

## Multiperiod

**Gavin McGuire. *Minoan Extractions: A Photographic Journey 2009–2016 Sissi Archaeological Project*. Viii+168 pages, 137 black and white photographs. Text in English and Greek. 2017. Oxford: Archaeopress. ISBN 1784916366 £30.00.**

**Yannis Hamilakis and Fotis Ifantidis. *Camera Kalaureia: An Archaeological Photo-Ethnography – Μια αρχαιολογική φωτο-εθνογραφία*. pp. 170, full colour throughout. Full text in English and Greek. 2016. Oxford: Archaeopress. paperback ISBN 9781784914127 £30.00. hardback ISBN 9781784914134 £55.00. epublication ISBN 9781784914141 Open Access.**

Gavin McGuire's recently published photographic exposé of the Sissi Archaeological Project is a creative attempt at providing his own personal glimpse, as both archaeologist and photographer of the project, including the daily interactions between the people working at the site, place, and time. The publication is far from being an 'ethnography' of the project, and 'reads' more like a documentary, whereby the text (with each chapter presented first in English and followed by the same in Greek), provides a guided and structured narrative framework within which the selected photographs, all of them in black-and-white, merely provide the tangible evidence of the day-to-day activities and the space within which the archaeology is taking place.

The book, which is presented simply but elegantly in its paperback version of 167 glossy pages, resembles more a traditional exhibition catalogue than a photographic journal. This is not the kind of photo-book that intends to stir up emotions in the viewers or to incite ideas, perceptions, feelings, ideals; it is rather about archaeology as action, as seen through his lens, by the archaeologist-photographer/author. The photographs are all created by McGuire himself, who uses as his approach '...the 'decisive moment' or photography on the sly...' to capture the momentary event as it happens, without any setups or props. The images in this volume, selected by him and his artist wife, were minimally tinkered with (pp. 40–44). All of the photographs (including the covers) are technically black-and-white (in reality trichrome, as shades of

grey are dominant throughout), and laid out on a single page, providing captions (in both English and Greek) and technical characteristics below each one. The book is divided into five distinct parts, and is prefaced by a dedication to Harry Burton, the photographer of Howard Carter's excavation of the Tomb of Tutankhamun in the 1920s.

Part One begins with a brief history of Bronze Age Kephali at Sissi (authored by the director of the archaeological project, Professor Jan Driessen) and a list/catalogue of other Minoan sites on Crete and beyond, which are seen as connections to it. It is followed by a somewhat superficial (and in parts confusing/awkwardly written) overview of the development of photography and its uses in archaeology as another form of documenting and recording the past. An equally confusing chapter outlining the objectives of the author/photographer and his photographic approach '...about place, time; spontaneity of action and expression with all their ambiguities and imperfections...' (p. 40) follows, describing the methods/photographic techniques used, and providing a general overview of the book and the groups of photographs selected. However, the author is hardly forthcoming as to the precise aims/objectives of his publication, and he does not provide any clues as to his targeted audience (possibly including archaeologists, artists, the local community or general public, and perhaps the 'insiders' of the Sissi Archaeological Project?). The final chapter in this part of the book is even less illuminating, and it is (surprisingly) dedicated to the restoration of the old schoolhouse at Sissi by the Belgian School at Athens and its efforts at raising funds to transform it to an Aegean research centre, enabling 'a wide range of specialists...the opportunity to better understand the Bronze Age Minoan community at the Kephali...' (p. 58). A website address for the fund raising is provided at the end of the chapter, as well as social media and contact details, undoubtedly a not so subtle 'nudge' for contributions by readers. It is difficult not to imagine, although the author does not indicate so, that the book was intended as a fundraising project for such a cause! The chapters are each presented in English first, followed by the same in Greek, a noble attempt at engaging an international and local audience, although quite problematic with regards to the Greek translation, and something I will expand on a little further.

