Images, Representations and Heritage

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Moving beyond Modern Approaches to Archaeology

Edited by
Ian Russell

Department of History
School of Histories and Humanities
Trinity College
Dublin, Ireland

Editor:
Ian Russell
Department of History
School of Histories and Humanities
Trinity College
Dublin 2
Ireland
russelli@tcd.ie

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Foreword

SOUVENIR

Maev Kennedy
The Guardian

On my London mantelpiece sit a bone china cup and saucer. They are neither heirlooms, nor a gift, certainly not valuable, nor do I particularly like them - the blue/yellow/purple glaze, the colour of a black eye, is deservedly unusual - but I cannot bear to throw them out. They are views of London, almost certainly made in Germany about a century ago, and transfer printed with Tower Bridge on the saucer and a slightly wonky Trafalgar Square on the cup. They must have been made by the thousand, and I have no doubt there are other black eye tea services out there printed with the Eiffel Tower or the Coliseum. They are cheap mass produced souvenirs, curiously not unlike the sentimental Irish pottery excavated from a New York pit, discussed by Brighton and Orser in chapter two. Mine are neither art objects nor antiques, but they are potent archaeological artefacts.

Archaeology leaves us a grossly distorted illusion of a rounded history: we inherit the temples and graves, the palaces and monuments, as if the world were peopled only by priests, kings and corpses. We market them like cornflakes, or annex their grandeur to contemporary ends of commerce or politics, and in the process risk destroying the monuments, or diminishing them to vanishing point. The fates of the Buddhas of Bamiyan, of the Mostar Bridge, or the ruins of Babylon first rebuilt with bricks stamped to his own glory by Saddam Hussein, then appropriated as an American tank park in the Iraqi war, are mercifully rare. But Stonehenge becomes a snowglobe, the Acropolis an arena where the descendants of the colonised and the colonisers still slug it out, and collectors can pre-order a looted chunk of the temple carvings at Ankor Wat.

Good intentions may be even more damaging, the admirable aim of ‘access’ leading seemingly inexorably to wide hard surfaced paths gouged across landscapes which are themselves archaeological treasures,

linking vast new car parks to monuments crumbling under the weight of friendly interest. Warring tribes lay claim to the same fragile spaces, with passionate conviction. I have met, in a small riot on a Summer solstice dawn at Stonehenge, a weeping pagan woman with a terrified child clinging to her skirts, and a few hundred yards away a woman from English Heritage choking back tears. The woman with the child wanted to lay garlands of flowers, the woman from English Heritage was struggling to keep people out of the circle: each was equally convinced of being the one who truly understood, and was therefore charged with protecting, the impassive stones.

Anita Synnestvedt's poetic account, of a very personal encounter with a small monument on a small island in Sweden, was very close to my own first childhood encounters in Ireland, when my father would drive us to some pile of grey stones in a nest of nettles. There was never another soul around, never another car except his current battered ancient black restoration project. There was never any site interpretation, except the occasional rusting green notice proclaiming in Irish that the monument was in the care of the Board of Works. We children were forced, sometimes muttering rebellion and moaning of boredom, to engage our imaginations instead. Many of the contributors to this volume address, directly and indirectly, the problem of what has happened to these monuments and experiences.

Some of those Irish sites now have imposing visitor centres, which give the illusion of answering every question, as well as supplying tea and buns and a triple spiral t-shirt. Similar to Ian Russell's report of how visitors have complained of Stonehenge and the Sphinx at Giza, the monuments themselves seem not enhanced but curiously shriveled. When the visitor finally reaches the object of the heritage pilgrimage, or more often is invited to peer respectfully at it from behind a barricade, it can seem an imposter, less tangible, less real, than the marketed image.

I have experienced the effect myself, when I first visited Malta and the temples I had seen reproduced on countless occasions. They were not, as they appeared when photographed in dramatic silhouette against a setting sun, the size of Abu Simbel, but the size of a reasonably spacious suburban bungalow. They were still magnificent, but there was a moment of wrenching the brain into adapting to the scale. But however well or badly modern man has dealt with the monumental, we have lost track completely of most of the people who have ever shared our earth. Often their very bones are gone, they have left us no more than smears in the

dirt marking long rotted posts, or the ashes of ancient cooking fires. We poke about in their rubbish dumps searching for the people, the fragments that chipped off a knapped flint, the scraps of hide, the pottery beakers and bronze cauldrons. While the monuments are excavated, interpreted, conserved and displayed, the artefacts seem unmediated, an open line to the past: they seem true. Often, after walking in unthinking admiration through a museum gallery of gold and silver, the clear mark of a thumb on an unadorned pot can stop me in my tracks. If we can see the hollow impression of the thumb, surely we can follow that to the hand, the arm, the shoulder, the head, surely it will lead us to a voice which can answer the eternal question: what was it really like? But artefacts, as much as any other apparent proof, must be interrogated ferociously, treated as hostile witnesses. And often we lack the statement of evidence which will give us the information to ask the right questions. If the cauldron from the Bronze Age rubbish dump has a hole in it, or the knife blade has snapped, is that evidence of ritual killing - or of a worn out piece of kitchen equipment, discarded and replaced?

The history of my cup and saucer is just recoverable to me, but not to most of the people who live on my road. I literally picked them up in the gutter of the small suburban road where I live, along with a disintegrating cardboard box full of equally banal bits and pieces, which were clearly the once treasured contents of a very modest china cabinet. However, the Edwardian flats that once were the home to these objects are now so expensive that they are almost all bought by young professional couples, who will both have to work forever to cover the mortgage - or sell, and move on and up to an even larger mortgage, the instant that property inflation means they have some equity. As the older residents die, the road is gradually being scoured of its previous history. The houses were built as flats for rent, in the first decades of the 20th century, after the railway arrived and a small village among cabbage fields became a suburb. The flats were built with two flats to each house, each flat with its own hall door, and between every two houses there was an outdoor lavatory, and a wash house with a copper. When I came first, the oldest residents, a handful who remembered moving into the new houses, many born in the flats, told me such lavish facilities, shared between only four households, were regarded with awe. Now the thousands of children who were born into the 96 flats are scattered around the world. The remaining men die first, and when I moved in about a third of flats were inhabited by one very elderly lady, living

alone. One near me was talking on the phone to her great friend, a street away but no longer visitable, when there was a crash and she was able to explain, quite calmly, that the hall ceiling had collapsed on her. In the years since I moved in, the passing of each ancient lady has been marked by an unchanging ritual. The Polish contractors arrive in a white van, and stay for about a week. They work hard, fast and well, and when they leave the flat has been emptied and cleansed of all original fittings and a century of wallpaper, back to the bare boards and the replastered white painted walls. The sale board appears in the garden the following day.

My box had been dumped by one such gang. I had already seen the empty china cabinet in a skip. People do not keep such shrines for household gods now, and there is no resale market for these old fashioned pieces of cheap furniture. I could no more leave the sodden box in the gutter, waiting for the refuse collectors, than I could have passed a crate of abandoned puppies. I kept the silver plate sugar bowl and cream jug, which were stamped with the name of a good solid expensive shop and must have been wedding presents, and I found good homes for all the other pieces, as I would have for puppies. Nobody I know would have given shelf space to the cup and saucer, but they speak to me of a lost age, a time of aspiration and optimism, when the half hour train journey to central London, my much cursed daily commute, was a rare enough treat to be worth bringing home a souvenir.

The white vans call less often now. The little old ladies are almost all gone. Most of the new couples will never have met anyone who can tell them the modest history of a very ordinary suburban street. I had never written it down - until now - so if my cup and saucer turns up in 500 years in a rubble of Edwardian bricks, what answers will they give? It might well be assumed that the cup and saucer are not only mine in the sense of something chosen and bought by me, but worse, that they are representative objects of a type in common daily use. An entire lost dinner service may be posited, Tower of London soup bowls, Buckingham Palace tea pot. A patriotic pride in these places may be inferred, which is in fact entirely lacking in this Irish Roman Catholic economic migrant. If the archaeologist asks the wrong questions, an entirely plausible and entirely false society could be built on the foundations of my cup and slightly cracked saucer.

This volume kicks up far more questions than answers, and from a much wider community than those usually invited to join the debate. This is absolutely proper. The illusion of certainty has done great harm to

archaeology. If there is a moral, it is to ask questions: question the monuments, question the artefacts, and above all, question relentlessly and with unwavering suspicion anyone who claims to have the one true answer.

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-Ian Russell, January 2006

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Contributors

Jenny Blain
Programme Leader, MA Social Science Research Methods,
Applied Social Science, Faculty of Development and Society,
Sheffield Hallam University, Collegiate Crescent Campus,
Sheffield, S10 2BP, UK
j.blain@shu.ac.uk

Stephen A. Brighton
Assistant Professor, 0132 Woods Hall, Department of Anthropology,
University of Maryland, College Park, MD 20742, USA
sbrighton@anth.umd.edu

Andrew Cochrane
School of History and Archeology, Cardiff University,
Humanities Building, Colum Drive, Cardiff, CF10 3EU, UK
cochranea@cf.ac.uk

Kay Edge
School of Architecture + Design,
College of Architecture and Urban Studies, 201 Cowgill Hall,
Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University,
Blacksburg, Virginia 24061, USA
kedge@vt.edu

Christine A. Finn
Visiting Fellow, Department of Archaeology and Anthropology,
University of Bristol, Old Baptist College, 43 Woodland Road, Clifton,
Bristol BS8 1UU, UK
christine.finn@gmail.com

Cornelius Holtorf
Lunds Universitet, Institutionen för Arkeologi och Antikens Historia,
Box 117, 22100 Lund, Sweden
cornelius.holtorf@ark.lu.se

Maev Kennedy
Archaeology Correspondent, The Guardian, 119 Farringdon Road,
London EC1R 3ER, UK
maev.kennedy@guardian.co.uk

Stephanie Koerner
School of Art History and Archaeology, University of Manchester,
Oxford Road, Manchester M13 9PL, UK
stephanie.koerner@man.ac.uk

Oleg Missikoff
Via di Vigna Filonardi 7, 00197 - Rome, Italy
omissikoff@luiss.it

Tim Neal
Department of Town and Regional Planning, University of Sheffield,
Winter Street, Sheffield S3 7ND, UK
tim.neal@shef.ac.uk

Charles E. Orser, Jr.
Center for the Study of Rural Ireland, Illinois State University,
Campus Box 4660, Normal, IL 61790-4660, USA
ceorser@ilstu.edu

Ian Russell
Department of History, School of Histories and Humanities,
Trinity College, Dublin 2, Ireland
russelli@tcd.ie

George S. Smith
Associate Director, Southeast Archeological Center,
2035 East Paul Dirac Dr., Johnson Building, Suite 120,
Tallahassee, FL 32310, USA
george_s_smith@nps.gov

Deirdre Stritch
Department of Classics, School of Histories and Humanities,
Trinity College, Dublin 2, Ireland
deirdre.stritch@gmail.com

Anita Synnestvedt
Department of Archaeology, Göteborg University Olof Wijksgatan 6,
Box 200, S-405 30 Göteborg, Sweden
anita.synnestvedt@archaeology.gu.se

Robert J. Wallis
Associate Professor of Visual Culture and
Associate Director, MA in Art History,
Richmond the American International University in London,
1 St Alban's Grove, Kensington, London W8 5PN, UK
wallisr@Richmond.ac.uk

Frank H. Weiner
Associate Professor, School of Architecture + Design,
College of Architecture and Urban Studies, 201 Cowgill Hall,
Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University,
Blacksburg, Virginia 24061, USA
fweiner@vt.edu

Introductions

IMAGES OF THE PAST

Archaeologies, Modernities, Crises and Poetics

Ian Russell
Trinity College Dublin

INTRODUCTION

This volume investigates the relationship between archaeology and the heritage and tourism industries and the implications of such a relationship in a world dominated by mass production, replication, simulation and consumption. There is a need to engage with philosophical issues concerning this relationship in practical and ethical ways. Thus, the contributions to this volume highlight the need to move away from static, monolithic conceptions of archaeology as a modern science which searches for truth and fact to an understanding of archaeologies as reflexive discourses which express understandings about human agency and existence.

This volume is the result of a series of discussions, professional relationships and friendships that began in September 2004 at the meeting of the European Association of Archaeologists at Lyon, France. Debates which developed from the session '"A souvenir from…": Tourism, Heritage Industries and the Development of Archaeology' quickly demonstrated that archaeology is involved in a complex relationship with modern societies. As antiquarianism developed from the Grand Tour and archaeology grew from antiquarianism, we were presented with the question of whether or not archaeology as the study of the past has ever been separate from the human concepts of heritage and practices of tourism. Given the current industrialised and commercialised nature of heritage and tourism within many western nations and the current mass simulation of archaeological sites and replication of

archaeological artefacts in interpretative centres, it became clear that archaeology's relationship to modern heritage and tourism industries was part of much more fundamental issues concerning archaeology's qualities as a modern science and the role of technology and science in founding epistemologies in the modern world. The exploration of these issues became more urgent as it also became apparent that whether or not archaeologists assumed an objective, impartial and scientific approach to the study of the past, the discipline was continuing to become more a part of popular culture. Concerns over archaeology's role in the production and marketing of images of the past to be consumed by modern individuals and what this implied for concepts of meaning and value for archaeological research were echoed throughout many comments. This volume is an exploration of these discussions and these concerns for the practices, presentations and theories of archaeology in a modern world increasingly driven by technology, science, economics, consumption, capitalism, marketing and images.

This volume is not offered as an authoritative text or reflection on what archaeology is, but rather it is an opening to a reflexive discourse about what archaeology can do. In order to maintain this volume as a contribution to an open discourse, at the close of each section the contributors of that section have been invited to read one another's work and put forward an informal response to the themes which emerge from the section. Thus, the volume functions more as a discussion or a series of dialogues between contemporary thinkers and practitioners concerned with the role of the past in contemporary society. Many differing perspectives will be shared from many different individuals and disciplines. There will be disagreements and there may be contradictions. These should, however, be embraced, for in the most harmonious of symphonies, there are always moments of discord. It is through presenting these different themes in archaeological thought that new spaces for discourse and development will be highlighted. Union can lead to static, monolithic agreement. Disagreement creates tension and dynamism, and the space created between different points of view is also the space where new ideas can grow.

THE IMAGE AND THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL IMAGINATION

> The true picture of the past flits by. The past can be seized only as an image which flashes up at the instant when it can be recognised and is never seen again. ... For every image of the past that is not recognised by the present as one of its own concerns threatens to disappear irretrievably (Benjamin 1992b, 247).

Written in 1940, these words are the reaction of Walter Benjamin (1892-1940) to the phenomena of historical awareness and perception. For Benjamin, the past was composed of images or imaginings of human being and agency. These 'images of the past', however, are not universal and continually occurring phenomena. The visualisation and imagination of the past as part of the great rush of historical development occurs when relevant to 'present' or contemporary 'concerns'. Benjamin's concept of a dynamic and rushing flow of images and imaginings, only fashioned into a history through relevance to contemporary practice, acts as a metaphor for the relationship between archaeology and modern society. The rush of modern scientific and political development has put archaeology at the forefront of discourses and clashes over competing images and imaginings of the past whose authority or authenticity is founded upon their relevance to contemporary social concerns.

This is not a situation uniquely experienced or described by Benjamin. There has been a growing concern in recent years about the role of images in society. The recent exhibition and publication entitled *Iconoclash* by Bruno Latour and Peter Weibel (2002) at the Zentrum für Kunst und Medientechnologie (Centre for Art and Media) in Karlsruhe, Germany raised some very pertinent questions about society's fixation on visual media as a method of communicating meaning.

> What has happened that has made images ... the focus of so much passion? ... To the point where being an iconoclast seems the highest virtue, the highest piety, in intellectual circles? (Latour & Weibel 2002, 14)

The question of why society so readily uses images to communicate is intriguing. Images are used to unite individuals, entertain consumers, market commodities, disturb viewers, subvert ideologies and inspire action (ibid.). These qualities and the dominance of the visual within

socio-cultural relations, however, are not recently developed symptoms of contemporary social experience. They are developments from a fundamental mode of human expression and communication through performance and representation (Stone & Molyneaux 1994; Pearson & Shanks 2001; Smiles & Moser 2005).

The power of images or the power of viewing does not lie in any inherent dominance that the sense of sight has over the other senses but in the fact that sight or 'seeing' images is the earliest communicative medium in human development. This is the first observation of John Berger's (1972) seminal discourse with the British Broadcasting Corporation, *Ways of Seeing*, on the impact of popular visual culture on society. Following Walter Benjamin (1992a), Berger's exploration of the role of sight and visualisations highlighted the understudied impact of image, sight and viewing in human society and in human communication. Such impact is important to note in a discussion on the role of the past in society since archaeology deals primarily with objects which are functionally mute, and thus archaeological interpretation fundamentally relies on the sense of sight, on seeing artefacts and interpreting images. Archaeology, as a development of modern science, relied heavily on the ability of humans to visually observe the changing colours of soil deposits, to recognise the stylistic and compositional similarities between artefacts and to visualise the architectural form of a building long since destroyed. In this way, archaeology fundamentally relies on sight, viewing, images and imagination.

Acting as a representation of our beliefs about what occurred in what we conceive of as the past, the artefact or archaeological object gives 'material' expression or 'roots' to our own images and imaginings about human agency. Brian L. Molyneaux's volume *The Cultural Life of Images* (1997) opened up a critical discussion into the ways human beings view archaeology and view objects which they interpret as having archaeological authority. Stephanie Moser and Sam Smiles' (2004) edited volume *Envisioning the Past* has made it evidently clear that archaeological practice has an inherent quality of viewing and visualising the past as a method of understanding or 'envisioning' the origins of humanity. Thus, the past may be imagined, interpreted and understood and then communicated visually in society.

Julian Thomas has argued that there is an inherent role in human consciousness for what he terms the 'archaeological imagination' (Thomas 1996, 63-4). For Thomas, modern archaeological practice is a

development from this basic facet of human perception. 'In everyday life, human beings grasp elements of the material world, and constitute them as evidence for past human practice … archaeology as science is based on this prescientific way of being attuned to the world' (Thomas 1996, 63). In this way, the archaeological imagination is a qualified aspect of modern visual perception and conception of images and representations of the social narratives of belief in the past. The difficulty with Thomas' concept is that it is a qualitative use of the modern concept of archaeology to describe what is 'understood' as universal and essential in human perception concerning all things ancient and past. It is almost as if Thomas is asserting, in Freudian terms, a fundamental archaeological drive in human behavior. What is useful in Thomas' concept is that it is an impressionistic expression of the attempt of humans to grasp and cope with the perceived temporal nature of existence and the physical signifiers which are interpreted as evidence for previous human agency. Admittedly modern, it is one of the ways that humans answer the question 'how did we get here?' through the utilisation of artefacts as visual representations of contemporary conceptions of the past (Molyneaux 1997; Renfrew 2003; Stone & Molyneaux 1994).

ARTEFACTS AND IMAGES

In a basic sense, an archaeological artefact is a souvenir, a memento of an experience of excavation. Artefacts are 'found objects' from an excavation site which are taken, interacted with, interpreted and often placed in a collection away from the initial point of recovery in order to be viewed. Once antiquarians took artefacts as souvenirs of their travels and studies, but tourists now take representations of artefacts and monuments as souvenirs of their cultural experiences. Whether replicas of Stonehenge or postcards of western Irish landscapes, images, replicas, simulations and representations of the past have overwhelmed society, eclipsing artefacts as the main source of representations of modern beliefs of the past, linear temporality and human agency.

Popular interest in 'objects' from the past within a modern European context grew out of the collecting and exhibiting of souvenir objects appropriated from 'far away' or colonised lands such as Greece or Egypt whilst on the Grand Tour (Bohrer 2003; Gosden 2004). This interest

grew into a vocation of antiquarianism, a specialisation in the field of art history. The objects, which were brought to European colonial and imperial capitals such as London and Paris, were exhibited alongside what contemporary society would differentiate as 'works of art' in spaces such as the British Museum and the Louvre (McClellan 1999; Anderson *et al.* 2003). The same critical theory was used to evaluate both artefacts and art objects. The term 'artefact' used to identify objects of archaeological discovery was itself an appropriation from art history. However, the advent of archaeological science, the development of photography and the growth of indigenous European prehistoric studies during the 19th century and the early 20th century resulted in a separation between society's relationship with art and its understanding and valuing of historical artefacts, previously appreciated as works of art themselves. Photography came to substitute visual 'realism' in painting, while archaeological artefacts came to substitute physical 'realism' in sculpture. Awe at science and the results of the photographic and archaeological process inspired belief in the two processes as quests for visible and tangible evidence of human agency. Archaeology became revered as the search for ascertainable truth accessible through artefacts revealed in excavation. These artefacts testified to the ethnic origins of European cultures (Kohl & Fawcett 1995; Díaz-Andreu & Champion 1996; Graves-Brown et al. 1996; Jones 1996; Meskell 1998; 2001). Photography became part of the quest for documenting 'real' or 'actual' events in order to record 'what actually happened' (Coe 1977; Wood 1993; Green-Lewis 1996; Lenman 2005). However, art became associated with subjective, interpretative experience. It should be noted that some photographers have used their craft in this way too, in order to subvert 'known' or 'seen' reality (e.g. Man Ray (1890-1976) and Raoul Hausmann (1886-1971)). However, while photographers were working through Dadaism and surrealism to subvert and question the authenticity of the image in the beginning of the 20th century, archaeologists were busy documenting artefacts, compiling archaeological records and producing narratives of historical 'fact' about the past.

This schism between belief in modern scientific 'fact' or historical 'truth' and belief in artistic interpretative, subjective expression allowed archaeological practice as a modern science and the exhibition of archaeological artefacts to be protected from the deconstructionist critiques of early 20th century philosophy and art theory. It is problematic that while art work such as Marcel Duchamp's 'Fountain' (1917) and

René Magritte's 'The Treason of Images' (1928-9) questioned and undermined the ability of the object, the image or text to represent or convey authentic meaning or 'truth', early 20th century European politicians aided by prehistorians utilised archaeological artefacts to represent and bolster ethno-national identities and claims to territorial regions such as in the Irish Free State (Cooney 1996; Crooke 2000), Falangist Spain (Díaz-Andreu 1993; 1995; Díaz-Andreu & Ramírez Sánchez 2004), the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (Klejn 1993; Shnirelman 1995; 1996) and National Socialist Germany (Arnold 1990; Arnold & Hassmann 1995). It is especially problematic that archaeological artefacts and monuments are still understood as manifestations of national and ethnic identity and are used to market national heritage and tourism industries while the work of Duchamp, Magritte and others (e.g. Andy Warhol) is accepted and appreciated by the public as a comment on the attempt to represent or communicate value or meaning through objects and images.

The reaction against the use of archaeology for nationalistic purposes after World War II resulted not in a deconstruction and revision of what archaeology is or does but, instead, in the development of cultural historical approaches to archaeological interpretation under Gordon Childe (e.g. 1947) and, later, processual archaeological practice. Both schools founded their approach on scientific authority and process and, thus, made archaeology less subjective and more objective. This further removed archaeology and the exhibition of archaeological artefacts from criticisms derived from art and visual cultural theory by such thinkers as Walter Benjamin in the 1930s (1992a), Theodor Adorno in the 1960s (1967; 1973a; 1973b; 1997) and by popular studies such as John Berger's *Ways of Seeing* (1972) which make no overt criticisms of archaeology. While art objects and mass produced replications and representations of art objects were being criticised as by Benjamin (1992a; Berger 1972) in 'The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction', archeological objects were seen as unique and authentic sources of 'truth' about the past and therefore not subject to the theories and criticism of art. Archaeological artefacts, monuments, sites and landscapes were believed to be capable of providing scientific data which could be revealed more authoritatively through more advanced methods or processes. Thus archaeology's corresponding representations (postcards, souvenirs, replicas, interpretative centres, etc.) have also not been criticised using contemporary visual cultural theory and art theory

and instead are consumed as representations of 'truth' about the past and as sources for authentic experiences of the past.

Despite post-processual critiques of scientific processual archaeological practice, archaeological studies as modern science are still utilised today in the formation of modern national and ethnic identities and are presented to society as evidence of an identity's 'existence' (Kohl & Fawcett 1995; Díaz-Andreu & Champion 1996; Graves-Brown et al. 1996; Meskell 1998; 2001; see Stritch this volume). This illustrates the urgency of the contemporary situation. As archaeological studies grew from antiquarian studies which in turn grew from art historical studies, it is no longer appropriate to classify archaeological artefacts as authentic material evidence of human agency and human social identity. Since archaeological artefacts, monuments and landscapes are marketed and consumed today as representations of experience, heritage and identity, they must be reincorporated into the vocabulary of cultural representations and be approached using visual cultural theory (Stone & Molyneaux 1994; Molyneaux 1997; Renfrew 2003). They should no longer be approached as singular, unique 'truths' but as fluid representations of modern belief in temporality and human agency, as images of the past.

THE WORK OF ARCHAEOLOGY IN THE AGE OF MASS REPRESENTATION

We are surrounded today by media saturated with images, visualisations and materialisations of others, other worlds and other times. These images actively market commodities which individuals can consume as affirmations of self, modern group identity and the present human condition (Lowenthal 1985; Lacey 1998). A proliferation of images and representations of both individuals as well as of autonomous social groups is readily available for consumption at the proverbial 'click of a mouse'. In this situation an evident trend is to utilise modern conceptions of the past as a commodified experience which can be mass-produced for consumption in the form of images in order to capitalise on modern emotive responses to the past.

Bill Evamy (2003) in a recent article in the British design magazine *Blueprint* discussed the evident phenomenon of corporations such as Nike, Shell and British Petroleum dropping the text from their corporate

logos opting instead for stylised images, such as the simple 'swoosh' without the brand-name as in Nike advertising campaigns. Describing this phenomenon as the 'iconic boom', Evamy argued that this was evidence of a rise in visual literacy in society, meaning that as a society we are developing universal visual symbologies to facilitate more efficient communication which transcends language barriers:

> Symbols on their own are more powerful – or offer an impression of greater power – than symbols that require a supporting text. They can develop the capacity to trigger complex collections of feelings, bypassing the conscious mind on the way. And they are more exportable; they more easily avoid associations with specific cultures or languages (2003, 62).

DeMarrais, Castillo and Earle (1996, 19) noted that archaeological monuments, when understood as a materialisation of an ideology, have the ability to cross-cut difference and boundaries within and without a society as the materialisation is non-textual and therefore is not restricted to specific cultural-linguistic groups. However, the fact that a monument must be interpreted and communicated by an individual situated in a social context means that artefacts and monuments have become associated with specific cultures or languages by contemporary society. The perceived authenticity of the artefact or monument's materiality is used as an opportunity to reify social and ethnic identities (Heather 1996, 5; Jones 1996; 1997). They are often perceived as material markers of peoples and culture such as with Peter Heather's (1996) study of the Goths or Catherine Hills' (2003) study of the English. This is the significance of the archaeological artefact in modern large group psychology. It is inherently iconic, as it has no supporting text to market its meaning. Thus, the meanings attributed to artefacts are continually renewed and re-envisaged within the communication channels of society. The artefacts are perceived as fixed, 'constant' material visual markers that facilitate the discourse of heritage and the construction of historical consciousness and grand narratives of identity (DeMarrais *et al.* 1996, 19-20). To quote from Evamy again:

> Visual information systems have been established, absorbed and digested by cultures around the world. They offer anonymous, generalised, abbreviated, compacted visions of human existence. They do their work for governments, agencies and business. Now,

> though, the same graphic languages are being appropriated by others to reflect alternative visions of the world (2003, 63)

Just as Shell's use of an organic shell on their credit cards and in their advertising campaigns enforces an image of the company as a natural, eternal and benevolent presence in the environment, the use of an artefact by a socio-political group gives that group a certain credence and affirmation by linking it to antiquity and suggesting a continual cultural and social lineage which therefore entitles the group to exist and to act in the world today (DeMararis *et al.* 1996, 19-20). As David Lowenthal noted in *The Politics of the Past*, 'the Western emphasis on material tokens of antiquity as symbols of heritage has been all but universally adopted' (1989, 302). I suggest that artefacts form a visual information system that functions at the core of many modern cultural and social groups, and that of late there has been a marked increase in the use of archaeological images in the heritage industry through the 'logo-isation' of artefacts and symbols derived from artefacts for their iconic value. Artefacts are an integral component of modern society's visual literacy, inspiring many groups in the construction of their identity (see Brighton & Orser and Blain & Wallis this volume). It is a visual literacy which, like corporate brand names, has been ever more encouraged and exploited in the construction of heritage industries and the development of 'heritage consumption'. Gabriel Cooney, an Irish archaeologist, noted 'it could be suggested that by default we as archaeologists are allowing the selection of elements from the past to be used for the dictates of the present, for example in the heritage and more broadly tourism industry, which is so central in the projection of a modern Irish identity' (1996, 160).

THE PRE-EMPTIVE POWER OF THE IMAGE

The effect of such images on contemporary society (as discussed above) is not easily understated. There are currently mass disseminations of images of cultural heritage sites and archaeological monuments on postcards and in guidebooks such as *The Lonely Planet* series or the dense barrage of images that are the *Eyewitness* travel guide series. John Urry (1990) has discussed the impact that the 'tourist gaze' can have on conceptions of heritage and identity; however, to what extent is the

'tourist gaze' preconditioned through the experience of mass produced images of heritage sites for marketing purposes. Many visitors will have already seen images of an artefact, monument or building prior to viewing the original in person. Often these images are used to assist the tourist to identify the location that they wish to visit and thus to ensure the tourist fully 'experiences' and appreciates the site. Observable at any major cultural heritage site are visitors with guide books comparing the heritage site they are experiencing with the image of the heritage site they are viewing.

This situation fundamentally affects social expectations of an experience of the past. A frequently overheard comment at sites such as the Tower of Pisa or the Parthenon is 'I expected it to be bigger'. The website travelideas.com reports in their description of Stonehenge as a tourist destination that 'Stonehenge is one of England's most famous Neolithic monuments and has attracted visitors for many years. ... most visitors to Stonehenge say that they expected it to be bigger.' (Travel Editors 2002) Similarly, an example from the website leafpile.com illustrates the impact that televised visualisations have had on experiences of the 'Sphinx' at Giza:

> After all those specials on The Great Sphinx, we expected something bigger. Perhaps it could have seemed larger in a different setting, but we found ourselves actually looking around for a moment as if we'd see the real sphinx towering over this small thing we found. (Woods & Woods 2000)

Indeed, individuals often express the sentiment that they prefer the experience of consuming the image to experiencing the original monument or site. In a discussion thread entitled 'Help with Trip Planning – UK and Ireland' (from the website iidb.org) the user Pandora states that 'Stonehenge is a bit of a disappointment - much better in photos … I like the chalk drawings better' (2002).

These three examples illustrate the impact of the pre-emptive experience of cultural heritage sites through images of the past on contemporary experience and interpretation of original sites and monuments. Given the growing trend of marketing national heritage (i.e. archaeological objects, sites, monuments and landscapes) through tourism industries for economic development, archaeology is not generally the first point of contact for many people wishing to experience the past. Rather, it can be argued that individuals more often explore

their conceptions of the past through consumptive choices of where to go on holidays, which will be driven by what they expect to find there from the past, or what commodities to buy and only turn to archaeology as a means of supporting their representations and conceptions of the past after they have made their consumptive choices. Archaeology is not the only proprietor of images of the past, and perhaps, the discipline never was. There is a growing gulf, however, between expectations of experience of the past based on mass marketed and mass produced images of the past from tourism and heritage industries and expectations founded upon experience of the past firsthand through visiting sites and monuments and participating in discussions over the interpretation of the past (see Holtorf this volume). This situation places practitioners of archaeology in an economic relationship with society in which the discipline must participate if it is to remain relevant to the public (see Missikoff this volume).

ARCHAEOLOGY AND REPRESENATION OF THE PAST – THE ECONOMICS OF IMAGE CONFLICT

The commodification and marketing of the past and heritage as an experience to be consumed has been at the forefront of economic trends in the tourism industry in the Republic of Ireland for some years. Ruth McManus in discussing the relationship between the tourism and heritage sectors in Ireland noted that:

> The trend towards processes of commodification, or the culture of consumption ... is strongly related to many tourism and leisure activities. Many pursuits have clearly been transformed into 'experiences' that can be marketed, sold and bought just as any other commodities. In this process the basic economic mechanisms of advertising, packaging and target marketing play a central role. The essence is the conversion of experiences or images into exchange relationships. Bord Fáilte's [the Irish Welcome Board] new marketing initiative reflects this approach, having 'emotional experience as its core positioning' (Bord Fáilte, 1997) (1997, 92).

It is no longer acceptable to ignore the globalised pattern of economic systems relying on marketing heritage or the past as emotive experiences to be consumed (see Missikoff this volume). The urgency of such

situations is that this subjects the meaning of value or heritage and conceptions of the past to Western economic models and global economic ebbs and flows. Equally, attaching the conservation and preservation of heritage to economic sectors such as tourism means that if that economic market fails or if the economy of a region or people fail then how is it then economically viable to maintain such sites.

This poses archaeologists and workers in the heritage sector with a difficult problem. The use of the past to forge images as materialisations of contemporary individual desires of experience leaves conceptions of the past vulnerable to the market. When discussing the 'commercial construction of 'new nations'', anthropologist R.J. Foster notes that

> the materialization of nationality in the form of consumable objects and experiences leaves the nation vulnerable to the market…what if mainly non-nationals buy – and so demand nationality in the forms that they prefer? (1999, 270)

Are artefacts monolithic objects of truth and representations of how a particular group wanted to be remembered, or are they images, representations, artificial imitations of what people today, as members of modern society would like to believe about their past (see Stritch, Brighton & Orser and Blain & Wallis this volume)? What has the technology of mass production done to social perceptions of the authenticity of images of the past? What is the effect on social and individual conceptions of the past when individuals 'buy' these homogenised, mass produced experiences and images of the past? Does this fundamentally affect the formation and manifestation of those images through the illusion of authentic, unique consumptive choice, and what is the significance of this for conceptions of meaning and value within archaeological research and in the heritage sector?

MASS PRODUCTION OF IMAGES OF THE PAST - IMPLICATIONS FOR MEANINGS AND EXPERIENCES

The theme of philosophical concern over the impact of mass production of commodities through mechanical technology is represented well in the writings of Walter Benjamin. In 1936, Walter

Benjamin (1992a) presented a discussion on the impact of mass mechanical reproduction on the authenticity of the work of art. Benjamin displays concern over the loss of authentic experience of art in light of the deluge of replicas and reproductions of such works. 'Even the most perfect reproduction of a work of art is lacking in one element: its presence in time and space, its unique existence at the place where it happens to be.' (1992a, 214) According to Benjamin, this 'presence' and 'unique existence' is part of the 'aura' of the original art work. This 'aura' of authenticity of the original art work is perhaps what Benjamin was discussing when he reacted to Johann Wolfgang von Goethe's concept of the *Urphänomen* – an archetypal phenomenon, a concrete thing to be discovered in the world of appearances (Arendt 1992, 17). Thus, the 'aura' of authenticity is something, for Benjamin, which is also to be experienced in the 'world of appearances' of the past in artefacts, monuments and landscapes.

One of the concerns that Benjamin expressed is that in producing reproductions, the uniqueness and authenticity of the original is challenged:

> By making many reproductions it substitutes a plurality of copies for a unique existence. And in permitting the reproductions to meet the beholder or listener in his own particular situation, it reactivates the object reproduced. These two processes lead to a tremendous shattering of tradition which is the obverse of the contemporary crisis and renewal of mankind (Benjamin 1992a, 215).

Replicated art objects (to be followed by mass produced replications) call into question the authenticity of the original art object. Benjamin delighted in the 'aura of the original' art object and rightly notes the significance of social acceptance of and affirmation of meaning in replicated objects. Although Benjamin notes after Edmund Husserl (1859-1938) that the 'crisis' is a result of modern technological methods of reproduction, he still noted that replication has long been part of educational experience within society.

> In principle a work of art has always been reproducible. Manmade artefacts could always be imitated by men. Replicas were made by pupils in practice of their craft, by masters for diffusing their works, and, finally, by third parties in the pursuit of gain. (1992a, 212)

In this way replication as imitation, or *mimêsis* in the Aristotelian tradition of poetics, can be seen as a fundamental aspect of the development and role of art, or *tekhne* in general. This theme of the necessity of replication or imitation is not restricted to Classical thought or to Western experiences of modernity. For example, the work of Japanese artist and photographer Hiroshi Sugimoto has highlighted the 'natural' and integral role of emulation in the development of artistic and cultural traditions in Japan.

> In Japanese cultural tradition, the act of emulating works of great predecessors is called *honka-dori*, taking up the melody. Not looked down on as mere copying, it is regarded as a praiseworthy effort (Sugimoto 2005, 245).

Sugimoto's use of photography in *Pine Trees* (2001) to emulate the *Shotozu* (Pine Forest Screens) (circa 1590) by painter Hasegawa Tohaku (1539-1610) utilised the modern experience of photographic technology to explore the Japanese tradition of imitation and emulation of original artwork. By following the tradition of *honka-dori*, Sugimoto was able to develop his own original work, styles and ideas while simultaneously questioning the perceived threat of modern replication to the authenticity of a work of art. The situation has, however, become more complex with the advent of mass production, mass simulation and mass emulation in the development of capitalistic market-driven consumer-centred societies.

At this point, the thought of Jean Baudrillard provides a wonderful point of inspiration concerning the effects of consumptive society and mass production on the authenticity of singular objects. Baudrillard (1998) in his discussions of contemporary social trends gives expression to the illusion of participatory action that consumption gives to the consumer. In a relationship with industrialised tourism and heritage, unique archaeological objects and monuments have become the models for lines of replications and simulations which are mass produced as consumable images, representations and experiences (Baudrillard 2003; 1996; also see Cochrane this volume). Inspired by the writings of Benjamin, Husserl and Baudrillard, this volume asks to what extent we are experiencing what has been referred to as a 'crisis of interpretation' or a 'crisis of representation' over the modern dichotomies of the image-object and the actual-object or the mass-produced object and the authentically-unique object (see Koerner this volume). What are the

implications of this for notions of 'meaning' and 'value' in archaeological research and practice? Following Baudrillard, this volume posits the question of whether through our contemporary process of simulation and replication the meaning and value of the original artefact is being overlooked in the overwhelming availability of mass-produced, consumable signifiers of that artefact. Although Baudrillard neither puts forward a convincing theory of the nature and manifestation of consumptive behavior, nor an applicable way of moving on from the issues he raises, he does give one lasting impression which is very critical to the themes of this project. Although replication, simulation, mass production and consumption can be theorised and deconstructed, it is most important to appreciate the aspect of normalisation that these actions have on the perception the social individual.

The situation becomes more problematic when interpretive centres utilise simulated environments and replicated artefacts in order to produce hyper-real experiences that are demanded by the visitor who desires to 'feel' as if they are in the past (see Cochrane this volume). Through the production of interpretive centres and simulated heritage experiences, we, as archaeologists and heritage professionals, are encouraging the proliferation of hyper-realities in the form of 'authentic' tourism and heritage experiences which are dependent on the reappropriation of artefacts and monuments as images and simulations of the past. In this way, Baudrillard (2003, 101) might have described interpretive centres and museums as 'hyper-markets' which provide space for the consumption of heritage. Temporal boundaries are made as invisible and traversable as possible in order to envelope the visitor in a simulated yet 'real' experience which escapes their modern industrial and technological existence. This situation is much like the one noted by Cornelius Holtorf and David van Reybrouc when discussing modern cage design in zoos. '…there is also some irony in the fact that the popular appeal of hyperrealist architecture, made possible through Western industry and technology, is based on scepticism about that very industry and technology' (2003, 214).

This is the fundamental problem that is presented to modern archaeologies. Archaeology's popular appeal relies on its ability to produce images, narratives and experiences of the past which can be perceived as authentic, unique and true and which facilitate the experience of the past as a space and time separate and distinct from the contemporary modern world (see Holtorf this volume). These images and

experiences, however, are manifested through modern industrial and technological developments which allow the mass production of replicated heritage objects and the proliferation of images of the past through print and digital media so that they can be consumed through personalised choices by individuals *en masse*. Of course, these technological developments have allowed those employed in the heritage sector to ensure long term conservation of sites by controlling visitor access and providing replicas as interpretive contextualisations of the past where the original site or artefact is in danger. Although this is responsible archaeological practice, it does not move archaeology through epistemological problems related to its role as a symptom of modernity. As Lowenthal (1985, xvii) pointed out rightly twenty years ago, 'we may fancy an exotic past that contrasts with a humdrum or unhappy present, but we forge it with modern tools'. Thus, archaeology's popular appeal currently relies on its ability to mask its own modernity in its provision of emotive, affirmative, didactic and escapist experiences of the past. In this way, the discipline's economic success and popular appeal is founded primarily on misconceptions and assumptions about what archaeology is and what archaeology actually does.

SITUATING THE CRISIS

Michael Shanks and Christopher Tilley (1987, 28) declared that archaeologists and archaeology as a discipline at the end of the 20th century were experiencing a crisis. In his recent volume *Archaeology and Modernity*, Julian Thomas (2004, 223) noted that archaeology is still experiencing this state of crisis concerning its relationship with modernity. It may seem a little late to be making any declaration of a crisis regarding the role a modern science such as archaeology within society, given the work done by Edmund Husserl at the end of his life in the early 20th century. For instance between 1935 and 1937, Husserl formally declared a crisis confronting 'European Humanity' and 'European Sciences' (1935; 1970). Reacting to the social, political and intellectual crises of the period between World War I and World War II, Husserl reflected on the issue of the 'value' of rational thought and culture within the modern world and posited whether a crisis concerning the role of modern rational thought in society was not a singular, contingent event but rather a continual and permanent aspect of reason

(Dodd 2004). Rather than merely regurgitating Husserl's approach to modernity, the contributors in this volume are continuing the consideration of the fundamental philosophical positioning of archaeology within modern society and the relationship between archaeology and social desires for epistemic authority and political sovereignty begun by thinkers such as Ian Hodder (1991,1992), Siân Jones (1997), David Lowenthal (1985; 1989), Michael Shanks (1987), Julian Thomas (1996; 2004), Christopher Tilley (1994; 2004) and Bruce Trigger (1989) (see Koerner this volume). In light of the discourse of 'archaeological imagination' in the formation of modern identity, it is imperative to engage with the philosophical assumptions in society which underpin this phenomenon.

Thomas (2004) has convincingly declared that archaeology as science is a constituent symptom of modernity. He maintains:

> that archaeology appears to be webbed to notions of materiality, mind, personal identity, nature and history that have characterised the modern era. Is it possible to imagine what the subject might become if it were to relinquish these ideas? Would it still be recognisable as archaeology? (2004, 223)

Is archaeology intrinsically linked to modern rational thought as Thomas (2004) has argued, and if so is the crisis confronting archaeology a contingent event of modernity? Or is there still a possibility, as he previously argued, that 'in everyday life, human beings grasp elements of the material world, and constitute them as evidence for past human practice … archaeology as science is based on this prescientific way of being attuned to the world' (Thomas 1996, 63), and thus that the crisis is a continually renewing 'state of affairs' within archaeological expression? In *Archaeology and Modernity* it seems as if Thomas has moved away from his more universal conception of human temporal and existential awareness which he described as the 'archaeological imagination'. Instead he has moved towards an engagement with the roots of archaeological awareness in modes of modern thought. Given this, it follows that we should review the universality of Thomas' earlier concept of 'archaeological imagination' and assess whether imagination and science in the form of archaeological awareness are equally symptoms of modernity.

MOVING BEYOND MODERNITY

The subtitle of this volume 'movements beyond modern approaches to archaeology' is designed to be an inclusive call for all those attempting to reflect and develop reflexive theories and practices of archaeology. The contributors' work demonstrates a desire to move beyond archaeology's 'modern', scientific intrinsic rationale and the symptomatic 'post-modern' critiques of the endeavour's modern qualities (see Koerner this volume). The discourse between archaeologists realising the difficult and fundamentally problematic basis of the discipline is just now coming to fruition. It has been argued that archaeology as science is a product of modernity and is intrinsically linked to the rationale of modern thought (Thomas 2004). Although convincing and thorough accounts of this philosophical situation in archaeological thought are only being published now, practitioners of archaeology have been engaging with modern philosophical issues concerning archaeological practice for over thirty years (e.g. Binford 1965; 1968; 1977; Hodder 1982; 1991; 1992; Shanks and Tilley 1987; Trigger 1989; Ucko 1995; Hodder & Preucel 1996; Thomas 1996; 2004; Hassan 1997; Johnson 1999; Holtorf & Karlsson 2000; Lucas 2001; 2004). Some archaeological theorists have turned towards 'post-modernity' as a source of inspiration for a way of moving beyond modern epistemological problems (e.g. Tilley 1990a; Bapty & Yates 1990; see also Bintliff 1991). Some philosophers have, however, become dissatisfied with the popular term 'post-modern' as a necessary and continual way for humans to be in the world. Koji Mizoguchi at the 2005 meeting of the European Association of Archaeologists voiced the claim held by some philosophically informed archaeologists that 'post-modernity' is not a useful term or tool for developing archaeological practice (e.g. Tilley 1990b). 'Post-modernity', if it is possible to use the term, still manifests the constituent symptoms of modernity. 'Post-modern' critiques are simply that - critiques. 'Post-modern' approaches to conceptions of the past and of archaeological practice, in order to be relevant, inherently rely on the existence of the constructive and productive practice of modern archaeology. The epistemological foundation of 'post-modernity' is the same as modernity. To assert a 'post-modern' episteme is an oxymoron. 'Post-modernity' also does not provide opportunities for development or growth. Although Jacques Derrida (1967a-c) focused on communication and linguistics, his thought

does not develop new opportunities for communication. Rather it focuses on deconstructing and problematising communication. Equally, 'post-modern' deconstruction does not offer new productive opportunities for participation. It problematises participation. Although these are valuable critiques which facilitate necessary revision of approaches to epistemic authority, political sovereignty and communication, they do not expand beyond the confines of the modes of modern thought which they seek to critique.

