction workers may "see their roots laying more squarely with the labourers of the large-scale research digs than with the educated 'gentlefolk'" (Everill 2007, 122; see also Roberts 2012). We find that the relatively egalitarian organization of labour associated with single context methodology as employed in commercial archaeology provides a significant critique of hierarchical modes of fieldwork, both in academic and commercial sectors.

A few archaeological field projects have tried to implement collectivist strategies to explore new forms of organization for fieldwork. Notably, the excavations of the Colorado Coal Field (Ludlow Collective 2001; McGuire and Reckner 2003) examined structural

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class inequalities and attempted to create a field school that mitigated the inherent hierarchy of archaeological site structures (Walker and Saitta 2002). They found hierarchy and authority unavoidable while teaching students on site, and were unable to effect much change other than opening up staff meetings to the students so they could see the process of decision making. In the UK, the Sedgeford Historical and Archaeological Research Project (SHARP) was a long-running excavation that incorporated democratic principles after an acrimonious dispute in its first year (Faulkner 2000, 2009). Though the site maintained a hierarchical structure, paying volunteers were able to advance through this structure and were encouraged to provide feedback regarding their placement in the excavation (Faulkner 2000, 32). Later, a board of local Trustees attempted to wrest control of the project from the archaeologists and what had been a participatory democracy was codified into a representative democracy that required "representative bodies, clear rules, and tight control" (Faulkner 2009, 59–60).

Research strategies in archaeology that rely heavily on the unskilled labour of students, community members, or workmen may be fatally flawed to engender a truly emancipatory archaeology; it is outside of the purview of this short article to address this pernicious, systemic issue in archaeology. The two examples from the US and the UK above cannot fully encompass the multitude of working conditions in archaeology, including working on short-term contracts, in the Global South, or in postcolonial contexts where employing unskilled manual labour can be required by the local government. Still, we find great inspiration from the efforts of the Ludlow Collective and SHARP, and continue to view the subsequent contributions of members of these initiatives essential to radically rethinking the organization of archaeological labour.

We build on experiments in archaeological fieldwork such as these to inform a collectivist strategy that draws from anarchist theories of authority and the single context methodology employed in British commercial archaeology, specifically that of the Department of Urban Archaeology recording system used by the Museum of London. While seemingly an incongruous pairing, the correct implementation of the single context methodology distributes knowledge production on archaeological sites and relies on "natural" authority – that of expertise developed over many years rather than the artificial authority enforced by hierarchical structures such as universities. Bakunin discusses an anarchist view of authority thus:

> Does it follow that I reject all authority? Far from me such a thought. In the matter of boots, I refer to the authority of the bootmaker; concerning houses, canals, or railroads, I consult that of the architect or the engineer. For such or such special knowledge I apply to such or such a *savant*. But I allow neither the bootmaker nor the architect nor the *savant* to impose his authority upon me. I accept them freely and with all the respect merited by their intelligence, their character, their knowledge, reserving always my incontestable right of criticism and censure. I do not content myself with consulting a single authority in any special branch; I consult several; I compare their opinions, and choose that which seems to me the soundest. But I recognize no infallible authority […]. (Bakunin 1970 [1882], 32)

Following Bakunin, Angelbeck and Grier (2012, 552) differentiate between "natural authority (those sought for their knowledge, skill or experience) and artificial authorities (those imposed by institutions)". In his response included in the same article, McGuire suggests that a radical practice of archaeology might be best served by "giving up the artificial but not the natural" (McGuire 2012, 575; see also McGuire 2008, 60–61). Though imperfect, we maintain that single context methodology reinforces this natural authority and can lend itself to more egalitarian ways of structuring archaeological labour.

Single context methodology as developed in Winchester and implemented by the Department of Urban Archaeology of the Museum of London evolved under the specific conditions of archaeological fieldwork in the 1970s. Spence (1993) provides an excellent review of this fascinating history; important to his article are the requirements of the system for each archaeologist to correctly interpret the sequence of deposition on site and to connect this sequence with those constructed by other archaeologists working in surrounding areas into a Harris Matrix. This emphasized the importance of the skill of individual excavators who were "expected to define, plan, record and excavate their own contexts" (Spence 1993, 25; see also Berggren and Hodder 2003; Leighton 2015) and demanded that the archaeologists then combine their expertise to create a collective interpretation of the site.

While this system is noted to increase efficiency in recording archaeology and contributes to greater comparability between sites, it is significant for the current study that "this approach to recording consequently resulted in the establishment of a non-hierarchical staffing structure" (Spence 1993, 26). With the single context recording system, each excavator could be a wholly independent and equal contributor to a collective effort to interpret and record the archaeological site. Further, Leighton links this to both a higher degree of trust in the skill of the archaeologist to make interpretations, and the assumption that the excavator is "a *more* authoritative knower than someone who only looks at the textual record, because knowing objects *both* materially and archaeologically is a complex process that requires *tactile* interaction (Leighton 2015, 83, emphasis in the original).

Since Spence's article there has been a continual degradation of egalitarian structures through the unrelenting pressure of capitalist and neoliberal forces on archaeology (as noted in e.g. Everill 2007; Zorzin 2017). Without pandering to an idealized past, we here explore these aspects of egalitarian labour to inform an anarchist praxis in archaeological fieldwork, with a focus on issues of authority and non-alienation of labour in a neoliberal landscape. The adoption of the single context recording system does not completely explain the tendency toward flat organizational structures on some British archaeological sites; there are several contributing factors that promote egalitarian approaches to archaeological labour. These include the focus on the skill and autonomy of the individual excavator and their active contributions to collective knowledge building (see also Leighton 2015), the discourse fostered by informal discussions on the edge of the trench, a culture of care fostered through rigorous health and safety practices, and the generally leftist political background of archaeologists on site.

As used by the Museum of London, the single context system is designed for large-scale open-area excavation, in which sections play a subsidiary role in maintaining

stratigraphic control. Instead, greater emphasis is put on the skill and experience of individual excavators to define, record, and excavate deposits in plan. Each deposit and negative event is recorded individually, in contrast to systems that remove arbitrary amounts from 1 × 1 m units or excavation by locus (for further discussion see Berggren and Hodder 2003; Leighton 2015). As noted above, archaeologists are responsible for recording each stratigraphic relationship in an excavation area, and these contribute to a site-wide Harris Matrix. The hand-written matrices for large archaeological sites excavated before the widespread use of computers are incredible to behold. The Harris Matrix for Billingsgate, a large excavation in central London in 1983, is 1.4 × ~3 m, comprised of several sheets of paper stuck together, and covered with annotations in varied handwriting, with many changes, long lines of white correction fluid, and erasures (Figure 1). These materialize the process of collective decision making and interpretation through the inscription of stratigraphic relationships on paper. Individual archaeologists are able to meaningfully contribute to the site-wide narrative, though post-excavation write-up is still often the purview of one or two individuals. The construction of a record of the stratigraphy of the site as a coherent whole is undertaken by archaeologists in conjunction with those working around them without the direct oversight of a manager. In this way the single context system fostered a model with similarities to anarcho-syndicalism, wherein a small, non-hierarchical group works together towards a common goal, side-stepping more formalized authority.

Empowering archaeologists with the recording and interpretation of the deposits they excavate resulted in another component of more egalitarian site archaeology – that of the trench-side chat. In his ethnography of a British excavation, Edgeworth (2003, 112) notes that interpretations of material evidence are never the product of an individual, but come through conversations between two or more workers on site. These conversations are complemented by co-operative labour, in which archaeologists work alongside each other at a given task, such as cleaning large areas (Edgeworth 2003, 113) or helping each other define the edge of a ring ditch (Edgeworth 2003, 118). In one example, Edgeworth sketched the section of a cremation burial, but after speaking with another excavator, altered the sketch to reflect his changed understanding of the stratigraphic relationships created through this conversation (Edgeworth 2003, 252–253).

The interpretive discourse described by Edgeworth reflects the experience of the authors; unsurveilled archaeologists often wander over to a fellow archaeologist's area and ask them what is going on. What then commences is a discussion wherein the archaeologists talk about the stratigraphic relationships in the trench and possible interpretations of the deposits. This conversation, often animated by gestures, is a form of narrative ekphrasis, a rhetorical exercise that involves verbal description and bodily performance interpreting the physical remains of the past. Through continual narrative building about the archaeological record using dialogue and performance, the archaeologists come to a collective interpretation. Archaeologists with less experience listen to these discussions and learn to perform their own. Importantly, these trench-side chats are non-hierarchical exchanges of insight based on experience; a very different exchange occurs when a non-involved site director or specialist periodically appears to query or challenge the excavator's interpretation (Hamilton 2000). When single context recording

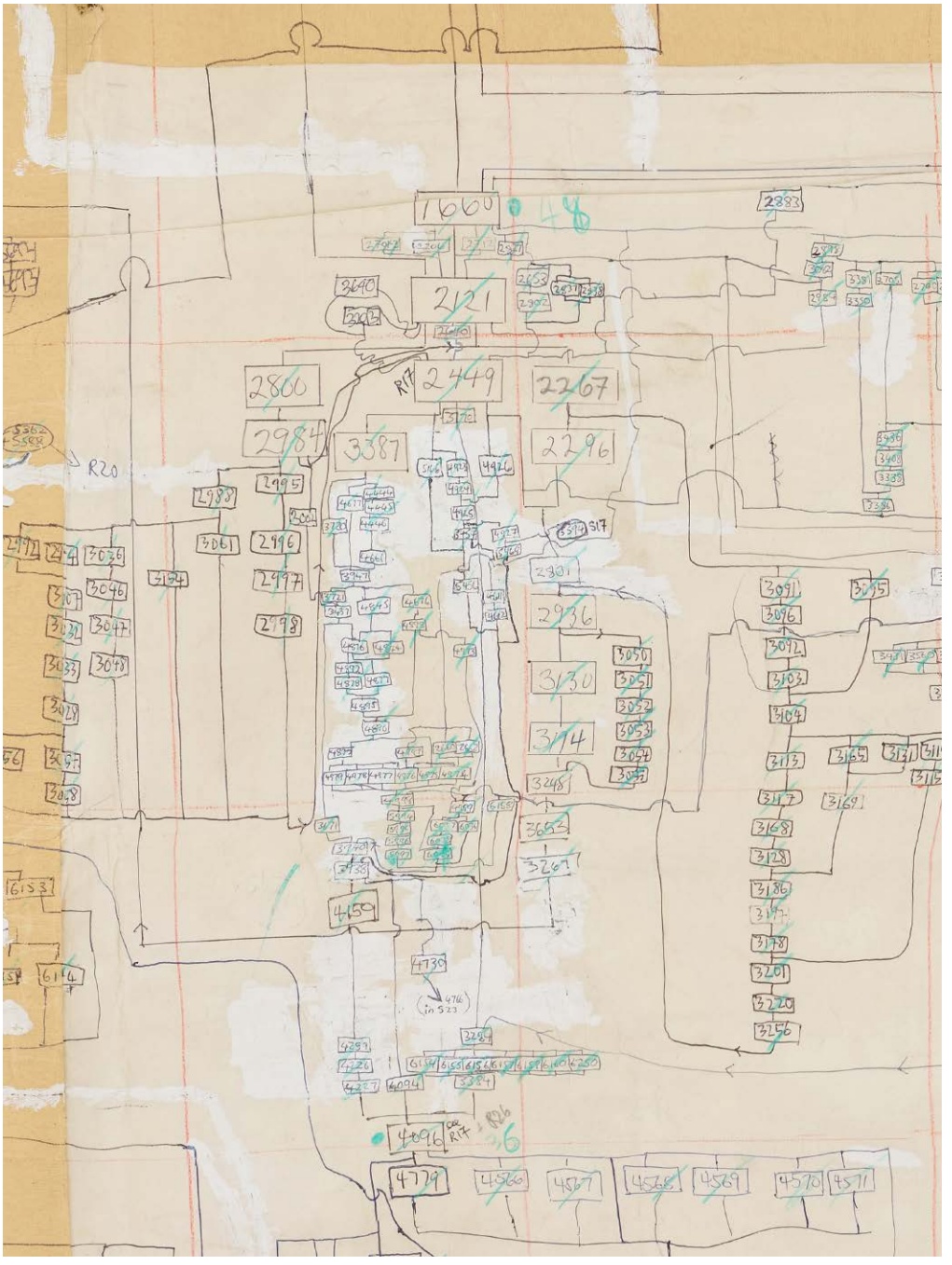

FIGURE 1. Detail of the Billingsgate Harris Matrix (1982), courtesy of Steve Roskams, digitized by the Borthwick Centre (2017).

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is mapped onto a site with a rigid hierarchy and these discussions are heavily surveilled, they move from a casual, yet productive exchange between equals to a more cautious, bounded, recitation of the stratigraphy.

Though imposed by government regulations, the health and safety procedures on British commercial archaeological sites foster a community of care amongst site participants. Risk-taking such as digging in deep, unshored trenches, without proper protective equipment, or other unsafe working procedures, is seen as unacceptable and amateurish. Archaeologists with more experience and training in recognizing risks on site take it upon themselves to impart their knowledge to less-experienced diggers. There is a feeling of responsibility to ensure the safety of all participants on site, and some train to become a "first aider" – an archaeologist trained to deal with emergencies. Risk assessments and health and safety briefings are routine; violations of good practice are discussed with shock and disgust. For example, when a deep sounding was cut through the West Mound at Çatalhöyük, there was an outcry amongst British commercial archaeologists employed at the site:

> I have worked on many sites over the years, primarily, though not exclusively, in the UK. Throughout this time I have always been trained to believe, and practice, that health and safety is THE single most important priority on any groundworks operation, archaeological or otherwise. In my opinion this trench fulfills none of the criteria of safe practice which I believe should be the norm. (Taylor 2007; see also Taylor 2008)

> The safety issue is one that I should have raised earlier when I first saw the deep sounding, basically it was dangerous then and is even more dangerous now. No shoring, loose spoil heaps on the edge of extremely high and vertical sections and I could go on. […] Not only would any accident have serious repercussions for the project, but more importantly some of the people who are working there I consider my friends and I don't want to see them put in harm's way. (Regan 2007)

These diary entries demonstrate the culture of care fostered by attention to health and safety procedures by the experienced British field archaeologists at Çatalhöyük. That their concerns were ultimately not addressed is perhaps unsurprising; though the research goals of Çatalhöyük included multivocality and reflexivity (Hodder 1997), it was essentially a rigidly hierarchical academic research project.

Finally, there is a prominent inclination toward leftist thought amongst archaeologists from many different countries; British archaeologists have taken part in social movements since at least the 1970s. *Hobley's Heroes* (http://www.hobleysheroes.co.uk), a website that documents the lives of archaeologists who worked for the Department of Archaeology in London, hosts a series of informal publications written by the archaeologists in the 1970s and 80s. These publications, which include *The Weekly Whisper* and *Radio Carbon*, combine information about recent archaeological finds, comics, how-to guides, poetry, and other commentary that provides insight into the political inclinations of the diggers. In the October 1978 edition of *Radio Carbon*, members of the Department of Urban Archaeology are described as having shown the department's "solidarity against

FIGURE 2. Archaeologists Against Nazis/Anti-Nazi League logo, as illustrated in *Radio Carbon*, October 1978: http://www.hobleysheroes.co.uk/images/RC-pdfs/RC-7810.pdf

the Nazis on the 'Carnival 2' march organized by the Anti-Nazi League" (Figure 2). A later edition reports the DUA marching against "government cuts, their implications for the social wage and unemployment, and the Governments [sic] Employment Bill" (KPF [Kevin Flude] 1980, 2). This is also reflected in the very fabric of the previously cited Billingsgate Harris Matrix; on the reverse of the matrix is a printed call for entries to design a banner to be displayed during political demonstrations (Figure 3). While only a brief review of the rich, diverse, and storied history of the participation of archaeologists in political activity, these leftist sentiments underpin a more receptive attitude to egalitarian organization of labour on site.

