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On the cover: Avocationalist Jim Cox, coated in red ochre, screening at the Powars II red ochre mine site in Wyoming in summer 2015.
The archaeological record is disappearing at an alarming rate due substantially to the effects of human actions. We are implicated in climate change and its myriad effects that include rising sea levels and loss of coastal archaeological sites. We destroy archaeological sites via earth moving for resource extraction, infrastructure expansion, and community development. We demolish archaeological sites for ideological-political reasons or simply for personal gain. While well intended, even archaeological research, whether via surface collecting or excavation, inevitably also reduces the extent of the record. Artifact collectors play varied roles in this process spanning demolition for personal gain to legitimate research. Because the term “collector” carries such vastly different connotations and because our professional community cares deeply about the record, we struggle with perceptions and treatment of this diverse group of people. Should professionals collaborate with collectors or would time and effort be more effectively spent elsewhere?

In this November 2015 issue of The SAA Archaeological Record, guest editors Bonnie Pitblado and Michael Shott open a public discussion of the “Pros and Cons of Consulting Collectors.” Contributors offer a diverse array of perspectives. Shott and Pitblado come down strongly on the side of collaboration while recognizing the inherent challenges of such an endeavor. Watkins approaches collecting and consultation with collectors from a Native American standpoint, challenging all of us to consider artifacts not simply as private versus public property as under the law or as sources of scientific data but as objects of cultural heritage with all of its implications. Cox points to the benefits that can come from years of engaged collaboration between professional archaeologists and amateur collectors. Connolly also makes the case for avocational and professional archaeologist partnerships using the history of investigations of the Poverty Point site in Louisiana as a case in point. Fisher et al. discuss the benefits and challenges of working with private artifact collections in southwestern Germany. Goebel graphically portrays the dark side of collecting, contrasting the tragedy of looted rockshelters in the Great Basin with research opportunities provided by the record of interior Alaska. Childs reviews the issues and challenges that come with donating collections to museums. Pitblado and Shott finish with a set of recommendations for moving these discussions forward that includes establishment of an SAA Task Force.

This issue also contains our usual columns with a diversity of news and announcements spanning government issues to our 2016 Annual Meeting. Be sure to catch Sarah Herr’s contribution to the Volunteer Profile and Randy Thompson’s discussion of his Native American scholarship and its impacts. Finally, on page 4 you will find a special treat … the news that Gustavo Politis received the prestigious career achievement award in science for 2015 from the Argentinean government!
INTRODUCTION TO THE THEME “PROS AND CONS OF CONSULTING COLLECTORS”

Michael J. Shott and Bonnie Pitblado

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We begin with truisms. First, much of the archaeological record lies on or near the modern surface in arid lands like the American West and cultivated landscapes like the Midwest and Southeast. Second, what lay people call “arrowheads” will catch the eye and appeal equally to an urge for discovery and a sense of wonder about the unknown, whereas sherds, bone fragments, and the like often pass unrecognized or neglected. Third, there are many more lay people who possess urges, not to mention free time, to walk fields and deserts than there are archaeologists who possess professional sensibilities, and these lay people are much more widely distributed. Fourth, therefore, over the past 150 years, lay people have amassed many more and vastly larger collections of “arrowheads” than we have, often from the very sites that attract archaeologists for scholarly or preservation reasons.

We can’t stop collection. As David Thulman aptly put it, urging collectors to stop is as practical as “yelling at the tide to stop coming in” (2011:10). Instead, archaeology traditionally has chosen two options: ignoring collecting and collectors, or engaging and educating them for our mutual benefit. (To their credit, some federal agencies involve local citizens in monitoring and research.) Although neglect seems more common, we believe that collaboration is the better option, improving collectors’ practice and promoting the preservation of the record that we all profess to serve.

Why Collaborate: Preservation and Research

There are many good reasons that justify, even demand, collaboration with private collectors. Here we emphasize only one: the surface record often seems impoverished of points. Compliance surveys often produce “nondiagnostic scatters” that, by definition, we dismiss as uninformative and condemn to oblivion (Cain 2012). Scatters may be inherently “nondiagnostic,” but there is another explanation:

Recurrent collecting badly biases the surface remains at a site, especially depleting the artifacts, such as projectile points ... that archaeologists use for chronological control. In severely collected sites ... the surface remains ... become undesirably monotonous: a few small, undecorated sherds and lithic flakes (Schiffer 1996:116).

Baxter (2013), among others, documented such collection effects. If we troubled ourselves to consult the private collectors who often have collected from sites, we may learn, first, that they possess many diagnostic artifacts from where we found few (Shott 2015; Thulman 2011), and, second, that when cross-referenced to collections, many “nondiagnostic” sites become Clovis camps, Baskemaker hamlets, or Mississippian villages. Some may distrust collectors’ honesty. A few may lie, but our blithe neglect of their information almost certainly condemns many worthy sites to oblivion. If we do not document collections, such as in Phase I fieldwork (Blakemore et al. 2008:158), for instance, we ignore what in the aggregate is a sizeable dataset on particularly informative parts of the archaeological record, to the detriment of the record’s preservation.

Besides preservation, there are research benefits to collaboration, which require much greater reflection than is possible here. Only large, reasonably well-documented point datasets—the very kinds that only documentation of private collections will yield—can gauge the full range of point types’ variation by toolstone, technology, curation, and spatial distribution and association with other types, with pottery types, by landform, etc.

With Whom to Collaborate

Many people collect artifacts, but not all deserve our support. We believe that collaboration is warranted only with private collectors who:
1. Do not loot, or buy or sell artifacts for the sake of possession or profit;

2. Agree to maintain reasonable documentary standards (even if they did not before we reached out to them);

3. Freely open their collections and documentation for study and recording.

Obviously, what constitutes reasonable documentary standards and access to collections are matters for discussion. With reservations, we also prefer that collectors make some arrangement for permanent curation. Curation is forever, and so are its costs. Encouraging collectors to arrange permanent curation of their collections may seem to tax already overburdened resources. Many collections will not come our way even if we wanted them, but some might, further stretching limited resources. But the collections exist and, following SAA’s ethical mandates to preserve the record, the profession bears some responsibility for their curation. Either we use our wits to meet the challenge, or throw up our hands in despair.

In our judgment, the salient distinction is not between professional and amateur, however the latter term is defined, but between responsible and irresponsible archaeological practice. We believe that collectors who meet these minimal standards are responsible, and those who might meet them after being educated are responsive. Accordingly, to us the constituency to address is nonprofessional but responsible or responsive collectors.

The Ethical Argument for Collaboration

We do not minimize the pernicious effects of commercialization or condone the irresponsible acts that damage and destroy the archaeological record without documentation. We do not advocate abandoning or compromising ethical standards, nor do we recapitulate Pitblado’s (2014:386-391) exegesis of SAA’s Principles of Archaeological Ethics (1996) in support of collaboration with the responsible or responsive.

Instead, we make several narrower points to ground an ethical stance that we believe not merely allows, but requires, us to take seriously the need to engage with private collections (see also LaBelle 2003).

- Principle 1 urges us to pursue “the long-term conservation and protection of the archaeological record by practicing and promoting stewardship of the archaeological record” and to “promote public understanding and support for its long-term preservation.” Private collectors hold much, and a disproportionately informative portion, of that record. Principle 1 demands that we deal with the reality of private collections and make serious efforts to preserve the artifacts and contextual information they possess, as McKern et al. (1935:1-2) argued at SAA’s founding, echoed by Guthé (1967) in his retrospective account of that event. It also demands the public outreach that SAA advocates toward metal detectors but not, to date, responsible and responsive collectors at large.

- Principle 4 advocates public education, both for its own sake and to promote preservation. Educating responsive collectors is an effective way to promote preservation, as McKern et al. (1935:3) argued at SAA’s founding.

- Principle 7 concerns preservation of records. It does not require that the records be professional, be made or maintained by SAA members, or otherwise delimit the scope of records to preserve. All private collectors have artifacts and the responsible have records of their collections; both must be preserved, as McKern et al. (1935:4) argued at SAA’s founding. This cannot always involve professional curation of the vast private collections. It does, however, justify systematic digital documentation of collections.

SAA’s Original Position on Private Collecting

“SAA’s founding” occurred four times in the preceding section, so it seems wise to revisit that event. SAA was founded by an alliance of professional archaeologists and interested responsible or responsive collectors (for their day) and its rationale in part was to promote better communication and, arguably, collaboration between those groups. In describing the sentiments that animated SAA’s founding, we cannot improve upon the words expressed in the first paragraph ever published in American Antiquity. The journal’s purpose was to be “an instrument of value in coordinating the research efforts of all sincere students of American archaeology, and in greatly encouraging an improved understanding and friendly cooperation between such students, professional and amateur” (McKern 1935:1). Guthé’s retrospective account echoed these sentiments; he helped found SAA because, “Impressed by the attitude and accomplishments of... earnest amateurs, I felt they deserved to be helped rather than censured” (1967:434).
By then, American archaeology was a thoroughly professional discipline. Professionalization was not only inevitable but almost entirely beneficial. Yet the practice of archaeology is not a zero-sum game that somehow requires neglect or diminution of some constituencies as others grow stronger. And, however much we might wish for a perfect world where only trained archaeologists picked up artifacts, there was no reason for professional archaeology to neglect, even censure, the responsible or responsive collectors who possess collections that are vast in the aggregate and vaster still in the information they hold. Yet, as a profession, that is precisely how we treated them.

We believe that it is time to reconsider our discipline’s reluctance to work with responsible or responsive private collectors, time to revive the spirit of collaboration that partly inspired SAA’s founding 80 years ago. And besides the benefits of education and preservation, there are good scholarly reasons to collaborate.

**Collaboration in an Age of Digger Shows**

This may seem an inauspicious time to advocate professional collaboration with private collectors. After all, the recent spate of odious reality-television shows prompted a strong response from SAA. We agree wholeheartedly with that response. The shows celebrated indifference to context, discovery and possession for their own sake, and the monetary, not informational, value of artifacts. They not merely violated SAA’s *Principles of Ethics* (1996), they revealed in the violation, or at least the urges and senses that inspired it.

