

Balancing situated and objective representations in archaeological fieldwork

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Abstract

Archaeology comprises both systematic and improvised attitudes and processes concerned with the collection and maintenance of data. This reflects the need to obtain formally-defined data, while also grappling with the fuzzy and uncertain nature of archaeological encounters, especially in fieldwork environments. This produces an epistemic tension, whereby archaeologists struggle to reconcile their desire to produce concrete outcomes based on objective facts, and their intuitive understanding that data are in fact products of situated decisions and actions. Through observations of archaeological practices, interviews with archaeologists at work, and analysis of the documents they produced while recording objects of archaeological concern, this paper articulates how archaeologists cope with this tension and integrate it into their work experiences.

Keywords: data work; documentation; collaborative experiences

Introduction

The series of challenges pertaining to the organization, sharing and reuse of archaeological data, which are often collectively referred to as the discipline’s “curation crisis” or “data deluge”, have highlighted the wide array of practices that underlie data’s construction, management, dissemination and reuse (Bevan 2012; Huggett 2022b, 2022a). Numerous studies have complicated the common imagination of data – which considers them as concise, corpuscular, discrete and inherently truthful records – by demonstrating how, in practice, they are actually messy, incomplete and non-reductive (cf. Huggett 2022a; Voss 2012; Dallas 2015; Batist 2024). In fact, archaeologists create data while anticipating their utility as records that inform certain kinds of analysis, while those who apply data in analytical contexts simultaneously reconcile their own use-cases with the conditions under which the data were originally created (Dallas 2015: 190-191).

This is reflected in the ways in which archaeologists reuse data. Faniel et al. (2013) and Atici et al. (2013) documented how those who reuse data seek out additional contextual information about the circumstances of a dataset’s creation by communicating directly with

the dataset's originators, thereby establishing a discursive collaborative tie. Alternatively, many data analysts who operate at a distance from the contexts in which data originate prefer to trust in the models that give the data concrete structure, thereby offloading the acts of reconciliation to those who produced the data (Huggett 2022b). In other words, reusing data involves establishing trust, which can be garnered through mutual understanding of the challenges that had to be overcome to get observations to fit within discrete data structures, or through reliance on mechanisms of control to ensure that data are collected and maintained in a consistent manner.

This paper demonstrates some of the strategies employed to establish trust in data. Through analysis of one illustrative example of archaeological documentation in fieldwork, I show how data-capture is not merely a sensory experience whereby nature is recorded on a 1:1 basis, but is in fact structured by models and power relations that legitimize data and make them useful.

Background

This work builds upon prior studies of archaeological documentation in fieldwork settings, particularly Edgeworth's (1991: 28) dissertation that documented "the transaction between the subject and the object, as it takes place in the act of discovery," which represented an attempt to ground theoretical discourse concerning the objectivity of the archaeological record in the practical "intersubjective work or labour upon material objects". This extremely polyvalent work touched on various aspects of archaeological practice, highlighting the collective and discursive process of archaeological knowledge production in various settings. Edgeworth closely examined the physical acts of excavation, the mindsets of the people doing this work, the sensory and conceptual apparatus through which objects are uncovered and made meaningful, and the social transactions that surround and permeate life on the project. His work drew attention to the social and professional interactions taking place at an archaeological excavation, and which occur as archaeologists articulate an object as a meaningful or discrete entity and make it official. Crucially, Edgeworth highlighted how archaeological records are produced through improvised, semi-structured and discursive action, afforded by practical concern and limited by the prior experiences held by those doing the work.

Similarly, Goodwin (1994, 2010) observed how the formation of concrete records in fieldwork settings relates to the establishment of professional frameworks, which lend authoritative legitimacy to the meanings that archaeologists eventually settled upon. This touched on similar observations made by Gero (1996), who noted how certain ways of delimiting features – which corresponded with gendered experiences – were deemed more legitimate than others. Mickel (2021) and Yarrow (2008) also showed a strong relationship between the diminished interpretative agency among archaeological labourers (including local labourers and undergraduate students) and their inability to contribute tangible and meaningful documentary records about the things they recover.

Thorpe (2012) also argued that the broader social and political circumstances – neoliberal austerity, in particular – in which archaeological fieldwork tends to operate significantly

effects how interpretations are made and arguments are extended, by effectively curtailing fieldworkers' creative agency. Huggett (2022b), Caraher (2019), Batist et al. (2021), and Batist ([In review](#)) similarly draw attention to how digital workflows effectively segregate acts of recording from acts of analysis and interpretation, by putting significant epistemic distance between those who hold creative agency in analytical and interpretive domains and those who occupy the domain of fieldwork; they further demonstrate how the latter is leveraged by the former to produce a clear and concise basis upon which formal analytical methods rest. Moreover, Batist (2024) and Hacıgüzeller, Taylor, and Perry (2021) point out that the formal and transactional paradigm that dominates discourse on what data are and how they should be handled poses problems for communicating what was actually encountered while excavating a feature, including tentative thoughts, desires and apprehensions that are left out of official records.

In what follows, I will extend this critique by showcasing the improvised nature of data construction in fieldwork settings and by demonstrating how rough encounters with archaeological remains are stabilized and made more legitimate through documentation practices.

Methods, Data and Approach

This paper draws from observations of and interviews with archaeologists at work, as well as the documents that they produced. Specifically, I articulate how archaeologists enacted various activities and how their actions were situated as part of broader systems of knowledge production. My involvement with this project constituted a longitudinal investigation of archaeological practice that contributed to my doctoral dissertation (Batist [2023](#)).

Case

I base my findings on a singular case – that of a research project comprising excavation of a prehistoric site in Southern Europe. It is directed by a foreign professor affiliated with a North American university, who coordinates various specialists whom the director recruited for their expertise in the interpretation of finds, a number of trench supervisors who lead excavation and coordinate data collection, and excavators who are usually less experienced students who operate under the guidance of their assigned trench supervisors.

I actively contributed to the project for several years, primarily serving as a database manager. I documented how participants engaged with this project's information system from 2017 to 2019, which involved recording and interviewing archaeologists as they worked during the summer field seasons and holding additional interviews between fieldwork sessions. The project's director also provided access to all documents and records for the purpose of this research.

This project served as a useful case study that illustrated the pragmatic and multifaceted ways in which participants reasoned and worked their way through the rather mundane activities that archaeologists commonly undertake in similar research contexts. In case-study research, cases represent discrete instances of a phenomenon relating to researcher's interest (Ragin [1992](#)). Cases are therefore not the subjects of inquiry, but the vehicles

through which phenomena of interest are manifested in an observable way. I recognize that all archaeological projects are informed by their own histories, memberships, sets of tools, methods, and social or political circumstances, which inform distinct traditions of practice, and that it is not possible to generalize across the whole discipline through a single case study. However, I am able to articulate some significant factors that contribute to decisions and behaviours that archaeologists commonly make and enact, and to make certain underappreciated social and collaborative commitments that underlie common tools and practices more visible. I am therefore able to draw attention to certain patterns of practice that relate to contemporary discourse on the nature of archaeological data and ongoing development of information infrastructures.