Over ten years ago, philosophers and sociologists Ulrich Beck (1992) and Bruno Latour (1993) both confronted modernity posing fundamental questions about the project of 'post-modernism' to critique modernism. The two thinkers diverge, however, in their focus. Beck (1992) urges the search for a 'new' modernity more aware of its intrinsic rationale whereas Latour (1993) posits the urgent question of whether or not society or humanity was ever modern and whether the modern project and its symptomatic 'post-modern' project will ever come to completion. What unites the two thinkers is that both look for ways of being which are beyond or outside the confines of modernity and its constituent symptom 'post-modernity'. Latour (1993, 138-48; Latour & Weibel 2005) asserted himself as being 'a-modern' and more recently has advocated 'non-modern' practices in society while Beck (1992) asserts the development of an aware 'new' modern, reflexive agency in the world. He follows in *World Risk Society* (1999) with a call for a move towards 'reflexive modernization' founded on an appreciation of the role of 'knowledge' and 'unawareness' in social practice. This discourse is being echoed currently in archaeological theory as Thomas is calling for a movement towards 'counter-modernity' within archaeological practice. What is clear from all accounts is that there is an urgent need to engage with the symptoms of modernity to develop awareness and reflexive approaches to practice which highlight participation over process. I will, however, refrain from adopting a specific terminology for describing or uniting these movements. I am not comfortable with the terms 'counter-modern' or 'non-modern' or 'a-modern'. Firstly, I feel these are fundamentally negative dialectics which have criticism or confrontation as their foundation rather than producing, new, constructive opportunities for reflection. Also I feel these have a similar epistemological basis for a critique of modernity as 'post-modernity'. Thus I feel the drive of Beck (1992; 1999) to develop a new epistemology and an awareness of the

intrinsic role of practice in society through reflexive modes of thought and action is a more successful assertion.

REFLEXIVE ARCHAEOLOGIES AND MODERNITY: THE 'FAUSTIAN BARGAIN'

Bettina Arnold (1990, 464) has been largely responsible for the introduction of the literary and philosophical term 'Faustian Bargain' to archaeological research. Appropriated from Johann Wolfgang von Goethe's (1749-1832) *Faust* (1968), the 'Faustian Bargain' refers to the pact made between the character Faust and the character Mephistopheles (the Devil). Summarised briefly, Mephistopheles offers Faust unlimited knowledge and power. If Faust is able to find satisfaction in his labours with this knowledge and power, then he must surrender his soul to Mephistopheles (Pascal 1949, 101). Studying archaeology under National Socialism in Germany, Arnold mused over whether German prehistorians were faced with a sort of 'Faustian bargain'. An under-funded discipline, German prehistory was provided with the opportunity to expand research projects with the results thrust to the centre of the new political regime. However, in supporting the political tenets of National Socialist policy through archaeological research, many prehistorians in Germany became embroiled in one of the pre-eminent ethical dilemmas of the modern age, one which the discipline would not be able to recover from until the mid to late 20th century (Arnold & Hassmann 1995).

Exploring Goethe's metaphorical bargain, Faust pleads to give his soul over in order to amass experience upon experience, disaster upon disaster (Pascal 1949, 100). Accepting his pact with Mephistopheles in despair over the rush of history and time, Faust declares:

Stürzen wir uns in das Rauschen der Zeit,	Let us hurl ourselves into the torrent of time,
Ins Rollen der Begebenheit!	Into the revolution of events.
Da mag denn Schmerz und Genuß,	Then let pleasure and distress,
Gelingen und Verdruß	Failure and success,
Miteinander wechseln, wie es kann;	Alternate as they will:
Nur rastlos betätigt sich der Mann (Goethe 1968, 55).	Man must be doing, and never still (Pascal 1949, 100).

This plea of despair is echoed strongly in Benjamin's 'Theses on the Philosophy of History'. Responding to Paul Klee's (1879-1940) painting 'Angelus Novus' (1910) which he bought in 1921, Benjamin wrote:

> A Klee painting named 'Angelus Novus' shows an angel looking as though he is about to move away from something he is fixedly contemplating. His eyes are staring, his mouth is open, his wings are spread. This is how one pictures the angel of history. His face is turned toward the past. Where we perceive a chain of events, he sees one single catastrophe which keeps piling wreckage and hurls it in front of his feet. The angel would like to stay, awaken the dead, and make whole what has been smashed. But a storm is blowing in from Paradise; it has got caught in his wings with such a violence that the angel can no longer close them. The storm irresistibly propels him into the future to which his back is turned, while the pile of debris before him grows skyward. This storm is what we call progress (1992b, 249).

Benjamin's 'storm (*Sturm*)' of 'progress (*Fortschritt*)' and Goethe's 'torrent of time (*Rauschen der Zeit*)' evoke a struggle against the prevailing conditions of temporality and human agency. Both Benjamin's 'angel of history' and Goethe's Faust give themselves over to this struggle. Within both of these storms is the rush of images of the past which 'flit by' appearing only when relevant to contemporary concerns (Benjamin 1992b, 247). Thus, both Faust and the 'angel of history' give themselves over to the rush of the torrent of images of the past, continually clashing and amassing a 'pile of [imaginative] debris'. Faust's reaction to this situation is critical. He chooses to act and to labour and to experience. He chooses to participate in the 'giving over' of himself to this torrent of history. Within this interpretative participation is the opportunity to render and express meaning and explore value.

In many ways archaeology is still faced with a 'Faustian Bargain' in its relationship with modernity, especially with regard to the role of images of the past in heritage and tourism industries. In a sense, engagements with industrialised tourism and the marketing of heritage in a global world have increased awareness of archaeology and funding for research. At the same time, however, the nature and message of archaeological enquiry runs the risk of becoming diluted and potentially altered for the sake of capitalistic and nationalistic purposes in an

increasingly consumer-oriented world. Inspired by Baurdrillard's open-ended discourse, perhaps we should embrace and move through this 'Faustian bargain'. For in declaring this 'bargain', we affirm a value in archaeological knowledge and a need to deliberate on our power over the content, manifestation and impact of archaeological agency in the world. To struggle against the current themes of social thought places archaeology within a 'crisis of interpretation' regarding its epistemic and political sovereignty (see Koerner this volume). The way through this crisis, however, is not to focus on what archaeology *is* but rather what archaeology is concerned with doing.

What can be learned from Goethe's *Faust* is that it is not the result of the struggle, the giving over of one's soul nor the gaining of limitless knowledge or power that is key. Rather it is the struggle itself that is important. Goethe creates in Faust's struggle the beginning of an engagement with a metaphorical discourse over epistemic authority. Without this 'giving over' or 'giving into', Goethe's metaphor collapses. So just as Faust accepts his bargain and partakes in a metaphorical exploration of meaning, expression and being, so too must archaeology accept its bargain within society – to engage with social trends of consumption, replication, simulation and mass production.

ENGAGING THE PUBLIC, EMBRACING IMAGES

With modern societies, we are surrounded by images and simulations of the past. Is the image of an object any less authentic than the object itself? As Baudrillard would question, is the simulation of an object less authentic than the object itself? Or is there still an authentic 'aura' of the original artefact as Walter Benjamin would argue? Perhaps Baudrillard is correct to follow that it is all simulation and that Benjamin's aura of the original has now become the aura of simulacrum. (1997, 10-11; 2003) Even that which we perceive to be the singular authentic original artefact is also a representation of our modern beliefs about time and agency. Perhaps authenticity of the object need not enter into the discourse at all – there is only authenticity in our human agency, in our representations of our modern beliefs about time and agency, in our representations of ourselves.

As Douglas Crimp (1993) notes in *On the Museum's Ruins*, are we overweighed with retinal wastage? Benjamin's image of the 'angel of

history' would suggest that we are accumulating a pile, a wreckage of disused images of the past. Are we subject to the same 'storm of progress', accumulating imitations and simulations of the past as we are propelled unaware into the future? Or is it possible to engage with the storm, embracing the struggle to express meaning, as Faust did?

If this is the case, then the most urgent space for archaeology to interact in is the public space, participating in discourses of 'meaning' and 'value' in archaeological representation, imitation and simulation. David Lowenthal noted over ten years ago that there was a dangerous division between professional archaeology and public perceptions of the discipline which had broader implications than simply for the pursuit of archaeology.

> A cleavage between professionals and the public affects other perspectives on the past as well as those of archaeologists. In local and oral history, in the current preoccupation with geneaology, in rising support for preserving familiar structures and locales, in the spurt of museum growth and museum-going, a common dilemma confronts conservators and curators pledged to look after and explain the past, and at the same time to accommodate burgeoning public interest in it. Flooded with data, lacking resources to conserve let alone display, and swamped by public demands for access to evermore of the past, professionals become embroiled willy-nilly in partisan disputes (1989, 302).

This is a challenge which has been brought to archaeology by the public, and as long as the public is interested in archaeology and the past, archaeology will continue to interact with the public. Archaeology can not retreat from social and popular discourse. Rather, archaeology must continue to seek out new and innovative ways of engaging the public.

The recent exhibition by Latour and Weibel (2005a & b) at the Zentrum für Kunst und Medientechnologie (Centre for Art and Media) in Karlsruhe, Germany entitled 'Making Things Public: Athmosphären der Demokratie' has highlighted the need to move from objects to things – and things in the sense of the original German and English meaning of the word as an assembly of people. In this way, assemblages of objects of art and assemblages of people can interact in participatory exchanges which develop new and dynamic groups and concepts with every individual who takes part. From the website of the exhibition:

> It turns out that the oldest meaning of the English and German word for 'thing' concerns an assembly brought together to discuss disputed matters of concern. Hence the focus on the slogan FROM REALPOLITIK TO *DINGPOLITIK*, a neologism invented for the show. This major shift is reflected in the aesthetic of the show, in the ways in which the over one hundred installations and works of art are presented, and in the general physical and virtual architecture. What we are trying to do is compare modernist with non-modern attitudes to objects. In effect we are moving FROM OBJECTS TO THINGS (Latour & Weibel 2005a) [capitals original].

The effect of this exhibition was to deneutralise the exhibition and museum space, allowing the public to come into being through participation in the experience of representations of concerns and issues through assemblages of objects and images whether visual, textual, digital, performative or other. In the same way, archaeologists must seek to deneutralise the spaces in which discourses over the past and archaeology occur. The dichotomy between assemblages of people and assemblages of objects which facilitates passive consumption of images of the past must no longer be reified through archaeological theory and practice.

Many professional historians and archaeologists and others engaged in the study of the past fear the impact of popular appeal on archaeology. There is a possibility of misrepresenting the past through participatory engagements with the public. In this engagement there is essentially a risk over the mediation of the 'archaeological message' or the epistemic authority of the 'archaeological narrative'. However, Beck (1999; 1992) in *Risk* Society and *World Risk Society* has highlighted that this is not a phenomenon to avoid but to be embraced. For there is continually an essential risk in all social activity. For archaeology, the risk may be to be misunderstood or misrepresented. Still, has this ever not been the case for archaeology or any expression of thought. If all is simulation as Baudrillard posits, then the 'crisis of interpretation' is norm. Thus, the 'crisis of representation' is norm. The critical aspect is not the identification of the crisis, although this is a necessary aspect of the discourse, but to partake in the playing out of the crisis and its resolution – to interact in the fundamental metaphor for human being and meaning which the crisis represents. As Susan Sontag (1994) noted when writing about life and times of Levi Strauss, there is an inherent risk involved in

intelligence that many practitioners of sociology, archaeology, anthropology and the writing of history have attempted to avoid to the detriment of their practices.

> In France, where there is more awareness of the adventure, the risk involved in intelligence, a man can be both a specialist and the subject of general and intelligent interest and controversy (1994, 70).

In the pursuit of knowledge, Sontag would have us give ourselves over, spiritually and devotedly, to the participation between the individual and the public aware but unfretted by the risks that popular sentiment pose to the pursuit. Sontag's call echoes the 'giving over' required in the 'Faustian bargain' as discussed above. She wished for practitioners of anthropological thought to participate in social controversy and embrace risks inherent in popular discourses. It is not possible to put limits on the proliferation of images, but it is possible to become involved in the discourse of how individuals and societies relate to and communicate through images of the past. Archaeologists can not simply stand back and observe these phenomena and make comments. They must engage in reflexive approaches to their study of the past. Archaeology is not a passive pursuit but is intrinsically linked to the activities of modern societies through the activities of remembrance, tourism, the production of heritages and the development of narratives.

POETIC ARCHAEOLOGIES

Perhaps Baudrillard is correct to assert that all is simulation (2003; 1997, 10-1). Images of a past, whether physical artefacts or pictures in brochures, are no more than visual representations of our beliefs in singular, authentic truths accessible through modern scientific discovery (see Cochrane this volume). Although Baudrillard's assertion may seem to be a 'post-modern', deconstructionist undermining of 'meaning' and 'value' in archaeological research, it actually serves to affirm a very fundamental, Classical assumption of metaphysics that all poetic expression is imitation (see Koerner this volume). Aristotle asserted in his *Poetics* that poetry as *tekhne* was fundamentally an imitation (*mimêsis*) of human agency as a means to convey meaning and understanding of the human condition. Approaching archaeology from a metaphysical standpoint as a *tekhne*, or a 'productive capacity informed

by an understanding of its intrinsic rationale' (Heath 1996, ix, cf. *Nicomachean Ethics* 1140a), a poetic archaeology is less concerned with what archaeologies might be but what archaeologies might do. In this way archaeologies and archaeological imaginings are not conceptions or modes of scientific or prescientific thought as Thomas (1996, 63-4) suggested, but rather an aspect of a long human tradition of poetics. Poetic archaeologies are engagements with an existential awareness fascinated with temporality and the ways in which many humans conceive of previous human agency from material 'evidence'. Thus we can see that both Benjamin's (1992a) concern over the impact of mechanical reproduction on the 'aura' of the original object and Baudrillard's (1998; 2001; 2003) concern over the significance of unique objects in light of mass produced simulations of objects do not suggest doom for meaning within archaeological research, writing and practice. Rather they serve to highlight the inherent necessity for imitation and simulation as a means for expression and communication within human experience.

Aristotle argued that 'we take delight in viewing the most accurate possible images of objects' (*Poetics* 1448b). Meaning is rendered and communicated in the exploration of ways of imitating agency through *mimêsis*, through representations of agency. through producing images of the past. Images of the past are thus poetic imitations of what we believe about the human condition and human existence. What must be taken with this conclusion is an appreciation of the 'intrinsic rationale' of the manufacture of these images. Thus, we are not simply to embrace simulation as Baudrillard would suggest, but we are to engage and participate in simulation and explore its potential to signal new ways of expressing 'meaning' and 'value' about human experience (see Cochrane this volume). Perhaps we could call for a move away from passively received simulation to active participatory stimulation. Thus, archaeologies are not simply passive narratives about human agency but active participatory interventions in the world which attempt to render meaning through the representation of beliefs in the past.

The past is a source for poetic understanding of the contemporary human condition rather than a source for scientific, authoritative truth. Archaeology, or the study of the past, is an active engagement with the rendering of meaning through poetic narratives of text and visual representation (see Neal, Finn and Synnestvedt this volume). Thus the source of 'meaning' and 'value' in archaeology is not in the collecting,

or representation of materialised truth about the past. The source is found in the ambiguous yet experientially felt relevance of participatory exchange within the exploration of human expression and understanding.

THE STRUCTURE OF THE VOLUME

This volume is designed to illustrate two comparative themes in current archaeological thought. The first concerns a comparison of stances from which archaeology is approached within the modern world and movements which desire advancement beyond modernity to find new ways of communicating meaning. The second concerns approaches which perceive archaeology as a social phenomenon and posit theoretical and epistemological problems and approaches which focus on participation and exchange within society. To explore these themes, the volume is divided into four sections. The first and second sections act as a declaration of the 'state of affairs' in relation to archaeology's role in the modern world and suggests ways in which archaeologists can become better involved in the presentation of the discipline to the public. The third and fourth sections situate modernity and archaeology's modern rationale within broader philosophical and sociological trends. These two sections explore to what extent archaeology is experiencing a crisis concerning its relationship with modernity and posit ways of moving beyond modernity through theoretically informed practice focusing on participation. The four sections are also divided into different approaches to archaeological research and practice. The first section and third section focus on observations of the theoretical state of affairs. The second and fourth sections focus on practice based approaches calling on participatory exchanges between archaeologists and the public.

The first section, explores the role of archaeology in the foundation of 'archaeologically imagined communities'. Deirdre Stritch discusses the role that heritage and tourism industries utilising archaeological images of the past have played in the forging of national identities on the island of Cyprus. Following this, Stephan A. Brighton and Charles E. Orser provide an archaeological and historical study of the forging of trans-national Irish identity within Irish emigrant populations in the United States of America and discuss the role of English made objects decorated with representations of Irish cultural icons in that phenomenon. The section closes with the work of Jenny Blain and Robert J. Wallis on the

impact of the imaged past on the formation of contemporary neo-spiritual movements in the United Kingdom. Although the content of these three pieces seem quite different, the theoretical links between them are fundamental to understanding the significance of images of the past in modern social groups. The past informs a shared narrative through visually shared objects yielding shared identifications in the development of group identities (Russell 2006). The 'archaeological imagination' is integral to the production of modern images of the past which in turn facilitates the production of modern 'imagined communities' (Anderson 1991). Through the work of Stritch, Brighton, Orser, Blain and Wallis, we can appreciate that there is a modern tendency to establish 'archaeologically imagined communities' in our world (Russell 2006). Brighton and Orser rightly note in their response to this section that interaction between modern society and archaeology, producing images of the past, 'ultimately reflects access to and control of knowledge'. Their line of questioning which has resulted from an analysis of the role of archaeology in the formation of 'imagined communities' actually reveals the fundamental crisis which we are presented with when we conceive of archaeology. What is the source of knowledge of the past? Can there be an authentic and true past or artefact of pervious human agency? Who has authority to expound any true or single 'past'? And can this source be controlled? Stritch illustrates how many governmental groups view the 'past' or 'heritage' as a resource to be engaged with for national or, at least, community development. Through this study it is demonstrated that there is a fundamental belief in the epistemic authority of archaeology and archaeological material as a source to develop and reify social beliefs in group identity. These identities, like in Blain and Wallis' heathen communities and Brighton and Orser's emigrant Irish communities, in turn are anchored with images of the past.

The second section, 'Archaeologies and Opportunities', engages with the question posed to archaeology on its role in forming group identities. How should archaeology relate to the members of particular groups? If archaeologists' work facilitates the development of social groups interested in the past as part of their identity or heritage, then how should archaeologists engage with that public? George S. Smith begins the section with a discussion on what roles archaeology plays and what roles the discipline could play within the public sector. Smith highlights the large and expanding audience of people familiar with and interested in the endeavour of archaeology and posits ways in which archaeology

could better interact with that public within the modern world, particularly within education. Given archaeology's position within public discourse, Smith suggests that archaeology could make better use of that opportunity in order to voice differing contemporary narratives of the past as a way of supporting more multi-vocal political discourse. Oleg Missikoff continues the discussion with suggestions for the development of more aware and professional understandings of how archaeology can communicate within modern society. Missikoff views cultural heritage as an opportunity for socio-economic development and rightly calls for better training for those in the heritage sector in order to be able to engage with public interest in the past. In particular, Missikoff highlights the expanding spaces of the internet as an area for the development of new ways of communicating with the public about what archaeology does and what cultural heritage means. Finally, Cornelius Holtorf rounds off the discussion with an exploration of the role of the past as an experience in the modern world following the sociological thought of Gerhard Schulze (1993) and Rolf Jensen (1999). Holtorf sees the desire of modern individuals to engage with the past as an experience and as an opportunity to be embraced rather than a problem to be addressed. He follows the call of Gavin Lucas (2004, 119) to explore whether archaeology's real impact in society lies in its popular appeal. Holtorf insightfully notes that the contemporary difficulties surrounding archaeology's relationship with the public are not so much a result of the public's lack of understanding of archaeology but of archaeologists' lack of understanding of the public.

The third section, 'The Crisis of Representation', contextualises modern societies' fascination with the 'science' of archaeology by situating it within discourses over epistemological authority and political sovereignty. It further explores whether archaeology is in a state of crisis concerning its relationship with tourism and heritage industries in the modern world. Stephanie Koerner begins with a discussion on archaeology's role in the representation of the past in the modern world and explores the philosophical and epistemological underpinnings of modern belief in archaeological images. Inspired by the writings of Walter Benjamin and Bruno Latour, Koerner situates the archaeological endeavour within the broader framework of philosophical and epistemological issues experienced since the Thirty Years War (1618-48) and the ensuing 'Treaty of Westphalia'. She then discusses the implications for archaeology's intrinsic value if it remains a purely

modern science and develops methodologies which will help archaeology focus on memories and help to develop plans for futures, rather than expounding more belief in the necessity of modern scientific fact. Kay Edge and Frank H. Weiner continue with a discussion on the modern conceptions of history, collective memory and the appropriation of objects from the past and their representation in cultural spaces of remembrance such as museums. The taking, collecting and reapproriation of objects perceived as being from the past and their placement into museums highlights many issues regarding the use of archaeology to produce images of the past which facilitate grand narratives of identity and given expression in the museum space. Recent studies such as that by Flora E. S. Kaplan (1994) have illustrated the role of the museum in the 'making of ourselves', and the recent exhibition 'Museum of the Mind' at the British Museum (2003; Mack 2003) has revised the position of the museum in society as a representation of collective memory of the past. What has been less discussed, however, is the role of the designer or architect of that museum space. Progressing through a discussion on the work of Daniel Libeskind, Edge and Weiner engage with crises facing architects with regard to notions of collective memory, the manifestation of that memory in an experiential space and the way in which architects must engage with theoretical and philosophical discourse in order to transcend the modern condition of the vocation. Finally, Andrew Cochrane explores the crisis facing modern representations of the past in interpretive spaces designed to allow a visitor to experience the past. In a similar vein to Holtorf and van Reybrouck's (2003) development of an archaeology of zoos but inspired by the thoughts of Jean Baudrillard, Cochrane engages with the experiential space of the Boyne Valley Interpretive Centre, Co. Meath, Ireland. He explores issues concerning authenticity of experience within spaces dominated by simulation, while questioning to what extent these interpretive centres are acting as hyper-realities of modern conceptions of the past. He concludes with a discussion on megalithic motifs from the main Newgrange and Knowth passage tombs and the possible roles that imitation and simulation played in the sequential development of the designs. He posits whether these monuments and their associated motifs and the contemporary visitor centre are simulacra and asks if they were ever anything more than stimulating simulations.

The fourth section, 'Poetic Archaeologies and Moving beyond Modernity', will move on from Stephanie Koerner's call to review

archaeology's relationship with expressions of knowledge and understanding in light of the long tradition of conceptions of poetics. Following on from Aristotle's *Poetics*, a poetic archaeology is less concerned with what an archaeology might be and more with what an archaeology might do, about the possibilities of human understanding derived from archaeology. The contributors to this section conceive of the 'archaeological imagination' not as an aspect or mode of scientific or presceintific thought as Thomas (1996, 63-4) suggested but as an aspect of a long human tradition of poetic engagements with temporality and the way humans conceive of previous human agency through material 'evidence'. As Aristotle has argued, poetry is founded upon imitations of human agency in the quest for understanding the human condition. As such, archaeology as poetry appreciates its fundamental role as presenting imitations, representations, simulations, of human agency through the art or *tekhne* or archaeological expression. The contributors in this section acknowledge the modern, scientific rationale of the *tekhne* of archaeology but look beyond this process to find ways of engaging in participatory exchanges within the world through archaeology not as narrative but as poetry. In this way, images of the past are not engaged with as authoritative sources of knowledge but as opportunities for experience and discourse in the contemporary world, thus transcending the modern battle for epistemic authority over the past. Tim Neal begins with a practice-centered approach to the role of the brochure image in modern tourism. Situating the brochure image within the broader history of visual representations of landscape, Neal views the brochure as a boundary which appears to restrict interpretation, but he alternatively suggests that these are actually invitations for agency and movement which engage with the modern belief of boundaries of interpretation and representation. He sees these fringe or boundary spaces as an opportunity for expansion of practice and an engagement with the public who regularly consume them. Christine A. Finn continues the themes of visual representation of the past in her discussion on the impact of representations of bog bodies on popular culture and art during the 20th century. Finn suggests that there is a fundamental inspirational quality within archaeological images such as those of the bog bodies which fascinates society and urges us to engage with our conceptions of the human condition. Exploring the bog bodies through the photography of Lennart Larsen, the poetry of Seamus Heaney and the art of Kathleen Vaughan, Finn illustrates the rich exchange that can be cultivated

through a relationship between archaeology and artistic expression. Finally, Anita Synnestvedt takes us on a walk through the prehistoric site of Stora Rös as a visual and bodily experience. Inspired by the phenomenological thought of Maurice Merleau-Ponty (1962) and the archaeological theory of Christopher Tilley (2004), Synnestvedt demonstrates the vast range of possibilities for interpretation and representation that are brought to light through an exploration of archaeology as an embodied experience. She also illustrates the problems associated with the current way that prehistoric sites are presented to the public whereby the potential for the public to engage with the site in an interpretative and participatory way is restricted.

ENDING AN INTRODUCTION, BEGINNING A DISCUSSION

Rather than fighting against the problematic aspects of social activity today, I wish the result of this book to be a call for participation between archaeology and society. Archaeology, I feel, must engage with the metaphors which society draws from its perceptions of archaeological agency. This must be done in theory but more importantly in practice, in participatory ways. In doing so, it is possible to broaden the concept of the assemblage of objects to the totality of the assemblage of individual human beings as Latour and Weibel's (2005) work has shown. This assemblage in its essential nature is fluid and dynamic as is any society. The assemblage (both beyond object and self) is a constant metamorphosis of meaning and being. Thus the perception of archaeology and the archaeological object as stagnant entities or representations runs against the fundamental nature of the phenomenon of social being. Therefore archaeologists must transcend their modern objectives in order to participate in the metaphorical metamorphosis of social being and meaning while equally being aware of its intrinsic modern rationale as science. Therein lies the risk – to transcend modernity would be to transcend many of archaeological thought's most basic philosophical assumptions (Thomas 2004). This necessitates a great humbling of archaeology within the discourse over epistemic sovereignty and over conceptions of the past. There is a great risk in intelligence and engagements with the public and popular culture as Sontag (1994) would argue. Let us move forward, however, with Beck

(1992; 1999) and Baudrillard's (1997; 2001) callings and embrace this risk and bargain to partake in the metaphorical expression of society through poetic imitations of understandings of the human condition. Let us begin to participate.

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Section I

ARCHAEOLOGICALLY IMAGINED COMMUNITIES

Ian Russell
Trinity College Dublin

From the work of Julian Thomas (1996; 2004) as well as of other recent archaeological theorists, it is evident that images of the past have carried a particularly strong resonance within modern social groups. Siân Jones noted that 'a desire to attach an identity to particular objects or monuments, most frequently expressed in terms of the ethnic group or 'people' who produced them, has figured at the heart of archaeological enquiry' (1997, 15). Fekri Hassan noted when speaking of Egyptian nationalism that 'material icons of heroism, ancestral glory and cultural achievements are objects of national[ist] pride and identity' (1998, 213). For as Lynn Meskell points out, 'it is the very materiality of our field – the historical depth of monuments and objects, their visibility in museums, their iconic value – that ultimately have residual potency in the contemporary imaginary' (2001, 189). The role of archaeology and archaeological material in the creation of images of the past is a fundamental aspect of modern group identity. Thomas described this human phenomenon as the 'archaeological imagination' (1996, 63-4). Perceiving objects as evidence of previous human agency which in turn affirm the conception and existence of contemporary modern agency and identity is not an unnatural process. Rather it is symptomatic of the modern condition of human beings and their behavior in large groups (Thomas 1996; 2004; Volkan 2003; 2004; Russell 2006).

If we are to agree with Benedict Anderson (1991) that nations and large groups in general are 'imagined communities', then it follows that we must assess the role of an 'archaeological imagination' in these modern social phenomena. Irish archaeologist Gabriel Cooney (1996,

148) has shown that in the Republic of Ireland images of the past in the form of archaeology, artefacts and monuments have played a significant role in the formation of modern Irish group identity and Irish nationalism. Indeed, it was only in 1994 that Michael D. Higgins (1994), then Minister of Arts, Culture and the Gaeltacht of the Republic of Ireland, argued in a debate over an amendment to the National Monuments Bill of 1993, saying:

> For many people it is the artefact or monument itself that symbolises the identity of a people. The images such as those printed on the front cover of every school child's homework copy as a daily reminder of the physical manifestation of our heritage are part of what we are – the Ardagh Chalice, the Tara Brooch, the Monasterboice High Cross and the Borrisnoe Collar. There is more. To have visited an historic site such as Clonmacnois or Newgrange leaves one with the knowledge – and responsibility – of knowing that we are but the latest inheritors of a long, proud and inspiring past.

Just as our present world is saturated by images of commodities for consumption and of experiences to be had, so too is it full of images of the past which fuel the conception of modern communities. As was rhetorically illustrated by Higgins, images of the past play a central role in the ideological rhetoric of modern social groups. Therefore, in the spirit of Anderson (1991) and Thomas (1996), just as we can address nationalism as a symptom of modernity in the form of the 'imagined community', so too should we come to appreciate the tendency of these groups to create 'archaeologically imagined communities' as a parallel symptom of modern social being (Russell 2006).

This section will explore the current 'state of affairs' in archaeology's role in modern Western society and explore the impact of 'archaeological imagination' in the production of images of the past and the establishment of 'imagined communities'. It is critical that before we attempt to engage with the implications of the proliferation of images of the past for the development of contemporary society that we establish an understanding of the current impact of these images on the forging of contemporary modern social groups. Therefore, this section will illustrate, through the work of a number of dynamic and influential researchers, the breadth of the impact of modern conceptions of the past in the formation of modern group identity and the continual importance to maintain and renew these images in order to maintain the cohesion of

these groups. We will begin with Deirdre Stritch's engagement with government initiatives in the heritage and tourism sectors in the Republic of Cyprus which have greatly impacted the social, cultural and political development of groups on the island of Cyprus. Next, Stephen A. Brighton and Charles E. Orser will explore the effect of mass production of mementoes of cultural representations for consumption by Irish emigrant communities in the 19th century illustrating how these images have facilitated a trans-national group identity for Irish emigrants. This is particularly relevant for today as is routinely capitalised on by the heritage and tourism sector in the Republic of Ireland. Finally, Jenny Blain and Robert Wallis will discuss the representation of group identity through replicas of artefacts in contemporary neo-pagan movements in the United Kingdom.

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Chapter 1

ARCHAEOLOGICAL TOURISM AS A SIGNPOST TO NATIONAL IDENTITY

Raising Aphrodite in Cyprus

Deirdre Stritch
Trinity College Dublin

INTRODUCTION

The modern nation-state, as developed since the nineteenth century, seeks to bind groups of people together in a geographically and culturally defined political unit in which ethnic identity is synonymous with national identity.[1] In order to nurture a sense of unity within, and loyalty to the state, the notion of the cultural distinctiveness and homogeneity of the group is fostered (Graham *et al*. 2000; Gellner 1987, 9, 18; Mouliou 1996, 175). Frequently, this cultural particularity is linked to, or indeed presented as the direct result of, the relationship between a people and their physical environment. In this way the land, the people and the nation-state are tied firmly together in an organic entity born of 'nature' and as such above and beyond question or reproach. The fact that nationalism in its ideological development equated modern state political legitimacy with group cultural antiquity means that these characteristics of distinctiveness and homogeneity must be extended into the past of the people and place, and as a result has a profound effect on the way that an archaeology embedded within state structures operates. The collective memory of the group is stimulated through symbols and commemorative events such as flags, national anthems, memorial days etc. aimed at enhancing a sense of community. Collective memory, however, is not

entirely fluid and adaptable as it is constrained to some degree by the actual historical past, i.e. the past can be 'selectively exploited' for ideological purposes but not entirely construed (Zerubavel 1995, 5). Thus Anderson's 'imagined community' of the nation, can only be imagined because some real commonalities already existed; it is rarely, if ever, invented from scratch, as 'imagined' implies. I am concerned here with the problem of the transference of values, such as territoriality, nationality and continuity, from the nation state to archaeology through the mechanisms of their shared institutional bodies and as expressed in antiquities laws (Firth 1995). As Firth notes, archaeology as a discipline could conceivably question the material evidence for the state values of continuity and territoriality, but is unlikely to do so when operating within state institutions (ibid. 52); to question the prior existence of such values is to question the legitimacy of the state itself.

These values are of such importance because, frequently, the international acceptance of the territorial and political integrity of a state is strengthened with the common acceptance of the ethnic/cultural unity of the group, traceable temporally in a given geographical territory. As a result, archaeology, history and the past in general are invested with especial significance by the state as the tools which can best provide the necessary evidence of homogeneity and continuity in culture and identity through time. Archaeology and the past are thus ideally placed for the provision and shaping of the narratives and symbols which will henceforth identify and represent the nation-state. Group collective memory and sense of community is then 'activated and articulated' by and through these narratives and symbols (Liakos 2001, 28).

This archaeological underpinning of ideological national narratives characterises in particular the relationship between the nation-state and archaeology in the early days of the state, or in states where continued pressure on territorial borders from outside powers insists upon strong internal unity and solidarity. I propose that in states which are well established and lack such urgency for internal cohesion, these ideological functions are often superseded, or at least matched, on another level by financial imperatives with an equally potent impact on local archaeology. In this situation, archaeology, or the offspring of archaeological activity, now managed by state controlled agencies, becomes central to the economic prosperity of the state by virtue of the important role played by the 'heritage industry' in modern tourism (Urry 1990). For many nations, both developing and developed, economic solvency is as immediate a

concern as internal unity (often positively affected by economic buoyancy) or the need to prove the legitimacy of territorial and political claims. Thus simultaneous use is made of both the ideological and economic benefits of archaeology. Tourism provides the heritage industry, and thus the state, with a sizable domestic as well as international audience, while archaeology provides an effective means of transmitting ideologically generated, authoritative narratives to that audience through its provision of powerful and evocative symbols of national identity.

As noted, for many countries, especially those in the developing world, tourism plays a vital role in economic prosperity and in also raising the international profile of the host country in political as well as economic terms. This is a potentially crucial benefit for smaller, weaker countries which may otherwise lack such a voice. Within this context, whereby countries must compete for the attention of a frequently fickle foreign market, the development of a unique 'signature' which is easily marketed and memorable is essential. As highlighted in the discussion on nationalism, the archaeological heritage of a region is viewed as one of the key expressions of the unique individuality and personality of that region, which, in a market driven by the quest for an experience of the novel yet authentic and the exotic, is a key selling point. This heritage is thus perfectly suited as a tool in the fashioning of a concise and attractive 'national signature'. The natural attractions of the country in question, in terms of landscape, scenery and so on may be incorporated into this signature, thereby positing both nature and culture as the naturally occurring, inherent twin pillars linking people and place.

The set of symbols and motifs which combine to create this national signature have normally already been coalesced in the development process of local nationalism described earlier. Urry argues that one of the key features of organised tourism is the difference between the tourist destination and the visitor's normal place of residence or work (1990, 11). I suggest that this sense of difference, however real or imagined, stems in part from the manner in which nationalism has traditionally sought to promote certain characteristics of the state and its people as a way of differentiating itself from other peoples in other states, thus reinforcing the sense of familial connection within the 'imagined community' (Anderson 1991) of the nation. These characteristics are seen as both inherent and visibly manifested and thus can be promoted through select symbols. As Urry argues, the tourist

searches for these manifestations or 'signs' of the other whom he has come to 'gaze' upon and archaeology is one of the most potent sources and providers of such signs. Tourism thus plays a role in, and feeds off, the success of archaeology in the creation and maintenance of identities and in making supposedly esoteric knowledge public. Tourism in conjunction with archaeology then helps make this knowledge accessible by condensing it into easily intelligible and marketable symbols. As will be demonstrated in this paper, both ideology and economics inform management of archaeology. I will take Cyprus as my case study as the island's continued political problems with the Turkish occupied north of the country and its economic dependency on tourism provide an excellent illustration of this phenomenon.

CYPRUS: NATION AND IDENTITY

Within the example of Cyprus, the nation's connections with the Hellenic classical past – with its material culture and its mythology - are not only central to modern notions of self, but provide a cohesive marketing package in the context of international tourism. The island's perceived dependence on Greece and belief in its Greek origins (Papadakis 1998, 152) were reinforced by two major political demands: the ever-present fear of future hostilities with Turkey and entry into, and acceptance within, the European Community (EC). Greece was commonly viewed as the island's only ally in the international political community but especially in the EC. It was also hoped that Greece would protect Cyprus from any future Turkish invasion, a real fear as a substantial and strong Turkish army remained on the island. With regard to integration within Europe, the modern Cypriot state is engaged in a rather precarious political and cultural strategy; that of validating their modern European identity and right of access to Europe by virtue of a supposed thread of ethnic continuity with the ancient Hellenes. The modern West in its development in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries sought for itself a source in ancient Greece (Herzfeld 1982, 5; Hamilakis and Yalouri 1996, 121; Hamilakis 1999, 308). For a variety of reasons, political, economic and cultural, a boundary was created with the Oriental, Eastern Other which was then reflected in the emerging discipline of archaeology. This nineteenth century Eurocentric ideology held the promise for Greeks and Cypriots of their inclusion into modern

Europe, on the grounds of the circular argument that if the roots of Europe were in Classical Greece, then surely the modern Cypriots and Greeks were European (Argyrou 1995, 198). However, this continuity with the ancient Hellenes was being questioned by some in the West, who felt that more than four centuries under Ottoman rule had led to the degeneration of local culture (Argyrou 1995, 197; Given 1991; Herzfeld 1987).[2] In an effort to prove the validity of their claim to racial and cultural continuity with the ancient Greece, the Greeks and Cypriots set out to 'de-Ottomanise' themselves and dispel the doubts about their ethnic identity (Argyrou 1995, 198; Colotychos 1998, 15). As a result, Argyrou states that 'there is perhaps nothing more offensive to Cypriots and mainland Greeks than the suggestion, however subtle, that they might not be true descendents of the ancient Greeks' (1995, 198).

A survey carried out in 2003-4 by the Directorate General Press and Communication of the European Commission, in the candidate countries for EU membership, indicated that there is 'greater fear among Cypriots concerning cultural issues, such as the loss of cultural identity' than in other candidate countries (europa.eu.int 2004, 6), thus indicating that the strain of the on-going problem with Turkey has left issues of cultural identity at the forefront of Cypriot consciousness.

In addition to the ideological importance for Cypriots of creating and maintaining ancient as well as modern links with the wider world of Hellenism, there are significant economic benefits to this relationship as well. For the purposes of tourism, so important within the Cypriot economic context, monumental, visually impressive Classical remains, as well as tangible artefactual references to Greek mythology, are important elements in the positioning of Cyprus in a global tourist market.

CYPRUS: THE CREATION OF A NATIONAL 'SIGNATURE'

Heritage management in Cyprus operates within a highly centralised system. The Department of Antiquities is a direct branch of government falling within the Ministry of Communication and Works. It has control over the excavation and survey process and responsibility for cultural heritage conservation. A number of other organisations in Cyprus, though not directly responsible for archaeological excavation, site preservation or promotion, play a role in cultural heritage preservation,

promotion and management in Cyprus. However, their activities, at least in connection to physical archaeological monuments or artefacts, must receive the authorization of the Department of Antiquities. Most prominent among them are the Anastasios G. Leventis Foundation (Cyprus), the Bank of Cyprus Cultural Foundation and the Cyprus Tourist Organization.

The Cyprus Tourism Organisation (CTO) is a statutory body founded by the Government of Cyprus in 1969. It is responsible for the promotion and marketing of tourism to Cyprus and provides assistance to organizations and individuals related to tourism on the island (Cyprustourism.org). As part of its efforts to attract tourists to the island and to ensure that their stay is as interesting and pleasing as possible, the CTO beautifully and vigorously signposts Cyprus' archaeological monuments to the visitor in its brochures, guidebooks and website as well in the numerous and well-stocked tourist offices run by the Organisation located throughout the island. The Organisation makes a conscious play on the mystique of the island accentuated through its antiquity and archaeological remains and Cyprus' association with Classical mythology, particularly that of Aphrodite. Their current slogan is 'irresistible for 10 000 years'. In fact the goddess Aphrodite is rather difficult to escape in any of the material produced by the CTO, though, as shall be seen later in the chapter, this may have as much to do with new twists in the national narrative to which she is central, as with her timeless allure. This seems to be part of the 'unique image and identity for Cyprus' that the CTO is promoting as part of its aim to maximise income as set out in the 'Executive Summary' of the 'Strategic Plan for Tourism Development 2003-2010'. With regard to how this is to be done, the summary proposes that the CTO,

> …take advantage of advertising and the various promotional and public relations tools to systematically project a coherent and unique image on the basis of repositioning. It will also attempt to target selected markets and market segments in the most effective possible way. (visitcyprus.org.cy 2003, 6)

Archaeological artefacts provide the concrete expression of this 'unique identity' and much of the promotional material produced by the CTO and, indeed, the main logo on their website feature Aphrodite. In the case of the CTO logo, a stylised image of the, by now, iconic Aphrodite of Soloi has been used. This marble statue of a nude female

dating from the first century BCE was found at Soloi on Cyprus and is now housed in the Cyprus Museum in Nicosia.

PROMOTING CYPRUS THROUGH ARCHAEOLOGY

Tourists do not necessarily have to travel to Cyprus to meet with the messages contained within these archaeologically generated symbols. Cypriot artefacts in foreign museums are also used to promote the island. Such is the symbolic power of these artefacts that they make very subtle but potent political and cultural emissaries abroad. The tireless efforts of Professor Vassos Karageorghis, former Director of the Department of Antiquities from 1963 to 1989 and founder and Director of the University of Cyprus Archaeological Unit from 1992 to 1996, with the financial assistance of the A. G. Leventis Foundation have ensured that Cypriot antiquities have found a spot at the forefront of many foreign museums. These new or refurbished exhibitions are usually accompanied by high quality, glossy guides and brochures and, in many cases, previously unpublished material is catalogued and thus made available for research. As outlined in their mission statement:

> The [Leventis] Foundation is also a major contributor towards research into the history and artistic heritage of Cyprus. Financial encouragement is provided for research into archaeological and historical topics, and the Foundation also assists in the organisation of international congresses, conferences and other events which aim to promote Cypriot civilisation both at home and abroad (leventisfoundation.org).

Thus an awareness of Cyprus (and ergo, the political situation on the island) is promoted among the international public and further tourist interest and revenue are generated. There is no doubt, however, that the work carried out by the Leventis Foundation, in relation to Cypriot archaeology and cultural heritage, is of enormous importance; but embedded within this beneficial philanthropy is the nationalistic ideological agenda previously outlined and the effectiveness of that agenda is directly related to the real contribution to archaeology brought by these activities. This is not to say that the Foundation's activities are not motivated by a genuine interest in and desire to facilitate, the advancement of Cyprus' archaeological heritage, but that the two ends of

this philanthropic spectrum can not be entirely separated from one another or understood in isolation.

The centrality of the goddess Aphrodite, and the Greek nature of the island, in the national 'signature' being promoted by Cyprus internationally, is further evidenced by an exhibition held at the Onassis Cultural Center in New York entitled, 'From Ishtar to Aphrodite: 3200 Years of Cypriot Hellenism'. Here again, archaeology is the emissary of choice. The exhibition, which was presented under the auspices of Mr. Tassos Papadopoulos, President of the Republic of Cyprus and organised by Dr. Sophocles Hadjisavvas, Director of the Department of Antiquities of Cyprus, ran from 23rd October, 2003 until 3rd January, 2004 and comprised art and artefacts from Cyprus dating from the Late Bronze Age (circa 1400 B.C.E.) to the end of the Hellenistic period (circa 100 B.C.E.). The signature piece of the exhibition was a large torso of the goddess Aphrodite, known as Aphrodite Anadyomene, pulled from the sea bed in Nea Paphos in Cyprus in 1956. The main focus of this exhibition, as with a previous exhibition on the Cyclades, was the island's 'contribution to the development of Hellenic culture in antiquity' (helleniccomserve.com), and her importance as the 'easternmost bastion' of that culture (onassisusa.org). As will be demonstrated later in the chapter, the Cypriot goddess Aphrodite is presented as the quintessential symbol, not just of the longevity of the Hellenic culture of the island, but, of the island's own contribution to Hellenism and thus to Western culture in general.

There are further examples of the use of archaeology as 'symbolic capital' (Hamilakis and Yalouri 1996) i.e. while the objects themselves are not for sale, their meaning and symbolic value is available to negotiate, sometimes equally intangible, benefits such as power, prestige, the international recognition of a country or national issue etc. As Shanks, writing about heritage, notes, 'The meaning [of the past] is what the past can do for the present' (Shanks 1992, 108). In the mid 1980s an archaeological exhibition went on tour in Greece called 'Cyprus – The Plundering of a 9000 Year-Old Civilization'. It was originally part of the 'Athens, Cultural Capital of Europe 1985' itinerary and was also exhibited in Thessaloniki and Rhodes. It was sponsored by the Greek Ministry of Culture and Sciences, under the personal auspices of the Minister, Mrs. Melina Mercouri, the Academy of Athens, the Committee for the Preservation of the Cultural Heritage of Cyprus (based in Athens) and the Pierides Foundation of Larnaca, Cyprus. The Department of

Antiquities of Cyprus and the Cyprus Orthodox Church were also involved in the project (Jansen 1986, 314). An illustrated catalogue of 1000 copies in English and Greek was printed to accompany the exhibition. Mrs. Mercouri, Mr. Loukas Moussoulos, President of the Academy of Athens, Dr. Demos Hadjimiltis, the Cypriot Ambassador to Greece, Dr. Vassos Karageorghis, Director of the Cypriot Department of Antiquities and Mr. Vassos Mathiopoulos, a journalist, all contributed to the introductory remarks. 'The Destruction of the Cultural Heritage of Cyprus Following the Turkish Invasion of the Island' by Mr. Patroklos Stavrou, Under Secretary of the President of the Cyprus Republic, and the 'The Rescue of the Cultural Heritage of Occupied Cyprus: The International Dimensions of the Problem' by Professor George Tenekides, Secretary General of the Academy of Athens, were the two main articles included therein. Jansen notes that the organisers wanted to revive public interest in the destruction of the cultural heritage of the island in the wake of the Turkish invasion, a destruction that was ongoing at that point (1986, 314). The target audience were the visitors to the cultural capital events; a mixture of citizens and guests of the city, a group whom he terms 'a limited and, presumably, knowledgeable and interested selection of people' (Jansen 1986, 314). While the aims of this exhibition - reviving concern about the destruction of the cultural heritage of the occupied part of the island - are commendable, the project clearly demonstrates the powerful potential inherent in archaeological artefacts (in the context of the modern world) for the promotion of political agendas and for the widespread broadcast of political messages.

