

Multiply Situated Strategies? Multi-Sited Ethnography and Archeology

Author(s): Krysta Ryzewski

Source: *Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory*, June 2012, Vol. 19, No. 2 (June 2012), pp. 241-268

Published by: Springer

Stable URL: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/23256840>

JSTOR is a not-for-profit service that helps scholars, researchers, and students discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content in a trusted digital archive. We use information technology and tools to increase productivity and facilitate new forms of scholarship. For more information about JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.

Your use of the JSTOR archive indicates your acceptance of the Terms & Conditions of Use, available at <https://about.jstor.org/terms>



JSTOR

Springer is collaborating with JSTOR to digitize, preserve and extend access to *Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory*

Multiply Situated Strategies? Multi-Sited Ethnography and Archeology

Krysta Ryzewski

Published online: 9 April 2011
© Springer Science+Business Media, LLC 2011

Abstract Recent literature hails George Marcus' multi-sited ethnographic strategy as a potentially useful approach for juxtaposing relations that transcend conventional spatiotemporal boundaries of archeological sites. Emerging from these discussions is what has been labeled *multi-sited archeology*, adapted from multi-sited ethnography to serve archeologists' interests in comparing locales, multi-scalar connections, and local–global relations. Following a brief overview of multi-sited ethnographic principles, a review of the archeological literature exposes how archeologists are increasingly engaged with parts of multi-sited ethnography in practice, but in ways that remain, in our critical discussions, largely disengaged with the genealogy and idiosyncrasies of the approach's foundational elements. Convergences and disjunctures between multi-sited strategies in ethnographic and in archeological practice are explored; these provide the basis for suggesting what might be a multi-sited archeology, illustrated here by a case study about the early New England iron industry. While multi-sited ethnography clearly cannot be a copy-and-paste application in archeology, its distinctiveness and usefulness in archeological comparisons is open to debate.

Keywords Multi-sited ethnography · Archeology · Movement · Temporality

Introduction

From feminist theory and media studies to STS and materials science, a common image holds that archeologists are accustomed to borrowing and reconfiguring ideas from other disciplines to enrich our practice. Sometimes this borrowing happens closer to home, as in the case of multi-sited ethnography, which comes to archeology from its parent discipline, anthropology. As a research strategy rich with theoretical

K. Ryzewski (✉)

Joukowsky Institute for Archaeology and the Ancient World, Brown University, 60 George St.,
Box 1837, Providence, RI 02912, USA
e-mail: Krysta_Ryzewski@brown.edu

 Springer

and empirical possibilities, multi-sited ethnography seems implicitly relevant to the archeological project. Its language is similar and accessible. Its orientation and objectives appear complementary. Not surprisingly, the archeological literature of the past decade is peppered with references to the multi-sited approach, specifically to the work of George Marcus. Further testimony of the alleged suitability of the approach for archeology appears in archeologists' recent recasting of multi-sited ethnography as multi-sited *archeology*.

This discussion highlights two points that should be addressed if a multi-sited strategy faithful to, or at least cognizant of, multi-sited ethnography (as exemplified in the work of George Marcus) is to be useful to archeological endeavors. First, consideration about what multi-sited archeology might be. This prompts, I suggest, a review of Marcus' writings on multi-sited ethnography, and a survey of recent archeological works in which multi-sited references appear. Second, attention to the archeological record to question how multi-sited archeology might be distinct from multi-sited ethnography in terms of time, space, materials, and the fragmentary remains of the past.

Discussions of multi-sited archeology appear most frequently in historical archeology, though the term is gaining usage among classical and near eastern archeologists as well, an indication that the multi-sited approach might hold discipline-wide interest (see Beaudry 2003, 2005; Hamilakis and Anagnostopoulos 2009; Harmanşah 2011; Hicks 2003; Hodder 1999; Lucas 2001, 2005, 2006; Lightfoot 2006; Little 1998; Matthews 2002; Symonds 2005; Edgeworth 2006; Bartu 2000; Witmore 2011). In many of these cases, multi-sited archeology is mentioned within the context of some of the more nuanced and interesting conversations about modern material culture, circulating things, global complexities, and the fluidity of spaces and social identities. Despite the idea's escalating popularity, Gavin Lucas and Mary Beaudry remain among the only archeologists who have explored the relationship between multi-sited ethnography and multi-sited archeology critically and in-depth.¹ Beaudry and Lucas' direct engagements with the anthropologically rooted ideas underlying multi-sited archeology are the exception to the norm, however. Multi-sited ethnography is often referenced in the archeological literature without much consideration of the idea's intellectual genealogy and without attention to how it may be suited (or not) to address the dimensions of archeological problems. Consequently, it remains challenging to identify multi-sited archeology as much more than an intuitively appealing idea that is rooted, to greater or lesser extents, in the first-generation scholarship of multi-sited ethnography (see Falzon 2009).

Here, I argue for the potential of a multi-sited archeological strategy as a comparative approach that offers additional latitude for tracing historically defined

¹ To date (and to my knowledge) Gavin Lucas and Mary Beaudry are among the only archeologists who have discussed multi-sited archeology at any length, though these discussions are situated within discourses on specific, and differing focuses (Lucas on globalization and nationalism, Lucas 2005, 2006; Beaudry on material culture and landscapes of industry, Beaudry 2005). Lucas identifies a multi-sited archeology as a practice that can move us beyond area/period specialisms, one that can situate the global within the local (Lucas 2001:143–44). Beaudry's points are similar to Lucas', and both are keenly aware of Marcus' outline. Beaudry is a bit more cautious, and instead focuses on the application of multi-sited ethnography to archeology. She notes that the successful application of multi-sited ethnography to archeological studies requires developing appropriate sets of comparisons, such as sites with genuine, traceable historical or archeological connections (Beaudry 2005:308).

relations across temporalities and sites, both tangible and intangible, while encouraging reflexivity, transparency, and creativity of the practice-based aspects of archeologists' research process. The multi-sited strategy shares many similarities with other comparative approaches in archeology. As such, the jury remains out in regards to its distinctiveness and usefulness. This discussion presents the tenets of the multi-sited strategy for an archeological audience, providing a foundation upon which others may wish to implement, expand upon, or refute the approach.

It is not the intention of this discussion to revisit or even to highlight examples of multi-sited case studies that exist in the ethnographic literature; indeed, there are numerous well-designed studies that might prove inspirational or informative for archeologists. Instead, attention is paid primarily and specifically to the complexities of what might be considered multi-sited archeology. The first section recognizes the appeal of the multi-sited approach to archeologists, but also identifies the variability with which the idea is presented in the historical archeological literature. Rather than expand at great length on particular examples of multi-sited ethnography, the discussion next presents a general overview of the core tenets of first-generation multi-sited ethnography, especially in relation to the writings of George Marcus, upon which archeologists have relied in constructing and implementing versions of the multi-sited approach. From here, the discussion shifts to archeological considerations with a focus on the connections and disjunctures between multi-sited ethnography, followed by the envisioning of multi-sited archeology's operations, as illustrated by a case study from three sites associated with a kin-based ironworking industry in early New England. The concluding section outlines five points to consider in realizing the potential that multi-sited ethnography may hold for archeology.

Multi-Sited Archeology: Issues in Translation

It is not difficult to understand why multi-sited ethnography appeals to archeologists. First, multi-sited research encourages focus on localized accounts and processes (Thomas 1994:ix). Also, it is in step with our interests in writing, "antitriumphalist histories", from varieties of scales (Paynter 2000:23). In multi-sited ethnography, where the focus is on relationships that are understood through carefully constructed contexts, the similarity with contextual archeology is strong (Hodder 1999).

Still, there are many variations on these themes that are translated, for better or for worse, in the archeological literature. A review of how multi-sited archeology is used in recent publications demonstrates how variably and selectively archeologists are connecting with multi-sited ethnography. The point of highlighting here the many guises in which multi-sited archeology appears is to identify how the variety of usage makes it difficult, if not impossible, to grasp what multi-sited archeology is, whether it is distinct from other comparative and contextual approaches, and how it might operate in practice. This literature is a case in point about variability rather than a critique of individual scholarship; it also acts as a useful point of departure for re-connecting with some of the nuances of the multi-sited ethnographic approach that remain under-appreciated by archeologists.

As noted in the "Introduction", discussions involving multi-sited archeology appear in numerous publications of the past decade. An especially visible example of

the perceived variation and widespread applicability of multi-sited archeology is *The Cambridge Companion to Historical Archeology*, an edited volume commendable for attending to many of the key current debates within the field (Hicks and Beaudry 2006). Within the volume, multi-sited archeology features prominently in three of the 17 chapters. While the approach is conveyed quite differently in each of the three chapters, none of the authors engage with multi-sited archeology in clarifying or in critical detail. In the first instance, Gavin Lucas understands multi-sited archeology in relation to temporality and in association with a biographical approach to material culture (Lucas 2006:42). Next, maritime archeologists Joe Flatman and Mark Staniforth employ the term to denote the global complexities of the multiply situated contexts of historical maritime worlds (Flatman and Staniforth 2006:178). Third, LuAnn DeCunzo and Julie Erinstein weave multi-sited archeology into their commentary on landscapes, ideology, and experience. Their discussion also references Barbara Little's comparative multi-local approaches between Annapolis homes and workplaces (Little 1998; DeCunzo & Erinstein 2006:259). In addition to the *Cambridge Companion*, several other examples exist, including those where multi-sited archeology is used similarly to, if not interchangeably, with multi-scalar analyses, as in Hicks' landscape archeology at Ironbridge Gorge (Hicks 2003) and Matthews' discussion of ideology and landscape in Annapolis (Matthews 2002).