As such, my conclusions are informed by the informants whose actions and attitudes I sought to articulate, and by my own perspective as a scholar of the culture and practice of archaeology and of the media and infrastructures that support it. One implication is that commercial archaeology, which comprises the vast majority of archaeological work in North America and Europe, is out of the study's scope, owing to the fact that the case represents a research project and that I have very limited experience with and knowledge about commercial archaeology. However, see Chadwick (1998), Thorpe (2012), and Zorzin (2015) for similar research pertaining to commercial archaeology.

Data

My dataset comprises recorded observations, embedded interviews, retrospective interviews, archaeological documentation, and ethnographic and reflexive fieldnotes.

Observational data comprised records of participants' behaviours as they performed various archaeological activities and take the form of video, audio and textual files. They enable me to document *how* practices are performed, in addition to the fact *that* they are performed. Moreover, observational data allow me to document what participants actually do as opposed to what they think or say they do. For instance, I situated activities in relation to broader systems even when participants are unaware that they are contributing to these systems, and to consider how activities occurring at various times or in various contexts indirectly relate to, compare with or inform each other. Some of the primary foci of my observations were the processes that result in archaeological records; people's use of information objects or interfaces, which sometimes differ from expected behaviour established through their design; how subjects implemented unconventional solutions or "hacks" to work around problems; how the context of an activity affects its implementation; and how local or idiosyncratic terms, concepts and gestures become established in a research community.

Embedded interviews comprised conversational inquiries with participants in the context of their work, and were meant to account for participants' perspectives regarding how and why they act as they do, given the immediate constraints of the situation at hand. Embedded interviews provided insight into the practicalities of work in the moment, from the perspective of practitioners themselves (Flick 1997, 2000; Witzel 2000). They are also useful for comparing participants' responses with observational records to interrogate how and why participants' observed actions may differ from the rationales elucidated from embedded

interviews. Some of the primary foci of my embedded interviews are to account for how participants identify problems or challenges in their work, and to determine ways to resolve them; how certain people gain recognition as domain experts or authorities with specialized knowledge; how specialists relate their contributions to the contributions of others; and how specialists relate their situated perspectives to centralized knowledge repositories.

Retrospective interviews comprised longer interviews outside of work settings with select participants to contextualize data collected by other means and to determine participants' views on more general or relatively unobservable aspects of archaeological research (such as planning, publishing, collaboration, etc). They helped me gain insight into how participants situate themselves as members of and in relation to research communities, which may be characterized by different regimes of value and by different methodological protocols or argumentation strategies. Some of the primary foci of my retrospective interviews are to highlight participants' perspectives on the value of various kinds of research outputs, what they value in their work and the work of others, the major constraints and challenges that they and their communities face, and how they might resolve them.

I examined documents and media (such as forms, photographs, labels, databases, datasets and reports) to gain insight into institutional norms or expectations. My analysis emphasized how people interacted with these objects, so that I could assess how they valued them and the conditions under which they deemed them useful or meaningful. I also examined documents and media as means for encapsulating and communicating meanings among users across space and over time. This helped me to understand the vectors through which participants either tacitly form collective experiences or directly collaborate among themselves (Huvila 2011, 2016; Yarrow 2008). Some of my primary foci are understanding how document design and media capture protocols anticipate certain methods; how various activities refer to recorded information, especially archived information; the reasons why team members ignore certain equipment and forms of documentation despite their availability; how record-keeping is controlled through explicit or implicit imposition of limitations or constraints; why certain records play more a more central role than others; and how different archaeologists record the same objects in different ways.

Finally, my field notes comprised reflexive journal entries that I wrote between observational sessions or interviews. They also include moments from observational sessions or interviews that I deemed particularly important, as well as descriptive accounts of unrecorded activities or conversations that I have since deemed useful data in their own right.

I obtained informed consent from all individuals included in this study in compliance with the University of Toronto's Social Sciences, Humanities, and Education Research Ethics Board, Protocol 34526. In order to ensure that participants could speak freely about their personal and professional relationships while minimizing risk to their personal and professional reputations, I committed to refrain from publishing any personally identifying information. I refer to all participants, affiliated organizations, and mentioned individuals or organizations using pseudonyms. I also edited visual media to obscure participants' faces and other information that might reveal their identities, and took care to edit or avoid using direct quotations that were cited in other published work that follows a more permissive protocol regarding the dissemination of participants' identifying information.

Analysis

I analyzed recorded observations and interviews, and interrogated the roles and affordances of various tools and documents, using qualitative data analysis methods. More specifically, draw from the “constellation of methods” that Charmaz (2014: 14-15) associated with grounded theory, namely coding and memoing. See Batist (2024: 9-10) for a more comprehensive overview of the analytical methods employed for the project from which this paper emerges.

I refer to specific observations or interview segments throughout the rest of this text using references that resemble sequential endnotes, which are indexed in the Supplementary Materials.

Findings

I focus on a string of episodes where Jane, a promising trench assistant working at an archaeological project, learned to identify, differentiate, and document parts of a stratigraphic sequence. I illustrate how the constitution of the archaeological record, and the internalization of archaeological knowledge, occurred as part of project frameworks and collaborative relations that were structured by projects’ divisions of labour.

Learning to see like an archaeologist

As illustrated in Figure 1, Jane explained to me how she identified and differentiated a new context that she was beginning to expose in her trench, using a series of gestures paired with speech to help convey what she meant to say.¹ Jane kicked the boulders as she referred to them, literally pointed out relations to previous experiences that she deemed relevant, and described certain aspects of the soil by miming the ways that she would interact with them. She referred to common nomenclature outlined in the project’s excavation manual, and drew from her experiences working in other trenches that others may have shared. More generally, she described the context change only in terms of her interactions with it, and as framed by her particular role in the project.

Afterward, and as illustrated in Figure 2, Jane consulted with Basil, who supervised work in this trench, and who is also the project director, regarding her interpretation of the soil in it.² Jane explained what she saw, in terms of her encounters with the entities she identified, while punctuating her observations with physical gestures that underscored certainty that the entities she was observing actually exist. Basil came to take a closer look and translated Jane’s situated experiences into more nominal and normalized terms, that distance the observer from the observed entities. Basil then identified a series of actions that Jane must implement, and summarized the situation by joining what was observed with what was to be done about it, in effect rendering a conclusive and well-reasoned decision. All the while, Jane confirmed her understanding of Basil’s corrections and of his specific instructions.