On a more positive note, the greatest strength of the book are the photographs themselves. In Part Two we are presented with glimpses of the daily activities undertaken by the team of specialists at the site, including excavation, survey, flotation,

recording, conservation, public outreach, resting and lunching, and general interacting with each other and with the site itself. The photographs could be from any excavation site and of any archaeological project and team, and this aspect of the book gives it a special appeal to a broad audience; the archaeologist/specialist can relate to every aspect of this interaction, while the curious layperson is provided with a set of images as the closest tangible experience they can get of an archaeological site other than being there. The photographer succeeds in capturing the moment of the interactions between the individuals hard at work at the site, as well as the depth of time, which is being revealed through the removal of layers of soil through these interactions. The focus of the interaction, centred almost always on people rather than on the landscape or the material remains alone, provides the human dimension of the whole archaeological experience, reminding the viewer that people and culture are the main protagonists in the discipline of archaeology. Thus, while the site as place and the landscape as backdrop are always present, specific aspects of them or details of the associated material culture are not easily identifiable in the photographs. What are shown are unidentifiable walls of unidentifiable structures/buildings, undistinguished pieces of pottery, very few recognizable artefacts and/or features, undoubtedly in a conscious attempt to 'conceal' their identity and avoid bringing unintentional attention to them, rather than to the people. Unglamorous, hard, meticulously tedious work under the scorching sun, quite unlike the usual image of archaeologists presented in popular culture. No extraordinary human beings seeking treasures from the past, the archaeologists at Sissi are captured just as they are: dedicated and enthusiastic, hard-working team players in mundane activities, but with the promise of extraordinary results in unraveling their own glimpses of the past.

Part Three of the book continues in the same style, but now the subject shifts to the investigations of the Minoan cemetery at the site by a team of bioarchaeologists. The photographs here present a different dynamic '...connecting with 'time, mortality and memory'...', rejoining the dead with the living...' (p. 42), reminding us that nothing is forever and that death is a common destiny we share with all peoples then, now, and into the future. Is the photographer aware of the different emotions and sensitivities these photographs may stir up in different viewers? In capturing the moment, there seems to be quite a disconnect between the specialists and the subjects of their investigation, who are obviously portrayed as another type of

artefact, exposed to the surface to be studied. Yet, human remains are not artefacts, and exposing them after centuries of being buried in the ground raises all sorts of questions, including those of an ethical and metaphysical nature. Ritualistic burial is more than simply disposal of the remains, and it implies certain values regarding death and, often enough, ideas concerning the afterlife, as well as a sense of respect towards the dead. In the archaeology of Greece and the broader Mediterranean region, such issues are hardly ever being discussed and may not even be of concern, but those of us exposed to archaeologies elsewhere, especially concerning indigenous populations, are sensitised to consider the impact this kind of work may have on local communities.<sup>1</sup> The book may not have a reason to deal with such issues, but one wonders as to what the impact, if any, of these images actually has on the villagers at Sissi. Are the locals just as disconnected with these 'ancestors' and as desensitised as the specialists studying them? Throughout the whole book, the only glimpse we are offered is that of the photographer/archaeologist, and there is no attempt to include within it any interactions beyond those with the professional team(s). Again, the question is raised as to whom this book is actually aimed at?

In Part Four, McGuire is now concerned with the activities of conservation/restoration away from the site itself and back at the dig's storage facility. He makes a good point when earlier in his book he claims: 'Photographically it (preservation) is often one of the most ignored archaeological sciences during the excavation season...' The opening photograph (p. 133) is indeed symbolic of most excavation store rooms, packed to the top of the ceiling with boxes/crates of artefacts representing the years of excavation and the enormous amount of material uncovered and retained (as many are also discarded on site), and the effort that has gone into preserving them for the future and for further research. From washing, to drying, to recording and describing, cataloguing, drawing, photographing, or simply tagging and putting them in a bag or box and finally storing them, artefacts embark on a new journey of their own from the moment they are unearthed. And all this is part of the unsung work of the archaeologists who alongside scientists of conservation, are also responsible in preserving those remnants of the past that have survived the test of time only to be 'rediscovered' in all kinds of shapes and forms.