NATIONAL NARRATIVES

These archaeologically derived symbols have such potency as a result of the way that nationalist narratives function. Such narratives aim to condense the complex, multi-faceted and often obscure and disconnected history of a *region* into an uncomplicated, easily-intelligible tale of linear progression which expresses not only the history but the identity of a *people.* Through an employment of visual metaphors, these narratives monumentalise the landscape and its archaeological content as physical illustrations to the nationalist text. Physical objects can thereby stand as symbols representing either the group as a whole or some trait or historical episode pertaining to the group or its collective identity. This

fact is central to the functioning of modern tourism. As Urry notes, the tourist gaze is,

> …constructed though signs, and tourism involves the collection of signs. When tourists see two people kissing in Paris what they capture in the gaze is 'timeless romantic Paris'. When a small village in England is seen, what they gaze upon is the 'real olde England' (1990, 3).

In this way, these symbols can then be promoted for sale to both an international as well as domestic audience.

In the modern world, it is required that information be transmitted rapidly and efficiently with little room left for clutter making detail and nuance; this is the age of the sound-bite. In this context, well packaged and concise symbols and metaphors work well. As I have pointed out elsewhere that reliance on such simplified symbols and metaphors can result in a stereotyped and one dimensional image of the nation being presented and promoted and the differences between real and imagined places becoming blurred (Walsh 1995, 132-3). The nature of successful, modern advertising frequently requires such an approach to be taken and so Cyprus becomes the island of Aphrodite, home of mythology and inherently Greek in nature. One consequence of this is the exclusion of Turkish, Maronite, Armenian and other minority elements in both the population and culture of the island. The contribution of these and other groups to the culture and life of the island are thus diminished and their current place and role in the country is questioned. Furthermore, authoritative narratives which seek to promote certain groups/periods to the exclusion of others, or to stake territorial claims, are bolstered, and archaeological remains become the 'symbolic capital' (Hamilakis and Yalouri 1996) used to negotiate access to power, prestige and economic success. Much of the public face of archaeology is concerned with the representation of knowledge within the tourist industry aimed at both a domestic and international audience. This industry is further fostered and financed by government, and thus archaeology becomes a far reaching and versatile vehicle for the transmission of authoritative narratives (Stritch 2005 in press).

That nuances exist in the popular internalisation of such narratives is also evident. Many authors have commented on the construction, at this popular level, of anti-hegemonic narratives or the subversion of hegemonic narratives (cf. Herzfeld 1991; Silverman 2002). Speaking

about the centrality of the pre-Columbian past in Peruvian politics, Silverman states,

> While the state has long utilized pre-Columbian images in its own self-representation (e.g. on currency, stamps, building facades, its official website) and archaeology is controlled as a state enterprise, the ancient past is actively constructed on the local level throughout Peru for reasons that range in scale from nation focused to intimately personal. Importantly, neither everyone nor even a majority is interested in this process or even sympathetic to it, although arguably, all are affected by it (2002, 883).

In the case of Cyprus, it can be argued that while the government might favour imagery of the Mycenaean past and Greek mythology for a host of economic and ideological reasons, for most Cypriots, it is the Christian past that has a much more immediate resonance on a personal 'everyday' level and which, along with language, creates a more tangible link with the contemporary population of the Greek mainland. This does not deny the potency for ordinary Cypriots of official narratives in other contexts where, for example, the desire is felt to defend or promote the 'Greekness' of the island (particularly in relation to Turkish claims to the north), cultural precedence within the EU or make use of the economic potential inherent in such narratives. How these narratives are absorbed and internalised on the part of the visitor is less clear and quantitative and qualitative studies on this question are lacking.

RESPONDING TO A CHANGING WORLD

Like culture and identity, nationalism too is fluid and dynamic, adapting to circumstantial needs and demands. As an ideology, its advocates believe and promote the primordial 'truth' of the concepts and 'facts' inherent within it, although like other 'closed intellectual systems', it runs the risk of collapse if it fails to accommodate these concepts to an ever-changing world (Knauf 1991, 31). Nationalism, as expressed in Cyprus has shown an awareness of, and an ability to respond to, these changing political, social and economic realities. There has always been an archaeological interest in the idea of Cyprus as the place where East meets West. The Cyprus Tourist Organisation is still

marketing the island in this way as this extract from the 'Strategic Plan for Tourism Development 2003 - 2010' indicates,

> The enhancement of the competitiveness of Cyprus is of critical importance to the achievement of these goals. Cyprus will attempt to reposition itself on the tourist map by exploiting the comparative advantage that allows it to differentiate itself from the competition - the great diversity of the tourist experience that Cyprus offers in a relatively small geographical area: 'A mosaic of nature and culture, a whole magical world concentrated in a small, warm and hospitable island in the Mediterranean, at the crossroads of three continents, between east and west that offers a multidimensional, qualitative tourist experience' (visitcyprus.org.cy 2003, 3).

This changing political reality means that national and nationalist narratives have also had to adapt. Perhaps in response to the desire for EU entry (which formerly took place on May 1st 2004) this image of Cyprus as the crossroads between East and West is taken even further in some quarters, and Cyprus is projected as the place where the East was transformed to become the (Greek) West. As a result a greater emphasis is placed on the uniquely Cypriot character of the island, though taking care not to diminish the importance of the Greek component in that character. In some (influential) quarters, Greek Cypriot nationalism has shifted from a desire for political union with the Greek mainland (*enosis)*, to a desire for a separate state with its own Hellenic cultural identity (Calotychos 1998, 16). An example of this is the recent utilization of the Europa myth for a series of postal stamps issued in 2002 by the Cypriot Government in anticipation of the island's entry into the European Union. The stamps feature a number of Cypriot artefacts all related to the theme of the abduction of Europa by Zeus in the guise of a bull. Four of the stamps were designed by Glafkos Theofylaktou and depict a scarab seal, two clay lamps and a pottery figurine, while the others reproduce silver coins from the kingdom of Marion in the fifth century BCE (stampmart.co.uk). They were launched in October 2002 at the pan-European philatelic exhibition-competition CYPRUS-EUROPHILEX '02 with the aim, according to Republic of Cyprus Press and Information Office, '…of emphasising the contribution of Cyprus to the Myth of Europa and to European civilisation' (kypros.org 2002). According to this new narrative, Cyprus is not merely the farthest flung of the Greek islands by virtue of Mycenaean colonization, but as the

Republic of Cyprus Press and Information Office states, an impendent culture which hosted 'the crossroads of three continents' and their civilisations. Cyprus influenced and was in turn influenced by these cultures; the Myth of Europa being particularly inspirational to Cypriot artists of the 7th century BCE to the 2nd century CE (kypros.org 2002).

The myth of Europa and the Bull is now utilised to represent the role of Cyprus in the emergence of the modern West. The government website site goes on to discuss the poem 'Evropi' by the second century BCE grammarian Moschos the Syracusan. In this poem, 'the Cyprian' (here interpreted as Cypriot Aphrodite) sends a dream to Europa in which two women quarrel over the princess. One is called Asia while the other is nameless. The nameless one wins and takes the name 'Europe' at the behest of the gods. Pre-empting the theme of the Onassis Center exhibition, it is thereby concluded that Cyprus is integral not only to the myth but also to the creation of (Greek) European civilisation:

> Cyprus, as the European Greek area closest to Asia, could not help but become intrinsically involved in all this. She herself fell victim on many occasions in ancient times to attacks from Asia Minor and the Near East. However, her position also gave her the privilege of resistance and victory, thus establishing values and virtues of the spirit and heart. Cyprus, therefore, as a genuine part of the wider Greek world, as a crossroads of civilisations, as the birthplace of Aphrodite and the most important centre of her worship, and as the starting point of the Myth of Europa - both with the prophetic dream and the love that brought Zeus and Europe together - can rightly claim her role not only in the shaping of the Myth but also in the creation of the basis of European civilisation (kypros.org 2002).

Thus, according to this official narrative, the Hellenic roots of modern Europe can be found in Cyprus. Contemporary conflicts with modern Turkey are perhaps echoed in the demonisation of Eastern Asia. In this way, national artefacts with considerable symbolic capital, by virtue of their link to European as well as Cypriot identity, are used to promote Cyprus' cultural pre-eminence within Europe. It may be suggested that by stressing this pre-eminence, the Cypriot government is here engaged in an attempt to increase the island's political clout within the European Union where, as a demographically and economically minor member, it could be argued that its ability to influence events and policy is relatively small[3].

Repositionings of Cypriot identity and place in the world are not confined to official government rhetoric. There has been another interpretation of the Cypriot identity and nation current in Cyprus since the 1960s, but it is one which has in general received far less attention than its Hellenic cultural counterpart. This narrative has focused around issues first of independence in the 1960s in opposition to the *enosis* movement, and later of rapprochement in the 1970s following the division of the island and its people. Calotychos describes this understanding of Cypriotness as an 'ideological and cultural bent - often called Cypriotism - that foregrounds citizenship of a Cypriot state over the ethnic demands of the respective motherland or metropolitan nations' (1998, 16).

It does not, however, deny the respective Greek or Turkish character of either community. On the Greek Cypriot side the concept was mostly associated with the communists and often emphasised the rural and regional aspect of Cypriot ritual and practice in opposition to mainstream Hellenic Cypriot nationalism (Calotychos 1998, 17). However, the inability of this movement to foster a set of evocative, effective symbols of their own from Cyprus's past or present points to the success and deeply embedded nature of existing Hellenic symbolism. As Papadakis points out, 'Cypriotism' never became a structured political ideology, '…because Greek Cypriot political groups were competing with each other in their use of symbols of Hellenic nationalism' (1998, 153).

CONCLUSION

In this paper, I have sought to highlight the circular and mutually reinforcing nature of the relationship between archaeology and the state and how this is absorbed at popular level through the so called 'heritage industry'. In this brief and accordingly simplified overview of the archaeological creation of symbols of national culture and identity and the role of tourism in promoting these symbols internationally, the activities of two Cypriot organisations, one semi-governmental and one non-governmental in relation to this process were also examined. The stated aims of both the Cyprus Tourist Organisation and the Anastasios G. Leventis Foundation (Cyprus) - the promotion of the island and its Hellenic character - empathise with those of government. In each of these cases, nationalistically inspired, ideological and economic agendas

influenced their support of archaeological activity. If not actively sought, this was permitted by the government as a result of a communion of thinking by state authorities on such issues. No independent regulatory body, comprised of archaeologists, local people directly affected by these projects or other interested parties, including the government, exists. The existence of such bodies could help ensure that all competing voices are heard and taken into account in the conduct and management of archaeology, whilst at the same time ensuring the integrity of the archaeological remains and knowledge derived from their study. It is only with the existence of such bodies that the profession of archaeology can hope to flourish and move beyond the current, all-pervasive constraints of the nation-state.

This is a general principle that needs to be endorsed internationally, not just in Cyprus, and is essential if all the values of a site - aesthetic, scientific, historic, financial and educational - are to be identified and preserved. The involvement of all interested parties from local communities, archaeologists through to tourist agencies is therefore necessary to ensure that conflicts of interests and competing or conflicting values (such as may exist between scientific and financial interest in a site) are heard and negotiated without loss to the cultural heritage or to the values themselves (Sullivan 1997, 16). The existence of such inclusive decision-making bodies is thus vital for the development and implementation of long-term, feasible management plans for archaeological sites and monuments. Ultimately, in this way more multi-vocal readings of the past may emerge and the layerings and nuances of history and cultural identity may be allowed to emerge.

NOTES

1. There have been a number of recent studies which examine the relationship between nationalism and archaeology, and nationalism's use of the past. Chief amongst them are Kohl and Fawcett (1995), Diaz-Andreu and Champion (1996), Atkinson, Banks, *et al.* (1996) and Graves-Brown, Jones, *et al.* (1996)
2. The Austrian intellectual Fallmerayer first suggested in 1830 that there was no link between the ancient and modern Greeks, arguing on the basis of place names that the Greeks were Slavs since the sixth century and Albanians since the fourteenth century. His arguments spurred Greek nationalists into a quest for proof of continuities with antiquity and the creation of an unbroken two half thousand year Hellenic history. (Beaton 1988, 103)

3. An official survey, carried out by the Directorate General Press and Communication of the European Commission, in the candidate countries, indicated that the 6 out of 10 Cypriots expected benefits from EU membership, a number higher than in the other new member states (europa.eu.int 2004, 4). Fears did exist, however, that EU membership would have a negative impact on the Cypriot economy and on employment (ibid. 2). Despite this generally positive attitude towards the European Union, there is nothing to suggest that the Cypriot government, as any other, will not be seeking to promote and raise the profile of their country in an enlarged Europe for political as well as economic purposes.

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Chapter 2

IRISH IMAGES ON ENGLISH GOODS IN THE AMERICAN MARKET

The Materialization of a Modern Irish Heritage

Stephen A. Brighton & Charles E. Orser, Jr.
Boston University & Illinois University

INTRODUCTION

Human cultures have long employed material culture to construct group identity. The linkage between identity and physical things was especially significant in sociohistorical situations that included the settlement of peoples into areas they had not previously inhabited. The Irish Diaspora, with its movement of thousands of men and women from their homeland, provides an illustrative and relevant example. In this chapter, we address the materialization of Irish diasporic heritage during the nineteenth century by exploring the meanings embedded within fine earthenware vessels decorated with images of Father Mathew and Lady Hibernia. These evocative objects were produced in English factories targeting Irish immigrants in the United States. The cups were discovered during excavations of two nineteenth-century Irish immigrant tenements in New York City immigrant enclave known as the Five Points.

THE FIVE POINTS, NEW YORK CITY

The Five Points emerged as a distinct ethnic neighborhood within New York City's Sixth Ward during the first decade of the nineteenth century (Anbinder 2001). The area's name derived from the intersection of Baxter, Park, and Worth Streets, and by mid-century it was home to the city's poorest, largely Irish immigrant population. Charles Dickens (1985, 88-90, 125) described the neighborhood as a 'nest of vipers,' and a 'plague spot' whose inhabitants were nothing more than thieves, prostitutes, and drunkards. The photographs of Jacob Riis (1971) later pictorialized Dickens's word images. His pictures exposing the daily living conditions of the city's poor, mostly immigrant, community created a public housing scandal and sparked major reforms in tenement construction and maintenance.

The immigrants in the Five Points lived in substandard, unsanitary tenements (DeForest and Veiller 1970, 37). The buildings were generally four to five stories tall and were intended to house eight to ten families, although many of them sheltering as many as twenty-two families (Ingle *et al*. 1990, 60). By the 1860s, as the population of the Five Points exploded, the large brick tenements were filled to capacity. Absentee landlords, seeking to increase their profits, added additions in the rear courtyards (Fitts 2000, 69).

The rear courtyards were crowded with large privies, wells, and cesspools. Privy vaults, really just wells, were the sole means of sanitation. Because they could not be drained, the vaults commonly overflowed into the rear courtyards and basement apartments (Warring 1889, 586). As a result, many courtyards were 'a serious and potent source of contagion and a means of spreading disease' (De Forest and Veiller 1970, xvii-xviii). Sewer systems were introduced to lower Manhattan in 1842, but individual landlords had to pay for their properties to be connected. Many absentee landlords did not wish to incur this cost (Moehring 1981, 46). The Five Points tenements remained unconnected until well after 1880.

In 1991, archaeologists excavated part of a city block that formed part of the Five Points. The fourteen rear courtyards investigated were associated with structures inhabited by American-born artisans as early as the late eighteenth century, and with mid- to late nineteenth-century tenements occupied mostly by Irish and German immigrants (Yamin 2000). The excavators focused their attention on privies, cesspools,

wells, and cisterns. The archaeological investigations recovered thousands of everyday items including toothbrushes, spittoons, medicinal bottles, and tea sets belonging to immigrant individuals and families living at the Five Points throughout the nineteenth century. The material culture includes domestic as well as industrial objects associated with Irish women taking in sewing or piecework for the surrounding clothiers, as well as German and Jewish tailors working out of shop fronts on the first floor of the some of the tenements.

The ceramic vessels presented in this study were chosen because of their specific Irish symbolism and their importance to expressing a traditional heritage away from home. The three objects were found inside two stone-lined privies. The cups date to the 1850-1870 period. One, a teacup depicting Father Mathew, is associated with tenements housing Irish immigrant families and boarders at 472 Pearl Street. The second teacup and the saucer, exhibiting the image of Lady Hibernia, were found in a privy shared by Irish and German tenants at 10 and 12 Baxter Street. The vessels, decorated in transfer-printed patterns created specifically for Irish consumers, were English-made.

English potters controlled the earthenware market throughout most of the nineteenth century. Their development of transfer printing allowed them to decorate their vessels with more intricate designs than were possible using the earlier technique of hand painting. Skilled artisans copied complex images, like romantic scenes, portraits, and naturalistic animals, and etched them into metal plates. They would then ink the plates, press tissue paper on the ink, and transfer the design to the unfired vessels. After firing and glazing, the image would be permanently fixed on the ceramic vessel.

English potters decorated their vessels with images of their nation's conquests and colonies, using scenes from places such as India and Ireland (Coysch and Henrywood 1982, 187; Ewins 1997, 83; Halsey 1974, 1-4; Snyder 1995, 5-7). The Father Mathew cup carries the maker's stamp of the William Adams pottery. Adams, a Staffordshire potter, was well known for producing ceramic forms decorated with patriotic themes for the global market between about 1815 and 1835 (Snyder 1995, 39). The Lady Hibernia teacup and saucer are unmarked, but the type of fabric, the glaze, and the decorative technique all suggest a date of between about1820 and the 1830s. Among the thousands of artefacts recovered, two teacups and a saucer provide unique insights into the beginnings of the commodification of an Irish and/or Irish-

American identity and symbolism of a romanticized nationalism providing materialization of diasporic group identity.

HISTORY AND MEANING OF THE IRISH DIASPORA

The influx of Irish immigrants to American during the nineteenth century represents a major feature of the Irish Diaspora as a whole. As used here, *diaspora* refers to the forced dispersal or scattering of people from a homeland as the result of famine, war, enslavement, ethnic cleansing, conquest, and political repression. Such events and processes are integral to understanding diasporic history because they form the reasons for the 'flight following violence' rather than freely chosen displacement (Gilroy 1997, 318). The circumstances for quitting the homeland are traumatic and extraordinary, often resulting from the effects of colonialism. Colonization is the process whereby a foreign group establishes arbitrary power over an indigenous group. Native people are considered separate from and subordinate to the ruling power; their position is established and maintained through relations of racism and racialization based on values of differentiation (Ruane 1992, 294-5). The process effectively distorts all forms of the native social structure. The trauma of dispersal forms a collective consciousness of remembrance and commemoration defined by a strong sense of the dangers involved in forgetting the homeland and the process of dispersal.

The Irish Diaspora forms much of modern history of Ireland. The beginning of the seventeenth century marks the establishment of English rule in Ireland and Protestant Ascendancy (Noonan 1998). As a colony, the Irish Catholic majority (850,000) was forced to be subordinate to the Protestant minority (160,000) (Barnard 1973, 31-3). It was accomplished by the Act of Resettlement (1652) allowing for land confiscation and forced transplanting indigenous Irish to Connacht (Barnard 1973, 31, 39; Canny 1973, 592-5; Miller *et al*. 2003, 13). The fertile lands were in turn granted to English soldiers, adventurers, and imported Scottish Presbyterians. The English handed over nearly seven million acres, or almost half of Ireland, to more than 2,000 in-coming Protestant settlers (Bottigheimer 1967, 12-3; Hill 1993, 29). Forced resettlement did not end west of the Shannon. Irish Catholics considered rebels were forcibly transported as indentured servants to burgeoning colonies in the West Indies (Beckles 1990; Fogelman 1998; Houston and Smyth 1993;

O'Callaghan 2000; Ohlmeyer 1999). This marked the first large-scale international movement that continued throughout the eighteenth century.

By the end of the eighteenth-century, Ireland was in control of the Protestant minority. The Act of Union firmly positioned Ireland as a subordinate colony in the British Empire (Whelan 1996, 139). It abolished the Irish Parliament and with it Ireland's ability to act on the developing agricultural crises (Kennedy and Johnson 1997, 55, 57; Mokyr 1983, 281). Economic advancement as a result of the Union was uneven. At least one-third of the population was pushed into extreme poverty. Competition with English manufacturers forced much of Ireland's industry to consolidate in areas such as Belfast and Dublin. As labor opportunities shrank in the industrial sector, many moved to rural areas to compete for work. The overpopulation of rural areas reduced the demand for rural labor, causing a large section of the population to be financially dependent on agricultural employment controlled by the minority of landowners. Landowners became focused on obtaining profits through commercial agriculture that made laborers redundant (Canny 1982, 91-104; Donnelly 1975, 62-3; Guinnane 1994, 304; Young 1996, 667). The Act of Union created sharp class distinctions that ultimately contributed to what Christine Kinealy (1995, 6; 1999, 42-3) refers to as 'the horrific events of the Famine.'

Access to and control of land created a complex web of socio-economic relations and social position. By the time of the Famine, a minority of the population controlled the rural landscape (Beames 1978; Guinnane 1997; Quinlan 1998). Table 2-1 illustrates this point. Members of the landowning class were at the top of the socio-economic structure and controlled most of the rural Irish landscape. Their large estates were subdivided and leased to the farming class. The farming class consisted of commercial farmers and graziers earning a profit from their produce. In turn, members of this class subdivided sections of their holdings and leased them to the majority of the population known as the rural poor (Fitzpatrick 1980, 68). The large numbers of people making up the rural poor classes held the least amount of land (Table #2-1). It was the class of rural poor that was affected by the evictions and famine beginning in 1845.

Table 2-1. Table #2-1. Number of Land Holdings in 1845. (Source: Bourke 1993, 380; Kennedy *et al*. 1999, 162)

Size of Holding	**Number**	**Percentage**
Less than or equal to an acre	135,314	15.0
Above 1 acre and not exceeding 5 acres	181,950	19.0
Above 5 acres and not exceeding 10 acres	187,909	20.0
Above 10 acres and not exceeding 20 acres	187,582	20.0
Above 20 acres and not exceeding 50 acres	141,819	16.0
Above 50 acres	70,441	6.0
Unclassified	30,433	4.0
Total	**935,448**	**100.0**

The nation-wide failure of the potato crop between 1845 and 1850 was more catastrophic than other previous failures and was immeasurable compared to potato failures in other European countries, because it occurred repeatedly over successive years (Beckett 1980, 336; Donnelly 2001, 41; Kinealy 1997, 16; Mokyr 1980, 430, 433). It is not our purpose here to detail the voluminous literature documenting the Famine, but briefly to discuss the events that had greatest impact on and was the foundation for the diasporic mentality of injustice and exile of the Irish making up the Irish Diaspora of the mid-nineteenth century.

The Great Famine (or *An Ghorta Mor*) (1845-1852) represents the watershed for Irish dispersal (Erie 1988; Kinealy 1995; McCaffrey 1992; 1997; Meagher 2001; Miller 1985; Ó Gráda 1988, 1989; O'Sullivan 1997a; 1997b; 2000; Scally 1995). At that time between 1 and 1.5 million people were compelled to leave because of large-scale evictions, famine, and disease (Kinealy 1995, 297). The Famine marks the largest global dispersal within the totality of the Irish Diaspora and established a cohesive international network of Irish communities.

The diasporic consciousness emerging from dispersal during the Famine period was based on a shared experience of food shortages, disease, evictions, and death. The majority of rural Irish were dependent on the potato as the sole means of subsistence. During the Famine more than two-thirds of the population lived below the poverty level and were in desperate need of governmental relief (Hetton and Williamson 1993, 575). The only public assistance developed for handling large numbers of people was the Poor Law of 1838. The law brought all existing agencies of poor relief under the jurisdiction of a single institution—the workhouse. Poverty was deemed a moral failure of the individual, with

the exception of the indigent, widows, and the elderly. Therefore, if an individual was destitute and did not match the criteria above, he/she was labeled as lazy and idle (Beckett 1980, 338; McLoughlin 1997, 66; Neal 1997, 333; Ó Cathaoir 1997, 222). The fundamental principle of workhouse aid was to make the poor relief so unattractive that it would represent the final alternative for those seeking help.

In 1845, 130 workhouses existed in Ireland. In 1847 the number tripled. There were more than 115,000 inmates annually seeking refuge in the workhouses during the Famine, which was more than they were designed to accommodate (Kinealy 1995, 24-5; Ó Gráda 1995, 24-5). For example, the workhouse in Fermoy, County Cork, could handle 800 people, but had a population of 1,800. Disease spread quickly as the sick were mixed with the healthy. In the first three months of 1847 over 2,294 people died in the Fermoy workhouse (Donnelly 2001, 103).

The second year of the famine brought new guidelines to control the increase demand by the poor. Relief was granted in exchange for labor on public work projects under the Public Works Act of 1846. The funding for the work was placed squarely on the shoulders of local sources. Projects included building roads and hedge walls, as well as making improvements on estates (Neal 1997, 335). Because of a non-intervention policy, many landowners capitalized on the misfortunes of the poor. Landowners paid 'starvation wages' insufficient to maintain a family even during normal conditions much less during a food crisis (Ó Gráda 1995, 47).

The public works scheme became more advantageous to landowners with the passing of the Quarter-Acre Clause. The clause was a provision of the Poor Law Amendment Act of June 1847 and was intended to be a deterrent against the 'deceptions and impositions practiced by the poor' (Donnelly 2001, 110; Ó Cathaoir 1997, 230). To qualify for public assistance, tenants had to surrender all but a quarter acre of land. Landowners forced tenants to quit their claim to their entire holdings in order to make way for the more profitable pastoral market (Coleman 1999; Scally 1995). Approximately 65,412 families were forcibly evicted from their homes over the course of the Famine period (Davis 2000, 27-8; Donnelly 2001, 140). Clearances were nation-wide and forced a massive torrent of homeless Irish into the workhouses.

Emigration from Ireland assisted or otherwise, was the only alternative for escaping social and economic injustices and inequality. Britain amended the Irish Poor Law in 1847 to allow guardians of the

workhouses to rid themselves of unwanted inmates by providing passage to North America (Kinealy 1995, 312; McLoughlin 1997, 66-8; Ó Cathaoir 1997, 232-3). Landowners, in lieu of paying the high cost of maintaining tenants on public works and poor relief, found it cheaper to forcibly remove tenants from the land and provide the basic cost of travel. Between 1846 and 1855 landowners cleared tenants off their estates and shipped them to North America.

Policies such as the Gregory Clause facilitated mass evictions. This clause mandated that poverty-stricken families could not seek poor relief if they possessed rented lands of at least a quarter-acre (Donnelly 2001, 110; Kinealy 1995, 190; Miller 1985, 287; Silverman 2001, 78). Many tenants were thrown off their holdings, but most refused to enter the workhouses. They often lived day-to-day in poorly built huts or 'sheelings' along the roadsides (Donnelly 2001, 113; Kinealy 1995, 243; Miller 1985, 288). Evictions were violent. Landlords and their hired agents used extreme physical force to remove the people and completely destroy their cabins (Donnelly 2001, 114). Police and British soldiers often accompanied bailiffs carrying out the evictions. Because of the violence they used in burning the roof and leveling the cabin walls, the bailiffs became known as the 'crowbar brigade' (Donnelly 2001, 114; Póirtéir 1995, 231). It is estimated that approximately 500,000 individuals of the poorer classes were evicted between 1849 and 1854, resulting in the abandonment of at least 200,000 smallholdings (Póirtéir 1995, 229). Many of those who left Ireland came to the eastern seaboard of the United States.

Upon entering America, the Irish were placed at the lowest rungs of America's social and economic ladder. Their perceived refusal to adapt quickly to the social structure furthered the belief that the Irish lacked a natural moral fortitude to succeed. Native-born, nationalist Americans racialized Irish immigrants as a group because they deemed them naturally inferior, chiefly because of the social and economic deprivations they had suffered in Ireland. A report of the Massachusetts State Senate (1925, 584) clearly voiced a prominent perception of the Great Hunger-period Irish:

> In the commencement and earliest years of the government, those who came here were generally persons of education, of pecuniary means, industry, and character. In coming, they added to the intelligence and wealth of the community; while, as producers, they

> assisted in developing resources of the country. Those now pouring in upon us, in masses of thousands upon thousands, are wholly of another kind in morals and intellect, and, through ignorance and degradation from systematic oppression of bad rulers at home, neither add to the intelligence nor wealth of this comparatively new country.

A. H. Everett (1925, 444-5) observed that the living conditions of the rural poor in Ireland accounted for their low social positions in America:

> It is the Irishman, and all who, like the Irishman, have been destined to contend with the ceaseless and disorganizing extractions of provincial vassalage. That Ireland is overwhelmed with a beggarly and redundant population; that its millions are starving amidst of plenty, and seem to live only to bring into the world millions as miserable and distracted as themselves, is a matter of common observation, not only to all who have visited the country itself, but to all that have compared it with other states, even in the lowest stage of civilization, and under circumstances generally supposed the most adverse to human improvement. There is no instance on record of so great an inundation of inhabitants breaking into any country, barbarous or civilized, not even when the Goths and Vandals overwhelmed the Roman Empire.

In order for the Irish to establish themselves in America they had to come together as a group to struggle against the social stigma of being the foreign other. American newspapers labeled the Famine Irish as ‘culturally conservative,’ with a strong need to ‘clan together content to live together in filth and disorder’ (Miller 1985, 326). Kerby Miller (1985, 134) has argued that the Irish in the mid-nineteenth century were in ‘a transition between traditional and modern patterns of thinking and behaving,’ and they were dependent on communal support and the bond of family that conflicted with American social behaviors of individualism and competition. Although social traditions of Irish communalism may have been one reason the Famine Irish banded together, the alienating social structure created and enforced by the American public was more likely than not the major factor (Gallman 2000, 10-1).

The formation of a cohesive large-group Irish identity was a complex process bringing together thousands of people connected by a persistent sense of similitude. This was structured around commonalities of

ethnicity, religion, and nationalism that were given social relevance through selected narratives of chosen glories and traumas (Russell 2006; Volkan 2003). Traumatic events involved in quitting the homeland can serve to create a shared memory—perhaps even an imagined history—that, through remembrance and symbolism that is transgenerational and offers a mental representation of that historic injustice (Volkan 2003, 59-65). Much of this shared memory is overtly associated with a rich variety of symbols that act to link the displaced people with their former homeland (Clifford 1994, 307; Cohen 1997, 23; DeMarrais *et al*. 1996, 16, 31; Said 1991, 55; Vertovec 1997, 278-9). The symbolism forms a collective consciousness of remembrance and commemoration reinforced with an idea of danger in forgetting the homeland and the dispersal from it. In this context, heritage formation differs in a diasporic context, in relation to other forms of immigrant identities, because experiencing a diaspora means a permanent loss (Bhabha 1994; Chow 1993).

A diaspora is a transnational process that incorporates the struggle of a displaced group to define its social position as a distinct community (Anthias 1998, 557; Clifford 1994, 308; Kearney 1995, 548, 559). A 'sentimental pathos' toward the symbols of the homeland can be found in every diasporic situation (Cohen 1997, 105; Conner 1986, 16). A perpetual transnational connection—that has emotional, economic, and cultural features—is often manifested through a range of social organizations and institutions. Some members of the diaspora may even experience a sense of guilt for forsaking those who remained in the harsh conditions of the homeland. The attitude may culminate in an overcompensation of identity expressed through traditional rituals and ethnic symbolism (Anthias 1998, 565). This cultural 'return' to the homeland, whether actual or imagined, is critical to the development of social identity in the host land because it anchors the community to a shared connection (Tölöyan 1991; 1996; Vertovec 1997). Over time, the relationship with the distant homeland becomes increasingly romanticized, though it remains a significant element of the new identity (Drzewiecka 2002; King 1998; Panossian 1998a; 1998b; Safran 1991). Maintained social and cultural attachments provide the group with a sense of 'roots' as they challenge the social norms encountered in the host land (Clifford 1994, 308).

In nineteenth-century America, the Irish formed distinct neighborhoods in cities and industrial towns, with names such as the Kerry Patch in St. Louis, Missouri; Dublin Gulch and Corktown in Butte,

Montana; and Limerick Alley in Troy, New York (Dublin 1979; Emmons 1989; Kenny 1998; Meagher 1986; 2001; Mitchell 1986; Towey 1986; Vinyard 1976). Irish immigrants living in such places comprised 87 per cent of America's urban, unskilled work force. At mid-century, one of the most common ports of entry was New York City. Thousands of Irish came to New York and were directed to a section of the city known as the Five Points.

Irish communities in the United States developed a unifying heritage through the shared experience of colonialism and exile. At the same time, they sought to combat the prejudice and enforced racialization they encountered as they were marginalized and categorized as inferior to 'white' America (Garner 2004; Ignatiev 1995; Roediger 1991). Irish Americans thus created a unified Irish identity through the careful use of symbols that served as badges of ethnicity. They used such metaphoric devices to express a civilized and rational heritage to counter the demeaning American stereotypes (Conzen *et al.* 1992, 10; Ní Bhroiméil 2003, 31).

Nineteenth-century America, for all its ethnic diversity, was English in language, institutions, taste, religion, and prejudice. The communities that immigrants created throughout the United States provided a foundation for the formation of a collective heritage of exile as well as insulation for the recently arrived. Irish heritage was a transnational phenomenon. The creation of an Irish identity formed on the basis of struggling against social and economic inequalities in Ireland and America, and a sense of self and respect. Many of the symbols with the most utility evoked deeply felt, ancient Irish history (Brown 1966, 23; Emmons 1989, 94; McCaffrey 1997, 107; Moody 1967, 60; Ní Bhroiméil 2003, 25; Shannon 1963, 132, 134-5).

THE MATERIALIZATION OF AN IRISH HERITAGE

What is particularly relevant here is that continuity of a symbol's meaning may evoke the sense of a shared heritage, and so reinforce traditional social behaviors and values (DeMarrais *et al.* 1996, 17; Volkan 2003, 62). Producers and users of material culture imbue meanings to the objects that are historically, culturally, and even situationally significant. Accordingly, an object's multiple meanings can be contested. According to Fredrick Barth (2000, 31) 'people use

multiple images and perform a multiplicity of operations as they grope for an understanding of the world and fit them to the particular context of events and lives reconstructing their models as they harvest the experiences that ensue.' In the case of a diaspora, reinforcing the memory of historic injustice, objects and images can be imbued with emotion forming the abstract notion or ideal they represent (Russell 2006). Social groups may assign identity-rich meanings on the basis of what they consider ideal. The context of the ideal may be romantic in the sense that it may evoke a better time or 'golden age' (McCracken 1988, 106-8). This age may be fictional, but its importance rests in its ability to promote cohesive ideals that link together the disparate people of a diaspora.

Consumer goods have the potential to be used to allow people to think nationally. Consumers render the objects meaningful. There is no pre-existing appeal, but manufacturers can capitalize on their appeal after the assumed meanings have been established (Foster 1999, 265). Therefore the objects become the materialization of a specific sentiment or worldview and are used by manufacturers to commercialize ethnic pride and a cultural heritage (Kemper 1993, 393; Sissons 1997, 184).

Heritage formation is a process of constant reevaluation of meaning, as immigrants collectively experience the new social relations of their locales of resettlement. The invention and management of an ethnic or national heritage constitutes part of fluid, multifaceted, and subjective social process. Individuals imbue meaning to heritage through the social relations created in reference to shared cultural codes, symbols, and history (Brah 1996, 21, 47; Fortier 1998; Hall 1990, 223; Panagakos 1998; Panossian 1998a; 1998b). The created heritage can be true or false, justified or illegitimate, and can be manipulated to make sense of the world and to define and reshape values (Barth 2000, 31; Mohanty 2000, 32, 43). Heritage is thus a form of 'self-knowledge' that provides a sense of place, and reinforces the emotional significance attached to membership (Ashmore *et al*. 2001; Bhabha 1994; Comaroff and Comaroff 1992; Payne 2000, 2; Tajfel 1981; Woodward 1997).

Archaeologists and material culture specialists recognize today that physical things are not static byproducts of human life. On the contrary, material objects constitute a central feature of the social relations that men and women construct in the course of their everyday world (i.e., Douglas and Isherwood 1979; McCracken 1988; Miller 1983; 1987; Prown 1988; Russell 2006). The archaeology of the Irish Diaspora

investigates one of the most dynamic and inexorably linked periods in Irish and American history. The types of objects recovered from Irish immigrant and Irish-American sites form an important database illustrating the materialization of an Irish nationality and heritage connecting political and social issues both at home and abroad. The process of imbuing meaning in a diasporic context is especially evident in the creation and expression of Irish heritage in America. Among the thousands of artefacts Irish immigrants may have used to create, promote, and maintain their identity include three English-made, transfer-printed vessels recovered from the Five Points section in Lower Manhattan, New York. The Irish symbolism on these ceramic pieces amply illustrates how material culture was employed to express the ideology of an Irish heritage.

The image of Lady Hibernia appears in blue, and represents a seated woman wearing a flowing white tunic. Surrounding her is a shield with a shamrock in its center and a Celtic harp. The border pattern is composed of oak leaves and acorns (Figure 2-1).

The symbols decorating the vessels represent the central core of the then-emerging Irish American heritage. The images were meant to express the ancient or golden age of Irish history and identity before colonization. The use of oaks leaves and acorns as Irish symbols refers to ancient Gaelic history where oak trees represented antiquity, strength, and protection. Artists, storytellers, and promoters of Irish identity used acorns to represent growth and fertility, and shamrocks to indicate perpetuity and longevity. They commonly used the iconic figures of Lady Ireland to represent purity and virtuousness (de Nie 2005, 46). The image of Hibernia on the two ceramic vessels from the Five Points was designed to reflect the utmost of beauty and civility. Her features evoke the ideals of the Enlightenment: civility, morality, and intelligence. This depiction stands in stark contrast to the portrayal of the Irish in the mainstream American media, where artists drew them as ape-like, childish savages (Curtis 2000, 8-10).

Many Protestant politicians and media owners perpetuated the image of the famine-era Irish as a social plague, a 'cultural tumor eating away at America's heart and soul' and a threat to the American way of life (Gallman 2000, 13; McCaffery 1997, 93; 'One of 'Em' 1925, 792; *Putnam's Monthly* 1925, 796; Thernstrom 1964, 58; Vinyard 1976, 205). As a result, many Irish immigrants faced obstacles in obtaining jobs and in accumulating material and financial wealth. Anglo-American idealists

argued that only some individuals had the ability to prosper and succeed; in their view, failure resulted from an individual's innate inadequacy and immorality (Weber 1976; Herzog 1998, 36). Nationalist Americans viewed virtue and intelligence as unequally distributed, with wealth being the most overt sign of one's morality and intelligence.

Figure 2-1. Blue transfer-printed pearlware teacup and saucer with the image of Lady Hibernia and accompanying symbols of the shamrock and oak leaves and acorns. The vessels were recovered from a rear courtyard privy associated with 10-12 Baxter Street tenements from the Five Points, New York City (Courtesy General Services Administration and John Milner Associates).

American politicians and media owners, seeking to naturalize the social and economic stratification they promoted, transformed Irish-Catholic physical attributes into racial stereotypes. They used racialist theories to explain the natural differences in skeletal structures to rationalize class position and poverty. They accordingly depicted Irish Catholics as brutish and ape-like to demonstrate their social inferiority (Curtis 1997; Lebow 1976; McCaffery 1997). Nineteenth-century racialist scientists argued that naturally occurring skeletal or biological characteristics, perceived as either human perfections or flaws, represented the natural order of their constructed social hierarchies. They considered facial features and skull shapes as signals of a group's

advancement or stasis in human evolutionary development, and understood that these characteristics directly reflected upon one's social position (Curtis 1997, 11). Late eighteenth-century scientists argued that a definite relation existed between anomalies in human facial angles and social hierarchy. Two facial types were defined: prognathic—featuring a projecting mouth and jaw—and orthognathic—where the facial profile is vertical from the forehead to the chin. Such racialist thinkers thought that individuals with prognathic features resembled the lower orders of primates, and so they positioned them on the lower rungs of human development. Alternatively, they considered individuals with orthognathic features to represent the height of human development, beauty, and intelligence. Their dehumanization of certain social groups legitimized poverty as a natural flaw rather than revealing imposed social constraints. Broad biological generalities were used to keep those considered socially undesirable in positions of inferiority (Gans 1995). English potter created Lady Hibernia in the vision of beauty and intelligence (orthognathic). It represents a strategic move to capitalize on a market that needed to acquire such symbols to unify a disparate and diasporic group in a foreign land.

The presence of the harp and the shield with the beautifully drawn Lady Hibernia suggests a combination of two images—the female warriors of Gaelic antiquity and the idealized femininity of the Enlightenment. The two ideals link together the strength and valor of a Gaelic warrior-princess with the virtue and compassion of the faithful wife and mother. Late eighteenth- and nineteenth-century artists of Irish nationalism, with organizations such as the Society of United Irishmen and Young Ireland, frequently employed similar symbols on their banners, flags, and mastheads to promote freedom, fraternity, and equality (Curtis 2000, 12-3, 19; Gibbons 1996, 20; Hill 1998, 114-32). Several white clay smoking pipes also recovered at the Five Points exhibited the Celtic harp with Lady Hibernia forming the body of the instrument. This combined Hibernia/harp image has been founds both in Ireland and in the United States where it was adopted by Irish-American organizations such as the Fenian Brotherhood (Comerford 1985; Dooley 2003).

The teacup depicting Father Mathew was recovered from a large privy at 472 Pearl Street. The exterior design shows Father Theobald Mathew either preaching or administering the abstinence pledge to a flock of devoted followers (Figure 2-2). A beehive appears inside the cup

along the upper edge. Busy worker bees fly above the hive, and a shovel, hoe, and rake lies on the ground. The words 'Temperance and Industry' appear above the hive, and 'Industry Pays Debts' below it (Figure 2-3). The symbolism on this teacup constitutes part of the effort to combat the negative stereotypes being presented by many American Protestants.

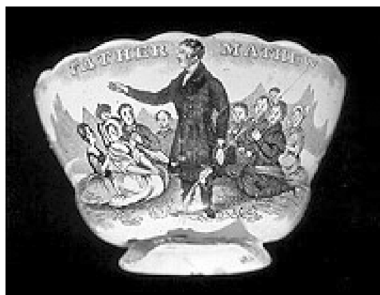

Figure 2-2. Brown transfer-printed whiteware teacup with the image of Father Mathew extolling the virtues of abstaining from alcohol to a flock of followers. The teacup was recovered from the rear courtyard privy associated with an Irish immigrant tenement at 472 Pearl Street from the Five Points, New York City (Courtesy General Services Administration and John Milner Associates).

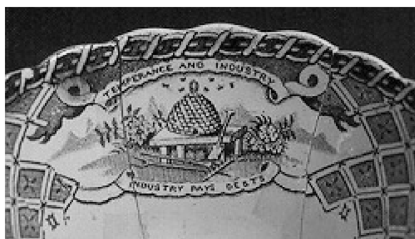

Figure 2-3. Interior of the Father Mathew cup from the Irish tenement at the Five Points, New York City (Courtesy General Services Administration and John Milner Associates).

Father Theobald Mathew, an Irish priest of the Capuchin order, founded the Total Abstinence Movement in Ireland. His main objective was to eliminate intemperance from the poor and working class communities, and help the people to better themselves spiritually, emotionally, and physically (Meagher 2001, 162). Father Mathew

became known as a healer because those who took the pledge, once sick with alcohol poisoning, looked healthier when they stopped drinking (Maguire 1864, 113). Mathew's message of abstinence implored people to think of their personal health, the health of their families, and to 'free themselves from the bondage of a degrading and deadly habit' (Maguire 1864, 111).

Throughout the nineteenth century many believed that diseases like cholera were caused and spread by intemperance and excess (Kraut 1996, 156). They equated disease with poverty and immorality, and believed that disease was caused by miasmas that emanated from stagnant water or the decaying things associated with urban slums (Gallman 2000, 86-7). Many American politicians, religious leaders, and physicians argued that those who escaped disease and epidemics were 'the temperate, the moral, the well conditioned' while those who fell ill were the 'imprudent, the vicious, and the poorly fed' (Boston City Document 66 1925, 593).

Health care and the spread of disease remained class-based issues, with ethnic prejudice being a serious obstacle for Irish immigrants seeking proper healthcare (Brighton 2005). In Philadelphia and New York, for example, typhus was commonly referred to as 'Irish fever' (Gallman 2000, 87). Simply stated, much of the alienation of the Irish by the American public and the medical profession stemmed from their being working class Irish Catholics (Blackmar 1995; Condran 1995; Kraut 1995, 1996). At the time of Father Mathew's visit to America, the area around the Five Points had witnessed several serious cholera epidemics.

Protestant members of the middle and upper classes formed American temperance organizations. These organizations were mostly anti-immigrant and anti-Catholic. Their philosophy included both the cessation of alcoholic consumption as well as conversion to Protestantism. Through such means they believed they could force their sense of morality, piety, and respectability on the Catholic population (Boyer 1978; Gusfield 1986; Goodman 1994).