When Jane explained her interpretation of the soil to her supervisor, he then responded

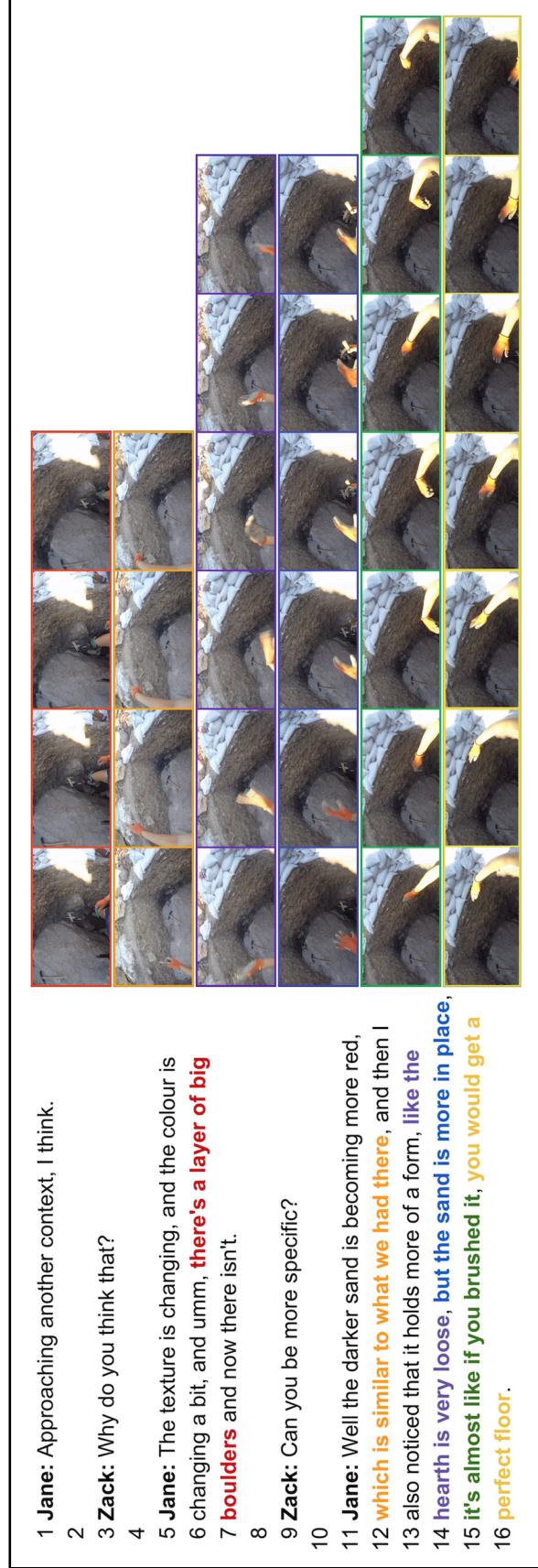


Figure 1: Explanation of a potential context change using gestures and speech.

<p>1 Jane : So, this is like still kind of a dark, dark 2 brown, going into the sand, but it's like really 3 tough, like hard to dig through, kind of. So I think 4 maybe it's just context [7]. ((gesturing towards 5 other side of the trench)) And then this is like really 6 light grey, ((bobs hand up and down to emphasize 7 these last three words)) and I thought it was just 8 cuz it had just dried out, and I hadn't done this 9 kind of [fill], but it's also really hard to dig, and 10 like a really light grey, so I don't know if it's just 11 remnants of this part, or what...</p> <p>12 ((Basil gets in the trench to take a closer /look))</p> <p>13 Jane: Or like maybe this is like, would it be 14 possible that that's like an older hearth, like the 15 other one that was leached out?</p> <p>16 Basil: Yeah, hmm. So the colour here is the same 17 as what you were digging, but the consistency 18 has changed?</p> <p>19 Jane: Yeah.</p> <p>20 Basil: I would clean up, maybe just straighten 21 that section a bit, [</p> <p>22 Jane: yeah</p> <p>23 just to the depth that you started at for this 24 context, [</p> <p>25 Jane: yeah</p>	<p>31 and then we'll clean up and carry on with... you 32 know we can just write in the text that, you know, 33 these are the differences, [</p> <p>34 Jane: yeah 35 but you know what, after we start to dig it it 36 might change back to something much more 37 familiar, [</p> <p>38 Jane: yea 39 and we can just say oh, it's like some kind of 40 differential lens of material within it, [</p> <p>41 Jane: right 42 yea, or quite possibly a continuation of what we 43 had before... [</p> <p>44 Jane: okay 45 Jane: Okay, so just clean up the walls, and then 46 keep going, okay.</p> <p>47 Basil: Yeah, but we can photograph, change 48 numbers</p> <p>49 Basil: Yeah, but we can photograph, change 50 numbers</p> <p>51 Jane: Oh, okay.</p> <p>52 Basil: We'll treat it as something different, you 53 know we can write in the notes that there is a 54 very good chance that it's still the same stuff, but 55 the consistency changed [</p> <p>56 joins what was observed with 57 what is to be done about it; 58 renders a conclusive and well- 59 reasoned decision</p>
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Figure 2: Discussion of a potential context change using gestures and speech.

with tentative agreement, paired with his own gestures and intonations that subtly communicated his agreement or disagreement. The conversation between Jane and Basil therefore served as a means of calibrating their experiences, using an independent framework as a common reference point. In effect, Basil attempted to align Jane's emerging perspective with professional nomenclature used to describe the sediment's character.

As Jane stated in a subsequent interview (Figure 3), she initially found it difficult to "train her eye to see what they're seeing", and "they" seems to refer to more senior and specialized archaeologists, including her supervisor the director, and Alfred, one of the field directors.³ By talking through their observations in an explicit manner and in the presence of the entities of mutual concern, while also referencing concrete characteristics of the soil, Basil trained Jane to see things in a way that corresponds to a formal model of how to differentiate soil, and contexts as an natural extension of that ability. This made him more confident in Jane's ability to recognize and report her experiences, upon which Basil depends; as he recalled in a separate interview, Basil came to trust Jane "to either make her own decisions or be responsible enough to ask other people to help her make decisions for those moments when I'm not there."⁴ This was because Jane became capable of deciding for herself when and how to distinguish between sediments, having internalized a conceptual framework that affords professional legitimacy to her observational techniques.

Jane: ...it's always hard to like train your eyes to see certain things. Like sometimes Alfred [the field director] would like take out a handful of sand and go like do you see the red flakes? and I would be like no. Or even like, pointing out stratigraphy, like see how this changes to this level, and it just kind of, training your eye to see what they're seeing is, sounds like an easy thing but it's actually hard to like, kind of, pick out things that they want you to pick out. And I think like now it's easier to like, oh, see how that's transitioning, or like, umm, even just like comparing peoples' trenches and like the contexts they're in, it's easier now but at the start it was like, it looks the same to me, or like I don't spot what you're spotting, you know? And it's just a way of looking at things that I think that's the hardest part for me.

Zack: Do you know how that developed?

Jane: I think just like repetitive, like every day, looking at stuff, I think is like, just a good way of learning. I don't know if there's something specific but... and just hearing from like, hearing Alfred pointing it out, hearing Basil pointing it out, hearing different supervisors pointing it out, it was just different ways of explaining it or showing it to you that it starts to kind of, like, produce a form of knowledge.