As a whole, the existing literature raises concern that the multi-sited idea is being inserted into conversations and publications without returning to the idea's roots, and without engaging with its capabilities or inherent assumptions. From the variety of usage emerges three recurring relations that archeologists apparently desire to map with the multi-sited approach: multi-scalar connections (Hicks 2003:324; Flatman and Staniforth 2006; Matthews 2002); the movement of objects and their exchange networks from the perceived local to global (cf. Hall 2000, Orser 1996; see Symonds 2005; Hamilakis and Anagnostopoulos 2009; Edgeworth 2006 for more nuanced examples); and comparisons between sites (understood as geographical places, bounded spaces, or place-based-scapes; see Little 1998). These three overlapping desires are catalysts for articulating the connections and disconnections between multi-sited ethnography and multi-sited archeology, and they will be revisited at length following a necessary return first to the core ideas of Marcus' multi-sited ethnography

Multi-Sited Ethnography: Return to Roots

Multi-sited ethnography emerged as a response to the climate of cultural anthropology in the 1980s, a time when practitioners were critically reexamining the assumptions underlying traditional ethnographic research in theory and in practice (Marcus 1989, 1998:14; see also Appadurai 1986, 1995; Clifford and Marcus 1986; Strathern 2004; Steiner 1994; Bestor 2001; Table 1). According to Marcus, multi-sited ethnography "moves out from the single sites and local situations of conventional ethnographic research designs to examine the circulation of cultural meanings, objects, and identities in diffuse time-space" (Marcus 1995:96). A multi-sited approach, he argues, involves creating juxtapositions among a "variety of seemingly incommensurate sites" and examining their connections (Marcus 1998:17). Rather than comparing readily definable entities, these connections trace *relations* that offset natural categories and

Table 1 Multi-sited ethnography emerged in reaction to trends in ethnographic research (see also Marcus 1998:14–17)

Marcus' reasons for the emergence of multi-sited ethnography

- ▶ The necessary defamiliarization of or distancing of the subject from oneself (Marcus 1998:14)^a
- ▶ Dissatisfaction with “partial knowledge” (Marcus 1989)
- ▶ Reaction to place- or people-focused ethnographies (e.g., culture or geographically bounded units) (Marcus 1991)
- ▶ Break with the production of metanarratives and historical determinism (Marcus 1991)
- ▶ Critique of the use of theory to “set up” or even over-theorize ethnographies (Marcus 1995, 1998)

^a Distancing from the subject (dislocation) should not be confused with disengagement. In fact, Marcus' suggestions encourage the ethnographer to engage more self-consciously within and also between groups (Marcus 1998:20)

assumed or recognizable boundaries, thereby creating the space for possibility, rediscovery, and intensive contextual fieldwork. In practice multi-sited ethnography focuses on the mapping of associations within, between, and beyond *sites*; these sites can be tangible or intangible, they can be locations and complex spaces, or they can be ideas, mixtures, or historical consciousness; the migrations of Mexicans across borders, African crafts in transit on the international art market, working-class boys at an English school; the development of cyborgs (Rouse 1991; Steiner 1994; Willis 1981; Strathern 2004; Marcus 1989, 1991, emphasis added). The process of doing multi-sited ethnography involves the use of thick description to identify relationships and to argue for particular interpretations that are not necessarily obvious in pre-determined theoretical, spatial, or geographical categories (Marcus 1998:19; Geertz 1973).² Multi-sited research is guided by orienting research questions, but the process is flexibly structured to encourage movement and changes in direction as they are encountered as one moves along the paths or trajectories of the relations they explore.

Multi-sited ethnography is a theoretically and methodologically engaging approach that encourages tracing associations to the furthest possible extent within a given research agenda, highlights the importance of reflexivity, and welcomes the involvement of interdisciplinary contributors in practice and writing (Marcus 1994; Hamilakis and Anagnostopoulos 2009). In this sense, multi-sited ethnography is a mobile ethnography; it is in and of the world system, but it also follows trajectories as they move unexpectedly between and within sites (Marcus 1995). The associations that multi-sited ethnography articulates are discursive and active, familiar and novel. This sort of fluid but contextualized knowledge stands in contrast to data synthesized within framing theoretical, ideological, or historical narratives (Marcus 1989).³

² This is an important point that is often bypassed in the archeological literature, but one that also speaks to the importance of empirics in our research, particularly in regards to archeological fieldwork that is guided by experiential knowledge and encounters rather than by theory (see Ryzewski 2009a).

³ In its shift to a concern with complex relationships between settings, actions, and the unintended consequences that emerge from these relationships, the strategies of multi-sited ethnography change traditional disciplinary practice of ethnography, encouraging new transformative research patterns, and different conceptions of ethnographic knowledge (Marcus 1989, 1995).

Marcus speaks of multi-sited ethnography as a strategic method rather than a prescriptive model of practice. In his 1998 collection of essays, “Ethnography through Thick and Thin,” Marcus admits that his acclaimed 1995 article, “Ethnography in/of the World System: The Emergence of Multi-Sited Ethnography”, was “self-consciously methodological in framing” (Marcus 1998:6). Many of his subsequent works, however, stress the importance of recognizing multi-sited strategies as *research imaginaries* rather than a set of methods prescribing a conduct of fieldwork and writing. Research imaginaries are “provocations to alter or experiment with the orientations that govern existing practices” (*ibid*). Multi-sited ethnography, in its shift to a concern with complex relationships between settings and activities, and in the unintended consequences that result, proposes a change to the disciplinary practices of ethnography by encouraging transformative research patterns and deeper conceptions of ethnographic knowledge (Marcus 1989, 1995).

“Ethnography in/of the World System” (Marcus 1995) is the first of George Marcus’ publications to use the term multi-sited ethnography, and is the most commonly cited work by historical archeologists. Though seminal, this publication marks neither the birth nor terminus of Marcus’ approach; nor does it neatly encapsulate other influential discussions related to multi-sited or comparative ideas in anthropology (e.g., Falzon 2009; Coleman and von Hellerman 2009; Appadurai 1990, 1995). In Marcus’ scholarship of the past two decades, the critiques and propositions that continue to shape multi-sited ethnography are present and revised throughout, ranging from his co-authored book *Writing Culture* with James Clifford (Clifford and Marcus 1986), to many of his essays written in the 1980s and 1990s (Marcus 1989, 1991, 1997), and into the present (Marcus 2009a, 2009b). The developments in ethnographic scholarship and the distinct challenges accompanying archeological research demand a broader view of Marcus’ scholarship, and attention to how a multi-sited approach may articulate with other comparative approaches in thinking about how multi-sited ethnography might be applied to archeological situations.

Juxtaposing Multi-Sited Ethnographic and Archeological Practice

The comparative method and its progeny are certainly not new to archeology. Archeologists might reasonably contend that some of the tenets of multi-sited ethnography (or even multi-sited archeology) have been constitutive of archeological research for generations, and are therefore difficult to distinguish from traditional comparative approaches. Parts of the multi-sited idea are reminiscent of other comparative perspectives, including the conjunctive approach (Taylor 1948), settlement archeology (Willey 1953), peer-polity interaction (Renfrew and Cherry 1986), site formation processes (Schiffer 1987), contextual archeology (Hodder 1986, 1987), and katachresis (Shanks 1991). Like multi-sited ethnography, these approaches were designed to account for the complexities of movement, communication, and other relationships at and between sites.

There are, however, some important differences between these existing comparative approaches and the multi-sited idea, which is distinct because of how its design permits greater flexibility and multi-directionality in tracing (and

re-tracing) the relations that are explored. The multi-sited strategy views culture, area, and temporal bounds as fluid, or even non-existent, depending on how particular juxtapositions are selected and performed (see Lucas 2001:143–44). In this sense, studies are flexible in terms of area and temporality, though they remain sensitive to the importance of particular histories (Marcus 2009a:184). By building comparisons between sites that are connected by traceable, material, and/or historical links, the multi-sited approach lends itself to understanding how archeological materials contribute to building theories, by focusing, as Hicks notes, on the situational contingency of theoretical perspectives (Hicks 2003:325). Given the spatiotemporal fluidity that this type of practice lends to archeological comparisons, in a multi-sited fieldwork project, for example, it could be appropriate to have a historically and a classically trained archeologist working alongside one another at the same place.

Reading the breadth of Marcus' ethnographic literature with an eye towards issues of archeological concern and relevance, another noteworthy point of divergence emerges. Marcus uses language that seems to speak to archeological interests, but his multi-sited cases are not designed or intended to engage with the long-term histories that are so integral to archeological perspectives. To be fair, Marcus is outlining a research strategy for ethnographers whose work is enacted within modern frames of reference; a reasonable explanation as to why he never explicitly mentions archeology in his writings. As a result, the temporal dimensions that are of major concern to archeologists and to some ethnographers are not incorporated into his multi-sited ethnographies (Marcus 1995, 1998). In fact, Marcus engages with this absence in describing how modern ethnography can operate successfully *without* attending to historical perspectives beyond memory (Marcus 1991, 1998:70, emphasis added). Historical consciousness and a sense of the past are construed by Marcus to be important insofar as they are found in the collective and individual memory that shapes identity and self-recognition (Marcus 1998:64). On the one hand, Marcus is cautious of the use of historical determination as an explanatory force in realist ethnographic studies of the present (Marcus 1991), but then he also considers relationships among historical materials to be basic and unproblematic due to the nature of the data and process of the historical method, which he identifies as being fragmentary and reconstructive (Marcus 1995, 1998:84). Archeologists would likely dispute this position, as much of what we regard to be substantive research emerges from what non-archeologists might consider to be piecemeal, idiosyncratic, and occasionally problematic data—data that can be challenging to fit into neatly packaged, comparable entities.

Archeologists will not find explicit guidance in Marcus' writings for dealing with long-term histories or the complexities of the archeological record. This absence marks a divergence along sub-disciplinary interests, but it is not necessarily grounds for immediate dismissal of the multi-sited approach in archeology. Rather, it is an invitation to adapt and to address the issues of temporality, materiality, and data that are particular to our archeological research. Despite the lack of long-term perspective, Marcus does leave archeology room to cultivate its own multi-sited angle in his definition of multi-sited ethnography as a strategy that operates in "diffuse time-space" (Marcus 1995:96). Now the question remains as to how these tenets of multi-sited ethnography can operate in archeology.