Anglo-America's prejudice was directed towards Irish Catholics. By 1830, American-born Protestants believed that being Catholic meant having allegiance to the Pope, and they perceived this allegiance as a threat to the American way of life. Many believed that Irish Catholics were part of a priest-controlled machine that operated contrary to the national interests (Lord 1925, 807; United States Twenty-Fifth Congress

1925, 738). Journalists writing in the *Protestant, The American Protestant Vindicator and Defender of Civil and Religious Liberty Against the Inroads of Popery*, and other nineteenth-century newspapers warned of a possible papal plot to overthrow all non-Catholic governments in Europe and America. As a result, American-born workers revived the late eighteenth-century ‘Pope’s Day Festivities,’ during which processions, commonly known as ‘Paddy Processions,’ paraded through Irish neighborhoods with straw effigies of the Pope and St. Patrick (Burrows and Wallace 1999, 401).

A politically based, secret society, The Order of the Star Spangled Banner, emerged during this era of anti-Irish and anti-Catholic sentiment. By the 1850s, people called it the Know-Nothing Party (Gallman 2000, 14; Gorn 1987, 394; McCaffery 1997, 101). The party’s platform focused initially on issues of slavery, but soon shifted to the Great Hunger Irish (Baum 1978, 959). The goals of the Know-Nothing Party were to restrict and control immigration by lengthening residency qualifications for naturalization and by excluding all foreign-born residents from public office. The latter policy insured that political and economical power remained in the hands of American Protestants (Address of the Delegates of the Native American National Convention 1925, 745-6; Baum 1978, 973-4; Fry 1925, 736; Knobel 1986, 134-5).

The Know-Nothing Party dominated politics in Boston, New York, and Pennsylvania between 1854 and 1859 (Baum 1978, 960). In Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, the elected mayor’s sobriquet was the ‘People’s and Anti-Catholic Candidate’ (Holt 1973, 313). In Michigan, the Know-Nothing Party produced a pamphlet entitled *Wide Awake! Romanism: Its Aims and Tendencies* expressing the party’s sentiments. It read, in part:

> We aim to Americanize America. None but native Americans to office. A pure *American* Common School System. War to the hilt, on Romanism. The advocacy of a sound, healthy, and safe nationality. More stringent and effective Emigration Laws. In short - the elevation, education, rights, happiness of the people. (Vinyard 1976, 224)

These organizations heightened tensions between Irish immigrants and native-born, nationalist Americans creating obstacles the immigrant Irish were forced to negotiate.

Father Mathew came to the United States in 1849 at the request of Bishop John Hughes. Bishop Hughes and the American Catholic Church urged Irish-Catholic immigrants to adopt a social identity that blended traditional Catholic piety with a love for the American moral ideal (Diner 1996, 103). Church leaders promoted the shift away from traditionally held notions of communal life, and pushed instead for individualism and the ownership of private property (Miller 1985, 332-3). They believed that the Americans' negative perception of their newly arrived brethren would change if they saw the immigrants as hard-working, sober, and healthy (Meagher 2001, 152).

By mid-nineteenth century, Father Felix Varela created a temperance league at the Transfiguration Church, located a few blocks northeast of the Five Points. Father Varela was known as the 'Vicar-General of the Irish,' and his temperance association grew to include one thousand men, most of whom were Irish Catholics from the Five Points. Father Varela saw it as his responsibility to create the league when he witnessed the 'health of his flock diminished due to the ravages of alcohol' (Transfiguration Church 1977, 8).

Father Varela invited Father Mathew to visit the Five Points and speak to the parishioners of the Transfiguration Church. He hoped the visit would refresh the people's 'personal worth and dignity' (Transfiguration Church 1977, 8). Historians do not know whether Father Mathew actually made a trip to the Five Points, but he is known to have given a lecture to a large crowd at City Hall within blocks of the Irish immigrant neighborhood (Maguire 1864, 462).

At least nine tenants lived at 472 Pearl Street, and who were parishioners of the Transfiguration Church at the time of the church's temperance movement and after Father Mathew's visit. One of these nine parishioners may have owned the cup, or, given the date of the maker's mark (ca.1820-ca.1840), an immigrant may have purchased it in Ireland and carried it to the United States. Any definitive statement on its ownership is impossible. In any case, its presence suggests at least one Irish immigrant household's or individual's attempt to communicate self-worth through the ideals of temperance, good health, and industry. More importantly, perhaps, may be that the owner of the cup chose to present these characteristics through an Irish Catholic organization.

DISCUSSION

The influx of Irish immigrants to America throughout the nineteenth century represents part of the history of the Irish Diaspora and the interdependent networks of forced dispersal because of colonization and famine. Free will or agency did not govern Irish dispersal at mid-century, instead it was a forced removal overshadowed by violence. In America, the shared sentimental pathos of injustice materialized through idealized symbols of Ireland. The Irish in America sought out mass-produced objects that evoked a certain sense of a shared heritage. The meaning of the symbolism discussed here had historical and cultural significance to the Irish immigrants who owned them.

The three mass-produced ceramic forms inside the two, mid-nineteenth-century privies in New York City have specific Irish symbolism. The image of Lady Hibernia represents a glorified Irish history or heritage, while the Father Mathew cup represents an ideal that Irish in America should aspire to become. Both forms of symbolism reinforced transnational connections, as well as communicated a deep sense of and pride in Irish heritage. In essence, these consumer goods produced by the colonizing power allowed them the opportunity to create an international heritage. The Father Mathew cup is a perfect example because it was utilized to convey the message of Irish-ness, but more importantly the concept of modernity and the emerging capital power of the Victorian-era United States.

The archaeology of the Irish Diaspora in American illustrates the early conceptualizations of an Irish heritage. Today over 40 million Americans claim Irish ancestry. The number of websites and genealogical services available to Irish-Americans indicates that many are interested in their families' ethnic and social history. What is ironic is that a large portion of Irish-American heritage is structured on a unifying concept of nostalgia rather than modernity. It is founded on romantic imagery of a pristine rural countryside. This imagery is mass-marketed to and mass-produced for Irish-Americans. Thousands of Irish-American travel to Ireland annually to gain a sense of what they think is their own identity and heritage. This type of 'return migration' is what Paul Basu (2001, 335) refers to as 'roots tourism.' The journey is made in the pursuit of discovering a facet of history or sense of place that will make an individual's notions of their history, culture, and heritage more tangible. For many Irish-Americans their journey of self-discovery

culminates in the materialization of their heritage through mass-produced symbols of Ireland, for example tea-towels and postcards adorned with shamrocks, leprechauns, and thatched-roofed, stone cabins, as well as heraldic posters and plaques of family surnames. The Irish symbolism from the Five Points archaeological assemblage represents some of the earliest evidence of the materialization of an Irish diasporic identity. The major role of material culture in this process cannot be doubted, though much remains to be learned.

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Chapter 3

REPRESENTING SPIRIT

Heathenry, New-Indigenes and the Imaged Past

Jenny Blain & Robert J. Wallis
Sheffield Hallam University & Richmond University

INTRODUCTION

Images of heritage surround us. Advertising utilises iconic stone circles (the ubiquitous Stonehenge), rock art and other well-known visual icons of ancient culture. Television archaeology imparts information on digs, finds and reports, while cinema offers Egyptian, South American and other exotic ancient cultures for consumption. These visual cultures are, of course, mediated re-presentations, not neutral, objective or impartial interpretations, be they museum dioramas, photographs, moving film reconstructions, CGI or VR (e.g. Moser 1998; Earl 2005; Gillings 2005). As a result of the dissemination of these re-presentations of the past in the present, many people associate themselves in diverse ways with past episodes, times, places and perceived 'ancestors'.

In this chapter we investigate how contemporary interpretations of past religions and the visual and material culture associated with them become part of present 'spiritual' identities. Our research has explored contemporary 'Paganisms' and their engagements with the past, particularly at 'sacred' archaeological sites (e.g. Wallis 2000, 2002; Wallis & Blain 2003; Blain & Wallis 2004a; see also www.sacredsites.org.uk). Here, we examine pagans as 'new-indigenes' who associate themselves with particular ancient times or cultures and engage with the historic landscape, and we focus on one specific form of

paganisms known as 'Heathenry' (also known as Northern Tradition and Asatru) (e.g. Harvey 1995; Blain 2002).

Heathens construct their spirituality by reclaiming and re-interpreting ideas, stories and artefacts ranging from academic reports of archaeological assemblages and prehistoric sacred sites to alternative readings of the Norse sagas and mythologies. Heathen spirituality is expressed visually and publicly in a number of ways, such as the display of reproduced artefacts (for example, Thor's hammer as a pendant, Figure 3-1), pilgrimages to sacred sites (and votive offerings left there) and 'visits' to museum collection displays of artefacts which offer direct visual (and other resonant) links to ancient religions. There are also less public though no less visual manifestations, from personal, internalised mythologies (such as an understanding of Odin as a patron shaman-god) to ritual equipment for private use (for instance, a rune-inscribed 'gandr' wand).

The theoretical and methodological considerations directing this research are cross-disciplinary. Examination of the re-presentation of the past in the present and the archaeology of visual culture, by necessity, require a traversing of divisions between archaeology, art history and cultural studies (e.g. Molyneaux 1997; Moser 2001; Wallis & Lymer 2001; Smiles 2002; Wallis 2003, 2004; Smiles & Moser 2005). In addition, the exploration of heathen representations of the past demands reflexive ethnography and experiential anthropology with practitioners (e.g. Blain *et al.* 2004) as well as the analysis of how heathen identities are constructed and performed (Maffesoli 1996). Pagan practices and reconstructed spiritualities exist within socio-political as well as religious contexts, and we further examine tensions within heathen and other 'indigenous' British constructions of identity, as the identity-politics of belonging and neo-tribalism are played out in new constructions of relationships to landscape, symbol, and artefact.

PAGANS, HEATHENS AND NEW-INDIGENES

Contemporary pagans engage with past pagan and indigenous religions in order to reconstruct spiritualities relevant in today's society. The practices and worldviews of pagans are diverse, there are pagans across the Western world and beyond (Western, Central and Eastern Europe, North America, Australia and New Zealand, and in some former

Soviet and Eastern countries), and in some instances where there are consistencies in practices, there is dialogue with indigenous communities. Estimated adherents in the late 1990s in Britain numbered 110-120,000 (Weller 1997), although there are more recent estimates in the region of 200,000 (Pagan Federation website). The 2001 census for England and Wales, allowing people to indicate a religion, resulted in 30,000 writing in 'pagan', with smaller numbers specifying Wicca, Druidry or Heathenry: the question was not compulsory, many pagans are known to have not answered it, and the category 'pagan' can cover a wide range of religions or spiritualities, including Heathenry.

There is an element of re-enchantment for these pagans; the re-enchantment of nature, human life and individual worldviews in an increasingly secular, mechanised and globalised world. We have proposed the term 'new-indigenes' to describe those pagans whose re-enchantment practices involve perceiving nature as animate – alive with spirits, 'wights', multiple deities and otherworldly beings, and who identify with pagan 'ancestors from the Old North (northwestern Europe during the migration age of the first millennium, also finding resonance with prehistoric cultures of especially the Neolithic and Bronze ages) and indigenous 'tribal' societies elsewhere (particularly those whose 'religion' is animate and/or shamanistic). The term new-indigenes therefore acts as an extension specific to paganisms of Maffesoli's (1996) concept of the 'new-tribes'. The term 'Heathenry' encompasses both the ancient pagan religions of the Old North and the contemporary revival and reconstruction – also known as 'Asatru' and 'Northern Tradition' – of these religions for individual and community empowerment and re-enchantment. In their analysis, some scholars choose to distance today's heathens from heathens of the past (e.g. Wallis 2003; Price 2002), perhaps to distinguish contemporary reconstructions from the 'authentic' past; here we use the term 'heathen' to refer to both past and present, not to confuse them, but to ensure that the (academically) represented past is not confused with authentic 'fact' and that contemporary practitioner interpretations are not demeaned as 'inauthentic' – we argue that the interface between past and present in this instance offers a rich, dynamic field of discourse which is deeply personal and meaningful for practitioners and important to scholarly analysis of the represented past.

The recorded past of ancient Northern Europe resonates with today's heathens. Mythology of the prose and poetic Eddas, heroic exploits in the

Norse sagas and the rich content of northwest European folklore, among other sources, are approached as exciting sources for the re-constructing of spiritual practices in a contemporary setting. Re-enactment may constitute a part of this discourse with the past, but heathenry itself is not simply ‘dressing up’. The Norse god Odin and Anglo-Saxon Woden are not redundant relics of a ‘Barbarian’ or ‘Dark’ Age, but are perceived as living deities to engage with. The description of a seidr séance in Eirík’s Saga Rauðr is not simply an important 'historical' or ‘cultural’ record, but also evidence for reconstructing or re-creating oracular seidr (for communicating with the ancestors and other spirits) in the present (see especially Blain 2002). Heathens avidly search their 'texts' – the mediaeval sagas and Eddas – for clues to how it was, or might have been. Here, of course, there is an interface with academic understandings. The question of the extent to which saga accounts can be treated as 'history' has been much disputed. Pálsson points out (1992) that whereas there has been a tendency to treat the 'family' sagas as narrative, through analysis from literary criticism, another possibility is to see these as cultural, even ethnographic documents, which is certainly appropriate to our task. Blain (2002) discusses this issue with reference to the Greenland Seeress, suggesting that the account gives ideas of how such seeresses were perceived and what they were thought to do, though from a 13th century rather than a tenth century perspective. While some heathens do regard them as 'factual' many also approach the sources as indicators of what 'seeresses', ‘seers’, or others in general might do, rather than being a specific 'historical' record of an event.

Likewise, archaeological finds of rune rings, brooches with mythological associations (such as the two identical bird-shaped ornaments from Bejsebakken near Ålborg in Denmark, identified as the two ravens of Odin), and small hammer pendants interpreted archaeologically as being associated with Thor, become items for reproduction for personal adornment – with the display of spiritual identity, and linking to spiritual ancestors, as an imperative. Furthermore, Ancient sites, from the Anglo-Saxon burial mounds of Sutton Hoo to much older monuments such as the prehistoric Avebury complex, offer opportunities for pilgrimage in order to celebrate ancestral wisdom and indeed, according to some practitioners, to engage with ancestors directly (see Blain & Wallis 2002). So, heathens and other pagans tend to display their spirituality, in varying degrees of visibility and in a number of ways which may or may not be immediately apparent to the casual observer,

particularly the display of what we term here ‘sacred artefacts’, as well as through pilgrimage to and ceremony at ‘sacred sites’.

SACRED ARTEFACTS

The most common and visible of heathen sacred artefacts is Thor’s hammer (Figure 3-1). In the myths of the poetic Edda, the hammer Mjöllnir – along with a number of other tools belonging to the gods such as Freyja’s necklace Brisingamen – is smithed by the dwarfs at the behest of the god Loki. Mjöllnir enables Thor to crush the skulls of giants in an ongoing war between the gods and the giants. Archaeologically, finds of small pendants in the shape of a hammer, and also 'hammer rings' with small hammers and other artefacts hanging from them, are identified as representations of Mjöllnir, worn to display an individual’s commitment to Thor – and worn in Scandinavia in a statement of heathen identity at the time of conversion to Christianity (10thC), with some indication of possible earlier use (see Lindow 1996 for discussions of Thor and artefacts). Today’s heathens choose to wear such a pendant not simply as decoration, or indeed to demonstrate a particular affiliation with Thor, but to affirm their religious identity as heathens. For example, in Figure 3-2 our informant ‘Runic John’ is performing a heathen shamanic healing with his Thor’s hammer pendant clearly displayed around his neck.

Figure 3-1. Replica in pewter of an 11th century CE pendant interpreted as a Thor’s Hammer from Rømersdal on Bornholm, Denmark – part of a heathen’s ritual ‘toolkit’.

Figure 3-2. Heathen shaman 'Runic John' performs a shamanic healing. A Thor's hammer pendant is clearly displayed around his neck. John had made this pendant himself earlier in the day from old tin soldiers that he melted down at a camp-fire, after losing his original hammer – 'taken by the spirits of the woods'.

Other, less commonly seen pendants, may be worn in similar, though more specific, ways, from the Valknut ascribed to Odin to reproductions of the artefact from Aska in Östergötland identified by heathens (following various scholars – see Price, 2002: 158) as the goddess Freyja wearing her necklace Brisingamen (9thC Sweden) (Figure 3-3). Gender identity issues emerge here, as some women may choose to affirm their gender through wearing items attributed to goddesses (a pendant interpreted as a depiction of a valkyrie [9th-10thC, Öland, Sweden], for instance) (Figure 3-4), while men associate themselves more often with gods. As such, today's heathen women may draw on the way in which women were afforded significant status in Norse society, and so affirm their equality in the present. Of course, such borrowings from the past in the present are motivated by contemporary concerns and the myth of Brisingamen is a case in point: the goddess Freyja sleeps with four dwarfs in order to own the necklace[1]; such independent agency in which

the female is active rather than passive, may resonate with heathen women today asserting their own sexual identity. Constructions of complex contemporary identities emerge, including also disruptions to Modern Western gender dichotomies (e.g. Blain & Wallis 2000).

Figure 3-3. Silver replica of an artefact often interpreted as an image of the goddess Freyja wearing the necklace Brisingamen, 9th century CE, Aska in Östergötland, Sweden.

Figure 3-4. Modern bronze pendant usually understood to be a Valkyrie, based on a 9th-10th century CE silver pendant from Öland, Sweden

Clearly, these sacred artefacts and the wearing of them marks a significant part of heathen identity; at least for those who choose to express or perform their identity visually. What for one visitor to Roskilde Viking Ship Museum (in Denmark) shop may simply be a trinket worn as adornment, may to a heathen be a symbol loaded with meaning for constructing and displaying 'heathenness', and such sacred artefacts are widely available, not only in museum shops, but also in high street shops, at re-enactment fairs and at online stores. Other artefacts are also available and utilised in heathen ritual, from reconstructions of a small image of what scholars widely agree is a representation of the god 'Freyr' (11^{th}C, Rällinge, Lunda parish, Södermanland, Sweden; the original at Historiska Museet, Stockholm) and the small artefact variously identified as an image of the god Thor or a gaming piece (c. 1000 CE, Iceland, in the National Museum of Iceland, Reykjavík), to much larger reconstructions, of swords inscribed with runes derived from burial contexts for example.

Of course, such visual culture – or visual representation of material culture – is mediated and subject to interpretation. The way in which

certain artefacts are selected and visually presented, for instance, shapes perceptions, expectations and ideas of the past. Artefacts as 'materialized ideology' (DeMarrais *et al.* 1996:) or embodied discourse convey not only the political processes of their first making (including accommodation and resistance to dominant discourses) but the tensions inherent in the contemporary cultural and political embedding of today's 'reconstructions'. Stereotypical images of horned-helmeted warriors and women serving beer, often being the first visual references to the Viking past non-specialists encounter, reinforce simplistic messages, of Viking men as raiders and Viking women as home-makers. Such stereotypes speak to us more of our gender conventions in the present than of social agency in the past. Some heathens indeed reify these gender distinctions, others contest them. A good example is the aforementioned contemporary practice of oracular seidr (e.g. Blain 2002; Wallis 2003), a reconstruction of a community séance derived from the description of a seidr in Eirík's Saga Rauðr (Magnusson & Pálsson 1965).

In this 13thC saga, a seeress named Thorbjorg arrives at a Greenlandic settlement where she is greeted with some reverence. After some ritual preparations including the donning of a costume described in intimate detail in the saga (white cat-skin gloves, a staff topped with a brass top studded with stones), the community gathers around the seeress. The chants which enable the spirits to be present are sung and while in contact with the spirits Thorbjorg answers questions from her audience and prophesies a better future for the farmstead. Heathens today draw upon this source to reconstruct oracular seidr in the present (e.g. Paxson 1992; 1997; 1999; Campbell 1999; Høst 1999; Linzie 1999). The coding of the ritual, including the wearing of a costume with significant elements such as animal parts, the wielding of a staff, and the singing of galdr ('sung spells') to call the spirits, are approached as visual and aural devices loaded with meaning for contemporary practice. Past and present interface here in another way: seidr practitioners in the past, particularly men practicing 'women's magic', were viewed by some with suspicion, and some male seidr practitioners today experience a similar element of suspicion (Blain & Wallis 2000). Such disruption to group cohesion might be 'healthy' in a community (among other communities of pagans) which is relatively young and in an ongoing process of identity formation.

It is interesting that the reconstruction of seidr requires drawing on a variety of sources, from Eirík's Saga Rauðr itself and other descriptions

of seidr in the literature to comparative literature on shamanisms. It then becomes incumbent on practitioners (in emic and etic settings) to explain their research method and support their findings with sources, ranging from Davidson's considerable work (see, for example, Davidson 1964, 1988; 1993) to the accounts of archaeology and literature in Price (2002). And in such detailed research, the practice not only empowers practitioners and the communities they work for, but also brings new perspectives to the academic discourse on shamanisms and Norse religion. Academics and heathens – and indeed heathen academics – have much to offer each other, and indeed dialogue through several forums (for example, the ONN email discussion list[2]), though the legitimacy of 'spiritual' insight may not be recognised by all academics. It seems to us that practitioner engagements with and re-presentations of the past must be taken seriously by scholars, not only because of the need to theorise issues of ‘authenticity’ and ‘appropriation’, but also because the more people that are engaged with the past in a critical and committed way, the greater the diversity of interpretations of that past there are produced, and hence the healthier the disciplines concerned (see also Hutton 1996).

PUBLIC DISPLAY / PRIVATE RITUAL

Heathen visual culture is used both in public display and the private expression of identity. The ubiquitous Thor’s hammer might be worn openly by some heathens, while for others it is tucked into a shirt when at work. Other pendants – a valknutr, 'Freyja', or a depiction of the Irminsul (a pillar associated with Tiw) may not be 'read' as religious by outsiders, and the wearing of them indicates that the signifying of identity may not be simply a public statement or challenge. Those bound by work conduct codes to keep their religion veiled may fully, visibly, action their heathen identity at a weekend ritual, for instance at Arbor Low (recumbent) stone circle in the Peak District. Publicly-visible rituals may involve obvious use of imagery, such as the burning of effigies of the runes 'Ing' and 'Day' in a ceremony for Spring and the fertility of the earth (Figure 3-5). Still others might display some sacred artefacts in their community, but keep others for private use at the ‘harrow’ (shrine) at home – such as a ‘gandr’ (wand) inscribed with runes, a crystal ball (Figure 3-6), a reproduction urn used as an offering-bowl for gods or

ancestors, or runes and mythological 'story' images painted on a frame drum. The last serves once again as an almost accidental connection to 'ancestors' who may have produced similar artefacts: the mediaeval literature features a number of 'shield poems' (e.g. Lindow, 1996; North, 1997), apparently descriptions of a painted shield hanging on the wall of a house. Some researchers have made a connection, not to 'shields' as even decorative defensive weaponry (in which the decoration tends to be rather more basic), but to drums similar to those of the neighbouring Sámi, where mythological depictions of the upper, middle and lower worlds are painted on the drum face.

Figure 3-5. Effigies of the runes Ing and Daeg are burnt in a celebration of fertility and of the earth at a Spring festival in the South of England. (A somewhat similar image in Gardell [2003] is associated with a right wing group in the US – a reminder that the images and even their depictions may have a wide range of interpretations).

Visual evidence of the presence of pagans may also remain after a ritual, such as the ubiquitous ‘offerings’ of flowers that heathens and other pagans deposit at numerous archaeological sites across the UK – sites approached by such practitioners as ‘sacred’. While the impulse to 'offer' seems basic to many paganisms, in Britain and elsewhere, the issue of what offerings are appropriate is one that is addressed by various heathens and other members of polytheist traditions. What might or should be offered, and to whom, becomes an important consideration for those who consider their gods to be distinct entities (as do most heathens and members of other so-called 'reconstructionist' polytheist/animist faiths). Issues of biodegradability or otherwise become similarly

important, as do the views of other 'site users' and the impact of 'offerings' which may simply become 'sacred litter'. However, the impulse to offer to ‘ancestors’ and to deities is one that heathens share with many others today, as is the sense of pilgrimage to sacred places, which we address below. Both can be seen as forms of performing identity; and place and practice become important, again connecting with images and practices from archaeology and literature.

Figure 3-6. Smoky quartz crystal ball and yew-wood runes. Such spheres are used in ritual practice by some heathens, drawing on finds of Anglo-Saxon crystal balls in the archaeological record.

At this juncture it is important to state that the concept of ‘ancestors’ itself requires problematising, even for some heathens. Any such concept is constructed, mediated and tends to support people’s association with some ‘ancestors’ and not others, and hence issues of inclusivity and exclusivity arise. For heathens, for whom both recent and ancient ‘ancestors’ tend to be spiritually important, there are those who challenge appropriations of this terminology in right-wing political aims, while there are others whose understanding of ‘ancestors’ fuels, at the very least, mild nationalist agendas. Further, the 'slope' from mild 'folkism' to more major nationalism, including the use of symbols associated with the

far right and the appropriation and use of heathen or Asatru symbolism by such groups, is documented for the USA by Gardell (2003); we have commenced some discussion of such phenomena within the UK (e.g. Blain 2004) but wish to emphasise that the majority of heathens with whom we have been in contact see this as a major problem and seek to distance themselves from 'political' and 'racial' frameworks. Indeed such heathens are one of the few pagan groups who produce a focused critique of nationalist agendas.

PILGRIMAGE

Many pagans today make what may be anthropologically regarded as pilgrimages to ‘sacred sites’, thereby ‘performing’ their spiritual identities (Blain 2005; Blain & Wallis 2004b). We have been collaborating on the ‘Sacred Sites, Contested Rights/Rites’ project for five years, examining pagans engagements with the past and with archaeological sites in particular. For contemporary heathens, such sites may be of particular significance, not only because spirits of the land – ‘wights’ – may be present at such places, but especially because there is an emphasis on ancestral connections in heathenry. With their interests in the migration age of the first millennium, such sites as the recently re-opened Sutton Hoo cemetery are approached as sacred and as a suitable place in which to engage with pagan Anglo-Saxon ancestors. Those many heathens who link their practices with North European contexts and previous dwellers in the land (rather than specifically with Anglo-Saxon or 'Viking Age' Norse peoples) extend such interests to ancestors further back in time, with, in particular, Neolithic and Bronze Age burial sites used as places for Utiseta, or ‘sitting out’, a practice which might involve a short, simple meditation or a more intense ritual, or indeed an all-night vigil. Larger-scale gatherings such as the solstice and equinox events at Avebury, or free public access time at Stonehenge, are occasions where, heathens may join other pagans in celebrating the year and the 'ancestor'/builders. It should be added that, for heathens, a sacred space may also be where more recent ancestors lived or were buried.

Such pilgrimages may involve not only ‘visiting’ and spiritual observances such as making ritual, singing or chanting, giving an offering (usually, for heathens, of mead) or engaging in meditation, but other practices such as engaging with altered consciousness work (such

as seidr or 'sitting out') to communicate with the ancestors or others/non-humans present, or indeed simply talking to the wights, ancestors or deities concerned. But, importantly, they do not rely only on the seriousness, and fixity of form, that are associated with 'pilgrimage' in the public eye. A pilgrimage to Sutton Hoo, or the Uppsala mounds, or Avebury includes the elements identified by Coleman and Elsner (1998) as 'play' and 'irony'. In the phrasing of Schechner (1993) performance is 'Behaviour heightened, if ever so slightly, and publicly displayed; twice-behaved behaviour'. He focuses on transformative potential, discussing 'performance's subject, transformation: the startling ability of human beings to create themselves, to change, to become – for worse or better – what they ordinarily are not' (Schechner 1993, 1). Performance involves 'playing with' imagery, words, concepts and understandings of self. For heathens, such performance may be inspired by gods, ancestors or previous poetry or images. Problems involved with the terms 'performance' and 'play' are discussed elsewhere (Blain & Wallis in press); but the utility of the concepts remain: pagans, including heathens, display their spirituality in ways that transform their own understandings, and in so doing they and their artefacts become visible to a more general public.

Figure 3-7. Chalk spiral markings in the Neolithic tomb of West Kennet Long Barrow, Avebury – such defacement of a fragile monument may be viewed additionally as an expression of pagan identity drawing on Neolithic rock engravings elsewhere, such as the passage tomb art of the Boyne Valley, County Meath, Ireland.

These engagements with the past draw on past actions – Anglo-Saxon cremation urns buried in Bronze Age round barrows attest to the significance of the past in the Anglo-Saxon present (Williams 1998), just as these mounds are significant to heathens today in a 21st century present. Evidence of such rites might not be obvious or public in the light of day, but pagans do leave other traces of their actions in the form of votive offerings, as previously indicated. This deposition of material culture is controversial, often problematic for heritage management and for other 'visitors' to sacred sites, including those who make a different pilgrimage: such remains may include coins wedged into the megaliths of Wayland's Smithy long barrow in Oxfordshire (drawing on local folklore that a coin left in the barrow is payment to Wayland the Smith for the shoeing of one's horse); or chalk markings on the megaliths of West Kennet long barrow drawing on the form of the 'sorcerer' or 'horned god' from the Palaeolithic cave art of Les Trois Frères (Ariege, southern France), as well as simpler figures including spirals or etched rune-type shapes (Figures 3-7 & 8). Such engagements are, from a management viewpoint, clearly detrimental to the preservation of the site. Some practitioners might add that they offend the wights and/or ancestors or spiritual guardians of the sites. Other forms of offerings, such as flowers or mead which is absorbed into the ground, are less intrusive. Whatever form this material culture takes, it is clearly worthy of serious study, not only for issues of site conservation, but also in terms of the construction and performance of identity.

Pilgrimages take other forms for heathens today: a museum collection display may simply be part of a tourist's check-list of 'must-see' attractions, but a number of artefacts in museum display cases are approached as 'sacred' by heathens. Be it the reproduced Gallehus horns with their runic inscriptions or the important Sutton Hoo finds in the British Museum, medieval manuscripts of the Eddas in Iceland, or the huge collections of amber from Viking hoards held at the National Museum of Denmark, these museums are more than places to 'visit' for heathens – they are places of pilgrimage. One issue debated here is that of 'spiritual tourism'. People go to place, go on 'pilgrimage', display images of their spirituality in many ways and at many places. Some 'spiritual tourists' evidently choose to perform their identity; some may seem much like other 'tourists'. Tourism and imagery connect in many ways. A recent example comes from a visit by two heathens (including one of the authors to whom Pictish carved stones are part of the cultural

and historical context, of 'ancestors') to the tiny museum of Pictish carvings in the small town on Meigle, in Perthshire: not an obviously 'heathen' connection, but indicating how spirituality relating to the land spans across previously-held 'tribal' or 'cultural' boundaries. The museum included, in addition to a collection of stones, the usual books and jewellery for sale: but with a difference, in that some of the artefacts for sale related to Pictish stones and symbols. Two people entering the museum turned out to be local craftspeople who were producing these items – representations of the 'obscure' symbols seen in early Pictish carvings - and in talking to the heathens they not only received specific commissions but connected with a clientele. Heathen and pagan images do not exist only in 'spiritual' representations of an imaged or even imagined past, but in today's market economy, and pagan consumerism is not an insignificant contributor to the livelihood of small craftspeople in today's Britain.

Figure 3-8. Chalk 'art' in West Kennet Long Barrow explicitly referencing the so-called 'sorcerer' or 'horned god' from the Palaeolithic cave art of Les Trois Frères (Ariege, southern France). Note also the votive offering of mistletoe left around the time of Yule (winter solstice).

CONCLUSION

Recent scholarly analysis has increasingly recognised the importance of representation and visual culture especially in archaeology, in particular the afterlife of archaeological images and the role of these in the construction of knowledge. Such analysis still has to be taken seriously by archaeologists, however, according to Moser and Smiles (2005, 5-6). Equally, alternative representations of the past and the construction of identity, pagan identities in particular, continue to be neglected outside of a research strand specific to the interface between religious studies and anthropology (e.g. Blain *et al.* 2004). In this paper we have offered a detailed analysis of the 'afterlife' of a number of archaeological visual and material cultures as they are deployed in contemporary Heathen and pagan practice, especially the construction and performance of heathen identities. As such, we argue that these creative engagements with the past and re-enchantment practices should be of serious interest to archaeologists, just as they are taken seriously by heathens themselves. Far from being *inauthentic* and separate from archaeological discourse, such praxis may offer sophisticated interpretations of the past worthy of recognition by scholars.

Where some representations of the past lack depth and interpretative nuance, and while some heathens may passively accept outmoded accounts of the past (e.g. Rydberg 1906), others contest simplistic narratives and contribute to scholarly dialogue regarding the past. Images have a certain 'power', to 'select and organize knowledge, to compress time and space, to insinuate conclusions, and to tidy away the inconvenient and the complex' (Moser & Smiles 2005, 6). Some of the heathen representations of the past we have discussed themselves recognise the ambiguities of interpreting a past which can never be known 'objectively', or indeed empirically. Such representations, beginning with 'tidy' academic interpretations, theorise and re-contextualise these, purposefully 'muddling' monolithic explanations with social, cultural, temporal and spiritual nuance, uncertainty and multiplicity – and these multiple inscriptions of meaning create a rich context for constructing new identities, re-presenting spirit not simply in an *imagined* but in an *imaged* past.

NOTES

1. Freyja has also been adopted as a favourite goddess by many in the neo-pagan community, who often simplistically equate Freyja with the 'maiden' aspect of a 'maiden-mother-crone' triplicity. This is a source of some amusement among Heathens who are familiar with Northern mythologies and the complexity of Freyja’s character and agency.
2. The ONN email discussion list is ‘devoted to Old Norse philology and culture’: http://www.history-journals.de/lists/hjg-dis00610.html.

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Section II

ARCHAEOLOGIES AND OPPORTUNITIES

Ian Russell
Trinity College Dublin

The role of archaeology in the construction and maintenance of modern large group identity has been illustrated by Stritch, Brighton, Orser, Blain and Wallis. Such relationships have allowed archaeology to function as an apologetic affirmation for the formation of many nationalist and ethno-centric group identities in the modern world. In her response, Stritch is correct to ask what role should archaeology play within such relationships. Brighton and Orser follow on to state that in discourses over the role of archaeology in forging modern group identities, the persistently 'unresolved' question is what is the archaeologist's 'responsibility' in these situations. It is Blain and Wallis' call to move towards 'an archaeological practice which is ... relevant to the contemporary world' that brings us to the concerns of this section.

If archaeology is utilised by public groups to construct and represent identities, then what are archaeologists to do with that public? Does it indeed 'matter' if images of the past are not 'accurate', as Stritch suggests, if they are able to satisfy emotive desires for affirmation of a group identity? We should not see popular desires as an impediment to the development of aware and reflexive archaeological practices. Rather, the very fact that the public is interested in the past and in archaeological research is an opportunity for archaeology to engage that public. Declaration of an emotive response is at once both a declaration of awareness of self and an invitation for a reflective discourse over the phenomena of those emotions. It is an invitation and desire to engage. It is critical to be aware of the philosophical and epistemological problems regarding archaeology's relationship with the heritage and tourism industries. This should not, however, eclipse the fundamental awareness of an emotive impact that archaeology and images of the past have. We are indeed 'blessed' by the fact that society is so interested in discourses about the past and in experiencing the past as part of their contemporary

activities. This relationship is what provides archaeology with an audience which supports and often funds (although often indirectly through tourism and consumption of souvenirs) the archaeological endeavour.

It is no longer permissible for archaeology to continue 'going about its business' of excavating the past in a purely processual manner, unaware or uncaring of how others in society feel or what they desire. Archaeology can no longer be egoistic in its ignorance of its sociability or in its belief in its scientific impartiality, for the discipline and vocation rely on public interest, support and funding. Archaeology is an extremely expensive pursuit which requires immense amount of organisation of resources and personnel in a broad array of sectors. Thus, archaeology is a social investment, and it is an investment which does not necessarily have material returns. Archaeology must engage with social conceptions of the nature of the 'return' of social investment in the archaeological endeavour, particularly if it is desires for emotive experiences.

Jon Price at the meeting of the European Association of Archaeologists in Lyon in 2004 brought up the very relevant issue of whether we are at the peak of archaeological awareness in society. If people begin to care less about the past, how will this affect our ability to continue our study of the past? That archaeology is simply important is not a sufficient argument for the existence of the discipline. This is a wholly un-reflexive and unaware statement regarding the social, cultural and political context of archaeological research. Archaeology's importance is not based on its universal relevance but on its current ability to appreciate social emotion regarding the past and communicate about and discuss the past with that society. Archaeology does not occur in a vacuum. Archaeology is not done for archaeology's sake. It occurs in and is contingent upon historical, social, cultural and public contexts, and it is the public who forms the fundamental audience to which archaeologists desire to speak. What is the value of archaeology if it does not appreciate this fundamental human phenomenon of emotive relationships within groups and within the world? If archaeology does not engage the public over its emotional determination of value of the past, the public will simply do so themselves. Archaeology can no longer remain outside and critique public concepts of value and meaning. In Smith and Holtorf's session 'What are we to make of the popular appeal of archaeology in the media and popular culture' at the European Association of Archaeologists meeting in Cork in 2005, Nick Merriman

made it evidently clear that we must engage the public in discourses about how people use archaeology in their lives – tourism industry, heritage industry, gaming industry, film industry and everything else – in order to maintain archaeology as part of the discourse of value.

This section leads on from Stritch's urgent question of 'what happens when popular, archaeologically derived symbols emerge from outside of the academic community'? How should archaeology engage with the phenomena of *Tomb Raider*, *Indiana Jones* and *Time Team* and these commodities' with their 'narratives' and associated romances? I present archaeology's popular appeal as an opportunity. The public's emotive desire to experience the past is a fundamental asset to the archaeological endeavour, and this is an emotional phenomenon which can not be assumed to be universal, perpetual or omnipresent. The relationships and 'romances', between archaeology and the public, must be nurtured. Thus, ensuring continued interest in the relevance of archaeological research, positioned within the contemporary condition of humanity.

The contributors to this section will discuss the immeasurable impact that archaeology as a phenomenon has had in the modern world and illustrate that much of this impact has been through engagements with the public rather than through a 'trickle-down' of archaeological research from academia. The gaming, film and literary industry all have made ample use of the past and archaeology as inspiration for product development much of which has benefited archaeology's standing in society. This section follows the call to keep archaeology public. It urges archaeologists to keep eyes open for new and developing public spaces whether material, textual, performative, digital or other and to engage in dialogues over the development of practices which take advantage of public space and public awareness. George Smith will begin with an assessment of the audience which archaeology has in modern society and in particular the contemporary United States. He will demonstrate that a large portion of society is aware of archaeology and regards it as an important social endeavour. Following from this, Oleg Missikoff will discuss the relationship between archaeology and the tourism and heritage industries in economic terms. Missikoff will put forward a road map for developing more self-aware and skilled management of archaeological and cultural resources and suggest ways of engaging the public in the newly emerging digital spaces of the internet. Finally, we will consider the work of Cornelius Holtorf, who assess the public's

interaction with archaeology as a conception, and will make suggestions of how to best engage with the public's desire for experience of the past.

Chapter 4

THE ROLE OF ARCHAEOLOGY IN PRESENTING THE PAST TO THE PUBLIC

George S. Smith
National Parks Service

INTRODUCTION

Because the past is examined and explained within the context of contemporary society, it has been and continues to be influenced by factors outside the cultural/heritage arena; by areas relating to social policy, education, economics, science, religion, technology, communication, and development. All these factors serve to influence how the past is structured and presented to the public at any given point in time (Smith *et al.* 2004; UNESCO 2000). As a result the public may be exposed to interpretations of the past that are not factually based and/or designed to serve other agendas. The role and responsibility of archaeology, therefore, is to present a balanced and creditable account of the past in a way that presents the past, not as an isolated event detached from the modern world, but rather as a building block of modern society. In the United States, attempts to accomplish this can be seen in the efforts of professional societies, academic institutions, as well as in various laws established to protect the past for the benefit and enjoyment of current and future generations. If those who study and present the past do not take the time to demonstrate the connection between the past and present there is a risk that the past will be misappropriated for other agendas, which may have unforeseen consequences (Potter & Chabot 1997; Smith *et al.* 2004). A well-informed public is the best defense against agendas that distort history for their own benefit. Archaeologists

must strive to understand how the past is structured, and present it as accurately and completely as possible to a diverse audience with various interest and understanding levels.

STRUCTURING THE PAST

How individuals, communities, and nations structure the past has a significant effect on how and what is presented. The ability to understand the world, including efforts to understand the past, is influenced by how people choose to describe and relate to it. Those who study and present the past must be aware of how structure is imposed and what influences it. Regardless of when humans began to reflect upon the past, it was and is, always within the context of the times (Fowler 1992). The very development of archaeology as a discipline is the story of events, philosophies, and ideas about structuring the past

In the Americas, the development of archaeology had a lasting effect on how the past was structured in the western hemisphere, influencing how it would be structured and presented. As described by Willey and Sabloff (1974) observations and studies of the First Nations' of the Americas were looked at from different perspectives beginning with early encounters and continuing into the present. After early encounters between Native Americans and Europeans, there was considerable speculation about the first people to occupy the Americas and their relationship to the extant populations found throughout the New World. This was followed by attempts to classify and describe and, more recently, explain the extant populations or the first newcomers. These classification systems demonstrate the way in which the past was structured and how it changed through time as influenced by other disciplines and discoveries, not only in the Americas, but also throughout the world. These approaches structured the examination and understanding of the past, first through chronicles of explorers who encountered the First Americans in pursuit of lands, riches, and/or religious converts, followed by efforts to systematically, chronologically, and scientifically study, describe, and explain the past (Willey & Sabloff 1974). Stages, classification systems, and/or intellectual approaches would be the templates against which the past and other cultures would be judged and the past presented, with profound consequences for populations who, in many cases, had other ways of explaining their past.

There are as many ways of looking at the past as there are governments, religious groups, and political movements (Tsosie 1997), many of which work at cross purposes. Even within the context of Cultural Resource Management, the fact of treating the past as a resource that can be managed imposes structure that impacts on our conception and use of the past. How the past is structured can draw people together or push them apart, determining who talks and who listens. What is clear is that all groups have the right to cultural survival even within the context of assimilation policies and concepts of 'common good' 'public resource' or 'public trust' (Tsosie 1997). Archaeologists must be committed to understanding and dealing with various perspectives relating to the past. The dialogue must not only be with the past itself but with those who's past is studied. As long as antiquity laws treat the past under the concept of property law and not human rights there will always be questions of ownership, centred on defining who has the right to control, exclude, include, and present the past. For those who perceive themselves as the purveyors of 'the knowledge that counts' it will always result in ideological claims of superiority. Rewriting history to serve various agendas is nothing new. The process has been referred to in many ways. Some may call it historical progress others disenfranchisement. Even the very process of enacting laws, regulations, policies, and guidelines to protect the past imposes structure that influences how the past is protected, managed, and presented.

PROTECTING THE PAST

The ability to present the past is based on a protected and accessible past. It is the assumption of various pieces of federal legislation that the past is important to the people of the United States. For example, the 1906 Antiquities Act (P.L. 59-209) allows the president of the United States to declare by public proclamation, and set aside in the public interest, historic landmarks, historic and prehistoric structures, and other objects of scientific interest. The 1916 Organic Act (P.L. 64-235), that established the National Park System, calls for conservation of natural and historical objects so as to leave them unimpaired for the enjoyment of future generations. The Historic Sites Act of 1935 (P.L. 74-292) calls for a survey of historic and archaeological sites, buildings, and objects for the purpose of determining what possess exceptional value by virtue

of commemorating or illustrating the history of the United States. The Archaeological Recovery Act of 1960 (P.L. 86-523) calls for the preservation of historic American sites, buildings, objects and antiquities of national significance.

Perhaps the strongest language yet for presenting the past is found in The National Historic Preservation Act of 1966 (P.L. 96-515 as amended) which calls for the preservation of the historic and cultural foundation of the Nation as a living part of our community life and development, in order to give a sense of orientation to the American people. The Act declares that preserving the past is in the public interest and that it is vital to our cultural, educational, aesthetic, inspirational, and economic legacy and that maintaining it will enrich future generations of Americans. Executive Order 11593 (May 15, 1971) declares it a policy of the United States that sites, structures, and objects of historical, architectural or archaeological significance are preserved, restored and maintained for the inspiration and benefit of the people. The Archaeological Resources Protection Act of 1979 (P.L. 96-95 as amended) declares that archaeological resources are an irreplaceable part of the Nation's heritage. Since many states have used federal legislation as a basis for developing state antiquities legislation, the same or similar language can be found at the state and local levels. What is clear is that governments at the federal, state, and local levels have codified the past as part of the public trust. Presenting it is a continuation of that trust.

ESTIMATING THE AUDIENCE

Public participation and interest in archaeology is unique among the sciences (Allen 2002). In fact it is encouraged, as demonstrated by the fact that many professional societies include both professional and a-vocational membership categories and volunteers are regularly used on archaeological projects. We are fortunate to have such a popular interest in the past. But in order to effectively communicate the past to the public, we must first know something about that public. Archaeology has some idea of its audience and what they think about the past, but there is precious little hard data on either. Even a very basic estimate of the size of this audience requires the compilation of several lines of inquiry. One statistic that can be used to attempt to measure the size of this audience in the United States is the circulation of popular publications that present

archaeology to the public. For example *Archaeology* magazine, the publication of the Archaeological Institute of America, reported in 1994 that the magazine had a circulation of over 200,000, double that of a decade earlier (Young 2002, 239). More recently that number has increased to 215,000 with an estimated actual readership of some 600,000 (Allen 2002; Peter Young Editor *Archaeology* magazine, personal communication). In the same period the half-hour *Archaeology* television series, which aired on the Discovery Channel in the United States, reached some 2,044,000 homes and an estimated 2,590,000 adults (Young 2002, 239). *National Geographic* magazine reports some 9,000,000 readers. Visitation to National Parks in the United States with historic themes was reported to be some 128 million in 2003 or about 31% of the total visitation to all units (both natural and cultural) of the National Park System (Public Use Statistics Office, National Park Service; www2.nature.nps.gov/stats). According to their web sites the combined membership of the Society for American Archaeology (SAA), Society for Historical Archaeology (SHA), American Anthropological Association (AAA), and the Archaeological Institute of America (AIA) number some 35,000.