Yet advocacy now of collaboration with the responsible or responsive collector is not inconvenient. On the contrary, it is both timely and not merely is consistent with, but promotes, the ethical practice of archaeology. SAA’s response to the reality-television scourg[e that glorifies looting includes renewed investment in public education (e.g., Reeves 2015). As much as we should educate hobby metal-collectors—and we should—SAA and archaeologists at large also should devote considerably more effort to educating casual but responsive artifact collectors.

A great deal of the erosion of context that the archaeological record suffers daily occurs through the actions of some collectors, by combinations of their ignorance (description, not criticism), and our inaction. Of course there are bad actors among collectors, and they deserve ostracism and, where justified, prosecution to the fullest extent of the law. But the responsible or responsive collectors are different. Those who don’t know them can be instructed on documentary standards and the research value of collections. If we take the trouble to educate them, we might constructively redirect—if necessary—the collecting that they do. In the process, we can gain tremendous amounts of information about the abundance and distribution of informative parts of the archaeological record that otherwise would elude us.

**Conclusion**

Responding to the digger challenge, SAA attacks a brushfire. That’s perfectly sensible. Neglecting both the enormous private collections already compiled and those to be made in the future, SAA ignores (description and criticism) a fire that has burned since before 1935, partly because we have not educated collectors and promoted better standards. This surely has damaged and decontextualized the archaeological record more than a dozen digger shows ever could. Brushfires deserve attention, but no more and arguably less, than the slow burners that lack melodrama but over longer time pose much greater risk to the preservation of the record.

That fire has smoldered for over a century. We can manage but never extinguish it, in the process gaining a wealth of information about the record otherwise unattainable. There are no inherent ethical barriers to collaboration; on the contrary, we believe that there are ethical obligations to collaborate. SAA’s founding ancestors thought so. The tide keeps coming in, no matter how we shout or, alternatively, ignore it. Isn’t it time for SAA to consider more effective responses?

Yet archaeologists hold a range of views on this matter. The papers that follow represent part of that range, although we found it difficult to secure responses from a number of colleagues who in private conversation strongly disputed our view. Then we conclude with a brief synthesis and a set of proposed actions, which might inspire reticent colleagues to share their different views in spirited but civil engagement as together we seek the preservation of the entire archaeological record.

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PRIVATE PROPERTY RIGHTS VERSUS HERITAGE OWNERSHIP
THE CONFLICT BETWEEN INDIVIDUAL AND COLLECTIVE RIGHTS

Joe Watkins

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To Collect or Not to Collect...?

With profound apologies to Shakespeare, that is the question. Is collecting in the United States “okay”? If we preclude modern commercially made metal arrowheads or those made by hobbyists or flint-knappers, projectile points generally come from archaeological sites produced by American Indians. They are items from a cultural heritage that includes a time depth that extends for centuries before European and other enteradas onto this continent. Materials collected by professional archaeologists from public land have legal protections that provide for the public to benefit from investigations, whereas materials collected by private individuals from private lands do not.

Why should land ownership play a role in telling about the heritage of American Indians?

Who “Owns” Heritage?

Should private landowners be able to “own” the material manifestations of another culture or should the national government be able to control ownership of the heritage of the previous inhabitants of this land who have come under its control? Should heritage belong to the entire nation, to the descendants of those whose cultures originally created the material remains of their culture, or to the highest bidder (in one form or another)?

Most European heritage laws place the ultimate ownership of heritage materials with the ruling government; the landowner does not “own” artifacts found on his property (with limited exceptions), the country does. In this manner, the “heritage” of the country within which the materials are found contribute to the knowledge about the specific country’s past, and people understand the processes involved in ensuring that the artifacts’ contribution is recorded. It is also presumed a priori that the people who created the material culture found within the borders are contributors to the national heritage.

In most European countries, there is a notable exception to the rule regarding artifacts that are found on a landowner’s property: treasure troves. In the United States, however, property rights of individuals extend to any archaeological sites (and the material culture) found on their property, and the landowner is seen as the legal owner of objects that rightly might be considered to be a part of the national heritage. Any materials found on a person’s private property (unless precluded by a legal instrument or a separate mineral deed) belong to the property owner, including any “treasure.” Additionally, and perhaps more problematically, there is a marked and easily recognized differentiation between the materials created by the people who lived on the continent prior to the influx of colonists.

United States Heritage Law

The federal laws that are used to protect “America’s” heritage are generally applicable only to federal and tribal land, to federal actions, or to actions that require a federal permit. None of these laws, however, extend any aspect of governmental “ownership” or control over heritage materials on private land. This inability to protect what should be considered national heritage even if it is found on private property is, in my opinion, a grievous short-coming of federal preservation law.

While the general question of “Who owns heritage?” has a legal answer (at least in terms of property law), there still exists a moral question: “Can an individual have the ‘right’ to own cultural heritage?”
When colonial cultures appropriate the heritage of those they conquered and try to integrate it into a “national heritage,” they erase the story of the original people and conflate the different histories and trajectories that each group has experienced (Watkins 2005). In the United States, the American Indian “past” is generally one of cultural loss, land theft, historic trauma, and economic repression. Is it any wonder then, faced with the fact that the cultural wonders of the “long-before-America” people are appropriated into a “national history” that does little to acknowledge them, American Indians react so harshly? The loss of the material cultures of their ancestors only mirrors the rest of their experiences at the hands of their benevolent masters.

Heritage as “Private Property”

Differences in heritage management between the United States and Europe may also be attributed to differences in the origin and development of national identities. Denmark and England, for example, developed in situ, generally springing out of local population development. Of course there were conquests and influxes of outsiders, but the general cultural and governmental foundation was established long ago. The United States, however, generally developed out of a population that imposed itself on the original inhabitants, seeking to both govern and assimilate those people. Many countries in Latin America share similar histories of colonization and assimilation, and subsequent appropriation of the past of the colonized into a national heritage that essentially precludes those who created the foundation. There is no direct connection to the pre-Contact cultures of North and South America, but the United States is perhaps the most prominent country that fails to acknowledge the importance of protecting its heritage on ALL of the lands within its borders.

Thus, in the United States, a view of “heritage” as “property” is not surprising given that even in countries that have a concept of “national heritage,” such objects often show up on the world market. What is important, however, is not the idea that no “national” heritage exists in the United States, but rather that the federal government has limited its protection to federal lands to the detriment of nationally significant cultural materials found on private property. Even though the government has deemed the past to be of importance to all Americans, it has failed to adequately protect heritage with that lofty goal in mind by failing to extend that concept to material found on private lands (Watkins 2003).

Archaeologist-Collector Relationships

Pitblado (2014) certainly argues a case for archaeologist-artifact collaboration, and I agree in the utility for a generalized understanding of the human use of an area. The knowledgeable and ethical collector may be a resource to be utilized, documenting localities that produce artifacts, having more time to search, being more knowledgeable of land ownership (and landowners) within their communities. These things are good in a “good” collector who recognizes the scientific information that can be provided, bad in a “bad” collector who competes with archaeologists for the material culture of the past.

There are collectors who operate at a high level of scientific standards and who provide useful information. Unfortunately, there are also those who operate at questionable levels that have negative influence on national and archaeological heritage. It is important for the discipline to recognize this distinction of practitioners, but it is just as important that we don’t inadvertently create a growing body of people who systematically pick up artifacts from archaeological sites in their quest for information to share by failing to use every opportunity to hammer on the context issues.

Legal Versus Ethical

As is obvious from the previous discussion, and from the various opinions that abound when one talks about archaeologist-collector relationships, there is no single “right” answer. As Pitblado (2014:387) notes, “the ethics associated with artifact collecting are as complex and nuanced as the people doing the collecting.” So, too, are the ethics of the archaeologists who interact with the collectors. While this is a true statement, it certainly can become a straw man to justify many different actions. It is this multiplicity of nuances and variations in degrees which places the student in ethical quandaries: are collectors who collect artifacts from known sites “good” if they provide detailed contextual information, yet dig the artifacts? Are collectors “good” if they do “good” scientific excavations without a research design on sites that are not endangered by erosion or destruction? Are collectors “bad” because they create great scientific data but don’t give me access to their records?

I once debated with a collector associated with a specific conference of the sort Pitblado (2014) mentioned about collector attendance at conferences (Watkins 2000). I felt no compunction about entering into that conversation as a means of explaining my position and trying to gain a better understanding of the collector’s. Most importantly, in my opinion,
the collector noted that state and federal governments spend millions of dollars each year to survey, excavate, protect, preserve, conserve, and curate the archaeology of the United States, but that the average American citizen gets little for his money. Most of the results appear as unpublished contract reports written in an oppressive technical jargon that the public cannot decipher. Although I still disagree with the collector on many issues, we do agree on one: the average American citizen is getting short-changed in the way we present the results of public-funded archaeology to them, and we are not getting any better at doing so, in spite of our years of practice.

The conversation with the collector didn’t change my stance on that particular situation, and I’m not sure it influenced my stance on my own professional perspectives about working with collectors, but it didn’t turn me into an “ethics gatekeeper” who feels obligated to pass judgment on anyone who does work with a collector. Such actions are personal and professional choices and should not be up to me to dictate, because blind adherence to a moral high-ground without examination of the specific merits of the particular case can be just as damaging as ignoring any such implications.

And, I suppose, there are various levels of “collector” that must be identified here as well. The collector who gathers material from their own property or from larger geographical areas with the permission of the other landowners is certainly a different character than a collector who buys and sells artifacts commercially. Those who collect for the sheer enjoyment of owning pieces of past cultures rather than for any commercial gain should be made aware of the impacts their hobby might have on the scientific information available at those locations. It is also up to us archaeologists to educate the collector about ways of improving their recording of the contextual information that makes their hobby more useful to us.

And So …

And so, where do I stand on working with collectors? Pitblado (2014) writes about the ethical possibilities, noting that the SAA’s Principles of Archaeological Ethics (1996) allows practitioners a wide range of latitude in determining what is (or is not) ethical in terms of working with collectors. Such ethics statements, rather than delineating what archaeologists must do, instead offer guidance for what archaeologists can do. If we can further educate people who collect archaeological materials from private property about the importance of taking the archaeologist to the artifact rather than the artifact to the archaeologist, perhaps we can create an arrangement that will be beneficial to us all.