In summary, we argue that the introduction of single context recording not only had a dramatic impact on the way in which archaeology was undertaken, but also revolutionized the way social relations on site were structured. Single context recording promotes individual empowerment of diggers, allowing them to contribute to collective knowledge construction on site. Equally, it promoted a more horizontal management structure. Removing strict hierarchical relations on site encouraged other forms of discourse and community building and camaraderie, such as trench-side discussions and improved health and safety practices. Finally, all these found a very receptive audience in the generally leftist politics of the archaeologists. While no single site was a perfect example of this, there are interesting principles at work that could help inform anarchist praxis in the current day. Incorporating an anarchist perspective on the differences between natural authority and artificial authority could combat the reintroduction of rigid hierarchies imposed by neoliberal forces on the profession. This is particularly urgent, as these same points that can be used to promote egalitarian organizations have been operationalized and used against British commercial archaeologists. For example, Zorzin reveals a bleak and dramatic shift in management practices at a large excavation in London wherein archaeologists were heavily surveilled, subject to divisive and corrosive labour contracts, silenced, and made to work in a "climate of tension and fear" (Zorzin 2017, 310).

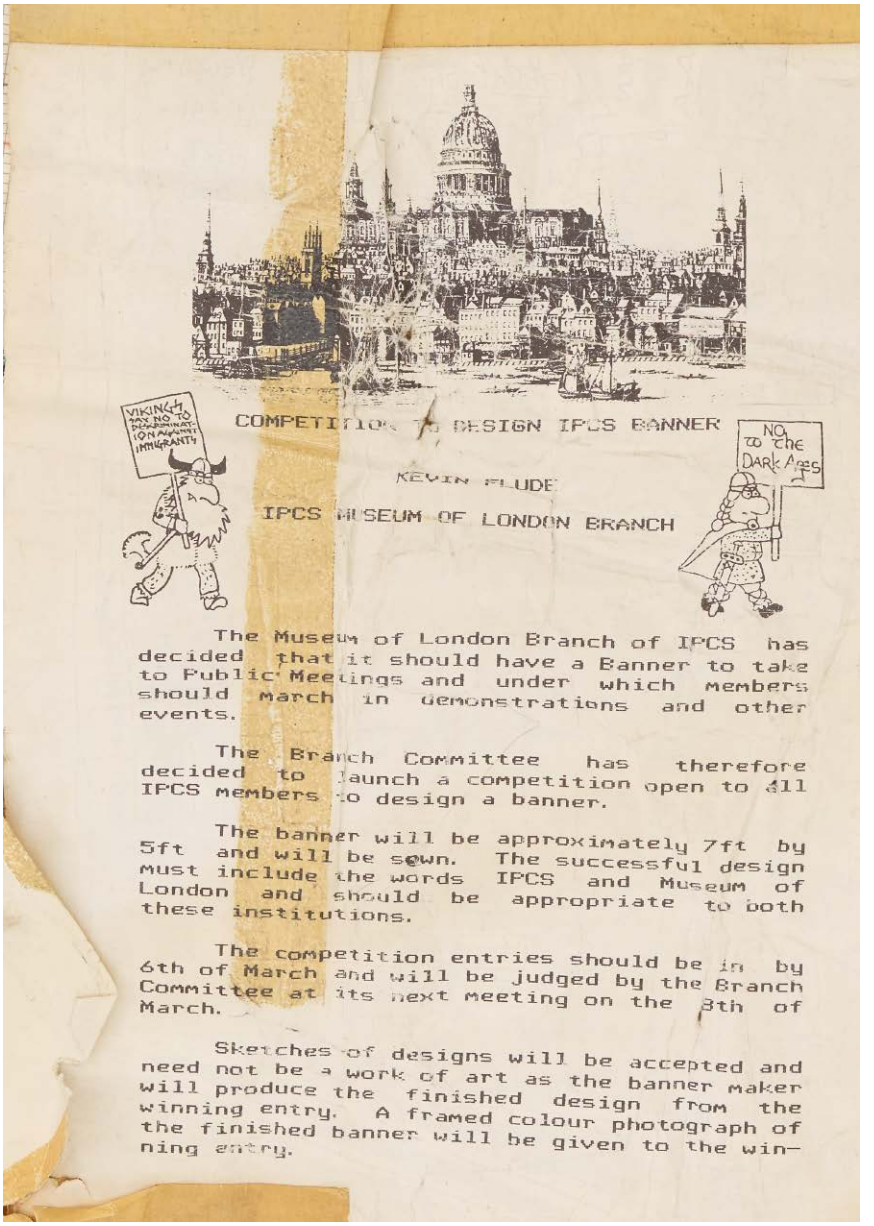

Figure 3. Detail of the reverse of the Billingsgate Harris Matrix (1982), courtesy of Steve Roskams, digitized by the Borthwick Centre (2017).

To conclude, this is a partial, necessarily incomplete picture of the complex patterns of specialization and labour in archaeology. Constructing past archaeological practice as an egalitarian ideal is not our intention; we gather the fragments and potentialities that are fostered by democratized site structures to show that it is possible to work toward an anarchist praxis in archaeology, using models that are already in place. Conceiving archaeological fieldwork as enskilled practice, encouraging conversation as a meaningful

nexus of site interpretation, fostering a culture of care through attention to health and safety, and removing masculinist narratives of suffering in the field are all ways of moving toward an anarchist praxis in archaeology.

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Doing Archaeology in Non-State Space

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Getting Lost on Erromango

There is a line in my field notebook written during my first field season on Erromango Island, Vanuatu, in 2011: "Erromangans seem to have no sense of time, long distances, or cost. Also, they seem to take many of my questions as statements of fact, though this might just be a language issue." While certainly not so bad as some of the jottings in the margins of Malinowski's now infamous field notebook from the Trobriand Islands (Young 2004), it is a line of which I am not proud. It is at the very least what would usually be called a "microaggression", if not simply a plain old aggression, even if it was written in a field notebook that very few will ever bother to read, possibly just me. However, it provides an important insight into my experience of Erromango as an outsider. The line was written in frustration after two weeks of preliminary fieldwork that had involved misplaced baggage, getting lost when my guides took a wrong turn, worries about missing a flight that only came twice a week, and the usual mix of fatigue and stomach ailments that often accompany fieldwork in Melanesia. On top of this, I was still learning Bislama, the local pidgin, which made communicating difficult.

More importantly, I was coming from a background where certain expectations about time – as set by schedules, calendars, and clocks – and space – as measured grid, vectors, and direct routes – were expected to provide a shared framework for social interactions (see Hägerstrand and Karlqvist 1979; Pred 1984). In short, my statement makes sense only from the perspective of seeing things as a subject and product of socialization in a state society (Scott 1998). As I spent additional years on Erromango, I began to understand where my initial, misguided frustration had come from, and what it reflects about the relationships between what can be called "state" and "non-state" space. I hope this is not an idiosyncratic reaction, but an observation that resonates with the experiences of many scholars who do fieldwork in the marginal parts of contemporary world systems.

What I would like to do, by way of an apology to the people of Erromango, who have been so kind, welcoming, and collegial over the course of my fieldwork, is to unpack some of the reasons behind my early reaction, and the ways that I now interpret those experiences. Further, in a way that tries to avoid romanticizing, I want to think through some of the ways that indigenous knowledge is relevant to consensus-based practices in the research world and beyond (see also Welch 2017; Angelbeck and Jones, this volume).

Finding a Way in Non-State Space

I have argued elsewhere that the islands of Vanuatu historically were a "non-state" space (*sensu* Scott 2009), and this resulted in a particular set of dynamics when indigenous societies in the region came into contact with the "state" agents of the colonial era, including Christian missionaries (Flexner 2014). What I'm interested in unpacking here are some of the more contemporary dynamics of these ongoing kinds of interfaces between state and non-state space that emerge out of the fieldwork setting.

First, briefly, what is meant by state versus non-state space? Let's take "space" here in its social as much as physical definition (Lefebvre 1991). State space is delineated by the presence of permanent hierarchies, particularly those that have the potential to become multigenerational in some way (either passed down through kinship, or through the sedimentation of social institutions), and that involve some kind of coercive force to create social order. Non-state spaces consist of those spaces in which societies actively organize themselves to prevent the emergence of a hierarchical, coercive order. They may be spaces of resistance that emerge in reaction to neighbouring hierarchies, or they may be spaces with an inherent "counterpower" that prevents those hierarchies from emerging in the first place (Graeber 2004; Flexner 2014). Of course, these are not simple either/or dichotomies. All societies to some extent could exhibit both properties simultaneously, and there is evidence that archaeologically, a lot of what looks like centralization or dispersion may be a reflection of other processes, such as seasonality (see Wengrow and Graeber 2015).

Erromango is no exception. I will argue that the island is a non-state space, but that doesn't mean that it is purely egalitarian. There is and was hierarchy on Erromango, though its form was transformed dramatically in the colonial era, particularly as a result of population decline (Humphreys 1926, 128). Chiefs are called *Fan Io* if male and *Nasimnalan* if female, and commoners called *Taui natimono* (Humphreys 1926, 128–134; Spriggs and Wickler 1989, 83–85). The island was formerly divided into six districts, called *Io* ('canoe'), each of which had a paramount chief, a *Fan Io* who theoretically held rank above the other chiefs in the district. Decision-making practices appear to have been consensus-based, and they certainly are in the present, although the district *Fan Io* had final say in matters of great importance (Humphreys 1926, 132–134). This tension between a need for chiefs to establish consensus while also holding ultimate decision-making power is reminiscent of the "heterarchical" nature of what are sometimes called "middle-range societies" (Crumley 1987; Rousseau 2001).

Many of the most important decisions were taken within the *Siman Io*, great men's meeting houses, the largest of which measured over 30 m long × 7 m wide × 8 m high (Robertson 1902, 375). These were symbolically dense structures. Each of the poles,

roof beams, and knots lashing the structure together were named and related to aspects of the social system, something explained to me in great detail (much of which I couldn't understand, is it was explained in Syé, the main Erromangan language) by Jerry Taki, a *filwoka* (fieldworker) from the Vanuatu Cultural Centre and one of the great living fonts of Erromangan wisdom (see also Humphreys 1926, 156–158, 178; Naupa 2011, 26–30). Meetings in the *Siman lo* were called by the chiefs, but the decision-making process often involved lengthy discussions.

There was also chiefly competition between the districts. This was mediated through warfare, but also through competitive feasting, culminating in the construction of the *nevsem*, a high tower upon which were displayed the staple yams, taro, fruits, and the intoxicating *kava* root (*Piper methysticum*). This "fighting with food" was an alternative to warfare (Humphreys 1926, 181; Naupa 2011, 24–26; Spriggs and Wickler 1989, 84–85), and was typical not just on Erromango but elsewhere in south Vanuatu (Spriggs 1986). This kind of competitive structure served to prevent any one chief or district from becoming too powerful, and a network of shifting alliances served to maintain a heterarchical status quo on the island.

When European colonial agents began arriving in the New Hebrides (as Vanuatu was called from Captain Cook in 1774 until independence in 1980) in the 1800s, they often found their desires baffled by indigenous mobility, both physical and social. Christian missionaries especially found it challenging to win converts and maintain unequal colonial relationships with chiefs and commoners alike (Robertson 1902). Would-be colonizers were chased off the island, or in a few dramatic cases, killed outright. At the same time, Erromango today is an island that has undergone profound changes because of colonial history. The population has declined dramatically over the past two centuries, primarily from introduced European diseases. A population of as many as 7000 in the 1860s was reduced to a mere 600 in the 1960s (Colley and Ash 1971, 2–3; Gordon 1863, 134). The aforementioned missionaries eventually did win converts after much of the population had died, and the survivors aggregated around the coastal mission stations (Flexner 2016). The result is that most living Erromangans identify as Christian, although local cosmologies and practices involve a mix of Christian worship and indigenous beliefs.

The point here is that Erromangan people have a long history of scepticism and resistance to outsiders meddling in the affairs of their island. Thus, it is not surprising that someone like me would be frustrated on their first trip. Reflecting back, I see now that there were reasons why I would hear conflicting stories about how far something was or how long it would take to get there. Ironically, this was not the result of people being hostile, but of a habit of managing expectations to preserve the feelings of visitors. I know now that the Bislama (pidgin) phrase "*hemi longwe lelbit*" ("it's a bit far") means that people are concerned about your welfare and don't want you to be stressed about a journey. At the same time, "*hemi no longwe tumas*" ("it's not too far") may mean that the destination is a long way indeed, but people want you to feel optimistic about how far you have to travel.

These are, I think (though it is not entirely for me to speak for Erromangan people who might have their own thoughts on the matter), reflections of life in a consensus-based society. Where the stress lies for outsiders visiting that society is in the interfaces between state and non-state space. Tensions emerge between schedules measured in lunar

cycles and seasonal weather patterns and a temporality in which hours and minutes count. A lack of awareness of why it might be important to be somewhere at a specific time – for example, because your plane is coming and the next one isn't until five days later – is probably not so much about not understanding, as about choosing not to care, not to invest in the mechanized, regimented schedules of *waet man* (white people).

At a later stage in my research, our excavations were delayed by several days. We had units strung in, at least tacit agreement from the village, a crew had been hired, and then one person dissented. The result was sociologically very informative, if somewhat frustrating at the time. Without getting into specifics, which would be inappropriate for various reasons, the remarkable thing was watching the way that consensus emerged. It was time consuming, it was complicated, and it involved an incredible amount of negotiation, much of it done by the aforementioned Jerry Taki. But in the end, the problem was solved by the community in a way that suited all parties involved and the work went ahead, arguably with greater involvement than if the dispute had not taken place. Among other things, the disputant became one of our most enthusiastic excavators.

As an outsider, I was largely excluded from most of the conversations that took place, but one of the interesting things to experience was the ease with which the permit from the Vanuatu Cultural Centre and my grant from the Australian government were undermined by the local situation, which is another marker of non-state space (see also the discussion of the Malagasy in Graeber 2004, 28–29, 33–34). Again, the tensions emerge in the relationship between these things. In an "output"-oriented research model, any days wasted in the field can be seen as devastating for the researcher, particularly at a junior level where positions are so precarious. At the same time, researchers have a responsibility not to push things, to give respect, and to let the processes of consensus reaching take place when we work in places like Erromango. We may come from state spaces and state institutions, but one of the quietly anarchistic acts we can do is to follow the lead of non-state peoples in the ways that we do research.

Non-State Sensibilities "At Home"

It is often tempting to look at indigenous ways of doing things, particularly in places where we have spent time doing fieldwork, as sources of wisdom when reflecting on our own societies. Of course, there is always a risk of romanticizing or appropriating other practices and knowledge, in a recapitulation of old colonial tropes. If this is to be avoided, how can we bring some of these sensibilities back from the field? Or should we? A common practice in non-state space is a habitual tendency towards scepticism and irony when engaging claims about power, wealth, and ability produced by elites, what Scott (1985) calls the "weapons of the weak". This works in two ways when thinking of what to do with some of the "ethnographic" data that appear out of the margins of archaeological fieldwork. First, our own observations should be treated as contingent and incomplete. Second, we should recognize that for the people whose lives we are observing, this knowledge is likewise a site of indigenous contestation and struggle (Tuhiwai Smith 2012).

What we can do is reflect on how things we respect and value among the communities where we do fieldwork as archaeologists might inform our practices in the academic,

governmental, or heritage consultancy settings where we spend most of our time. Beyond writing about the production of non-state spaces, we might consider ways to make efforts to carve out our own non-state niches, even as we might work in state institutions. How can we find ways to make the bureaucratic structures of universities or government more consensus-based, and anti-hierarchical? What does this mean for the ways that we engage with our students, for those of us who teach?

Here I think it is absolutely appropriate to think back on my experiences on Erromango. In research settings, it is worth taking the time to build real, meaningful relationships with people inside and outside of the academy as part of doing consensus-based work. It is worth being vocally sceptical of the institutional hierarchies that determine whether a project is considered possible and worthwhile or not. One recent suggestion that is relevant here is the use of a "slow science" approach to ethnoarchaeology as part of a repositioning of the discipline away from its current tendencies towards bureaucratization, normalization, and reinforcement of stereotypes (Cunningham and MacEachern 2016). Part of this sensibility involves accepting the reality of taking time in the course of "doing" our discipline well. This means both taking the time to pursue archaeological fieldwork and analysis as a kind of craft (Morgan and Eddisford, this volume), and of taking the time to build consensus-based relationships that allow us to carve out niches of non-state space within the various social spaces we inhabit as researchers.