Between 1948 and 2004 the AAA reports 273,922 anthropology degrees were awarded - 15,632 Ph.D., 39,542 M.A./M.S., and 217,850 B.A./B.S. degrees (AAA Guide 2004-2005). Unlike in many other countries, in the United States archaeologists receive degrees in anthropology. Of the graduate degrees awarded is it reasonable to assume that some 25-35 percent of graduate level anthropology degrees are awarded with an emphasis in archaeology. The remainder are awarded in the other three traditional areas: social/cultural anthropology, physical anthropology, and linguistics. From the context of the audience it appears that some 80% of those who received undergraduate degrees in anthropology did not go on to study for graduate degrees in anthropology. What this means is that these people are now part of the general public with a demonstrated and refined interest in the past, although they are likely to be employed in other areas. Given that there are several hundred institutions in the United States that offer a variety of courses in archaeology the number of students taking such courses must be in the ten of thousands in any given year. This has likely been the case since the mid-1970's when anthropology programs increased course offerings to meet increased student enrolment in higher education, the demands of the undergraduate liberal arts education, and an increased

interest in archaeology sparked by the demands of positions appearing in the governmental and private sectors (Anderson 2000; Bender & Smith 2000; Fagan 2000; Krass 2000; Pyburn 2000; Schuldenrein 2000; Smith and Krass 2000; Woodbury 1963). As a result several hundred thousand students have been exposed to archaeology in the past 30 years.

Based on the known information regarding archaeology in the media, visitation to museums and places of historic interest, membership in professional and a-vocational organizations, and student enrolment in archaeology classes, the audience interested in the past may be in the neighbourhood of some 140 million or a number equal to 48% of the entire population of the United States. Even taking into consideration that some people may actually be counted in more than one category, e.g. some of the same people who visit historic parks and museums may also be counted as readers of archaeology based publications, this still suggests a large and interested audience. Knowing the audience served and what they think and know about archaeology is critical to presenting the past to the public.

ASSESSING PUBLIC ATTITUDES:

To assess public understanding and attitudes about archaeology in the United States the SAA commissioned a national survey in 2000. The results of the survey demonstrate that, in general, Americans appreciate and are interested in archaeology and belief that knowing something about it contributes to understanding today's world. Some 90% of those surveyed support the inclusion of archaeology in the school curriculum while 99% felt that physical remains of the past had education and scientific value and 94% saw a relevance to their personal heritage (Ramos and Duganne 2000). The survey also shows that, in general, Americans see value in studying and protecting the past (Ramos and Duganne 2000). Similar attitudes were also noted in a Canadian study (Pokotylo 2002; Pokotylo & Mason 1991). Conducting such studies in other parts of the world will greatly enhance the ability to protect and present the past. If all archaeologists do is excavate, analyze, report, and curate they have missed the opportunity to satisfy the interest of people who are fascinated with places, events, and things of the past (Wertime 1995). Serving this interest can facilitate life-long enjoyment in learning

about the past as well as increased public support for its study, protection, and presentation.

Other SAA efforts to enhance public understanding and appreciation of the past include the 1989 'Save the Past for the Future' working conference in Taos, New Mexico, which brought together some 60 law enforcement personnel, academics, field archaeologists, and others to better understand the issues facing archaeology with regard heritage site looting and vandalism (SAA 1990). A direct result of that meeting was the establishment of the SAA Public Education Committee, which has supported education efforts throughout the U.S. and internationally since 1990 (SAA 1992). A second working conference, held in Breckenridge, Colorado in 1993, led to the establishment of a Task Force on Curriculum (later the Curriculum Committee), focusing on post-secondary education (SAA 1994). A subsequent working conference at Wakulla Springs, Florida in 1998 launched a national curriculum initiative, 'Teaching Archaeology for the 21st Century' (see Bender & Smith 2000), which has supported the development of model courses that incorporate the SAA Code of Ethics (see Lynott & Wylie 1995), as well as a more realistic understanding of archaeology and cultural heritage management in the world today. The results of this pilot project, 'Making Archaeology Relevant in the XXI Century' (M.A.T.R.I.X.), have been reported at the 2004 SAA Annual Meeting in Montreal, Canada, and at other national and international conferences (see Pyburn 2001). In addition the SAA, SHA, AAA, and AIA all have committees that foster public understanding and appreciation of the past including, but not limited to, public education, ethics, and the professional training for those who study and present the past.

The M.A.T.R.I.X. project, funded by a National Science Foundation grant, sponsored by the SAA, and implemented by 30 archaeologists, educators, and pedagogical specialists, was created to design, evaluate, and offer a variety of undergraduate courses in diverse academic settings that would foster principles of stewardship, diverse pasts, social relevance, ethics and values, written and oral communications, fundamental archaeological skills, and real world problem solving (see Pyburn 2001; Bender & Smith 2000). The purpose was to present these principles to students who take archaeology courses as undergraduate electives as well as those who choose to continue their studies in archaeology at the graduate level, in order to prepare a new generation of students to face the challenges of the twenty-first century; challenges

brought about by changes in the discipline over the past thirty years that has resulted in the majority of archaeologists finding employment outside the academy, in the governmental and private sectors, where they are dealing with managing heritage resources in the public interest. These new challenges require revised and new skills, knowledge and abilities, which the M.A.T.R.I.X. project was designed to help provide.

As a result 16 different courses were taught at eight universities and colleges throughout the United States, all of which revised existing courses to incorporate the seven guiding principles. Courses revised included: Archaeological Field Methods, The Archaeology of Ethnicity in America, Archaeological Ethics and Law, Archaeological Methods, Theory and Practice, Museum Methods, Buried Cities and Lost Tribes: New World, North American Archaeology, Introduction to Archaeology, South American Archaeology, Landscape Archaeology, Mesoamerican Archaeology, Time and Culture in the Northwest, Archaeological GIS, Principles of Archaeology, Cultural Resources Archaeology, and Forensic Anthropology. Materials for all 16 courses, which include complete lectures, bibliography, assignments, discussion topics, exams, and visual aids or references, can be found on the M.A.T.R.I.X. web site. In addition, discussions by instructors on how and why they designed and taught individual courses, including their experience with the materials used and the challenges of working with undergraduate students, are also provided (see Pyburn 2001)

CONCLUDING REMARKS

Given the sizeable audience for archaeology and the ethical responsibility of archaeologists to present the past to the public, it is baffling why more archaeologists do not make the effort to become involved in site presentation. Certainly, narrowly focused, academic, education and training programs that emphasize only traditional scholarly publications and discourage popular versions of archaeological work contribute to the problem. Add to this the fact that in many academic departments little credence is given to popular reports and articles as well as reports resulting from archaeological projects undertaken for legal requirements; it is not surprising that there are precious few popular accounts of archaeology becoming involved in the public sector. A nationwide survey undertaken by the SAA (Smith and

Krass 2000) asked anthropology departments (117 responded) if they were teaching public archaeology and/or cultural resource management, and if not what were the obstacles to including this in the curriculum. For those that did not include such courses the number one reason given was that other courses took priority, followed by lack of faculty interest, lack of faculty training, lack of student interest, and inappropriateness in their academic setting. It appears that a lack of interest may reflect a lack of importance placed on public aspects of archaeology. In all fairness many programs, especially within smaller departments, do not have the human or fiscal resources to add such courses. However, that still begs the question of what is important within the discipline of archaeology. Many programs in the United States are not facing up to the fact that the vast majority of their students will not be employed as university professors, yet they still have curricula that do not prepare students to practice archaeology in all its diverse applications. It is interesting to note that when graduate students, preparing for careers in archaeology, were asked what career path they were preparing for, the vast majority indicated that they were preparing for jobs as university professors (Smith & Krass 2000). Given how few academic positions for archaeologists are advertised in the United States in any given year, it is clear that many graduates will not find the employment opportunities they seek. Without the education and training to function in governmental and private sector positions that manage the past in the public interest, many archaeologists will find few employment opportunities.

Lack of concern for presenting the past to the public is not just confined to academic institutions in the United States. For similar reasons many archaeologists working in the governmental and private sectors do not produce popular accounts of their work. This situation was recognized by the Society for American Archaeology. As a result the president of SAA sent a letter to all anthropology departmental chairs in the United States, outlining the importance of public reporting, and specifically requesting that more credence, with respect to tenure and promotion, be given to popular works. Although there has been some response to this, overall it appears to have had little effect on the situation. Like it or not, all archaeologists are public archaeologists (McGimsey 1991; 1972) and as such they must inform and captivate, inspire and illuminate, excite and challenge, and most of all they must tell our collective story in a way that helps others to touch the past. It's not just a job it is an ethical responsibility (Smith *et al.* 2004).

In addition to accuracy, the public needs to know that our understanding of the past is constantly changing based on new discoveries and/or new ways of viewing and connecting data. Much of what we learn in science, including archaeology, is brought about by asking new questions of existing data. That is why diversity among those who study and present the past is so important and why it is important to include other points of view and other ways of explaining the past. Different cultural backgrounds and experiences bring with them new ways of looking at the past and a new set of questions within which data can be examined or re-examined. The need to give credence to other points of view about the past has been codified in the ethics of all national professional societies in the United States including the Society for American Archaeology, the Society for Historical Archaeology, and the American Anthropological Association, as well as many regional associations and societies.

Without the public's interest in the past and their support for protecting and studying it, archaeology would be diminished and with it the ability to understand our commonalties and differences. Preserving these commonalties and differences is a significant challenge for those who study and present the past (Cernea 2001a; 2001b). Efforts to protect and present the past must take into consideration how it is perceived, and must take notice of public attitudes, especially those of descendent communities. The need to protect and present an authenticated past must be a motivating factor for archaeologists to improve their efforts to interact with the public in a meaningful way. This will assist in understanding the social processes that delineate those who want to protect the past and those who want to destroy it (McManamon 2002; 1999; 1998; 1991; Messenger & Enloe 1991; Pokotylo & Mason 1991; Shields 1991). This is why it is critical that archaeologists not only be educated and trained to be effective teachers and researchers, but also be able to apply archaeological method and theory to real world problem solving (Bender & Smith 2000; Fagan 2000; Smith *et al.* 2004).

Archaeologists must strive to help others see commonality and diversity and, above all, provide a basis for understanding and respecting differences. There is a tremendous opportunity to take advantage of the interest in 'things archaeological' as a powerful tool for global education, site protection and study, and world peace (Messenger & Enloe 1991; Shields 1991). Developing an interest in and appreciation for the past must begin in early childhood. Providing the necessary skills,

knowledge, and abilities to practice archaeology in all its diverse applications must be part of the undergraduate and graduate curriculum (Fagan 2002; Smith & Bender 2000; Smith *et al.* 2004).

Because tangible remains of the past exist in the contemporary world, they continue to play a critical role in cultural continuity and the ability to extend beyond the current generation and connect to the past (Lipe 2002; 2000). Archaeologists must be mindful that the same process that can link us as a global community under the 'one people one planet' philosophy can also destroy the past to serve dangerous political goals (Molyneaux 1994). Has this not been chronicled throughout history? In today's global village, archaeology and its practitioners may have a larger role to play on the world stage than they might think, or have been educated and trained to perform. Archaeology must prepare practitioners, students, governments, and the public for the challenge and responsibility of being the only profession that looks systematically at the human condition through time and in all places. What archaeology has to offer is not only the enjoyment of the past, but also the information and insight into successful and unsuccessful attempts to change the human condition. The archaeological record has revealed information concerning environmental stability and change over time, and provides us with a means of understanding how various human groups were responsible for these changes and if they succeeded or failed to adapt to such changes (Smith *et al.* 2004).

Given the challenges in our modern world, looking to the past may actually be our best chance for the future (Little 2002a; 2002b). Responsibility extends beyond scholarly pursuits and entertainment — it must now include issues of global peace and the consequences of war. The archaeological record has a message about both. We can learn from the past successful ways of living together and sharing the bounty of our diverse cultures to the mutual benefit of not only our species, but also the diverse life on a planet that may be unique to the universe (Smith *et al.* 2004).

Those who study and present the past must be ever vigilant for the use and abuse of data and interpretations of the past which might be used more for political or social agendas than for education or enjoyment. That is why it is so important that archaeology be inclusive in its efforts to explore the past. What is described by Stone and MacKenzie (1990) as the excluded past results from efforts to look at only a small segment of our past or only a very restricted segment of the people who make up this

past (Podgorny 1994). When archaeology fails to demonstrate the role and value of the past, or when some groups are excluded, there is a risk of devaluing the past (Seeden 1994). It is also important that the past not be portrayed in a way that takes the local population out of the equation. If only the exotic or stereotypes are dealt with, the ability for the common person to connect to the past in a meaningful way is decreased. As a consequence our ability to see ourselves in others and see others in ourselves is adversely impacted (Smith *et al.* 2004)

Archaeologists must also be cognizant of the fact there are other interpretations of the past and that one constant and compelling human right is to have a connection to the past in a form that is fulfilling. The failure to take note of other ways of knowing is arrogant and self-serving and removes people from their own heritage. Losing a connection to the past or taking that right from others may, in fact, be an underlying cause of many of our global problems. Making the past accessible, and empowering the public to draw their own conclusions, is an ethical responsibility of all archaeologists. Archaeology can add much to the public's understanding and appreciation of the past by providing the intellectual tools to interpret the past for themselves (Potter & Chabot 1997). By incorporating the disenfranchised into interpretations of the past, a more balanced picture of the past is presented. Archaeology can thus create an inclusive past which gives a narrative voice to the people before history was kept, people who are known historically but who did not keep their own historic records, and people who are misrepresented or unrepresented by history. Inclusion in the past provides a sense of belonging which facilitates understanding and even cooperation among diverse groups who may view the past in very different terms (Smith et al. 2004).

It is the storyteller, in all its diverse forms, that will make the difference in the human condition, fostering tolerance and understanding (Fagan 2002). If the profession of archaeology fails to educate and train future generations of archaeologists for this task, there will be a lot more to lose than narrowly-trained and unemployed archaeologists (Fagan 2002). Archaeologists are more than chroniclers of the past. They are part of the medium through which the past is channelled to the present and future. Like it or not, or ready for it or not, they are public archaeologists and keepers of the past with all its blemishes. Archaeology tells the story of the multi-coloured tapestry of our life on this planet. Presenting the past in context is critical to telling that story.

The future of archaeology and world peace may depend on how well that is done (Smith *et al.* 2004).

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Chapter 5

ASSESSING THE ROLE OF DIGITAL TECHNOLOGIES FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF CULTRUAL RESOURCES AS SOCIO-ECONOMIC ASSETS

Oleg Missikoff
LUISS 'Guido Carli' University

INTRODUCTION

1. The Scenario

The proliferation of new media, such as 3rd generation cell phones and various types of Pay/Cable TVs, is creating digital spaces that wait be filled with useful and appealing content. Among the most appealing, popular and useful contents are culture and heritage. Culture is proving increasingly important for stimulating mutual comprehension among different people from different areas of the world. With the emergence of the so-called *boundaryless careers,* it is becoming increasingly important for people to invest in culture in order to build one's own social, professional, and existential identity. At the same time, the competitive pressure of Asian Countries versus industrial sectors in Western economies is stimulating the search for non-reproducible economic assets such as cultural resources. The definition of models for valuing cultural heritage can positively affect economically 'emerging' countries which are often characterised by the presence of relevant artistic and archaeological sites, economically established countries with developed heritage and cultural infrastructures.

In this rather complex scenario, it is not easy to define priorities and determine where to start, but in recent research a few key areas for intervention have emerged; these are:

- *Communication*: it is necessary to design user-cultural resource interaction models which are able to ensure the consumers' satisfaction, providing contents and services with designs based on an appropriate segmentation of users' profiles.
- *Creation of districts*: the vast majority of cultural resources are small in size and often dispersed throughout the countryside. For these sites and monuments, it is a real challenge to attract tourists who are normally more interested in cities and art. A possible solution is to create clusters of small and medium-sized sites that, by developing strong cooperation partnerships, can gather enough resources for undertaking innovation processes.
- *Incubators*: Besides promoting cooperation between existing organisations, it is important to stimulate and support the creation of new productive entities designed from the start with a mission strongly oriented towards innovation in technologies, processes and services.
- *Training*: a particularly delicate and relevant aspect resides in the design of new educational paths, starting from an analysis of the requirements of enterprises operating in this sector with the aim of producing a competent workforce.
- *Business models*: as explained later in this paper, cultural resources' managers often lack key, basic managerial skills, especially in marketing and promotion. This situation makes it almost impossible to produce new strategies for increasing income from cultural heritage sites. In the writer's opinion, here lay the best opportunities for this sector's growth.

2. Critical points

- *Consumption vs. preservation*: One of the elements that generates most confusion (and conflict) is linked to the problem of the consumption of cultural heritage. It is necessary to clarify that, referring to heritage, the concept of 'consumption' has a rather different meaning. It is not the object of art or the monument that is consumed but the knowledge and the emotions that derive from the interaction of the user with the cultural feature and/or its 'digital self' (i.e. its reconstruction in virtual or augmented reality). In this sense, the chances to consume/reuse multiply, generating a positive

effect. In particular, digital technologies can continually recapitalise on the cultural feature. Rather than being worn from increased consumption (i.e. visitor numbers, etc.), the original cultural feature continually gains value through dissemination of information available for consumption in much the same manner as what happens in the music or movie industry.

- *Cultural disability and accessibility*: Generally, the term ‘disability’ is used to refer to physical or mental limitations, but if we consider the capacity of enjoying the interaction with an object of art with cultural heritage in all its forms, then limits in the consumers’ knowledge can represent a true ‘disability’ and constitute a practically insurmountable obstacle to a full enjoyment of the experience. In fact, in order to achieve a fuller experience, individuals need to be guided in their interaction with the heritage, which is personal and can vary considerably for each case. Users are accustomed to a high (and constantly increasing) degree of personalisation in purchasing goods and services and find it difficult to accept a ‘flat’ communication strategy in as complex an environment as cultural heritage.
- *Heritage and landscape*: It is absolutely necessary, and extremely urgent, to re-establish the relationship between the cultural heritage and its context. Until now human actions towards cultural features have been characterised by a systematic de-contextualisation of the totality of small sized objects (paintings, jewellery, tools, and so forth) and of some even very big ones (friezes, obelisks and in some cases entire temples). The predominant tendency has always been towards collections, leading to creation of innumerable ‘zoos’ gathering thousands of objects having little to do with one another. Often the collections are curated with little or no consideration of the context that has produced them which is not mentioned or, sometimes, even unknown. But even if the origins of a certain object are known, obvious preservation issues make it impossible to reposition it in its location of discovery. Nevertheless, in some cases, the use of replication (digital or physical) could provide excellent results: the re-connection between cultural resources and their original context can recapitalise on both. A number of experiences demonstrate that this synergy is able to attract/activate new energies and opportunities to engage with the public.

ECONOMIES AND CULTURAL RESOURCES

Western, industrialised countries are facing what is probably the greatest challenge of their economic history: being competitive against emerging Asian countries which are showing a capacity to provide products and services at a fraction of the costs needed for producing them in Europe or the United States. Furthermore, recently, together with the already harsh competition over goods production, outsourcing of services and human labour is becoming the next threat. Just to have an idea of the dimension of this phenomenon known as 'job-offshoring', let us analyse recent data referring to some of the major corporations operating in the ICT (Information and Communication Technologies) area:

- Hewlett-Packard: 8.000 hired in India, 20.000 fired in America.
- Oracle: 4.200 hired in India.
- Intel: 1.400 hired in Asian Countries.
- People-Soft: 1.000 hired in Asian Countries.
- Cisco: 600 hired in Asian Countries.

Solutions to this issue can be found by investing in resources which are more difficult to replicate or outsource. These resources can be organised in two categories of capital. These categories are not mutually exclusive but are highly interconnected and mutually beneficial:

1. *Human Capital*: In post-industrial economics, the competitiveness of a country is connected to its capacity to create a habitat that attracts (and retains) creative talent such as researchers, designers and high level problem solvers (i.e. top managers and analysts). This allows the country to present a work force able to create new needs, new products and new processes and thus produce key resources for economic development.
2. *Territorial Capital*: This term refers to all the resources that are linked with a territory - its history, landscape, traditions, craftsmanship and typical products. Cultural heritage belongs to this category.

While industrialised production tends to have a very disharmonic and aggressive impact on a region, creative activities tend to establish positive feedback with the environment, often contributing to its sustainable development. I consider creative activities to be such pursuits as art, fashion, design, and architecture, but I would also include

innovation, be it cultural, scientific, economic, or technological (Figure 5-1).

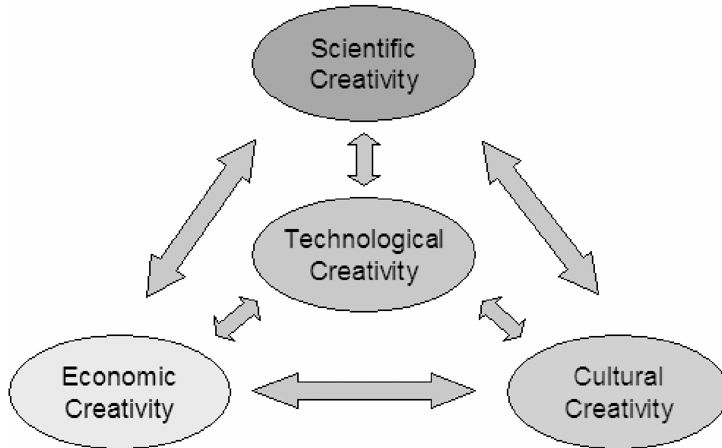

Figure 5-1. Domains of creative activity (after Mitchell *et al.* 2003).

In his seminal work Richard Florida (2002) demonstrates how much the presence of a creative labour force depends upon environmental conditions. After defining a set of indexes for assessing the predisposition for creativity of territorial entities, Florida tests those indexes on a series of American cities and European countries and finds a positive correlation between the increase of investments in human capital, technological innovation, research and development (R&D), and gross domestic product (GDP) growth (Figure 5-2).

The results of the investigation brought Florida to create a new approach to economic productivity: according to the author, the critical factors for the successful development of a city, or a region, can be represented by three 'T': Talent, Technology and Tolerance. Table 5-1 indicates the sub-indexes composing each of the three 'Ts' as described in the extension of the analysis to the European context (Florida and Tinagli 2004).

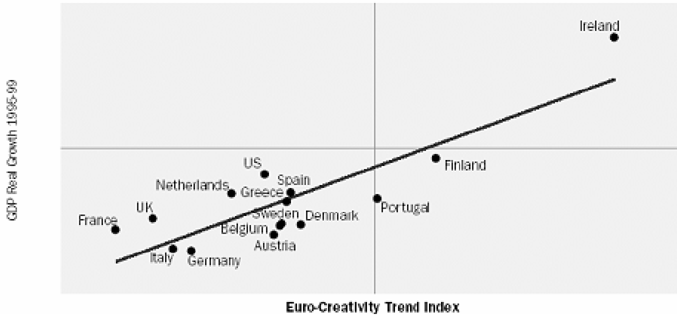

Figure 5-2. Euro-Creativity Trend Index and GDP Growth 1995-9 (after Florida & Tinagli 2004).

Cultural heritage holds a great potential for nourishing socio-economic development, but it can be a very conservative environment. It is therefore necessary to attract (and/or produce) creative talents in order to introduce fresh energies into the sector. This brings new ideas and opens up new perspectives on the management of an extremely powerful asset, the value of which is quite far from being fully understood.

Implementation of innovative promotion strategies, enabled by carefully designed organisational configurations and wisely customised technological solutions, are the prerequisites for allowing the heritage sector to obtain its right place in the socio-economic scenario. In fact, besides its widely recognised potential as a cross-cultural integrator (Veltman 2002), cultural heritage is proving to be a catalyst for economic development and represents a resource difficult to re-create artificially. In implementing promotion strategies which utilise the value of cultural heritage resources, the following should be considered as priorities:

- Increasing the capacity of cultural institutions to raise financial resources autonomously,
- Spreading the notion of fruition of culture and heritage as a leisure activity, triggering a process of democratisation of culture,
- Boosting the employment rate (according to EU research, for every 100 positions created in the cultural sector, 60 more open in infrastructural activities) (Centre for Social Studies and Policies 2005),
- Fulfilling the mission of cultural heritage institutions to preserve artefacts and *communicate* the knowledge embedded in them.

Table 5-1. The components of Florida's '3Ts' model.

Critical Factors	*Description*
Euro-Talent	The Euro-Talent Index is composed of three sub-indexes: the Euro-Creative Class Index which is based on creative occupations as a percent of total employment; the Human Capital Index which is based on the percentage of population age 25-64 with a bachelor's degree or above (degrees of at least four years); and the Scientific Talent Index, which is based on the number of research scientists and engineers per thousand workers.
Euro-Technology	The Euro-Talent Index is composed of three sub-indexes: the Euro-Creative Class Index which is based on creative occupations as a percent of total employment; the Human Capital Index which is based on the percentage of population age 25-64 with a bachelor's degree or above (degrees of at least four years); and the Scientific Talent Index, which is based on the number of research scientists and engineers per thousand workers.
Euro-Tolerance	The Attitudes Index is an indicator of attitudes toward minorities based into four categories: intolerant, ambivalent, passively tolerant and actively tolerant. The Attitudes Index is the percentage of the respondents that have been classified as actively and passively tolerant; the Values Index measures to what degree a country reflects traditional vs. modern or secular values. the Self-Expression Index captures the degree to which a nation values individual rights and self-expression.
Euro-Creativity	The Euro-Creativity Index, or ECI, represents a new composite measure that provides a fuller assessment of national competitiveness in the Creative Age. The ECI is a composite based on the Euro-Talent, Technology and Tolerance Indexes discussed above. The ECI compares well to other leading competitiveness indicators, but we believe it is a considerable improvement over them. The conventional measures emphasise technology and in some cases include some indicators of talent. None include any measures of tolerance that is a clear source of competitive advantage. The ECI measures beyond them all by factoring all three Ts into account.

Cultural resources are generally directed, at both local and national level, by professionals with a historic/artistic/archaeological background. However, these same individuals often lack the managerial and technological skills required to design and implement state-of-art, cutting-edge economic strategies and technological innovations. As a result, cultural institutions are generally characterised by a very poor level of management and promotion.

Therefore, in order to implement such a development plan in the heritage sector, it is necessary to intervene at two levels, by:

1. Defining evolutionary roadmaps for introducing advanced management strategies and technological tools with the aim of progressively increasing cultural institutions' performances, while at the same time,
2. Supporting decision makers (i.e. cultural resources managers) in acquiring the competences required for dealing with advanced economic/technological models.

Last but not least, it is vital to follow a pragmatic approach, promoting the implementation of pilot projects and 'spin-offs' for confronting methodological issues with practical implementations.

WHY CULTURAL TOURISM

Tourism has become one of the leading world industries. According to the World Tourism Organisation, between 7 and 8 percent of the total worldwide export of services and goods is generated by the tourism sector, which ranks fourth after chemicals, automotive products, and fuels. It is interesting to note that tourism holds a greater market share than computer and office equipment, food, textiles and clothing, and telecommunications equipment (Figure 5-3).

Moreover, the growth of international tourism arrivals significantly outpaces growth of economic output as measured in gross domestic product (GDP). In years when world economic growth exceeds 4 percent, the growth of tourism volume tends to be higher. When GDP growth falls below 2 percent, tourism growth tends to be even lower. During the period 1975-2000, tourism increased at an average rate of 4.7 percent a year and GDP at 3.5 percent. Tourism grew on average 1.3 times faster than GDP (Figure 5-4) (World Trade Organization 2005).

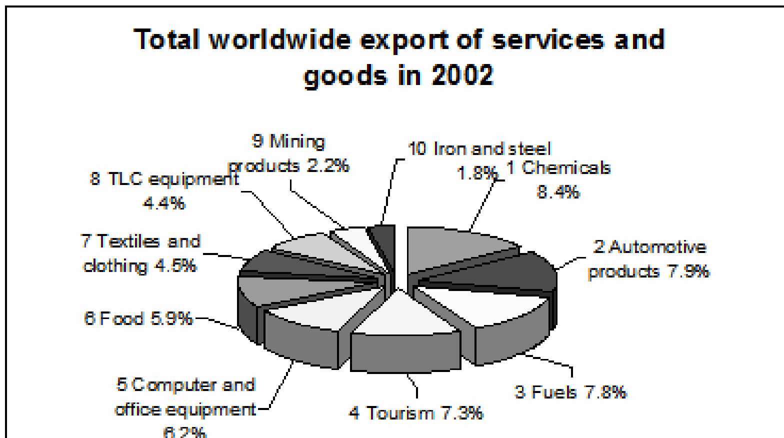

Figure 5-3. Worldwide export earnings.

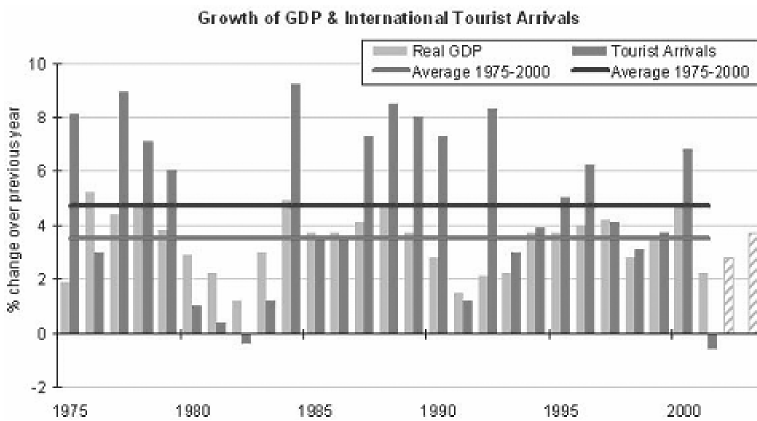

Figure 5-4. GDP vs. International Tourist Arrivals.

However, even in the tourism sector, the competition of emerging countries is becoming increasingly tough, concentrating again in those segments where the offer is more generic (e.g. in beach tourism). Emerging countries are, in fact, able to run resorts with very low management costs. Data from this year's summer season show a

substantial flexion of arrivals at European beach tourism destinations displaying, on the contrary, a clear gain in the 'Cities of Art' where cultural resources are unique. Having considered facts and figures indicated so far, the objective of the research described in this paper is to enable the cultural heritage sector to express its full potential and, as consequently, positively affect connected activities as positive externalities.

To this end it is necessary for cultural institutions to carefully plan evolutionary roadmaps leading towards innovation. These institutions must develop innovative ways of supporting visitors, be they foreign tourists or local citizens, to achieve a fully satisfactory cultural experience. The main prerequisite for reaching this goal is to encourage cultural resource managers to become aware of the urgent need for a revision of their mission. In the emerging scenario as outlined above, not only their main objective but also the main 'client' is changing. In fact, as will be argued later in this paper, the main purpose of a cultural resource manager is shifting from preservation to communication/education, and the main source of economic income is changing from public (e.g. governments) to private (e.g. final users, sponsors, enterprises, corporations, etc.) (Missikoff 2004). Please note that these elements have always co-existed and will probably do so in the future. It is the proportion of their respective contribution that is going to change considerably.

UNLOCKING THE VALUE OF CULTURAL HERITAGE THROUGH DIGITAL SPACES

The first milestone of the roadmap proposed in this paper is to identify the source of value in the interaction between cultural heritage institutions and the public whether directly (e.g. museums, archaeological sites, but also web portals or thematic broadcasting channels) or indirectly (e.g. cultural heritage departments in public administrations at local, national and international level, private companies providing management consultancy or technological solutions). That source of value is represented by the final users.

In fact, as Sigrun Eckelmann, German Resarch Council, Bonn, summarises: 'Where the pressure comes from for change in the future, I think first comes from the user. The users (...) search for information

based on their specific needs, using the most convenient, reliable and complete source, ...' (DigiCULT 2002, 89).

The Digicult IST (Information Society Technologies) Support Measure has provided, since its start in March 2002, an enormous quantity of high-quality material in pursuing its mission of 'monitoring and assessing existing and emerging technologies that provide opportunities to optimise the development, access to and preservation of Europe's rich cultural and scientific heritage, within the emerging digital cultural economy (DigiCULT 2002).

Particularly meaningful, among this material, is a list of users' expectations extracted from an online Delphi (a poll) for pointing out the considerable gap separating these expectations from what most institutions would be able to provide online:

- Immediate access to everything
- Quality and pertinence of the content
- Provision of integrated services
- 'Processes' rather than static artefacts
- Applications to be user friendly, multilingual, providing full cultural information about the stored objects
- Core information written simply and accessibly, without using jargons or making assumptions about prior knowledge
- Increased interactivity
- Richer imaginative experiences
- Acceptance as an equal partner, have a 'voice' that is heard
- Fully documented collections presented in engaging ways
- Ability to create personal collections and to surface resources in own working or learning environments
- Opportunity to criticise and debate issues, resources and services provided by cultural institutions

From an analysis of the users' expectations listed above, it clearly appears that an extensive use of technologies represents a basic element for any innovation plan in the cultural heritage sector. Technology can provide a launch platform for transforming cultural institutions into state-of-the-art, networked organisations, here defined as *Cultural Service Providers* (Forte & Missikoff 2003). More specifically, it is necessary to transform the mission of archives from 'storing objects' to the life cycle management of digital/digitised objects, libraries from 'reading rooms' to digital information service centres, and museums from displaying

collections to proposing narrative connections and new experiences (Digicult 2002).

Unfortunately, according to the results of the 5ft Framework Program IST Project *eCulture Net*: 'an estimated 95% of all cultural heritage institutions in Europe are not in the position to participate in any kind of digital cultural heritage venture. They not only lack the financial resources to participate, but also have other problems like shortage of staff, essential skills, and the necessary technologies' (eCulture Net 2003).[4]

For disclosing the value of a cultural resource, it is necessary to identify the core products of cultural institutions. When a visitor purchases the admission ticket to a museum, an exhibition, or an archaeological site, what is he/she getting in return for the fee paid? Knowledge and emotions: these can be considered as the core products of a cultural institution (Missikoff 2004).

Emotional aspects of a cultural experience can certainly benefit from an appropriate use of choreographic installations, but recent studies are showing extremely positive effects, especially for non experts visitors, deriving from the use of narrative metaphors as a catalyst for attracting the attention of and creating a connection between the visitor and the knowledge 'embedded' in the cultural resource. Particularly interesting, in this area, defined as 'Storytelling', is the work done by Gesture and Narrative Language (GNL), a research group at the MIT Media Lab led by Prof. Justine Cassell (Liu 2002). This field of research is expanding at a dazzling rate, and the amount of valuable resources constantly is growing. However. the critical application will be the design of 'Storytelling Engines' able to automatically produce narrative metaphors according to contextual parameters like the user's profile and position in the space, time available for the visit, and so forth (Cavazza *et al.* 2002).

In this paper I wish to concentrate on the representation and communication of the multiple layers of knowledge hidden in any cultural object, from a pin to a temple. Here the need to take the user profile into consideration is stronger, and this issue constitutes one of the major weaknesses of present cultural institutions' communication strategies. The rigidity of the sadly typical information panel generally written in a maximum of two languages which provides visitors with the same content regardless of their profile category is simply unacceptable in 2006.

A solution for this issue can be found in theories and techniques borrowed from Artificial Intelligence which are recently gaining wide international recognition. Two examples are ontologies and 'the Semantic Web'. Before analysing this technology in closer detail, let us briefly observe how the life-cycle of a digital cultural resource unfolds (Figure 5-5).

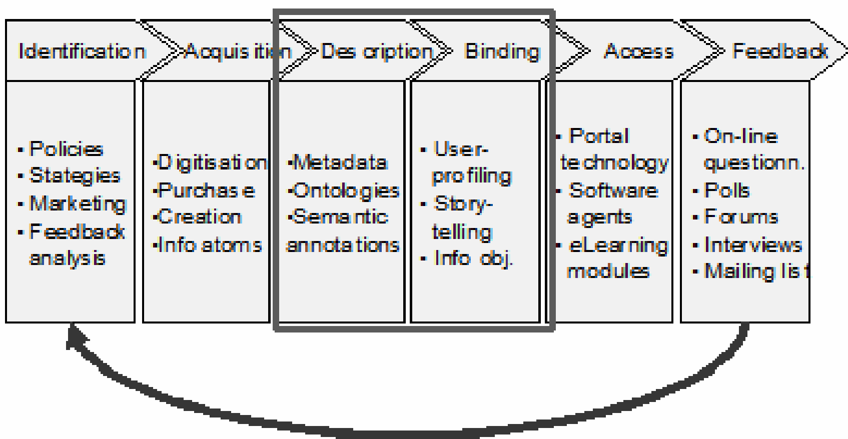

Figure 5-5. Life-cycle of a digital/virtual cultural resource.

In this work we are considering only digital cultural assets potentially accessible through digital media like the internet or mobile devices. The importance of producing digital content has been strongly argued by the European Community Framework Programme for Research, Technological Development and Demonstration, which has promoted research in this area by launching the *eEurope* initiative 'An information society for all' on the 8th of December 1999. The goal of the initiative is to ensure that EU citizens fully benefit from the changes the Information Society is bringing. eEurope's key objectives are to bring every citizen, home, school, business and organisation, into the digital age and online. It plans to create a digitally literate Europe, supported by an

entrepreneurial culture ready to finance and develop new ideas. eEurope also wants to ensure the whole process is socially inclusive, building consumer trust and contributing to social cohesion (eEurope 2000). Within that objective there is a specific action for Member States and the Commission to jointly create a coordination mechanism for digitisation programmes across Member states.

On 4 April 2001, representatives and experts from Member States met at Lund in Sweden to discuss the issues involved and to make recommendations for actions that support coordination and add value to digitisation activities in ways that would be sustainable over time. The experts endorsed the findings of a preparatory meeting held in Luxembourg on 15/16 November 2000. They highlighted the value and importance of Europe's digitised cultural and scientific content which provides:

- *An accessible and sustainable* heritage: Europe has unique and significant wealth in its cultural and scientific heritage. Digitisation of its resources is a vital activity for providing improved access for the citizen and for preserving Europe's collective cultural heritage (both past and future).
- *Support for cultural diversity, education and content industries*: Digitised cultural assets are crucial in sustaining and promoting cultural diversity in a global environment. They are also a key resource for education and for the tourism and media industries.
- *Digitised resources of great variety and* richness: Member States have invested significantly in programs and projects for digitising cultural and scientific content. Such digitisation activities cover a diversity of domains and content types, such as museum artefacts, public records, archaeological sites, audio-visual archives, maps, historical documents and manuscripts.

The Lund Meeting produced the Lund Principles:

> Europe's cultural and scientific knowledge resources are a unique public asset forming the collective and evolving memory of our diverse societies and providing a solid basis for the development of our digital content industries in a sustainable knowledge society. (eEurope 2004)

As stated above, the first milestone of the roadmap proposed in this paper is to identify the source of value, i.e. the final user. If this point is not recognised, we will only see the strong limitations that characterise

the heritage sector in the analogous dimension, transferred in the digital dimension. So, as cultural institutions were traditionally devoting their energies primarily on preservation, similarly much of the resources allocated to projects in digital heritage, seem to be limited to the production of digitised content, with very little attention to usability and/or accessibility.

Eelco Bruinsma (2003), Dutch partner of the MINERVA (Ministerial Network for Valorising Activities in Digitisation) project, in his position paper fosters the creation of a 'Digital Cultural Area' (MINERA 2004). For a European Cultural Area to be enhanced, augmented, and supplemented virtually, by the digital exchange of knowledge, of ideas and of manifestations, or surrogates of cultural and scientific works, the right of free and unimpeded access to distributed cultural resources and sources of knowledge, irrespective of the physical location, specific characteristics and abilities of the user, or the physical location of the resources, must be ensured. Digitisation of cultural resources and sources of knowledge may lower the threshold of access by bridging physical distances and by removing the barriers of time, but digital insularity is as great a risk as is insularity in the analogous world (Bruinsma 2003). A key issue is therefore the ability to provide information according to the individual user's characteristics and expectations, initially based on some predefined categories which can be further refined through analysing feedback and fruition behaviour (Solima 2002).

Besides infrastructural matters, the most relevant problem in the promotion and valorisation of cultural heritage is represented by the lack of consideration of final users' characteristics and needs. This is reflected in the incapacity to compose contents based on those characteristics and needs. The proposed solution for addressing this aspect is instantiated by the utilisation of tools and methodologies for ontological analysis with the purpose of producing contents organised for allowing a diversified provision based on user requirements. This is formulated from users' profiles segmentation and spatial positioning.

The first step to be taken, in order to produce a usable and interoperable output shall be represented by the construction of a domain ontology. Ontologies are defined as 'shared understandings of some domain of interest which may be used as a unifying framework' for 'facilitating knowledge sharing and interoperability between independently developed subsystems' (Uschold & Gruninger 1996).

Table 5-2. Key elements of the European Area of digitised cultural (re)sources Ontologies and the Semantic Web.

Element	*Description*
Accessible (re)sources	Easy and unimpeded access to cultural heritage resources is necessary to attain a desired level of knowledge, or familiarity, with cultural heritage for education, for appreciation, for the acquisition of skills or modes of expression and creativity, for the creation or dissemination of knowledge, or for leisure, irrespective of time, location, nationality or abilities of the user.
Networked (re)sources	To produce value-added and reusable content, heritage institutions should cooperate with knowledge institutions. The goal is a meta-network for semantic interoperability whose nodes are aggregates of cultural sources and portals.
Transparent (re)sources	A collective vision on the value of digital cultural heritage should be paired with the collective support of transparency. Details of where content comes from are only important if the user chooses to extend his inquiry to the original, or to other sources or objects close to the original. Presentation and marketing should be channelled through regular 'folder' sites. The separation of networked content from public relations (PR) strategies is a deliberate and conscious decision to be made by the management of institutions. Presentation of, and access to, networked (re)sources should be the main concern of quality assurance.
Persistent (re)sources	Stable, consistent and persistent access to cultural (re)sources must be ensured to secure investments in digitisation and public and political support. Issues of Long Term preservation are high on the agenda's of the European Commission (Firenze Agenda) and UNESCO (2005).
Rights Management	Effective rights management should safeguard creative originality and original productivity that adds value by editing or contextualising. It also creates a lasting commitment and is an incentive for creative individuals and organisations to produce new works or adapt material for specific use, or users. Acceptable use and reuse of original creations, knowledge or value-added materials should not be stifled by excessive protection of rights of exploitation.
Quality	To ensure the integrity, completeness, discoverability and usability of digital cultural (re)sources a quality framework should be in place. A possible Post-Lund approach could be to develop a quality framework, carefully mapping aspects surrounding the creation of a European Area of digitised cultural heritage. Presentation of and access to networked (re)sources should be the main concern of quality assurance.

The proliferation of contents and resources available on the internet has posed the problem of extracting meaningful information from an almost infinite repository: the world wide web. Meanwhile, in the cultural heritage domain, digitisation projects and consequently digital cultural contents are proliferating, multiplying the amount of resources available. A viable solution was spotted through the implementation of techniques and methods derived from the evolution of Artificial Intelligence studies on knowledge (Nonaka & Takeuchi 1995). The proposed solution was called 'The Semantic Web'. The proponent of this theory is Tim Berners-Lee (Berners-Lee *et al.* 2001). The most remarkable advantages of the Semantic Web consist of the possibility to perform searches based on concepts instead of terms, thereby reducing the chances of confusion and allowing software agents to carry out complex tasks for humans. The Semantic Web, according to Berners-Lee, should substantially rely on well formed, interoperable and sharable contents. These conditions can be guaranteed by a recently developed knowledge organisation framework whose interest is rapidly growing in the scientific research community: ontologies (Uschold & Gruninger, 1996).

An extensive description depicts ontologies as

> an explicit, agreed and shared definition of a portion of reality by means of a conceptual model. This model may exist in someone's head or be embedded in a software or information system, in an object or in a process. The task of an ontology builder is to identify the model and make it explicit. This allows the model to be accessed by, or communicated to, a wider range of potential users, be they people, organisations or software agents (Missikoff 2003).

With respect to a *thesaurus*, an ontology aims at describing concepts, whereas a thesaurus aims at describing terms. An ontology can be seen as an enriched thesaurus where, besides the definitions of and relationships among terms of a given domain, more conceptual knowledge is represented. With respect to a *knowledge base*, an ontology can be seen as a knowledge base whose goal is limited to the description of the concepts necessary for modeling domains. A knowledge base, in addition, includes the knowledge needed to model and elaborate a problem or to answer to queries about a domain.

An ontology is composed of:

- a set of concepts (e.g., entities, attributes, processes) regarding a given domain
- the definitions (*conceptualisation*) of these concepts
- the relationships interconnecting entities within a given domain

Constructing an ontology implies a series of basic steps to be carried out, these are:

1. *examining the vocabulary* that is used to describe the characteristic objects and processes of the domain
2. *developing rigorous definitions* about the basic terms in that vocabulary
3. characterising the logical connections among those terms

For what concerns a practical use, at a higher level we can subdivide the space of uses for ontologies in the following four categories:

1. communication and cooperation among people
2. better institutions organisation
3. interoperability among systems
4. system engineering benefits (reusability, reliability, specification)

For a more effective content wrapping, it will be referred to studies on Reusable Information Objects (RIO) that, after the creation of the domain ontology, will allow the decomposition of knowledge into 'atomic' units.

A RIO can be defined as a digital resource of knowledge that can be reused to support knowledge acquisition. RIOs are aimed at delivering a complete experience on one topic or aspect and include anything that can be delivered across a network on demand. Examples of RIOs can be the following:

- textual information,
- images
- prerecorded video and audio fragments,
- animation,
- software systems and applications,
- web pages, etc.

Following this approach ensures a wide range of advantages, the first of which is a user-centred approach. It also includes a great flexibility in information objects utilisation, ease of content updates and searches, adaptation and customisation of a knowledge acquisition process to the needs of particular user(s) and facilitation of various types of learning. In this new scenario, the learning process would be:

1. competency-based,
2. customised,
3. individualised/personalised,
4. context sensitive.

These characteristics will increase continuously, and considerably, the value of content available for the final users.

CONCLUSION

In the industrial age, human creativity was divided in three well distinct types of activity: science, economics and humanities. This division is reflected in all aspects of our lives, from education to public administration to, obviously, the productive system. The fact that we now consider this division as the only possible way of organising the world is typical of the industrial age but also shows its short-sightedness: it did not exist before, and will not exist after. In fact we are already witnessing its decline. In the 'Age of Creativity' there is no difference between the creativity of an entrepreneur, a scientist or an artist (Creative Clusters 2005).