I am not going to take the blanket stance that archaeologists shouldn’t work with collectors, but will instead urge archaeologists to work (as much as possible) with ethical people—ethical archaeologists, ethical collectors, ethical colleagues of whatever field of study—for stewardship of the archaeological record. If somewhere along the way I lose my Choctaw “heritage” because some private property owner decides to collect it, perhaps the fact that it resides in the hands of an ethical person will make it easier to swallow.

Or maybe not.

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As a long-time collector involved with the archaeology of Oklahoma in various roles for 45 years—including as a collector and working with the former Oklahoma Highway Archaeological Survey in high school, college, and dental school—I have witnessed generally excellent cooperation and relationships between amateurs and professionals. I have observed through the years that most collectors, if given the opportunity and correct guidance, will actually go to lengths to be helpful and to contribute to the archaeology of their area. Many such collectors become shining examples to other collectors as well. Of course, this is not to say that all collectors make desirable partners, because we know that many simply do not. A few nefarious collectors illegally dig or collect only for financial gain. Others with more benign motives may be careless or fail to properly document their findings. We all agree that these are not people you want to collaborate with, and many collectors themselves feel the same way about them. No one has any argument here.

What I am speaking to are the opportunities for the professional community to seek out those collectors who can be mentored to become good stewards of the archaeological record. I am forever grateful for the patience and guidance that many a professional archaeologist has shown me since I was a teen just learning about your vocation and my avocation. Foremost among these are Don G. Wyckoff, Jack L. Hofman, David R. Lopez, and Robert E. Bell. These top-flight professionals also distinguished themselves as being “collector friendly.” Because they gave of their time, knowledge, and skill, I developed a deep respect for the importance of archaeological preservation. Along the way, I also developed a lasting friendship with each of them. And so, now 45 years later, I am still involved and still looking for ways to assist in preserving the prehistory of Oklahoma. From my perspective, this seems like a good path for us all to follow.

Of course, we will always have cynics and naysayers who seem to deplore collaboration with unseemly rogue collectors. However, we should keep in mind that many a respectable archaeologist started out as a collector. George Frison comes to mind, along with Wyckoff, Hofman, and Bell. And let us not forget that many well-respected and successful non-archaeologists were likewise artifact collectors at one time. This long list includes at least two presidents (Thomas Jefferson and Jimmy Carter), pioneer pharmaceutical entrepreneur Eli Lily, and naturalist poet Henry David Thoreau, to mention but a handful. So, we collectors are not always an undesirable lot. In most cases, I contend, quite the contrary!

The magnitude of specimens making up the portion of America’s archaeological record that now resides in private hands is staggering. Many such artifacts were found decades ago, well before their current custodians were born. Often obtained during a period of early intensive farming activity, the dust bowls of the 1930s and 1950s, reservoir construction, and the like, these collections represent a bygone era when such artifacts were plentiful on the landscape. To their credit, many of the collectors of such imperiled cultural materials kept detailed notes, photographs, catalogues, and other documentation, preserving them for future generations to appreciate and study. To alienate these exemplary stewards of the past, as some archaeologists have done based on the sins of the few, tends to create the very situation we all strive to avoid. Jack Hofman (1987) sums this up beautifully in his essay An Ode to Collections Lost, remarking on the importance of these old, often meticulously catalogued collections. He urges collaboration between archaeologists and collectors and emphasizes the mutual benefits.

I would be remiss if I failed to cite avocational collectors who have contributed mightily to the archaeological record, sharing with professionals their considerable knowledge of site locations and information as to the whereabouts and contents of other collections originating from such sites. Examples of these collectors and sites or other finds they introduced to the discipline include W.E. “Uncle Billy” Baker’s (Baker et al. 1957) Nall Site, Oklahoma; Richard O. Rose’s (2011) Shifting Sands Folsom-Midland site; Tom Westfall's
Recently, a highly significant Paleoindian site in eastern Wyoming that was itself first reported by amateur Wayne Powars needed funding for salvage operations. At the urging of George Frison, Dennis Stanford, and George Ziemans, the first four individuals to step up to the plate and donate money to fund this endeavor were collectors. A physician, a veterinarian, an attorney, and I contributed enough money to jump-start excavations in June 2014. This site, the Powars II Red Ocher Mine (Stafford et al. 2003), is the only Paleoindian ocher mine in North America and one of only two known in the Americas more broadly. The original four of the “Wild Bunch,” as Ziemans dubbed us, have also assisted in the excavations (Figure 1). Thus far, over a thousand artifacts have been uncovered through largely volunteer efforts. Tools, weapons, and possibly bone and antler rods of the Clovis culture have been uncovered, as have artifacts dating to Goshen, Folsom, Midland, Agate Basin, Hell Gap, and possibly Alber ta periods. We are all extremely proud to have participated in bringing to fruition the study of this very special site.

At the risk of “tooting my own horn,” I would like to share a few examples of how I, as an avocationalist, have contributed to archaeology over the years. I hope to illustrate how a collector’s enthusiasm, when properly channeled, can add to the preservation of archaeological sites and materials and contribute to a better understanding of the prehistory we all enjoy.

Beginning in early high school, I first became involved in archaeology through the Oklahoma Anthropological Society (OAS), after discovering a few artifacts near my home that piqued my interest. Still too young to drive, I went to their spring meeting in 1971 with my dad, and my life has never been the same! There I met the likeable Dr. Robert E. Bell, founder of the society, as well as the State Archaeologist, Dr. Don Wyckoff. At this meeting, my thirst for information about the prehistory of Oklahoma was sparked, leading to a seemingly endless quest for knowledge that persists to this day.

Also in 1971, I went to my first archaeological excavation sponsored by the OAS. There I met like-minded volunteers working with Don Wyckoff. I also encountered Jack Hofman, then a high school student like me who has since been a lifelong friend. Building on these positive relationships, I have been involved with the society for 45 years, serving on its Board of Directors for a time. More recently, I helped found the Archaeological Society of Oklahoma, serving as president and in other offices.

During the past nearly half-century, I have discovered well over 500 archaeological sites and recorded many of them with the University of Oklahoma’s Oklahoma Archaeological Survey. Many of these sites have been salvaged through excavation and published. I have accumulated one of the largest and best-documented private collections from Oklahoma. It has been made available and studied, and parts have been published by a number of graduate students working on their theses and dissertations. A portion of this collection has already been donated to the Sam Noble Museum of Natural History in Norman, Oklahoma, and is on display there now. This facility is the ultimate destination for the bulk of my lifetime collection.

I have also published a number of papers on various archaeological topics. Most of these deal with various Paleoindian studies, sites, and materials. Some of my publications focus on materials recovered from the famous Spiro Mound here in Oklahoma. Currently, I am involved in assisting Dr. Don Wyckoff in his forthcoming synthesis of the Calf Creek culture across a multi-state region. I will have the privilege of writing a portion of this study, which I consider Don Wyckoff’s opus, on collections recovered from sites in central, western, and southern Oklahoma. My young archaeologist daughter, Claire Cox, a graduate of Oklahoma University’s anthropology program, is also helping with this worthwhile project.

In addition to writing, I have presented scholarly papers at several archaeological conferences. In September 2013 in Love-
land, Colorado, Don Wyckoff and I presented a paper on the
discovery of an interesting cache recently found in McClain
County, Oklahoma. I gave a Power Point presentation on Fol-
som Ultrathin Knives at the Oklahoma Anthropological Soci-
ety spring meeting celebrating the fiftieth year of the society
(see Cox and Westfall 2007 for a publication focused on the
ultrathins). Finally, I was one of just a few individuals asked to
display my Clovis and Folsom site materials at the Paleoamer-
ican Odyssey in Santa Fe, New Mexico, in 2013.

Another project I have worked on for many years is locating,
photographing, and otherwise documenting collections from sites across Oklahoma and in other states. Many of
these collections have since vanished, and my photographs and
other documentation are all that survives. One such site
is Cedar Creek, 34Wa-6, renowned for its Folsom and other
Paleoindian deposits (Bell and Baerreis 1951; Cox 2007; and
Hofman 1990). When some of the “old time” collections from this storied site, recovered in the 1920s through 1950s,
became at risk of becoming lost and scattered, I either saw to
it that they were donated to a public institution or I acquired
many of the materials myself, preserving these important,
non-reproducible, imperiled collections for future study and
donation to the Sam Noble Museum of Natural History.

As a final example of my work, I have long researched the
whereabouts of the contents of the enigmatic Spiro Mound
(e.g., Cox 2014a, b). Using old photographs and notes from
Robert E. Bell and others, I have successfully located, record-
ed, and occasionally acquired many lost or unknown arti-
facts, photographs, and documents from this exceedingly
important Caddoan mound site (Figure 2). The locality was
looted by commercial diggers in the early 1930s and its fan-
tastic, one-of-a-kind artifacts sold around the world. I have
contacted many old-time collectors or their heirs from all
over the country, especially in the Midwest, where many of
the materials eventually came to reside. I have recorded their
recollections, notes, and artifacts from this mound and the
whereabouts of the artifacts today. I have shared my findings
with professionals, most notably Dr. James Brown (retired)
of Northwestern University, the preeminent Spiro scholar.
Dr. Brown describes one old photograph that I obtained and
curated as a “game changer” in his understanding of Spiro’s
Hollow Central Chamber “Spirit Lodge” and the Great Mor-
tuary. He will publish his new interpretations soon (Brown
2014, personal communication).

To close, I hope I have brought into focus some of the bene-
fits as well as the sheer enjoyment of a harmonious collab-
oration between the professional archaeologist and the avoca-
tional collector. It seems a natural arrangement of common
interests that I feel is a worthwhile pursuit that both groups
should strive to achieve.

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This past spring, I participated in a forum about professional archaeologists working with amateur or avocational archaeologists. The session, “Cons or Pros: Should Archaeologists Collaborate with Responsible Collectors?” was organized by Michael Shott and Bonnie Pitblado at the Society for American Archaeology Annual Meeting held in San Francisco. In their introductory comments, both organizers emphasized the need for a cordial and respectful discussion, perhaps anticipating a polarized response to the question they posed. I have a long-standing concern with the dismissive view taken by many professionals in our discipline of all amateur or avocational archaeologists, whether they collect artifacts or not. During a graduate school lecture I listened to a professor state, “There is no such thing as an amateur archaeologist. Would you go to an amateur brain surgeon?” At that time, my response was something like “You have got to be kidding. Give me a break!”