In practice, I am still working on carving out this kind of niche in my own career and the institutions that support it. I have, by necessity, the old cliché of more questions than answers. Yet I try to be true to the values of consensus building expressed so centrally on Erromango, and use these examples in my teaching practice especially. In offering students exemplars of non-hierarchical behaviour through my research experiences, I seek to "expand the realm of the possible" (Scott 1985, 326) in the ways we talk about heritage and archaeological practice in the contemporary world.

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Collective Action, Mutual Aid, and Wetland Agriculture in the Highlands of Papua New Guinea

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Introduction

The history of early agriculture in New Guinea does not fit many traditional portrayals of the past. Archaeological evidence for agriculture in the highlands is early on a global scale, dating back at least 6400–6000 years (Golson 1977a; Denham *et al.* 2003). Yet early cultivation practices were not associated with seed-based cultivation of cereals, domesticated animals, or pottery; subsequent historical trajectories did not result in urbanism, metal-working, or socio-political hierarchies (cf. Childe 1936 and later works). By contrast, New Guinea agriculture is based on the vegetative propagation of a wide array of food plant types, including root crops, bananas, grasses, and pandanus. Domesticated animals and pottery were only introduced to the island later,

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from c. 3000 years ago (Gaffney *et al.* 2015). Societal trajectories have followed a very different pathway from other regions of the world; societies remain largely small-scale, village-based, and egalitarian.

In order to understand how the New Guinea highlands are different, we need to understand the long-term history of agriculture there and simultaneously confront long-held assumptions regarding societal evolution and human nature that pervade many interpretations of the past. Agricultural history in the highlands is enacted by relatively small-scale communities who have worked together to drain extensive tracts of wetland. The wetland archaeological evidence for these practices dates back to c. 4000–4400 years ago and demonstrates the persistence of collective action and mutualism among communities without centralized and hierarchical political structures.

Long-term social dynamics in the highlands of New Guinea, as apparent in the wetland archaeological record of drainage, can be evaluated using anarchist-inspired interpretations of history. However, this is not a naïve transposition of late nineteenth-early twentieth century ideas from Europe, principally those of Bakunin (1971) and Kropotkin (1970), to the New Guinea context. Rather, the paper is a critical engagement that shows the continuing relevance of anarchist thought to interpretations of the past (Flexner 2014).

Agricultural History and Collective Action

Suitable wetlands have been drained in all the major valleys along the highland spine of the island of New Guinea, with many still under cultivation today (Figure 1; see also Ballard *et al.* 2013). The drainage networks comprise major water disposal channels and hierarchies of interconnecting ditches, which are regularly maintained, often realigned, and periodically abandoned. The extent of ditches within individual networks can measure many tens of kilometres, and yet these earthworks were traditionally dug using wooden spades, rakes, and digging sticks (Steensberg 1980). Today, similarly extensive drainage projects are undertaken by small-scale communities, or groups of communities, who work collectively under the leadership of "big-men" (Sahlins 1963; Strathern 1971). These political leaders do not rule by decree or by monopolizing violence; rather, their ability to lead is circumscribed to relatively small groups of people through their skills of oration, persuasion, and debate. A big-man's status is often temporary; rank is acquired, yet it can also be lost as alliances shift and new leaders emerge.

Early traces of cultivation, especially of shifting cultivation, are often difficult to distinguish from other forms of plant exploitation in the past (e.g. Harris 2007). Multi-disciplinary lines of evidence indicate shifting cultivation was likely practised in the Upper Wahgi Valley and potentially elsewhere before c. 7000 years ago (Denham and Haberle 2008), while clear evidence of mixed crop cultivation using mounds survives on the margins of wetlands from c. 6400–6000 years ago. At this time, people had transformed the montane landscape, whereby extensive grasslands replaced forests on the valley floor.

From 4400–4000 years ago, the character of highlands agriculture changed. People began to construct and maintain articulated drainage networks of ditches that became more extensive and often more regular through time (Figure 2; see also Denham 2005a). There are remarkable continuities in terms of drainage network design, ditch form, and wooden tools over millennia (Golson 1997; Ballard 2001; Bayliss-Smith 2007).

Whereas shifting cultivation and mound cultivation are highly localized and transient practices in the landscape, potentially conducted by an individual or family group, the drainage of extensive tracts of wetland for cultivation required greater organizational foresight and co-ordination among groups. The plots defined by ditches within drainage networks were more fixed in the landscape, alluding to more intensive and permanent forms of cultivation, as well as a stronger sense of territoriality. Further, the spread of wetland drainage through the main highland valleys, especially from c. 2750–2150 years ago, required a transfer of practical knowledge that implies high degrees of social interaction between groups living on the floors of the main highland valleys.

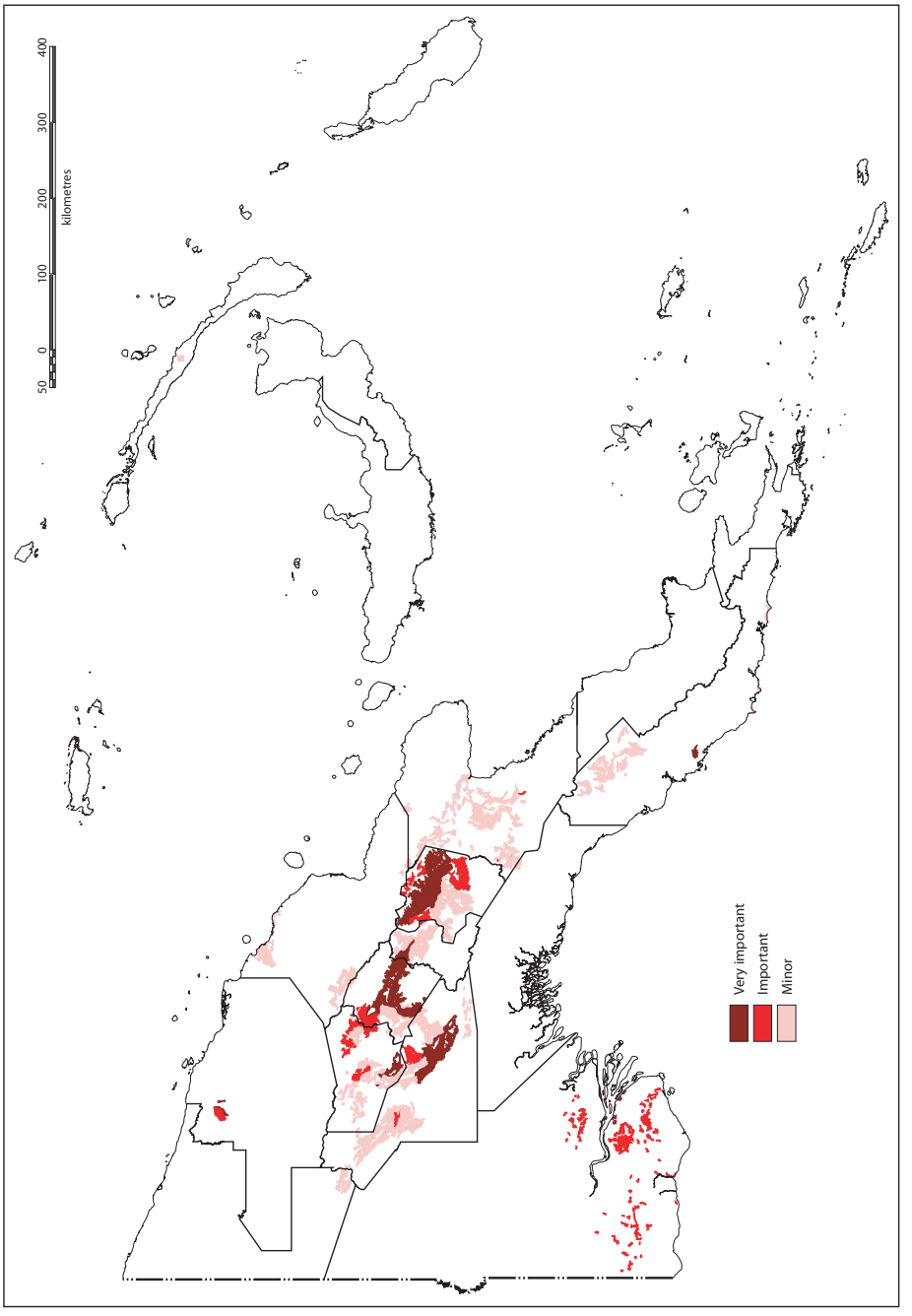
In sum, the archaeological evidence suggests that extensive networks of ditches were dug to drain wetlands for cultivation from c. 4400–4000 years ago, and with increasing ubiquity and extent towards the recent past. Based on ethnographic analogies, these major earthworks are the likely product of locally organized communities who came together to work collectively and to mutual benefit (*contra* Wittfogel 1957). Labour may have been organized by "big-men", but these political leaders are not able to dictate, order, or command. Instead, it can be envisaged that they would have led the planning, organized labour, and directed the collective works. As with any major earthwork project, it would not have been possible to build and maintain an extensive drainage system without co-ordination among numerous communities who acknowledged the common benefits. Thus, the archaeological record from the highlands of New Guinea shows the persistence of community-based co-operation and collective action for at least the last 4000 years up to the present day (Ballard 2001; Denham 2005a).

Eternalizing the Present: Societal Evolution and Human Nature

Why is the archaeological record of early agriculture and wetland drainage from the highlands of New Guinea significant to global archaeology? Not only is it of interest for understanding the emergence of early agriculture based on vegetative propagation, rather than seed-based reproduction of cereals and legumes, this long-term record confronts many intertwined assumptions about history, especially concepts of societal evolution and human nature. These ideas are exemplified here through a consideration of *Guns, Germs and Steel*, in which Diamond (1997) sought to understand why the long-term history of agriculture in New Guinea is so different from other regions of the world.

Diamond states that "the limits on indigenous food production in New Guinea had nothing to do with New Guinea peoples, and everything [to do] with the New Guinea biota and environment" (Diamond 1997, 150). He identifies three major limitations on agricultural production in the highlands that influenced subsequent societal development: protein deficiency, limited suitable land for cultivation, and a restricted altitudinal zone for occupation. Diamond's argument, rather than resorting to racial stereotyping, thus views the relative lack of societal development in New Guinea as resulting from biological and environmental constraints. (Denham 2005b). Although this is an important realization, Diamond seems to circumnavigate a historical understanding of the ways people can create their own history in diverse geographical and social contexts (cf. Marx 1979 [1852]).

According to Diamond's line of reasoning, New Guinea's societal trajectory is largely considered in terms of absences, constraints, or limitations; for instance, the absence



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1B

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Figure 1. Wetland drainage networks in the highlands. 1A: map showing distribution and significance of field drains and drainage ditches across Papua New Guinea today (Bourke and Allen 2009, fig. 3.12.1); 1B: map of Haeapugua, Tari Basin, showing extent of drainage networks (Ballard 2017, fig. 5); 1C: photograph of wetland drainage in Haeapugua (source: Chris Ballard).

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Figure 2. Archaeological excavation at Kuk Swamp revealing cross-cutting ditches associated with multiple phases of wetland drainage for cultivation (source: Tim Denham).

of cereals, legumes, and domesticated animals. In isolation or combination, however, it is hard to see how any of these has much explanatory power (Denham 2005b). For example, two of the most important starch-rich crop plants in the world today, bananas (*Musa* cvs.) and sugarcane (*Saccharum officinarum*), were domesticated in the New Guinea region. Furthermore, root crops – including sweet potato (*Ipomoea batatas*), yams (*Dioscorea* spp.), and taro (*Colocasia esculenta*) – were the basis for state-based, feudal, and chiefly societies in South America, West Africa, and the Pacific.

Diamond's perspective perpetuates long-held assumptions regarding societal evolution and human nature. Implicitly, it assumes long-term history in New Guinea should have followed a similar path to that in other regions, such as Southwest Asia, if it had not been held in check by various absences, constraints, or limitations. Here, not only is his perspective normative, it is also evolutionary. There is a presumption that all societies should evolve along a comparable historical pathway unless otherwise deviated or hindered.

Embedded in this type of historical narrative is a specific conception of a human nature that is inherently competitive; individuals will invariably seek to improve their own wealth and status relative to others, as well as to control others and their resources. The ability to express this human nature can be constrained by accidents of geography (such as the available resource base) and of history (such as the available technology and other peoples). However, are not these ideas about societal evolution and human nature merely projections of a western capitalistic present onto all peoples and all pasts? Are traditional New Guinea societies being judged in terms of someone else's history? Does not the

conception of human nature echo neo-Darwinian ideas of "survival of the fittest" and competition, which are themselves historically entangled with western capitalism? Set against the diversity of human experience, considered here with respect to New Guinea, such conceptions of societal evolution and human nature seem very one-dimensional and, ultimately, unsatisfying.

Golson (1977b) critiqued the application of neo-evolutionary perspectives to New Guinea long before Diamond's work. He considered the development of societies in New Guinea to have been conditioned by people's greater orientation to cultural and social activities than to economic production. For Golson, *contra* Diamond, agricultural production was limited by demand and not by productive capacity.

The Relevance of Mutual Aid to Long-Term History

Although competition between people and groups of people has been fundamental to human history, so too has been its corollary: mutual aid or collective action (Kropotkin 1987 [1902]). One does not negate the other; rather, they are ever-present and dual motors to social change. Based on his experiences as a geographer, Kropotkin viewed mutual aid to be a more influential driver in biological and social evolution than competition as exhibited in Darwinian natural selection based on "survival of the fittest". Effectively, mutual aid was a counter-balance to Darwinian concepts of evolution. This can be clearly demonstrated in the highlands of New Guinea, where groups have offered each other mutual assistance for millennia to drain wetlands, while those same groups presumably engaged in intra- or inter-group struggle at other times (Muke 1992).

In portraying a version of the past, we need to guard against embedding our own assumptions about "societal evolution" and "human nature". Such concepts are merely a projection of values from one particular historical standpoint, namely European-derived society, onto different cultures and peoples in history. One size does not fit all. If we collapse historical differences into such precast templates we risk eternalizing "our" present onto all possible pasts (Kropotkin 1887; Marx and Engels 1976 [1845–1846]) and will miss learning from that which is truly "rich and strange" (Renfrew 1973, 123 after William Shakespeare).

Today, the world is marred by intolerance of difference – whether defined by culture, gender, nationality, race, or religion. Interpretations of the past are no exception. Just as we need to confront prejudice in our own society, so too we need to confront interpretations of the past that are based on, and seek to legitimate, a particular way of viewing the world. By opening ourselves to the diversity of human history, hereby exemplified with respect to the New Guinea highlands, we challenge narrow versions of the past that eternalize one particular present and masquerade as inviolable historical laws of societal evolution and human nature.

The archaeology of agriculture in the highlands demonstrates the persistence of small-scale, community-based polities without the need for an over-arching state, or feudal or chiefly power structure (Clastres 1977; Scott 2009; Angelbeck 2016; Sanger 2017). These political and social structures have proven highly resilient and have resisted erosion under colonial and independent governments, since the purported "discovery" of the highlands in the 1930s (Leahy and Crain 1937). The history of individual polities or

communities is dynamic, yet the small-scale and community-based societal structure has endured for thousands of years.

Even though there have been intensive wetland agricultural projects for millennia in most major inter-montane valleys, these neither led to another "rung on the evolutionary ladder" nor acted as a "motor of history". Rather, they are associated with relatively stable forms of society that have persisted and transformed through time. In terms of agricultural production – just as in ceremonies and warfare – communities came together to act collectively. These forms of society are stable "end points" in and of themselves. Their history is characteriszed as much by collective action and mutual aid as it is by competition between communities and self-interest.