What people look for are lifestyles: companies like Nike or Coca Cola don't make shoes or drinks any more, manufacturing processes are now outsourced. They manage narratives, they provide consumers with ways of expressing themselves, they propose lifestyles. With the end of the industrial age, creative individuals are reuniting all aspects of creativity, breaking the categories that strongly characterised the last couple of centuries, but would have been meaningless to Leonardo Da Vinci, Michelangelo, Galileo or Shakespeare. This is just what cultural heritage needs now: a creative model that combines cultural contents with technology and management. When this will be achieved, the heritage sector will express its potential and unlock its value.

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Chapter 6

EXPERIENCING ARCHAEOLOGY IN THE DREAM SOCIETY

Cornelius Holtorf
Lunds Universitet

INTRODUCTION

Professional archaeology has long been a field that defined and legitimised itself nearly exclusively in narrow academic terms. Even today, the benefits of archaeology are seldom discussed in relation to the evident fascination of many people with the subjects of archaeology, the archaeological past, and archaeological heritage. At the same time, in Sweden, as in other countries, archaeological institutions and authorities have come under pressure to justify what they are doing for society and how much money they really need to spend, especially whenever unfavourable public finances and economic growth curves reach crisis point. In this context, a path-breaking initiative, entitled *Agenda Kulturarv* (Operation Heritage), was carried out across the entire Swedish heritage sector. One of its aims was to refine professional practice in the heritage sector in order to make the most of people's existing interest in the past and the cultural heritage and to make the work of the professionals accessible and relevant to them (Agenda Kulturarv 2004). The process of 'opening up' archaeology to take into account broader social contexts has, however, not only been forced upon the subject from the outside. Arguably, a quickly expanding interest in a wide range of issues and phenomena that have come to be known as 'public archaeology' is fundamentally transforming even the academic

discipline itself (Merriman 2002; see also the scope of the journal *Public Archaeology*).

This chapter will show why I am inclined to concur with Gavin Lucas (2004, 119) who argued that insofar as archaeology enhances people's lives and society in general, its major impact might be said to lie in popular culture rather than in any noble vision of improving self-awareness through historical 'perspectives' (see also Holtorf 2005).

ARCHAEOLOGY: A TRENDY SUBJECT

In order to get a better grip on peoples' fascination with archaeology in popular culture, it is useful to consult studies that describe underlying larger trends in Western culture and society. Over a decade ago, the German sociologist Gerhard Schulze (1993) published a study describing *Die Erlebnisgesellschaft* [The Experience Society]. In this book, which has been very influential among German social scientists, Schulze argued that experience value (Erlebniswert) is quickly replacing use and monetary values in significance (see also Köck 1990, 77-82). As people in affluent Western societies have become economically secure and possess all the tools they require, they are orientating their lives more and more towards experiences: to live and to experience have nearly come to mean the same thing. As a consequence, the market for experiences is expanding fast (cf. Pine II and Gilmore 1999 for a similar argument with American examples; Löfgren 1999 for a historical perspective).

From travel agencies to shopping centres, from TV stations to universities, and from swimming pools to theme parks, all are now offering experiences to their customers. The difficult choices people face today when having to choose between competing experiences are often, albeit unconsciously, informed by larger social patterns. Whereas some sections of the population prefer experiences such as listening to classical music and contemplating art in museums, others enjoy *schlager* music and watching sentimental films on TV, and others again like rock 'n' roll, pub visits, and generally 'action' (Schulze 1993, 142-57). Companies trying to reach certain groups of consumers have long understood the significance of framing their products within existing patterns of differently favoured experiences. Similarly, customers prefer to buy products that relate to the preferred experiences of those people to

which they see themselves being similar (Schulze 1993, chapter 9). This might explain, at least in parts, why the 'product' archaeology enjoys the amount of popularity it does. It offers (and is perceived to offer) valued experiences for many. Visiting an archaeological museum or excavation site can be about ancient art and education about the past, about (usually idyllic) reconstructions of past daily life and re-assurance about one's home village, or about modern computer technology and the spirit of Indiana Jones-style quests for treasure. In each case, it is a particular experience in the present that accounts for peoples' interest.

At about the same time when Schulze wrote his book, the American marketing 'guru' Faith Popcorn published *The Popcorn Report* (1992) in which she predicted certain trends for the future. She recommended to companies to 'bend' their products around such trends. One of the ten most important trends she noticed was a trend towards 'fantasy adventure' which she described as 'a momentary, wild-and-crazy retreat from the world into an exotic flavour' (Popcorn 1992, 34). Popcorn's prediction was that product appeal will increasingly result from offering the safe and familiar with adventurous, exotic or sensual twists. Again, archaeology seems predestined to play a key role. What could be more safe and familiar yet at the same time adventurous, exotic and sensual than a visit to an archaeological excavation site or museum near your own home, where archaeologists, the 'cowboys of science' (Holtorf 2005, 42), tell you about peoples' lives in the past? At the Experimental Centre at Lejre in Denmark you can even book an entire family holiday under the slogan 'Living in the past' (Köck 1990, 69). And at home you may wear colonial-style fashion (Figure 9-1). Archaeology can thus have a lot in common with fantasy adventure.

When the German futurist Horst Opaschowski (2000) recently reviewed these trends, he found that the 'Experience industry' was still expanding. Opaschoswki made the additional point that this industry is essentially telling fairytales and selling dreams. What mattered more than the veracity and authenticity of these tales and dreams was that they create the right sensual experiences and thus customer satisfaction. More generally, the American economists Joseph Pine II and James Gilmore argued in their book *The Experience Economy* (1999, 25) that those 'businesses that relegate themselves to the diminishing world of goods and services will be rendered irrelevant.' Instead, businesses now need to offer experiences to people. These experiences consist of more than entertainment and are first and foremost about *engaging* people (Pine II

& Gilmore 1999, 30). Their argument has validity also for archaeology. Whereas museums may want to focus more on the actual experiences they provide (for the entrance fee charged), archaeological excavations too could provide visitors with memorable engagements with ancient sites and archaeologists at work, once they begin to take seriously the visitor experience (as e.g. the York Archaeological Trust has always done; cf. Addyman 1990).

Figure 6-1. Fashion with an archaeological twist: 'Times are changing. And yet, fashion in the casual-chic colonial style is more in demand than ever'. From the German women's magazine *Verena*, 5/1990, 73; © W. Beege.

In his account of *The Dream Society* (1999), the Danish futurist and consultant Rolf Jensen took this discussion further. Going beyond the previously mentioned studies, Jensen argued that consumers are now increasingly buying stories along with products. For example, when we buy eggs we are willing to pay a little more in order to hear a story about free-ranging chicken. Likewise, we are prepared to donate money to Amnesty International or Greenpeace because (besides everything else they do) they tell us stories about rescuing human beings or natural environments that we respond to very passionately. By the same token, advertising is becoming more emotional, appealing to our hearts rather than our brains (see also Jensen 2002).

Some emotional stories have, of course, been with us for considerable time. They include stories about nations, political ideologies, and state religions. Although few archaeologists are proud of it, in the past they have been making significant contributions to each of these grand stories (see e.g. Kohl & Fawcett 1995). Indeed, the size and status of many contemporary archaeological institutions as well as the strong legal protection of archaeological heritage in the Western world owe a lot to the very firm and long-standing links between archaeology and stories about the origins of modern nations. Only relatively recently has a focus on the *national* heritage been replaced by one on the *cultural* heritage.

Now, new kinds of stories are emerging that are particularly characteristic for the *Dream Society* in which, according to Jensen, we will be living in the future. All of them provide experiences by engaging us in different ways. Three out of the six main stories of Jensen's *Dream Society* can be told, in parts, through archaeology (the other three are Togetherness, friendship and love; Who-Am-I; and Convictions). These stories are about

Adventures: archaeology is particularly good at telling adventure stories, usually based around fieldwork (see Figure #9-1). Significantly, Rolf Jensen himself is seen on his webpages (http://www.dreamcompany.dk/en/who/) as sitting at a desk with an *Indiana Jones* film poster on the wall behind him.

Care: in the *Dream Society*, people have an increased need to provide care. They like caring for pets, save whales from extinction, and donate money towards humanitarian aid in emergencies. Zoos, once doomed, are popular again because they present themselves as conservation centres. Likewise, significant parts of professional archaeology have in recent years redefined themselves in terms of preservation. Archaeology

is now often presented as being about managing ancient sites or artefacts as non-renewable resources, and rescuing precious finds and evidence, in a race against time, from obliteration due to modern development.

Peace of Mind: in an insecure and constantly changing world, people desire peace of mind and reassurance in relation to their livelihoods, ways of life and values. They seek answers rather than more questions. They like romanticizing the past and trust established brands more than new products. Among the themes which established brands draw on are stereotypical sceneries of the past and, in a way, they in turn have become archaeological brands. Jensen's examples include the world of Classical Greece featuring shining temples with Doric columns and philosophers immersed in discussion on the market square. He also refers to the Scandinavian Vikings who venture out in their longboats to plunder foreign shores, yet preserve their purity of mind. Peace of mind can also be evoked by stories that extent our own daily routines back into the distant past. A recent Swedish newspaper report, for example, was entitled 'Commuters in the Stone Age' (*Helsingborgs Dagblad*, 25 October 2002, my translation). The ubiquitous celebration of origins provides reassurance in an insecure present.

These books I have been referring to are not brand-new. Yet much of what they are about seems to be very relevant still today. To my knowledge, archaeologists have never discussed any of these titles in depth (although in 1999 Jensen was invited to give a presentation to representatives of the Swedish heritage sector). It is time to begin this discussion now.

ON ARCHAEO-APPEAL

If Schulze, Pine II & Gilmore, Opaschowski, Popcorn, and Jensen are broadly correct in their analyses, this is an age in which archaeology should do particularly well. A look at TV schedules, both fiction and non-fiction literature, comic series, computer games, film listings and newspaper reports demonstrates that archaeology is evidently a popular theme in many genres and formats of popular culture. Although this popularity has grown out of an archaeo-appeal the subject has perhaps always had, it reached new peaks in recent years (Jensen and Wieczorek 2002; Petersson 2003; Holtorf 2005).

Already during the 1960s, it was suggested that the 20th century would become known as 'the great century of archaeology' (Kirchner 1964, 5). The Swiss historian Franz Georg Maier (1981) referred two decades later to an evident 'archaeomania' in Western culture. Concerning the last decade, the film historian Karol Kulik (2003) argued that we have been living through a 'golden age' of archaeology in the mass media. In the year 1999-2000, history and archaeology books reportedly outsold cookery books in the U.K. (Paynton 2002, 44). Moreover, since 1996 the archaeology-inspired computer game series *Tomb Raider*, featuring Lara Croft, sold approximately 30 million units worldwide, each game topping the PlayStation game best-seller lists. The first associated feature film grossed more than 247 million US Dollars worldwide (Rose 2003). Archaeology is no longer a subject which only small sections of the population find interesting. Evidently archaeology is today a popular theme in many genres and formats of popular culture. Archaeologists are thus well advised to consider analyses that might be able to tell us some of the reasons why this is so.

The fascination with archaeology could however lie on a different level than professional archaeologists – pleased by the interest in their work – often assume. Archaeology provides memorable experiences that appeal to many people. It tells stories that relate to wider trends and themes of our society. It is engaging people in various ways. Many of these experiences, stories, and engagements draw on the practices of *doing* archaeology in the present: excavating ancient remains, discovering 'treasures', rescuing archaeological sites, and investigating our origins with the help of modern technology loom large (see Figure #9-1). When it refers back to the past, much archaeological appeal derives from idealized clichés that are nothing but our own visions superimposed on times gone by. In each case, it appears that the meaning of archaeology in society is more to do with metaphors and stereotypes than with literal truth about the past.

From a purely academic point of view, this conclusion may be seen as sad and deeply unsettling. But humans have always drawn on a rich supply of metaphors and prejudices that provided guidance and visions for their lives. Arguably, the world is too complex for everybody to assess all of it on its own merits. Social psychologists have long understood that every society and every age needs to provide specific 'short-cuts' for making the unfamiliar familiar (Moscovici 1984).

Julian Thomas, Professor of Archaeology at the University of Manchester, argued in his book *Archaeology and Modernity* (2004) that the discipline of archaeology is intrinsically linked to a modernist worldview. It could only have been generated in the specific context of the modern world and is firmly tied to the conditions of modernity as they developed over the past few centuries in the Western world. A similar argument has been made by the Swedish archaeologist Björn Magnusson Staaf (2000) regarding the defining influence of modernism on archaeological heritage management and research design. If the modern world and its conditions are now changing beyond recognition, both Thomas (2004, 223) and Staaf (2000, 192) wonder whether that means that scientific archaeology and heritage management, too, will need to change in order to remain relevant. As the German journalist and archaeological author Dieter Kapff (2004, 130) put it in a recent commentary:

> 'Archaeology appeals to a large number of people. But members of the contemporary fun-society are not actually interested in increasing their knowledge, in education, information or intellectual stimuli. The educated classes [Bildungsbürgertum] of the 19th and early 20th centuries no longer exist. Today, people want entertainment.' (my translation)

Does, then, a new type of society require a new profile for archaeology? Have the links between archaeology and traditional values of education been cut? Is its popular portrayal showing archaeology the way to the future?

Cultural heritage tourism provides one important context where stories of the Experience or Dream Society are already being told through archaeology (Petersson 2003). This is particular true for stories referring to the themes of Adventure or Peace of Mind. For example, a long and frustrating search for a minor archaeological site somewhere in Greece (or in any other holiday destination) can still be considered as worthwhile, since 'the well-crafted story can transform the most humiliating, abhorrent or terrifying experience into an experience of narrative success' (Bendix 2002, 473). The great search itself can become the actual rationale for being interested in heritage. Alternatively, in other places that are more prominent – and impossible to miss – tourists may see themselves as walking in the footsteps of famous explorers and archaeologists. For example as tourist groups

approach and enter the pyramids of Gizeh or the Valley of the Kings in Egypt, each of them may feel just a little bit like Howard Carter and tell the story of discovering wonderful things, if only to themselves. Whereas these are adventure stories linked to heritage, other aspects of travelling can be linked to Peace of Mind.

Arguably, tourism is to a large extent about the search for authentic experiences (Löfgren 1999; Hennig 1999, 169-74). Since this desire is often met by staged performances and simulated originals, some commentators have argued that modern tourism is essentially an escape from a deficient reality and a desperate attempt at acquiring virtual happiness elsewhere when the real thing is not available at home. Yet according to the German social scientist and travel expert Christoph Hennig (1999, 23-6, 72-3), this analysis is in itself deficient, for it ignores many people's fascination with realising their dreams by travelling, no matter how they live their daily lives. Instead, tourism is said to be about the basic human need of sensually experiencing fictitious spaces. Regarding the question whether the future will see entirely artificial holiday worlds, Hennig (1999, 165) suggests succinctly that they are already here now. To him, it is not a serious problem that these spaces may increasingly contain replica monuments and simulated pasts rather than 'authentic' sites and 'original' artefacts. For the motivation to travel is in many cases not a genuine experience of foreign lands and their histories but the realisation of pre-conceived dreams and desires (Hennig 1999, 53-9, 94-101; cf. Holtorf 2005, 140-4).

For tourists, encountering and exploring new sites is very much an exercise about maintaining peace of mind and receiving reassurance about where they are coming from, both geographically and intellectually. I once took notes about the stories a freelancing (and thus very audience-orientated) guide offered German tourists during their visit to the Roman site of Dougga in Tunisia. Without exception, he told them stories about realities and stereotypes they already knew about before their visit, often about aspects of their own lives back home. He interpreted two architectural fragments as measure for shoe sizes and a shower respectively, and a particular ornament as a symbol of love. A temple dedicated to Juno Celestis was explained as the site of gladiator fights, with slaves inhabiting the basement. He pointed out where the brothel was located. An ancient swastika symbol led to the exclamation 'Hitler! Hitler!'. The Roman economy in ancient Tunisia, employing advanced water management, was summed by the statement that it was

essentially like today. Whether or not any of these claims may be historically accurate, there was very little in his tour that the tourists could say they had learned about Roman Dougga and that was not also part of their own present, thus reassuring them about the seeming eternity of their own culture.

As these examples indicate, tangible heritage has become a potent symbol for the Experience or Dream Society and a particular way of perceiving both archaeology and the past, drawing on what might be called a characteristic 'archaeo-appeal' (Holtorf 2005). Often, visitors are particularly excited about the process of archaeological research and would like to get involved in archaeological projects themselves. Especially the 'digging' is enormously appealing. The Canadian archaeologist Karolyn Smardz (1997, 103) once speculated about the reasons for the popularity of archaeological excavations:

'It is the excitement and romance of archaeological discovery that makes people think archaeology is worth doing and learning about. […] In other words, it is not archaeology's ability to help all of us gain a better understanding of how people lived in the past that makes archaeology marketable, it is also that mysterious, romantic, exotic sense of delving into the unknown—ergo, the very process of archaeological research.'

There are more and more archaeological field projects, where visitors are invited to become practically involved. Open Days on ongoing excavations have become regular features in the calendar of many archaeological projects, and they are often highly popular and well attended. Occasionally, even the excavation sites themselves are deliberately chosen with participation of community members, including school children, in mind (e.g. Smardz 1997). Letting people dig is a great way of bringing archaeology to the people, as it allows them to enjoy archaeology in the way they prefer it.

Many people are even willing to pay a fee for their own archaeological experience. Peter Addyman (1990, 258) learned this when during his excavations in York between 1976 and 1981 well over half a million people came to observe archaeologists at work, although he charged them for the opportunity. Since then, this interest has not waned. It is clear (a) that if an offered experience is perceived as enjoyable and worthwhile, people are willing to pay for it, and (b) that once you hope to attract paying visitors you automatically focus more on what kind of engaging experience you might be able to stage (Pine II and Gilmore

1999, 61-68). Charging visitors can therefore not only help archaeology financially but also create an improved overall outcome of a given project, especially with regard to its public and visitor-related aspects.

RE-THINKING ARCHAEOLOGY

As I have indicated, popular archaeology contributes to some of the themes and stories that increasingly give orientation and quality of life to people today. But at the moment it is businesses with commercial interests who benefit most from this currency of archaeological themes. At the same time, it has become increasingly unclear precisely what a strictly scientific archaeology will have got to offer to society in the future. It has therefore become pertinent, or even urgent, to try and relate archaeology to 'what's hot and what's cool in the world beyond the professional and academic boundaries of the discipline' (Darvill 2004, 57).

Archaeology would do well in seriously addressing the experiences that make archaeology and the past so appealing to so many people. Archaeology would do even better if it made its wide appeal central to its professional self-understanding. In order to get better at public archaeology, professional archaeologists will need to try and work *with* rather than *against* the pre-understandings and expectations of their audiences. As should have become clear by now, this strategy is not about seeking to improve, however indirectly, the 'public understanding' of archaeology. The issue is not how professional archaeologists can make those people who love Heinrich Schliemann, Indiana Jones, Lara Croft and *Time Team* more interested in their own version of archaeology. It is about matters that are far more fundamental than how to talk to and 'educate' the public.

It is not sufficient for archaeologists to take account of the modern world by whining about limited resources, complaining about some inaccurate detail in the latest archaeological blockbuster, or proudly declaring that 'Archaeologists are not like Indiana Jones', while they otherwise continue doing what they have always done. The challenges that arise from being part of contemporary society are far bigger than that. Archaeologists need to know precisely what it is that almost everybody else seems to find so irresistible about 'their' subject, and rethink how they are relating to their popular representations. They need

to ask themselves where they wish to position their subject, their own profession, and the role of their institutions in relation to the existing appeal of archaeology.

In the light of a number of particular significant key themes and stories that have come to define the subject of archaeology in the popular domain, the entire field may need to be rethought. This conclusion is increasingly been shared by representatives of the discipline. The doyen of American archaeology Brian Fagan (2002, 255, 258), for example, recently stated:

'Today's archaeology requires new skills, new sensitivities for communicating effectively with the wider audience […]. We are woefully unprepared for the challenges of an entirely new kind of archaeology. … The academic culture is becoming increasingly irrelevant to much of what contemporary archaeologists do. Yet we persist in training predominantly academic archaeologists.'

The issue is what Heinrich Schliemann, Indiana Jones, Lara Croft and *Time Team* can tell the professionals about popular themes and interests they need to address themselves. As a major report of the Economic & Social Research Council in the U.K. recently stated, the problem is not one of a lack of 'public understanding of science' but increasingly it is one of a lack of scientific understanding of the public (Hargreaves & Ferguson 2000).

At the end of the day, most of professional archaeology is not in the education but in the story-telling business. Archaeologists, like others who have tales to tell about the past, are 'sophisticated storytellers' and as such we are 'performers on a public stage' (Fagan 2002, 254). That is not to say that archaeology was any less important, quite the opposite. Story-telling and the foregrounding of experiences have become central to the society in which we live. Appropriate stories and experiences educate people and can create political good will for the discipline of archaeology. Besides that, they contribute to peoples' social identities and can give inspiration, meaning, and happiness to their lives (Schulze 1993; Jensen 1999). These are no small achievements. Arguably, society at large benefits from citizens who occasionally fulfil their dreams by taking part in (imaginary) adventures, finding peace of mind in their own lives, or gain a sense of purpose from being able to contribute to important missions. In daily life, many are dreaming about being somebody else. Arguably, making such dreams temporarily come true,

lets later the familiar routines appear desirable again (Hennig 1999, 89-93). Being somebody else for a while can also quite simply be fun.

There is no better way of ending than by a slightly amusing but hardly unusual story from Preah Khan in Cambodia, reported by Tim Winter (2002, 334):

> ‘In explaining why she climbed over the temple’s delicate rooftops, one Canadian tourist explained it made her “feel like Lara Croft exploring the jungled ruins of Angkor”.’

That is the spirit of experiencing archaeology in the Dream Society.

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Section III

THE CRISIS OF REPRESENTATION OF THE PAST

Ian Russell
Trinity College Dublin

As has been illustrated, modern society's 'archaeological imagination' facilitates the conception of archaeology as a pursuit which produces images of the past which in turn are used to support and bolster notions and structures of modern group identity. Smith has illustrated how integral modern conceptions of the past are to contemporary national legal, governmental and ideological systems. If we work from Smith's discussion of the role of archaeology within modern society and consider it with Thomas' (2004) demonstration of the fundamental role of archaeology within modern thought, then it can be seen to be critical to engage with the theoretical and practical integration of archaeology within modern philosophical and social systems. Holtorf is correct to call on archaeologists to engage with the public's perception of archaeology as an 'experience', and his scepticism regarding grand assertions of the role of archaeology in global peace and globalised economics is measured and appropriate. However, before it is possible to simply allow archaeology to 'reassure [people] about the present', it is critical to appreciate the philosophical assumptions which facilitate such an experience of the past and such assurances about the present, and, indeed, the future. This is particularly urgent given the prevalence of the utilisation of archaeology as a means for socio-economic development through tourism as is illustrated by Missikoff. There is a trend within contemporary society to market representations of the past to modern consumers desiring emotive experiences which affirm conceptions of modern identity, and Missikoff is correct to call on us to engage in this operation in order to facilitate more socially aware and mature

archaeological practices. Still, practice on its own is not sufficient. It must be taken forward with theoretical awareness of the current state of affairs with regard archaeology's role in the representation of the past and the current crisis facing archaeology as a philosophical endeavour.

While we are currently witnessing a growth in the role of archaeology and heritage within the economic sector of tourism, we simultaneously witness a growing commodification of archaeological knowledge and experience for consumption by contemporary social groups. As society becomes more convinced of its progress in its 'post-modern' exercise, the situation becomes more problematic as modern egoistic discourse has empowered consumers to demand individualistic and personalised experiences of culture and the past which allow them to escape their modern condition. Often the interaction that one has with any archaeological site or cultural event is pre-emptively developed by the individual's own desires for experience, pleasure, relaxation and ideological cohesion formed from encounters with images of the past In this way, the commodified archaeological object has become a consumable image of the past, subject to the waxes and wanes of economic trends at large (Foster 1999, 263-6). In some cases these images have become so imbued with social expectation that they fundamentally alter society's perception and experience of the artefact, monument or landscape on which they are based. This highlights the crisis over whether archaeology is fundamentally tied to the modern appropriation of archaeological knowledge by individuals for their ability to fulfil tourist expectations of experience and to reify personal beliefs in modern group identity.

The contributors explore the relationship between archaeology and the heritage and tourism industries and the implications of such a relationship in a world dominated by mass production, replication, simulation and consumption. They explore to what extent we are experiencing a crisis of representation of the past due to contemporary consumption of mass-produced replicas, simulations, images and experiences of the past. This, taken into consideration with the thought of Walter Benjamin (1992), poses the question of whether there is a crisis of interpretation over the modern dichotomies of the image-object and the actual-object or the mass-produced object and the authentically-unique object. In a relationship with industrialised tourism, unique archaeological objects and monuments often become the model for lines of replications and simulations which are mass produced as consumable

images, representations and experiences. This situation carries grave implications for notions of 'meaning' and 'value' in archaeological research. It is possible, as Jean Baudrillard (1996; 1997; 1998) has posited that through our contemporary process of simulation and replication that the significance of original artefacts and monuments is being lost in the overwhelming availability of mass-produced signifiers of these artefacts and monuments. This leads to the question of whether or not it is possible to view artefacts as an authoritative source of knowledge of the past, or are they merely another available image, simulation or hyper-reality of the past? However, if all is simulation as Baudrillard would have us believe, then it is key to appreciate the normalising affect that simulation has a mode of human expression. As an imitation or *mimêsis*, reflexive engagements with technologies of simulation renegotiate our appreciation of simulated experiences as *tekhne*, countering our 'unawareness' of the inherent risk in a technologically advancing modern society (Beck 1992; 1999; also see Introduction this volume). Simulation, replication and imitation thus can be rehabilitated through an appreciation of human technological and expression as poetry.

The section opens with Stephanie Koerner who discusses foundational philosophical issues regarding the epistemic authority and political sovereignty of the archaeological endeavour. Continuing the declaration of a 'crisis of interpretation' and a 'state of emergency' from the work of Benjamin, Koerner draws out themes in Western modern thought which have sought, yet failed, to solve crises facing humanity and human thought since the Thirty Years War (1618-48). Then, we move to Kay Edge's and Frank H. Weiner's discussion on the problems facing the architect whose modern archaeological vocation it is to design the spaces in which individuals interact with each other and with objects and images of the past. Space for 'remembering' or 'experiencing' the past does not simply occur. Interpretive centres and museums are designed, and understanding the philosophical assumptions made when the architect conceives of such a space is critical if we are to begin to move beyond socially reified notions of grand-narratives of collective memory. Finally, Andrew Cochrane will discuss the implications of crises over the conception of the past in contemporary society. Inspired by the thought of Baudrillard, Cochrane will discuss contemporary engagements with Irish Neolithic passage tombs and posit epistemological issues regarding interpretive centres such as that at

Newgrange. He explores the use of modern techonologies of simulation and replication in their design and whether these hyper-realities present society with a crisis over authentic experience. However, he poses the question of whether or the tombs and their associated motifs in rock carvings have ever been anything more than simulation.

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Chapter 7

TOWARDS ARCHAEOLOGIES OF MEMORIES OF THE PAST AND PLANNING FUTURES

Engaging the Faustian Bargain of 'Crises of Interpretation'

Stephanie Koerner
University of Manchester

INTRODUCTION

What might be the requirements of a strongly reflective critical and constructive approach to the issues at the core of this volume's motivations? This, in a world that influential pedagogical institutions have come to so frequently gloss with such images as 'post-modern -colonial, -industrial', or of 'globalisation and multi-culturalism,' 'consumer-society,' 'risk/reflexive-society'? What might such an approach to relationships between 'archaeology and the tourism and heritage industries' *look like* in a world of 'mass production, replication, simulation, and consumption' (to use the editor, Ian Russell's (this volume) terms? There are two ways in which I will make an attempt at these questions in what follows.

One is to follow connections between several themes suggested by Russell's (this volume) concern that we 'engage with the philosophical issues' arising from archaeology's changing relationship to the 'industrialisation and marketing of heritage and tourism...in a practical and ethical way.' These themes can be summarised roughly as follows:

1. *'Crisis over representations (interpretations)'* of archaeology's intrinsic, not tangential, roles in struggles for 'epistemic authority' and 'political sovereignty' since the Thirty Years War (1618-48).
2. 'State of emergency' as norm of the 'modern episteme' and the question of whether archaeology is at risk of a Faustian Bargain with the industrialisation and marketing of heritage and tourism in

age of globalisation and multi-culturalism, consumer society and risk/reflexive society?

In so doing I will try to illustrate several requirements of a strongly reflective *critical* and *constructive* approach to these worries.

While researching materials for this chapter, I have encountered several areas of overlap between discussions of 'globalisation and multi-culturalism', 'the destruction and conservation of cultural property', and the social geography of ecological risk, exposure to political violence and conditions of possibility for sustainable development planning (e.g. Harvey 1989; Giddens 1990; Beck 1992; Layton *et al.* 2001; Friedman 2002; Sandercock 2003; Koerner, S. 2006. I will conclude with some suggestions about the bearing that considerations of these overlaps may have upon developing constructive approaches to the roles archaeology can play in the creation and transformation of memories of the past, and the planning of futures.

'CRISIS OVER REPRESENTATIONS' OF ARCHAEOLOGY'S INTRINSIC ROLES IN STRUGGLES FOR 'EPISTEMIC AUTHORITY' AND 'POLITICAL SOVEREIGNTY' SINCE THE THIRTY YEARS WAR (1618-48)

The last century has seen the human sciences and humanities experience a series of '*crises of interpretation/representation*' centring on the most influentially opposed paradigms for research. Today, debates over these crises' causes and consequences proliferate exponentially across increasingly specialised cross-disciplinary theoretical literatures, areas of research and teaching, and programmes for 'public understanding' or appreciation of 'expert knowledge cultures'. In what concerns the historiography of archaeological theory (or philosophy) since the 1960s until rather recently, emphasis has fallen on the impacts on the discipline of responses to 'crises,' during the first half of the 20th century in *physical sciences*, and in *human sciences* during the second (e.g. Thomas 2004). The responses to crises in the *physical sciences*, which had the most long lasting impacts occurred in tandem with wars that tore apart arrangements at the 'Peace of Westphalia' for bringing an end to the Thirty Years War (1618-48), and for negating political

relationships between early modern Europe's most powerful 'nation-states'. Two groups or responses bear highlighting.

One was formed in philosophy, especially around issues posed by conflicts between developments in physics summarised by the expression, Relativity Theory, and positivists' traditional aims of a unified methodology, science, and 'language' for evaluating the truth conditions of knowledge claims and arguments for political legitimacy (e.g., Carnap 1928; Carnap, Hahn & Neurath 1929; Cassirer 1936). Major disagreements turned on the diverging views of the founding figures of the analytic, continental and sociological philosophical 'traditions' on what the problem suggested about the relative philosophical importance of physical sciences, the humanities and human (or social) science. (e.g. Husserl 1970 [1936]; Cassirer 1960; Heidegger 1962; Kuhn 1962). Yet there was considerable consensus on what Peter Galison (1996) calls 'framework relativism' or agreement that as the methods, objects and classification schemes of science diverge, science is split into myriad non-unified parts.

The second group of responses grew out of lively debate among *scientists* about the nature of the unity of the objects, which constituted the '*artificial realities*' generated by developments in the use of computer technologies on which in the theories and practice of 'high energy physics' hinged - especially in its relationship to atomic weapons research (Galison 1996). The history of the importance of these developments to the 'industrialisation' and 'marketing' of scientific research, and the transformation of 'mass production' brings into sharp relief the extent of the problems that can be expected arise around attempts to support 'framework relativist' claims about how the *contexts* and *contents* of science are integrated in practice. There is no need to entertain 'positivist pipe dreams, universal protocol languages, physicalist realism, hierarchical unity models, or radical reductionism' (Galison 1996) in order to recognise the most basic problems, and how these bear upon such topics of the present volume as the impacts on relationships between archaeology and the heritage industries' of a world that some experience as 'dominated by mass production, replication, simulation, and consumption' (Russell this volume). Galison has shown that it is much more illuminating to explore the transformation of what was during the first half of the 20th a chaotic assemblage of objects, disciplines and activities: thermonuclear weapons, enhanced A-bombs,

poison gas, weather prediction, pion nucleon interactions, number theory, probability theory, industrial chemistry, and quantum mechanics.

There seems to be neither a framework unifying this assemblage nor a shared history, which can be narrated smoothly across time. Yet the practice of these activities had clearly become sufficiently congruent by the end of World War II for researchers whose work contributed foundationally to what we nowadays call the industrialisation of science (and/or *artificial reality*) to move back and forth across widely diverse domains.

> What they shared was not common laws, and most certainly not a common ontology. They held a new cluster of skills in common, a new mode of producing scientific knowledge that was rich enough to coordinate highly diverse subject matter (Galison 1996, 119).

These activities' common sense centred on the computer. More precisely, nuclear weapons theorists converted the 'calculating machine' enabling the creation of 'alternative realities' to which both theory and experiment bore uneasy ties. Grounded in statistics, game theory, sampling and computer coding, these simulations constituted a *trading zone*: 'an arena in which radically different activities could be locally but not globally [in the qualitative sense of context independent universal validity], coordinated' (Galison ibid.).

The development of technologies for generating *artificial realities* proceeded through intersecting planes, as it came to anchor to one another otherwise disparate objects, fields of practice, and informational and communicational structures. Galison shows how this development transformed (1) epistemology through a new methodology for extracting information from physical measurements and equations, and (2) metaphysics through new modes of representation that facilitated replacing the 'artefactual nature' of classical mechanics and its notion of 'experiments' by a 'simulated nature' consisting of discrete entities interacting with one another through irreducibly stochastic processes.

This development's history is also a 'social history of workplaces' the story of how traditional professional categories of *experimenter* and *theorist* have been changes by increasingly large and vocal cadres of electrical engineers, computer programmers, producers of expert systems (Galison 1996, 120). But, as Galison (ibid.) stresses, it is, above all an account of fundamental (theoretical) physics 'inextricably tied to the development of a Superbomb, a weapon with no limit to its potential destructive power, and a description of the transformation of the

calculating machine from a computer-as-tool to computer-as-nature' - or seemingly unlimited site of *simulated realities* production.

The beginnings of *crises in the human sciences* are conventionally dated to roughly the 1960s, and associated with the first worldwide opposition on the part of artists, public media practitioners and academics to the exploitation of the so-called Third World (Latour & Weibel 2002). Crises were experienced especially by those engaged in serious reflection on how economic exploitation, social injustice, and violence were rendered invisible by self-contradictory images of relationships between 'Europe and the people without history' (e.g. Wolf 1982; Fabian 1983). The most controversial responses were *critiques of meta-narratives* about human nature, knowledge and the history of the 'Scientific Revolution' and 'Birth of Modernity', which had underwritten not only divisions between Enlightenment and Romantic movements but the most powerful colonialist, imperialist and nationalist political ideologies of modern times (see, for instance, Shanks & Tilley 1987; Trigger 1984; Yoffee & Sherratt 1993). In archaeology, the 1960s saw the parting of the ways of New (or processual) and post-processual paradigms (see, for instance Preucel 1991; Thomas 1999; Bintliff 2004), in relation to principles for addressing such issues as those listed below (a^1 - d^1) drawn from the aforementioned philosophical traditions.

Both the crises in science and in the human sciences opened spaces for critically engaging the ways in which major paradigms for research and teaching are embedded in the dynamic indeterminacy of the politics of nations-states and public affairs. Unfortunately, in tandem with continuous episodes of socio-political, economic and cultural strife such spaces have recurrently been eclipsed, for instance, by political policy making and enforcement practices aiming to themselves regulate access to epistemic authority, together with disputes within academia over the relative merits of principles drawn from post-positivist philosophies of science, and their 'continental' and 'sociology of knowledge' oriented critics.

In archaeology, telling examples of problems which have grown out of this pattern include those nowadays facing efforts to 'go beyond' dichotomies of '*epistemic values*' (e.g., accuracy, consistency, simplicity, fruitfulness, explanatory power, and scope) and '*social and ethical values*' (e.g., what we think is morally right or socially good) - or of *contents* and historical *contexts* of theory and practice. These dichotomies divide major paradigms for research and teaching, and

impact the discipline's locations in the dynamics of politics, pedagogy and public affairs.

The turn of the 21st century has seen considerable change in this situation as current 'crises' traverse disciplinary divisions of the *physical sciences, humanities, human sciences*, and relations between 'applied' disciplines, policy making institutions and wider public affairs. Several relate to the impacts of change in modernity on archaeology's present and future significance (e.g. Thomas 2004). Some say that 'events' during 1989 have been especially influential (Toulmin 1990; Beck 1992; Latour 1993). Bruno Latour notes that all '*dates*' are conventional, but those of 1989 are becoming remarkably so:

> For everyone today, the fall of the Berlin Wall symbolizes the fall of socialism.... While seeking to abolish man's exploitation of man, socialism had magnified that exploitation immeasurably. It is a strange dialectic that brings the exploiter back to life and buries the grave digger having given the world lessons in large scale civil war. The repressed returns, and with a vengeance: the exploited peoples, in whose names the avant-garde of the proletariat had reigned, becomes a people once again; the voracious elites that were to have been dispensed with return at full strength to take up their old work of exploitation in banks, business and factories. The liberal West can hardly contain itself. It has won the Cold War…. But the triumph was short lived. In Paris, London, and Amsterdam, this same glorious year 1989 witnesses the first conferences in the global state of the planet: for some observers they symbolize the end of capitalism and its vain hopes of unlimited conquest and total domination over nature. By seeking to reorient man's exploitation of man towards exploitation of nature, capitalism magnified both immeasurably. The repressed returns, and with a vengeance: the multitudes that were supposed to be saved from death fall back into poverty by the hundreds of millions; nature, over which we were supposed to gain absolute mastery, dominates us in an equally global fashion, and threatens us all. It is a strange dialectic that turns the slave into man's owner and master, and that suddenly informs us that we have invented ecocides as well as large scale famine Latour 1993: 9-10).

Others worry about the implications of homogenising images of 'globalisation and multi-culturalism.' Tsing says, 'Click on worldmaking.connections. Your screen fills with global flows … many

commentators imagine a global *era*, a time in which no units or scales count for much except the globe' (2002, 254). Throughout major *physical sciences, humanities, human sciences* (and the increasingly numerous applied environmental and social sciences) worries are expressed about features such 'worldmaking' images share with 19th and 20th century colonialist, imperialist and nationalist political ideologies, which rendered invisible the barbarity of what they called 'civilising' policies and processes.

Today, cross-disciplinary projects are throwing important light on processes that these core-periphery images of globalisation obscure. Relating to key themes in discussions of the 'socio-politics of archaeology' (e.g. Yoffee & Sherratt 1993; Layton *et al.* 2001), at issue may be processes transforming the *social geography of ecological risk management, sustainable development and exposure to social violence.* The turn of the 21st century has seen a major shift in attention away from concerns with the relative merits of opposing processual and post-processual paradigms (e.g., Preucel 1991; Gosden 1994; Thomas 1999; Barrett 2000, Bintliff 2004), towards efforts to engage philosophical issues posed by the discipline's changing involvements in the dynamics of contemporary cultural, social, ecological and ethical affairs in concretely practical ways. Julian Thomas (2004, 229) says that: 'If the ideas and practices of archaeology are so thoroughly knitted in to the fabric of modernity, the various critical evaluations of the modern condition that have developed over the centuries will be of material significance to the future development of the discipline'. In this view, archaeology's locations (and their representation) in the 'epistemological and ontological space' of the modern episteme' (Olsen 2001, 43) pose issues that far exceed to the scope of approaches that restrict considerations of major current paradigms for archaeological methods and theory to 20th century developments.

Of course 20th century developments have been important, for instance, to the roles that principles drawn from the analytic, continental and sociological philosophical traditions have been assigned in the ways in which influentially opposed paradigms address such key issues as:

(a^{1}) Objects of analysis.
(b^{1}) Methodologies.
(c^{1}) The position of the researcher in relation to (a^{1})and (b^{1})

(d^1) Relationships between the *contents* of (a^1), (b^1) and (c^1) and their socio-historical *contexts* (these issues are henceforth referred to as a^1- d^1)

Principles drawn from the 20th century's analytic, continental and sociological philosophical traditions also underwrite major paradigms for (explicitly or implicitly) addressing such questions about how struggles over 'epistemic authority' relate to processes of 'political legitimation' as the following:

(a^2) What are the sources of knowledge production (for instance, the mind of a rational subject, a privileged class, collective representations, fields of practice, forms of life, discourses)?
(b^2) Can different methods and arguments be assessed one by one, or do we need to establish a level of analysis 'above' or 'beyond' particular cases?
(c^2) Must different points of view be represented in (or translatable) into a single vocabulary? Or can our approach allow for autonomous and even conflicting realms of knowledge which are situated in diverse social context'?
(d^2) What criteria are most appropriate for discerning legitimate exercise of epistemological authority and politically sovereign judgments? What distinguishes warrant for knowledge claims from warrant for applying knowledge claims to policy making and enforcing practices (e.g. Foucault 1980; Rouse 2002).

And considerations of 20th century developments are crucial for understanding the importance to expansion of systems of supposedly synonymous dualist categories. The following table (7-1) illustrates something of these systems' current scope.

Table 7-1. Systems of supposed synonymous dichotomies.

body	mind
perceiving things	extended things
individual 'mental states'	collective representations'
nature	culture
history	myth
reality	social constructions
doubt	reality
certainty	consistency
standardised rules	customary practice
(warranted) knowledge	(unwarranted) belief

unity models of science	disunity models of science
fact (permitted)	fiction (forbidden)
particular historical events	long-term processes
art	technology
developed world	underdeveloped world
productive potential	economic value
science	policy making
moderns	pre-moderns
centralisation	decentralisation
global	multi-cultural
academia	industrialised commercial and military knowledge production
epistemic values	social and values
sustainable development	environmental problems

But restricting our considerations to 20th century developments is likely to impose serious constraints upon our approaches to the complexity of the 'grain' (to use Walter Benjamin's 1992 [1940] term) of the modern ideas and practices' into which archaeology has become 'knitted' and the 'material significance...of critical evaluations of the modern condition' (cf. Thomas 2004). The introduction to John Carman's book on *Archaeology and Heritage* (2002) and Cornelius Holtorf's article, 'Is archaeology a scarce resource?' (2001) can help us to unpack these points a bit. Carman (2002, 1-4) opens his discussion of the book's approach with a commentary on how we can distinguish three bodies of literature in the field of heritage (*guides to practice*, *commentary*, *research*). From his account we can discern something of the impacts:

1. Of either 'anti-theoretical' empiricist orientations or principles drawn from 'analytic' paradigms (e.g. Salmon 1982) for (a^1) and (b^1) on *guides to practice*. Interestingly, just as advocates of the 'new' or 'processual archaeology' stressed the importance of 'analytic' methodological rules for developing 'causal explanations,' as Carman (2002, 3) puts it, one can expect to find this literature concerning 'laws, regulation and procedure' on 'the shelves of professional.'
2. Of phenomenological and/or critical sociology of knowledge paradigms (e.g. Preucel 1991; Gosden 1994; Barrett 2000) for (c^1) and (d^1) on *commentary*. Carman (2002, 2) notes that much of this literature treats heritage as a 'cultural phenomena' - as 'something

separate from 'history' or the 'real' past. Much of it derives from a position that 'heritage' is a bad thing - or at least inferior to the work of academics and others concerned with more serious investigation of the past... [-] as the popularisation of the past.'

3. Of 'the practice turn' (e.g., Knorr-Cetina & Cicourel 1981; Dobres & Robb 2000) in contemporary approaches to integrating micro- and macro-sociological theory and epistemology on *research* dealing with the practices and products of heritage (Carman 2002, 4).

Carman's describes the book's tasks as neither commentary nor procedural, but as *research* dealing with the practices and products of heritage.

> ....understandings of what heritage practitioners achieve [are] not derived from a set of *a priori* assumptions about how the world works, but from actually looking to see how heritage management itself works in the world. It is not procedural - although much of the specific content relates to procedural matters - because it is not intended as a guide to how to do heritage; rather it is about what happens when heritage management is done. That is its value: it is capable of informing heritage practitioners and others about what the fruits of their works actually are; not what they should be (Carman 2004, 4).

In light of the above lists of issues and question, we can get a sense of the impacts on (1) - *guides to practice* of post-positivist responses to *'crisis' in physical science* during the early half of the 20th century. And we can begin to explore the impacts on (2) and (3) of responses to *'crises' in human sciences* of the second half of the 20th century. But what about materials bearing upon arguments concerning archaeology's intrinsic (not merely tangential) roles in the creation of the 'epistemological and ontological space' of modern cosmologies (cf. Olsen, 43)? Or materials important for addressing key philosophical topics of the present volume in practical, social and ethical ways.

Cornelius Holtorf's (2001) summary of major tenets on which much of 'global' or 'world' archaeological heritage management is based can help me to unpack this matter a bit. It is not difficult to appreciate alone from the following summaries just how daunting the expectations associated with these tenets might be:

1. 'Archaeological sites and objects are authentic, in other words, of true antiquity, and have a distinctive aura which fakes and copies do not have.... In a famous article 'The Work of art in the age of mechanical reproduction', Walter Benjamin (1992a) has given the notion of the aura some philosophical grounding....
2. Archaeological sites and objects are irreplaceable and non-renewable....
3. In the modern Western world, archaeological sites and objects are in danger of being destroyed by forces such as changes in ground-water levels, deep ploughing, wars, industrial and housing development and the antiquities trade....
4. Professional archaeologists save archaeological sites and objects from further destruction on behalf of future generations.... (Holtorf 2001, 286-7).

The philosophical issues these tenets pose have bearing not only upon important contemporary social and ethical matters, but also efforts to include diversity of ecological and social forms of life in plans for the future. At stake are issues of archaeology's impacts in complex epistemological and ontological social and ethical matters of what can and cannot be known about human history, what separates the past from the present, what is good for people and morally right, and what is at risk and what needs saving.