<sup>1</sup> For examples of such concerns look at Licata and Monza 2017; Walker 2007; Fossheim 2012.

The final part of the book appropriately captures the activities that mark the end of the excavation season, another aspect of archaeology that is not widely discussed outside the discipline. What happens to a site once the season is over? How do archaeologists 'tidy' things up and what measures do they take to protect the site in their absence until the next season? More importantly, what happens to a site once the archaeologists leave for good, not to ever return again once the research is over? What role does the state and/or local communities play in safe-keeping and/or promoting the site as a local attraction, and how have the archaeologists contributed in the design of an appropriate heritage management plan? These and many other questions come to mind, while the selection of photographs here offer only some non-descript views of the process of closing down a site, in this case temporarily with the promise of returning, as indicated by the title of the chapter: *Au Revoir*.

McGuire's overall attempt to document, through glimpses of the various interactions among people, place, and time, the daily works of the Sissi Archaeological Project as he himself experienced and captured them over a decade at the site, is quite commendable. But while his photographs are arguably quite striking (black, white, and grey are quite effective in highlighting the dominant protagonists: people, landscape, and earth/finds representing time), the captions provided often distract the reader and sometimes 'annoy' with their innuendo. In addition, there are many examples throughout the book where the mostly literal translations into Greek appear quite awkward, and even erroneous. The chapters in Part One are especially problematic in this regard, something that could have been avoided through a more thorough editorial process and careful translation.<sup>2</sup> In broader terms, even the non-literal translations present issues in meaning, such as in the title of the book: 'Minoan Extractions' which implies a forceful removal/taking away, while its Greek version is a more positive rendering of subtracting, taking away a part of something. This discrepancy may in fact be intended as a metaphor, reflecting two different meanings (archaeological excavation as a destructive and simultaneously revealing process) rather than an error in translation, but if so, the non-bilingual reader certainly misses the point! There are many such examples, especially in the captions, where the meaning is lost in the translation, e.g. 'Shooting

the Shooter/Απαθανατίζοντας την απαθανάτιση' (p. 29); 'Subtle Changes/Διακριτική Ανασκαφή' (p. 70), 'The Queen of Tough Books/Η βασίλισσα των σκληρών βιβλίων' (p.94). Regardless of which of the two languages a reader uses, it seems that many of the 'clever' captions are intended for those directly involved in the project who are able to understand the broader context and/or the 'inside jokes,' while the same also applies to some of the photographs themselves (a characteristic example is the back cover photo). Despite these shortcomings, the book, described in its title as a photographic journey, certainly offers an alternative and creative visual approach in documenting and presenting selected interplays between archaeologists and the Bronze Age site of Kephali at Sissi.

The book by Hamilakis and Ifantidis offers a very different visual and ideological approach from that of McGuire, with their photo-ethnographic presentation of the site of Kalaureia and its sanctuary of Poseidon on the island of Poros. Thus, it would be quite unfair to compare these two individual works as it could be argued that each represents a different genre of publication: one being a single-voiced photographic album of archaeological activities on an archaeological excavation site, and the other a photographic essay reflecting a complexity of interwoven multi-vocal and multi-temporal ideas and perceptions as perceived and experienced by the authors. Suffice to say that beyond the use of a camera as a recording device and the subject being that of an archaeological excavation in Greece, the two volumes share very little in common.