Over the past 50 years, as our discipline has become more professionalized with degreed practitioners from higher-education institutions, the separation between the avocational and professional archaeologist has increased. The sentiment of my graduate school professor is not uncommon in our discipline. Today, the role of the avocational archaeologist is viewed not as different from but as decidedly less than that of the professional.

In this essay, I review the contributions of a few seminal avocational archaeologists at the Poverty Point earworks (16WCI1) in northeast Louisiana. I show how that role has decreased over the past 50 years. I also demonstrate how the work of avocational archaeologists proved critical in the recent UNESCO World Heritage designation of the site. I argue that without greater public engagement, including engagement with avocational archaeologists, our discipline will have a decreased value to the public that pays our salaries. I do not take a “holier than thou” position on this issue. I acknowledge my hesitancy to commit time and resources to substantive avocational engagement during my tenure as the Station Archaeologist at the Poverty Point site and elsewhere. I use the term “avocational” to mean someone without professional training who makes their living by other means but expends a good bit of time, energy, and research on archaeology as a second unpaid career or heavily invests in it as a hobby. Some avocational archaeologists collect or have collected artifacts, others do not. All are critical to the advancement of the field of archaeology.

The Modern Discovery of the Poverty Point Site

Like most prehistoric monumental architecture recorded in the modern era, Poverty Point (Figure 1) was discovered by explorers, adventurers, and antiquarians. One of the earliest written accounts describing the site is by Samuel Lockett in the 1870s, although an earlier unpublished autobiography of Jacob Walters describes his visit to the area around 1840 (Connolly 1997). The first detailed map of the earthen mounds at Poverty Point was made by C. B. Moore (1913) based on investigations conducted during the winter of 1912–1913. Moore was also the first to provide detailed descriptions and illustrations of cultural materials recovered from the site.

Clarence Webb and Carl Alexander, Surface Collectors Extraordinaire

Clarence Webb, a pediatrician and avocational archaeologist from Shreveport, Louisiana, is arguably the best link and source of continuity between the 1950s Poverty Point culture investigations of James Ford and those initiated by Jon Gibson in the 1970s and continued by others to this day. His initial contact with Ford was in 1936 at the Belcher Mounds that Webb was investigating (Gibson 1992:11).

By the 1970s, Webb, with apparently a good bit of free time from his career as a pediatrician, had typed over 100,000 arti-

In the 1960s, Carl Alexander began to conduct surface collections across the Poverty Point earthwork ridges. Alexander had a relationship with the farmers in the area, which allowed him free reign to collect across the 400 acres of the earthen ridges. Conventional wisdom has it that either Webb or Ford convinced Alexander to record the provenience of his collected artifacts. He therefore devised a system to identify the provenience of each artifact by one of the six ridges and five sectors (Figure 2), along with another 75 or so locations of high artifact densities within or outside the C-form of earthwork architecture.

By 1968, Alexander began dividing up his collection and distributing it to academic institutions, including the University of Florida and Louisiana State University. He retained a small portion of the collection. I don’t know the details of how his collection was divided into multiple components, but I assume that there was some exchange of money. I would not doubt that Alexander also sold other portions of his collection over time.

What is beyond dispute is that, by the early 1970s, Alexander’s surface collection became the primary basis for interpreting the socioeconomic organization of the prehistoric occupation at Poverty Point. Ford and Webb had planned a new publication on Poverty Point based largely on the strength of Alexander’s surface collection. Ford’s illness and death precluded launching that project. Webb (1982) ultimately completed the project on his own by publishing The Poverty Point Culture, perhaps the most often-cited publication on the culture’s artifact types and their distributions through space and time.

Jon Gibson (1973) based his dissertation solely on data he generated from Alexander and Webb’s collections. Today, all of the Alexander surface collections have been returned to the Poverty Point site curation facility in Epps, Louisiana. That surface collection contains in excess of 100,000 whole artifacts provenienced to a specific location at the Poverty Point earthwork complex. As these materials continue to be typed and inventoried, the number of provenienced, surface-collected artifacts will increase. The collections provide an unparalleled opportunity to further the understanding of the socioeconomic organization of the prehistoric occupation of the Poverty Point earthworks (e.g., Connolly 2012).

The avocational archaeology of both Webb and Alexander, including the collecting and meticulous documentation of artifact provenience, served as the basis for research designs.
for investigations at Poverty Point. Further, the interpretative significance on which Poverty Point was successfully argued to merit a UNESCO World Heritage Site designation would have been dramatically weakened without the surface-collected material of Carl Alexander. Of note, no other archaeologist, professional or avocational, conducted the type of extensive surface collections as did Alexander when the site was in row crop. Such a method is not feasible today from both logistical and preservation perspectives.

Amateur Archaeology at the Jaketown Site
In the late 1990s, during my tenure as the Station Archaeologist at the Poverty Point site, I gave several presentations at the public library in Belzoni, Mississippi, just down the road from the Poverty Point culture Jaketown site (22Hu505). The presentations were attended by collectors from the area, many of whom brought their artifacts to the meeting for identification. In my first presentation, I spoke about the spatial distribution of artifact types noted by Webb and Alexander at Poverty Point. I asked the collectors in attendance whether they had noted similar patterns in the different types of artifacts recovered at Jaketown. Heads nodded. The second time I spoke in Belzoni, the same collectors talked about the artifact distributions they had noted during my previous presentation. Today, there is a small museum in Belzoni composed of collections donated by many of those collectors. My Belzoni experience is an example of avocational archaeologists (Webb and Alexander) training other avocational archaeologists, with the professional as an intermediary, a phenomenon also noted by avocational Jim Cox in his essay in this issue of The SAA Archaeological Record.

The Claiborne Site and Jerry Pankow
I first met Jerry Pankow in the early 2000s. He had come to the Poverty Point site to discuss his “amateur” archaeology excavations at the Poverty Point culture Claiborne site in Hancock County Mississippi. In the 1960s, Jerry and members of the Mississippi Archaeological Association diligently conducted excavations at this major Poverty Point culture site in advance of bulldozers that destroyed the site in a construction project. Jerry showed me his detailed field notes of 5-x-5-ft. units excavated through midden deposits at the Claiborne site. He recorded cultural materials in arbitrary 5-inch levels, providing an excellent stratigraphic profile on stylistic and material culture change through time—a point of critical interpretive importance for the Poverty Point culture. The temporal markers were also documented by Clarence Webb.

When I first met Jerry, he had just self-published a 35-page photocopied pamphlet on his excavations at the Claiborne site. While preparing my comments for the 2015 SAA forum, I discovered that, in 2014, Jerry had expanded the original publication to double the length, again self-published but now also available online. I got a copy and am impressed.

Discussion
My experiences with avocational archaeologists at the Poverty Point site demonstrate several points. The contributions of avocational archaeologists are a critically important part of the total corpus of knowledge that exists about that prehistoric culture today. Those contributions demonstrate that, without question, our understanding of the socioeconomic organization of the culture and site would be greatly reduced were it not for these avocational contributions.

The contributions of avocational archaeologists at Poverty Point are considerable and varied. Although Clarence Webb had no formal archaeological training, because of his educational background in medicine and his considerable publication record in peer-reviewed and other journals, I suspect that the inclination is to treat him as somehow different or better than Carl Alexander, who retired from the U.S. Navy and, to my knowledge, published nothing. Yet Ford and Webb were prepared to completely rewrite their 1956 type site report based on Alexander’s surface collections.

A clear trend through time has been to dismiss rather than engage the avocational community in research projects. That community is often considered from the perspective of a deficit model (Merrimian 2004:6–11), in which the professional archaeologist is charged with the proper education of the public. Today, Clarence Webb or Carl Alexander probably would not be able to make their way onto an archaeological site, regardless of the experiential credentials they might bring. Their activities would be limited to volunteer projects of artifact inventory, screening sediments, or participating in a field school. Their expressed interests in archaeology would not be developed, except through their enrollment in a degree program at a local university.

However, concerns over the looting of archaeological resources, the commodification of this country’s cultural heritage, and a lack of public funding for archaeological research are all concerns expressed by the professional community. We are well-served to embrace the avocational community who have a proven track record and can develop the grassroots support to address these issues. Such engage-
ment is time consuming, produces uneven results, and is certainly not a linear exercise. Infrastructure and funding are not currently in place for such activities. A commitment is required to advocate for such projects by both the professional and avocational archaeological communities.

As Shott and Pitblado noted in their introduction to this essay series, a kernel of this commitment is found in the SAA’s Principles of Archaeological Ethics (1996). Principle No. 4, Public Education and Outreach, states: “Archaeologists should reach out to, and participate in cooperative efforts with others interested in the archaeological record with the aim of improving the preservation, protection, and interpretation of the record.” However, we need to recognize that it is not just a matter of should; rather, archaeologists must initiate such projects if we wish to have the support of the public.

In 1986, my first field school instructor, the late Dr. Patricia Essenpreis, said, “If you cannot explain to the public why they should be funding this site museum and excavations, then you might as well go home.” Pat’s comment flowed from her belief in the need for accountability in research on public lands and in recognition that almost all archaeology, whether through CRM, private foundation, or outright public financing, is ultimately funded through tax dollars.

Conclusion

We are well-served to reflect that our professional organization is named the Society for American Archaeology, not the Society for American Archaeologists. In noting this distinction, we are reminded that the interests of the discipline are appropriately placed before the self-interest of the practitioners. In the Poverty Point case studies I presented in this essay, the interests of the discipline were well-served by the engagement and support of the avocational archaeologists and their expressed interests.

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From a central European perspective, professional archaeologists (i.e., university-trained archaeologists with positions in research institutions or state cultural heritage protection agencies) and nonprofessionals who devote substantial time to archaeological investigation as private individuals have a long shared history of discovering and investigating the past. They also, one can argue, share responsibility for protecting and interpreting the record of past cultures. In Germany, as in the U.S., archaeologists debate the ethics of working with privately held collections, worrying that objects in private hands may be unavailable for research, that provenience information may be lost when collections change hands, or that items with scientific value may be sold for profit. Profit-oriented looting of archaeological sites, particularly sites with coins and other metal objects, is a growing problem. Though in many cases cultural heritage preservation laws in Germany make objects of special scientific value the property of the state (even when found on private lands), difficult legal and ethical debates surround issues of ownership of chance finds (e.g., coin hoards or other “treasure”) on private property.