These matters are also at stake with issues in the lists above (a^1 - d^1 and a^2 - d^2), especially as these are motivated by complex presuppositions about the interconnectedness of no less daunting themes as the following (henceforth referred to a^3 - g^3) in which the above outlined systems of supposedly synonymous play essential roles:

(a^3)The conditions, scope, and thresholds of human perception and understanding.
(b^3)The unity and diversity of the physical world (or *cosmos*).
(c^3)The unity and diversity of human ways of life (or *polis*).
(d^3)Criteria for supporting knowledge claims or claims to epistemological authority.
(e^3)Sources of uncertainty and/or obstacles to establishing a standpoint 'outside' or 'beyond' the contingencies of nature and society.
(f^3)Relationships between truth, social norms and morality.

(g^3)The conditions of possibility for reconciling 'is' and 'ought'.

In these lights, one requirement of a strongly reflective approach to the changing locations of 'archaeological heritage management' and the 'industrialisation and marketing of heritage' (cf. Russell this volume) may be that it explores the historical background of such daunting expectations as those suggested by Holtorf's observations. Such an approach might address explore such questions as the following:

1. Under what historical circumstances did archaeology come to play central roles in the creation of authoritative images of relationships between the histories of nature and of culture, and of caricatures of the world before (and obstacles to) 'modernity'?
2. How important, at least since the 'crises of representation' of the Thirty Years War (1618-48), have such caricatures been to recurrent claims about how important starting '*from scratch*' or '*a clean slate*' is for establishing 'timeless' means to distinguish true and false, reality from social constructions, originals from imitations, experts from the public, friend from foe?

'STATE OF EMERGENCY' AND THE 'NORMS' OF THE 'MODERN EPISTEME'

The question of the importance to some of the most problematical relationships between struggles for epistemic authority and political sovereignty treatments of 'state of emergency' as norm is suggested by several of Walter Benjamin's works, which aimed to go 'against the grain' of 'standard' accounts of modernity. Examples include Benjamin's studies of cultural crises on the eave of the Thirty Years War (*Origins of German Tragic Drama* 1998), the period between the French Revolution and the first world war ('Eduard Fuchs: Collector and Historian' 1979 [1937] and the period between the 20th century's world wars ('The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction,' 1992a [1936]).

Written in the midst of the collapse of the things that he trusted in his own world, Benjamin's now famous 1940 essay, 'Theses on the Philosophy of History' (1992b [1940]) built upon his reflections on the radically discontinuous history of politically sovereign reductions of

'crises of representation' (in the deep social sense of the expression, representation) to pedagogical disputes between rivals who agreed upon who and what were to be excluded from consideration. For Benjamin 'state of emergency' is not for modern times an anomaly (as advocates of totalitarian order loud and violently claim) but a 'ruling principle' signalled by the ways in which powerful meta-narratives render invisible what they refer to as 'civilising' processes. He argued that greater insight of the problem might help us to struggle with the forces involved in the destruction of variability of human life-worlds.

Benjamin spoke too early and too late. Increasingly phantasmagorical ideologies have been employed to legitimate the marginalisation, exploitation and oppression, even until death, of 'minorities'. Starting in 1949, Theodore Adorno (1973) began to put forward his influential arguments concerning crises facing '*representation*.' For Adorno as with Hanna Arendt (1977; 1989), Zygmund Bauman, Michel Foucault, Benjamin and many other critics of *meta-narratives* about the importance of the Scientific Revolution and the Birth of Modernity for identifying universal valid properties of *human nature (agency), knowledge and history* the problem of the dualist categories on which *metaphysics* hinged was not only an academic matter. At issue are generalisations that paradoxically treat the individual subject ('I') as both a mere node through which macro-structures of Nature-Culture operate and as the source of all meaning and value, reduce social life to inter-individual contractual structures, remove ethics from its traditional status at the centre of epistemology and ontology and privatise ethics and globalise indifference.

Events of the 20th century, Adorno said, had undermined the credibility of any universalising *representations* created to support claims about reconciling all-encompassing ideals with concrete historical reality. Concrete experience had undermined the credibility of claims that it was possible to start from scratch (or a clean slate) and/or establish a universally agreed-upon arbiter of what is common in the world we live in common. Critical theory, Adorno said, faced with the final stage of the 'dialectic' of '*culture and barbarism*.' It would be barbaric, Adorno said, to hoist images of any sort of redemption arising from this dialectic - *yet we cannot do without culture*.

Unfortunately crucial issues that these authors raised were eclipsed recurrently by 20th century struggles over political legitimation of the Cold War and post-colonial political economies, and polemical academic

disputes that widened gaps between pedagogical institutions and public affairs. Today we may be seeing conditions for change in this situation, not least of all relating to the 'state of emergency' of contemporary crises over representations of the roles played by physical sciences, human sciences and humanities in processes summarised by such expressions as globalisation and multi-culturalism, consumer society and risk/reflexive society. My aims here do not include examining the bearing Benjamin's works may have on these condition or the present volume key themes. I will instead show something of the relevance that general insights drawn from the abovementioned works for a strongly reflective approach to issues these themes pose.

As was noted at the end of the previous section, such an approach needs to be able to grapple with archaeology's intrinsic (not tangential) roles in the creation of caricatures of the past, of 'others', of supposed 'obstacles' modernity over the centuries roughly since the Thirty Years War. It needs to engage the importance of archaeological materials to such foundational elements of the 'modern episteme' as: the artefactual route to via Doubt of Rene Descartes (1596-1626) Doubt, the *artefactual Nature* of Isaac Newton's (1642-1724) laboratory 1934 [1687]), the *artefactual Society* of Francis Bacon's (1561-1626) 'Atlantis' (1909) and Thomas Hobbes' (1588-1679) *Leviathan* (1962 [1651]), and the *artefactual Value* of Isaac Newton's Mint and Market (e.g. Schaffer 2002; Koerner, S. 2006). How can it otherwise help us to address questions of whether the foundational elements of the history of modern quests for certainty and progress that nowadays concern much research on 'archaeology and the politics of identity in a globalised world' (Olsen 2001, 43) has been abandoned? Or have these elements been transformed into the 'globalising' *artificial realities* of today's informational and communicational technologies, and their operations in the dialectics of consumer and risk society, or in creating 'the global image of space' and 'heterotopias of the world bazaar or the global village' (cf. Olsen 2001)? How can it otherwise help us to engage critically and constructively with worries about the 'state of emergency' in the 'destruction and conservation' of archaeological materials (cf. Layton *et al.* 2001), 'Faustian Bargains' with the industrialisation and marketing of heritage, and sources of the efficacy (or power) of 'mass produced...images of the past' (cf. Russell this volume)?

Textbook or 'standard' accounts of 'science and modernity' do not help us in understanding the causes and consequences of these responses. In these accounts, the main factors involved in the origins of modernity

were: 17th century economic prosperity, the withering away of religion's restrictions on social mobility and intellectual life, expansion of secular culture, the political centrality of the nation-state, and the overturning of pre-modern worldviews on the basis of the mathematical - mechanics principle of the 'new' experimental science and natural philosophy (cf. Toulmin 1990). Contrary to 'standard' accounts, the formalisation of schemes for establishing a supposedly timeless placeless adjudicator of matters summarised in the lists presented in the previous section (a^1 - d^1, a^2 - d^2, and a^3 - g^3) did not arise in a social vacuum. Their roots are entangled in what became the most influential responses to the multiplicity of 'crises' that have carried the history of nation states established to end the Thirty Years War from one conflict to the next. But the deeper we delve into the conflicts that led up to and proliferated during the Thirty Years War, the further we are taken away from 'standard' narratives. And the closer we come to materials relating, among others, to the following topics.

1. The emergence of preoccupations with establishing a *'clean slate'* for developing the intellectual and practical means said to be needed to address the '*state of emergency*' of the times.
2. Corresponding preoccupation with establishing a unified methodology, science, and 'language' for judging competing knowledge claims.
3. The assignment to nascent human sciences unprecedented tasks of identifying the distinguishing features *and obstacles* to modernity.
4. Today's arguments that many problems perpetuated by the pre-modern - modern, expert knowledge - public beliefs, reality - 'mere' social constructions, and other dichotomies could be addressed differently if we recognised that 'we were never modern' in the ways standard narratives claim (e.g., Latour 1993; Latour & Weibel 2002).

Even cursory efforts to unravel 'standard' accounts make nonsense of some of their most basic assumptions. Consider for instance assumptions about prosperity and a continuously rational linear trajectory towards modern experimental science and natural philosophy in light of Stephen Toulmin account of period at issue. Writing in *Cosmopolis. The Hidden Agenda of Modernity* (1990), on the worsening conditions that dragged the Thirty Years War to an end, Toulmin stresses the following,

> The longer the bloodshed continued, the more paradoxical the state of Europe became. Whether for pay or from conviction, there were many who would burn in the name of theological doctrines that no one could give any conclusive reasons for accepting. The intellectual debate between Protestant Reformers and their Counter Reformation opponents had collapsed, and there was no alternative to the sword and torch. Yet the more brutal the warfare became, the more firmly convinced the proponents of each religious system were that their doctrines must be proved correct, and that their opponents were stupid, malicious, or both. For many of those involved, it ceased to be crucial what their theological beliefs were, or where they were rooted in experience, as 16th-century theologians would have demand. All that mattered, by this stage, was for supporters of Religious Truth to *believe, devoutly in belief itself*. For them, as for Tertullian long ago, the difficulty of squaring a doctrine with experience was just one more reason for accepting this doctrine that much more strongly (Toulmin 1990, 54).

Efforts to reconcile struggles for political sovereignty had failed miserably. On the eave of the Thirty Years War intellectual disputes turned upon antithetical traditional Catholic, Protestant and Counter-Reformation positions on issues no lesser in scope than those in the list (a^3 -g^3). It was impossible to resolve opposing theological positions on epistemological authority and political sovereignty (a^2-d^2). Efforts to do so were recurrently immediately followed by attacks on images of how the meanings of a^3 - g^3 relate to one another - violent outbreaks of image breaking and image making - and violence between iconoclasts and iconophiles accusing one another of idolatries and heresies (e.g., Latour & Weibel 2002; Koerner, J.L. 2002).

Benjamin's study of cultural crises on the eave of the Thirty Years War (*Origins of German Tragic Drama* 1977) touches upon radical changes that took place in response to contradictory interpretations of authoritative theological truths. In the midst of clashes over claims to authentic interpretations, the very multi-valency of theological images became itself a powerful symbol - an allegory of the contingency of all things human - of the plethora of 'alternative falsehoods' - a just verdict on the ever-falling human condition. Yet in tandem with this, there emerged a very different sort of orientation towards truth, representation, and history. Central to this were distinctively modern notions of 'knowledge by construction - notions of truths as things *made not found* -

of there being 'alternative realities' (not just alternative falsehoods, and of the possibility of reducing social, ethical and moral issues of '*is and ought*' and of '*good and evil*' to epistemic and political problems.

At the 'Peace of Westphalia', which created a system for regulating the political dynamics of modern 'nation-states' perhaps the only idea on which hitherto warring participants in negotiations might have agreed was that '*state of emergency*' of emergency needed to be declared in order to '*start from scratch*' or a 'clean slate'. Among the challenges these negotiations faced, crucial were believed to be the following:

1. Establishing an agreed-upon arbiter (or unifying agent) that stands somehow 'outside' or 'beyond' conflicting claims to political legitimacy as their impartial referee.
2. Identifying obstacles to rational agreement on some common sense (*sensus communis*) as to what is *common* in the world negotiators lived in common.

Believing, devoutly *in belief*, itself became essential for what became the most influential responses to the challenges. 'Standard' accounts of the beginnings of the 'modern episteme' stress the efforts their iconic figures devoted to work on a universally applicable methodology, unified science, and 'language' for translating and adjudicating discrepant knowledge claims. Missing from these accounts are not just references to the dire concrete historical conditions of these efforts. Mention is also missing of the importance of these figures' belief in the powers of the deceiving images and false beliefs of 'others' to the force with which they pursued these efforts. Simon Schaffer's article, 'The Devises of Iconoclasm' (2002) illustrates something of the importance of this belief to the image breaking and image making practices of the modern episteme's iconic figures. Schaffer shows how crucial the most famous figures' convictions that idols corrupt and destroy the foundations of social stability were to their preoccupation to produce the instruments said to be needed for (a) exposing the deceits of idols, and (b) establishing a timeless placeless judge of conflicting claims to truth and political legitimacy. Examples include instruments used to demonstrate the *artefactual Truth* conditions of Rene Descartes' (1596-1626) Doubt (1984-91), the *artefactual Nature* of Isaac Newton's (1642-1724) laboratory (1934 [1687]), the *artefactual Society* of Francis Bacon's (1561-1626) 'Atlantis' (1909) or Thomas Hobbes' (1588-1679)

Leviathan (1962 [1651]), and the *artefactual Value* of Isaac Newton's Mint and Market.

In these connections it bears remarking how important the idea of a 'disenchanted' mathematical and mechanical worldview is to 'standard' accounts of the origins of modernity. Missing from these accounts is mention of the extraordinary attention their iconic figures devoted to using these instruments to reveal what they saw as the primary obstacles to 'rational' agreement among 'men of good will', namely, the 'idols' and 'irrational' beliefs of 'commoners', colonialised 'savages', 'pre-moderns' and 'others.' Newton is an especially illuminating case. For Newton (1958), the material remains of 'obstacles' to rational political, pedagogical and public order could be found everywhere, in China, Egypt, Rome, and at Stonehenge. His contemporary, the antiquarian, John Aubrey, agreed in light of his excavations of 'temples' built by the ancients, such as Stonehenge, collections of the ritual objects of contemporary 'primitives', and his recordings of reports on shrines where priests fitted the neck-joints of statues of the Virgin, in order to fabricate 'miracles' (Schaffer 2002, 508). It follows that unmasking 'fetishes' (a term Newton drew from contemporary discourse on the deluded beliefs of the so-called 'savages' and 'barbarians' of Africa and the Americas in 'occult powers' of artefacts' was a foundational component of 17th century natural philosophers and antiquarians' 'search for truth' (Schaffer 2002, 507-8). These terms occur throughout Newton's (1965) memoirs defending the standardisation of value by the mint and the market. After establishing the foundations of a natural philosophy for undoing what he believed to have been the main causes of the Fall, Newton constructed a ferocious regime for governance and commerce that hinged upon replacing deceits that he attributed to distorted experiences of 'intrinsic' and extrinsic value' by stable constructions: the artefactual value of money in the capitalist market. Notions of the idolatrous habits of medieval Europe and 'primitives' became increasingly important to claims about the timeless placeless advantages of science and standardised monetary values for 'cleaning the slate' of obstacles to progress, and about sources of the epistemic and political authority of the 'modern episteme.'

Perhaps the insight that bears most stressing is that it was not until after these developments took place that it became possible to address the range of issues at the centre of 20th century 'crises' in academia (a^1 - d^1, a^2 - d^2) and (a^3 -g^3). on the basis of the systems of 'supposed synonymous dichotomies' (see Table 4-1) that we looked at in their

connection. Further, it was not until *after* these developments took hold that it became possible to:

1. Speak of 'other' contemporary cultures (primitive, traditional) as somehow part of a 'vanishing past.'
2. Assign anthropology and archaeology tasks of distinguishing - in the midst of expanding applications of technologies for *artificial reality* production - between true and false images of the diversity of the past and present - or (to use Russell's (this volume) terms) *the image-object from the actual object or the mass-produced object from the authentically-unique object.*

And it is very unlikely indeed that it would have been possible until after these developments (1) for archaeological heritage institutions to expect archaeology to be able to realise the daunting tenets that Holtorf's (2001) paper, Is archaeology a scarce resource?' deals with, or (2) for archaeologists to become worried when they hear 'someone when they view a monument such as the Tower of Pisa or Stonehenge say 'it looks bigger in the picture' (Russell this volume).

NOTHING 'MERE' ABOUT SOCIAL CONSTRUCTS - EXPELLING WORRIES ABOUT A 'FAUSTIAN BARGAIN'

What might a Faustian Bargain with the industrialisation of heritage look like in a world, variously glossed as 'dominated by mass production, replication, simulation and consumption' (Russell this volume), as 'post-modern -colonial -industrial', as governed by 'global' informational and communicational structures, and 'consumer-society' and 'risk-society/reflexive modernity'?

There is a very considerable modern literary tradition devoted to images of the state and operations of the devil. The appearances of both the devil (Mephistopheles) in Goethe's *Faust* (1985) and devil in Dostoevsky's (1958) *The Brothers Karamazov* appear to the heroes they aim to seduce as small, shabby, servants - not malicious but mean. They are not at all in possession of the powers of the flames of Hell, but embodiments of failure to deserve power. Benjamin (1992 [1940]) may

have had such images in mind when he found in Paul Klee's painting, 'Angelus Novus', an image useful for understanding the causes and consequences of the Faustian dispositions in his own times. The angel looks out from the canvas towards its past, with its back to the future's conditions of possibility. Wings spread; he looks as though he is being blown away from something that he is fixedly contemplating. This, Benjamin said, is how the angel of meta-narratives ought to be depicted. You and I may experience a variety of events arising from largely non-comprehended conditions. The angel perceives only one *transcendent* catastrophe hurling wreckage in front of him. He may want to make good what has been smashed, but the storm has caught his wings and is propelling him into a future towards which his back is turned. The pile of *immanent* debris grows skyward. Similarly, exponents of images that envisage progress as a smooth linear process respond with 'surprise' to crises that, according to their view, should not be occurring.

One thing that we might ask, in light of these images and the work of Galison on the development of computer technology based artificial reality that we touched upon earlier, is whether worries about archaeology making a Faustian Bargain with the industrialisation and marketing of heritage are symptoms of worries about the powers of this technology's images in the dynamics of contemporary epistemic authority and political sovereignty. Is there anything 'mere' about these images or of the 'constructs' of Descartes (1984-91), Newton (Newton's (1935 [1687]), Bacon (1909), Hobbes 1962 [1651]), Klee's 'Angelus Novus', or archaeological 'images of the past'? What is the source of the efficacy of symbolic forms - the power of images?

The turn of the 21st century saw not only remarkably convergent 'crises' in the physical sciences, human sciences, and humanities, but also considerable interdisciplinary efforts to rethink oscillations between worries about the 'powers of images' and notions of there being something 'mere' about 'social constructs' of all kinds. In her introduction to the edited volume, *The Biography of Scientific Objects* (Daston 2000), Lorraine Daston describes the importance of the later to apparently antithetical 'realist' and

> 'constructionalist paradigms as follows. Realists picture scientific discoveries as... explored territory waiting to be mapped.... Constructionists assert scientific objects to be inventions, forged in specific historical contexts and moulded by local circumstances. Those circumstances may be intellectual or institutional, cultural or

> philosophical, but they are firmly attached to a particular time and place. The favoured metaphors are those of craftsmanship (and sometimes craftiness): work, fabrication, plasticity. On the constructionist side, scientific objects are eminently historical, but not real.... Both sides of the debate accept the oppositions of the real versus the constructed, the natural versus the cultural (ibid., 2-4).

Essential to beliefs in a dichotomy of reality/social constructions is the persistence of devout beliefs in powers believed to supposedly be held over 'others' in the 'disenchantment' of modern world views and in obstacles to rationality in the social constructions of 'pre-moderns', 'commoners', the 'public'. An obvious contradiction is that it is 'modern' or 'expert' that attributing powers to things that, in their own 'disenchanted' views, should be powerless. I am not saying that images are not important. There is nothing 'mere' about images - they are as real as the London tube. As Latour (2002, 32) puts it images are frail as well as important, 'not because they are mere tokens... or prototypes of something away, above, beneath; they count because they allow us to move to another image, exactly as frail and as modest as the former one - but different.' Put in another way, images are fragile and important as means (objects, sites and vehicles for further metaphorical objectification) whereby human beings can anchor fields of practice to one another and find some common sense (sensus communis) of the good - of what matters.

The 'power of images' is itself a powerful verbal image in the literatures on contradictory aspects of globalisation and multi-culturalism, and on the causes and consequences of *consumer society* and *risk/reflexive society* (e.g., Harvey 1989; Giddens 1990; Baudrillard 1998; Beck 1992). It is difficult to overstate the bearing these literatures have upon worries about whether archaeology is entering into a Faustian Bargain in its relation to the heritage industries (Russell this volume), and the ways in which the 'the destruction and conservation of cultural property' 'begs the question of how archaeology might 'proceed in relation to those who deliberately misuse or misrepresent the past for political ends' (Layton *et al.* 2001, 19).

Written in the midst of the first world wide opposition on the part of academics, artists, politicians and public media to exploitation of the 'Third World', Jean Baudrillard's *Consumer Society* (1998 [1970]) critically engages the presuppositions of 'First World'' images of the *The*

Affluent Society (Galbraith 1985). Combining structuralist social theory with principles drawn from Marx, Baudrillard aims to reveal the roles of the change in the meanings and values of commodities in the transformation of modernity and its social and ecological impacts. Mass media, according to Baudrillard play essential roles in this transformation, creating new experiences of needs of commodities that are intrinsically unable to be met by industrial technological and social means of production. Not just objects but waste becomes a commodity under resulting conditions of inconspicuous and conspicuous consumption. The new forms of poverty and ecological damage, which are both encouraged and rendered invisible by the meanings and values generated by mass media informational and communicational structures, are not an anomaly but the norm of 'consumer society.'

Baudrillard's work brings important light to the sorts of changes in modernity that have become key foci of research on globalisation and change in the social geography of ecological risk, sustainable development, and exposure to social violence. But the work is complicated by the notion of human agency that centres on unconscious collectively shared mental structures, and a notion of history that turns on a pre-modern - modern dichotomy. It does not provide us with the sorts of conceptual tools we need in order to illuminate discrepant experiences, or how human beings can bring about change in their current as well as future conditions of possibility.

The concepts of 'risk society' and 'reflexive modernity' were introduced by Ulrich Beck as the two main components of model for characterising changes in the dynamics of ecological processes, human agency, and communicational and informational structures that are said to be bringing the viability of the technologies and social institutions of what he calls the 'simple modernity' of nation-states to an end. Regarding ecological processes, risk society is marked by ecological and social consequences of the momentum of science and technology innovation and implementation, which increasingly elude the sorts of control and protection institutions that were established by 'modern' industrialised nation-states.

> The latency phase of risk threats is coming to an end. The invisible hazards are becoming visible. Damage to and destruction of nature no longer occur outside our personal experience in the sphere of chemical, physical or biological chains of effects; instead they strike more and more clearly our eyes, ears and noses (Beck 1992, 55).

Beck's work brings into sharp relief the complexity of the roles that have been played by the industrialisation and commercialisation of science and technology research and applications.

Scientists have disempowered themselves by insisting on a particular notion of the quality of their work that makes it impossible for them to deal directly with risks. The insistence that connections between applications of technologies and social and ecological consequences may look good from the perspectives that these notions may offer. But when dealing with risks this insistence multiplies risks (Beck 1992, 61-3). Industrialisation and commercialisation worsen the situation immeasurably.

> First, the scientization of risk is increasing; second - and mutually related - the commerce with risks is growing. Far from being just a critique, the demonstration of the hazards and risks of modernisation is also an economic development of first rank.... The industrial system profits from the abuses it produces, and very nicely indeed, thank you [Jänicke 1979]…. Far from being an anomaly in 'risk society', 'risk production and its cognitive agents - critique of civilisation, critique of technology, critique of the environment, risk dramatisation and risk research in the mass media - are a system immanent normal form of [risk society's] revolutionalising needs' (Beck 1992, 56)

'Risk' is a deeply social and moral issue. Scott Lash and Brian Wynne, in their introduction to the English translation of *Risk Society* (1992, 4) note that:

1. Physical Risks are always created and affected in social systems.
2. The magnitude of the physical risks is therefore a direct function of the quality of social relations and processes.
3. The primary risk, even for the most technically intense activities (indeed perhaps most especially for them) is therefore that of social dependency upon institutions and caters to who may be - and arguably are increasingly - alien, obscure and inaccessible to most people affected by the risks in question (Lash & Wynne 1992, 4).

The subtitle of Beck's *Risk Society* is 'Towards a New Modernity' (1992). It refers to Beck's characterisation of social changes that accompany the ecological dimensions of the emergence of 'risk society'

and bring about relations of agency and structure that distinguish modernity. While the axial ecological principle of industrial society is the distribution of goods, that of risk society is the distribution of 'bads' or hazards. Beck's arguments for conditions of possibility for a critical and constructive approach to this situation, hinges upon a distinction between 'reflective' (unintended) and 'reflexive' modernity. The former term refers to processes that take place without reflection, beyond conscious knowledge. The latter is based on the thesis that the more societies are modernised though human beings' creating and using new informational and communicational structures, the more they acquire the ability to reflect upon the social conditions of their existence, as well as to change them.

Beck's framework has considerable advantages for bringing into relief some of the most complex dimensions of the contemporary world, and particular bearing upon worries about the causes and consequences of the industrialisation of heritage. This, perhaps not least of all relating to its impacts - as suggested, for instance, by Holtorf's (2001) paper 'Is archaeology a scarce resource?' on archaeological heritage management. But it is complicated by the roles it gives to its chronology of stages (pre-modern, simple modern, reflexive modernity) in its characterisation of the main divisions of the population during these stages. Thus Beck's framework ends up attributing to those closest to the system's informational and communicational structures, the greatest *reflective* capacities, while those supposedly on the margins of *reflexivity* (members of 'traditional societies' and the 'public') are seen to possess the least conditions of possibility for *reflection* and bringing about change in the system. By contrast, those situated at the core ('experts') are seen to possess the greatest such capacities.

Relating the present volume's concerns, one of the questions that considerations of current research on 'consumer society' and 'risk society' might entertain is that of the roles played in the perpetuation of the unequal core-periphery exchange relationships that mark much of the 'world' heritage industries by un-reflective assumptions about 'expert knowledge and public beliefs', 'facts and values', what is authentic and what is a simulation or replication (for instance, Irwin & Wynne 1996; Hall 2001).

CHANGING APPROACHES TO ARCHAEOLOGY'S ROLES IN CREATING MEMORIES OF THE PAST AND PLANNING FUTURES

The materials represented in this chapter bring light to several important areas of overlap between current debates over problematical images of 'globalisation and multi-culturalism', patterns in 'the destruction and conservation of cultural property', and the social geography of ecological risk, sustainable development, and exposure to political violence (e.g. Harvey 1989; Giddens 1990; Beck 1992; Layton *et al.* 2001; Freidman 2002; Sandercock 2003; Koerner, S. 2006). I will conclude with some suggestions about the bearing that considerations of these overlaps may have upon developing constructive approaches to the roles archaeology can play in the creation and transformation of memories of the past, and the planning of futures.

One is growth of interest the bearing upon the issues these debates pose of systems of supposed synonymous dichotomies in which the modern - pre-modern divide figures essentially. Going against the grain of these systems, Latour (1993) argues that 'we were never modern' in the ways these systems claims. All societies

> [All societies] simultaneously construct humans, divinities, and non-human ['actants'].... None of them - and especially not our own - lives in a world in which Nature can be separated from Society and pure *phenomena* can be disembedded from *the things in themselves* (Latour 1993, 56).... If there is one thing we do, it is surely that we construct both our human collectivities and the nonhumans that surround them. In constituting their collectivities, some societies mobilize ancestors, lions, fixed stars and the coagulated blood of sacrifice; in ours, we mobilize genetics, zoology, cosmology, and hæmatology (Latour 1993,106).... The fact that one society needs ancestors and fixed stars, while another one, more eccentric, needs genes and quasars, relates to the dimensions of the collective to be held together. The relation of modern scientific knowledge and power does not differ in that by dividing Nature from Society it has at last escaped the influences of the latter, *but in that it has demanded increased numbers* of nature-culture hybrids to recompose its social networks and extend their scale (Latour 1993, 9; italics mine).

Second, questioning received views on modernity can throw light on the consequences of dichotomising ‘expert knowledge and public beliefs’, ‘facts and values’, and what is said to be authentic and inauthentic. Layton, Stone and Thomas (2001, 19) touch upon this matter in their introduction to the edited volume, *The Destruction and Conservation of Cultural Property*

> how archaeology might ‘proceed in relation to those who deliberately misuse or misrepresent the past for political ends’ and/or in situations where ‘it is open to question whether anyone is in a position to decide which viewpoints are too extreme to be included in the dialogue.’

Building upon Benjamin’s insights (1992 [1936]), they note that recent reflections raise the possibility that an ‘inauthentic’ monument might provide the ground for an ‘authentic’ experience, while an ‘authentic’ prehistoric site might offer no such opportunity, if it were presented in a commodified secular manner (Layton *et al.* 2001, 18).

Carrying this idea forward means ‘probing the limits’ of standard option for historical description and interpretation. Benjamin pursued such aims by developing methodologies for going against the grain of standard accounts, which involve bringing analyses of *particular paradigmatic cases* to bear upon critiques of *universalising generalisations*. His approach had considerable ancient predecessors. One of the requirements of a strongly reflective approach to addressing philosophical issues posed in this volume in socially practical ways may be that it focuses attention on the bearing that some call a ‘narrative’ or ‘poetic’ approach may have upon the challenges facing archaeologists working in situations where it is open to question whether any of the contrasting points of view should be excluded from considerations (cf. Layton *et al.* 2001; Sandercock 1993).

In developing such an approach we touch upon themes that reach back to the works of rhetoriticians of classical antiquity, of early Renaissance humanists, and of Giambattista Vico’s (1948 [1744]) *The New Science*. But today there are also considerable conceptual tools for opening these themes to interpretations that are appropriate for current situations. These enable us to distinguish our approach from notions of poetry as ‘artistic representation’ - in the modern sense of the term or as the ‘effortless effort of eloquence’. Poetry can thus mean a feat with force appropriate to that which engages, but which does not involve taking a stance somehow above or beyond its historically contingent locations. Building

upon insights drawn from Aristotle's *Poetics* (1996), Vico (1948 [1744]) and materials covered in this chapter it is possible to outline the minimal properties that such an approach must involve:

1. A sequential framework and recognised conventions for structuration.
2. An element of explanation, interpretive coherence, a potential for generalisation- seeing the general in the particular, and a moral or philosophical tension of practical and social significance.

The first of these groups of properties relates to the ancient idea that 'poetic wisdom' depends on a grammar or logic structured poetic tropes (*verba translata*=words with transferred meanings). The most elementary forms of 'poetic logic' are said to be structured around four types of tropes. Among other things, these mean that the transfers of meaning involved in occur in four *logically* predictable ways:

1. From one thing to something similar (*metaphor*)
2. From cause to effect or visa versa (*metonymy*)
3. From the whole to the parts (*synecdoche*)
4. From one thing to its opposite (*irony*).

The second group relates to likewise ancient conception of poetry as expressive communicative creation, with powerful potential for changing the *sensus communis* of a particular situation. In their classical formulations, poetic practice has five parts:

1. *inventio*: finding the relevant arguments,
2. *dispositio*: arranging them in effective order,
3. *elocutio*: choosing appropriate language,
4. *memoria*: memorizing the speech, and
5. *pronuncia*: delivering it.

Many examples to illustrate the operations of these formal properties could be mentioned here, including the arguments presented in the aforementioned papers by Carman (2002) and Holtorf (2001), and my lists of issues in earlier sections. For our present purposes it may bear noting that premises concerning such formal properties motivate some of

the most influential current arguments concerning the efficacy of symbolic forms:

1. The efficacy of symbolic (discursive) practice is relational and actualised only through its exercise.
2. The forces (or in Foucault's terms, relations of power and knowledge) essential to the efficacy of symbolic forms are productive and enabling, not merely prohibitive.
3. Symbolic communication is unintelligible from perspectives that envisage individuals as atomistic parts. At the very heart of language and human communication, as such, are mutually susceptible and mutually accountable intentional creatures whose engagement with one another and the world in which they live hinges upon recognising each other as such.

A strongly reflexive critical and constructive 'poetic' approach to the roles archaeology can play in the creation and transformation of memories of the past, and the planning of futures may help us to challenge paradigms for historical description and interpretation that hinge upon modern – pre-modern and expert-public divides. Our experiences inform us that human beings are mutually accountable and mutually susceptible social creatures (Barnes 2000). As Barry Barnes (2000) points out, our interaction is informed by our experience that human beings are creatures that act voluntarily. Focusing on ethics enables us to understand the ways in which human beings freely choose and freely act as mutually accountable and mutually susceptible creatures, and that they do so while affecting and being affected by each other as creatures of this kind. Our interaction as human agents is always situated in contingent ethical relationships (commitments), which make self-understanding possible. Our relationships to the world (ontic, epistemic, social, material, and historical commitments) are created through our ethical relationships to one another as mutually susceptible, mutually accountable, (intentional) beings (Brandom 1994; Barnes 2000; McGuire & Tuchanska 2001).

It bears noting that such an approach avoids a-historical dichotomies of *agency* and *structure*, and suggests alternatives to images of agents that reduce human beings to 'timeless, featureless, interchangeable and atomistic individuals, untethered to time or space' (Gero 2000, 38). In the approach suggested here:

1. Human beings are not atomistic, interchangeable nodes through which social systems or cultural histories operate
2. Human life-world can be envisaged as a *prism* of diverse fields of experience, including ethical fields in which *others* human beings are apprehended as centres of meaning and value
3. Ethical fields cannot emerge without the (embodied and materialised) others, but they are prior to and constitutive of the various images that constitute what some archaeologists have referred to as the historical contingent 'structuring conditions and structuring principles' and 'mutuality and materiality' (cf. Barrett 1994, 2000; Gosden 1994) of human life forms.

Layton, Stone and Thomas' summary of Martin Hall's paper, 'Cape Town's District Six and the Archaeology of Memory' (2001) illustrates a number of these points. They refer to it in relation to their argument that 'an 'inauthentic' monument might provide the ground for an 'authentic' experience, while an 'authentic' prehistoric site might offer no such opportunity' (Layton *et al.* 2001, 18). Importantly, in the case that concerns Hall's paper, 'cultural property' is less a matter of claiming the ownership of an object as that of documenting a relationship with a place and with a particular past. The buildings of District Six were destroyed, but this destruction effected a production of memory, so that the ruined traces that survive are now poignant and charged. Nonetheless the message that they convey is not ambiguous. The memories that they evoke are not a transparent record of the past so much as a personalised interpretation of experience (Layton *et al.* 2001, 118).

Hall's paper illustrates something of the roles that archaeology can play in creating memories and planning futures. This without abandoning notions of the self and intentionality needed to recognise the ambiguity of the memories the ruined traces of District Six evoke. The ruins make not only memories, but their ambiguity. The following from Robert Brandom's work, *Making it Explicit: reasoning, representing and discursive commitment* (1994) suggests something of how this is the case:

> Only a creature who can make beliefs explicit – in the sense of claiming and keeping discursive score on claims – can adopt the simple intentional stance and treat another as having beliefs implicit in its intelligent behaviour. Just so, only a creature who can make

> attitudes towards the beliefs of others explicit – in the sense of being able to ascribe scorekeeping attributions – can adopt the explicitly discursive stance and treat others as making their beliefs explicit, and so as having intentionality (Brandom 1994, 639).

Hall's paper challenges dualist paradigms for agency and structure. It shows how a group of shared and discrepant experiences comes to irradiate other experiences of the people involved in a community archaeology project. The project rendered explicit shared memories and discrepant experiences on the very scales on which human meanings and values are generated. Through the ways in which the project made shared ethical fields explicit, it transformed conditions of possibility for planning futures.

A final point that bears stressing is that such a poetic approach challenges dualist paradigms for epistemic authority and political sovereignty. The critical tasks of the poetic approach outlined here are not achieved through claims to universal validity. Poetry can engage in struggles to negotiate conditions of possibility for diversity of human ways of life and experience, without having to make claims about having settled differences among interlocutor's positions on what is common in the world they occupy in common, on what is true and/or what matters. In this respect alone, poetics has advantages over the methods adopted by philosophies that seek a conclusive solution 'above' or beyond' what is at issue in historically situated contexts.

Poetic means of expression can record responses to despair and to hope, can facilitate remembering, forgetting, and planning for the future. It can make acts of virtue and of vice explicit as mattering, not just 'banal', by creatively making them 'things public' - open to public reflection, debate and counter-responses. These means of making perspectives on what matters explicit can hold struggles in tension without seeking to resolve them in ways that can be expected to reduce the many perspectives one can take on matters into one final, decisive, and de-contextualised one. Since these means are intrinsically about multiplicity of perspectives - alone already by virtue of their reflexive conditions of possibility - they can illuminate the extent to which de-contextualised totalities are alien to human experience.

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Chapter 8

COLLECTIVE MEMORY AND THE MUSEUM

Towards a Reconciliation of Philosophy, History and Memory in Daniel Libeskind's Jewish Museum

Kay F. Edge & Frank H. Weiner
Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University

INTRODUCTION

> Life without memory is no life at all, just as an intelligence without the possibility of expression is not really an intelligence. Our memory is our coherence, our reason, our feeling, even our action. Without it, we are nothing. - Luis Bunuel, *My Last Sigh* (1983, 4-5)

In its power to evoke emotion and to impart both conceptual and intuitive knowledge, through its own specific language, architecture gives collective memory a place and a body. But as contemporary cultural critics have pointed out, our postmodern condition is one of fragmentation, polyvalence and ambiguity. Collective memory appears antithetical to this and seems to demand the grand narrative that our time has rejected. There is evidence that while collective memory is still relevant its nature has shifted. The architect's current dilemma is in making an object or a space that evokes collective memory while allowing for the multi-perspectival. Daniel Libeskind's Jewish Museum in Berlin offers a means of investigating the capacity of architecture to address the tangle of memory and history.

ARCHITECTURE AND THE 'HISTORY/MEMORY PROBLEM'

> Memory is color, history is line. - Leon Wieseltier, 'After Memory' (1993, 16)

> Architecture's greatest productions are not so much the works of individuals as of societies. - Victor Hugo, *Notre-Dame de Paris* (1993, 125)

History and memory represent distinct yet inextricable entities. Historian David Lowenthal calls them 'processes of insight, each involv[ing] components of the other', and while they can never be truly separated, it is relevant to attempt a sorting out of the differences between them, and to consider the implications of what some historians call the 'history/memory problem' (Lowenthal 1985, 187). Once clarified, they must be allowed to resume their natural state of intertwining since both history and memory can enlighten the making of architecture.

Sociologist Maurice Halbwachs, writing in the first half of the 20th century, was one of the first to address what he referred to as 'the ultimate opposition between collective memory and history,' and he continues to be a canonical source for contemporary historians grappling with the history/memory problem (Halbwachs 1980, 78). While history strives to be objective and to present events exactly as they happened, memory is highly subjective, tenuous and emotional. While memory is the connection between past and present, history seeks to distance itself from the past. And where memory addresses recurring, ritual events, history focuses on the unique, momentous events of the past. (Hutton 1993, 76).

The idea of collective memory emerged as a social study coincidentally with the development of modern sociology. Halbwachs was one of the first to directly address the issue of memory as a collective phenomenon and to propose that individual memories are formed within and are dependent upon the collective. Halbwachs takes what might be described as a Kantian position in claiming that in order for collective memory to be intelligible there must be a pre-existing social framework to receive and make sense of individual memories[1]. Just as an architectural grid serves as a framework for composition,

allowing variation and a hierarchy of elements within a homogeneous order, individual memories may be said to fit into a larger ordered framework, the events and experiences that a collective holds in common. Just as the architectural composition needs an ordering device such as the grid, the fragments of individual memory require the order of the collective if they are to be intelligible. Our memories would be unintelligible, Halbwachs says, without this framework: 'A man who remembers alone what others do not remember resembles somebody who sees what others do not see … as if he suffers from hallucinations' (Halbwachs 1950, 167, trans. from Vromen 1975, 198). Halbwachs posited collective memory as being specifically spatial in proposing that individual memory is only intelligible within a social framework, 'a group delimited in time and space…' (Halbwachs 1980, 84). Our memories depend upon a social framework and that framework, in turn, exists in a spatial context.

Walter Benjamin too, writing in the first half of the 20th century, addressed the opposing forces of history and memory in response to professional historical analysis that purported to give a linear account of 'official history' (Wohlfarth 1978, 148-212). Benjamin, like Halbwachs, believed that memory was in crisis and that the traditional chain of memory that passes an event from one generation to the next had been broken. 'The art of storytelling,' he said, 'is coming to an end' (Benjamin 1968, 83). Benjamin, quoting Proust, acknowledges the materiality of memory and the incapacity of the intellect (history) to fully incorporate memory: it is 'somewhere beyond the reach of the intellect, and unmistakably present in some material object' (Benjamin 1968, 160). Only the material object, Benjamin said, has the power to generate the image flashes of memory that are true pictures of the past.

Contemporary historians have taken up Benjamin's observations and have situated collective memory as an opposing force to factual historical analysis. French historian Pierre Nora, claims that memory has been overcome by history, ruined by relentless rationalization. 'We speak so much of memory,' he says, 'because there is so little of it left' (Nora 1989, 7). Nora, like Halbwachs and Benjamin, acknowledges the spatial, material aspects of memory. But as Nora claims, the commemorative spaces and objects that facilitated a relation between past and present have changed from representing a natural collective memory to a self-conscious preservation of memory. He makes a distinction between these self-consciously created 'places of memory' and authentic 'environments

of memory.' Modernity created the spaces it needed for that preservation: museums, memorials and archives, 'prosthetic artifacts to replace natural connections to reality' to make a prosthetic memory. For Nora, memory allows materiality where history demands temporality. 'Memory,' he says, 'attaches itself to sites whereas history attaches itself to events' (Nora 1989, 7). Modern memory is corrupted by technology, by our seemingly unlimited capacity to collect and store non-material, site-less bits of historical information. How and why could we ever remember all that we have stored, Nora asks.

Clearly memory and collective memory are constructs but 'historical fact' is no less constructed by the historian and even the historical document, usually taken to be objective evidence, is a representation of what historian Jacques Le Goff calls 'society's power over memory' (Le Goff 1992, xvii). Architectural historian Francesco dal Co put the issue in archaeological terms when he said, 'Fragments are in many cases much more useful than great historical ideas and often form the basis of a successful interpretation of the past…We know that to understand something of the past we must dig for small forces, for fragments…danger and chance are the most important aspects of the historian's work. It is the chance to expose the falseness of the documents, and to capture the meaning of a fragment of time, that should drive historical research and inquiry' (Groen 1987, 15).

It is paradoxical that postmodernity has rejected master narratives, yet, given the interests of contemporary historians such as Nora, Crane and Le Goff, it has embraced the concept of memory which seems to require some kind of cohesive, if not 'master' approach (Klein 2000, 138-9). History has become 'histories' and these multiple histories rely largely on the collective memories of various groups. If we accept Halbwachs's proposal that individual memory must be placed within a social framework in order to be intelligible, this does seem to imply the kind of grand narrative our time has rejected. But in fact Halbwachs, Benjamin and a number of contemporary historians aid in refuting the notion that an all-encompassing historical narrative is necessary in order to propose collective memory. Memory may offer relief from the master narrative that history asserts. It may be the nature of memory itself, fragmented, blurred and dispersed, that preserves it from being subsumed by a single grand narrative. History, Halbwachs says, is a unified, single account[2]. Memory, by contrast, is multiple and multi-faceted; the experience of the individual and collective memory 'interpenetrate' each

other. Memories are as numerous and as varied as the groups within which they occur (Halbwachs 1980, 55).

Likewise Susan Crane, writing in the *American Historical Review* argues that collective memory does not imply speaking with one identical voice. Instead, collective memory may be comprised of compatible individual memories. Individuals and their memories are not subsumed by collective memory but rather are parts necessary for the collective. History allows a multiplicity and collective memory, Crane argues, is 'flexible' in addressing the events of the past and the individual memories of those events (Crane 1997, 1376). Similarly, Richard Brilliant, speaking at Columbia University's Monument and Memory seminar noted that we would all have differing memories of the events of September, 11. 'It could have no singular shape or identity' even though we all witnessed the same event in much the same way, for the majority of us, through the medium of television. The deliberate collection of these individual memories to form the collective memory constitutes, Brilliant says, 'the essential meaning of the public, commemorative monument' (Libeskind, Wieseltier & Nuland 2002, 8). Memory then, does allow for the multi-perspectival and it offers relief from the single conclusion often claimed by history. Those elements of memory assumed to be its weaknesses are what constitute its strength against the dictates of history: its fragmented, incomplete and shifting nature (Sturken 1997, 259).

There is perhaps a parallel argument between history and philosophy. Philosophy has from its beginnings not been kind to history. The difficulty of establishing a 'philosophy of history' makes all operations that deal with the past no more than telling stories about particulars. Evidently it was deemed more worthy by philosophers to write about ideas than to tell about events. This is perhaps when the rift developed between the oral and written tradition. Philosophy as the reasoned study of universals does not know what to do with history as the record of particulars. These complexities are compounded when dealing with the idea of memory which seems to fall outside the registers of philosophy and to be closer to the domains of psychology and sociology. Modern philosophers such as Vico, Hegel, Windelband, and Croce have tried to develop a coherent philosophy of history that respects the dictates of philosophy while acknowledging the legitimacy of historical thought. Other thinkers such as Bergson and Heidegger have raised the idea of time as a fundamental philosophical problem of the 20th century.

Memory in a way falling outside of both the oral and written traditions nevertheless remains an idea in search of a discipline and yet seems to infuse all disciplines. The very persistence of memory suggests that it is a powerful aspect of life, however, few philosophies can answer the question - what is memory?

With or without a philosophical grasp of memory, the question remains as to how architecture and collective memory might intersect. How is contemporary architecture to deal with the past, both in terms of historical fact and in terms of memory which, no matter how entangled, can be discerned as different things? Intangible memory is dependent upon a mental operation, the recall of past images, while architecture is understood phenomenologically through extension in space, its immediacy and its materiality. Bergson's declaration that memory is the intersection of mind and matter is particularly relevant for the architect charged with embodying, making material, those things which are not material.