Three Desires of Multi-Sited Archeologies

Guided in part by the types of questions and comparisons that archeologists tend to raise between materials, places, and groups of people, recent literature depicts how multi-sited archeology has been adopted as a useful and appropriate tool for identifying and working through connections between various scales and entities. Three recurring types of comparisons emerge from multi-sited archeologies; these involve sites, scales, and local/global contexts. While each of these entities mark relationships that many archeologists desire to trace in their research, the ways in which they are conceptualized and incorporated into practice vary considerably under the heading of the Marcus-influenced multi-sited strategy. A brief commentary about these three desires identifies points of articulation between the ethnographic and archeological approaches and suggests where archeologists might revisit the multi-sited ethnographic idea with greater attention; it also acknowledges situations where the multi-sited ethnographic and archeological approaches diverge.

The Site

Marcus speaks frequently of “sites” and “objects of study”, terms that connect immediately with the archeological lexicon, but terms that, if taken literally, fail to recognize some of the most enriching aspects of multi-sited ethnography. Sites, Marcus notes, can be much more than a locality; sites can be places *or* imaginaries where cultural logics are multiply produced within a system (Marcus 1995:83). Sites may be groups of people, ideas, markets, universities, or media, for example (*ibid*). The site is a map of movement, of a process in motion, of ideas or things in circulation (see Marcus 2009b).

Multi-sited ethnography succeeded in liberating anthropologists from treating the site as synonymous with a geographically bounded location or area (Cook *et al.* 2009:58). This is perhaps a point of difference between multi-sited ethnography and multi-sited archeology, as archeological practice is traditionally very much shaped by work within defined geographical places. The multi-sited idea does not necessarily demand that we abandon or detach ourselves from these locale-based roots; but it does encourage us to *also* push beyond locales as we follow the paths of relations that we trace. Recent debates in landscape archeology on boundaries, frontiers, inhabitation, and fragmentation could provide more substance for expanding upon the theoretical potential of multi-sited relations (Parker 2006; Thomas 2008; Barrett 1999; Chapman 2008).

As far as archeology is concerned, these broader conceptions of the site interrogate the nature of boundaries, temporal depth, and relationships between space and place. With multi-sited comparisons, the distance of movement through time and space is not infinite, however, because in following various trajectories, multi-sited research is still bounded by how we initially define the site. These are all considerations that need not end with the multi-sited ethnographic literature; they also invite ideas from the works of Appadurai (1990, 1995, 2001), Latour (2005), Soja (1989), Shanks (2004), and others who have examined complexities within spatial relations in their discussions of -scapes, seamless interactions, flattened ontologies, and forced juxtapositions. The expanded spatiotemporal view of the site

that the multi-sited approach requests is a reminder that archeology's connections are aggregate mixtures of multiple material pasts (Witmore 2007:196). Lucas' point is critically important for how we might think more broadly about archeological definitions of sites. Multi-sited archeology, he notes, emphasizes relationality and specificity, and is "not just a question of comparing sites or drawing many sites into an analysis. Rather, it is one where the *relation* between the *sites* is foregrounded and is as specific as the sites themselves" (Lucas 2001:144, 2005).

The Global

Multi-sited ethnography and multi-sited archeology both operate within and with an awareness of the world system. Marcus' notion of the world system is not, however, directly akin to Wallerstein's economically based world systems theory (1974). In contrast, Marcus articulates a notion of the global that is not separate, detached, or external from the local. He says, "[f]or ethnography, there is no global in the local–global contrast so frequently evoked. The global is an emergent dimension of arguing about the connection among sites in a multi-sited ethnography" (Marcus 1995:99). Similarly, Appadurai reminds us that the main object of ethnography is not in localities, but in the process of localization (1995:207). This objective resonates well with an archeological view of process as a useful mechanism for avoiding reduction and for challenging assumptions about permanence of place, space, people, or objects (see Candea 2009:30).

In multi-sited ethnography, the global, or global contexts are not understood to be an end point or destination (Marcus 1991, 1995, 1998:83). Multi-sited ethnography requires, as should a multi-sited archeology, an alternative conceptualization of global–local relations, one that moves away from operating within potentially masking discourses of globalization, for example, to a focus on the processes and relationships in and of the world that can be articulated by thick description (Marcus 1998:18; Beaudry 2003; Castañeda 2008).⁴

Together, thick description and the idea of process mediate the tendency to separate the local from the global. Instead, we might examine how, through particular connections, notions of the global are co-present in localized contexts. To an extent, Marcus' orientation is also consistent with Latour's reminder that "no place dominates enough to be global and no place is self-contained enough to be local" (2005:204). Both orientations reinforce the importance of fluidity in multi-sited approaches, and the importance of following relationships wherever they may lead. Attempts in historical archeology to identify themes into which site-specific or local relations can be fit cross-culturally (Orser 1996) nudge towards universal conceptions of action and behavior at the expense of articulating and understanding particular human–material relations in and between local contexts (see Johnson *et al.* 1999). Multi-sited comparisons can and should take into account site-specific particulars and the distances to/from which these circulate, but in doing so, cannot operate alongside an ultimate goal that moves towards the construction and utilization of broad, canvassing categories. Dealing with these issues invites more

⁴ The idea of process as manifestation (Shanks 2004) serves to loosen geographical, temporal, and cultural boundaries, depending on how far the net is cast.

reflexivity into archeological practice, and more flexibility in the boundaries and languages established in our discipline.

Multi-scalar

While multi-scalar and local–global relations share substantial overlap in the types of comparisons that might be drawn, they are addressed separately here. Whereas notions of “the global” are tied primarily to theoretical discussions, multi-scalar archeology is additionally understood to be associated with a comparative methodology for distinguishing relationality between layers of societies or places; layers which tend to be treated as concrete or historically identifiable entities.

Practicing multi-sited archeology is not necessarily the same as comparing multi-scalar relations. The literature expresses disagreement about the interchangeability between the multi-sited and multi-scalar ideas. Multi-scalar archeology involves movement between micro and macro scales; this movement is accompanied by the gathering and organizing of information according to local, regional, and global contexts. In certain traditions of survey-based landscape archeology, where social landscapes and relationships are articulated via material forms, the multi-scalar direction of movement aims to integrate different scales of relations that “fit together like a series of Russian dolls” (Hicks 2003:319). Like multi-scalar landscape comparisons, multi-sited archeology operates with the intent to broaden the scope of relationships along historically identifiable routes, and via material traces. Multi-sited comparisons do this, however, not just by looking for connections that fit together, but also by finding and thinking about connections that fail and connections that are absent, fragmented, redundant, and folded. The neatly packaged multi-scalar comparisons of some landscape archeologies are readily countered by the messy, unevenness of relations that multi-sited archeology will likely encounter. The connections that the multi-sited approach traces are not necessarily bound or evenly distributed. By contrast to multi-scalar directionality, multi-sited movements can follow outwards, inwards, or they may backtrack; relationships can occupy many spaces and times at once.

Dissonance between multi-scalar and multi-sited archeology exists in the temporality and durability of the structures into which relations are grouped. While our intentions in conducting multi-scalar archeology might be to organize successively broader relations, we must engage cautiously with the effects that scales have on impressing depth and explanatory power; after all, these are structured relations that are themselves cultural and historical constructions (Fortun 2009:89; Latour 2005:172). Multi-sited flexibility counters a problem of multi-scalar archeology, where relations are understood to be operating within structures that purport to be rather concrete entities irrespective to the flux of temporality, pressures, and other variables.

This observation is complemented by recent writings on multi-sited ethnography, which view scale is a heuristic device for seeing frames and orienting perspective (Fortun 2009:85). While a useful conception for following actions in motion across time and space, and for understanding how these actions relate to the given system (*ibid*), the directionality of multi-scalar comparisons, and the necessary jump between scales effectively omits the circulations that happen between and in-

between the multiple scales and systems at work. Multi-sited archeology understands relations as interconnected and relational, allowing for shifting structures over time. Therefore, multi-sited relations can only be fit ostensibly into scale-based groupings. It is the unevenness of relationships between people and things, and why or how these relations circulate that are at the heart of a multi-sited archeology's potential contributions to our interpretations and disciplinary scope.

Importantly, it is not just the directions or routes in which these multi-sited relations move that is important, but understanding how and why they move. Therefore, it cannot be expected that the trajectories of multi-sited archeology will perform as multi-scalar motions might—in “lead[ing] us” to wider contexts if we “chase narratives and relations across borders” (Hicks 2003:322). This is not to suggest that a path of movement or relationality from immediate loci to progressively broader scapes is not possible; Marcus does say that multi-sited comparisons can trace relationships that are traditionally kept “worlds” apart (Marcus 1995, 1998:86). But in the process of producing juxtapositions that may traverse various scales of place, we must be aware that our sites or objects of study are, as he says in the same breath, “ultimately mobile and multiply situated” (*ibid*).

While these three desires are undeniably important aspects of archeological research, multi-sited ethnography presupposes more complicated ideas about each. Archeologists would benefit from engaging with the assumptions these ideas carry and how they relate to multi-sited ethnography's point of view in promulgating or even debating the possibility of a distinctly multi-sited archeology.

Multi-Sited Archeology *En Route*

These are just a few of the complexities underlying multi-sited comparisons. In the interest of furthering construction over critique, it is time to suggest what a multi-sited archeology might be and how it can work in practice as illustrated via an archeological example.

Marcus' notion of multi-sited ethnography is followed closely here in defining multi-sited archeology as an approach that moves out from the single sites and local situations of conventional archeological research designs to examine the circulation of cultural meanings, objects, and identities in diffuse time-space (1995:96). Again, it is in the conception of sites, the relations between these, and the accompanying movements that multi-sited archeology is defined and mobilized in practice and in theory (see Marcus 2009a).

Multi-sited archeological comparisons are active flows; they offer means to focus on local relations, to travel between multiple actors, and human-material engagements, to follow circulations of particular objects across time and space, to address reasons for disjunctures between relations, to enlist non-traditional analytical approaches, and to view sites as unbounded entities. The nature of these comparisons permit access to deep, complex, and interactive histories (see Hicks 2003; Wolf 1982).

