

I filled half a dozen notebooks of fieldnotes in my 20s, several more of object drawings, a diary, sketch maps and plans. // All of this was on an archaeological field project in southwest Afghanistan in the 1970s, before becoming a publisher of qualitative research.

// Move the dial 50 years forward and suddenly I'm confronted with rereading these notes in preparation for publishing the report of our work, a task that the PI of the project had sadly not accomplished. If the important archaeological work of the Helmand Sistan Project would ever be made public by one of the original researchers, it was going to fall to me, recently retired, to do it.

I dove in to rereading the notebooks I had filled and the other 48 notebooks that the project had generated, somewhere over 10,000 pages of information on the project, to go along with 15,000 photos, 4,000 color slides, and 250 maps and plans, created by 7 different project members. We had no instructions from the project director back then on how to present these notes or what they should include, so their variety was notable.

// And, being a responsible scholar, I took seriously that we were not the only researchers to have ever done work in this region, so I read all the published material from our predecessors. There were many British soldiers, explorers, adventurers, and surveyors there in the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century, and French, American, British and German archaeological teams between the 1930s and 1971. // The American researchers' archives were in the University of Pennsylvania Museum and the Peabody Museum at Harvard, so I visited them.

At the two museums I was confronted with other styles of note taking used by the researchers involved, Walter Fairervis and George Dales, both different from what the seven of us did in the field. // It raised the question of to this paper: Why do field notes look the way they do?

## ABOUT FIELDNOTES

// Particularly striking to me in trolling the archives was the work of the late Fairservis, an archaeologist at the American Museum of Natural History in New York. He had a long career working in Central and South Asia as well as being a playwright and author of popular books on archaeology. He was in Sistan in 1949 and 1951. What struck me about his fieldnotes were their pristine condition, carefully prepared in leather bound notebooks written in pen with straight margins, printed page numbers, and marginalia including the weather conditions and distances traveled each day. Not a word was scratched out, no scrawled marginal notes, no hint of coffee stains on the corners of the pages or sand in the creases. Clearly, this was not written “in the field” but “of the field,” as Roger Sanjek labels it (Sanjek 1990 95).

Note the temperature on September 5, 1951, high 126F, low 88 with windspeed 60 mph. Welcome to fieldwork in Sistan!

// This was confirmed when I found rougher versions of these same notes in Fairservis’s files. Note the brick design he copied off the wall of a 15<sup>th</sup> century house in the original notes with the slightly cleaner version that appears in his notebook. (The photo is of a similar, but not the same, house)

Clearly, Fairservis had rewritten his notes into a form that can only be described as being “for posterity.” He wanted them to be readable and clear for some later researcher who would come along and review his notes. That person was me and, from what I can read in the published literature, I am one of only two people who has ever consulted these notebooks since they were written over 70 years ago.

Cultural anthropologist Nancy Lutkehaus (1990) writes about using others’ fieldnotes in their own work. // She studied the same village in Papua New Guinea in the 1970s (the same time we were in the field) that Camilla Wedgewood of Cambridge, a student of Malinowski, had studied in the 1930s. Going into the field, Wedgewood was given specific instructions by her mentor as to how to take notes

*Do not write with a pencil with anything like a soft lead-it rubs. Indelible pencils are not a sound proposition. If possible write legibly and write native words in script or block capitals-at least for the first time of using... Never*

*destroy or erase anything in these books ... [they1 will contain a chaotic account in which everything is written down as it is observed or told. To counteract this chaos, cross-reference the scheme or plan drawn up. This best done in coloured chalks. Do not be parsimonious with paper.]*

Wedgewood worked with the notes about the same region compiled another young British anthropologist, Bernard Deacon, who died of blackwater fever there in 1927. She struggled mightily with making sense of Deacon's notes, to the point that when it became time to write her own, she produced them in 34 neatly bound notebooks, each page dated, with left hand pages left blank to provide new information or correct to her original writings. The new material was in pencil to distinguish it from the original.

## TYPOLOGIES OF FIELD NOTES

// In the most extensive volume about fieldnotes of the predigital era, edited by Roger Sanjek in 1990, Jean Jackson created a typology of them based upon interviews with 70 ethnographic researchers of various ages, nationalities, and disciplines. They start with scratch notes, the scribbles that researchers commit to a scrap of paper, used napkin, and very often a small notebook. Those generally serve as *aide memoires* for the more extensive versions of fieldnotes that are typed up in private in the evening, or later in the week, or when they return from the field. The latter Jackson calls descriptive fieldnotes. In the old days, they would be typed in duplicate, with the carbon copy version being mailed home on the next tramp steamer and the original kept by the researcher for further analysis (Lederman 1990 77).

This does not represent the total of documentation for most ethnographic projects. Field records—like genealogies, community surveys, maps—are other sources of data, essential in most contemporary field work.

Archaeologists add photographs, maps, plans, and stratigraphic sections to this list. Ethnographic texts from what were then called “the natives” now include interview transcripts, as well as reports, translations, and formally taped interviews (transcribed from audio tape or camera), reports to department chairs and funders, and even the occasional research paper written in the field.

// A more personal class of documents are also mentioned. Personal diaries, letters home to loved ones, and other notes to colleagues, family and friends serve a very different purpose. The most famous, as Malinowski's *Diary in the Strict Sense of the Term*, written between 1914-1918 and published in 1967, shows Malinowski for the colonialist, racist, chauvinist pig he was (Jackson 1990b, 26). But it was never intended for publication. Remember this, we will revisit it when we discuss YOUR fieldnotes later.

Margaret Mead used letters instead of a diary. She regularly wrote during her 1925-26 Samoa fieldwork and later projects to as many as 50 people including Franz Boas, Ruth Benedict and William Ogburn using multiple carbon copies. (ref)

The emotional drag of fieldwork is often diminished through these private documents like letters or diaries, but it also becomes, according to the researchers interviewed, a way of trying out ideas that stretch beyond the facts that fill formal notebooks.

// Fieldnotes help channel the emotional rollercoaster of doing field work. According to Jackson, researchers have a love-hate relationship with their jottings. The image of burning your fieldnotes came up often in her interviews ( Jackson 1990B, 20), juxtaposed with comments on how fieldnotes allowed researchers to keep their grip on sanity. Most junior scholars had never viewed anyone else's fieldnotes when they first went into the field themselves (Lederman 1990, 72). Fieldnotes were secret, liminal, sacred, even fetishist, much like the religious objects those scholars often studies (Bond 1990, ) They were often secured in locked trunks (Sanjek 1990 35). Allowing others to view them would open Pandora's box. (Bond 1990, 273)

// Another feature was their sheer volume. I already mentioned Wedgewood's 34 notebooks. John and Ella Embry worked in Suve Mura; their journals are 1275 and 1005 pages respectively for 1 year's work. Boas had 3000 pages of translated Kwakiutl texts, most compiled by his Tlingit coauthor George Hunt. Berkeley anthropologist George Foster returned annually to Tzintzuntzan, Mexico for over half a century and collected a jaw dropping amount of material there.

// Foster's inventory also points to the variety of written media collected in the field. Bound books, stenographer's notebooks, individual pages, looseleaf binders holding 3-hole punched pages, envelope backs, index cards of various sizes, photocopied forms, each style appealed to different researchers. Cheap paper, good paper. Pen, pencils, crayons, chalk. The choices are individualized.

// There have been very few attempts to standardize the toolkit for notetaking, one of the few being by Radcliffe-Brown in the 1920s, as reported by Mead.