Societies in the New Guinea highlands are no anarchistic idyll or utopia. Horticultural communities live on their own territories as quasi-sovereign entities, which have often actively resisted state intrusion and power up to the present. Most communities are not alienated from their traditional lands; even today there is no functioning private land market within the country. Despite rapidly changing social and economic environments of the last 80 years, big-men strive to maintain a leadership role within relatively egalitarian communities. Yet, highland communities can also be violent: warfare used to be endemic and women's rights are severely curtailed, with domestic violence rife. Life expectancy is relatively low by global standards, with high incidences of dietary deficiency, respiratory illness, and infectious disease, including recently introduced AIDS.

These arguments are not only of academic interest. Papua New Guineans are very proud of their agricultural history; it is taught in schools, and Kuk Swamp is the country's first World Heritage Site (Muke *et al.* 2007). The significance of this agricultural history has yet to be fully interwoven with a long-term history of highland societies, which remain distinctive for their sense of collective action, mutualism, and egalitarianism.

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A Bullet for Señor Cobos: Anarchy in the Galapagos

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> Just about every adult human being back then had a brain weighing about three kilograms! There was no end to the evil schemes that a thought machine that oversized couldn't imagine and execute. So I raise this question, although there is nobody around to answer it: Can it be doubted that three-kilogram brains were once nearly fatal defects in the evolution of the human race?
>
> —Kurt Vonnegut, *Galápagos* (1985)

Anarchy in the Galapagos

In 1535 a ship carrying the Spanish Bishop Tomás de Berlanga from Panama to Lima in Peru was blown off course. It is thought that, as a result of this accident, Berlanga and the ship's crew became the first humans ever to see the Galapagos Islands (Berlanga 1884 [1535]; Anderson *et al.* 2016). From that time until the 1830s the Galapagos were extra-national territory; there were no permanent settlements on the islands, and pirates, sealers, whalers, and other passing ships from many nations used them as a stopping point (Idrovo 2005; Latorre 2011; Epler 2013).[1] However, in 1832 the new Republic of Ecuador reached out across the thousand kilometres of ocean to its west, and incorporated the Galapagos Islands into its new national territory. A primary purpose was to set up agricultural penal colonies, to exile far offshore a growing urban underclass of vagrants, criminals, and political opponents (LaTorre 2011; Epler 2013).

The development of the Galapagos as a prison and plantation within Ecuadorian territory can be attributed to José de Villamil, a general in the revolutionary forces of Simon Bolívar. After Ecuadorian independence in 1828, Villamil approached President Juan José Flores for a licence to colonize the Galapagos as an extension of Ecuadorian territory (Epler 2013, 87) – he initially set up a colony called the Asilo de la Paz (Haven of Peace) on Charles Island, which he later re-christened Floreana Island in honour of the president. The first settlers he brought over in 1832 were soldiers from a battalion that had attempted to overthrow Flores (Epler 2013, 88–89).

There were several revolts and violent incidents at the Asilo de la Paz, and in 1846 Villamil left the colony, leaving it in the hands of harsh administrators. Asilo de la Paz had begun a period of privately-run agricultural penal colonies on the Galapagos that would continue for more than a century. So far offshore, the threat of escape was minimal,

1. Both piracy and whaling have been treated at times as examples of anarchic social organizations (Ellickson 1989; Leeson 2007).

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and the authority of the "owners" of these operations was absolute, given the almost complete lack of state intervention or monitoring.

Manuel Cobos Über Alles

One such penal colony was established by Manuel J. Cobos (Latorre 2011, 8), a native of the highland city of Cuenca in Ecuador who in 1866 was running an "import/export" business in the fishing port of Chanduy. When he heard of the government *orchilla* lichen harvesting licences for the Galapagos he was quick to get on board, setting up a company for this purpose. However, there was never much money in it in the Galapagos Islands, and the company instead turned to the hide trade, harvesting sea lions and feral cattle from the islands and exporting their hides to Panama. Cobos was comfortable in the extra-national space of the Galapagos, as his business interests were reputed to involve tax avoidance, moving contraband goods between Mexico, Panama, and Ecuador (Latorre 2011, 17–25).

At some point, Cobos heard about rich opportunities for *orchilla* harvesting in Magdalena Bay in Baja California; he acquired contracts to work there, and travelled to the bay with his ships and labourers. In 1871, however, he seized two American ships in the bay: witnesses testified that Cobos and his boarding party came onto the *Cina Greenwood* armed, approached the captain, and "presented a pistol at the head of an American citizen […] as a warrant from the Mexican government to take possession of her" (DeKay 1871, 2–3). The US Consul at Magdalena, Drake De Kay, alleged that Cobos, working with corrupt local Mexican authorities, was running a private army in the bay, and had "illegally imported, without invoices, and suspiciously, arms of various kinds; say breach-loading rifles, rifles with bayonets, pistols, large machetes, ammunition, drums, accoutrements, etc., etc., in all enough to formidably arm about two hundred men" (DeKay 1871, 24–25).

In 1878 Cobos returned to the Galapagos permanently (Figure 1). He set himself up on Isla San Cristóbal (at that time known as Chatham Island, a name given by English explorers in the eighteenth century), and created a large-scale sugar plantation, named El Progreso ("Progress"), which also produced coffee, tropical fruit, and vegetables. By 1878 most of the other agricultural penal colonies in the Galapagos had been abandoned, or were merely remnants of their former operations. With a large capital outlay (perhaps in part coming from money he had "earned" in the extra-national territory of Magdalena Bay), Cobos built a core set of plantation buildings and a sugar mill in the centre of the island, where fresh water, fertile soil, and frequent rain made conditions perfect. He also set up a small port facility 6 km away in what is now Puerto Baquerizo Moreno, with a long dock for his ships and a warehouse to store goods coming on and off shore. From 1878 until his death in 1904, Cobos's operation grew to have 400 labourers (a mix of debt peons from the Ecuadorian coast and undesirables exiled to the island, it seems, through an informal arrangement with the chief of police in Guayaquil) (Latorre 2002; Epler 2013).

In 2014 and 2015 the *Historical Ecology of the Galapagos Islands* project carried out archaeological survey and excavation in the village of El Progreso. An accidental find by

Figure 1. Manuel Cobos in centre, with female hacienda workers and others, all apparently unarmed ("Natives, Chatham Island, Galapagos", 22-FA-92, National Archives and Records Administration, Albatross Expedition).

a resident during construction led to our excavation of a portion of a large midden dating to Cobos's occupation, and several excavation units around his original house site also led to the recovery of late-nineteenth-century artefacts. One category of artefacts recovered were the spent shell casings of small arms.

Bullet

There are several technologies of modernity that were key in the opening of new frontiers to large-scale agriculture in the nineteenth century around the world as industrial capitalism intensified and created a global trade in items that made operations such as Cobos's El Progreso hacienda possible. Most were based on advances in steel technology: barbed wire, portable steam power, and railways were important to his operation. However, the significance of advances in firearms technology is also attested in our archaeological work: we recovered 44 spent cartridges and shot shells from Cobos-era contexts during two field seasons; 36 were from the main house midden, four from the garden surrounding the house, and a further four from the workers' village below the house (Table 1).

In this collection of cartridges, we can see both the variety of arms that were present, and the reliance of the hacienda on the .44-40 cartridge as the flexible cartridge of choice, useful in Winchester repeating rifles,[2] Colt revolvers, and a wide variety of other late-nineteenth-century firearms. Further, the presence of Henry cartridges – the precursor of the .44-40 – indicates that somebody may have been using a repeating rifle as early as the 1860s, although it may have been bought later as surplus. Other cartridges, such as the .43 Spanish, reflect the flow of firearms in the global small arms trade, in which the popularity of US products between 1860 and 1880 was followed by a shift towards European manufacturers such as Mauser, Mannlicher, and Comblain. Presumably, Cobos's purchases came from the flow of ex-military firearms, slightly out of date, that would be sold as surplus for the sporting and self-defence markets (Grant 2007).

TABLE 1. Cartridges and shot shells recovered from *El Progreso* excavations, 2014 and 2015.

Cartridge	Number recovered	Headstamp	Manufacturer	Dates	Reference
.44-40	6	UMC 44 CFW	Union Metallic Cartridge, Bridgeport, Connecticut	1873–1912	Barnes 2016, 152; Cook 1989, 113
.44-40	12	unmarked		1873–present	
.43 Spanish	9	unmarked		1867–1939	Barnes 2016, 517, 521
.38 S&W	1	WRA Co 38 S&W	Winchester Repeating Arms, New Haven, Connecticut	1877–1945	Barnes 2016, 446
.38 S&W	6	unmarked		1877–present	
.44 Henry Flat	2	H	Henry, New Haven, Connecticut	1860–1866 (double firing pin marks)	Barnes 2016, 622; Scott and Fox 1987, 70
11x50Rmm Chilean Comblain	1	unmarked	Comblain, Liège, Belgium	1877–1895	Sater 2007
7 mm Mauser	1	unmarked	Germany	1892–present	Barnes 2016, 29–35, 104
12 Gauge shotshell	1	UMC Co No 12 NITRO CLUB	Union Metallic Cartridge, Bridgeport, Connecticut	1894–1910	
12 Gauge shotshell	1	PETERS REFEREE No 12	Peters, Cincinnati, Ohio	1887–1934	IMACS 1992, 474

2. These rifles have been dubbed "The Gun that Won the West" (Harrison 1952), and thus a piece of material culture indelibly tied to the American idea of the frontier – a point that also seems relevant to Cobos's operation in the Galapagos.

Question Authority

> Anarchism also moves beyond the limitations of egalitarian characterizations by positing a theory of history where social actors accept those authorities that are deemed legitimate and resist those authorities that are considered unwarranted.
>
> —Angelbeck and Grier (2012, 548)

Cobos was killed by his workers on 19 February 1904. This act, the subsequent escape of a group of workers in the company boat, and their show trial in Guayaquil, became an important turning point in Ecuadorian history. The trial, which brought out descriptions of Cobos's cruelty, prompted people in Ecuador to question the near-absolute power that the *hacendado* had on large agricultural operations.

The background was that Cobos had apprehended a worker on 18 February who was alleged to have been planning to burn the cane fields – a common act of rebellion by workers on sugar plantations who were angry about mistreatment. Cobos threatened to whip him 500 times the next morning, and threw him in the hacienda jail for the night (El Telégrafo 1904; Latorre 2002; Chiriboga Vega 2013). Elias Puertas, who had been Cobos's trusted manager, testified that the next morning he had brought several workers into Cobos's house and awakened him. He had begged Cobos to spare the worker from the whipping, but Cobos responded harshly. At this point, Puertas produced a revolver belonging to Cobos that he had found a few days earlier outside of its usual locked drawer in Cobos's desk and had kept hidden (El Telégrafo 1904, 115). He then shot Cobos at close range, first in the abdomen and then in the mouth. Cobos ran to an interior room and locked the door. From there he grabbed a Winchester carbine, climbed to the top-floor viewing tower in the house, and shot at the gathered workers below, wounding one (Figure 2). The Winchester, however, jammed, and he came down to get another gun, but by that time the workers had broken into the office and seized all the arms, firing in all directions (El Telégrafo 1904, 116–122). Cobos fell from a window and was hacked to death with machetes on the lawn below. The workers shouted slogans including "Long Live Liberty" and "Death to the Tyrant"; they then moved on from the house to the government office, and killed the sheriff (El Telégrafo 1904, 116–122). They burnt the account books of the operation and all the government records, and then two separate groups of workers escaped in company boats (El Telégrafo 1904, 139).

Historical sources give us some idea of how Cobos had controlled firearms on the hacienda. An Italian ship visited Chatham in 1884, and remarked on Cobos having "lots of guns easily at hand" (Serra 1886, 302). The commission which visited after his death determined that he kept all arms locked in a secure room in the main house, allowing the small police contingent one rifle each when on guard duty (El Telégrafo 1904, 122). Baluarte, a trusted senior employee, was down in the port when Cobos was killed. The first he knew of it was when armed workers arrived and demanded he surrender; he gave them "a Mannlicher I had for my personal defence" (El Telégrafo 1904, 123, my trans.), and when the workers eventually escaped on the boat, they took with them "45 firearms [presumably rifles and carbines] and 12 revolvers". Baluarte remained behind, and Puertas took pity on him, giving him "4 rifles and 2 carbines to arm the police and keep order"

Figure 2. The main house at *El Progreso* in 1888, with viewing tower, and Cobos standing on the porch in the centre ("Señor Cobos's House, Chatham Island, Galapagos", 22-FA-90, National Archives and Records Administration, Albatross Expedition 1888).

(El Telégrafo 1904, 123). This suggests that the total number of arms on hand may have been about 73, although the second boat of workers had probably already taken some weapons with them. It seems reasonable to suggest there were more than a hundred guns in total in his armoury.

Another trusted employee, Hansen, was drunk at the time of the killing. There was a suggestion that his revolver was the one used by Puertas, but the commission concluded this was not the case, as several testified that Hansen had checked his revolver back in with Leinberger, the accountant, several days earlier (El Telégrafo 1904, 151). This gives us an interesting window on a system in which account books and firearms were all held in one locked space, very near to Cobos's bedroom, with strict control over who could sign them out. In the end the commission concluded that Cobos was very brave to have lived for 30 years with "one hand on the hoe and the other on a revolver, battling both nature and men to build the operation" (El Telégrafo 1904, 144).

The workers had written a manifesto, which they presented in court during their trial. In it, they outlined that they were the people "of the village of Chatham, or more accurately the slaves of the inhuman Manuel J. Cobos, tired of tolerating so many abuses having worked for years without any remuneration, only receiving punishment, torture, and whippings, we resolved to no longer continue under the pressures in which we were living". They continued: "Everyone in the Galapagos knew that Cobos had executed

five individuals at gunpoint, six had died from whippings, and 15 men had been exiled to deserted islands, and of these a number had died of hunger", and that "they had all been under the domination of Cobos, the king of the Galapagos, the tyrant of Ecuador […]. the majority decided unanimously to put an end to this tyrant's life and we organized a plot" (El Telégrafo 1904, 113–114).

Were these workers anarchists? There is no suggestion in the surviving media coverage of the trial that a formal, or political, anarchism was at the root of their actions. They were, however, clearly rejecting "those authorities deemed unwarranted" (Angelbeck and Grier 2012, 548) in a geographical space that was largely outside of state control at the time. This was a time when anarchist politics had begun to influence Latin America. From the 1890s, Italian and Spanish anarchists began to enter the major port cities of South America, creating a new political movement parallel with the expansion of European trade with these cities (Laforcade and Shaffer 2015). Guayaquil was Ecuador's main port, and the source for the prisoners exiled to Cobos's operation. The first organized labour strikes in Ecuador were by Guayaquil carpenters in 1896 and bakers in 1898 (Chiriboga Vega 2013). In 1899 the first issue of *Pabellón Rojo* (Red Flag), an explicitly anarchist periodical, was published in Guayaquil (Paez 1986, 33). The Ecuadorian cacao workers' strike of 1908 was noticeable in its anarchist rhetoric (Chiriboga Vega 2013, 321). In the end, though, we have no direct evidence that the workers who killed Cobos did so out of an alliance with a global anarchist movement. There is no mention of anarchy in their "manifesto". It is, perhaps, more accurate to see the revolt at *El Progreso* through the lens of Eric Hobsbawm's idea of social banditry, a precursor of revolutionary movements in which rural peasants, ripped from their traditional relationships to land, revolted against the perceived cruelty, and injustice, of the modernizing march of rural progress (Hobsbawm 1969; Löwy 2000).