Those familiar with Hamilakis' multitude of publications (and not just archaeologists and anthropologists) would not at all be surprised at yet another provocative, highly emotive contribution, this time teamed up with Fotis Ifantidis. In fact, this is not the first time the duo have collaborated together;<sup>3</sup> it is however, their first joint book publication. It is also closely modeled on Ifantidis' 2013 pioneering experimental publication of his photographs from the excavations at Neolithic Dispilio, but with a very different and much more multivocal focus, and a strong interdependence between image and text. In *Camera Kalaureia*, Ifantidis' photographs are combined with Hamilakis' broad range of ideological concerns in producing a rather astonishing 'cultural artefact!' What cannot be emphasized enough in words is complemented by the pictures, and what the pictures cannot scream loud enough, or the eye cannot clearly

<sup>2</sup> To name just a few examples: 'Στο πόδι βήματω' for 'In the Foot steps' (p. 2), 'η δημιουργία ενός σύνθετου δικαστηρίου' for 'the creation of a court-centred complex' (p.10 and 6), and the entire paragraph four on p. 30, which reads awkwardly with many grammatical errors.

<sup>3</sup> See Hamilakis and Ifantidis 2013; Hamilakis and Ifantidis 2015; Hamilakis, Anagnostopoulos, and Ifantidis 2009; Ifantidis 2013.

see, the words make up for. This may in fact be considered by some as one of the main flaws of the book, as the reader/viewer is 'directed' to think or react a certain way, as the position/views of the authors are intentionally made quite explicit. I would argue that this is in fact one, if not the biggest strength of the book: in its attempt to persuade and present a certain narrative, it tantalizes, provokes, questions, and most importantly, it challenges us to think outside the box. And this is only because the authors have chosen through their own loud voices, their own gaze, and their own ideological position to also be sensitive to and inclusive/ accepting of different views and opinions (as they themselves perceive them) across space and time. This is not a coffee-table book one can pick up and randomly look at its pages and come up with some sort of meaning (although one can certainly try to do so: intentionally, no page numbers are provided). Instead, the book presents a story line of its own (in fact many parallel story lines), connecting the images and the text from beginning to end, threading them together. An unavoidable symbiosis between word and image, which clearly places this book within the genre of photo essays.

The book is presented in hard copy in 170 pages (as mentioned, none of them numbered), and with mostly full colour photographs (with a few exceptions of black-and-white), which vary in size and layout; some photographs are full-page size, while others stretch across the gatefold, many feature montages, and a few contain only writing. The text in consistent font (possibly Andale Mono) is provided first in English and then in Greek, and it too, is inconsistently arranged across the pages. The art of the arrangement of both the images and the text is quite effective, with the words full of meaning, reading like poetry, alongside the photographs. The viewer is often throughout the book forced to also consider the white, blank spaces, sometimes within the pages containing only text, or within the images themselves, or even within pages of both images and text and in the form of white rectangular boxes of various sizes. Are these meant to be read as 'insertions' or 'extractions', or both? Are they simply reminders that the images/ the words/ the narrative itself, are all incomplete? That there is more to the story than what is told and what is seen?

The essay is divided into eight thematic units (I will refer to them as chapters) with a short introduction on the medium of the photograph and its potential in establishing archaeological narratives through evocative creative practice in the form of photo-ethnography. It resulted as part of a broader long-

term ethnography project revolving around the excavation of the Sanctuary of Poseidon in Kalaureia on the island of Poros '...investigating perceptions, ideas and practices around the remnants of the Sanctuary, antiquities, and material culture more broadly, by the people who live in Poros and in the surrounding communities, by tourists, and by other groups and people who have taken active interest on the site and its environs. It is also an opportunity for archaeologists, anthropologists, and others to reflect on alternative conceptions of material heritage by various groups and people, and to produce shared spaces of interaction and dialogue.'<sup>4</sup> The themes of the book are presented as part of a journey to the site undertaken by the authors who act as travel guides speaking in the first person but also addressing and engaging the reader (in the second person) as an active travel companion.