// For all their physical variety, and their role as a means to an end, field notebooks developed a meaning of their own. They became a legacy, a nod toward posterity. There is logic to this. Simon Ottenberg points out the obvious: despite a pile of articles and 4 books about the Nigerian Afikpo, where he did fieldwork beginning in the 1950s, he estimates that he published less than half of the material he collected. (Ottenberg 1990, 157)

Roger Sanjek speaks of this desire for personal immortality

“One writes for occasions distant from the field, for oneself years later, for an imagined professional readership, for a teacher, for some complex figure identified with the ultimate designation of the researcher.” (1990, 64).

Ottenberg (1990, 143) puts it in the reverse:

“Leaving my notes with the possibility that no one will ever be interested in looking at them at all--the ultimate death!” (Ottenberg 1990, 155)

George Bond, of Teacher's College also speaks of permanence, calling fieldnotes immutable documents representing living, mutable experiences, thus dialectic between the fixed and the changing.

## HSP FIELDNOTE STYLES

// With this general overview of what fieldnotes can consist of, I looked again at the styles we and our predecessors used in the field in the 1970s. Granted there were some differences, we were archaeologists and didn't

have to worry about taking our notes in secret to avoid offending our local collaborators. Archaeologists talk to dead people.

Yet we had a wide variety of styles, // from the formal volumes our project director William Trousdale, // to the manual mathematical calculations in notebooks of surveyors Bob Hamilton and Nick Vester, // to the sketched architectural details of our draftsman Jim Knudstad, // to the simple recording of photo number and location by our photographer Chip Vincent. // Mine were of an enthusiastic young grad student with horrendous handwriting who recorded far more than my colleagues in my first major field experience. I'm glad I did. Writing up the project 50 years later, my notes were more informative than those of most of my colleagues.

// We had numerous different styles and receptacles for recording our field data. So did our predecessors. Fairservis, as mentioned above, transferred his scratch notes taken in the field to formal notebooks for posterity. This was apparently common in earlier generations of ethnographers, as there are descriptions of notables like Mead, Malinowski, and Geertz spending their evenings doing this.

// George Dales's notes resemble mine in their format and content, which makes me feel as if my youthful notetaking was on the right track. // Amusingly, my notebook to record MY notes about HIS notes in the Penn archive closely resembles his field notebook. // Among the more bizarre things I found in the Penn archives were his letters home to his wife Barb and two daughters, "the gals." Now I have a chance to read what Dales honestly thought of his fieldwork in Sistan, which ended prematurely when local smugglers thought he was a rival and started taking rifle shots at his jeep.

// I had my own daily personal diary written in the field, almost the only time in my life I did this. Its pages were filled with 20-something angst, concerns about my personal and professional future (which ended up not being in archaeology), reflections on books I read by oil lantern at night, my breakup with a long time girlfriend, the sudden death of my father. But scattered in these private musings are reports of late night conversations about our fieldwork, descriptions of some places we visited that never made the formal field notebooks, wild interpretations of our findings that were never put down as formal field data but now seem sensible.

// When it came to writing up our field project 50 years later, all the descriptive data about the site of Trakhun, including a sketch map, came from this diary as none of us had taken notes on the site when we visited it in 1975. I had chosen to sleep inside the ruins that evening rather than with the rest of the team at the base of the mound, and had written down much of what I saw and what I felt in the silence of a 400 year old palace. Those became the fieldnotes for our publication.

## DIGITAL ETHNOGRAPHY

// This may all feel very quaint to ethnographers of the digital age. You can video your subjects from your phone, transcribe interviews using dictation programs, and analyze your data through half a dozen wizardlike computer programs that are being displayed in the Pine Lounge. The material culture of your fieldnotes are immaterial beyond the plastic cases and lithium chips of your laptop and whatever that cloud thing that holds all your data looks like.

No matter. What does this story of long ago and far away have to do with the fieldwork you're doing next month, likely with your phone or laptop. Several things.

First, over and over and over again, researchers point to the utility of revisiting fieldnotes as the key method of gaining insight into the setting they were studying. Simply the translation from scratch notes to formally written fieldnotes forced the researcher to recall the setting, to fill in other recalled information, what Ottenberg calls headnotes, to reassess their initial impressions. We now have faster ways to get the study done, but possibly at the expense of depth of understanding. Will you review those notes over and over again, reshuffle them, turn them upside down and inside out in search of deeper, more authentic meaning. It's very tempting just to hand them off to Atlas or MAXQDA and let your software do the work.

Second, the posterity thing. I have a mound of floppy disks when floppy disks were, in fact, floppy, zip drives, CDs, DVDs, flash drives, and remote hard drives. Most of them are no longer readable without specialized equipment. That future archaeologist 1000 years from now who digs up the

Peabody archive would still be able to read Fairservis's elegant notebooks. Will that be true of your fieldnotes?

Third, the expansion of open access publications has a correlate in the rapid growth in demands for open data. Nice that your article can be read anywhere in the world by anyone with a wifi connection. But what happens when your fieldnotes are similarly available. Many journals now require you to submit the data behind your articles when submitting them. Current publishing trends suggest that more will do so in the future. Survey researchers won't worry about that much, but qualitative researchers often deal with very sensitive issues in very explicit and concrete detail. You are very careful about disguising the identities of your collaborators when you need to.

But what if your fieldnotes become public information. Remember Malinowski's *Diary*? What will the future think of you when viewed through your fieldnotes? What mischief and damage can be done to you and your collaborators for your frank recording of what you saw, heard, and felt. Ugandan anthropologist Christine Obbo reminds us that once others read your fieldnotes, they go beyond your control. (Obbo 1990, 291)

// What has this brief survey of the material component of fieldnotes taught? Maybe the best answers are some of the comments by the 70 ethnographers interviewed by Jean Jackson. On whatever medium they are recorded—physical or digital—fieldnotes clearly have an outsized importance to their creators. Give them another look when you get home from Urbana.



# The Material Culture of Fieldnotes

Mitchell Allen

University of California, Berkeley

International Congress of Qualitative Research,

May 20, 2023

erodnd bldy. located 200 yds  
depression leading out to alluvial  
mud map; bldy fr. 35' high

shreds abundant  
everywhere

J. J. W. Fairbrois 17/1/51

H-41-H Roll 20-1318 306

Surface  
10.35' silt mound - bldy complex located 350 yds  
- RB-V; located in midst of silt  
ds running NW-SE at N. ~~side~~ side of alluvium  
- pebble & silt clay areas in patches  
all sides - shreds/located mainly on  
E side