Expanding upon Lucas and Beaudry, multi-sited archeology can operate like genealogies by following a *plot between sites* and engaging with how it is articulated, circulated, and changed (Lucas 2001:144, 2005; emphasis added). Beaudry

notes that the successful application of multi-sited ethnography to archeological studies requires developing “appropriate sets of comparisons, such as sites with genuine, traceable historical or archeological connections” (2005:308).⁵

Multi-sited archeology *en route* also involves tracing, as Lucas and Beaudry suggest, identifiable associations between relations. These associations can take many forms and directions; examples could include: the circulation of porcelain in maritime trade and the eighteenth century American imagination (Frank 2008); the traditions and techniques of copper production in Roman-period Petra, from the nanoscale of a copper alloy implements excavated from the Great Temple to the extensive ore beds of the Wadi Faynan and Wadi Dadi regions (Ryzewski *et al.* 2011); trans-Atlantic connections between seventeenth century Irish plantation communities and the Chesapeake (Pecoraro 2010); the life history of prominent stone markers on the Greek landscape (Witmore 2011); the movement of the prestigious Brown family households and their things between two seasonal residences, an eighteenth century town house in Providence and a country estate at Greene Farm in Warwick (Ryzewski 2009b); or community-based archeology and heritage work focused on neighborhood interconnectedness in Deerfield, Massachusetts (Hart 2011). In tracing routes that foreground certain relations within these multi-sited comparisons, archeologists can begin with Marcus’ suggestions for constructing multi-sited spaces by selecting and following a particular path, along which various relations are identified and traversed (Marcus 1995, 1998:90):

- Follow the people
- Follow the thing
- Follow the metaphor
- Follow the plot, story, allegory
- Follow the life or biography
- Follow the conflict

One addition to these routes that can be made in archeology, where incompleteness is a fact of the archeological record, involves following (or performing) many of these paths. As a consequence of our iterative practices (see Witmore 2009), archeological evidence is often poised to follow many of these trajectories in given situations and times. Whether by traversing multiple paths on separate occasions, or revisiting the same one using different modes of engagement, the result in archeological writing might be a narrative that synthesizes our encounters along multiple routes (Ryzewski 2009a). These occasions for return, multiplicity, and synthesis are proposed as an important adaptation of the multi-sited strategy for archeology, a change that is designed to account for and foreground the complexity of the past in the present. The intricacies of these connections and the consequences of selecting certain starting points for multi-sited research are now illustrated by a discussion and an initial example of multi-sited archeology in practice.

⁵ These comparisons might be—or at least begin with—natural environmental features, exchange networks, material culture, kinship (Beaudry 2005).

Ironclad Networks of Family and Industry: A Trajectory of Multi-Sited Archeology in Practice

Three historical ironworking operations belonging to the Greene Family of Rhode Island form the basis for illustrating the process, strengths, and potential challenges of doing multi-sited archeology. These sites of metallurgical craft production, Greene Farm (1731–1781), Potowomut (1698–ca.1820), and Coventry (1746–1870) were scrupulously managed for at least five generations by a tight-knit family network (Fig. 1). The operations succeeded despite, or perhaps, in spite of, the Iron Act of Iron 1750, which forbade the American colonists to produce finished iron objects. The objects crafted at these forges and smithies were circulated locally and throughout the world; the processes of manufacture were rooted in long-established metallurgical traditions, secrets of which remained carefully guarded and consequently absent from documentary records (Ryzewski 2008). Nevertheless, the importance of these small, domestic industries in paving the way for the colony’s material independence from Great Britain is not inconsequential, but it remains difficult to locate through single-site contextual investigations.

A single place-based examination focused on the archeological remains at any one of the three Greene sites proved inadequate for addressing the socio-material

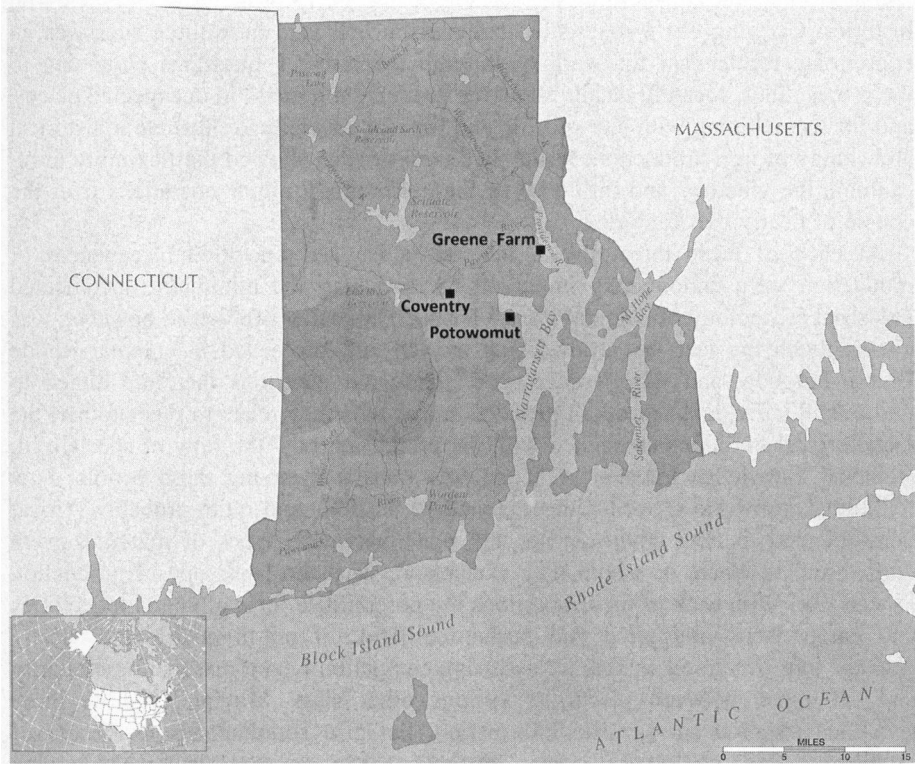


Fig. 1 Map of Rhode Island and the locations of the three Greene family ironworks at the sites of Greene Farm, Potowomut, and Coventry (adapted from the U.S. Department of the Interior U.S. Geological Survey Map of RI 2005)

complexities of production, innovation, and the role of industries in the developing shape of the Northeastern American colonies from the seventeenth to the nineteenth century. At Greene Farm, for example, traditional contextual analyses of the ironworking finds were hampered by the complete absence of historical documents detailing the operation, and by the relatively low quantities of temporally diagnostic materials resulting from excavations of the farm's iron production site. Attempts to understand how this small domestic operation fit into the social and industrial milieu of the colony were further complicated by the lack of narrative histories or accounts of iron production within Rhode Island and New England. As a result of the fragmentary nature of available information, the Greene Farm excavation data alone contributed to a rather vague historical narrative structured upon trade records, regulations, and restrictions imposed by the British Parliament and Board of Trade onto North American colonists. Although this was the best contextual association possible, it still bypassed entire groups of people, networks of production, related craft industries, and smaller geographical spaces, lending minimal possibilities for understanding how and why these colonial iron industries operated.

The two contemporaneous ironworking sites associated with the Greene family, Potowomut and the Coventry Forge, were ostensibly well suited for comparison with the Greene Farm ironworks. They were also fraught, to greater and lesser degrees, with fragmentary information, limiting the interpretive depth of archeological finds and associated questions within the context of historic recordkeeping and local oral histories. Carrying out a multi-sited comparison between these three sites was an appropriate mechanism for working through the research questions pertaining to these operations, locating details about the production process in unexpected places, and for recombining both site-specific and broader relations to illustrate a historical archeology of iron production. Multi-sited comparisons allowed the flexibility to re-examine the vibrancy and influence of these seemingly minor operations over the course of nearly two centuries.

At each of these three places, the mechanics and operational sequences of production were undoubtedly important for enriching the minimally documented industrial archeology of colonial Rhode Island. The matter of interest, however, was not so much the fact that ironworking existed and succeeded in colonial Rhode Island, but how and why it developed.⁶ Research questions therefore aimed to understand individual aspects of production and how they relate to one another: the metallurgical traditions associated with the producers; how the flow of specialized, technical knowledge traveled with and was translated among these people; how traditional ironworking techniques, learned in the UK, and quite probably Africa, were adapted to new environments and materials; what types of materials were crafted and to where or whom they exchanged; what the landscape of production looked like. With each of these questions the possibilities for multi-sited trajectories and comparisons multiplied and became difficult, if not impossible, to neatly package into structured entities for assessing compatibility and reasons for similarity and difference between places or various other sites. Moving between these questions required site-specific information, but also simultaneous awareness of

⁶ The existence of ironworking in Rhode Island has been refuted based on the absence of historical recordkeeping (Bining 1933).

the wider contexts and questions of how all of these dynamics, as they played out within and between the three sites, impacted and were shaped by the colonial economy and social relationships. Broader questions focused on how these industries and communities related to the emerging conflict of the Revolutionary War, and what role, if any, these small operations played along the path towards an Industrial Revolution in the post-war decades.

Designing Multi-Sited Research

Like most early American industries, the iron-production site at Greene Farm remains woefully absent from the documentary history of the property and of the colony. The research challenge was one of figuring out how to understand Greene Farm and the other two iron production sites at Potowomut and Coventry within the context of one another, and in relation to the colonial situation at the time. How could archeological evidence be enlisted to facilitate movements at and between sites? Which relations could provide sustainable comparisons? How should these trajectories be constructed in order to identify and trace these relations?

Understanding the Greene ironworks proved an uphill battle from the moment the first signs of an iron production site were located during excavations at Greene Farm in 2004 (Frank *et al.* 2006; Ryzewski 2008) and from when links were identified between Greene Farm and the Greene family's forges at Potowomut and Coventry shortly thereafter.