The first chapter, *Itineraries*, begins with the short journey by sea from the mainland to the island, followed by a road trip to the site itself highlighting some of the encounters along the way: a blending of a modern and contemporary landscape as experienced by the contemporary traveller and that of an ancient one seen through ancient literary references and tangible material connections to them and the perceptions of early modern travellers. A sensorial journey, where 'every perception is full of memories.'<sup>5</sup> Especially telling is the image of a roadside shrine and the one with painted white crosses along the side of the road, marking different types of memories connected with this landscape. The road sign pointing to the Temple is a powerful reminder of the disconnect between the 'now' and the 'then', and the different meanings of place: '... you are going to the 'Temple', not the sanctuary, nor the ancient city of Kalaureia.' The authors want us to think about the distinction, especially in the context of present-day tensions regarding asylum seekers of a different type and the global refugee crisis, when they continue: 'Have you forgotten that the place you are about to visit was also an asylum in antiquity? That people who were fleeing persecution found here a 'sanctuary' in the true sense, a safe haven? Does Bilal, the young man from Pakistan who wanted to sell contra-band CDs to you as soon as you got off the boat, know about this?' The chapter closes with the observation that the visitor, who has now arrived at the site is 'experiencing a 21st century landscape, not an ancient, nor even a 19th century one,' thus further emphasizing the disconnect between the present and the past.

<sup>4</sup> Authors' own words in introductory chapter.

<sup>5</sup> Authors' own words.

The next chapter is concerned with the experience of physically being at the archaeological site, highlighting the various boundaries and barriers strategically positioned at controlling how visitors negotiate their movements around the site and how they are restricted from accessing parts of it. Here, the authors are intentionally poking fun at the Greek state's current and quite recently adopted philosophy (post-1990s) on-site management and conservation, whereby most of the archaeological sites have undergone a radical transformation, following very detailed (and expensive) heritage management studies undertaken mostly by architects in consultation with Greek heritage officials (with very little input by field archaeologists or other professionals, and almost no community consultation).

The implementation of these studies' management plans, most of which are generously funded by the European Union with minimal contributions by the Greek state, theoretically follow European (and international) standards and guidelines on heritage management both for protecting the sites and monuments and to provide a satisfactory (and educational) visitor experience, such as including access to persons of special needs and toilet facilities. The reality is that many of these standards are either poorly adhered to or non-existent, and many sites suffer from the absence of a long-term management plan and lack of funds (evidenced in many sites and museums by broken-down multimedia aides, worn-out pathways, holes in fences, missing or worn-out signs, closed toilets, inaccessible ramps for wheelchair access, etc.). The authors miss the opportunity here to make a point of these issues common at many sites (perhaps not relevant at the site of Kalaureia?), although Hamilakis elsewhere has extensively examined the tensions that characterise many of the processes of monumental topographic production and contested access to cultural resources.<sup>6</sup> In *Camera Kalaureia* the authors focus their attention on the barriers artificially erected to keep people out, also symbolizing the real tension between state archaeologists and the community at large. In their words: 'How come an apparatus that claims to retrieve archaeological lands from private ownership in order to offer them to the public, erects so many boundaries?' Inconsistencies in the way archaeological assessments concerning development applications are conducted, even corruption on the part of government officials and private developers, pending land expropriations that seem to take forever, and a long-standing tradition of colonial-style attitudes regarding both

archaeology and heritage practices in Greece, are responsible for the existence of a general mistrust of all archaeologists (Greek and foreign) by local communities and the general public. This point is made very clear by the authors with the telling of the story of the school teacher and her students who crossed the rope to see what the archaeologists were finding in the trench. 'Directors and trench supervisors shouted loudly at her; children started crying; words were exchanged; 'you come here to dig our antiquities, and you would not even let us see what you are finding?' The images in this chapter are dominated by those showing ropes, fences, doors and locks, ending with the most powerful one, in black-and-white, of the barbed wire spread across two pages with the caption: 'The tragedy of the commons? Or close-up archaeology not for commoners?''