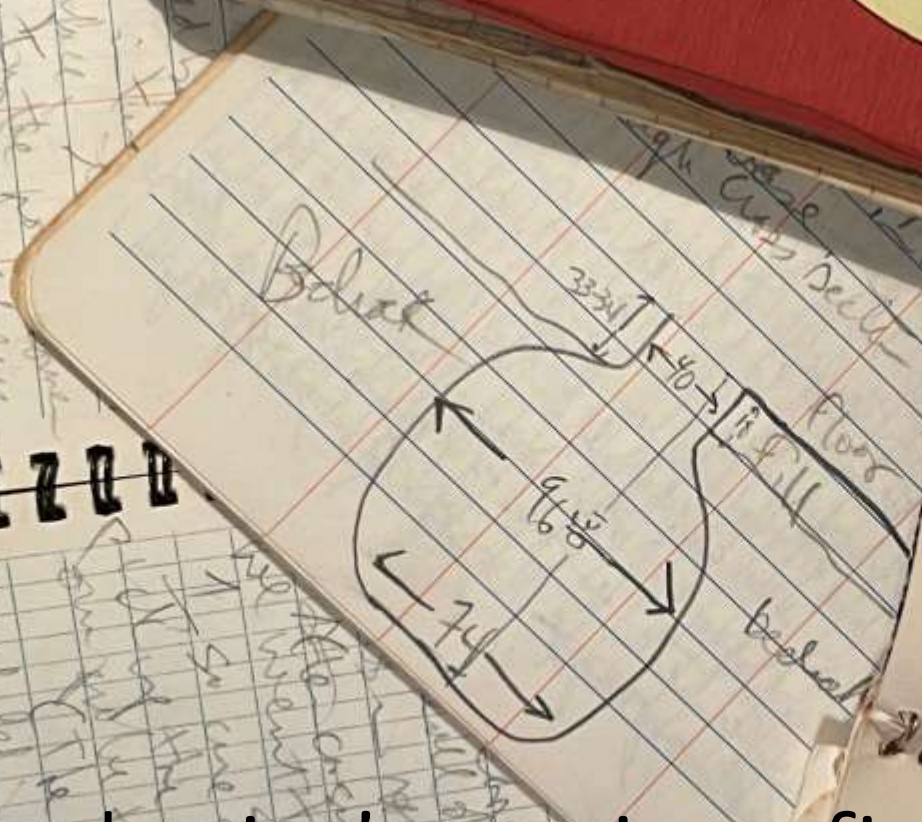
Of a project  
long ago  
and far away






  
 National Diabetes Prevention Program
   
 Lifestyle Coach Training
   
 www.attac.org
   
 H5075B-
   
 MFA

2) Round Oak I (ROI) - Oak 35-1  
 3510 - dirt sitting from S6  
 135 to H338  
 332 to Q314  
 344 to Q4  
 170 to Ave.  
 probably on map from strip photo

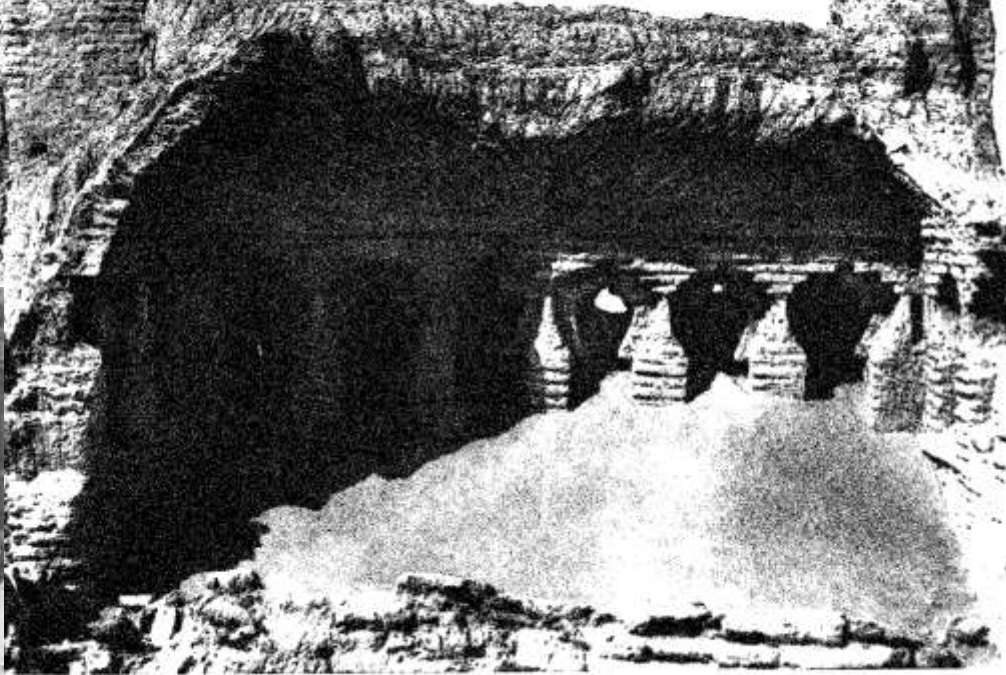


3) walls  
 no defense towers  
 (presumed)  
 drawn inside of  
 center of Oak  
 28 m.

An archaeologist's ancient fieldnotes



With a long history of previous research



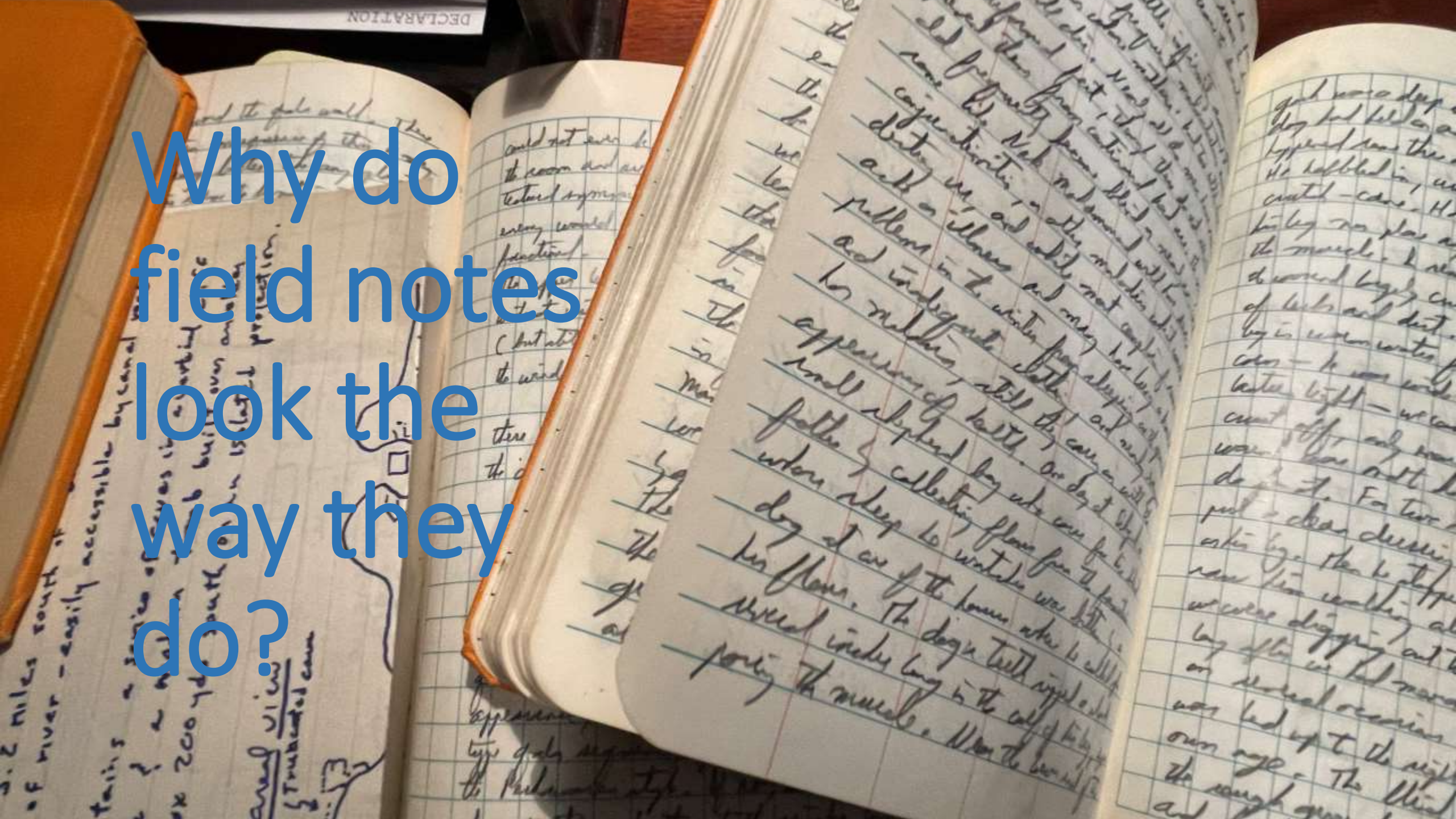


Sent me  
to the archives





Why do field notes look the way they do?