Multi-sited archeology seemed a suitable mechanism for working through the questions that involved these three places because of its capacity to account for interrelationships among people, things, and ideas at and between various sites. Employment of the multi-sited strategy first required the initial orientation of the Greene ironworking sites within a set of research questions, the preliminary identification of relations to be examined within and across sites, and then the careful selection of starting points for trajectories that may follow paths contributing to the overall research interest (see Falzon 2009:10). One advantage of this approach was that it required reflexive and transparent accountability for how and why certain relations between sites were foregrounded, and how these, in turn, were used both to construct archeological narratives and to propose alternative ways of working with the relevant archeological empirics (see Shanks 2004).

With starting points identified, the movements between and within Greene ironworking sites were poised to begin. Before moving, however, it was and remains important to acknowledge how these and other movements operate, comparatively or otherwise. In subtle contrast to some comparative approaches that aim to generate data as it relates to specific systems (e.g., economics or exchange), the nature of the Greene and other multi-sited comparisons do not operate by fitting relationships into a systemic framework. Instead, a sort of paradox emerges because, on the one hand, the multi-sited strategy is designed to move along trajectories that can accommodate unexpected twists, turns, and materials into interpretations. With such built-in flexibility the approach recognizes that all entities and relations perish at a point; most are gone, for example, at the point when materials are recovered from the archeological record. On the other hand, in order to follow these trajectories one must begin by selecting starting points for comparisons, an act that necessarily

involves a degree of definition and the separation of relations from one another. In negotiating the tensions between fluidity, fragmentation, and comparability, it proves fruitful for the researcher to identify a general topical outlook or set of relations among the sites under examination that is set flexibly in place rather than established as a pre-determined structure.

The multi-sited strategy provided a desirable option for operating beyond bounded entities of the Greene ironworking places, time periods, groups of people, or material types. At the same time, however, it also ran the inherent risk of perpetuating a spiraling towards infinite, amorphous, compilations of relations, which were beyond the aim or scope of the general research orientation. While a free-flowing style may be useful in some cases, it was not desirable in the Greene ironworking study. Instead, the distillation of trajectories to trace and compare were based on initial multi-sited design decisions that intended to make clear the process of working through sites, how relations were connected, and what sources were enlisted as one moved through the comparative process. The trajectories identified for study did not exist independently of each other, nor did the distillation of particular sets of relations run counter to the goal of identifying interrelationships; it was their ultimate recombination or juxtaposition at the end of the analysis that presented the results of the multi-sited comparisons in way that highlights the vibrancy, depth, and complexity of relations at and between sites.

This process of navigation and recombination, specific to an archeological situation, may run counter to what Marcus proposes when he discusses how multi-sited ethnography builds off of a conception or map that is already constructed in the literature or in systemic relations in contemporary societies (e.g., capitalism; 2009:187). In multi-sited archeology, this type of basic map may not be a possible conceptual starting point. As was the case in moving from the ironworks at Greene Farm to those at the Potowomut and Coventry forges, archeologists' movements may be pre-planned or anticipated to an extent, because information existed to trace connections, as did the intentions to focus on particular research parameters. The forthcoming results and assumptions, however, could not be pre-planned; we could not and cannot measure scale or travel in advance (see Latour 2005:186). Multi-sited archeology cannot predict an outcome, or premeditate a desired aim, such as relations that are multi-scalar or of global significance (Marcus 1998:86). There is a level of uncertainty in dealing with unknowns that accompany multi-sited archeology, where the unexpected must be expected, creating a setting in which researchers are obligated to deal with the unintended consequences of the connections that are traced (see Marcus 1989, 2009b).

Focused on material and immaterial themes that spoke to the overall research interests, the initial multi-sited trajectories (and associated starting points) of Greene ironworking were fourfold: family, landscape, materials, and ironworking spaces; the discussion of one of these trajectories, materials, follows. These four divisions allowed for the detailed focus on particular types of information, while remaining broad enough so that data from the trajectories could intersect with one another, draw upon similar sources, and recombine to address broader questions. Table 2 outlines some of the relations that each of these trajectories identified and the mediators (sources, instruments, and data) used to locate or elucidate them. Each of the four trajectories involved different engagements with materials, people, and scale. Each began by following a particular path (similar to Marcus' routes).

Ultimately, each produced data that has been recombined or juxtaposed in a manner that demonstrates the complexity of relations at and between these sites, and reiterated the fact that these relations were enmeshed with each other historically in the networks of Greene ironworking.

A Material Site—Following the Material

Moving along these four trajectories involved various amounts of thick description, and, in most cases, these descriptions produced a contextually based narrative of

Table 2 The process of multi-sited archeological comparisons at and between Greene ironworking sites

Trajectories	Relations	Mediators
Family	• Several generations of Greene family descendants, past and present • Extended Greene family	• Historical documents • Genealogy • Oral histories/family folklore • Personal interviews
Landscape	• Use of space at each property (Greene Farm, Potowomut, Coventry) • Proximity of buildings, living and working spaces to one another • Settlement patterns, location of family and workers' dwellings • Evidence on landscape of exploitation of natural resources (mining, manipulation of waterways, ore processing) • Proximity to transportation routes	• Maps • Historical photographs and paintings • Historical documents • Archeological excavations • Landscape survey • Aerial photography • Remote sensing and geophysics
Materials	• Iron objects produced at each property • Assemblage of everyday and luxury materials • Trade goods • Evidence of exchange and circulation	• Archeological excavations • Historical documents, especially trade accounts and probate inventories • Archeometallurgical analysis • Geochemical analysis (XRF, XRD) • Intra-site materials • Trade ledgers
Ironworking spaces	• Stratigraphic evidence of ironworking activity • Deposits of ironworking-related material (slag dumps, ore roasting area, hearth, tuyeres) • Relationships of industrial to domestic loci • Placement of ironworking areas in relation to topography, ore, water, and transportation routes • Transformation of ironworking spaces over time	• Archeological excavations • Landscape survey • Geophysical survey • Aerial photography • Maps • Historical documents

relations. One trajectory, and perhaps the most challenging to follow, began with the materials of ironworking collected from the Greene Farm and Potowomut excavations. Enlisting the tools of archeometallurgy and materials science, broken iron tools and nails produced at the sites' smithies and forges afforded the opportunity to circulate from the inside of the objects outwards, based on diagnostic information preserved in the microscopic archive of the iron. An example from Potowomut illustrates the type of thick description used to describe the relations rooted in the material, and how they moved along a path that exposed other parts and people involved in the production process:

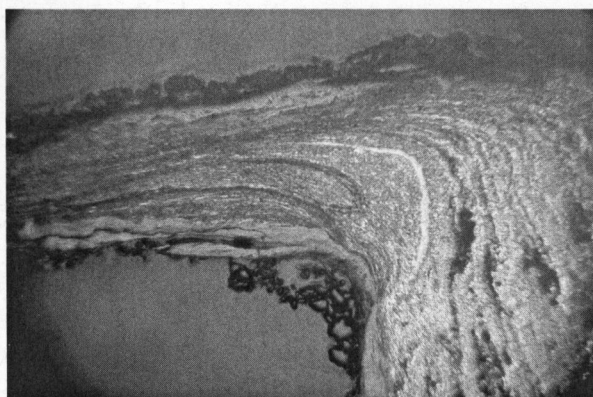
At the time of the Potowomut excavations in 2000 (Raber and Gordon 2001), and the Greene Farm excavations between 2004 and 2007 (Frank *et al.* 2006; Ryzewski 2008), very little was known or remembered about how or why the Greenes made iron objects. The Greenes certainly traveled between these iron production operations when they were in existence, bringing with them skilled know-how and particular craft techniques, and drawing on local resources to fuel the production. The multi-sited trajectory that follows the movement of materials, from a "material site", begins with a group of iron objects excavated from the Potowomut forge: nails and tool fragments. Rusty, corroded exteriors mask any marks of craftsmanship that might provide diagnostic or other clues about the process of manufacture in general or in specific relation to the Greene ironworkers and forges. The insides of these objects, however, tell a remarkably detailed story of production from which otherwise inaccessible relations unfold.

Ten iron objects from Potowomut were cut and mounted into resin blocks for archeometallurgical examination. In the microstructure of these objects, the size and position of the ferrite grains documented the process of the objects' manufacture. Some of the grains were severely deformed along the edges, indicating that the objects were worked by hand as they cooled. Slag and other inclusions in the wrought iron are evidence of the fact that the smiths were not entirely successful in removing impurities from the materials as they crafted them (Fig. 2). This could be a factor of less-skilled craftsmanship, low-grade raw materials, and/or variably controlled furnace conditions. Nevertheless, the result was the manufacture of objects that, because of these impurities, were not necessarily as strong or durable as they could have been—a quality that affected their use and the life and the experience of those people and things who relied upon them.

From microscopic examination alone, the trajectory, beginning with a material site, already produced otherwise inaccessible information about Greene ironworking traditions and conditions at Potowomut. Similar analyses of over 30 samples from the Greene Farm site revealed that this too, was an operation involving wrought iron craftsmanship and the production of objects of variable quality with many imperfections. The microscopic details led to considerations of how the iron itself was procured. Answers to this question required gathering compositional data on the metal, and on related materials beyond these initial objects, especially the byproducts of ironworking (slag) and the ore found at the production sites.