The tone changes in the next chapter, where the emphasis now shifts from the 'vistas and beautiful landscapes' to the archaeological 'traces': the cultural remains from bygone times. Here, the authors acknowledge the often under-represented, ignored, or more precisely, the selectively unnoticed remnants of human activity from the recent past. 'The rubble and the mudbrick here are not ancient but they too have stories to tell, although not the ones you may want to hear.' Archaeology in Greece is precisely its literal meaning: the study of ancient things, initially meaning anything of pre-Roman date, and now generally accepting later periods, with increasing attempts to include the post-medieval and more recent past.<sup>8</sup> In the case of Kalaureia, like so many other archaeological sites in Greece, the emphasis is on the classical period, the temple itself, despite the fact that most of it no longer exists. 'Not a single stone in place, only the temple's negative imprint on the ground; an absence, an apparition; and yet more evocative and more present than most.' The authors intentionally select obscure images of what remains of the temple: 'And here it is; the Temple you were longing for', forcing the reader to compare these with the previous images of traces of more recent and rather vibrant activities on what used to be, at one moment in time, an agricultural landscape of semi-permanent habitation, alongside a pine forest exploited for its resin. The story of the Arvanitic family that settled here amongst the ruins of the temple in the late 19th century adds another layer to the history of the site, albeit not one considered significant enough for the public

<sup>7</sup> For a more detailed examination of such tensions see Hamilakis 2008.

<sup>8</sup> Since its inception, the present journal provides a platform for such important research.

<sup>6</sup> Hamilakis 2007.

and/or national imagination. Once again a topic that Hamilakis has been quite vocal about.<sup>9</sup> Finally, the image of the rusted key 'nailed on the wrinkly skin of an olive tree...a nail that pierces through the chrono-stratigraphy of trees...and a key that cannot find a door to open...' is a powerful reminder of the ephemerality of settlements, of human presence, of memory. The point is driven further in the following chapter, where through the person of Mr. G.M., 'A jack of many trades, not least a skilled archaeological technician....'one of the former residents '...who was evicted by the archaeological service from the site...' the authors present us with alternative interactions and different experiences, different interpretations, different memories concerning the site: in most cases untold stories and missed opportunities for archaeologists. Those of us working on archaeological sites in Greece know someone just like Mr. G.M., unsung hero-workmen, who get things done through the day and find solutions to everything, carriers of local knowledge, our link to the community.

In *Re-collections*, the authors reflect on their own emotions and experiences at the site as archaeologists; the mundane daily activities of excavation, documenting, assembling, classifying: scientific procedures, and hard work under the scorching sun. Here the authors take the opportunity to position the archaeologist, who finds his/her own meaning and purpose in the whole experience: 'Trees, stones, people, all immersed in ambient light; a temporary sensorial assemblage, recalling multiple affective and mnemonic moments', against the perceptions of the local people, 'shaped by the national memories of the classical' and with prescribed expectations that dismiss anything but the monumental.' Elsewhere, Hamilakis has positioned himself explicitly within the broader discourse of nationalism and the deployment of antiquity in shaping national identities where he identifies a process of imagining through 'a framework of ideas, beliefs, and notions, which permeates all aspects of the lives, minds, and bodies of people.'<sup>10</sup> And while state mechanisms continue to actively engage in defining and maintaining the national imagination, archaeology as a discipline world-wide, is also struggling with its own imagining identity. Whether classical archaeology, historical archaeology, indigenous archaeology, ethno-archaeology, etc., the concerns and pressures of representing or adhering to specific academic/philosophical ideals (processualist, post-processualist, post-modernist, feminist, Marxist, etc.) are just as real. For example,