Walter Fairservis's  
fieldnotes  
from the Sistan project,  
1949-50



5 September —  
2<sup>nd</sup> Sistan Camp to  
53810 (Boundary Marker  
No. V) to 2<sup>nd</sup> Sistan  
camp 54460 - ca. 40 mi.  
south of Farah;  
started 53752  
Total distance: 71 miles

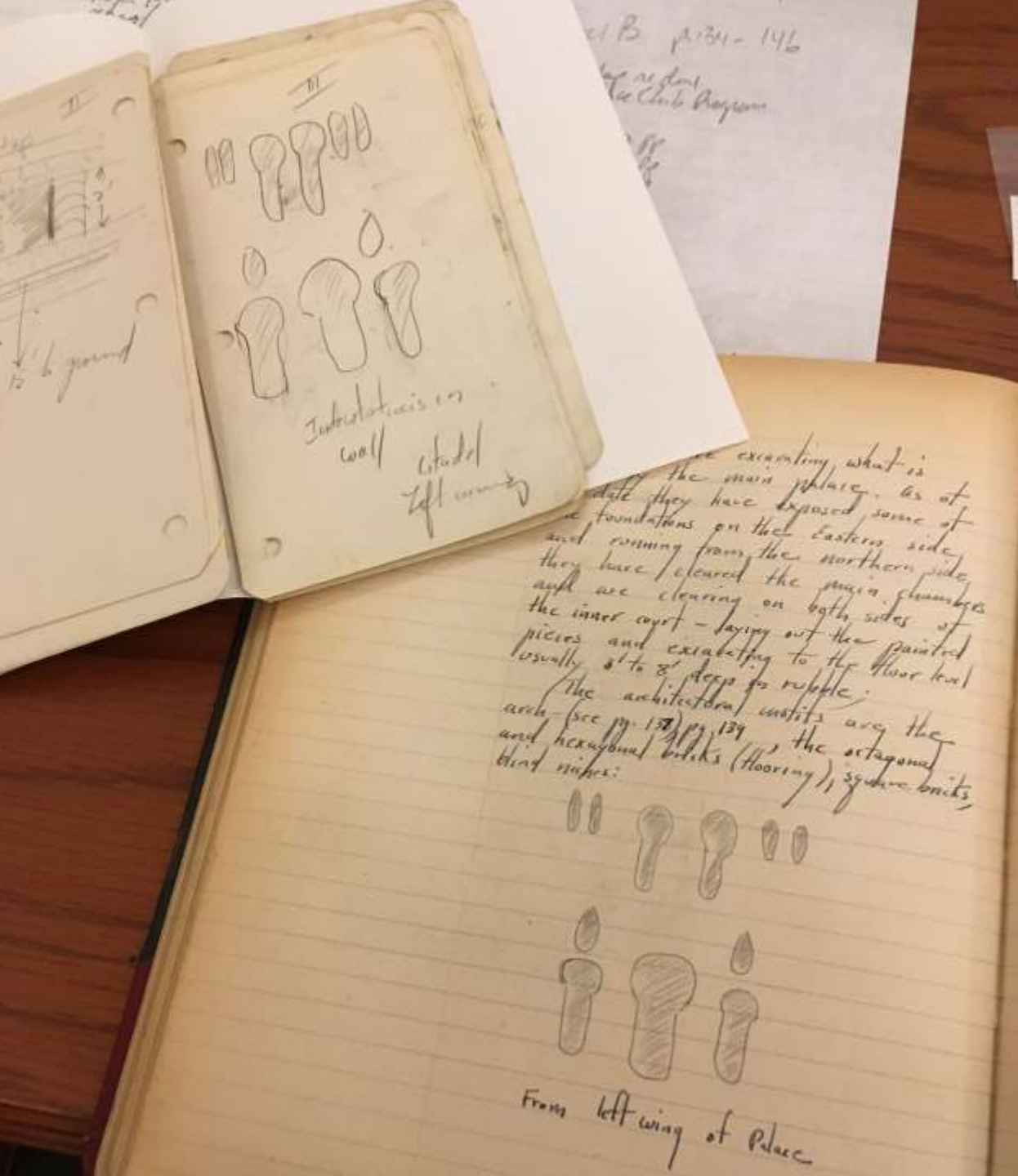
Weather: fair & hot  
Temp: 126°  
88°

wind: 60 mi/hr occasionally  
35-40 mi/hr on the  
average;

169  
5 September  
During the night several Atyhan lorries  
coming from Chikassar & going to Farah  
stopped at our camp; one ~~lorry~~ driver carried  
a revolver in a shoulder holster and  
he walked up to the followed by 6 or 8  
Atyhans. They however said their prayers  
and after asking for petrol went on their  
way. At 11:00 P.M. another lorry came up  
and went through the same routing -  
one of them stole our coffee pot -  
blast his soul - may he roast in Jehannam!!  
About midnight the wind which had  
been blowing 15-25 mi/hour from the NW  
began to increase in velocity and in  
sand & dust carrying capacity. Puffs at  
60 mi/hour nearly carried everything  
away. We got up at 5:30 A.M. in a  
raging storm that poured sand in  
everything. After a battle to break down  
cots, fold bed rolls, pack the trailer &  
retrieve our cooking equipment we  
started southward at 6:10 A.M. trying



# Two versions of the same entry





# Malinowski's advice to Camilla Wedgewood



*“Do not write with a pencil with anything like a soft lead-it rubs. Indelible pencils are not a sound proposition. If possible write legibly and write native words in script or block capitals-at least for the first time of using...Never destroy or erase anything in these books ... [they] will contain a chaotic account in which everything is written down as it is observed or told. To counteract this chaos, cross-reference the scheme or plan drawn up. This best done in coloured chalks. Do not be parsimonious with paper.”*

-Bronislaw Malinowski (Lutkehaus 1990, 304)