Cobos's Galapagos operation was on the frontier, as Ecuador incorporated new territory into its control in the nineteenth century. Developments in small arms technology, particularly cartridge weapons like the Winchester repeating rifle, were a key aspect of this incorporation, with North American and European small-arms manufacturers producing modern repeating weapons that provided the means in the late nineteenth century for countries to incorporate new territories, usually at the cost of tragic loss to indigenous people (Scott 1989; Langer 2002; Grant 2007). The space that Cobos's operation inhabited was different from this, in that the best evidence (Anderson *et al.* 2016) shows that there were no human inhabitants of the islands before Berlanga arrived in 1535. The four-hundred years following can be best characterized as a period when the nation-state was largely absent. People of many states came to the islands, for refuge from behaviour labelled as criminal, or to extract resources based on anarchic relations between ships and people from many nations (Igler 2013; Flexner 2014), and even after incorporation in 1832 the agricultural penal colonies set up by Ecuador were still largely beyond state control. Designed to receive those deemed unwanted by the state, authorities like Villamil and Cobos were aware that if they went too far, nobody would arrive to help in their defence against an angry workforce. In the end the modern firearms locked in the hacienda house proved key, both to Cobos' maintenance of power over his workforce, and in their eventual liberation from him.

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Marianne and Anarchy: The Artistic Legacy of the Paris Commune in New Caledonia

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Introduction

From 18 March to 28 May 1871, France underwent a revolutionary upheaval known as the Paris Commune. Under siege by Prussian armies and unwilling to surrender under the conditions of the provisory government of the Third Republic based in nearby Versailles, the people of Paris decided upon the creation of a daring new form of collegial Parisian government, whose members displayed an array of political sensibilities (Gaillard 1973, 839). Amongst them were anti-imperialists, radicals, and libertarians, as well as communists and anarchists. French historiography has since mainly highlighted the last two components of this diverse movement, in particular through the testimonies of Communards such as Louise Michel.[1]

The innovative government commissions of the Commune published laws that are nowadays deemed to be major social breakthroughs: universal suffrage, equal salaries for men and women, separation of Church and State, freedom of the press, legalization of *de facto* unions, and free and secular education. Thus, the Paris Commune received acclaim from progressive thinkers worldwide and is on the whole perceived positively in French historiography (Rougerie 1971).

After the retaliation of the Bloody Week and numerous military tribunals at Versailles, more than 4000 Communards were deported to New Caledonia in the Pacific (Tillier 2004, 157). Their sentence was originally intended to be permanent, but due to political pressure, a general amnesty was obtained on 12 July 1880 (Pérennès 1991, 520). This is important to bear in mind, since the Communards initially viewed New Caledonia as a place of permanent exile (at least until the first amnesties in the second half of the 1870s), a perception that modelled the way they rendered the archipelago in their journals and crafted objects.

While in New Caledonia, 3417 Communards were sent to the Isle of Pines, within an apparatus known as the "Simple Deportation", and a further 1169 were confined in the "Fortified Enclosure Deportation" on the Ducos Peninsula. Lastly, 251 had been further convicted by a penal tribunal; these were separated from their comrades and

1. In her memoirs published in 1886, Michel spoke freely of anarchy, as the mean for a renewed world:

> Proudhon was right: every attempt, up until now, has kept the same causes for disasters, the inequality of destinies, the antagonism of interests. Proudhon said it, he who produces everything only receives misery and death; the best commercial treaties of a nation only protect its exploiters! Soon it will be over. (Michel 1886, 117, author's trans.)

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transported, along with regular convicts, to the main penitentiary and assigned forced labour until the general amnesty.

The aim of this article is first to focus on the crafted artefacts created during the Communards' exile in New Caledonia, thus exploring the imagery produced by an anarchist population. Second, as the Commune came to be celebrated in the later years of the nineteenth century, New Caledonia's penal convict population went on to craft items for the tourist market bearing themes linked to the Commune, through a process of iconographic appropriation by a very dissimilar (and non-anarchist) population. Thus, the archaeology of anarchist thought and imagery in New Caledonia proves to be a diffuse and complex phenomenon.

Artistic Production

Unassigned to forced labour, the Communards – whether living in the Ducos Peninsula or in the Isle of Pines, and although under extreme conditions and intense surveillance – were free to organize their daily lives more or less as they wished: crafting objects, depicting their surroundings in art, and creating furniture were only some of their occupations. The opportunity they had to create artistic pieces that could be sold, either to other deportees wishing to send some to their families, or to state/church officials and inhabitants of Nouméa, the capital of New Caledonia, was a way to pass on some important messages: these had to be discreet or metaphorical, as drastic censorship was then in place (Buisson 2001). This context of surveillance/scrutiny explains the very conventional aspect of the Communards' artistic creations, at least the ones that were submitted to the artistic contests (held by the local administration in the late 1870s).[2]

The exiles also had a way to use art in a more direct, political sense. The printing of newspapers was organized on the Isle of Pines by two deportees named Auguste Hocquard and Ernest Melin, and there were numerous short-lived titles such as *Le Parisien illustré*, *Album de l'Île des Pins*, or *Le Raseur Calédonien*. While the poor quality of the written work has often been discussed (Caton 1986, 434), there are few references to the numerous engravings in these issues. The existence of a lithographic press on the island also allowed prints to be made. While some works depict the landscapes of the island, others describe aspects of daily life with some realism, such as a depiction of confinement cells by deportee Louis Boissier (Pisier 1971).[3] Lastly, some bear an underlying political meaning. In particular, a lithograph entitled *Le Rêve*, by Charles Capellaro,[4] shows a deported man after a day's work in a tropical landscape bathed in the light of the glowing sunset. In the bright sky, a vision emerges: a personification of the Republic, with behind her the buildings of Paris, extending her arm in his direction, welcoming him home (Pisier 1971).

2. Terracotta tobacco jars and caskets depicting Kanak natives in exotic surroundings are more common. Some discreet motifs of Freemasonry (the Masonic Square and Compasses) can be found on crafted wooden features of the Isle of Pines church in Vao (Pisier 1971, 32–33).
3. Boissier had prison number 2458.
4. Charles Romain Capellaro (prison number 2825) was a sculptor. After his return to France, he was commissioned for a monumental bronze statue of the Republic in Pézenas, southwestern France.

There is in this a striking contrast between the Communards' political commitment and their feelings for France during their exile: the Commune's stand had been extremist, to the far-left or even clearly anarchist, yet their artistic production is mainly pro-French, and republican. The exile, the sanguinary retaliation the rebels had faced, and the responsibility of the French government for their misery, oddly did not affect their national pride, patriotism, and homesickness: it actually fuelled their love for their country of origin[5] and for its place in the world, and it legitimized France's role in the local colonization process which was then taking place in the Pacific.[6]

A Parallel Artist Population: Penal Convicts

Meanwhile, a different population had been transported to New Caledonia: according to a law of 1854 (Barbançon 2003, 72–74), the archipelago had been designated a penal colony, somewhat following the British colonization model of Australia. Between 1864 and 1897, over 21,000 convicts were sent to Nou Island's main penitentiary, opposite Nouméa's harbour. There, the convicts were assigned different types of forced labour, but during their spare time, they also crafted small objects out of different raw materials, such as ox bone and sea or coconut shells (Lagarde 2005, 98–99).

This peripheral practice went on relatively unnoticed during the early stages of the penitentiary, but the increase in the convict population led to overproduction and difficulties in selling the crafted goods to a visiting population which had not significantly grown. Police searches led to discoveries of hundreds of carved shells, which forced the penal administration to acknowledge the existence of this marginal trade (O'Reilly 1983, 3, 5). In response, the Penal Administration decided in 1886 to coordinate the activity, giving the convicts proper tools and good-quality raw material, in order to establish the sustainability of such craft work long term.

This new course of action led to the mass production of thousands of artefacts over the following 40 years, from the early 1880s to the late 1920s, during which time the convict artists explored different themes in the represented imagery in order to satisfy the preferences of their customer base (Ahrens and Lagarde 2010, 1250). While some naive representations of New Caledonia's mountainous landscape, with palm trees and native huts, were indeed very popular, some shells also bear more political messages, ranging from innuendos and metaphors of carcereal conditions to actual elements of nationalist (and therefore French) propaganda. Representations of Cérès or Marianne, both official personifications of the French Republic in the second half of the nineteenth century (Agulhon 1979, 102–105, 145–151), were easy to recreate (they were represented on the obverse of coins from the period), as well as appealing to a clientele mainly comprised of officials and servicemen.

Due to the popularity of particular themes, the convict artists focused on subjects

5. "They are your sons, beloved France. Hear their voices, cease their pain; but hasten, for already, the desolate swell rolls the dead in the flowering reefs." Jean Allemane, *Le Chant des Transportés*, 1876, written in his cell in Nou island prison, New Caledonia (Allemane 1906, 364).
6. Very few Communards sided with the natives during the Kanak insurrection of 1878. Only Louise Michel and Charles Malato were known to be strict anticolonialists, while the others, once libertarians, turned to colonial repression (Rivière 1881, 121; Dousset-Leenhardt 1976, 69).

related to New Caledonia's recent history: the Communards' exile had been a highly debated subject in the French press in the 1870s, and Henri Rochefort's infamous escape from New Caledonia and return to Europe in 1874 had received significant international coverage.[7] The popularity of the Commune leaders, such as Rochefort or Michel, the publication of many of the Communards' memoirs following their amnesty and return to Europe, and the growth of left-wing ideologies in the last quarter of the century all further popularized and romanticized their exile. Thus, we see an increase in the use of Commune-related themes in New Caledonian convict-carved artefacts which actually appears long after the return to France of the political deportees.

With the Commune's ideology deeply rooted in the French Revolution of 1789, the carving of historic scenes or portraits was an easy choice. For instance, a shell carved in 1881 by a convict named Sylvain Pierre Guirande[8] depicts the commissioners of the Convention confronting Dumouriez, and there is also an anonymous shell carving that copies the portrait of the French revolutionary Jean-Paul Marat by Eugène Joseph Viollat.[9]

Closer to the events of the Commune, some shells display events from the Franco-Prussian War of 1870,[10] such as the first German soldiers entering the Vosges in eastern France,[11] or a monument to the glory of the defeated French soldiers, in a *vae victis* manner; others depict the siege of Paris, where an allegoric figure of the city bravely faces incoming bombs (Figure 1), in a standing position not unlike Puvis de Chavannes's paintings *Le Ballon* (1870) and *Le Pigeon* (1871) (Tillier 2004, 237).[12]

Others show satirical representations of Napoleon III in medieval armour, a reference to the French army's commanding officers and their lack of modernity.[13] There are also some carved female profiles (cameos), in pairs and uncaptioned: one has free-flowing hair and a Phrygian bonnet, a representation common in the conservative French press to illustrate the Commune or even Anarchy; while the other bears an intricate headband figuring a rampart, usually interpreted as being the allegory of a city. These two profiles, when associated, thus fuse meanings and become the "Paris Commune" (Figure 2).

7. Rochefort wrote profusely about New Caledonia and his escape: a romanticized account was published under the title *L'Evadé, roman canaque* (1880), and his travels back to Europe in a book titled *De Nouméa en Europe* (1877). He also described the New Caledonian chapter of his life in his memoirs *Les aventures de ma vie* (1896–1898).
8. General Dumouriez was arrested on 3 April 1793 in the village of Saint-Amand-les-Eaux by the members of the Convention he was trying to overthrow, in a failed coup that had been intended to get Marie-Antoinette and the royal children out of prison and establish a constitutional monarchy. Born in 1850, Guirande (prison number 7529), arrived in New Caledonia in 1875 on the transport ship *L'Orne*, and he died in Bourail (New Caledonia) in 1899.
9. This particular rendition of Marat is not the famous scene depicting the revolutionary lying dead in his bathtub after his assassination by Charlotte Corday, as painted by Jacques-Louis David. Viollat's painting instead depicts Marat addressing the National Convention for the first time, on 25 September 1792, and is entitled "Jean Paul Marat calling for the Revolution".
10. This short conflict between Prussia and France ended catastrophically for the French, the Germans gaining the territories of Alsace and Lorraine, and overseeing the transition from Napoleon III's reign to the Third Republic, whose pro-German government in Versailles was the Communards' main political adversary.
11. Another shell carved and signed by convict Sylvain Pierre Guirande, dated 1881.
12. Paris, Musée d'Orsay, inventory numbers RF 1897 21 and RF 1897 22 respectively.
13. General Louis Jules Trochu in particular was mocked, as in Victor Hugo's poetic rendition of the year 1870–1871, *L'Année Terrible*. Hugo wrote that the name Trochu was the participle of *trop choir*, "to fall too much". (Hugo 1872, June poem XVII).

Figure 1. Carved oyster shell (*Pinctada margaretifera*) depicting the siege of Paris, c. 1890 (15 × 16 cm, private collection, Nouméa).

Figure 2. Carved oyster shell (both valves belong to the same shell, c. 1890): left, the Commune; right, the city of Paris (22 × 19 cm, private collection, Nouméa).

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Sometimes, simpler references such as locations are engraved on the shells, such as "Ile des Pins" or "Ducos", the two main deportation areas within New Caledonia.

Additionally, the chosen words engraved on the shells are important: while most convict-carved artefacts bear the words "*souvenir*", "*je pense à vous*", "Ile Nou", "Camp Brun", and "Thio", locations or words all connected with the penal condemnations, some have the more ambiguous captions: "*victrix patienta exilii*" (patience [is] victorious of exile), "*souvenir d'exil*", or "*souvenir de captivité*". Using "exile" here is clearly dissimilar from the regular vocabulary of the penal convicts, more prone to use words like "*châtiment*", "*peine*", "*bagne*", and "*forçat*", while "*captivité*" is a reminder of Louise Michel's famous poem "*Le chant des Captifs*" (Michel 1887).

This transposition from one history (that of the Communards) to another (that of the convicts) on crafted goods can be explained in relation to several factors: (1) the fact that convicts later occupied some of the locations where Communards had been sent (the Isle of Pines, Ducos Peninsula), and so they appropriated some of their history under a common heritage of the penal facility, *Le Bagne*, in general;[14] (2) the fact that people visiting New Caledonia wanted to take back souvenirs related to the Commune, thus maintaining demand; and (3) the ignorance of the clientele as to the authenticity of the crafted goods, perhaps sold to them as authentic legacies from political deportees.

Regular convicts thus exploited a popular demand. The Commune's anarchist ideal sought the overthrow of the regime, through a revolution, and as the previous revolutionary uprisings of 1789, 1830, and 1848 partially reflected the same ideal, the Paris Commune was already part of the French cultural heritage. There was therefore no paradox in being a non-anarchist tourist, yet wanting to acquire revolutionary images.

A somehow similar phenomenon can be seen in French Guyana, another penal colony, where comparable items were made. Again, the fame of certain prisoners, such as Alfred Dreyfus and Guillaume Seznec,[15] led to the crafting of objects bearing their names: it was apparently easier for a convict to sell a metal tumbler with either of these names engraved on it than other types of crafted items (Charrière 1969, 274).

Discussion

Regarding humanized representations of something that exists only in speech, Philippe Bruneau distinguishes between the emblem (a symbol, group of symbols or animal), the paragon (such as a farmer to represent agriculture), and the personification (Bruneau 1984–1985, 22–23). In New Caledonia, the convicts' appropriation of anarchist themes shows their imbrication with more traditional ideals: Marianne, the personification of the Republic; the Commune, represented by the paragon of a "*pétroleuse*", which refers to the incendiary women who tried to burn down specific monuments of Paris during the Commune insurrection; and personifications of Anarchy.[16] The use of the female body

14. This was facilitated by the fact that, as noted above, 251 Communards were condemned to penal sentences and aggregated to the regular convicts.
15. Alfred Dreyfus (1859–1935) was a French military officer deported to French Guyana in 1894 after being falsely convicted of high treason. He was rehabilitated only in 1906. Controversially condemned to a life sentence for the murder of his associate Pierre Quéméneur in 1924, Guillaume Seznec (1878–1954) returned to France on the closure of the Guyana penitentiary facility in 1947. Despite numerous demands for the case to be appealed, it was never re-opened.

to represent all three of these humanized ideals derives from the feminine gender of the words in French (Bruneau 1984–1985, 24).