Kaplan illustrates clearly how archaeological work at the site of Ancient Corinth has been heavily influenced by 'the conceptual terrain created by a century of foreign travel to the area, predating comprehensive excavations there' in the late 19th century.<sup>11</sup> Using the concept of the 'gaze' as a means of viewing the ancient past, she emphasises the profound effects of interrelated 'gazes' over centuries of visitors to the site, from Pausanias to the present, which have helped in formulating many of the 'culturally mediated views' of the site.<sup>12</sup> She analyses three interrelated types of gazes: the literary gaze, which dominates early descriptions and illustrations of the ruins influenced by the ancient writers; the archaeological gaze, which closely follows the development of archaeology as a discipline interested more in the material remains and less in the literary sources; and the imperial gaze, closely connected to the other two gazes and reflecting attitudes of cultural imperialism in asserting certain values and significance to ancient monuments. Unlike Hamilakis and Ifantidis, who although aware of their own reflective views are also inclusive and multivocal in their approach to the archaeology of Kalaureia, Kaplan views modern archaeologists at the site of Corinth quite negatively, insisting on maintaining anachronistic views (shaped through the gazes mentioned above) 'in spite of the influence of reflexive archaeology and multicultural discourse.'<sup>13</sup> According to Kaplan, their views of the site are in contrast to those of the local inhabitants, who see things that the archaeologists don't, and vice versa. Unfortunately, she sees no conciliation between the two, at least not for now: 'These three gazes also resonate with the landscape that has been archaeologically created in Ancient Corinth. A twenty-four acre area in the centre of the community has been cleared of its top layers and fenced off as an archaeological site. Local inhabitants have to go around the site in order to conduct their daily business. Although the site dominates the settlement, I was told that many have never been to it except for a single trip as schoolchildren. The archaeology remains invisible to many local inhabitants.'<sup>14</sup>

By contrast, an attempt at bringing together these different positions, experiences, and perceptions, is presented by Hamilakis and Ifantidis in the chapter *Encounters*, which obviously highlights 'Kalaureia in the Present' the archaeological ethnography component of the Kalaureia Research

<sup>9</sup> Hamilakis 2003.

<sup>10</sup> Hamilakis 2003:54.

<sup>11</sup> Kaplan 2010.

<sup>12</sup> Kaplan 2010: 100.

<sup>13</sup> Kaplan 2010:101.

<sup>14</sup> Kaplan 2010:101.

Program.<sup>15</sup> Here, 'stories of the ancient past mingle with stories from the recent past'. The image of the 'commensality of a dig: a temporary sensorial assemblage made of workmen, workwomen, archaeologists, olive trees, multi-temporal stones, and the bread and cheese bought this morning from the town', reinforces Hamilakis' position on temporality and memory.<sup>16</sup> The stories and the memories continue in the final two chapters of the book. In *Overwritings*, 19th century and more recent graffiti incised or painted on the marble stones, along with the entries and signatures on the excavation's visitors' book, all contribute to the continuing narrative of the site. In *Dispersals*, where the authors are approaching the end of their 'journey', we are confronted once again by national 'nostalgia' and selective appropriation of antiquity as a form of local expression and identity. From the foundation of the Poros Museum in 1958, to replica statues at the city hall, to 'confused' combinations of prehistoric/classical architectural elements in private residences, the people of Poros define their daily existence, their identity through a mismatch of symbols of an entrenched national imagination.

*Camera Kalaureia* is a fresh, non-conventional, creative, and highly evocative archaeological photo-ethnography, combining all in one of Hamilakis' ideological standpoints on archaeology, heritage, and the body, and against colonialism, nationalism and modernism, with Ifantidis' masterful craft of the lens. Aimed at a broad audience, academic and not, the book does not merely present a visual alternative for ideas and interpretations in archaeology; it is also an artefact and agent, a contributor in the cultural production of the discipline itself. As a potential research tool, it is yet to be seen whether conventional archaeology is ready to take on the challenge.

LITA TZORTZOPOULOU-GREGORY  
THE AUSTRALIAN ARCHAEOLOGICAL INSTITUTE AT  
ATHENS  
ZACHARITSA 17  
lita.gregory@sydney.edu.au

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<sup>15</sup> The program also maintains a free access online photoblog of the images published in the book, as well as others that were not included, encouraging viewers to leave their comments. At the time of writing this review, the last photo entry was in January 2018, and there were issues with accessing most of the comments. <https://kalaureiainthepresent.org>

<sup>16</sup> Hamilakis 2013.

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