Against this background of sometimes uneasy relations between professional archaeologists and private individuals who amass artifact collections, we explore the benefits of close collaboration and outreach. We present a case study from southern Germany, illustrating this region’s long tradition of positive collaborative engagement and significant contributions made by private individuals devoted to archaeology. Conditions of cooperation have changed as archaeological practice and heritage preservation law have developed over the last 50 years, raising new and important questions about how to sustain and best serve what is most valuable in this kind of collaboration, while also protecting the archaeological record.

We are a U.S./German team researching Neolithic settlement on the Swabian Alb in southwestern Germany. As we prepared to conduct a regional survey in 2001, the State Office for Historic Preservation provided a map of known sites plus a short list of local people with artifact collections. All were in regular contact with state preservation officers and reported their finds, and most either planned to donate or had already donated collections to local or state museums.

We spent our first summer in the field visiting private homes and local museums, where we examined collections, pored over maps, and asked about field methods and documentation. These conversations helped us plan our research and led to nearly a decade of close collaboration with Mr. Helmut Mollenkopf (1929–2009).

Meanwhile, Schreg and Knipper had begun analyzing the collections of Mr. Albert Kley (1907–2000), a teacher and artist who spent decades documenting sites on the Swabian Alb in his spare time. Building on Schreg’s work with Kley during his lifetime (Kley and Schreg 1992), Schreg and Knipper took on the mammoth task, still ongoing, of preparing these collections for curation at a state repository.

Neolithic sites documented in these and other collections became the foundation of our long-term research on the Swabian Alb (Fisher et al. 2013; Knipper et al. 2005). Here we consider the contributions of Kley, Mollenkopf, and Robert Bollow, a private individual active in the region’s archaeology today, in the context of changing archaeological practice in Germany.

Changing Contexts of Archaeological Practice

In many regions of Europe, “good cooperation with well-informed amateur archaeologists” is regarded as critical for
documenting regional site distributions (Kooijmans 1993:107). Because many archaeological sites are known largely or entirely through private efforts, a high value is placed on description and publication of private collections. At the University of Tübingen Institute of Prehistory, Early History and Medieval Archaeology, where our project is based, it is not uncommon to build analysis of such collections into student theses and dissertations.

In southwestern Germany, contributions of dedicated amateurs have been important for site discovery and development of archaeological methods. Well-known examples come from the Alpine Foreland, where Heinrich Forschner, a dentist and private collector in the early 20th century, contributed to the discovery of now-famous waterlogged Neolithic, Bronze Age, and Iron Age sites. After World War II, Ernst Wall, a teacher, returned to sites excavated before the war to collect samples that contributed to the emerging interdisciplinary scientific investigation of bog and lakeshore sites (Schlichtherle 2008:239). Close partnerships with professionals led to projects sponsored by universities or, from the 1970s on, by historic preservation agencies.

In Germany, cultural heritage protection is governed by the federal states. In general, all archaeological finds must be reported to the authorities. In the southwestern German state of Baden-Württemberg, cultural heritage protection law (Denkmalschutzgesetz – DSchG) was first established in 1972. The law requires a permit for any investigation aimed at recovering archaeological materials on public or private lands. As in many German states, finds of outstanding scientific value become the property of the state. Violations risk fines up to €250,000 and confiscation of equipment.

With the introduction of permit requirements and the growth of state heritage preservation departments, the roles of amateur archaeologists changed. Professional archaeologists increasingly focused on preservation and rescue excavations. New methods of analysis and a trend toward large-scale excavations led to standards that could not be matched by private people.


These documents establish several basic principles. First, local authorities have a duty to maintain site inventories for use in planning. Archaeological survey is a “basic obligation” (ICOMOS 1990: Article 4) for improving these inventories. Second, there is an urgent need for education and outreach programs to increase public awareness of the value of archaeology. Third, heritage preservation is a collective responsibility requiring cooperation between government agencies, scientists, private enterprise, and the general public.

Rather than restricting their role, these principles point to a critical place for amateur archaeologists in European archaeology, particularly in site discovery and monitoring and in public outreach. In both capacities, a network of informed volunteers is increasingly seen as a critical component of historic preservation (Verband der Landesarchäologen in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland 2001). In Baden-Württemberg, the state office designates “volunteer stewards” of cultural resources (ehrenamtliche Mitarbeiter der Denkmalpflege) and equips them with an identification card authorizing them to monitor construction sites and conduct surface survey in a defined local area. Volunteers may be offered training, attend annual conferences, and participate in rescue excavations or surveys with state office personnel. Currently, there are about 200 active volunteers in Baden-Württemberg (http://www.denkmalpflege-bw.de/geschichte-auftragsstruktur/die-beteiligten-stellen-sich-vor/ehrenamtlich-beauftragte.html).

Under such programs, which also exist in other German federal states, volunteers accept the same principles of archaeological practice that govern professionals. This includes the responsibility to protect the archaeological record, to communicate archaeology’s methods and aims to the public, and to document and curate collections for long-term access in a state repository.

Three Generations of Volunteers Shaped the Archaeology of the Swabian Alb

The history of archaeology on the Swabian Alb illustrates the long-term benefits of partnerships between professional archaeologists and others dedicated to investigating the past. Though professionals thought this upland region was devoid of settlement until much later, several generations of systematic effort by private individuals led to the discovery of a rich Neolithic settlement landscape.
In the 1920s, Albert Kley (1907–2000) studied archaeology at the University of Tübingen before shifting to a career as a teacher (Schreg 2007). In the 1930s, he began surveying to locate Mesolithic and Paleolithic sites on the Swabian Alb. Instead, he discovered many Neolithic sites, completely unknown in the area then. Kley divided them into subareas within which he collected, labeled, and mapped surface finds (Figure 1). This allowed us to analyze the spatial distribution of artifacts at sites such as Lehr, which was destroyed by highway construction in the 1970s (Knipper et al. 2005). In 1969, Kley documented the first Early Neolithic (LBK) long-houses in southwestern Germany when the site of Bollingen was impacted by construction. He also discovered later pre-historic sites, including early medieval settlements (Schreg 2007). Kley's observations laid the foundation for a German-Austrian project investigating medieval settlement dynamics through large scale geophysical survey (Kastowsky-Priglinger et al. 2013).

Kley was president of the Society of Arts and History and director of the local museum in Geislingen. These institutions funded his research activities and enabled him to exhibit his finds. However, as a private person he often lacked basic equipment. For example, without access to a copy machine, he struggled to piece together 1:50 field drawings over nearly .6 ha at the Bollingen LBK settlement.

Figure 1. Map of the Lehr Neolithic site showing Albert Kley’s surface collection subareas. This documentation allowed us to identify areas dominated by Early vs. Middle Neolithic ceramics.
Early on, Kley had a good relationship with the state historic preservation office, at that time a one-man department. This changed with the enactment of heritage preservation law and establishment of a larger heritage preservation office in the 1970s. From then on, every field activity had to be approved, and conflicts arose when Kley conducted rescue documentations. Kley’s collection numbers about 80,000 lithic artifacts and many ceramic finds from over 500 sites. He always intended to give the materials to the public. Unfortunately, he never managed to deal with the huge volume of finds, and much of his material remained unpublished. Thanks to his heirs, who recognize the value of the collection, an agreement has been made to transfer the collection to the state.

Helmut Mollenkopf (1929–2009) was a farmer and landowner on the Swabian Alb who became active in archaeology in the late 1970s, when land reform led to field consolidation and road improvements. With his colleague Gerhard Häfele, he surveyed plowed fields, monitored construction sites, and reported many new lithic scatters (Kreutle 1994). After Häfele’s death in 1990, Mollenkopf continued this work, exploring relationships between Neolithic site locations, chert outcrops, and water sources on the karst plateau. Mollenkopf recorded site locations on 1:2500 land registry maps and collected and bagged artifacts by site or parcel (Figure 2). He opened his collection to the public and to researchers, and supported our research by helping to establish needed contacts and through generous private donations. Mollenkopf’s collection includes significant materials from five dense Neolithic surface scatters and many other sites, from Paleolithic to medieval.

Today, Robert Bollow is active as a volunteer working with state historic preservation officers on the Swabian Alb. He has a life-long interest in archaeology and devotes much of his spare time to surveying fields and monitoring sites in his area. Bollow uses a hand-held GPS unit, records site locations on land registry maps, and makes his collections available to researchers. Some of his major contributions have come from surveying between and around known sites to document previously unrecorded lower-visibility artifact scatters. Since 2010, Bollow has maintained an active blog (“Umgepfügt” [“plowed up”], http://lesefunde.blogspot.com) that reports on his archaeological activities and discusses a wide range of archaeological topics. The blog points to the potential of the Internet for increasing public awareness of cultural heritage protection law. For example, several posts in 2015 present information about heritage preservation law and volunteer programs.

Lessons from Three Generations on the Swabian Alb

Under changing historical conditions, Kley, Mollenkopf, and Bollow each made substantial contributions to the archaeology of the Swabian Alb. All three amassed private collections that fulfilled then-current standards of documentation. Each added significantly to regional site inventories, shared his knowledge locally, and reached out to professional archaeologists. Albert Kley’s activities bridged an earlier period of independent research by private individuals with today’s preservation-oriented archaeology. His contributions are now becoming clearer through the engagement of professional archaeologists and the state historic preservation office, which is curating the collection. Helmut Mollenkopf’s activities began when heritage preservation law was already established and preservation officers were building and maintaining contact with collectors. Accordingly, he received support from the state historic preservation office, from artifact identification to curation supplies. Over nearly a decade of collaboration, he adapted his methods to the needs of our project and contributed greatly to its success. His collection will also be curated by the state historic preservation office. Robert Bollow combines his activities as a volunteer heritage steward with his archaeology-focused blog. This keeps him in touch with a wide circle of interested professionals and laypeople and offers new opportunities for public outreach.