The seemingly contradictory integration of Patriotism and Anarchy, which was common among the Communards and perceptible through their written testimonies, is actually quite well rendered: the images reflect the *patriotization of anarchy*, in that anarchy's personification bears the red Phrygian bonnet, and also the *anarchization of patriotism*, for instance Oscar Roty's 1897 representation of Marianne as a sowing woman. While the latter became increasingly popular and was present on French coins over several decades, it was received negatively at first in conservative newspaper articles: "What is she sowing, this woman whose Phrygian bonnet already qualifies? She sows chaos, anarchy, darnel, hate, lies and immorality." (*Le Moniteur*, 28 February 1897).

Furthermore, the archaeological study of artefacts linked to the Paris Commune in New Caledonia allows more generic interrogations. As anarchy was progressively appropriated by convicts, this has created a blurry picture for artistic production, where attribution to one category or the other (political or penal convicts) is often risky or dubious. This aspect has only rarely or vaguely been addressed in publications on the subject, yet the paternity of craft work remains an important issue.[17]

Where, as an archaeologist, one studies appropriation of culture and crafted goods, one is often prone to diagnose major influences, domination, and direct impact. Rather, one should not forget that appropriation is also a voluntary process, sometimes to the border of legitimacy like here: what were the actual links of the Communards with the penal convicts? Almost none. What does the artefact record tell us? The exact opposite.

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16. Anarchy, of course, is personified differently between its detractors and worshippers: here, it is a positive personification, from a libertarian perspective, which is put forward: a bare-breasted woman with freely flowing hair and wearing a slightly torn, red draping dress. A negative perception of anarchy, in contrast, is often conveyed via the emblem of the hydra.
17. This can be seen in Stephen (2001, 55–58), where Cérès is no more differentiated from Marianne than Communard artefacts from penal convict carved shells.

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Beyond the Property Paradigm: Fragments for an Anarchist Approach to Archaeological Heritage

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Fragment 01: Orienting Ostraca

> The cities, bound together by railroads and waterways, are organisms which have lived through centuries. Dig beneath them and you find, one above another, the foundations of streets, of houses, of theaters, of public buildings. Search into their history and you will see how the civilization of the town, its industry, its special characteristics, have slowly grown and ripened through the co-operation of generations of its inhabitants […]. Each discovery, each advance, each increase in the sum of human riches, owes its being to the physical and mental travail of the past and the present. By what right then can any one whatever appropriate the least morsel of this immense whole and say – This is mine, not yours?
>
> (Kropotkin 2008 [1892], 56)

> The liberation of the past does not end in its reconciliation with the present. Against the self-imposed restraint of the discoverer, the orientation on the past tends toward an orientation on the future. The *recherche du temps perdu* becomes the vehicle of future liberation. (Marcuse 1955, 19)

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These quotations illustrate the two main points of this paper. Archaeologists are in a prime position to demonstrate that the world *could be* configured differently, because we find evidence of worlds that *were* configured differently. Archaeologists, as Graeber (2004) argues of anthropologists more generally, have access to evidence that oppressive social structures do not have to be as they are. Therefore archaeologists ought to be enthusiastic proponents of progressive optimism. However, to effectively convince wider audiences of this positive message, we archaeologists ought to consider the possibility that "archaeological heritage" is not well-tended when conceived as property.

Kropotkin's archaeological imagery asserts that everything we possess is built on the work of past people to whom we may not actually be related. In that case, how is it that we can claim *with exclusion* the fruits of their labor? This rhetorical question is activated in practice when applied to "archaeological heritage", *viz.* the materials preserved in the archaeological record. How can anyone *exclusively* claim the stuff made by "ancient" people?

Marcuse's quotation highlights a second issue in archaeological practice as an intercultural discipline entangled in diverse political and social networks: that archaeological research can become a vehicle of liberation because archaeological research proves other worlds are possible because *other worlds have existed*.

Why isn't archaeology more engaged in broader progressive movements? Perhaps it is because many archaeologists have not removed – or even recognized – the self-imposed restraints by which we operate. Those restraints are related to the economics and politics of the global economies in which we are embedded. Archaeology (*qua* material culture from past societies, *qua* intellectual products in the present) is part of a social, educational, and economic system embedded in state governments that are interdependent on the property system.[1]

However, when non-archaeologists engage with heritage (e.g., Keitumetse *et al.* 2007; Alivizatou 2012), they may do so in ways that confound the conservative property model of heritage, and that challenge acceptable use by archaeological standards (e.g., McGimsey 1972).

We anthropological archaeologists might contemplate reconfiguring archaeological anthropology and its subsequent "products" (e.g., archaeological heritage, intellectual property) in an alternative format: specifically, we might consider dissolving the property form of archaeological heritage and reconsider the efficacy of the state as supreme coercive authority over archaeological heritage. This move would eliminate the social exclusions that come along with property models and that alienate archaeological insight from meaningful public discourses. One such insight is that oppressive social structures are not inevitable parts of immutable human nature, but rather the results of historical contingencies and human agency – at least the latter of which we control.

1. Even when not explicitly named as property, the property model seems the dominant practical mode of professional activity toward and conception of archaeological heritage. This tendency perhaps supports Marx and Engels' claim (1978 [1867], 172) that the dominant ideas in a society are the dominant material relationships made ideal. When not explicit, the property form is at least hegemonic and for that reason easily overlooked, for it is the framework, not the content of debate (Gramsci 1971, 182–183 = Gramsci 1975, vol. 3, 1583–1584 [13§17]; Comaroff and Comaroff 1991, 23).

I am skeptical that the property model of heritage is the best way to engage with archaeological heritage, because of its state-sanctioned exclusionary character. Greater inclusivity is a shared goal of many modern archaeological paradigms (among many others e.g., Lynott 1997; Marshall 2002; Little and Shackel 2007; Meskell 2007). Instead of a repatriation model of postcolonial archaeology, I recommend contemplating a post-state, non-property model of heritage for archaeological materials that is radically inclusive and non-coercive in form. John Carman (2005, 101–116) defines this mode of materiality for archaeological heritage as an "open-access resource", a category with which I am sympathetic.

A Peruvian case study of a small village in an archaeological landscape highlights that the emerging tradition of community archaeology (e.g., Marshall 2002; Little and Shackel 2007; Atalay 2010) provides rich and new insights about the meaning of archaeology beyond the academy. This emergent tradition *also* points us towards more rigorous reflection about how we conceptualize archaeology. Indeed, it was a community archaeology approach that illuminated the problem of property paradigm with respect to local communities and archaeological heritage.

As Marcuse (1955; also discussed in Graeber 2004) implied, another world is possible. But just as Kropotkin realized, the currently existing world emerges out of the past and is the foundation for any future world. Consideration of how we got here and where we are, and dialogue about where we would like to go, are essential for bringing about an archaeology that sidesteps issues of property and so obviates ownership and the exclusions (discussed further below), inequalities, and material consequences that this implies. Rather, a more "anarchistic" archaeological praxis might bring about greater public value and interest, longer-term conservation potential, and truly transformative revelations for social application in the present.

Fragment 02: Indispensable Interrogatives

There are many conceptual models of the state: a structural entity (Weber 1946); a political apparatus (Foucault 1975, 126); a set of practices (Foucault 2007; Routledge 2014, 1); affective connections (Anderson 1983; see Routledge 2014 for exhaustive examinations with respect to archaeology). Political philosophers of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries regarded the state as dealing primarily in property relations (e.g., Locke 1988 [1689], 324; Rousseau 1997 [1775]; Smith 2003 [1776]), and its coercive nature is emphasized by twentieth-century theorists (Weber 1946; Gramsci 1971; 1975). As such, the state monopolizes legitimate violence as the final enforcer of discipline (Gramsci 1971, 12–13 = 1975, vol. 3, 1519 [12§1]); Routledge 2014, 15; Weber 1946). Most archaeological heritage has emerged under the auspices of state governments (Trigger 1984; Liu and Chen 2012), and accordingly, most heritage has been explicitly or implicitly conceived of as property and the various forms of exclusion it creates.

Carman (2005, 30) identifies three distinct property forms, each of which comes with distinct rights and duties that define exclusion: state property, common property, and private property. The states that protects these properties *in theory* monopolize legitimate violence so as to create stability and order, but *in practice* the state is often a patchwork of agencies and agents involved in selective applications of power over selective domains (e.g.,

archaeological artifacts, land, acceptable behaviors, etc.). With archaeological heritage this patchy reach can result in stalemates that serve neither the subsistence needs of subjects nor the conservation needs of artifacts. Still, the benefits of the state can be significant.

With access to large amounts of capital, states have been instrumental in protecting, developing, and presenting archaeological sites for educational, leisure, and political purposes on every inhabited continent (e.g., Machu Picchu [Ministerio de Cultura 2017]; Angkor Wat [Tourism of Cambodia 2017]; Stonehenge [English Heritage n.d.]; Cahokia [Pauketat 2009, 53]; the Giza Plateau [Egyptian Tourism Authority, 2017]; Uluru-Kata Tjuta National Park [Parks Australia 2016; UNESCO n.d.]). This state protection includes protecting sites from destructive development provoked by organized private capital (e.g., the attempted destruction of El Paraiso in coastal Peru, although one pyramid was illegally demolished [Associated Press 2013]). States can also minimize institutional and individual looting, monitor scientific authority (in the USA e.g., the Smithsonian in the early twentieth century [Thomas 2000]), license national archaeologists, and review the research plans of foreign archaeologists to ensure quality control in research methods, which are often necessarily destructive. The state also largely protects the intellectual property of archaeologists – intellectual property that circulates in a market that seems to make the field viable.

However, reliance on the state may also be problematic: there may be locations or situations where the reach of the state is ineffective (Smith 2003 [1776], 81), and states may fragment or disappear. They may also have interests discordant with local will, or with the common or even international good. The state was unable to protect Palmyra from partial destruction, and becoming the scene of terrorism and murder (Loveluck 2015), and the destruction of the Bamiyan Buddhas went beyond the the limits of what we once imagined would be the fate of archaeological sites after state collapse.

Outcomes such as these raise the question of whether archaeology can thrive without recourse to a supreme coercive authority. Initially, progressive-minded archaeologists might be inclined to say "Yes! It has done so a few times". Nevertheless, we archaeologists mostly operate as agents-within-and-with-the-state, if not also as explicit state agents. In so doing, I'm concerned that we're also foreclosing on the very goal of our research: demonstrating that other versions of the world are possible because we have evidence of those other versions.

As such, I raise a second question around which I hope to have sincere debate: How can archaeologists convince others that other worlds are possible because other worlds have existed (e.g. Graeber 2004), given the exclusivist contexts in which we work, *viz.*, a world configured around the property model?

Fragment 03: Initial Inclinations

Archaeology can operate without recourse to the state if we abandon the property model of archaeological heritage (see also Pacifico and Vogel 2012). To do so, we need to develop social bonds, collaborative work agreements, and dialogues around archaeological heritage (*anti* property) that can mediate between multiple stakeholders, manage individual interests in archaeological materials, stall the destructive encroachment of organized capital, and engage with the state.

To bring this about, archaeologists ought to vigorously engage with local publics in order to establish a system of research, preservation, and information sharing that can exist alongside and in the absence of state apparatuses (see, for example Pacifico 2008a). By vigorously engaging with multiple stakeholders *without the threat of exclusion*, archaeologists will have a greater discursive authority. Consequently, we'll expand our impact in convincing non-archaeologists that other versions of the world are possible, given that we've encountered alternatives in the archaeological record. This is not to suggest a nostalgia for some fantasy archaeological past, but rather to highlight the way in which archaeologists can convincingly debunk propaganda that present oppressive social structures as natural, inevitable, or necessary.

In so doing, we will be generating a more inclusive context for archaeological heritage, thereby completing the mission of several progressive archaeological paradigms (detailed below). Unfortunately, I am skeptical that modern political economy will allow such vigorous engagement. Still, my inclination is that archaeology can thrive without recourse to coercive authority if it adopts radically democratic and anti-exclusionary praxes of organization, interaction, and resource management.[2]

Furthermore, archaeologists will be more convincing, useful, and valuable if they do so, because they will be promoting an inclusive economy of knowledge with locally applicable ends developed in discourse with the public. By engaging with broad stakeholders, archaeologists will be better able to convince people that archaeological insights have serious implications for the way in which we imagine and enact our current society.

An alternative to state-centered practices of archaeology could prove extremely valuable under many of the real-world conditions in which we wish to work, in locations where there is no state authority or it has been rejected. Wouldn't an already-existing structure of anarchic agreement be extremely valuable in managing actions surrounding the value, practice, and goals of archaeological research, preservation, and heritage?

Fragment 04: The Heaviness of Heritage

Heritage, as both concept and social phenomenon, implies the creation of property (e.g., Atwood 2004; Pai 2013). As property, heritage comes under the ultimate protection of the state, which maintains full authority of law backed by violence.

In broad academic, tourist, and political discourses, heritage takes two forms, tangible and intangible. The former can range from immense complexes of landscapes and constructions (e.g., the Great Wall of China) to the tiniest of archaeological remains that fall under the purview of national ministries of antiquities. The presence of the state as conservation enforcer (*sensu* Gramsci 1971, 12–13 = 1975, vol. 3, 1519 [12§1]) is evident in cases from North America (Thomas 2000), South America (Instituto Nacional de Cultura 2007), Asia (Pai 2013), Africa (Supreme Council of Antiquities n.d.), Europe (Poggioli 2017), and Australia (Young 1999), and on a globalized international scale, as implied by UNESCO (Alivizatou 2012).

2. This kind of reorganization would be a positive resolution to Hutchings and La Salle's (2015) argument that most of archaeology is "disaster capitalism" profiting off of the dispossession of indigenous heritage.

Heritage is a product manufactured in a number of places, including academic discourses (Keitumetse *et al.* 2007, 102). Its value comes from its economic potential in tourist industries and nationalist projects of citizen making within states, especially in the context of perceived threat (Lowenthal 1997, 24; Harrison 2010, 13–15). Here, the perception of imminent scarcity emerges, and so heritage becomes politicized material that excludes many from the heritage processes of identity production, attachments to place, and the material benefits of heritage development (Lowenthal 1997; Hallowell 2006, 76–77; Hicks and McAtackney 2007, 16; Anico 2009, 67). Heritage is thus embroiled in two contradictory kinds of consequences: on the one hand, it aims to engender a sentiment of shared world property, while, on the other hand, it produces exclusions that undermine the first sentiment, which negatively affects conservation (Atwood 2004; Hallowell 2006).

Such exclusion, though, has been mitigated by a strong progressive movement within archaeology. Scholars in this strain are diverse, but one commonality is the suggestion that non-archaeologists should be included in all phases of research (Marshall 2002), and there have been positive results in doing so (Little and Shackel 2007). They have also defended "looters" against uncritical moral judgments (Hallowell 2006), and, as mentioned above, proposed that archaeological heritage be considered an open-access resource (Carman 2005, 101–116). Still, the extent of our role in exclusionary authority is often invisible to us, because it is occluded by the unrecognized property form implicit in heritage (excepting Carman 2005).

Non-archaeologists, non-academics, and non-bureaucrats often think of heritage from alternative perspectives, but are forced to adopt Western-governmental models in order to engage *at all* with heritage (Jones 1997, 10). Indeed, what counts as heritage may not initially be mutually recognized by states and subjects. Nevertheless, "official heritage", defined by states and super-state conglomerates of states (e.g., UNESCO; see Hardt and Negri 2000), comes to stand in for "heritage" in general, even though unofficial heritage is created all the time through the interactions between people, places, objects, practices, and their ideas and memories (Harrison 2010, 8).

Indeed, ethnographies of archaeology and heritage (e.g, Keitumetse *et al.* 2007; Meskell 2007; Alivizatou 2012) indicate that non-professionals have other – and rather dynamic – ways of defining, imagining, and interacting with heritage, and these alternative forms of engagement may contradict the ethics of stewardship espoused by state administrators. For example, Alivizatou (2012) explained that heritage – intangible in the case of American Indians and indigenous New Zealanders – is not something to be archived, but rather to be re-appropriated and reinterpreted in the present. Keitumetse *et al.* (2007) explain that non-archaeologist Botswanans conceive of heritage very differently from academic, government, and tourist definitions. They don't recognize world or necessarily even national heritage, but rather consider their local heritage to have been created by God and to be properly managed through attachment to and participation with archaeological paintings (Keitumetse *et al.* 2007, 111–112). State- and product-oriented conceptions of heritage threaten to alienate them from the context of local heritage. Indeed, extra-local forms of heritage may presume privileges including forms of leisure, education, and access that aren't always locally available (Meskell 2007, 399).