Figure 3: Jane describes how she learned to recognize differences in the soil.³

Shedding the body

I should note that Jane did not actually object to the reduction of her situated experience in favour of more generic forms of representing the stratigraphy. In fact, this conformed with a pattern of behaviour – which was enacted by all the fieldworkers I spoke with – whereby they tried not to think too much while excavating, opting instead to operate in the moment, responding only to what was directly in front of them.^{5, 6} This conformed with the

expectation that the things an excavator uncovers will gradually reveal themselves, and that she should passively follow what is occurring in the earth before her.

To help accomplish this, fieldworkers modified the environments in which they worked. For instance, some fieldworkers focused better while listening to music or while blocking out social distractions.^{7, 8} Ben, who worked as an assistant in a separate trench, said that listening to music helped him avoid being too self-aware⁷ while Jane concurred by expressing that she listened to music to help her “get lost in digging.”⁸ Even when music was not used, or when it is forbidden on site, there remains a warrant for fieldworkers to remain focused as they work.⁹ For instance, Basil recalled what he characterized as “old fashioned” archaeological fieldwork practices, which dictate that “the only sound you should hear is trowel on stone.”⁸

Having all the necessary tools at hand was another way to facilitate uninterrupted focus during fieldwork.¹⁰ This helped eliminate peripheral sensory distractions when getting up or reaching for tools placed further away. In effect, fieldworkers were made to become disembodied sensing devices attuned to one thing and one thing only: the soil immediately in front of them. This notion was further underscored by my unrecorded but common observations of supervisors having to force assistants to take breaks, drink water, apply sunscreen, and remind them that they have bodies worth cherishing and protecting.

In some cases, fieldworkers found certain kinds of information useful as they excavated. For instance, knowing about similar stratigraphy in nearby trenches enabled excavators to work at a quicker pace, since it this provided a general understanding of the order and depth of the stratigraphy under them.^{11, 12} Moreover, when finds specialists reported back to fieldworkers about the contents of their ongoing trenches, their preliminary findings sometimes influenced the care with which they excavated and recorded the trench.^{13, 14} While Theo (a trench supervisor who eventually became a field director) indicated that knowing about the properties of lithic artefacts that lithics specialists deemed important helped him undertake his work in a manner that better suited the project’s overall aims, he presented this notion in very broad terms, and refrained from indicating specific practical impacts when prompted.¹³ Moreover, Ben dismissed the input provided by palaeobotanical experts as useless to him because he was unable to “see” the archaeobotanical traces as he worked.¹⁵ This may merely reflect practical concerns, specifically regarding the microscopic nature of properties that render archaeobotanical remains significant, but it would not be absurd to find ways to help fieldworkers make sense of such insights in the field. For instance, fieldworkers may carry a magnifying loupe and reference guide, and be trained to understand how to use them, similar to how Jane learned to characterize soil samples in the field. However, this would require a more comprehensive partnership between specialists and fieldworkers, and broadening the extreme focus that fieldworkers have honed for themselves.

In general then, I observed aspects of fieldwork practice that both complement and contradict efforts to enhance reflexivity in fieldwork. The professed desire not to overthink while excavating pushes back against impulses to provide more information to fieldworkers during the moment of excavation (cf. Berggren 2012; Berggren et al. 2015). According to Theo and Ben, fieldworkers operate in a strictly separate role than those who interpret and write about finds, and this boundary feels natural to them.^{16, 17, 18} Rather than ingest loads of additional information, which involves learning how to make sense of it all and find it meaningful in

a practical sense,¹⁹ the fieldworkers I spoke with went in the opposite direction; they value their extremely focused experiences with the material, which presents them with a unique and proprietary way of knowing that dissipates as they are, as Edgeworth (2003: 109) put it, forced to “[detach themselves] from the task-in-hand to consider the material field from a distance”. This means of engagement feels more natural to them, as if unmuddled by reflexive thought, and the fieldworkers I spoke with perceived this as a strength.

At the same time, the fieldworkers I spoke with were very aware that all observation is subjective and that all records carry biases imposed by the practical circumstances of their creation; they were deeply involved in navigating these practical circumstances and in devising ways to control their environments to foster the *illusion* of objectivity. All of what I described was in service of a broader systemic framework, which is informed by a (flawed) conception of the nature of archaeological data and of what constitutes proper or legitimate archaeological reasoning (Batist, [In review](#)).

Leaving traces in the subsequent record

Turning back to the specific example, Basil’s prediction that the context would not change came to fruition. However, the tentative decision to proceed as if a change in context was imminent left residual traces on recording sheets, in the database, and in the final trench report (see Figure 4 and Figure 5).

Why did you change contexts?

We think we are still within the hearth(?) feature but in the western half of the trench (i.e. that part not covered by a boulder) the sediment has changed somewhat. In NW quadrant the soil is still dark but is now more compact. In SW it is more compact and more grey.

Context description:

SW corner of trench where a grey (ashy?) compact soil. 100% soil for flotation. Fewer artefacts. After a couple of centimetres it turns back into the black soil (i.e. this is now another arbitrary stratum in the hearth feature).

Figure 4: Transcribed section of a recording sheet describing the context addressed in the observed episode.