Not all experiences with private collections in this region have played out so positively. One large private collection was thrown away by the owner after a museum refused to purchase it. Afterwards, however, commentaries published in the newsletter of a local society helped to educate others about the scientific value of such collections. Overall, the willingness of dedicated volunteers to share their work in
this historically rich region has done much to increase public awareness of the value of archaeology.

We conclude that, today, professional archaeologists and nonprofessionals interested in the past need each other more than ever. Local volunteers have deep landscape and community knowledge and can carry out the extensive surveys and site monitoring needed for research and historic preservation goals. Professional archaeologists can build and sustain focused research projects, coordinate interdisciplinary scientific teams, and offer training. Active local networks can amplify and extend public outreach efforts. Clearly, there is enormous potential for effective cooperation.

There are many challenges, however. One major limitation is funding and personnel to coordinate local networks. Research projects are limited in their duration and in their capacity to process large private collections. Historic preservation agencies have limited resources for public outreach and for curating large collections, often transferred after the death of the collector. Sustaining collaborations requires effective follow-through and funding. Curating the Kley collection has involved the state heritage preservation office, funding through—among others—the Geislingen Society for Arts and History and our research project, and many hours contributed by faculty and students. Collaboration with university institutes and integration of private collections into thesis projects can contribute significantly to scientific acknowledgment and adequate publication of work by private individuals.

Effective collaboration also depends on careful consideration of the needs and values of community members with interests in the past. For example, though state policies emphasize curation in central repositories, local communities may place a higher value on presentation in city or county museums.

Most importantly, the potential of cooperation between professional archaeologists cannot be fully realized without sustained collaboration. The importance of these collaborations for heritage preservation and research suggests that sustaining and improving cooperative efforts needs to be a priority for preservation agencies and for archaeological research funding.

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I admit it: I cringe whenever I must deal with artifact collecting. This is not because I find collecting inexcusable; after all, there are many innocent people who occasionally pick up artifacts they encounter, just like I might pick up a unique shell on a beach. The problem is that many collectors have crossed the line from innocent amateur to commercializing the archaeological record. Among these artifact purveyors, some have proven to be disreputable, creating an untrusting relationship between many professional archaeologists and collectors. Just the possibility that some part of a “private” collection could have originated from public lands or an illegal dig should keep professionals from interacting with collectors.

My leeriness is a product of my experiences as an archaeologist working in the American West, almost exclusively on public lands. I have seen too many cases of destructive, illegal collecting, and way too few ‘unspoiled’ sites not impacted by collectors. I have also witnessed collectors fabricating finds—either concealing an artifact’s true provenience or passing off a newly knapped piece as an original. Recently, I have noticed a new trend among some collectors: inviting archaeologists to study, publish on, and exhibit their collections for the purpose of increasing their value on the artifact market. The goals of this essay are to call attention to these grave consequences of collecting by recounting some of my own experiences with collectors during the last two decades and to shed light on some of the negative consequences of professionals collaborating with artifact collectors.

As a new professor at Southern Oregon University in the mid-1990s, I developed an adult-education field program in partnership with the Southern Oregon Historical Society and federal land-management agencies. Hundreds of sites in the region were being actively looted, and my colleagues Jeff LaLande, Kathryn Winthrop, and Janet Joyer had determined that a lot of the damage was being done by “arrowhead hunters” acting as “suppliers” in the artifact trade. One of our first collaborative projects was at a recently looted middle Archaic residential site called Brush Creek, in the upper Rogue River Valley. A group of undergraduate students and local amateurs helped document the destruction left behind by looters who reputedly sold their booty for drug money. Because some of them were suspected to have criminal records, my colleagues were concerned for our safety while we were in the field, and, in retrospect, I can’t believe I took students into such a potentially harmful situation. I also shudder to think of how many more Brush Creeks have been destroyed by southern-Oregon collectors in the last two decades.

While we worked at Brush Creek, Oregon State Police and Bureau of Land Management (BLM) archaeologists searched the Grants Pass, Oregon, home of Jack Harelson, an artifact collector who left a wake of destruction across the Black Rock Desert of northwest Nevada in the 1980s. Harelson is best known for looting Elephant Mountain Cave, located on federally managed land, where he unearthed thousands of artifacts, including early Archaic sandals and other textiles (Figure 1) and, according to his ex-wife, a burial basket containing the mummified remains of two children. Harelson removed the children’s bodies from the basket and buried the children in his back yard. During the raid on Harelson’s house, law-enforcement officials found two children’s remains; however, their heads were missing. Harelson insisted that they were there when he buried them and that he did not know where they were. Harelson was convicted of illegal digging on public land, stealing federal property, and desecrating a burial. Later, Harelson produced the two heads—unwittingly to an undercover police informant—and even paid the informant for hits on the police official and judge who managed his arrest and retrieval of the stolen artifacts. Some of the artifacts Harelson collected from Elephant Mountain Cave have been analyzed professionally (e.g., Barker et al. 2011); others have never been recovered. Later, when my students and I visited Elephant Mountain Cave to

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not have passed them off as originals in an artifact sale. But that was not Moore’s goal; it was to sell books. As a local historian, he was quite successful. Today, many expert flint knappers have the skill to produce accurate replicas. I wonder how many of the Paleoindian artifacts now in collectors’ homes and galleries are truly authentic and collected from the sites they are said to have come from. I also wonder how much misinformation from collectors has found its way into the published record.

Soon after these events in the Rogue Valley, I moved to the University of Nevada and continued to see the effects of artifact collecting on public land. In the early 2000s, my students and I conducted archaeological surveys in upland valleys near Wells and Ely. Despite finding many archaeological sites, few seemed to be intact, having disproportionately few finished tools. At one dune site far from the nearest maintained road, we spent an entire day walking transects and flagging surface finds for mapping and field analysis. The next day, we returned to finish the job, only to find that all of the bifacial points had been taken. All that remained were flakes, a few broken tools, our flags, and ATV tracks crisscrossing the dune.

At about this time, Kelly Graf, Bryan Hockett, David Rhode, and I began working at Bonneville Estates Rockshelter near West Wendover, Nevada (Rhode et al. 2005). It, too, had fallen prey to looting shortly before our project began. We estimated that 25 percent of the shelter’s greater than 1-m-deep cultural deposits were illegally dug by artifact collectors. In the jagged profiles remaining, we could see a sample of what they took: not just bifacial points dating from 8,000 years ago to the protohistoric period, but a variety of features, including perishable artifacts such as cordage, baskets, bone awls and needles, and carved wooden pegs used as snares. Despite the BLM’s best efforts, the looted artifacts have not been retrieved and likely never will be.

Why are these federally owned archaeological sites being targeted? The answer is obvious: for collecting. Countless artifacts from Brush Creek, Elephant Mountain Cave, Bonneville Estates Rockshelter, and many other sites on federal land have likely found their way to the collector market. If they ever become available to professionals for study, their original provenance will undoubtedly remain concealed, because of their illegal origin. Aren’t we, by working with the owners of these potentially stolen artifacts, legitimizing their theft?

Since leaving Nevada and joining the Center for the Study of the First Americans at Texas A&M University, I have seen another worrisome aspect of collecting: commercialization of the archaeological record through professional display.

Figure 1. Jack Hareison at Elephant Mountain Cave, standing in his looter’s pit and pointing at the original, pre-looted surface of the cave (photo taken by Hareison’s wife; provided to the author by Pat Barker).
and publication of collections. The Rutz Clovis biface from central Washington is a case in point. This extraordinarily large obsidian fluted point, which may or may not have come from public land near Wenatchee, has appeared in several archaeology texts and magazine articles. In 2013, it was displayed at the Paleoamerican Odyssey conference in Santa Fe, New Mexico. The conference organizers, myself included, thought that displaying this privately owned artifact alongside a few other private collections (including that of Jim Cox, who mentions the experience in his essay in this issue) and from professionally excavated Paleoindian sites was a positive step toward working with and educating avocationals, collectors, and other science buffs (more than 1,000 attended the event, half amateurs).

Yet just days after Odyssey, the owner of the Rutz Clovis point relinquished it to Morphy’s Auction house in eastern Pennsylvania for sale, evidently having used the conference as a marketplace to increase the artifact’s worth to wealthy collectors. This single artifact fetched $276,000, reportedly from a Texas collector (Art Daily 2013). Two years later, I still get worked up that someone we invited to display an artifact for educational purposes used the opportunity to increase its market value. Despicable? Maybe not. After all, this artifact was privately owned, and it was the owner’s prerogative to sell it. Duplicitious? I think so, given that we clearly advertised Paleoamerican Odyssey as an educational experience, not a commercial artifact show.

In this vein, another important Paleoindian artifact comes to mind: the fragment of a fossil bone from Vero Beach, Florida, etched with the image of a mammoth or mastodon. Avid fossil collector James Kennedy allegedly found it on a beach and loaned it to Barbara Purdy and colleagues for analysis. Purdy’s team authenticated the artifact as Paleoindian in age and published their results (Purdy et al. 2011). However, by doing so they inadvertently increased the value of the piece by tens of thousands of dollars, facilitating its sale to an undisclosed buyer for an undisclosed amount of money—not a “tor” but enough to make Kennedy “moderately comfortable,” according to Ron Rennick, the Florida art dealer who managed the sale (Genz 2013). Ethically, did Purdy and colleagues do the right thing? By bringing this potentially significant artifact to the attention of the professional archaeological community, maybe so. But by authenticating the artifact, they also facilitated its sale to an unknown buyer, effectively negating much of their own research. Science is based on the replicability of results, and the Vero Beach artifact is now lost and unavailable for corroborative analysis. Why would the Vero Beach artifact’s new owner, who obviously paid a tidy sum for it, agree to have the artifact reanalyzed by a different team using different analytical approaches, if a possible outcome is that it may be shown to be a forgery? At this point, replication of the Vero Beach mammoth etching can only be accomplished through recovery of another such artifact from a carefully controlled, professional excavation.

From my western U.S. perspective, working with collectors is fraught with problems. The collector market promotes looting of archaeological sites and fabrication of the archaeological record. The professional study of private collections legitimizes collecting, sending the message that collecting and looting is acceptable and that private collections are important and valued. The alliance between Paleoindian archaeologists and collectors promotes the destruction and sale of the archaeological record. Public outreach, when it focuses on private collections, is clearly problematic. Educating collectors about the importance of archaeological context is necessary, and some collectors have listened and learned this lesson. Unfortunately, others have not. As a result, including their collections in our research potentially crosses an ethical boundary we need to consider carefully.