Worse, the alienation of locals from their proximal archaeological heritage may emerge as dislocation (Meskell 2007, 385).

Unofficial uses of archaeological heritage appear through a state lens to be destructive. But, as Lowenthal (1997, 25) observes, loss and recovery should be considered a normal ongoing routine with heritage. Indeed, Lowenthal (1997, 250) argues that heritage is about establishing authority, not authenticity, and that it masquerades as a preservation tool. Thus, heritage is a social construct used in political processes of inclusion and exclusion; more than the legacy of the past, it's a product in the present (Anico 2009, 67). When that product takes on the form of property, these exclusions lead to contested uses, some of which are destructive (Hallowell 2006, 76–77) and all of which are necessarily exclusive. A dialogical "anarchistic" approach would recognize multiple uses and multiple outcomes for archaeological sites as legitimate, as long as all interested parties' wishes were considered. If archaeologists were to exert dialogic authority, then long-term preservation could be met without privileging certain kinds of access and use over others (Lynott 1997, 594–595).

These potentially conflicting attitudes around archaeological heritage might be alleviated by obviating the property form of archaeological heritage. As Lynott (1997, 596) asserts, if archaeologists create intellectual property from objects that do not belong to them, then the products of archaeological research should belong to everyone. Or perhaps we might better say that the products belong to no one, given the obviation of the notion of "ownership" with non-property.

Returning to a specifically anarchist perspective, Proudhon accidentally spoke of property in a way germane to archaeological contemplation in heritage management. He argued (Proudhon 2003 [1840], 103–104) that property was theft because it (a) violated universal consent and (b) could be created neither by labor nor law. Archaeological heritage highlights the tension between common sense and radical anarchist philosophy because neither archaeologists nor current residents created the material in the archaeological record. Proudhon would observe that archaeological remains *qua* heritage are treated as property and, ultimately, theft insofar as the products and practices prevent universal access and benefit. However, "another world is possible" (Graeber 2004, 10). In fact, archaeologists are already at work on it in their own intellectual and practical ways.

Fragment 05: Archaeological Antecedents

Archaeologists have at times enacted a form of "counter-authority" to the dominant authority of state and academic structures. This dialogical authority (akin to Bakunin's "natural authority" *contra* "despotic authority" – Bakunin 2003 [1882], 191–193) is evident when archaeologists appeal to one another and other stakeholders on the basis of their expertise, rather than the force of their power as academicians positioned at privileged nodes in institutional networks or as agents of government power.

Archaeological practice has already integrated some anarchistic values, but archaeology tends to guard its ability to draw upon the state and its potential violence to protect archaeological interests, specifically the monopoly on the right to physically (and destructively, e.g., radiocarbon dating, excavation, etc.) intervene in archaeological

materials. That recourse is based on property models of heritage, because the state is designed to address and protect property ranging from intangible to inanimate tangible to corporeal forms.

The authority of first-wave archaeologists, especially in the Americanist stream, was often derived from personal status (Preucel 1991, 19; Pacifico and Vogel 2012), whereas second-wave archaeologists, appealed to scientific methods (Preucel 1991, 19; Pacifico and Vogel 2012). Persuasion as authority fits nicely with anarchist values of authority, but the authority of scientific conclusions is not universally recognized (e.g., Bakunin 2003 [1882], 194; Clastres 1989, 1994 [1980]). Post-processual archaeology (e.g., Hodder 2003; Preucel 2006) opened the door to alternative voices in archaeological interpretation. Currently, few archaeologists are explicitly one or another "kind" of archaeologist as defined by their methodological commitment, because most, as Hegmon (2003) argues, are "post-processual plus". Archaeologists tend to draw different elements from different movements as befits their needs.

Examples of inclusive archaeological paradigms include the community archaeologies described by Marshall (2002), Little and Shackel (2007), Atalay (2010), and Pacifico and Vogel (2012). In these community archaeology approaches the archaeological record is a communally shared resource in need of decolonization. Community archaeology and similar approaches aim to engage local publics as descendants and therefore heirs to the heritage, who ought to design, participate in, and interpret the results of archaeological research. However, although an excellent approach, community archaeology as practiced rests on the foundation of heritage as property (albeit communally held *sensu* Marx 1978 [1932], 81–85; Carman 2005, 30–31). An anarchistic approach to archaeological heritage, in contrast, challenges the necessity of the property model even when property is held communally. Carman's aforementioned "open-access" archaeology (Carman 2005, 101–116) is one possible alternative here.[3] From my perspective, obviating the property model also obviates the need for descendants to authorize access to non-archaeologists. I have found that people living near archaeological sites do not always define their interests in archaeology through their relationship to ancient people (Pacifico 2008a, 2008b; Pacifico and Vogel 2012). As non-property, archaeological heritage has greater potential for social inclusion because – as non-property – the exclusionary and coercive structures that support archaeological property would be removed. Heritage management would move from the state to a more diversified and locally based stakeholder set.

3. I am almost entirely in agreement with him, and we share an inclination towards Kropotkin's philosophy. However, I am uncertain as to whether I agree with Carman (2005, 101–116, 120–121) on the deeper specifics of his "open-resource" model and the non-property value protections he envisions, although uncertainty on the former point is perhaps a matter of semantics alone. The latter uncertainty arises because I do not assume that all people will necessarily ascribe value *at all* to cultural places, as Carman (2005, 120–121) suggests they will. The ascription of value to archaeological materials assumes the spontaneous consent (*sensu* Gramsci 1971, 12–16 = Gramsci 1975, vol. 3, 1519–1523 [12§1]) of all parties to a hegemonic value regime (*viz.* heritage or even "official heritage" *sensu* Harrison 2010). Hence. Graeber's (2004) formulation of anarchism seems preferable to me. People can be entirely uninterested in archaeological materials, but agree to leave them alone provided their own basic needs are adequately met.

Fragment 06: Anarchist Attitudes

Discursive, locally engaged interactions with archaeological heritage can be enhanced by intensive engagement with radically democratic and anti-coercive forms of collective governance based on anarchist theory, especially the humanist anarchism outlined by David Graeber in his *Fragments of an Anarchist Anthropology* (2004). This configuration of anarchism presents it as a form of radical and non-coercive democracy that recognizes no dominative authority, but that respects all individual and group interests through dialogue. As such, according to Graeber, anarchism is explicitly benign, despite news reports to the contrary (see, e.g. Lee 2012). Anarchism is a praxis based on the values of self-organization, voluntary association, and mutual aid in which the means are "consonant" with the ends (Graeber 2004, 3–7). Existing states, agents, and "the people" are individuals among many interests.

In practice, anarchist principles require the acceptance of a diversity of perspectives (Graeber 2004, 7, resonant with "post-processual archaeology" above); it accepts that one may not be able to convert others, but that it is possible to devise a plan that everyone can live with (Graeber 2004, 8). Consequently, anarchist practice creates the world that it hopes to inhabit (Graeber 2004, 7), one which proceeds in a democratic fashion while demonstrating that structures of domination are unnecessary (Graeber 2004, 7).

The dominating structures that apply to archaeological practice are, in part, largely protective: the state protects archaeological sites, through force if necessary. However, since institutional power already exists around heritage, then so does a counterpower (Graeber 2004, 24). Indeed, we often see local individuals and groups who appropriate archaeological heritage, interpreting and presenting it as they see fit; for example, in the local takeover of Tiwanaku (Sammells 2009) and the unauthorized collection, curation, and presentation of artifacts by schoolchildren (Vogel and Pacifico 2004). These events have various outcomes ranging from provenance loss (e.g., Vogel and Pacifico 2004) to meaningful online discourses about the significance of archaeological sites. The question, then, is how to articulate official- and counter-powers for mutually acceptable ends. Rather than resorting to the state as coercive power-of-last-resort; I recommend that we engage in dialogues about archaeological sites, sidestep questions of property, and agree on paths that lead to outcomes with which we can all live (*sensu* Graeber 2004, 8; see also Pacifico and Vogel 2012, 1598). Within such a framework, heritage-as-property (and any attendant state or individual protection) is obviated.

Fragment 07: The Case of Casma, Peru

In the field, I have observed that state stewardship of archaeological resources as property adequately meets neither the needs of archaeological materials nor of people living near archaeological sites. In provincial Peru, these needs are often intertwined, if not directly at odds with one another. This inadequacy is a matter of the patchiness of state authority and the consequences of the property model of heritage.

I first visited Casma in 2004 as a hybrid archaeologist and community liaison between the Proyecto Arqueológico El Purgatorio (hereafter PAEP) directed by Dr Melissa Vogel (Clemson University) and the communities living at the base of the mountain Cerro

Mucho Malo and its archaeological site, El Purgatorio. That post came to me because I had served in a similar capacity at the archaeological site of Cerro La Cruz in the Chao Valley as an undergraduate (see Vogel and Pacifico 2004). My duties as a liaison were to ascertain local community interests in our archaeological work, to communicate them to Dr Vogel, and to help develop a positive dialogue between the two groups. In 2007, I was invited to conduct ethnographic work for my master's thesis at El Purgatorio in preparation for the excavations that I would carry out for my doctoral dissertation in 2010 and 2011.

This approach was not driven by an interest in anarchist theory. Rather, it is an emerging tradition of progressive and public-oriented archaeology. Anarchist theory fits because research results suggest a strong critique of property and the state. These field experiences highlight tensions between structures of state power, archaeological heritage, and the needs of real people living at the physical and social margins in Peru.

Casma is a provincial city on Peru's northcentral coast, approximately 470 km north of Lima. As a coastal city amid fertile desert valleys irrigated by mountain runoff, it is a center both of marine exploitation and agricultural cash-crop production that includes passion fruit, asparagus, mango, and avocado for domestic consumption and exportation. It is also a common stopover for buses traveling between Lima and the northern cities of Trujillo, Chiclayo, and Piura.

With such dual marine and agricultural resources, Casma's hinterland has been the site of massive monuments and human settlement since at least 1400 BCE (Pozorski and Pozorski 2008). It has a state archaeology museum that displays what it can about local prehistory, although it is an extremely modest exhibition due to lack of support. In this social, historical, and geographical context, PAEP – with me as a member – developed an archaeological project with a public-interest archaeology component (Pacifico and Vogel 2012).

PAEP's broad archaeological goal was to examine urbanism in the pre-Hispanic period, and the Casma polity through archaeological research at the site of El Purgatorio, the capital city of the Casma polity (Vogel 2011, 2016). El Purgatorio was occupied relatively late in archaeological terms, from ca. 700–1400 CE; its monumental and semi-monumental sectors are located at the base of Cerro Mucho Malo, the mountain that dominates the surrounding area (Vogel and Pacifico 2011; Vogel 2016). In contrast, El Purgatorio's residential sectors climb Mucho Malo itself, recalling the *pueblos jovenes* and *favelas* of modern Latin American cities. The western edge of El Purgatorio is bordered by the villages of Mojeque and Sector Purgatorio, twin settlements of approximately 300 people in total. My ethnographic research focused on those two modern villages (Figure 1).

As the ethnographic attaché to PAEP I investigated local history, attitudes towards archaeology (*qua* material remains of the past, *qua* a scientific practice in the present), and local legends about archaeological sites in and around Mojeque and Sector Purgatorio. In contrast to the expectations of North American community archaeology (e.g., Little and Shackel 2007) my research showed that locals did not derive interest in archaeology with respect to real or perceived descent (Pacifico 2008a), nor were people living at the base of Purgatorio interested in participating in research design or interpreting archaeological remains, as is expected in North American participatory

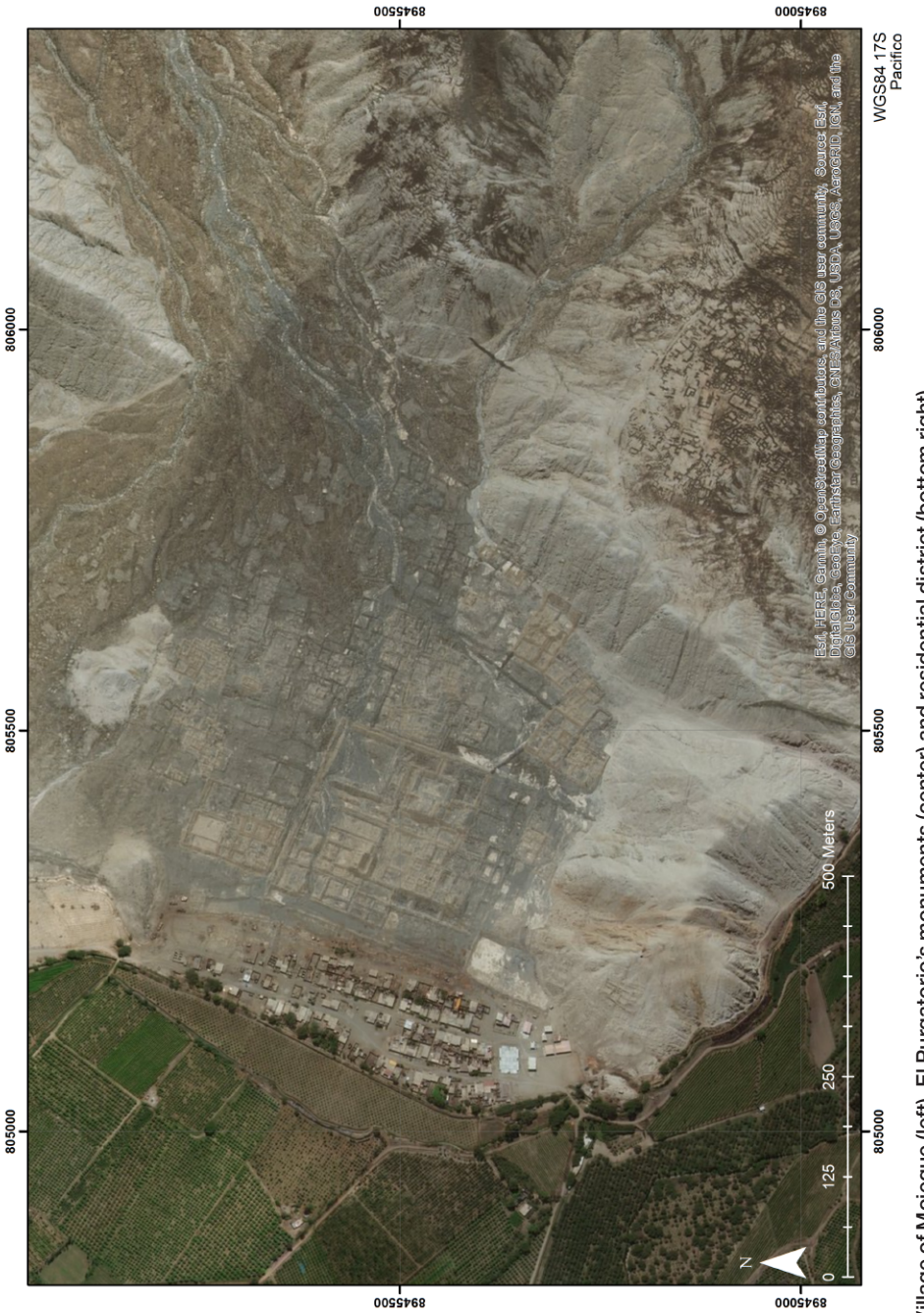

FIGURE 1. Village of Mojeque (left), El Purgatorio's monuments (center) and residential district (bottom right).

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models (e.g., Brooks 2007). Instead, archaeologists were considered to be knowledge experts responsible for the local distribution of the information we were developing. More generally, archaeological materials figured into local culture and history as powerful parts of a dangerous environment – one with the power to displace. As archaeologists, we became entangled in both elements of these archaeology–public relations.