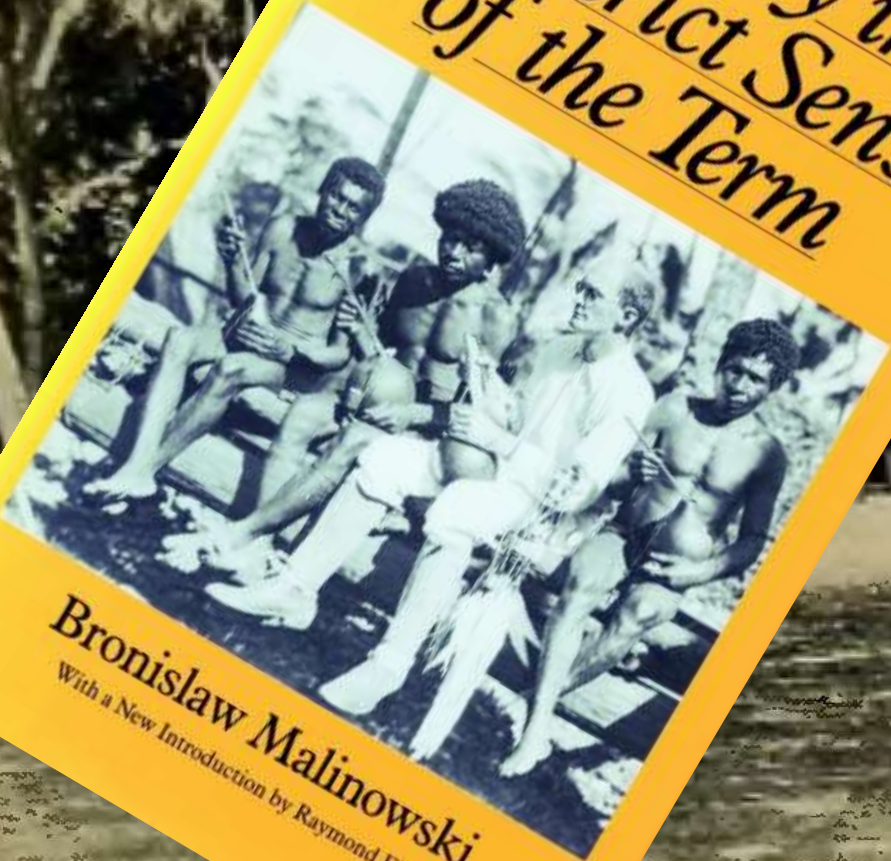
# Jean Jackson's Types of (pre-digital) Fieldnotes

(in Sanjek 1990)

- Scratch notes
- Descriptive fieldnotes
- Field records
- Texts
- Formal written papers, reports
- Taped interviews (audio, video)
- Diaries, Letters



*A Diary in  
the Strict Sense  
of the Term*



**Bronislaw Malinowski**  
With a New Introduction by Raymond Firth





## Fieldnotes as sacred, as fetish

*Fieldnotes are an anthropologist's most sacred possession. They are personal property, part of a world of private memories and experiences, failures and successes, insecurities and indecisions. They are usually carefully tucked away in a safe place. To allow a colleague to examine them would be to open a Pandora's box..*

- George C. Bond, 1990, 273

# George Foster, Tzintzuntzan, Mexico fieldwork (1945-2004). Collected by 1970s...

- 10 boxes 5 x 8" sheets
- 4 boxes fieldnotes
- 3 boxes basic data based on Human Relations Area Files
- 1 box notes on health and medicine
- 6 boxes records of dreams (400 different ones)
- 1 box Thematic Apperception Tests (TAT)
- 2 boxes vital statistics of village for 19<sup>th</sup> -20<sup>th</sup> centuries
- 2 boxes individual data on 3,000 residents

# What do fieldnotes look like?

- “Traditionally, fieldworkers have relied on pen and paper. Many have used small notepads that fit easily into pocket or purse. Others prefer even less obtrusive materials, using folded sheets of paper to record jottings.” (Emerson et al., 2011, 35)
- “The notebooks are covered with paper that looks like batik. I like them. They’re pretty. On the outside. I never look on the inside.” (interviewee, Jackson 1990a, 11)
- “Black ink, very nice. Blue carbon, not so nice.” (interviewee, Jackson 1990a, 14)
- “A small notebook that would fit in my pocket became a kind of badge.” (interviewee, Jackson 1990a., 28)
- “I use the best rag-content paper.” Margaret Mead (Sanjek 1990, 100)

# The Ethnographer's Standard Toolkit, 1928

Margaret Mead and husband anthropologist Reo Fortune went to Manus with

“materials which had been carefully planned by Professor Radcliffe-Brown for the use of students working in connection with the Australian National Research Council. These included a special type of large paged book which could be used in developing the ramifications of a genealogy so that they worked out in both directions from the center; linguistic slips in three colors about five inches by two, notched to receive a rubber band so that they could be bound; and a serviceable type of reporter's notebook.”

(Margaret Mead 1940, 326)

# The permanence of fieldnotes relative to the ethnographic experience

- “One writes for occasions distant from the field, for oneself years later, for an imagined professional readership, for a teacher, for some complex figure identified with the ultimate designation of the researcher. Facing a typewriter each night means engaging these ‘others.’ ” (Sanjek 1990, 64)
- “Leaving my notes with the possibility that no one will ever be interested in looking at them at all--the ultimate death!” (Ottenberg 1990, 155)
- “[Fieldnotes] possess attributes of both written texts and discourses. They appear to have the security and concreteness that writing lends to observations, and as written texts they would seem to be permanent ...[but] for the field worker, fieldnotes stimulate and are part of human experiences. The notes are thus living, mutable texts; they are a form of discourse whose content is subject to constant re-creation, renewal, and interpretation.” (Bond 1990, 274)

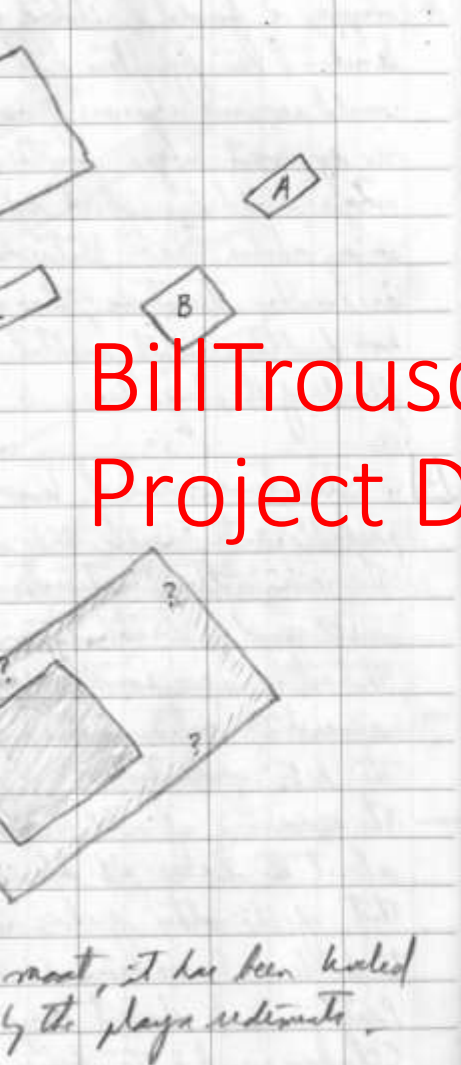


# My data set


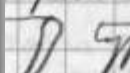


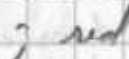





# Bill Trousdale, Project Director



They at night to build upon the walls of an earlier structure - one would, in fact, expect sand in this region though much in general across the exception rather than the rule. Some of the structures in the of the 360 group has so little remains that one has to look them to find any. This result is the result of their being buried by silt and silt of periodic playa flooding, which has meant that getting in generally more rapid than deflation in this region. The playa sediments, however, have only a light silt cover, in patches here and there, but it is presumed the ground here would look as elsewhere except for the burying of the silt by fresh silt. On the rise of ground around of 5 (Chukar-mud), slight as it is, there is a base silt cover which presumably contains an outward, under the silt in the surrounding area subject to flooding. The flat playa reaches closer to the structures of the of 360 group, covering their silt. Because these two sites are close together one presumes the same surface conditions prevail, and at

tangular form structural remains separate but probably related units. One seems the same as G, A and B, but with a more significant emphasis ledge rim ; pedicels broad and orange red ring brownish pedicels gullies - fine against the  type, plain red or orange ring brownish - also brownish silt bands and gullies - boat  sited; bases  of jars ; red jars with exterior ; jacked bases (see low record of unknown form).