Geochemical analysis, using X-ray fluorescence, determined that one of the ores that the Greenes used to make these objects was a low-grade mineral ore, high in titanium, a quality that is unique to a local Rhode Island outcrop called Cumberlandite (Ryzewski 2008; Urban *et al.* 2010). Information about this ore led in two more directions. First the presence of titanium in the Cumberlandite detailed

Fig. 2 Low-magnification photomicrograph ($\times 4$) of a nail head from the Greene Farm iron production site excavations showing iron smelted from low-grade ores, slag inclusions, and their deformation due to re-hammering by the smith during the forging process (photo by Ryzewski 2008)

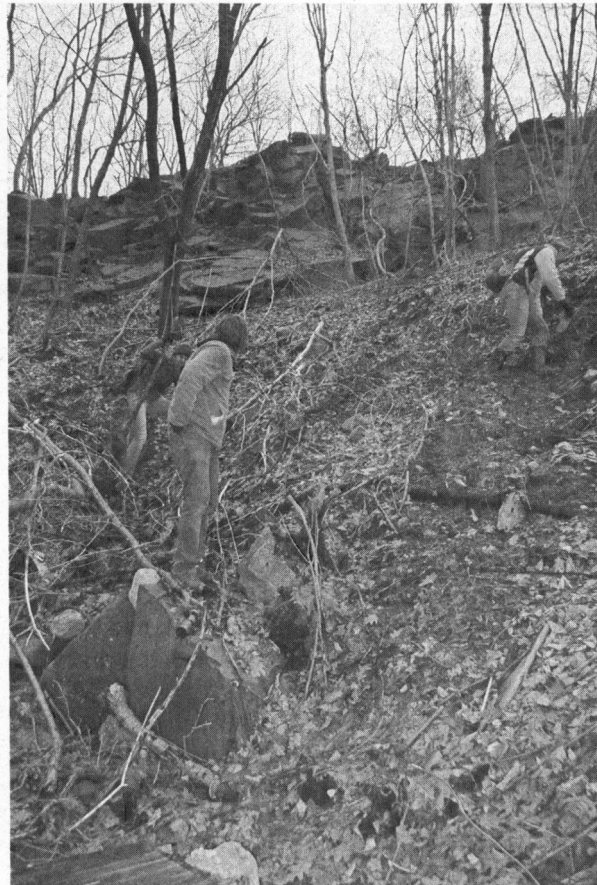


some of the properties and production conditions of these iron objects. The titanium in the Cumberlandite would have had an adverse affect on the heating process of the iron bloom during the smelting process, requiring the ironworkers to raise the temperature of the furnace in order to smelt the iron, and therefore introducing a higher (and less desirable) carbon content into the bloom in the process. Second, the identity of the ore led to questions about how and where it was procured, and how it was distributed between sites.

Early in the research process archeologists located 2 years of accounting ledgers from the Potowomut forge (*Accounts of Potowomut Forge 1765*), whose excerpts recount the activities involved in harvesting ore, running the forge, sharing materials between iron operations, and managing laborers (*Pot. Accounts*). These entries were brief and often seemingly unspecific, but when the multi-sited trajectory led to the identification of Cumberlandite, archeologists returned to the Potowomut ledgers, armed with new information. What was once vague mention of ore extraction was now contextualized within the operations at the Greene ironworks. Another connection soon emerged between the local ore sources and the Potowomut and Coventry forge laborers. The Potowomut Accounts mention enslaved laborers operating at the local Cumberlandite mines (Fig. 3); this information prompted further examination of the property records of the Greenes and other families mentioned in the Accounts, some of whom were trade partners and suppliers associated with the forges. Several town and property records confirmed that laborers mentioned in the ironworking accounts were owned by and worked for local ironworking families, including the Greenes (RIHS MSS 9001, RIHS MSS 459, RI Wills).

In addition to hinting at the diversity of laborers involved in the colonial ironworking industry, these material and historical connections recount how important and demanding the ore mining and harvesting process was, and how this activity increasingly required a body of labor beyond the family unit. From the microstructure of the iron objects produced at Greene Farm and Potowomut, comes information about the changing size and organizational structure of the Greene ironworks, which grew from small, family-operated ventures to larger furnace operations at Potowomut and Coventry, complete with accompanying villages for workers and their families.

Fig. 3 Archeologists explore the remains of the Cumberlandite outcrop, a source of ore for the Greene ironworks (Photo by Ryzewski 2010)



The material traces excavated from the archeological sites of Greene Farm and Potowomut provide information about production, networks of resource procurement, and craft techniques. These are, however, the objects that were discarded and deemed failures by the producers. The successful objects were circulated beyond these sites; traces of them survive only in the few account records of Potowomut and Coventry, which detail the sheer variety of tools, household objects, ships' anchors, and other objects that the Greene ironworks produced (Pot. Accounts Accounts of Potowomut Forge 1765). Exhaustive lists of these and their consumers, mentioned in trade accounts and personal correspondence from Potowomut and Coventry, reconnect the materials at the Greene sites to networks of desire, exchange, and circulation of these objects, which ranged from simple horseshoes and custom-designed tools for whale oil extraction, to ornate furniture hardware and massive anchors. How these objects moved, and how they were valued by their consumers relates intricately to the processes of production that emerge by moving along the material trajectory of iron object, as well as to the reputation for iron production that the Greenes established and maintained at these sites over centuries.

From this material-based circulation and comparison, relationships between materials, resources, assemblages, laborers, and exchange networks are delineated and contextualized. Certain relationships do, however, remain partially or entirely undisclosed, due in part to absences or the inability to access these through this particular trajectory. For example, the signs of hammering and re-hammering that are captured in the nails' microstructures are material traces of an individual smith's work. This raises many questions about craft tradition and workers' expertise, but these are details that cannot be understood from microstructural relations alone. Similarly, clues about variable furnace conditions gathered from impurities in the iron do not communicate much about the layout and organization of the production centers and activities on the three sites' landscapes. These questions do, however, orient the information in ways that suggest different exploratory trajectories for future examinations.

In addition to following the material or the "material site", three other trajectories, the ironworking spaces, the sites' landscapes, and the Greene family and forge workers have been explored at length and discussed elsewhere (Ryzewski 2011). Collectively, the results of these four trajectories produced human-material, and even material-material, relations that overlapped between each other, such as the importance of topography in positioning production activities, the conspicuous nature of production at all three places, the placement of manor homes in close proximity to industrial operations, and the importance of reputation and personal relationships in sustaining trade activities. There were also, however, many examples where data gathered from these individual trajectories related across sites, but did not readily connect with the other trajectories. These coincidental and co-existing relations are an important component of multi-sited comparisons. It is in their co-existence and disjunctures that archeologists can recombine the trajectories and present a more complex, fluid, and multi-dimensional picture of activities across and within sites of interest.

Discussion

Examining these three Greene ironworking operations individually and in relation to one another revealed things, people, and interactions that could not have been predicted beforehand; connections that simply do not fit within the dominant historical or archeological narratives about: the existence and influences of colonial iron industries; relationships between domestic and industrial landscapes; the transfer of specialized craft knowledge; the diversity of craftspeople; the Industrial Revolution; or the processes of innovation and adaptation. In these comparisons, relations did not easily map onto pre-existing or historical structures commonly employed to interpret industrial archeology sites, such as managerial capitalism, the Industrial Revolution, plantation economies, or agrarian landscapes.

The success of the multi-sited strategy in this case was in articulating human-material interrelationships related to the Greene family and their ironworking operations over a period of nearly 200 years. In re-tracing important archeological relationships, many of which were poorly documented historically, the resulting connections furnished insight into the people and technical traditions involved in the

craft processes (including the Greene family, African slaves, and Native Americans), the changes in workshop and managerial configurations over the long-term, and how iron objects circulated within the Greenes' social networks. The resulting synthesis of contextualized archeological knowledge provides a foundation for asking and thinking about larger questions, such as the variability, pace, and 'peopling' of technological change over the long-term (Symonds 2005; Lemonnier 1992).

Ultimately, working with multi-sited comparisons required a balancing act, because multi-sited movements must be flexible but guided enough to avoid assumptions of arbitrariness, pre-existing spaces, or concerns about tracing networks infinitely (see Strathern 2004). These results reinforce how the multi-sited strategy is a comparative approach that needs enough flexibility to operate within and beyond the bounds of these properties, as well as the capacity to gather high-resolution data on the ground, while simultaneously considering how data in motion connect to other elements of the same site, travel and change across sites, and operate within the context of broader systems.

(Re)Fashioning Multi-Sited Archeology

This discussion concludes by proposing five further points for further consideration. Some of these points are not addressed in multi-sited ethnography but should be in a multi-sited archeology because of the different nature of archeological problems and inquiries.

Comparisons

It is a basic, but difficult question: what makes a good comparison? This question urges us to think carefully about the nature of archeological comparisons, and of how our transfer of information in and of the present connects to the past (see Hodder 1986:148; Shanks 2004). It is important for archeologists to continually question what they are searching for in multi-sited juxtapositions; this practice of questioning reinforces the importance of selecting points of departure with care.

Such issues of archeological comparison are reminiscent of Hodder's earlier discussions of analogy, in which he suggests that archeologists might have greater confidence in direct historical analogies or comparisons where "spatial context is constant and temporal gap is slight" (Hodder 1986:149; see also Hodder 1999:196). Also relevant is Beaudry's advice that application of multi-sited ethnography to archeological studies requires developing appropriate sets of comparisons, such as sites with genuine, traceable historical or archeological connections, which begin at carefully selected starting points (Beaudry 2005:308). These genuine connections are less complicated to trace within manageable spaces.

Movement

If multi-sited ethnography is mobile, it might also be useful to think of multi-sited archeology as a mobile archeology. From Malinowski to Marcus to Meskell, the

circulation of people, ideas, and materials remain undoubtedly central to anthropological and archeological disciplines. Closer attention is needed to these processes of movement, from starting points to syntheses, particularly because the decisions that inform our movements are at the core of the paths we traverse and the relations that we are making manifest during the process.

When we think of movement in employing the multi-sited strategy, we are undoubtedly talking about both roots and routes; we are moving along trajectories, but we also move in relation to a thing, idea, or person that is identifiable, or even fixed, in relation to a space, place, and/or time (see Aldred 2009). There is much to learn from attending to how these movements shift over time and traverse theoretically, temporally, and spatially relevant boundaries (see Clifford 1997; Cook *et al* 2009:48). Accepting the fluidity of the multi-sited approach and the relations, we locate involves tracing associations that begin with the assemblage, but also encourages us to account for what is not yet in the assemblage (Latour 2005:12).

Variability

Multi-sited comparisons are variable in terms of the relationships that they make visible. It is guaranteed that juxtapositions will not always be successful; some trajectories will dissolve sooner than hoped (Marcus 1995, 1998:84), particularly because archeology's knowledge bases are incomplete and our information is fragmentary. We must be ready and willing to admit when multi-sited comparisons do not work. In this spirit of reflexive practice, the unevenness encountered between sites and research designs can produce information about why, as Marcus says, some sites can be treated "thickly" and others only "thinly" (2005:10).