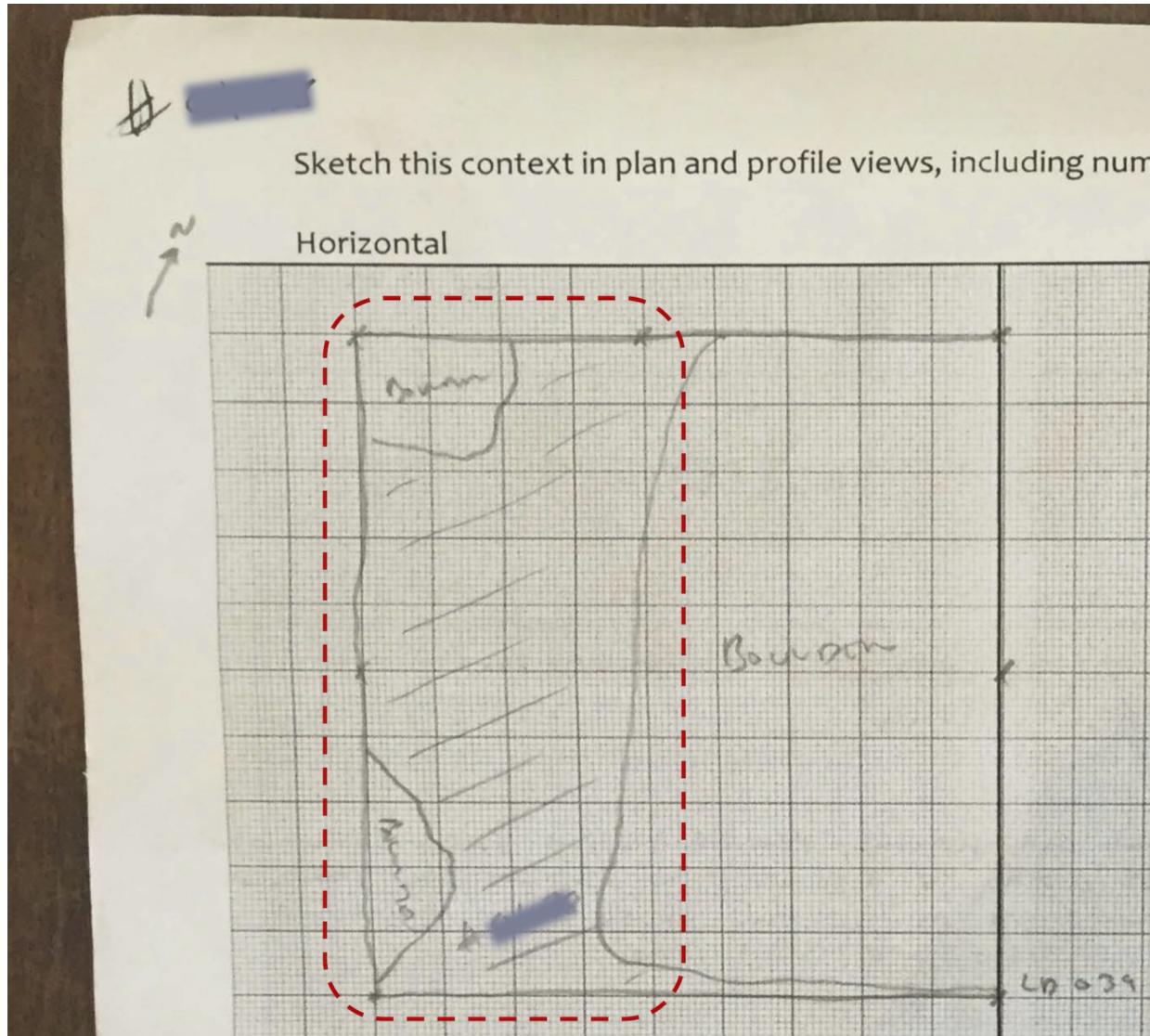


Figure 5: Sketch of the base of a trench, portraying the context addressed in the observed episode, boxed in red.

Moreover, the tentativity and ambiguity that Jane and Basil experienced while excavating this trench was one of its notable properties, as elicited in the final trench report (see Figure 6). Additionally, the report described how the contexts were eventually lumped together into a more concretely defined “lithostratigraphic unit,” which was formally delimited using nominal and standardized terminology. In this way, the report switched back and forth between ambiguous and concrete representations, which conveyed experiential and distant perspectives, respectively. This resembles the tone switching that occurred in the conversation between Jane and Basil, whereby Basil, as supervisor responsible for creating formal documentation, re-presented Jane’s experiences using more formal terms. As such, this reflects an implicit recognition that there is immense value in being able to share more nuanced perspectives on the things that make up the archaeological record (as per Batist 2024).

Context (); LU ()

The sediment in this context had changed a bit but we assumed we were still within the hearth(s). In the northwest quadrant the soil was still dark but was now more compact and in the southwest it was also compact but more light grey in colour. It appeared more ashy so we described it as a new context. However, after a couple centimetres it turned back to the darker soil so it was then decided that this was indeed a continuation of the hearth. It was then considered an arbitrary change of context. Overall, it was grey ashy soil with angular and

fairly compact stones, it was medium/fine sand, poorly sorted, and 10YR 4/1. 100% of this was also taken for flotation. The boulder begins to drop off here and does not take up any more of the trench. No sediment from beneath this large boulder was taken. However a new smaller boulder can be seen in the middle of the remaining open western side in figure 17 and more exposed in figure 18.



Figure 97; context (), opening, photo from the west, 1000747

Figure 6: Section of a trench report describing the context addressed in the observed episode, and situating it as part of a lithostratigraphic unit.

It is notable that situated experiences were recorded in the report-writing phase, and only by those acting in authoritative roles. This parallels how field journals – which are also records of situated experiences – are exclusively maintained by supervising personnel (Batist 2024). These observations reflect the different kinds of agency held by different actors in the project. Fieldworkers were encouraged to shape their behaviour so that the information they obtained was born as formal entities from the start, whereas those responsible for presenting the record as part of a broader scope of work were responsible for re-situating the data as products of data-collection processes that they designed and dictated. Recognizing the situatedness of data while they were being collected would have warranted recognition of their limitations, and was thought to enable undisciplined data collection behaviour.²⁰

Discussion and Conclusion

My findings demonstrate how the production of stable and concrete archaeological records involves characterizing the phenomena of interest in nominal terms, while downplaying the

situated and embodied experiences that informed the records' creation. The paper shows how these values are instilled through the social and material experiences in which fieldwork is embedded, which inform students about how their labour, and the outcomes of their labour, contribute to collective efforts.

More specifically, I observed a tendency toward enforcing formally-defined records in support of analytical tasks down the line. Fieldwork is therefore presented as a means to an end, and fieldworkers are accordingly rendered as instruments that can be wielded to support future analytic endeavours. This reveals how the management of archaeological data and of archaeological labour are inherently intertwined. Consequently, the mechanisms through which archaeological projects establish control over those whose labour produces data bear broader epistemic implications regarding the nature and use of evidence in our reasoning about the past.

To be clear, the instrumentalization of archaeological labour is not necessarily a bad thing. Information commons, such as the pool of knowledge accumulated throughout an archaeological project, do not necessarily have to be egalitarian, and are always governed by norms and expectations concerning who may contribute to and extract from communal resources, and in what ways these interactions should occur. The fieldworkers I spoke with (including those whose elicitations do not appear in this paper; see Batist 2023, which is the broader dissertation from which this paper derives) generally valued their contributions as sensory devices. This is linked to the idea that fieldworkers are capable of seeing things as they really are – as material entities that have seemingly not yet been ascribed stable meaning. As such, fieldworkers actively contributed to honing the illusion of their objectivity, which enhanced their value as members of the project and as domain specialists with their own unique mental skills. At the same time, it was also clear that fieldworkers knew, on an intuitive level, that any claim of objectivity is overstated (Batist 2024: 12). However, their positions as responsive rather than creative actors (cf. Batist, *In review*) ensured that they are not responsible for resolving this tension.

The tension between the desire to achieve a state of objective sensor, and the inherently situated nature of observing and recording things, persists. All observation is embodied, and all records carry biases imposed by the practical circumstances of their creation. It is unclear how, or even if, this can be resolved – but it may perhaps be eased by fostering a commensal and social attitude toward data-sharing, instead of the formal and transactional paradigm that underpins most open data infrastructures.

Author Statements

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Funding Statement

Data Availability Statement

The data generated and analysed during the current study are included in this published article's Supplementary Materials.

Competing Interests statement

Figure Captions

Figure 1: Explanation of a potential context change using gestures and speech.

Figure 2: Discussion of a potential context change using gestures and speech.

Figure 3: Jane describes how she learned to recognize differences in the soil.