Now that I am again conducting research in Interior Alaska, collectors have become less of a problem for me, personally. The sites are difficult to access, because we lack roads across much of the country, and thick northern forest soils seal much of the record well below the ground surface. Luckily, the high cost of accessing the archaeological record evidently outweighs the market value of any artifacts recovered from the region’s early sites. As a result, for the past four decades archaeologists in central Alaska have worked in a collector-free environment, with great results. In an area roughly the size of Connecticut and Rhode Island, we now know of at least 10 archaeological sites that contain Clovis-aged or pre-Clovis-aged human occupations (Graf and Bigelow 2011; Potter et al. 2013). All were discovered by professional archaeologists working with well-reasoned research designs. Excavations have produced impressive assemblages of artifacts, faunal remains, and features, none impacted by collectors or looters and all providing rich suites of material culture for reconstructing the lives of some of North America’s earliest inhabitants. So the next time you tell yourself that collectors are our indispensable “boots on the ground” and that our understanding of North America’s prehistoric past is due in large part to their efforts, take another look at what archaeologists in Alaska have accomplished without such a ground force. Collectors are not helping us to preserve the archaeological record; the rampant trafficking in North America’s past is destroying it at a much faster pace than we can afford.
Where do we draw the line in our dealing with collectors? I advocate that we abstain from studying their collections as much as possible. Certainly there are other more positive ways for professionals to interact with avocationalists. In southern Oregon, we developed a strong adult-education program, providing field and laboratory experiences for energetic amateurs and organizing regular lecture series and weekend field-study trips. Similarly, as Shott and Pitblado noted in their introduction to these essays, the U.S. Forest Service and the BLM have implemented stewardship programs across the West, enlisting the energy of amateurs in preservation. In these contexts, the public has become a stakeholder in the conservation of archaeological sites and artifacts, taking on a much more meaningful and positive role in archaeology than artifact collectors ever will. Even in the eastern U.S., where public land is rare, let’s put our energy into negotiating with land owners and learning about the archaeological record first-hand, rather than negotiating with collectors to learn about the record second-hand.

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do not have much experience with collectors in the United States or in eastern and southern Africa, where I have done much of my research over the years. I have been very cognizant of the different types of collectors who collected on or near the sites I worked on in the U.S., including members of past Antiquarian societies, private land owners, metal detectorists, and looters, but I have had very little direct interaction with those individuals. I am also well aware that many private collections contain object types that are rarely found in scientific archaeological excavations and have the potential to yield important information of scientific value, particularly if some contextual information exists about the objects. Given these caveats, my comments pertaining to collaboration with responsible collectors are strictly from a pragmatic perspective related to the costs of preserving private collections over the long term for the benefit of the archaeological profession and general public.

I want to focus this essay on two of the four criteria for a “responsible collector” that were provided by Shott and Pitblado prior to our SAA session. One criterion was that the collector will make provisions for the permanent curation of their collection and/or for digital preservation through descriptions, photography, 3-D scanning, and other means. The other criterion is that the collector maintains some minimum recording standards about the collection, or will bring the collection up to those standards.

The SAA membership should be aware of the “curation crisis” across the U.S. and much of the world (e.g., Marquardt et al. 1982). This predicament involves the massive growth of systematically recovered archaeological collections in the U.S. since federal and state historic preservation laws were enacted in the 1960s and 1970s. This growth has led to a lack of space to curate those collections, inadequate numbers of professionally trained curators to manage them, and inadequate security, fire protection, and environment controls in many repositories where the collections are stored, among many other impacts (Sullivan and Childs 2003). Another critical aspect of this unsustainable situation has been the lack of funding to properly document and prepare the collections for storage after they are recovered from the field and then to support the long-term stewardship of those collections for future research, education, and heritage uses. Collections resulting from both academic research and cultural resources management (CRM) were not budgeted for adequately so the crisis grew (Childs 2010), a situation that, in recent years, is improving in the CRM industry.

My primary concern regarding working with responsible collectors relates to the process of permanently accommodating collections that have been unsystematically, unscientifically recovered. Museums currently house millions of systematically, scientifically collected objects, many of which are not well curated or are orphaned without any organization accepting responsibility for them. Should the archaeological profession support the donation of responsibly recovered private collections when we have not insisted on proper budgeting and good stewardship for the collections recovered by our own colleagues? Furthermore, from where will the financial support for private collections come? Should granting organizations fund either the curation or digitization of private collections when professionally excavated collections are not adequately funded by those same granting organizations? And, less funding will probably be available for the curation of scientific collections if grants are provided for private collections. Also, digitization of objects, particularly if using 3-D scanning or photogrammetry, is expensive and then must be followed by budgeting for the long-term curation of the digital files.

I am a pragmatist, and I do not want to be a naysayer. There are ways that we can curate important private collections through persistent communication and education, which I
would like to explore in this article. I strongly suggest that an archaeologist who works with responsible collectors should do the following if they identify a collection that is worthy of long-term curation in a museum:

- Educate the collector about the minimum data standards that must be recorded about each object in the collection. These recording standards provide critical information for the museum catalog records that will be created when the collection is donated to a museum in order to facilitate future research, interpretation, and other uses, such as exhibits and public outreach. The data standards should include: artifact type; cultural period; state site number; collection date; name of collector; state, county, and name of the place where the object was found; UTM coordinates or other specific information about the object’s original location, including in-site provenience; and the history of any changes to its physical condition since the object was collected. Additionally, there should be two or three photographs of each object, e.g., front, back, and side angle that include a measuring scale. Not only do the photographs help describe an object—for instance use wear or other distinctive markings—but they also help document the condition of the object at the time it was accepted into the museum.

- Ensure that the collector understands the implications of donating their collection to a museum. Museums will be interested in any documentation that proves original ownership of the collection and will then ask the donor to sign a deed of gift form that documents the transfer of ownership to the museum (Sonderman 2004). Most museums accept only unrestricted gifts, that is, a donation that identifies the museum as the rightful owner of the collection without limitations on how the object(s) must be stored, exhibited, or otherwise used. Furthermore, a complete donation includes any associated records, such as a field log book, sketch maps, or other notes taken about the circumstances of the recovery, which should be deposited with the objects.

- Help the collector identify a museum that will benefit from the donation according to its Scope of Collection Statement or similar document. I recommend that a private collection is donated to a museum that has a lengthy history of commitment to long-term collections care and accessibility for research, heritage uses, education, and public exhibits and programs.

- Familiarize the collector with the collection acceptance or submission requirements once a museum is identified. These conditions are often posted on the museum’s website or provided by the museum Registrar or appropriate Curator. They generally include specifications for how the objects should be cleaned, the types of object storage bags and boxes that must be used, the labeling system for the containers, and the cataloging system used by the museum.

- Consult the collector and the museum on how the collector can contribute financially to the long-term preservation of the donated collection, either at the time of donation or later. Since many museums cannot afford to accept and accession private collections, this step is critical. Many museums now charge a fee to curate archaeological collections, which is often presented in the museum’s acceptance requirements (see also Childs et al. 2010). A basic understanding of the costs and a frank discussion about estate planning may open the door to the possibility of donating the collection at the time of the collector’s passing, along with the necessary financial support. It is critical that donated private collections do not become “orphaned” and abandoned by the host institution, which increasingly happens to systematically recovered collections, because the donation was incomplete or was not adequately supported financially.

Instead of donating object collections to museums for long-term curation, another option to ensure that legitimate private collections are accessible for future archaeological research is to thoroughly document them using digital technologies (Shott 2008). This is certainly feasible and may be preferable to donation, but it is also important to note the related costs to this alternative that also need to be financially supported. It may seem inexpensive for an archaeologist interested in documenting a private collection to use a digital camera already purchased for another archaeological investigation to take photos of the objects in various standardized positions. However, if the photos are to be made available for future use by colleagues, they too need to be appropriately curated. This means that the digital files are properly labeled and described, backed up in at least two places to prevent loss, and migrated to new formats that become established over time to prevent failure and obsolescence. Some museums offer curation services for digital records, but depositing the photos in a dedicated digital repository may be a better solution. In either case, the curation of digital records also has related costs, upfront fees are generally charged for this service, and there are submission requirements. If photogrammetry or 3-D laser scanning is used to record the objects, then there are the additional expenses of the machinery and its operation by skilled professionals, as well as the curation of the large digital files.
Another ramification of creating digital files of objects from private collections is the relative ease with which they can be made public, particularly on the Internet. Archaeologists must recognize that the value of illicitly recovered objects on the open market can be significantly increased bypublicizing and publishing objects from private responsible collections. Also, there may be cultural sensitivities associated with some objects that need to be considered prior to making them publically accessible on the Internet.

Collaboration with responsible collectors requires education and communication about many aspects of the archaeological endeavor, including the benefits of and standards for careful object documentation, the long-term preservation of and accessibility to the collection for public benefit in museums, and the related costs. Many responsible collectors are members of state and local archaeological societies, which are excellent venues to discuss these practical issues on a regular basis. It is critical that the responsibilities and ramifications involved in donating a private collection to a museum, following the protocols provided above, are carefully laid out to potential donors (and to other archaeologists who may work with them) so the donation is transparent and fully successful. Furthermore, examples of successful donations should be shared as useful models for others to follow.

Acknowledgments
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Note
1. The Scope of Collection Statement (SOCS) or its equivalent defines the purpose of the museum collections, identifies the parameters of collecting activity, sets limits on collecting, and describes the uses and restrictions of the museum collections. The SOCS guides the museum’s acquisition of collections that contribute directly to its mission and history and relates to its resources and compliance with applicable laws.

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**PROS AND CONS OF CONSULTING COLLECTORS**

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In this concluding essay, we do two things. First, we explore the diverse contributions to this issue of The SAA Archaeological Record to identify points of divergence and common ground. Second, we offer suggestions for translating consensus ideas into proactive steps that individual archaeologists and SAA can take to promote responsible collaboration and improve stewardship of the physical archaeological record, including that portion currently in private hands.