The Archeological Record

The ideas of multi-sited ethnography appeal to archeologists because they invite us to provoke, to experiment, to work with thick description, and to openly negotiate thin knowledge in ways that connect with our research interests in material culture, formation processes, social identities, and temporality. The archeological record, though incomplete, can add perspectives on the long-term, on spatial relations, and on human-material interactions. These perspectives differ in character and complexity from those encountered in ethnography, and are therefore important components of a distinctly multi-sited archeology.

Time and the Long-Term

The archeologists' challenge to working with a fragmentary archeological record can be tempered by how we engage with issues of time, the long-term, and the nature of past/present relations. It could be argued that we need to account for the complexities of time by being more vigilant in constructing our juxtapositions, and by avoiding irrelevant or unproductive comparisons. Percolating time, folded spaces, working across prehistoric/historic divides, and iterative practice are all conceptual possibilities for dealing with the nature of the archeological record as we move along

multi-sited trajectories that span longer periods of time (see Lightfoot 1995; Witmore 2007). These longer-term trajectories allow for greater visibilities of processes at play within and between sites and the relation of these processes to larger systemic changes over time and space.

Conclusion

Where traditional comparative approaches often arrive at conclusions of difference or contrast, the multi-sited strategy promises to make interactive *connections* within the recognition of difference, akin to what Marilyn Strathern calls “compatibility without comparability” (Strathern 2004:38). Multi-sited relations will not likely fit comfortably within a structured, comparative framework because the multi-sited approach maps continuous, discontinuous, and circulating connections within systems of distributed knowledge and action (see Marcus 2009a). This is a subtle difference between approaches that positions multi-sited archeology as a process necessitating collaborative research of a different flavor, perhaps through the enlistment of tools, techniques, and ideas from outside of the familiar archeological toolkit. Such openness and flexibility casts the multi-sited strategy as a performance of archeology that is, as Shanks suggests, commensurately fluid in terms of how we construct narratives, mediate practice, and represent our findings (see Joyce 2002; Shanks 2004).

As archeologists, we are in a unique position to contribute to multi-sited strategies by enlisting the materials and temporalities from our practice to the approach. Unlike ethnographers, archeologists do not always have the benefit of person-to-person contact in dealing with the past, meaning that archeological engagements are necessarily mediated by and most often begin with things and places (see Shanks *et al.* 2011). Therefore, multi-sited archeological comparisons have somewhat of a unique advantage because they begin with the archeological method itself. Fortunately, archeological recording and other systematic practices of survey and recovery are iterative methods poised to deal with the fragmentary nature of long-term history, marked by variable traces of materials, written records, and human activities. Archeologists can always return to the archive, the field notes, the assemblage, returning to different starting points to begin another multi-sited comparison, exploring different sets of relations.

In the recent edited volume, *Multi-Sited Ethnography: Theory, Praxis and Locality in Contemporary Research*, Mark-Anthony Falzon comments that some of the noted shortcomings of and assumptions about multi-sited ethnography emerged as a critique and consequence of what he calls “first-generation multi-sited ethnography” (Falzon 2009:14). During this first generation of scholarship, Falzon suggests that anthropologists were eager to practice the multi-sited approach without necessarily engaging with its complexities and implications that existed beyond their own immediate research agenda.

Nearly two decades later, recent literature referencing multi-sited archeology communicates a similar enthusiasm among archeologists. Perhaps, as this overview suggests, the time has come for archeologists to discuss joining, or better yet, to consider forming our own next generation of multi-sited research. Such research will

necessarily call for more attention to the similarities and divergences between multi-sited ethnography and archeology, to multi-sited archeology in practice, and to relationships with additional or alternative comparative approaches in archeology.

Acknowledgments This discussion developed as part of a paper presented at the Theoretical Archeology Group conference at Stanford University in 2008. Thanks are due to the participants, Barbara Voss, the session discussant, and to Brent Fortenberry and Adrian Meyers, the session organizers, for giving me the opportunity to road-test these ideas. I am most indebted to those who have provided constructive feedback throughout the writing process, especially Mary Beaudry and Chris Witmore. Three anonymous reviewers were generous with their commentary and suggestions, for which I am grateful.

References

- Accounts of Potowomut Forge (1765–1766). In *private collection of T.C. Greene*, Potowomut, Rhode Island.
- Aldred, O. (2009). 'Going along, remembering the way'. *An archaeology of movement in Iceland*. Paper presented at Theoretical Archaeology Group (TAG), May 5, Stanford University.
- Appadurai, A. (Ed.). (1986). *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Appadurai, A. (1990). Disjunctive and difference in the global cultural economy. *Public Culture*, 2(2), 1–24.
- Appadurai, A. (1995). The Production of Locality. In R. Fardon (Ed.), *Counterworks: Managing the Diversity of Knowledge* (pp. 204–225). London: Routledge.
- Appadurai, A. (2001). Grassroots globalization and the research imagination. In A. Appadurai (Ed.), *Globalization* (pp. 1–21). Durham: Duke University Press.
- Barrett, J. (1999). The mythical landscapes of the British Iron Age. In W. Ashmore & A. B. Knapp (Eds.), *Archaeologies of Landscape: Contemporary Perspectives* (pp. 253–265). Oxford: Blackwell.
- Bartu, A. (2000). Where is Çatalhöyük? Multiple sites in the construction of an archaeological site. In I. Hodder (Ed.), *Towards a Reflexive Method in Archaeology: The Example at Çatalhöyük* (pp. 101–109). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Beaudry, M. C. (2003). Book review of archaeology and the modern world: colonial transcripts in South Africa and the Chesapeake by Martin Hall. *American Anthropologist*, 105(3), 654–655.
- Beaudry, M. C. (2005). Concluding comments. In E. Casella & J. Symonds (Eds.), *Industrial Archaeology: Future Directions* (pp. 301–314). New York: Springer.
- Bestor, T. C. (2001). Supply-side sushi: Commodity, market, and the global city. *American Anthropologist*, 103(1), 76–95.
- Bining, A. C. (1933). *British Regulation of the Colonial Iron Industry*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Candea, M. (2009). Arbitrary locations: In defence of the bounded field-site. In M. A. Falzon (Ed.), *Multi-sited Ethnography: Theory, Praxis and Locality in Contemporary Research* (pp. 25–46). Farnham: Ashgate.
- Castañeda, Q. E. (2008). The “ethnographic turn” in archaeology: Research positioning and reflexivity in ethnographic archaeologies. In Q. E. Castañeda & C. N. Matthews (Eds.), *Ethnographic Archaeologies: Reflections on Stakeholders and Archaeological Practices* (pp. 25–62). Lanham: Alta Mira Press.
- Chapman, J. (2008). Object Fragmentation and Past Landscapes. In D. Bruno & J. Thomas (Eds.), *Handbook of Landscape Archaeology* (pp. 187–201). Walnut Creek: Left Coast Press.
- Clifford, J. (1997). *Routes: Travel and Translation in the Late Twentieth Century*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Clifford, J., & Marcus, G. (Eds.). (1986). *Writing Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Coleman, S., & von Helleman, P. (Eds.). (2009). *Multi-sited Ethnography Problems and Possibilities in the Translocation of Research Methods*. London: Routledge.
- Cook, J., Laidlaw, J., & Mair, J. (2009). What if There is No Elephant? Towards a Conception of an Un-sited Field. In M. A. Falzon (Ed.), *Multi-sited Ethnography: Theory, Praxis and Locality in Contemporary Research* (pp. 47–72). Farnham: Ashgate.