Figure 4: Transcribed section of a recording sheet describing the context addressed in the observed episode.

Figure 5: Sketch of the base of a trench, portraying the context addressed in the observed episode, boxed in red.

Figure 6: Section of a trench report describing the context addressed in the observed episode, and situating it as part of a lithostratigraphic unit.

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Supplementary Materials

This supplement contains sections of transcribed interviews referenced throughout this paper. References are ordered by case and by the order in which they appear.

1 Jane: Approaching another context, I think.

Zack: Why do you think that?

Jane: The texture is changing, and the colour is changing a bit, and umm, there's a layer of big boulders and now there isn't.

Zack: Can you be more specific?

Jane: Well the darker sand is becoming more red, which is similar to what we had there, and then I also noticed that it holds more of a form, like the hearth is very loose, but the sand is more in place, it's almost like if you brushed it, you would get a perfect floor.

2 Jane: So, this is like still kind of a dark, dark brown, going into the sand, but it's like really tough, like hard to dig through, kind of. So I think maybe it's just context [?]. ((gesturing towards other side of the trench)) And then this is like really light grey, ((bobs hand up and down to emphasize these last three words)) and I thought it was just cuz it had just dried out, and I hadn't done this kind of [fill], but it's also really hard to dig, and like a really light grey, so I don't know if it's just remnants of this part, or what...

((Basil gets in the trench to take a closer look))

Jane: Or like maybe this is like, would it be possible that that's like an older hearth, like the other one that was leached out?

Basil: Yeah, hmm. So the colour here is the same as what you were digging, but the consistency has changed?

Jane: Yeah

Basil: I would clean up, maybe just straighten that section a bit

Jane: Yeah

Basil: Just to the depth that you started at for this context

Jane: Yeah

Basil: And then we'll clean up and carry on with, you know, we can just write in the text that, you know, these are the differences

Jane: Yeah

Basil: But you know what, after we start to dig it it might change back to something more familiar

Jane: Yeah

Basil: And we can just say oh, it's like some kind of differential lens of material within it

Jane: Right

Jane: Okay. Okay, so just clean up the walls, and then keep going, okay.

Basil: Yeah, but we can photograph, change numbers.

Jane: Oh, okay.

Basil: We'll treat it as something different, you know we can write in the notes that there is a very good chance that it's still the same stuff, but the consistency changed

Jane: Right.

Basil: So, just be careful.

- 3 Zack:** Did you feel like there are, like, problems, with communicating, in terms of like understanding, sort of the things that like Alfred was getting at? Or like, if there were any issues in like, uhh, comprehending something that eventually you sort of learned, or were there any sort of challenges in that sense that you had to deal with? Do you recall any examples like that? Especially maybe in the beginning.

Jane: I think for a geology it's best, especially like if you do a couple of geology courses, it's always hard to like train your eyes to see certain things. Like sometimes Alfred would like take out a handful of sand and go like do you see the red flakes? and I would be like no. Or even like, pointing our stratigraphy, like see how this changes to this level, and it just kind of, training your eye to see what they're seeing is, sounds like an easy thing but it's actually hard to like, kind of, pick out things that they want you to pick out. And I think like now it's easier to like, oh, see how that's transitioning, or like, umm, even just like comparing peoples' trenches and like the contexts they're in, it's easier now but at the start it was like, it looks the same to me, or like I don't spot what you're spotting, you know? And it's just a way of looking at things that I think that's the hardest part for me.

Zack: Do you know how that developed?

Jane: I think just like repetitive, like every day, looking at stuff, I think is like, just a good way of learning. I don't know if there's something specific but... and just hearing from like, hearing Alfred pointing it out, hearing Basil pointing it out, hearing different supervisors pointing it out, it was just different ways of explaining it or showing it to you that it starts to kind of, like, produce a form of knowledge. Umm, but I dunno.

- 4 Lester:** And that was the time I really kind of got into excavation as a concept. So I did that on my first year. In my second year, I [unclear] community archaeology, and then [redacted] field school. [redacted] field school is a big part of [redacted] University's training program for their students. I didn't receive enough excavation experience in my own degree, so I went and applied and volunteered on that excavation, and then my third year I went back to the same excavation at a supervisor grade.

- 5** Had a brief convo with Olivia as she was cleaning up, when the corner cam died. I really [...] by the mic. It was about focus, [awareness?] of one's surroundings, being in the moment and focusing on the task at hand. Focusing on the little things helps her keep her organized. It is an active strategy in use. She hates that although excavation is manual labour, it really requires you to actively think. You can't just phase out – [illegible sentence]. I mentioned my tendency to compare excavation with tunnel vision, and noted how I think it is somewhat flawed. She asked me if I played a musical instrument, and I said no, and then asked if I could relate to that. She compared these activities in order to convey the sense of being in the moment, facing a task at hand, dealing with what is immediately in front of you, literally and figuratively, and the satisfaction of achieving one's goals and ticking off all the boxes. She likes to set goals, for herself and for others.

- 6 Lester:** So, our first week was tough. Very, very tough. We had a very uhh difficult

trench to excavate, very hard layers that were very difficult to physically excavate. Uhm and I can dig for a certain extent, for a period of time in quite hot weather, I'm used to this, for this is not a problem. But I see people that have never approached this, attack it physically, really really attack it physically, and not bear in mind that this is actually really difficult. And it's not a physicality thing, it's a, it's a thought process. So it's uhh, yes you're physically able to excavate twenty centimeters in a day, but how are you going to feel at the end of the day? Are you going to be able to identify the context while you're doing it? It's better to excavate ten thoroughly than twenty in a hurry, you know? And, but the speed will come with time. And so I've noticed this with Morris particularly, he was quite, he's a very able archaeologist, a very good digger, uhm but physically he's changed the way he approaches things, so he won't go full-on that [unclear] now, and then expect to be able to do it again the following morning. And then equally, the understanding is growing, so like contextual change, uhm, I've really struggled to try and integrate teaching into my methodologies on site, because that's not my skillset, and not what I'm used to. But now I think we've finally figured it, I'm involving him in the paperwork a lot more, making that a part of the teaching process, a bit more. I think it's beneficial.

7 Ben: I think just sometimes, like, I've become too self-aware, and I get in my head sometimes.

Zack: While you're digging?

Ben: No, not while I'm digging. Because while I'm digging I'm like generally busy, and I'm like, like listening to music or whatever

8 Zack: And uhh, the music is a thing, it frames the mood. I'm trying to think about time and how it frames the day. That's a bit of an idea that I abandoned and that I want to come back to later on. You know, sort of, so I need to observe that earlier on in the season, which I didn't get an opportunity to do.

Ben: Yeah. I'll think about that while I'm out there.

Zack: How about you?

Jane: I'm kind of the same. Like I'd rather just like get going and like continue going. Like umm, often when Kaitlin is near the trench and like Basil's not there she'd be like get out, have a break, or like, Talia likes to be like come out and have a breeze break, but I just would rather like just keep going until lunch. Like it's just, like maybe step out once or twice to get water, but like, I find breaking and like, just kind of like, I like to just start thinking about things and for me it's just kind of like, get lost in digging and doing your shit, and then time passes.