At the time, Mojeque and Sector Purgatorio were about to face a crisis. They were offered a government grant to install running water, but this required that they install house titles. They hired a surveyor to map their village and delineate their property lines so as to solicit titles from the government in Casma City – the villages had been settled since sometime around the 1960s, and multiple generations had been born, had lived, and were interred in the village cemetery, which is clearly located within the boundaries of El Purgatorio. There were schools for each village, two chapels, electricity, and satellite television. But they neither had running water nor house titles.

Thus hired to complete the villages' development, the surveyor was able to record most of the residential plots, but he was unable to finish his map because the eastern edge of the village was on El Purgatorio's western edge. This meant that a special archaeological project was required by the state (*un proyecto de evaluación*), one that could only be completed by a Peruvian, non-governmental archaeologist. This would cost money that the village didn't have. Following that investigation, residents would need to produce documents that certified that archaeological remains were not present (*Certificados del Inexistencia de Restos Arqueológicos*) for each individual plot.

The villages' predicament was complicated. On the one hand they stood to lose a financial opportunity that symbolized the dignity of the village as a legitimate settlement. They had built an extensive physical infrastructure, and had developed deep familial and geographical roots in the place. However, by encroaching on the archaeological site, they also feared forcible removal. This rarely happens, but can happen when houses are built on archaeological sites.

At the villagers' request, I arranged for the local government archaeological official to explain the situation and procedures to the people living in the two villages. When the official arrived, he explained the procedure outlined above. He also eyeballed the limit of the archaeological site. Using a long tape measure, the official marked off a distance from the estimated edge of it – the required spatial buffer *as if* a *proyecto de evaluación* had scientifically determined the limit of the site. He explained that residents could probably place their houses and outbuildings up to his estimated line. I was fairly alarmed by this performance, though sympathetic to his attempt to balance local needs. I was compelled to clarify that this estimation was not authoritative, a point which the official confirmed. At this, someone in the crowd shouted "[Your host mother] is going to poison your dinner!" Dark humor is a powerful analgesic for difficult situations, which are common in provincial Peru. The official explained to me that he was a humanist above all, and so he was of course sympathetic to the villagers' needs for residential land. However, acting as a humanist, the official was also distorting the reality of the villagers' relationship to the site and the state.

On the one hand, the state had defined a precise procedure for handling the boundaries of archaeological sites. The state had also established a protocol and precedent (though rarely resorted to) for protecting archaeological sites and punishing trespassers:

forcible removal. If resorted to in this case, though, the physical destruction of houses and dislocation of marginalized people would have reinforced the character of archaeological sites as parts of an animated and dangerous landscape (Pacifico 2008b; Pacifico and Vogel 2012). However, it would have been archaeological heritage animated by the state that had the dislocative power. Additionally, the state had appointed an individual to enact its reach (*sensu* Foucault 1975; Smith 2003 [1776], 148; Routledge 2014). However, when the moment came, the state agent reproduced ambiguity, not clarity.

Routledge (2014) argues that ambiguity is an essential element of the functioning of the state. In Peru, the ambiguity at once entangled a pair of villages with the state's heritage policy and failed to fully protect the archaeological heritage it intended to steward. In so doing, the state existed as no single form, but as simultaneously multiple and formless: as an institution of authoritative actors, as a set of practices of enforced laws, as a set of symbols, and as the specter of physical threat. And it also made no specific commitment either to remove the villagers or to protect the archaeological site.

As an imagined construct of ultimate power, the state was present in conflicting ways that served neither the full needs of the archaeological site nor the village. It was, on the one hand, offering to fund the villages' practical foundation as a proper home (water installation), but at the same moment it was threatening the very village it otherwise aimed to support. It was also threatening the archaeological site by not presenting a clear picture of the procedures required for its safe coexistence with the villages.

Fragment 08: Tangled Up in Gray

The story of Mojeque and El Purgatorio was resolved in 2014. Though the local archaeological official eyeballed the permissible limit for modern construction, modern materials have crept back towards El Purgatorio's monumental district. Mostly they are animal pens and garbage piles. However, the villages lost their grant, and so they have not been able to install the plumbing system that they would have if not for the archaeological site. New school buildings with modern toilets were built by government fiat, but they were unused as of 2014 for lack of running water. The village remains unsurveyed along its eastern boundary, but it was incorporated as an "*asentamiento humano*" – a human settlement. This is the most basic form of official recognition, and the first step towards incorporation, though the term implies ongoing negotiation and conflict over land ownership (see Loayza 2009).

This case highlights faults in the distribution of power in a state. When we find these faults (or they find us), they tend not to favor the needs of disenfranchised people, but rather those of the state itself. In this light, the emerging tradition of community archaeology points us in the direction of exploring anarchist organization.

The case of Mojeque also raises several questions with respect to property, archaeological heritage, and the state. Is the production and local management of a gray area *in itself* an instantiation of anarchist principle? Is a stalemate that meets neither human nor archaeological needs the price for avoiding totalitarian governance? And if so, what are the positive and negative consequences of its spontaneous manifestation?

There is indeed an element of resistance to state power here, in that the federal laws are not strictly being followed. In this case ignoring the laws is meant to bring an

on-the-spot resolution that balances the needs of archaeological preservation with the subsistence needs of people living on the margins of society. On the positive side, this improvisation allows everyone to live another day undisturbed, and it even advances the cause of incorporation, which may lead to a more stable and broadly negotiated solution down the road. In Mojeque, there is a tacit agreement only to put structures near the archaeological site of "*materiales nobles*" (natural materials available in the local environment). This may mitigate damage to the site, because these materials are lighter and require less intensive construction techniques than cement and cinderblock construction. However, the threat of removal or other punishment remains, as does the threat of damage to the site. The result is a kind of gray-area stalemate wherein the threat to human subsistence and the threat to archaeological preservation remain counterposed, though mitigated. Is *this* the authentic nature of state power in a modern bureaucratic democracy? Perhaps so; the state as entangler-in-chief. On the other hand, are we individuals collectively at fault for having such an intensive connection to our own property, which we might hope to wrest once and for all away from the clutches of the state? Maybe a tacit stalemate *is* the territory beyond the property paradigm.

Resolving these questions will not be simple. A good starting point is a renewed commitment to anthropology's humanistic goals. My inclination is to privilege immediate human needs, especially the needs of those on the margin, when establishing dialogues. It is also important to identify the confrontation between abstract state power, its agents on location, and the people living at the physical and social margins of society. There – at the concrete juxtaposition of interests – we are able to more precisely identify, debate, and perhaps resolve the conflicts between human subsistence needs and archaeological heritage needs.

Fragment 09: Cautious Conclusions

The ambiguous enactment of the state in Mojeque suggests that relying on the state for the protection of archaeological heritage was not working very well either for the archaeological materials or for the people living near them. Both archaeological heritage and modern villagers were vying for "ownership" of the same "property" in a way that promised no clear solution.

However, if the archaeological heritage could have been imagined as non-property, a new set of questions with more positive solutions might have developed. For example, questions about who has the rights to enter, occupy, and modify archaeological sites might be reconfigured as questions about *how* different kinds of activities might affect archaeological materials. Would it not be better to have a formalized local agreement about approved building materials when people are to remain, even temporarily, near the boundaries of archaeological sites? Outside of the specter of violence, legitimizing a collaborative understanding that never threatens forcible removal might generate more positive relationships between local publics and the conservation of archaeological heritage.

It is worth trying. Instead of holding the trump card of forcible removal, archaeological heritage policy could reflect a collaborative and educative mission wherein conservation is proactive, not reactive. In order to do so, however, archaeologists would have to

engage extremely robustly with non-archaeologists. Archaeological experts might also have to accept previously unacceptable uses of archaeological sites. But archaeologists *could* establish their authority entirely on the persuasive character of their expertise, not on their positions between publics, monuments, and governments.

Fragment 10: Questions for Critical Inquisition

Archaeological heritage and the intellectual pursuits around it can be served without recourse to a property model, or to the state model of government that supports the property model of archaeological heritage. Given that states are inconsistent, known to fragment and dissolve, and to be internally populated with powerful non-state actors, it is ever more important to see archaeological heritage managed by locally collaborative networks of interested parties.[4] This suggestion goes beyond the tenets of community archaeology (e.g., Marshall 2002; Little and Shackel 2007; Atalay 2010) by suggesting a reconceptualization of archaeological materials along the "open-access" resourcelines suggested by Carman (2005, 101–116).

Insofar as archaeologists are one of those parties – and they certainly should be! – it will be important to examine how archaeological careers can be supported outside of the property model for archaeological heritage. Currently, archaeologists are owners of the intellectual property they create. That property usually includes the papers we write, but the boundary of that property extends into a deep gray area of literature that we protect and depend on for the careers that allow us to go to the field.

In that light, how might archaeologists manage our intellectual production from a non-property perspective? More importantly, what would be the consequences of non-property intellectual production?

There is also a second issue, relating to the the original benefits I identified for the state. States are often the only institutions with the power to counter organized capital, by which I mean large business ventures that would benefit privately from the destruction of archaeological heritage.

In that light, can we reasonably expect local networks of parties to consistently prevent the destruction of archaeological sites threatened by private industry with resources second only to (or sometimes greater than) those of the state? In other words, can the grassroots adequately protect archaeological resources against organized capital?

Perhaps we must simply accept that the extent to which the grassroots can indeed protect archaeological resources is sufficient, and that any additional losses are the price of an anarchist approach to archaeological heritage. These two issues – that of intellectual property and that of protection against a powerful organized threat – raise serious concerns for me regarding a radically-democratic and non-coercive (aka "anarchistic") archaeological heritage model without a property basis.

4. I must acknowledge here that it is property law that has in many cases resolved the struggles American Indian people have made to regain, protect, and honor their belongings and the remains of their ancestors. However, the application of the property model *in the first place* facilitated alienation of those objects. That property law has returned them does not exculpate property. Rather, the irony of the remedy being the same recipe as the problem highlights the totalizing character of the property paradigm.

Fragment 11: Epilogue; Or Fragments of an Anarchist Archaeology

The world seems to be both increasingly interconnected and simultaneously refocused on the local roots of the global network. In this context, the state emerges as internally fragmented, sometimes ephemeral, and challenged by a number of non-state actors. Consequently, an anarchistic model of archaeological heritage management might be more valuable than ever. My sense is that we need a radically democratic and non-coercive attitude towards archaeological heritage that thinks not of property but of the consequences of interventions into archaeological heritage. Carman's (2005, 101) conception of archaeological material as an "open resource" instead of property provides a good conceptual starting point. A practical starting point to complement this would be Graeber's (2004) notion of a local committee focused on the consequences of interventions. While local, such a committee could include supra-local interest groups including state representatives, among others. One assumption to avoid, however, is that all interested parties will ascribe to the same value regime; this is an assumption in much community archaeology (e.g., Marshall 2002 and especially in McGimsey's "public archaeology" [McGimsey 1972]). Some parties may not care a whit for archaeological materials and therefore not ascribe any value to them (as Carman's [2005, 120–121] program assumes). Some may even ascribe a negative value to archaeological heritage. Nevertheless, Graeber's (2004, 8) anarchistic approach would allow for conflicting parties to have a more open dialogue secure in knowing that the goal is a set of outcomes that amounts to "a plan that everyone can live with and no one feels is in fundamental violation of their principles".

Consequently, we might consider shifting authority away from disciplinary boundaries and contemplate anti-disciplinary[5] methodologies instead of inter- and multi-disciplinary trends. Anti-disciplinary methodologies would not imply chaotic approaches to knowledge production. Rather, they would not be bound by any one discipline or combination thereof. Currently we recognize the authority of established bodies of research to discipline the kinds of problems we approach, the modes of inquiry we employ, and acceptable products we create from our research. I recommend we consciously avoid tailoring research to "fit" into the disciplines, but ask what kinds of inquiry, activities, and products address the problems we are facing. We also ought to consider the local contexts in which those problems and their solutions are given meaning. Specifically, I suggest thinking about the academic context of research and publication as secondary to the context of local action and research consequences. Let the academic contexts discipline themselves to the problems being faced. Let's not have researchers discipline themselves to designs that reproduce academic boundaries.

To do this, we need to engage in a critical appraisal of the authority under which we work as intellectual workers. To whom do we answer and why? What kinds of authority do others have over our work and products? I suspect that anti-disciplinary work might initially be a hard sell. This hunch raises attention to the exclusive context in which archaeology is practiced. The political economy of anthropological archaeology is such

5. Or perhaps *ante*-disciplinary boundaries that develop questions and draw upon methodologies that were more tenable *before* the advent of strictly defined – and exclusive – academic disciplines.

that we must create very particular kinds of academic products in order to be materially supported – but those products are often unreadable to wider publics due to their language, genre, or publication in subscription-only databases. In order to produce these texts we must focus on only a few elements of what archaeology as a practice *might* be. As I argued at the annual meeting of the American Anthropological Association some years ago (Pacifico 2008b), archaeology is much more than stones and bones, but we are only supported by the results of a limited number of activities, few of which seem to raise the value of archaeology in a broader social context.

In academic practice this suggestion might look like a shift in our attention towards unconventional activity with the faith that amplified public engagement and its products *can* be the things that keep us employed and will be recognized by merit committees and the authorities to whom they respond. Ultimately, I suspect that deans and provosts can be convinced that this is just the kind of work that is asked for by the public, students and parents, governments, and the taxpayers to whom *they* must respond.

In archaeological practice, an anti-disciplinary approach might begin by discerning what kinds of intellectual questions can be asked of a site, and then developing a project in conjunction with the interested parties to pose feasible questions, even if they were not the initial central concerns of the archaeologist (e.g., Marshall 2002; Little and Shackel 2007). Regarding the use of the site, archaeologists could explain specifically the consequences of utilizing the site in different ways – for example, that tourism has both benefits and significant costs, or that certain kinds of activities at a site will destroy it, but that certain sacrifices might be acceptable. In the case of Mojeque, it would be ideal to see the villages at the base of the site create a local commission that organizes work parties, that supports excavation in the area, that interfaces with regional business and government groups, and that includes teachers and archaeologists to create a dialogic commission charged with bringing about the greatest good for the archaeological site and the community. Ideally, in places like Mojeque open access publication and the production of publications at a variety of reading levels would help resolve some of the issues around intellectual property. Certainly, for archaeology to continue as a profession, then these activities must be given greater value in the prestige economy of higher education.

To dismantle structures of intellectual exclusion more generally, we might work with whoever can address the problem at hand with an *a priori* commitment to principles of inclusion, debate, decision making, and practice. By engaging in radically democratic and non-exclusive relationships with diverse stakeholders regarding archaeological materials *qua* heritage, we will be able to reduce hierarchies that undermine archaeology's potential public benefit. We will certainly go far in resolving the stalemates that emerge from the patchy application of state power, and we will do so without resorting to totalitarian state power,[6] at least as applies to archaeological conservation in conflict with real human needs. Moreover, we will at least produce a microcosm of consensus democracy built independently of the Western "democratic" model of capital-driven majoritarian democracy (Graeber 2004, 86–97).

6. Totalitarian state power would undermine the progressive potential of archaeology noted in the opening section of this paper. Indeed, even the most traditional archaeological paradigms would produce truths that would likely be dangerous to totalitarian state regimes.

In the most expansive sense, the case of Mojeque, heritage shows us that not all things need to be conceptualized as property. While anarchist philosophies sometimes advocate for the abolition of all private property, I do not advocate for that here. Instead, we should contemplate what forms of property are working well for us and which parts of our lives are not well-suited to being treated as property.[7] If we wish to convince people that other worlds are possible by demonstrating to them that other configurations of the world have existed, then we need to reconsider our relationship to archaeological materials as heritage and how we interact with them. The first step is to decide whether the property paradigm needs to go.

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7. I recognize also the problem of protecting sacred and secret heritage items, but would propose that the property form is not necessarily what protects them, but rather their secrecy. As strange bedfellows, cultural secrets and trade secrets share greater protection in secrecy than is provided by heritage and patent law.

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