- DeCunzo, L., & Ernststein, J. (2006). Landscapes, Ideology and Experience in Historical Archaeology. In D. Hicks & M. Beaudry (Eds.), *The Cambridge Companion to Historical Archaeology* (pp. 255–272). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Edgeworth, M. (Ed.). (2006). *Ethnographies of Archaeological Practice: Cultural Encounters, Material Transformations*. Lanham: Altamira Press.
- Falzon, M. A. (2009). Introduction: Multi-sited Ethnography: Theory, Praxis and Locality in Contemporary Research. In M. A. Falzon (Ed.), *Multi-sited Ethnography: Theory, Praxis and Locality in Contemporary Research* (pp. 1–24). Farnham: Ashgate.
- Flatman, J., & Staniforth, M. (2006). Historical maritime archaeology. In D. Hicks & M. Beaudry (Eds.), *The Cambridge Companion to Historical Archaeology* (pp. 168–190). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Fortun, K. (2009). Scaling and Visualizing Multi-sited Ethnography. In M. A. Falzon (Ed.), *Multi-sited Ethnography: Theory, Praxis and Locality in Contemporary Research* (pp. 73–86). Farnham: Ashgate.
- Frank, C. (2008). *China as Object and Imaginary in the Making of an American Nation, 1690–1790*. Doctoral Dissertation, Brown University, Department of American Civilization. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Microfilms.
- Frank, C., Ryzewski, K., & Stein, N. (2006). *Preliminary Field and Historical Report, Greene Farm Archaeology Project, 2005 Field Season*. RI: Report on file with the Rhode Island Historic Preservation and Heritage Commission and the City of Warwick.
- Geertz, C. (1973). *The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays*. New York: Basic Books.
- Hall, M. (2000). *Archaeology and the Modern World: Colonial Transcripts in South Africa and the Chesapeake*. New York: Routledge.
- Hamilakis, Y., & Anagnostopoulos, A. (2009). What is archaeological ethnography? *Public Archaeology: Archaeological Ethnographies*, 8(2–3), 65–87.
- Harmansah, O. (2011). Introduction: Towards an archaeology of place, and event place performance: Towards an archaeological field project on Anatolian rock reliefs and sacred springs. In O. Harmansah (Ed.), *Drawing on Rocks, Gathering by the Water: Towards an Archaeology of Place, Joukowski Institute Publications 6*. Providence, RI: Joukowski Institute for Archaeology and the Ancient World.
- Hart, S. O. (2011). Heritage, Neighborhoods, and Cosmopolitan Sensibilities: Poly-Communal Archaeology in Deerfield, Massachusetts. *Present Pasts*, 3, 26–34.
- Hicks, D. (2003). Archaeology unfolding: Diversity and the loss of isolation. *Oxford Journal of Archaeology*, 22(3), 315–329.
- Hicks, D., & Beaudry, M. C. (Eds.). (2006). *The Cambridge Companion to Historical Archaeology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hodder, I. (1986). *Reading the Past: Current Approaches to Interpretation in Archaeology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hodder, I. (Ed.). (1987). *The Archaeology of Contextual Meanings*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hodder, I. (1999). *The Archaeological Process: An Introduction*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Iron Act (1750). Statute 23 Geo. II c.23.
- Joyce, R. A., (2002). *The Languages of Archaeology: Dialogue, Narrative, and Writing*. Blackwell.
- Johnson, M. H., et al. (1999). Rethinking historical archaeology. In P. P. A. Funari (Ed.), *Historical Archaeology: Back from the Edge* (pp. 23–36). London: One World Archaeology.
- Latour, B. (2005). *Reassembling the Social: An Introduction to Actor-Network-Theory*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Lemonnier, P. (1992). *Elements for an Anthropology of Technology*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan.
- Lightfoot, K. (1995). Culture Contact Studies: Redefining the Relationship Between Prehistoric and Historical Archaeology. *American Antiquity*, 60, 199–218.
- Lightfoot, K. (2006). Gold, Furs, and Manifest Destiny: Rethinking an Archaeology of Colonialism for Western North America. In M. Hall & S. Silliman (Eds.), *Historical Archaeology* (pp. 272–292). Oxford: Blackwell.
- Little, B. (1998). Cultural landscapes of printers and the ‘Heav’n-taught art’ in Annapolis Maryland. In P. Shackel, P. R. Mullins, & M. S. Warner (Eds.), *Annapolis Pasts, Historical Archaeology in Annapolis, Maryland* (pp. 225–243). Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press.
- Lucas, G. (2001). *Critical Approaches to Fieldwork: Contemporary and Historical Archaeological Practice*. London: Routledge.
- Lucas, G. (2005). *The Archaeology of Time*. London: Routledge.
- Lucas, G. (2006). Historical Archaeology and Time. In D. Hicks & M. Beaudry (Eds.), *The Cambridge Companion to Historical Archaeology* (pp. 34–47). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Marcus, G. E. (1989). Imagining the Whole: Ethnography's Contemporary Efforts to Situate Itself. *Critique of Anthropology*, 9(3), 7–30.
- Marcus, G. E. (1991). Past, present and emergent identities: Requirements for ethnographies of late twentieth century modernity worldwide. In S. Lash & J. Friedman (Eds.), *Modernity and Identity* (pp. 309–330). London: Blackwell.
- Marcus, G. E. (1994). On Ideologies of Reflexivity in Contemporary Efforts to Remake the Human Sciences. *Poetics Today*, 15(3), 383–404.
- Marcus, G. E. (1995). Ethnography in/of the world system: The emergence of multi-sited ethnography. *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 24, 95–117.
- Marcus, G. E. (1997). The uses of complicity in the changing Mise-en-Scène of anthropological fieldwork. *Representations*, 59, 85–108.
- Marcus, G. E. (1998). *Ethnography Through Thick and Thin*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Marcus, G. E. (2009a). Multi-sited ethnography: notes and queries. In M. A. Falzon (Ed.), *Multi-sited Ethnography: Theory, Praxis and Locality in Contemporary Research* (pp. 181–196). Farnham: Ashgate.
- Marcus, G. E. (2009b). Multi-Sited Ethnography: Five or Six Things I Know About It Now, in, Problems and Possibilities in Multi-sited Ethnography Workshop, 27–28 June 2005, University of Sussex. In S. Coleman & P. von Hellerman (Eds.), *Reprinted in Multi-Sited Ethnography: Problems and Possibilities in the Translocation of Research Methods*. London: Routledge.
- Matthews, C. N. (2002). *An Archaeology of History and Tradition: Moments of Danger in the Annapolis Landscape*. New York: Kluwer/Plenum.
- Orser, C. (1996). *A Historical Archaeology of the Modern World*. New York: Plenum.
- Parker, B. J. (2006). Toward and understanding of borderland processes. *American Antiquity*, 71(1), 77–100.
- Paynter, R. (2000). Historical and anthropological archaeology: Forging alliances. *Journal of Archaeological Research*, 8(1), 1–37.
- Pecoraro, L. (2010). "Of chusinge and takings some place of Advantage, and there to make some Pallysadoes": Atlantic Connections at the Nansemond Fort, Virginia. Unpublished M.A. Thesis, Department of Archaeology, Boston University.
- Raber, M. S. Gordon, R. B. (2001). *Archaeological Investigations for General Nathanael Greene Memorial Bridge Replacement (Bridge No.991): Phase I(c) Intensive Survey and Phase II Site Examination, Warwick and North Kingstown, Rhode Island*. Draft Report prepared by Raber Associates.
- Renfrew AC, Cherry JF (eds.) (1986). *Peer Polity Interaction and Socio-Political Change*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge
- Rhode Island Historical Society Manuscript Collections, Greene Family Papers, Clarke Family Papers, MSS 9001 collection, Elihu & Christopher Greene Papers MSS 459 collection, James Greene & Co. Papers.
- Rhode Island Wills, Warwick, RI Volume I, 1703–1745, Rhode Island Historical Society. Volume II 1746–1760, Volume III, 1761–1781.
- Rouse, R. (1991). Mexican migration and the social space of postmodernity. *Diaspora*, 1, 8–23.
- Ryzewski, K. (2008) An Archaeology of Colonial Industry: Domestic Ironworking and Industrial Evolution in Rhode Island, 1642–1800. Doctoral Dissertation, Brown University, Department of Anthropology. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Microfilms
- Ryzewski, K. (2009a). Seven Interventions with the Flatlands: Archaeology and its Modes of Engagement, in Contributions from the WAC-6 Session Experience, Modes of Engagement, Archaeology. In K. Ryzewski (Ed.), *Archaeologies* 5(3) (pp. 361–388).
- Ryzewski, K. (ed). (2009b). *Archaeology at the John Brown House*, Providence, RI. Results from the Archaeology of College Hill Excavations, Brown University Joukowski Institute for Archaeology and the Ancient World, Fall 2008. Report prepared for the Rhode Island Historical Society.
- Ryzewski, K. (2011). The Iron Age of America: Learning Metalworking on the New England Frontier. In T. Fenn & A. Thibodeau (Eds.), *Technological Transformation: Contact Period and Early Colonial Technology in the New World*. Tuscon: University of Arizona Press.
- Ryzewski, K., Alcock, S.E., Sheldon, B., Mankin, M., Sinnott-Armstrong, N. (2011). *Multiple Assessments of Local Properties, Production and Performance in Metal Objects: An Experimental Case Study from Petra, Jordan*. *Archaeological and Anthropological Sciences*.
- Schiffer, M. (1987). *Formation Processes of the Archaeological Record*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.
- Shanks, M. (1991). *Experiencing the Past: On the Character of Archaeology*. London: Routledge.
- Shanks, M. (2004). Three rooms. *Journal of Social Archaeology*, 4(2), 147–180.

- Shanks, M., Olsen, B., Webmoor, T., & Witmore, C. (2011). *Archaeology: The discipline of things*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Soja, A. (1989). *Postmodern Geographies: The Reassertion of Space in Critical Social Theory*. London: Verso.
- Steiner, C. B. (1994). *African Art in Transit*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Strathern, M. (2004). *Partial Connections*. Walnut Creek: Rowman and Littlefield.
- Symonds, J. (2005). Experiencing Industry: Beyond Machines and the History of Technology. In E. C. Casella & J. Symonds (Eds.), *Industrial Archaeology: Future Directions* (pp. 33–58). New York: Springer Press.
- Taylor, W. (1948). *A Study of Archeology*. American Anthropological Association, Memoir 69.
- Thomas, N. (1994). *Colonialism's Culture: Anthropology, Travel, and Government*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Thomas, J. (2008). Archaeology, Landscape, and Dwelling. In D. Bruno & J. Thomas (Eds.), *Handbook of Landscape Archaeology* (pp. 300–306). Walnut Creek: Left Coast Press.
- Urban, T., Ryzewski, K., & Hermance, J. (2010). *Cumberlandite: Using Residual Gravity to Delineate an Historically Important Ore Body*. St. Louis: Presentation for the Society for American Archaeology Annual Meetings.
- Wallerstein, I. (1974). *The Modern World-System*. London: Academic Press.
- Willey, G. (1953). *Prehistoric Settlement Patterns in the Viru Valley, Peru*. Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin no. 155, Washington, DC.
- Willis, P. (1981). *Learning to Labour: How Working Class Kids Get Working Class Jobs*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Witmore, C. L. (2007). Landscape, Time, Topology: an Archaeological Account of the Southern Argolid, Greece. In D. Hicks, L. McAtackney, & G. Fairclough (Eds.), *Envisioning Landscape. Situations and Standpoints in Archaeology and Heritage* (pp. 194–225). Walnut Creek: Left Coast Press.
- Witmore, C. L. (2009). Prolegomena to Open Pasts: On Archaeological Memory Practices. In K. Ryzewski (Ed.), *Contributions from the WAC-6 Session Experience, Modes of Engagement, Archaeology, Archaeologies* 5(3) (pp. 511–545).
- Witmore, C. L. (2011). (Dis)continuous Domains: A Case of 'Multi-sited Archaeology' from the Peloponnese, Greece. In O. Harmanşah (Ed.), *Drawing on Rocks, Gathering by the Water: Towards an Archaeology of Place, Joukowsky Institute Publications* 3. Providence: Joukowsky Institute for Archaeology and the Ancient World.
- Wolf, E. (1982). *Europe and the People without History*. London: University of California Press.