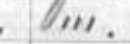
- actually 87 towers (covered cause of gate on NE side. The is in fact all towers and so towers to each side with 2 door gate side including slightly larger round towers flanking the narrow entry. Each

61  
et - i Amiran

207° = 27°  
72° = 352°

of recent construction, others under it. As I has the form of a ring of typical is, though the rest are. The masonry is of form and must the Lower Palace occupied in Terminal timing movement and times, with designs which probably wrapped series of several times. Two.

occupation of all been surely broken till quite long been an uncertain comes possibilities is, and it diet at all kinds of jett they sites to indicate that occupied to sites with and Red-i within sites

stamps of the "jars" marks, or simple .  
... ..

and this series who came to this region from the north, in the area of Heart, to battle for















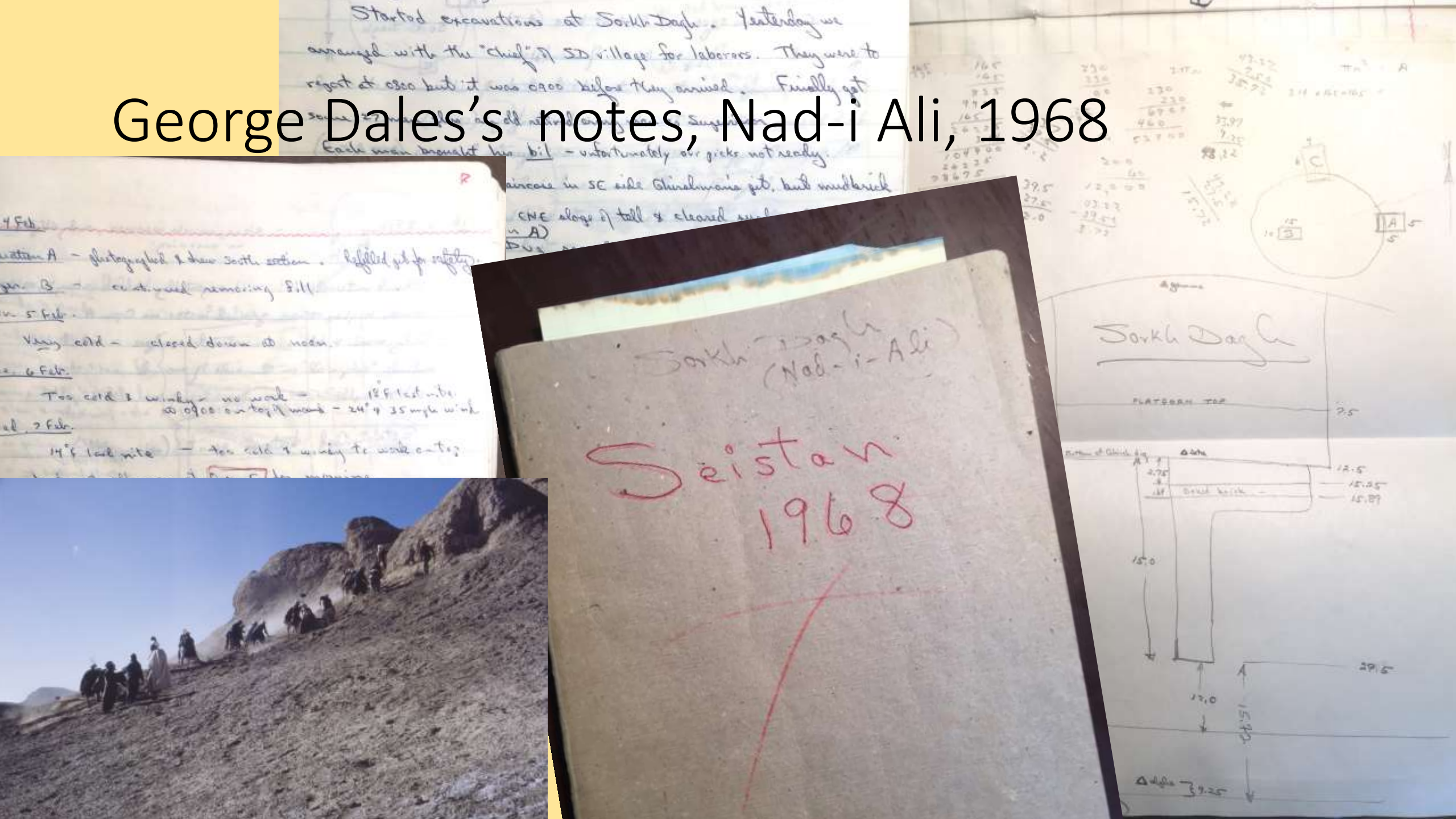


And the comparative data





# George Dales's notes, Nad-i Ali, 1968

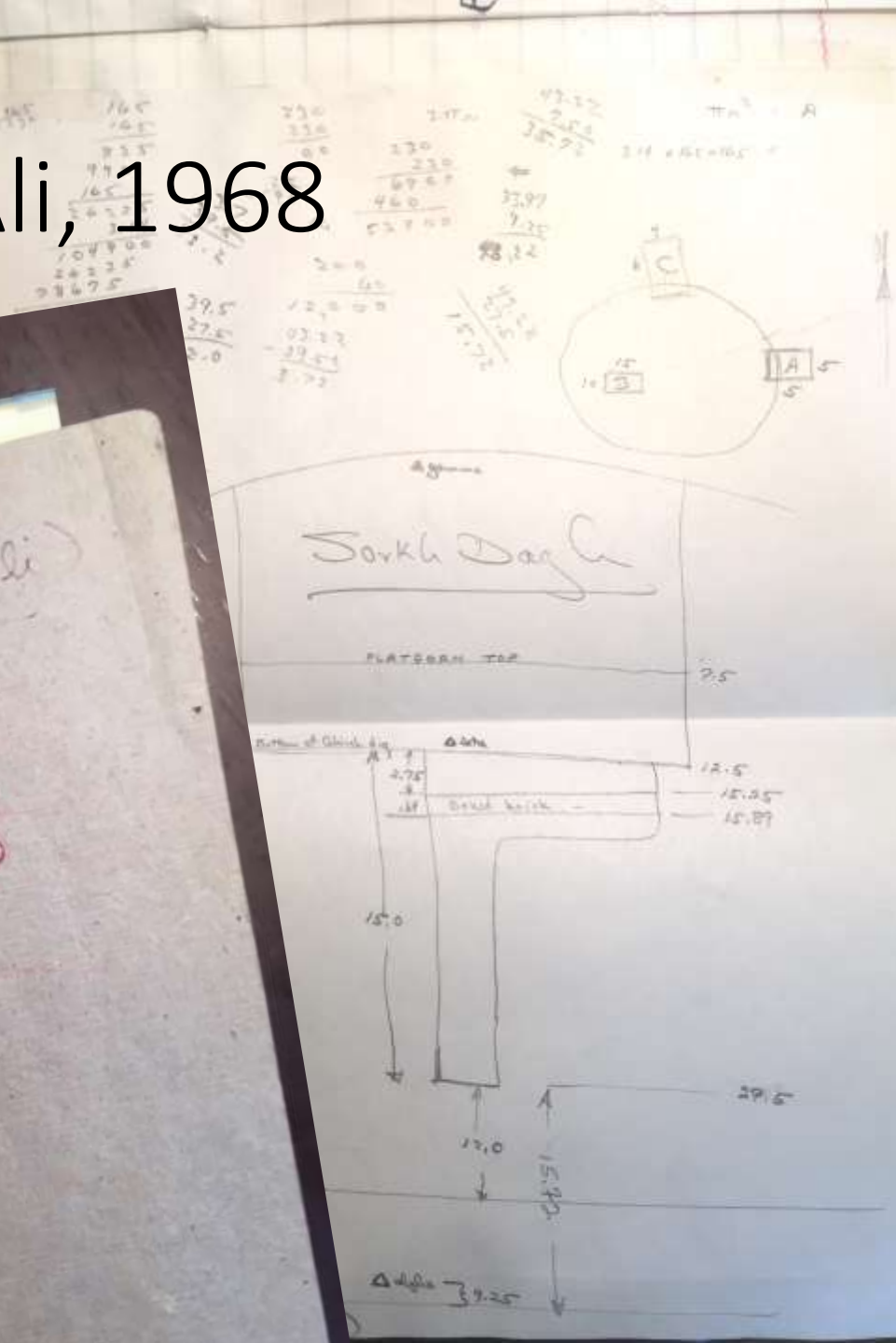


Started excavations at Sorkh Dagh. Yesterday we arranged with the "chief" of SD village for laborers. They were to report at 0800 but it was 0900 before they arrived. Finally got some laborers and a bulldozer from the village. Each man brought his bil - unfortunately our picks not ready.

4 Feb.  
Excavation A - photographed & drew South section. Refilled pit for safety.  
Jan. B - continued removing fill.  