Reconciling the Views of The SAA Archaeological Record Contributors

Broadly, contributors to this issue of The SAA Archaeological Record (tSAR) appear to operate from one of two very different worldviews. For some (e.g., Cox, Connolly, and Childs), the foundation for evaluating whether and how archaeologists should collaborate with collectors is rooted in what they see as the realities of the U.S. legal system, archaeological ethics, and human behavior. For others (e.g., Goebel and, to a lesser extent, Watkins), a sense of what our nation should be (one without an imperialistic past, with stronger heritage laws, where only trained archaeologists indulge the urge to collect, and where collectors are not already having a profound impact on archaeological landscapes) shapes their interactions—or lack thereof—with artifact collectors.

We believe the distinction accounts for why equally accomplished and ethical archaeologists sometimes approach prospective collaboration entirely differently. Accepting our nation, its laws, and its people as they are—even when we perceive any or all of those elements as flawed—creates space for collaboration. Operating from a foundation of how the U.S. past and present population should be accentuates flaws, often turning them into collaborative deal-breakers. Neither worldview is inherently right or wrong. However, conscious reflection upon one’s ethos may help illuminate one’s own base comfort level with professional-collector interaction, while demystifying positions colleagues hold on the subject.

We also learned from our contributors just how blurry the lines can be among professional archaeologists, avocational archaeologists, and collectors. In fact, as Cox points out (and exemplifies) in his essay, many people move fluidly among these categories during their lifetime. Spurning all collectors today will likely burn bridges with future colleagues or knowledgeable and dedicated avocations who stop collecting after learning about satisfying alternatives. Relatedly, definitions of what many tSAR readers likely see as straightforward terms—noteably “avocational archaeologist” and “collector”—carry substantively different meanings and connotations when invoked by one archaeologist (or avocational or collector) versus another. Like individual worldview, this likely helps explain why archaeologists struggle to achieve consensus about whether and how to interact with “artifact collectors.”

Continuing with the theme of “ambiguity,” tSAR contributors, including ourselves, have different takes on how much collecting has gone on over the past hundred years or so; how much of it falls into the category of large-scale looting (e.g., backhoe plundering of mound villages) versus well-documented surface collecting; how collecting varies based on regional norms; the nature of damage various forms of collecting have on the archaeological record; and the extent to which collaboration can mitigate that damage. To our knowledge, no one has studied any of these subjects systematically, which leaves each of us to answer these questions based only on our own experiences. Those experiences vary enormously (witness the essays and contrasting conclusions of Connolly versus Goebel), leading to yet another reason why some of us strongly advocate collaboration while others are more leery of or outright reject the practice.
As much, however, as we perceive and can begin to explain differences among contributors’ views of professional-collector collaboration, we also see one crucial point of convergence. When we establish strict parameters for collaboration (e.g., ruling out those who collect for financial profit); agree on the basic characteristics of the prospective collaborators we are talking about (if not on the terms with which we refer to them); and stipulate that collectors sometimes possess important material culture that can advance the discipline—we do approach something close to a consensus view that ethical archaeologists can and should partner with responsible, responsive, ethical collectors (c.f. Goebel, this issue). This suggests that archaeologists who agree that collaboration is worthwhile should approach the issue directly, systematically, and pro-actively.

Where Can (Should) We Go From Here

As discussed in our introductory essay, SAA’s mission from the time of its founding has been to welcome responsible collectors into the Society’s fold. Moreover, and after some decades of having moved away from that founding principle, SAA has recently re-embraced the goal of working with the metal-detecting community to their benefit and ours (see the March 2015 issue of The SAA Archaeological Record for several essays on this subject). For anyone who agrees that the educational approach advocated by SAA’s Metal Detecting Task Force (Peebles 2015) is the engagement strategy liable to yield maximum “wins” for maximum stake-holders, it is hard to argue against taking a similarly inclusive approach to those who collect the other remnants of 11,000+ years of American prehistory. Momentum exists now with SAA archaeologists advising the producers of popular TV shows on metal detecting to mitigate damage to the archaeological record; capitalizing on that momentum seems prudent.

To do this, we advocate formation of an SAA Task Force dedicated to defining appropriate relationships between professional archaeologists and responsible artifact collectors. We envision the principal challenge of the Task Force to be developing guidelines to shape interactions between archaeologists and collectors. This would help ensure that the Society’s broader ethical principles are not violated by irresponsible collaboration. It would also alleviate some of the fear of the unknown and the misunderstood (e.g., antiquities laws) that currently underlie the decision of many professionals and collectors to avoid one another entirely.

Once such a Task Force has completed its work, an SAA Interest Group could then be formed to engage in a host of additional actions to further advance ethical relationships between professional archaeologists and collectors. Interest Group efforts—or, for that matter, efforts by individual archaeologists even in the absence of a formal Interest Group—could include the following:

• Working from the newly formalized guidelines, develop a manual to assist those wishing to engage in real-world collaborations. Many successful collaborative models exist already, including Shott’s and colleagues’ ongoing efforts to document private stone tool collections using 3-D technologies and Pitblado’s (2014a) educationally oriented “artifact road-shows.” The manual would translate into concrete steps the “do’s” and “don’ts” of principled collaboration enumerated in the guidelines.

• Coordinate a series of pilot studies in various regions of the country that adhere to best-practices of collaboration to demonstrate the research strides that can be made when archaeologists and collectors work together. These studies could be compiled into a volume reporting the results to the membership and others with an interest. This could help further break down walls between professional archaeologists and collectors who want their materials to help advance understanding of the past.

• Conduct ethnographic studies of collecting populations to gain a better understanding of their demographics, motivations, extent, and nature of prior interaction with professionals; desire to interact with professionals; the possibility that collaboration can inflate prices of artifacts on the antiquities market and stimulate uncontrolled collecting, and so forth. Chip Colwell-Chanthaphonh (2004) has shown how such studies can fill the gaps in our understanding of individuals who span the collecting spectrum, such that we do not have to rely so heavily on our own personal experiences with a small sample of collectors to inform whether and how we reach out or respond to other prospective private partners.

• Reinvigorate and identify ways to more robustly support SAA’s Council of Affiliated Societies (CoAS) (https://ecommerce.saa.org/saa/staticcontent/staticpages/adminDir/affiliates.cfm). The mission of CoAS, which is arguably SAA’s most important (if downplayed) nod to the importance of encouraging public participation in the Society, is “to benefit all societies in this field and advance the practice of archaeology.” CoAS offers existing infrastructure to reach out to collectors, whether the collectors are themselves members of CoAS societies or are individuals that non-collecting CoAS members are naturally positioned to reach in a mediator-style role.
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- Encourage incorporating readings about (e.g., Early 1999; LaBelle 2003; Piflado 2014b; Shott 2008) and discussion of interacting with private collectors into graduate-student education. We heard comments in our San Francisco forum from current graduate students and professionals who felt their graduate programs had perpetuated an “all collectors are bad” mentality that did not prepare them for the realities of real-world archaeology. Most graduate students are exposed to archaeological ethics in some form. Ensuring that prospective collaboration is part of those discussions would maximize the chances that students’ future practice of archaeology and decision making is rooted in a thorough understanding of the issues.

- Embrace mechanisms that introduce collectors and professional archaeologists to one another, so they can learn first-hand what each has to offer. Tracy Brown, a private-sector archaeologist in the southeastern U.S., recently launched a blog called “Can Artifact Collectors and Archaeologists Find a Way to Get Along and Collaborate More?” with the tagline “Exploring the Chances for Mutual Reconciliation, Peace, and Cooperation” (https://archaeologyreconciliation.wordpress.com). Brown’s blog features sections devoted to topics such as “Collectors Submit Questions to Archaeologists” and vice-versa, and it offers a productive way for nervous professionals and collectors alike to stick a toe in the water and get to know one another.

Conclusions

We are deeply grateful to all the contributors to this issue of The SAA Archaeological Record and to those who participated in our San Francisco SAA forum in spring 2015 for sharing their views on the archaeologist-artifact collector relationship. Like all people, archaeologists bring to their profession unique arrays of experiences, often including interactions with collectors. For many, those experiences have been so universally positive that it is all but inconceivable that others could advocate a blanket rejection of such an exceptionally rich resource. For others, however, negative experiences—particularly with the extreme end of the collector spectrum that most archaeologists, avocationalists, and responsible collectors abhor—lead them to see collector-avoidance as the best and safest possible strategy.

We recognize the apparent logic of the view that archaeologists can avoid ethical compromise only by avoiding collectors. Certainly it would seem to follow that if professionals interact only with other professionals, they will never endanger the archaeological record. Unfortunately, however, just as the collector spectrum culminates in the realms of the unethical and blatantly illegal, so too does the professional-archaeologist spectrum—with respect to artifact collection, interpretation of the record, and regrettably, various other arenas. As anthropologists know better than anyone, every group contains bad actors, even when all members have initials after their names.

Unfortunately as well, for professional archaeologists to erect an insurmountable wall between themselves and all collectors, they would be forced to sever all ties with those who identify as avocational archaeologists and with the many state and local societies that represent them. Why? Because in their midst are people who have collected artifacts. Not all avocational archaeologists collect artifacts and not all collectors consider themselves to be avocationalists. However, the overlap between the two is sufficiently substantial that to absolutely ensure collector-free interaction, the only solution is to avoid the entire population of avocationalists. And that, which strikes us as a would-be travesty and an untenable approach to our discipline, also leaves only fellow professionals as trustworthy partners. Yet we have established that there are bad apples in that bunch, too.

We do not think the world is a perfect place (as we would construct “perfection”). We do think that “eyes-wide-open” is the best way to maximize the chances that any relationship will work to the benefit of those involved, but we also realize that even the most cautious people occasionally get burned when they take a chance on one another. We also believe, however, that rejecting all interaction with any group of people based on an over-generalized view of how its members behave is a recipe for isolation and stagnation. We hope that readers of these essays, whether identifying as a professional archaeologist, an avocational, and/or a collector, will conclude that actively re-building bridges among us offers our best chance of unraveling and protecting the human story captured in the material culture that resonates so strongly with us all.

To close, we encourage anyone interested in helping with any of the possible proactive steps outlined above, or others that have not occurred to us but that could advance collaboration, to contact us.

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