Zack: Do you get lost digging?

Jane: Yeah! I just, like, I started thinking about something and then I'm... Like it just makes it, like, less of like a, oh when's gonna be my next break? Or like, even like, that's why I'm kind of glad we don't talk or like listen to music, because I feel like that would like frame time more specifically. Whereas like, without any sound it just kind of like comes, time is like insignificant kinda thing.

9 Basil: I didn't have music in our trenches, and I think I initially used the excuse that our proximity to umm Gary's house. Although, of course Gary was only there for

the last two weeks. I think that it might slightly annoy me if I need to be focused, I find it a distraction. And it's not like it's just in the background. I think, you know, with Theo and those guys, there's dancing, there's singing along, which I, if I was right next to them I think it would drive me bananas. And it probably drove Lauren slightly bananas. Umm, most projects that I've been on, there hasn't been music. Which, back in the day, you know, you would need batteries and [unclear] and what have you, and umm, so technologically I think it's easier to have music on site now. Umm. No, but I think there's intimations of it being unprofessional. It's like, it's it's a distraction from what you're doing. In fact, I worked, when I worked at Sutton Hoo back in the day, umm, Philip Rahtz, one of the excavators there, had written a textbook on archaeological field practice, infamous, umm very old fashioned, and he, he had a famous section about, umm uhh, during the excavation, the only sound you should hear is trowel on stone. If you had found something important, you quietly get up, walk over to the supervisor, bring them over, show them, you don't [unintelligible yelp], you don't make any [unclear]. It should be focused and silent. Now I'm not gonna ever go to that extreme. But uhh, I remember, I think, I mean Alfred, I mean Alfred had umm, well I mean, it's you know, it's like, office environment. Well, no, some office environments do have music on. But umm, umm we had uhh, I think, I mean Alfred had music on in the background. I think he—

Zack: Where? In the rock shelter, you mean?

Basil: Umm, trench [redacted trench ID] and when he was over with Maddie. Umm, he always had music. But it was background music for him, umm I don't know how loud or whatever, I—it doesn't appeal to me. I, I find it a distraction. I can't work here with music. Or if I'm, if I ever have music on it's because I'm writing emails or I'm doing something that I can't be distracted by. Umm, sometimes, you know, I allow myself classical music because it's a foreign language or there's no lyrics for me to be distracted by. Umm I think Alfred was, had a problem with, but maybe he didn't see it as his role to umm make that call, with people being plugged in. So Kaitlin would dig with headphones in. I think a couple other people might do that as well.

Zack: I think Jane did too. Don did.

Basil: Yeah. Umm. And I think Alfred was like, no, you need to be more focused on what you're doing. And it was like, I think like, I didn't feel strongly enough about it, or I felt like the music thing's a bit weird anyway, that I wasn't gonna come down on people. I might think about that for, for next time in terms of...

- 10 **Zack:** So I have like one more section. We zoomed through this. I'm wondering about, like, the way you set up, like your research environments, environment or plural. I mean, do you, I've noticed, but maybe you don't, maybe you are less able to recognize certain routines that you get into.

Lauren: Oh, totally, totally.

Zack: Yeah. And I'm sort of wondering if you could explain any of those to me.

Lauren: Umm, I'm a very organized person. I do need that. So for me, umm, packing my backpack the same way every morning, knowing where my things are, sorting stuff out in advance, like taking notes, for myself, in my own notebook, saying tomorrow you need to do this and this and this, and knowing where my notebook is, is very

important. So I pack my backpack, either in the evening or in the morning, it doesn't really matter to me. Umm, I know what material or supplies I need, and pack them. I bring them and then when we are on site I always put my backpack in the same place, I take my stuff out in the same, I mean they're not laid out in order or something, but umm, yeah.

11 Zack: Okay. But with regards to stratigraphy, do you take into account the other trenches and their stratigraphy? **Ben:** Oh, right. Yeah. Because I'm close by to [redacted trench ID] and a lot of the reason for opening the trench I'm in now, [redacted trench ID], uhh was to find similar things as [redacted trench ID], I am following, or I am trying to like compare the stratigraphy.

12 Lauren: Exactly. Because I write it down. But still, I enjoy these interactions with people in my trench. And also people like, we are, like, in a luxury position on the east side, and we are really close with our trenches, especially Theo and I, so we can talk about what's happening in our trenches, correlate it, and ask each other for opinions. **Zack:** How have you, like, how would you, like how has that worked out? Can you give an example?

Lauren: Really good. Usually it's like, umm, Theo sticking his out of his trench and is like, Lauren, do you have a moment? Or me saying, Theo, can you have a look at this? And then umm, we compare, usually we compare, like, our stratigraphy or we look at material, like getting each other's opinion on, I don't know, certain flakes, or umm, types of rocks. So yeah, umm, it's really, really interesting. Obviously, Theo has worked here last year so I've relied on his umm...

13 Zack: How does the feedback you get from Jolene and Agatha and Basil and Alfred help you when you're doing it on your own, or when you're starting from scratch, when you're starting your own trench?

Theo: It just gives you an idea of what to expect. I mean not necessarily with the lithics, but with Basil and Alfred knowing the hill so well, they know what they want and they know what they're looking for. For example, when I was working on [redacted trench ID], Basil wanted, the point of that trench was to look for Mesolithic stuff, and to try and find stratified Meso, so umm that, so Basil explained that to me and then I knew what I was looking for. I knew that I was looking for microliths, predominantly, maybe the whiter, the bright white chert, rather than—

14 Ben: I have interacted very little with Jolene. I feel that I should interact with her more, because I would like to know like what's going on in my trench. Umm I should probably talk to Agatha as well. Umm, but yeah. I've talked to, I was only here for a few days, well by the time I was supervisor Alfred had already left. So I didn't really ask him about anything. Umm. The only person I've really talked to is Basil, because he's very interested in my stuff, so like he'll come to me and actually give me information, then I will like ask questions.

Zack: What kinds of information does he give you?

Ben: Umm. Uhh just like type of stuff we're finding, uhh...

Zack: From the apothecary, you mean?

Ben: Yeah, just like the type of artefacts that are coming out of my trench, and

he'll give me some examples of like, not what to look for, but like some examples of characteristics that are being found on my, or on the artefacts from my trench. Uhh just like hinge fractures on some of the cores and stuff like that, which are characteristic of—

Zack: How do you make use of that?

Ben: It's, it's easy to like, once you see it, once you see it, right, like if you see a hinge fracture, and like oh okay, that's what a hinge fracture is, and you look at it in the field and you're like, you weren't sure of something, like you weren't sure that it was an artefact, and you see that, you're like oh, that's a hinge fracture, let me take that. So I think it's good to know like that information—

Zack: Because that definitely effects the sieve, like the sieve...

Ben: Sorry?

Zack: That definitely effects the collection of artefacts...