5 Feb.  
Very cold - closed down at noon.  
6 Feb.  
Too cold & windy - no work - 12 F last night at 0900 on top of mound - 24" & 35 mph wind.  
7 Feb.  
14 F last night - too cold & windy to work on top.

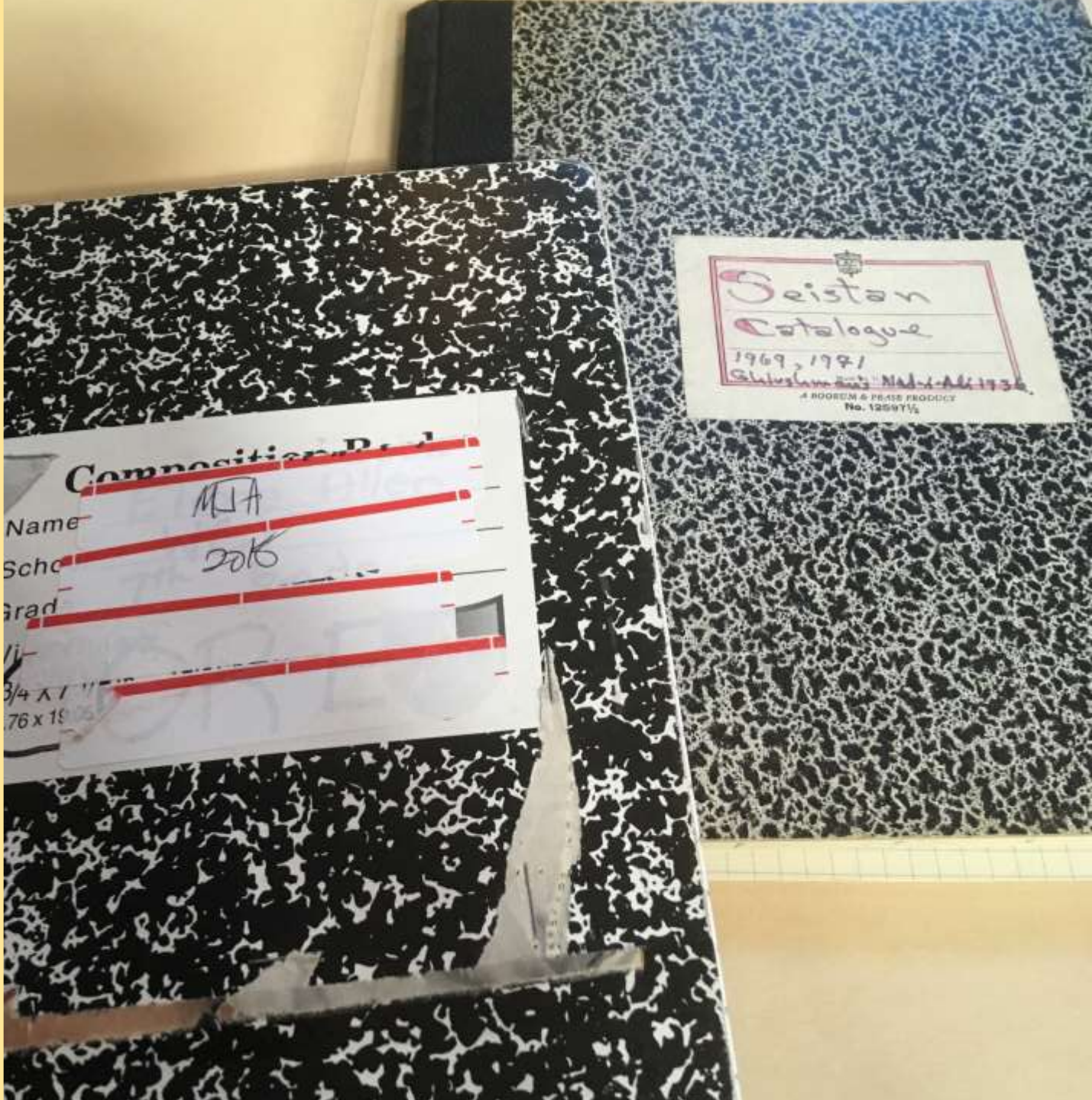
aircore in SE side Ghuralman's pit, but mudbrick  
CNE slope of tall & cleared sur  
A)  
DUS

Sorkh Dagh  
(Nad-i-Ali)  
Seistan  
1968





# A confluence of field notebooks





# Letters home to "Barb and the gals"

... your dear Barb  
... the morning - easily falling  
... Well, probably even making  
... it that it should be very interesting  
... 4.15 the 15th  
... name in such has been taking  
... before many important winter  
... Will had an opportunity  
... has last with  
... now morning but nearly  
... on a weekend tick up the  
... we could have heard with  
... day who has been so very  
... had - already but will about  
... to the "Surge" in letter had  
... my doll on top long pants  
... by are much wider than shade  
... will be able to see defat but I

THE RECEIVING STATION,  
LONDON, E.C.2.  
21st September, 1960.

Let me a copy  
of restoration  
Congress

Dear Barb,  
I'm writing you  
to know how  
much I love you  
and the girls.  
I'm writing you  
to know how  
much I love you  
and the girls.  
I'm writing you  
to know how  
much I love you  
and the girls.

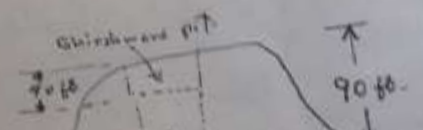
Sept. 28, 1960  
Dear Barb -  
I'm writing you  
to know how  
much I love you  
and the girls.

TYPE 01 28  
BY HOLLAND 07

8 Feb, 1968  
Zaranj, Seistan, Afghanistan

My dearest Barb, gals, Suzie & widge (not pig),  
Excuse the long interval in writing but it has been unavoidable - this is  
the most god-forsaken region I have ever been in - at least where people are trying to  
live in all year around. Everyone says this is an "unusual" year - unusually  
cold - but this is an old excuse. We have had night after night of  
below 20°F - one night 14°F - with days not getting much over freezing-  
Now this isn't really so bad - until you realize that our house has had  
no doors & windows! It is a very nice warm house - the only one  
in town available for rent - but for the winter months it is just the  
d---- cold to be sleeping & eating in the great outdoors. We did get  
up clear plastic sheeting on the windows & hung quilts in the doorway,  
but it just ain't like central heating! -

We arrived here in Zaranj, the new capital of the province,  
on 25 Jan after a successful drive across the Dasht-i-Margo  
"Desert of Death". This is the desert Michener describes in his book  
Caravans - It is really a bugger - there is only an average of  
2 vehicles a week which cross it so your chance of being picked up  
are not too good - We intend to return to Kabul by another route.  
I will not attempt to describe much of what we have been up to  
here - I hope to be able to send you my diary notes from Kabul -  
after 2 weeks of excavation - of the most discouraging &  
disappointing kind. - Today we finally made our first real  
discovery. Our main excavation is on the top of this huge  
mound - continuing down into the pit which the Frenchman  
Ghisbman hid in 1936. Our excavation as of today is  
more than 45 feet deep & we hope to go down another 25 ft  
least.





And my own  
private words

mouth of a ~~beard~~ wholly his  
cotton (or are they more synthetic?) beard  
Another myth destroyed. I felt he was  
being true to his millions of followers.  
wonder what he had across the  
whole thought.

The trip is over. With two  
ways and in on strike of all flights filled  
booked, I decided to head straight  
for LA instead of going to Ann Arbor.  
I didn't really want to stop there  
anyway. So I'm on my way home  
happy.

I called Mom last night. She  
was OK. Police doing better of even  
mom was better. ~~Just~~ with  
a couple of lunges.

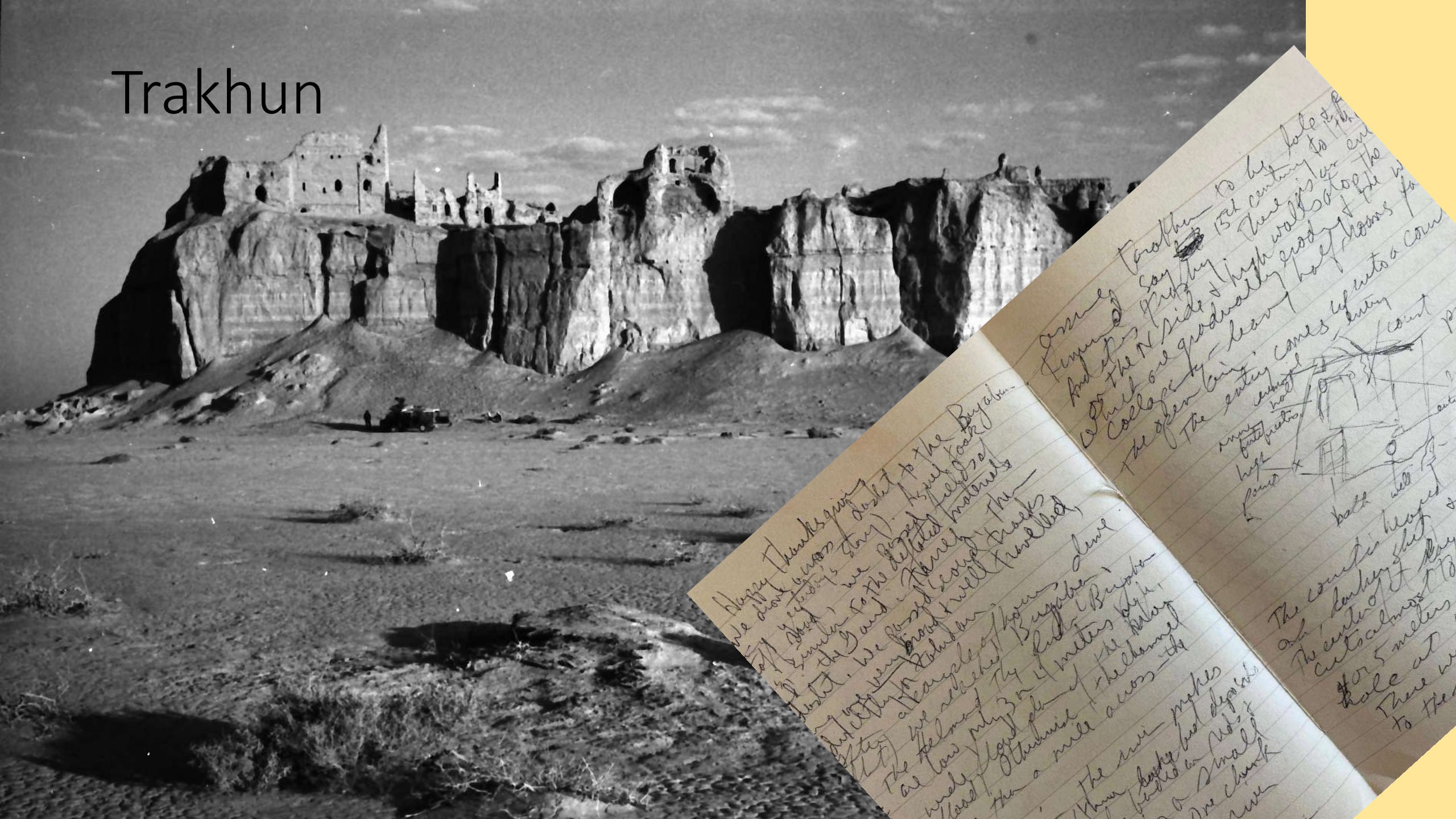
I had a good time with  
family. Felt very close to  
them. I got along splendidly.  
View is like a shield. I was  
every expression. Structure  
Thought is identical to

Absolutely in line  
Spent the entire afternoon  
Bones & Noble. The ~~most~~ book  
I had for book whenever I  
come across. Spent 20  
It could have been  
I had the money  
and went for  
Jerusalem  
which I  
a word  
I had





# Trakhun



Blizzy Thanks giving  
 we drove across  
 the desert, we passed  
 the sand to the desert to the Bayabun  
 after a couple of hours drive  
 we reached Bayabun  
 all low mts 3 or 4 meters high  
 wavy, low pl. of the valley  
 has a mill across the  
 river makes  
 a small  
 meander

among Trakhun to be  
 15th century to  
 there is an  
 high wall on  
 the N side of  
 which one gradually  
 collapses to  
 The river comes  
 entry comes  
 into a corner  
 high  
 point



The corner is  
 an  
 The center of  
 cuts almost  
 for 5 meters  
 hole at  
 There is  
 to the



# Fieldnotes in the digital age



# Comments by Jean Jackson's informants

- "I create them but they also create me."
- "If the house were burning down, I'd go to the notes first."
- "Individualistic, authentic, impossible to replicate—the art and poetry of anthropology."
- "It's strange how intimate they become and how possessive we are."
- "Fieldnotes are really holy."
- "People can see you in a state of intellectual undress."
- "Fieldnotes allow you to keep a grip on your sanity."
- "I'm a caretaker. It's not mine"