Ben: Oh, 100%. Like it could bias it. But any, any prior knowledge you have is going to bias it, right? Like...

- 15 **Zack:** What do you think of people like Dorothy, who aren't necessarily working with you?

Ben: What do I think?

Zack: Like have you asked them about their interpretation of your stuff. Do you think that would be helpful to have?

Ben: I think Dorothy is a little bit different, just because hers is like very, like she's working on micro remains and like macro remains, or like...

Zack: Botanicals.

Ben: Botanical stuff, right. So her stuff is like coming out of the soil that I collect. So there's nothing I can do to effect the amount of stuff she's gonna find. So while it's cool if she finds stuff from my trench, like there's no way that I'm going to effect it and there's no way that she can effect me in finding uhh. I would like to know more, I guess I should also ask her, but I think it's a little bit different because we're not interacting directly with the botanical remains.

- 16 **Zack:** So umm, I guess I've already got your bio and all that. But I'm wondering if you could reiterate your overall objective of your work. I mean how your work contributes to [this project].

Theo: Umm, the objective of my work...

Zack: Or of your contri– or of what you're doing here.

Theo: It's to dig holes. Dig holes.

Zack: So maybe a way to get a better answer, can you tell me about the current season and what your current plans are, or have been?

Theo: For this season I've been digging a big hole. Yeah, we aim to finish it, but I doubt we will.

- 17 **Zack:** So the third theme, and this is the one I'm a little bit, I wasn't sure how your response would uhh, would play out, but are you involved at all in the preparation of data that will be shared externally or openly as addendums or publications, or like via professional networks or like on platforms like the ADS or whatever?

Theo: No.

Zack: No?

Theo: Nope. I'm not an academic.

Zack: But you do— sorry...

Theo: I don't get involved in that shit.

Zack: But as someone who, umm, works in commercial archaeology, a lot of ADS has a lot of stuff in commercial archaeology.

Theo: Yeah, but it's not me. I'm not a supervisor in commercial archaeology, I don't write up sites, I just dig holes.

Zack: I thought you were do do commercial, I thought you do dig holes for commercial archaeology.

Theo: Yeah, I do, but I don't write anything up.

Zack: So that's the extent of your involvement then?

Theo: Yeah.

Zack: You get the material.

Theo: Yeah.

Zack: Do you, I mean, so I guess you, it sort of seems like you don't want to be, uhh have any sort of involvement with—

Theo: I would. I would if I was asked. I wouldn't mind. I wouldn't be good at it. It's been a long time since I've written anything properly.

18 **Ben:** Umm, I am not super academic. So that's part of the reason why I'm not like super into the, the—

Zack: The findings?

Ben: No, no not necessarily the findings. Like I find the findings interesting, and like the Levallois stuff, and like the technology, and like the differences and all that. I find that super interesting. But I don't, like the paperwork and all that, like I'm not like, I'm not, I'm not one to like be sitting at a desk just writing all day. Like, I like to be in the trench, I like to be doing something physical and like engaging, right? And I don't, like reading and like articles and like scientific research and stuff, just like, it doesn't interest me, like that much. Even like, I have to be engaged in the topic, you know?

Zack: Yeah, yeah. I feel like you and Theo have a lot in common.

Ben: I think so, yeah. Like Theo describes himself as like I dig holes, and I'm like yeah, I can relate to that, man. Like I dig holes too. Like this stuff is cool, but like, I don't see myself like engaging with it, or like...

19 **Zack:** Are you familiar with the work of the ADS?

Theo: Yeah.

Zack: Yeah? What do you think about it?

Theo: It's pretty good.

Zack: Yeah.

Theo: I like it, because I can look up sites if I want.

Zack: Do you do that regularly?

Theo: Sometimes. If I'm in, if there's things that I want to read up on. Like, sites I'm working on and stuff from the fields nearby.

Zack: So just out of curiosity.

Theo: Yeah.

Zack: And they have lots of commercial stuff, right?

Theo: Oh yeah.

Zack: What sort of stuff do you look up? Like what do you read?

Theo: It was just, old site reports.

Zack: Like the PDFs, or do you look at the tables, or like if they do photogrammetry, do you look at any of that?

Theo: Eh it depends. It depends on what there is.

Zack: And it informs you as you work on your own stuff?

Theo: Yeah. It's like, I dunno, I don't use it often. But if you're on a really exciting site and you want to know more about what's happening, then yeah.

Zack: Have you, I mean have you, if you're on the site—

Theo: It's just out of curiosity.

Zack: Are you, but like—

Theo: If you're aware of it, if you're aware of a site that's been excavated, and you've heard that it's supposed to be really good, see if it's on ADS.

20 **Zack:** So I'm not really, like I'm not really as privy on the details of that. Can you briefly describe specifically what the issues were?

Theo: It was just that it was dug poorly.

Zack: How do you mean?

Theo: Well it was like they just went down, they didn't give a shit about the sections or the recording so much. The recording, the more I've done it and looked at it, the happier I am with it.

Zack: From last year's?

Theo: Yeah, from last year.

Zack: Why?

Theo: But it was just initially it's very much like minimal recording. There was minimal recording.

Zack: Why was that gradual, why the more do you look at it the more—

Theo: Well because I have, over the season, gotten more of an understanding of the trench. I've been thinking about it far more, and working out what's going on.

Zack: So that minimal recording sort of made sense as you sort of got to know it?

Theo: Yeah.

Zack: Huh.

Theo: But I mean it could have had more recording, but I mean the bare minimum that was required.

Zack: Can you give an example of that kind of uhh, that kind of poor recording that eventually grew on you? Or that you eventually came to understand, perhaps?

Theo: I don't know. If you go to the other ones

Zack: If you go to the what?

Theo: The more complex stuff, the fact that it, last year it was five lithostratigraphic units and now I've just three.

Zack: Mhm.

Theo: And one unit is just one big mess. It's quite nice. That makes, I think, the mixture of poor recording and over-complicating stuff, that made it difficult to understand to start with, and poor digging.

Zack: So how did he overcomplicate things?

Theo: He just like—

Zack: Did he just like split instead of lump?

Theo: Yeah, he split stuff and used terms that he didn't quite necessarily understand. I don't understand them. I made, I got Alfred to explain it to me [unclear]

Zack: So, in your view, what sort of, what could have, how would you have avoided this if you were digging that trench last year? How would you have avoided these issues? Or were they avoidable at all??

Theo: Yeah, you could have recorded it better. He could have written more. Had a more thorough notebook. Not—I'm pretty sure one of the contexts was made up.

Zack: Cleaning context?

Theo: No, no.

Zack: Not even?

Theo: Right in the middle of the season. The only record of it is the context sheets, but yeah. I don't suppose we should actually really talk about all that.

Zack: Okay.

Theo: Like, in honour of professional standard.

Zack: Well that's what I'm hoping to understand.

Zack: We could, we could.

Theo: For the integrity of the project, we shouldn't really talk about the fuck ups, really, should we?