Memory and for that matter architecture, seem caught in the interregnum between the *res cogitans* and *res extensa*. How does thought think or cope with an extension that is distinct from it? Is the past thought and written as history and felt and seen as memory? History and memory are in a state of perpetual crisis divided as mind is from body. I think therefore I exist -- can be amended to -- I think therefore I exist within the extended. The mind as pure *cogito* is faced with the dilemma of an '*apriori*' extension made of space and matter following the universality of the x, y and z axis. It is this coordinate axiality where space and matter become the extended vessel that hesitantly houses memory.

MUSEUM AS BUILDING TYPE

The museum has played a significant role in housing collective memory. It is both a product and a result of Enlightenment modernism. Indeed the museum may be considered the self-conscious offspring of the history/memory problem. The immediate philosophical response to the inception of this new building type makes clear that the museum stands at the intersection between philosophy, history and memory. The theoretical critique of the museum from its earliest establishment parallels the critique made of rationalized history as well as the ancient

critique of philosophy. Historian Didier Maleuvre notes the parallel between the critique of philosophy and the critique of the museum. From the beginning, philosophy has been blamed for promoting criticism at the expense of action, and for judging as opposed to acting (Maleuvre 1999, 23). Critics of the first museums complained too that instead of preserving history, the museum would destroy it. Historical objects and works of art, taken out of daily existence and out of context would be rendered inactive and would lose their authenticity as they were reinvented and institutionalized in the space of the museum.

Hegel and architectural theorist Quatremere de Quincy, writing at almost the same time during the late Enlightenment, offered strikingly similar theoretical critiques of the museum. Quatremere's critique of museums has to do with cultural authenticity. By removing the artefacts from their original places and 'reconstituting the debris' in the space of the museum, their 'network of ideas and relations' has been forsaken. 'Their essential merit,' Quatremere says, 'depended on the beliefs that created them, on the ideas to which they were tied, to the circumstances that explained, to the community of thoughts which gave them their unity.' Placed in the foreign context of the museum, the objects are meaningless caricatures. The museum then attests to the failure of the present to construct a reasonable relationship with the past. (Quatremere de Quincy 1989, 47-48). Hegel makes an almost identical critique in the development of his 'Phenomenology': 'the statues are now only stones from which the living soul has flown…the works of the Muse now lack the power of the Spirit, for the Spirit has gained its certainty of itself from the crushing of gods and men' (Hegel 1977, 455**)**. But Hegel celebrated this occurrence, claiming it as an indication that we have moved beyond material embodiment to Spirit[3].

Quatremere's initial critique of the museum can be found again in Nietzsche's critique of history as an adulteration of culture and in Heidegger's observation that even when objects are left in their original context, the world they existed in before can never be reconstructed. Theodor Adorno too joined the ranks of museum critics in suggesting that museum and mausoleum are connected through more than alliteration: 'The German word 'museal' [museum-like] has unpleasant overtones. It describes objects to which the observer no longer has a vital relationship and which are in the process of dying. They owe their preservation more to historical respect than to the needs of the present. Museum and mausoleum are connected by more than phonetic

association. They testify to the neutralization of culture' (Adorno 1982, 175). Contemporary criticism of the museum continues and recalls the history/memory problem. Pierre Nora claims that museums and other 'sites of memory' became necessary when memory ceased to function naturally and such sites attest to the 'alienated status of memory in modern times, an estrangement concretized in monuments, museums and "lieux de memoires"' (Maleuvre, 59). For Nora, the museum represents 'prosthetic memory.'

A CASE STUDY IN PROSTHETIC MEMORY: DANIEL LIBESKIND'S JEWISH MUSEUM, BERLIN, GERMANY

> [if] something is to stay in the memory it must be burned in: only that which never ceases to hurt stays in the memory. - Friedrich Nietzsche, *Genealogy of Morals* (1967, 61)

> The fissure that opens up between experiencing an event and remembering it in representation is unavoidable. Rather than lamenting or ignoring it, this split should be understood as a powerful stimulant for cultural and artistic creativity. - Andreas Huyssen, *Twighlight Memories Marking Time in a Culture of Amnesia* (1995, 3)

The following photographs of the Jewish Museum, designed by the architect Daniel Libeskind, were taken in the fall of 2004. The photographs represent an architect's encounter with one of the key contemporary architectural works produced in the world in the last ten years. What is remarkable is the way in which the tradition of architecture, the typology of the museum and the special nature of the building requirements intersect in this project. It is a memory machine for both the discipline of architecture and for the idea of memory itself.

Figure 8-1. Exterior, view of existing museum and Jewish Museum Extension. Photographed by Frank H. Weiner.

Figure 8-2. Exterior, view of Jewish Museum Extension with existing museum beyond. Photographed by Frank H. Weiner.

Figure 8-3. Exterior, detail view of wall with parapet and windows. Photographed by Frank H. Weiner

Figure 8-4. Exterior, detail view of exterior wall with opening. Photographed by Frank H. Weiner.

Figure 8-5. Interior, view of concrete beams above stair. Photographed by Frank H. Weiner.

Figure 8-6. Interior, view of Holocaust Tower with air vents. Photographed by Frank H. Weiner.

Figure 8-7. Interior, view of Holocaust Tower ceiling. Photographed by Frank H.Weiner.

Figure 8-8. Exterior, view of Peace garden with Jewish Museum Extension beyond. Photographed by Frank H. Weiner.

Daniel Libeskind's Jewish Museum in Berlin (Figures 8-1-8) is a special case for considering the intersection of architecture, collective memory and philosophy[4]. Architecture can never be a literal representation of collective memory and this represents the primary architectural challenge in such a project. The philosophical challenge is shown in the contrast between the ancient denial of the existence of the void, and the contemporary insistence on invoking the void as the very idea of the city of Berlin.

The original Jewish Museum in Berlin opened in January of 1933 one week before Adolf Hitler took office. It was part of a complex in the eastern sector of the city that included a Jewish community center, a synagogue and a library. In 1935 the Nuremberg laws were passed, allowing only Jews to visit or exhibit at the museum and by 1938 the Nazis had plundered and mostly destroyed the museum. In 1988, with the culmination of a debate that began in the 1960s, the Berlin Senate approved financing and announced an international design competition for a building that was to be both an extension of the Berlin Museum and an autonomous Jewish Museum. It was to 'show Jewish history as part of and separate from German history' (Young 2000, 155).

The conceptual brief for the project, written by the director of the Berlin Museum and the director of the Jewish Department of the Berlin Museum, structured the competition around three design considerations: (1) the Jewish religion, customs and ritual objects (2) the history of the Jewish community in Germany, its rise and terrible destruction at the hands of the Nazis and (3) the lives and works of Jews who left their mark on the face and the history of Berlin over the centuries. The writers of the brief acknowledged the Holocaust as an irredeemable event saying that Berlin's Jews suffered 'a fate whose terrible significance should not be lost through any form of atonement or even through the otherwise effective healing power of time'(Young 2000, 161). Polish-born American architect Daniel Libeskind won the competition in the summer of 1989 and was awarded the commission. The museum opened in 2001.

In describing his approach, Libeskind points to three ideas generated by the conceptual brief. First is the acknowledgement of the magnitude of the intellectual, cultural and economic contributions of the Jewish citizens of Berlin. Second, is the necessity of placing the Holocaust into the consciousness and memory of the city. And third, Libeskind sought to acknowledge this erasure and void of Jewish life in Berlin as a way of humanizing the future (Young 2000, 164). Since most of the material evidence of the Jewish presence in Berlin is gone, Libeskind had to resort to conceptual devices in order to start the project. He refers to these devices of literature, music and history as 'para-architectural' organizational structures rather than metaphors. They are, Libeskind says, the 'spiritual carriers' of memory (Libeskind, Wieseltier & Nuland 2002, 25). These spiritual carriers structured Libeskind's approach to the project: first, he located the addresses of Jewish writers, composers, artists, scientists, poets and others, and using these points plotted a matrix of connections that extended far beyond the limits of the actual building site. These people, he said, 'formed the link between Jewish tradition and German culture' (Blackwood 2000, video-recording). Within that matrix of points, Libeskind discerned the trace of a distorted Star of David. In the same way that Walter Benjamin proposed to draw a diagram, a map of his life, using neighborhood, family, school friends and others, Libeskind proposed a mapping of Jewish life in Berlin through this distorted star and the addresses of Jewish luminaries in the city. The second part of Libeskind's approach to the project was an unfinished opera by Schönberg. The opera ends not with music but with the loss of music, with spoken words. Libeskind sought to acknowledge

the erasure and void of Jewish life in Berlin by completing this opera architecturally through geometry and proportions reflective of the opera as it is spoken. The third aspect sought information that might serve to place the Holocaust into the consciousness and memory of the city. Libeskind obtained two large volumes, called Gedenkbuch, containing lists of names, birth dates, deportation dates and destinations of Berlin's Jewish citizens. Photographic copies of these volumes served as a background for the drawings and models of his competition entry. The last part of Libeskind's conceptual brief is taken from the sixty stops referenced in Walter Benjamin's poetic guidebook to Berlin, One Way Street (Young 2000, 167).

The only entrance to the Museum is through the original 18th century baroque style Berlin Museum (Figure 8-2). There is no exterior bridge between the two buildings, rather, to enter the new museum from the old, one must descend a flight of stairs and walk along an extended underground corridor. The floor tilts slightly and slopes ever downward. At the end of the corridor is the juncture of three more hallways or 'streets,' as Libeskind calls them, that allow a choice of direction. They intersect at angles that distort the perspective and slightly disorient the visitor. One street leads to the Holocaust Tower (Figures 8-6 & 7); one leads to the Garden of Exile and another street takes the visitor up the Stair of Continuity and into the main gallery spaces of the museum. There are certain moments in the interior and exterior of the museum that seem to capture perfectly the complex moods and feelings that are evoked by thinking about the Jewish experience in Berlin. There are the long corridors and sense of subterranean disorientation in navigating through the building (Figure 8-5). The clusters of beams that appear to randomly pass above the main stair seem devoid of any structural logic as they cut through the space over stairways in a way that is not parallel or perpendicular to the horizon or the walls that support them. The beams taunt the stairs. There is no easy accord that can be found between walls, beams, columns, stairs and windows that are in a state of perpetual antagonism. The intensity of the Holocaust Tower and the sounds of the city of Berlin that one hears coming through the small fresh air inlets in the wall is startling (Figures 8-6 & 7). The planters of the Peace Garden filled with green provide a sense of release and freedom from the intensity of the museum itself (Figures 8-8). However, the tilted ground plane of the garden grid prohibits the comfort of the vertical.

The interior of the building and its exhibits seem to work against and not with each other. This is not a criticism of the architect but perhaps an acknowledgment that the Holocaust is not and can never be curatorial material handled in any objective sense like a show on Cubism or Impressionism[5]. There is an uncomfortable fit between the essential character of existential emptiness that the concept of the museum is based upon and the exhibits themselves. The interactive activity of visitors disturbs the unquiet silence of the spaces of the museum. It could be argued that this is not simply a mistake by the architect but a fundamental flaw in our thinking that demands immediate explanations for events such as the Holocaust that have no explanation.

There are hundreds of windows in the building appearing as gashes in the exterior wall (Figures 8-3 & 4). In most cases these moments serve to remove the horizon or provide only fragmentary glimpses of it. The preponderance of windows is no mere coincidence but represents a strategy adopted by Libeskind to make a memory place out of the removal of material from the very heart of architecture. Each window is unique. The variation of shape and size and orientation of window openings recovers for a visitor the overwhelming loss of the Shoah in which individuality was obliterated, attesting to the impossibility of graves for the victims of the Shoah. The uniqueness of the each window is analogous to the individuality of each victim of the Nazis. The image that memory holds of mass burials and gas chambers is countered by the approximately 365 windows all having unique configurations. Visitors to the Jewish Museum are forced to reconstruct their own complex subjective relationships to the unimaginable events of the Shoah. The perspectival is revealed to have a dimension that is both objective and subjective. The conventional window, having been the origin of rationalized perspective, contrasts with Libeskind's windows, which offer disorienting fragmentary views of the surrounding city. This disruption or caesura defined by windows is taken to an extreme by Libeskind. A window is a crisis of representation and a crisis of the *res cogitans*. The windows interrupt the exterior walls of the museum and lay claim to the infinite interruption of the Shoah that was and remains like a window with a permanent view into Dante's underworld.

Libeskind describes his design parti as consisting of two lines, one straight but broken into many fragments, the other, a tortuous line continuing indefinitely. The jagged start and stop museum floor plan is inserted into an otherwise orderly urban fabric. Cutting through this

continuous jagged plan is the straight-line void, broken into pieces because of the irregular, multidirectional nature of the plan. It has been said that Judaism is about time and not space. But Libeskind has been able to make a spatial response to an erasure of time. In his words, he has introduced the void as a 'physical interference with chronology' (Libeskind 1995, 41). This empty space starts in the old building at the entrance point to the new building and extends completely through the new building to the outdoors, profoundly altering the spaces that it penetrates. This void is a major organizing principle in the building and refers to the erasure of a history that cannot be recovered. This idea of a rupture or erasure of history is one through which the architecture of the museum can be understood. Theologian and novelist Arthur Cohen described the Holocaust as a caesura, or rupture point, in Jewish history, saying 'the caesura is an enormity that cuts through all the categories and concepts, ideologies and propositions with which we give meaning to the world and our lives' (Cohen 1981, 1). It is given expression as the void in Libeskind's proposal, the unusable, undecipherable element that ruptures the building, cuts through, separates, blocks and confuses. The structure of the building, that is, what makes it stand up, depends on the concrete walls that form this void. Fragments of space are created as straight line meets jagged line, and as the void marches through the building, fragments of city are seen through the gashes of windows. In these fragments of void and cityscape, the history of the city and Jewish history in the city are tied together. They represent what architectural theorist Dalibor Vesely refers to as 'the metaphorical power of fragment' (Vesely 2001, unpublished lecture). Critic Edward Dimendberg points out that space, normally conceived by architects as a passive container, is used by Libeskind as an activating element, as if moving through and occupying the fragmented space, and gazing on those spaces where occupancy is prohibited 'constitutes the work of memory' (Dimendberg 1999, 55).

The main white spaces of the museum are interrupted at certain points by the penetration of the graphite-colored walls of the void. They are spaces that Libeskind describes as 'immunized from all the activities of society…' (Libeskind, Wieseltier & Nuland 2002, 28). The spaces are contained within the walls of the museum but are not themselves museum space. Two of the voids are accessible as gallery space, though nothing is allowed to hang on the walls[6]. Two more voids are inaccessible but are connected from one side to the other by thirty

bridges; with an entrance from each side of the void, they reference the sixty significant points that Walter Benjamin describes in his guidebook to Berlin. Windows in the bridges offer a look into the spaces that cannot be occupied. The fifth void is accessible and cuts through the entire height of the building. It is not a gallery space but rather a contemplative space whose acoustics add to the experience. The sixth void is the Holocaust Tower, and it is what Libeskind calls a raw space, unheated and uncooled. Where some of the voids prohibit occupation, and therefore participation, the Holocaust Tower enables a kind of spatial hyper-participation. But it is not a participation that claims to reproduce historical experience. Upon entering, a door closes and the visitor is compelled to look upwards towards an unreachable line of light at the top of a tall space. The source of light is not visible, only the light itself shining on sharply angled walls, a light inspired by the story of a death camp survivor who, en route to the death camp, saw a line of light through the doors in the train car. Whether the occupant knows the reference or not, the space is strong enough to carry a different but profound experience.

If war is a kind of inhuman void that occurs within humanity then the Holocaust was a void within a void. 'To write poetry after Auschwitz is barbaric,' is a well-known statement of Adorno's (Tiedemann 2003, 162). But in the introduction to the latest collection of Adorno's work, *Can One Live After Auschwitz A Philosophical Reader*, Rolf Tiedemann argues that it is also one of his most misunderstood statements. Adorno was not prohibiting the writing of poetry, Tiedeman says, rather he was recognizing the void that exists between poetry written before the Holocaust and poetry written after. Architect and theorist Peter Eisenman sees Libeskind's museum drawings as a form of writing. One could extend this thought by asserting that the completed museum itself is also a text whose silent voids question but never fully answer Adorno's claim (Libeskind 1983, 8).

The museum is meant to remind yet Libeskind refrains from employing overt symbolism or prescriptive experiences. He adheres to a rigorous and traditional architectural language of form, space and material. Only he has put the 'words' of the language together in a different way just as poets, in the practice of their craft, combine disparate words to create images and references. In Stan Allen's words:

> for Libeskind, the apparent exhaustion of the language of architecture must be answered by the construction of a poetic—not as though nothing had happened, but despite all that has.' Allen 1990, 25) Edward Dimendberg expresses a similar sentiment: ' the Jewish Museum speaks with multiple voices but also provides a void where no speech is possible (Dimendberg 1999, 55).

Today Berlin stands as a city forever emptied by the events of WWII. One has the sense that one hundred years of hyper-activity with respect to construction would still leave the city feeling empty. The city has the capacity to absorb and even erase all action. There is simply no way to ameliorate or remedy the affects of what happened during the war and how this continues to indelibly define the ethos that is Berlin. Tourists making their way up into the transparent dome of the Reichstag come up against the obstinate and opaque memory of Berlin during the war in the very building that has come to symbolize Hitler's rise to power (Huyssen 1997; Barnstone 2004).

To locate a Jewish Museum in Berlin is to further compound this series of infinite regresses. The voids of Libeskind's project fit well into the void that is Berlin. Libeskind's series of existential insertions of nothingness become the carrier of the multiple meanings of the Holocaust. Rather than a room within a room the result is a void within a void. In this place silence and emptiness co-exist and the building and the city of Berlin become one entity. Libeskind has brilliantly managed an exchange between two voids—the void of the city and the void of the museum.

POSTSCRIPT

Ultimately the voids of the museum refer to the muteness of the historical artefact and the architectural object, pointing instead to the architectural element of space or absence of material as the only answer to such an event as the Holocaust. Libeskind himself refers to the inability of architecture to represent an event such as the Holocaust: 'Beyond the term 'history', which is nothing else than the Holocaust with its concentrated spaces for the annihilation and total death of the development of the city and of humanity—beyond this event that unsettles the place—there's all that which cannot really be given by the

architecture' (Libeskind 1995, 423). Speaking at the Columbia University seminar on Monument and Memory, Leon Wieseltier compares the architectural void to silence, a silence that is appropriate in recognizing what he calls 'the frailty of matter as a medium for the perpetuation of human purposes' (Libeskind, Wieseltier & Nuland 2002, 35). The matter that Halbwachs and Bergson claim is necessary for memory, can only carry us a certain distance; matter ultimately fails when confronted with the memory of the Holocaust. The Jewish Museum is at the cusp of what Halbwachs references as the failure of social memory and the ensuing takeover by history, that point where those members of society who could provide a living memory are disappearing. The proposal made by some critics to leave the museum empty of the historical artefacts, the 'matter,' it was supposed to house, points to what might be an effort to extend social memory past the dying generation that remembers its own experience of the Holocaust (Dimendberg 1999, 52 and Lawson 1999).

Toni Morrison's words when she accepted the Nobel Prize in Literature express the limits of architecture as well as literature:

> Language can never live up to life once and for all. Nor should it. Language can never 'pin down' slavery, genocide, war. Nor should it yearn for the arrogance to be able to do so. Its force, its felicity is in its reach toward the ineffable (Morrison 1998, 21).

Libeskind's Jewish Museum can be seen as a case study about the very limits of architecture to pin down an event such as the Holocaust. Transgressing these limits can serve to trivialize the very profundity of the tragedy. To what extent is architecture capable of spatializing or materializing memory of anything other than architecture itself? Here the subject of architecture is the object of architecture and cannot be anything else however well intentioned. The nuances of memory may be such that architecture as a practical and physical construct is simply unable to play a primary role in memorializing memory in general and death specifically. The Loosian clearing that art makes is remembered by Libeskind as absence and nullity[7]. At the Jewish Museum the void of an impossible memory of an unspeakable Shoah lies in absentia within the historical void that will always be Berlin.

Architecture can be understood as that which is poised between the domain of the extended body in space and time and the domain of the thinking subject. The meaning of the memory of death ultimately resides

in the mind of the thinking subject. Architecture as extension may remain caught in the Cartesian separation of body and mind, despite Vico's brilliant anti-dualist assertion of the primary identity of making and mind – that the things we make hold truths. Can the truths of the Holocaust survive their extension and be remembered as memory? Libeskind's project suffers as do all works of architecture, the irreconcilability of the mind-body separation.

In the question of collective memory lies a fundamental incapacity of architecture and philosophy to deal with the emotion of lived memory in any real or adequate way. This is not to diminish what architecture and philosophy are capable of but to gain a more sober view of what they can and cannot accomplish. Architecture as a practice with its own internal spatial, material and constructional rules struggles to gain access to the fundamental social nature of collective memory. Philosophy cannot fully engage such social constructs. Memory is that which lies tantalizingly just outside the scope and reach of the intentions of architecture and philosophy. This is the didactic lesson of the Libeskind museum. The architectural image and the philosophical mind are stretched to their limits by the very question of collective memory and its inherent social character. What is collective memory in the face of the inexplicability of the Holocaust? Architecture, fortified by philosophy and history, and aware of its social setting has more the capacity to ask this question than to provide an answer.

NOTES

1. In order for the mind to perceive anything, it must already have a structure in place that makes perception possible. The two necessary principles for receiving sensible knowledge are time and space. It is with these two principles that the mind orders its perceptions and they are the necessary conditions for perceiving which are built into the structure of the mind. While experience of the external world provides us with the material for knowledge, this material presupposes the *a priori* concepts of reason, time and space. For us to understand experience, even for us to recognize experience as experience, something must already be there.
2. It is somewhat simplistic to argue that history proposes one single account. Marita Sturken and other contemporary historians argue that there are multiple histories, 'constantly under debate and in conflict with each other,' perhaps equivalent to conflicting memories (Sturken 1997, 4).

3. Hegel's (1977, 24) lectures on fine arts directly influenced the plan of the Altes Museum in Berlin (From Museum Memories, original source D. Crimp 1993 *On the Museum's Ruins*, MIT Press, London).
4. Religious and theological issues lie outside the scope of this paper however they may provide the key in terms of the reconciliation of architecture, philosophy and collective memory.
5. To understand the difficult fit between the exhibitions and spaces of the Jewish Museum in Berlin, the reader is referred to the Holocaust Museum in Washington, D.C. The confidence with which the building forms are put forth is incongruous with the uncertainties that stem from attempting to represent the Holocaust. It is a case of themed corporate formalism overwhelming and unintentionally trivializing the memory of an unspeakable evil and horror. The museum chatters talkatively, imparting information and simulating experience, where a silent acknowledgement of the impossibility of representing the Holocaust would be more appropriate. The Holocaust cannot be curated like an art movement. The museum patron cannot be a prisoner in a concentration camp. The Holocaust cannot be themed like a Disney theme park. Paradoxically the sheer impossibility of architecturally treating the Holocaust provides the very possibility that it can be forgotten. A fear of forgetting the Holocaust leads to the melodrama of a themed approached that inevitably trivializes sorrow and makes it palatable. There are simply some things that architecture however well intentioned cannot do and should not do. However it still remains a necessary reminder of the need to attempt from time to time such projects that transcend and challenge the very limits of architecture. Architecture itself is severely diminished in the process of programmatic over reaching that memory demands.
6. Libeskind describes the difficulty of persuading museum officials to pay for a space that would not contain objects and indeed would not even be occupiable.
7. Adolf Loos's (1910, 108) definition of architecture from his essay entitled Architecture. He writes: 'When we come across a mound in the wood, six feet long and three feet wide, raised to a pyramidal form by means of a spade, we become serious and something in us says: somebody lies buried here. *This is architecture*.' Loos (1910, 108) writes earlier in the same essay, 'Only a very small part of architecture belongs to art: the tomb and the monument. Everything else that fulfills a function is to be excluded from the domain of art'.

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Chapter 9

THE SIMULACRA AND SIMULATIONS OF IRISH NEOLITHIC PASSAGE TOMBS

Andrew Cochrane
University of Cardiff

INTRODUCTION

> 'Newgrange looks amazing from the outside, but is blatantly too good to be true'(Cursuswalker 2004).

> 'They had rigged a spotlight up to simulate the sun shining through the lintel above the doorframe which was cool' (wee_malky 2003).

> 'I was not aware that it was now such a commercial venture… Despite this it is still a tremendous place and makes you think again about the 'savages' that built it' (Fourwinds 2002).

The above quotations demonstrate the multiple ways in which some modern people currently think about and experience the passage tombs and their associated motifs at Knowth Site 1 and Newgrange Site 1, Boyne Valley[1], Co. Meath. Most visitors to the modern Boyne Valley passage tombs seem to be aware that the reconstructions are simulated examples of how the passage tombs *may* have appeared and yet they still create new meanings from them and their motifs to broaden contemporary understandings of the Neolithic. Here I will incorporate these contemporary engagements with passage tombs and motifs to further appreciate interactions that may have occurred in the Irish Neolithic period. I have chosen to consider modern examples of how some people think about passage tombs, rather than anthropological case studies, as I feel that it provides fresh insights and by-passes criticisms of

the analogous use of ethnographic source evidence on to Neolithic European societies to validate or dispute assertions (e.g. Whitley 2002). Considerations of modern experiences are viable as although the contexts, environments, political, social and economic features are undoubtedly different today then from the Neolithic, the passage tombs and their motifs are still seen and created via the same neurobiological structures (see Miller and Tilley 1984, 1; Bailey 2005, 25)[2].

In adopting a visual cultural perspective, this paper draws inspiration from the French philosopher Jean Baudrillard who has written extensively on simulation and simulacra within post-modern environments. I am interested in the overlaying of simulations, and this has led me to examine the possible simulation of worldviews via the superimposition of motifs on passage tombs in the Irish Neolithic. By incorporating these positions I will detail new ways of thinking about how the passage tombs and their motifs act within networks of visual events. This paper is less about what the monuments and their motifs 'are' and more about what they 'do' within particular rhythms and temporalities.

In building upon Debord's proposition that '…all that was once directly lived has become mere representation…' (1998, 12), I suggest that the passage tombs and associated motifs are not *just* representations of past Neolithic worldviews, but rather indications of past performances and practices. These social practices and performances produce the overlapping material and visual cultures (see Barrett 1994; Thrift 1996). I follow the position that there has never been an interpretation of a world that is really 'real' and untouched by worldviews and simulacra. Rather there are multiple interpretations of the world, and these are often informed by people's experiences or visual interactions (Hirsch 2004, 37). At some level, being human involves the ability to respond to visual stimuli, such as patterns, shapes, textures and rhythms and to construct thoughts on the world from these encounters (Barnard 1998, 107)[3]. These perceptual assertions form the basis for the following discussions.

(RE)INTERPRETING THE INTERPRETATIONS

Passage tombs are arguably the most famous Irish monument type, with the Boyne Valley complex often attracting the most attention (see Figure 9-1). Irish passage tombs originated in the early fourth

millennium BC and continued to be constructed until the early third millennium (Grogan 1991). Passage tombs consist of a large sub-circular

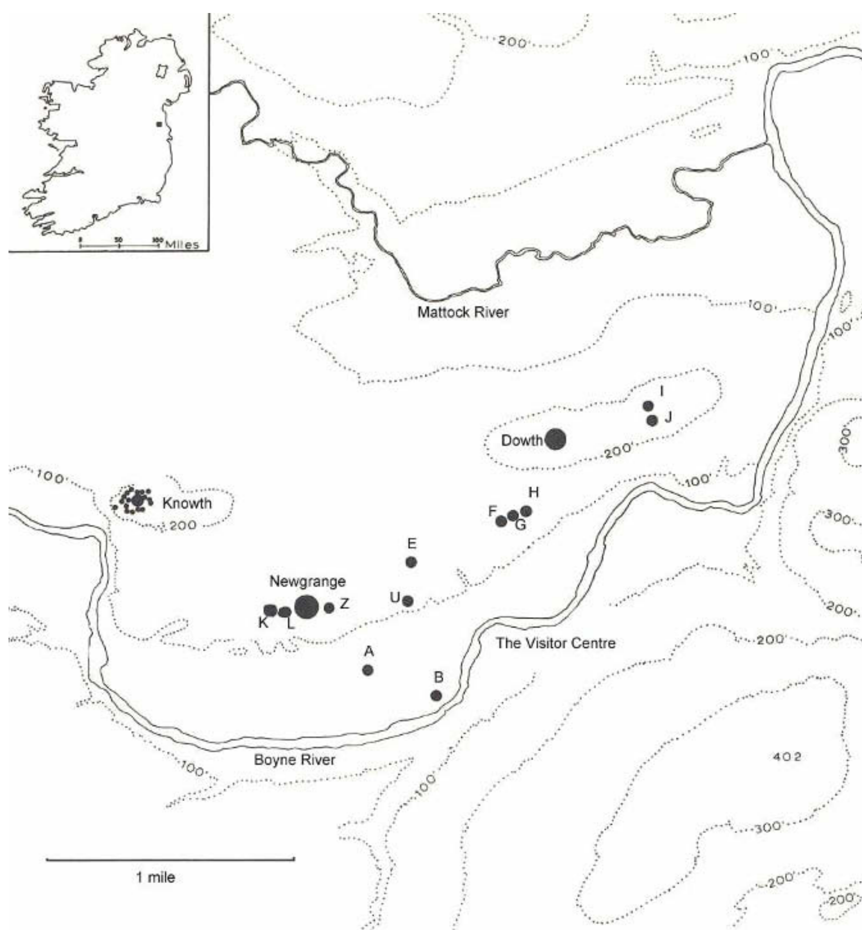

Figure 9-1. The Boyne Valley passage tombs nearest the Visitor Centre (adapted from Eogan 1986, 13).

or ovoid cairn revetted by a continuous kerb of large stones; this kerb is a distinctive feature of examples in Ireland. Cairn sizes vary but are normally between 10-80m in diameter. The cairn covers a megalithic structure, which consists of a chamber, with an aperture leading to the exterior via a passage. Passage tombs distinguish themselves from other

classes of Irish megalithic tomb by incorporating the eponymous passage and engraved imagery (Eogan 1986). This visual imagery is non-representational and consists of geometric and other abstract motifs, occurring on the kerbstones and the interior structural stones of the tombs in the Boyne Valley, rendering it the richest area of megalithic motifs in western Europe (Shee Twohig 1981; Eogan 1986; O'Sullivan 1993). Such a wealth of visual imagery suggests that contrary to Herity's arguments (1974, 107), the motifs were not a 'by-product' or surplus extra. Rather their importance was integral to the worldviews that helped create the monuments and subsequent encounters with them.

Knowth Site 1 is a large mound measuring 80m by 95m and outlined by 127 kerbstones, with two internal passage tombs (the eastern and western tombs), and it is surrounded by at least 17 smaller passage tombs (Eogan 1986). The eastern tomb is cruciform and has a passage 35m long, and the western is undifferentiated and angled with a passage 32m long. The entrances to both passages are diametrically opposed to each other and appear to be aligned on the equinoxes (Eogan 1986, 178). It is on the kerb and interiors of Knowth Site 1 that a large quantity of engraved motifs are found (more than 300 decorated stones have been discovered). Other visual stimuli that may have supported possible worldviews include the incorporation of white quartz and dark granodiorite in the structure with additional spreads of quartz in front of the eastern passage (Eogan 1986, 47). The initial construction phases are estimated as being between 3200 and 2900 BC (Eogan 1991).

Newgrange Site 1 passage tomb is associated with three smaller passage tombs (M. O'Kelly 1982). The construction dates range between 3295 and 2925 BC (Grogan 1991, 126). Newgrange Site 1 also shares the ridge of land with tumuli, standing stones and enclosures (M. O'Kelly 1982). The main tomb consists of a kerbed (97 stones) ovoid mound (c. 85.3m diameter) containing a cruciform internal tomb structure and passage measuring *c*. 19m long. Distinguishing features of Newgrange Site 1 include a quartz façade and the roof-box, possibly positioned to permit the illumination of the rear chamber by the midwinter sun and communication with non-human entities (Lynch 1973, 152; M. O'Kelly 1982, 8; Sheridan 1985/6, 28). Both Knowth Site 1 and Newgrange Site 1 passage tombs and their motifs were fabricated and used within the Irish Neolithic through on-going performances and events. Negotiations between some people and these places did not, however, cease at the 'end' of the Neolithic but have continued into modern times.

By 1985 the popularity of these sites began to have a detrimental impact upon the conservation of them and the surrounding environments, resulting in the government commissioning a study of the issues involved (Keane 1997, 36; Anon 2003, 335). In 1993 the Boyne Valley was made a World Heritage Site by UNESCO, primarily on the basis of the global fame created by the passage tombs (Stout 2002, 181). In 1997 the Visitor Centre was opened within the Boyne Valley Archaeological Park, south of the River Boyne, near Donore, Co. Meath. The Visitor Centre was constructed to provide not only information, but also a controlled 'gateway' to the monuments, facilitating access to the north side of the river and the passage tombs via a suspension bridge (Keane 1997, 36). This custom-designed footbridge not only serves functional roles, but also highlights the possible significances of the Boyne River to the passage tomb builders and users (Ó Ríordáin 1999, 9). The Visitor Centre currently provides amongst other things: panoramic views, car-parks, information displays, replicas demonstrating dating techniques and excavations, three-dimensional dioramas of the individual tombs and associated material culture within the Boyne Valley complex, a gift/book shop, a restaurant and access to the 'shuttle-buses' that start the guided tours (Keane 1997, 36; Ó Ríordáin 1999, 8; Anon 2003, 335). The success of the Visitor Centre with the general public and its ability to control the mass of spectators produced are demonstrated by the sheer volume of people processed through the attraction on a daily basis. In 1998 nearly a quarter of a million people visited the Visitor Centre (Ó Ríordáin 1999, 8). The Visitor Centre itself can internally accommodate over 400 people at any one time (Keane 1997, 37). In 1999 the Boyne Valley Visitor Centre received the 'Interpret Ireland Award' and a 'Special Judge's Award' for its ability to communicate to people the possible significances of objects and places, so that they can further enjoy and understand the past (Ó Ríordáin 1999, 8). The construction of the Visitor Centre itself was designed in sympathy with the local environment, keeping the visual impact to a minimum. The structure is built *into* the land, most of it being subterranean, with the roof covered in turf (Ó Ríordáin 1999, 9). I argue that the Visitor Centre and managed attractions are an achievement and that this is partially due to its ability to simulate a past and stimulate the minds of people in the present (see also Brett 1996). In re-creating the past the Boyne Valley simulacra also serves recreational purposes in the present (Stout 2002, 186).

ALLUSIONS TO ILLUSIONS

To dissimulate is to feign not to have what one has, whereas to simulate is to feign to have what one does not have (Baudrillard 1994, 3). One expresses a presence, the other an absence. Both are not at opposite parts of a spectrum, but they are of the same substance. Yet it is not this simple, as to simulate is not simply to feign. For instance, someone who feigns an illness can simply pretend to be ill, whereas someone who simulates an illness produces some of the symptoms (Baudrillard 1994, 3; see also Shanks 2004, 176). Thus simulating or dissimulating leaves an interpretation of the world intact. The differences are clear, but they are masked (Baudrillard 1994, 3). Simulations remove the dichotomies of 'true: false' and 'real: imaginary', rendering such distinctions as irrelevant. The simulation becomes the worldview. Simulation is not about referential beings or substances, it is paradoxically the generation of a 'real' without origin or reality; a 'hyper-real' (Baudrillard 1994, 1). Hyper-reality is an interpretation of reality that is not static, but rather a continuously metamorphosing process (see Rodaway 1994, 244-45). Hyper-reality is not a 'thing', 'place' or 'space', but rather an ongoing engagement with person(s) and the world.

It can be hazardous to unmask images that (re)create simulations, such as passage tomb motifs, since they dissimulate that there is nothing to conceal (Baudrillard 1994, 5). By this I mean that these images can feign to perpetuate beliefs that do not exist. This position operates from the perspective that images have replaced reality to such an extent that the world is no more than an encompassing simulacrum or simulation where images only ricochet off other images within a closed system. Within this system when interpretations of reality are no longer what they used to be, feelings of nostalgia, imagining and even irrelevance can be produced (Baudrillard 1994, 6; Rodaway 1995, 243). This creates a proliferation of narratives, myths of origin and of the images of a reality and of second-hand truth. This can create tensions, and can also instigate an increase in the material production of images that simulate particular worldviews. These tensions produce technologies or strategies that create interpretations of the real and hyper-real. The logic of simulation has nothing to do with the logic of facts and an order of reasons. Simulations render illusion no longer possible, because the real is no longer possible (Baudrillard 1994, 19).

Archaeology and heritage operate in a world where the past is catalogued, disseminated and anatomized, then artificially reconstructed within interpretative models that reside in the realms of simulation (Baudrillard 1994, 8; Brett 1996, 87; Thomas 2004, 61-3). Our linear and accumulative society collapses if we cannot amass the past via visible media (Baudrillard 1994, 10; Brett 1996, 15). I argue that some people, both past and present require a visible past and myths of origin, which reassures them about their beginnings (see also Thomas 2004, especially chapter 1). The creation of passage tombs in the past and present may at some level represent distillations of these socially reaffirming practices.

Figure 9-2. Knowth Site 1 during reconstruction, with sheep on 'watching-brief' (photograph: Nyree Finlay).

After extensive archaeological projects, Newgrange Site 1 and Knowth Site 1 were remade through modern engineering practices (see Figure 9-2). It is possible that future generations will remember the pre-excavated monuments and their ruinous forms with overgrown trees and scrub, before restoration, yet for the contemporary spectator there is no difference. The duplication or reconstruction renders both synthetic. These modern recreations offer the spectator a 'snapshot' or a packaged

œuvre of what the past may have looked like at one particular moment in time (M. O'Kelly 1982, 115; Rodaway 1995, 243). I propose that it is paradoxical to retrospectively portray the Boyne passage tombs as representing complete *œuvres*, as when they were constructed it was unlikely that they were meant to be prospective. If indeed the tombs were, they would be acting as though the work (i.e. the creation of structures and application of motifs) pre-existed and sensed their end in the beginnings, as though the sites were static and closed (see Baudrillard 2003). For instance, the exterior façade at Newgrange Site 1 was reconstructed with a near-vertical facing wall of white quartz and rounded and oval cobbles of granitic and some other mostly igneous rocks, based on interpretations of the collapsed material discovered in front of the cairn (M. O'Kelly 1982, 72, 110; see Figure 9-3). Whether the quartz was originally presented in this manner or whether it was deposited on top of the cairn as Macalister (1939) suggested, or spread out in front as is found at Knowth Site 1, the eastern tomb (Eogan 1986, 47), has recently been questioned (Bradley 1998, 101; Darvill 2002, 82). The lack of a developed pedogenetic profile on the stripped ground that surrounded Newgrange Site 1 has been interpreted to suggest that some of the builders of the tomb would have witnessed the collapse of the wall (Barber 1992, 14). Indeed, the visual effect of the quartz wall may have been conceived for a particular event, in the knowledge that it would eventually collapse afterwards (Bradley 1998, 104). Alternatively, the façade may not have collapsed naturally, but rather it was deliberately destroyed by the makers of Grooved Ware and Beakers (Meighan *et al.* 2002, 33). Which ever model is 'correct', for the modern observer the simulated façade is permanently fixed and suggests a concrete stability and coherence in a commodified image of a past that may never have existed.

The imagery of the modern Newgrange Site 1 and Knowth Site 1 constructions conceals that the reality of an Irish Neolithic no more exists *outside* the World Heritage Site, than *inside* the limits of the artificial perimeter. In these passage tomb environments the past 'real' has become so confused with the present models, that it destroys notions of a coherent 'theatre of representation' (Smith 2003, 76). I originally speculated that most modern day spectators would selectively ignore

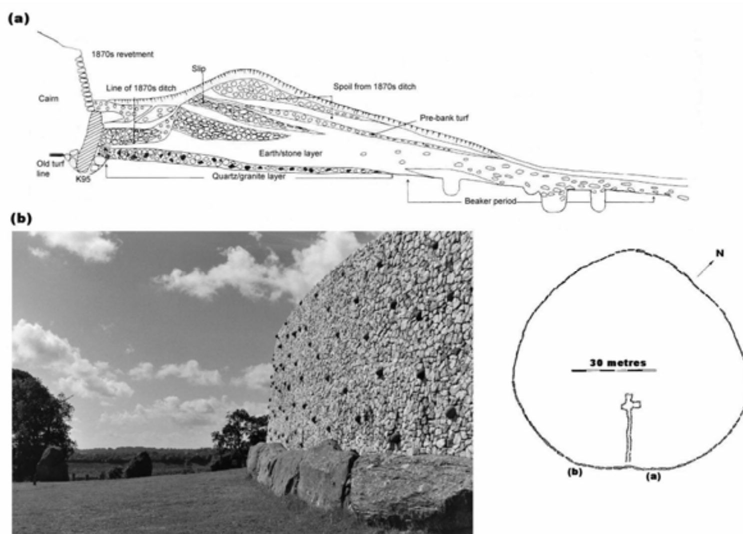

Figure 9-3. (a) Profile of the cairn slip in front of K95 during excavation. (b) the reconstructed quartz façade at Newgrange Site 1 as seen today (adapted from M. O'Kelly 1982, 69; Eogan 1986, 16; photograph: author).

aspects of the Newgrange and Knowth experience that contradict the simulated Neolithic illusion, such as the uniformed maintained grass-lawns and access steps to the entrances. With the sharing of the simulated engagements with others, the feeling of being a 'time-traveller' and the entertainment that it brings would also facilitate a suspension of disbelief (see Rodaway 1995, 256-58). Paradoxically, however, I found the opposite to be true. Most modern visitors appear to focus more upon the features that disrupt their imaginings of what the past looked like. The modern elements seem in many cases to create tensions (see Brett 1996, 51-3) as people attempt to absorb themselves in the Neolithic simulation. The tour guides are noted by some to cause disruption and contestation. Comments include '…I just wish I could spend more time in there without an official guide's voice as accompaniment…' (Cursuswalker 2004); '…For the first time ever I had a very New Agey [sic] tour guide while at Newgrange. Apart from making me chuckle it did make a refreshing change to the normal archaeological banter…' (Fourwinds 2003) and '…she [the guide] insisted on cracking jokes about Neolithic people, and at one point started making drumming sounds in order to get people to move clockwise round the chamber. I

felt completely ridiculous being a part of the whole sham…' (IronMan 2002). Contrary to Marontate (2005, 291) then, the Neolithic simulations are not accepted by all as a result of the authoritative nature in which they are presented[4], but rather by the visual culture (e.g. the megalithic motifs) that are perceived to be 'authentic'.

Despite these observations, many people still visit these sites and the popularity of these experiences might suggest a human (or at least a modern) desire for mass simulation (Rodaway 1995, 261). Such seduction by simulation, or the pleasures that it generates (Baudrillard 1990, 9; Cope 2004, 239), may also be represented by some people continually revisiting specific places where immersion into alternative realities occurs (such as Newgrange Site 1). Initially, I had also suspected that some people would have suspended their disbelief at these sites, with this act being enhanced by the inclusion of others around, as one is not alone in the simulation, with the 'reality' being supported by the sharing of experiences (Rodaway 1995, 263). Again, however, in many cases the opposite appears to occur. For instance, some report that they feel that their appreciations of the sites are more considered than others: '…we were probably the only people genuinely interested in the site…' reports IronMan (2002), while Weir describes fellow visitors as merely being '…the casually curious, and the faintly-inquisitive…' (2002). Modern interactions with passage tombs and their motifs can augment contemporary notions of individualism and agency, conforming to some Western worldview perspectives. I propose that engagements with these sites and visual cultures in the Neolithic would also have conformed to some of their worldviews.

HERE IS NOT ALL THERE: TECHNOLOGIES OF SEEING

Other examples of modern simulations at the World Heritage Site include the reconstruction of wooden pit circles to stimulate the spectators' imaginations and also in the Visitor Centre itself, where people can engage with artificial Neolithic material culture, such as the reconstructed pottery and tools installation (see Figure 9-4). Thus the 'hyper-realism' of simulation is translated by the resemblance of the real to itself. Yet this engagement with the past through a modern medium is not one-way. Newgrange Site 1 and Knowth Site 1 are not the source of

an absolute or surveillance gaze. They are not restrained panoptic focal points (Foucault 1979). Panoptic observation is 'fixed' and one-way, it is the viewer who has the power and controls a fixed or static visual engagement and scrutiny, creating what Carrier (2003, 5; also see Urry 1990) terms the 'tourist gaze'. The eye is regarded as the centre of the visual world, being the sole mediator and controller over appearances and space. Sight is deemed to 'isolate' the viewer, situating the observer 'outside' what they view, at a distance in a one-way direction (Ong 1982, 72). In effect, visual space and place is reduced to the property of the individual and detached observer, from whose location it is dependent. The panoptic gaze demonstrates a '…peculiarly modern project of objectification…' (Ingold 2000, 253), that reduces vision to a one-way 'linear perspective' or reflection (see Rodaway 1994, 131).

Figure 9-4. (pre)fabricated material culture display in the Visitor Centre (photograph: author).

By incorporating Baudrillard's statement that '…we are no longer spectators, but actors in the performance, and actors increasingly integrated into the course of that performance…' (1996, 27), with Friedberg's (1998) approach to modes of visual practice in modern

cinema, I propose we briefly consider 'gazes' such as panoramic and dioramic, which were originally based on models designed to transport rather than confine the spectator and subject (see also Brett 1996, 62, and Neal this volume). These entertainment devices were designed to distort reality, to make it artificial. The models produced for the viewer a 'virtual' spatial and temporal visual mobility, creating an imaginary illusion of mobility (Friedberg 1998). In considering these visual engagements, we can free the Neolithic and contemporary spectators from Foucault's (1979) 'prison-world' visual surveillance.

One such device, the panorama, was first patented by Robert Barker in 1785 and originally was a 360 degree cylindrical painting, generally of a landscape setting, viewed by an observer in the centre in a darkened room. Essentially an illusionary device, the panorama did not physically mobilise the body, but provided virtual spatial and temporal mobility. It brought the country to the town dweller and transported the past to the present, creating a simulated reality. The panoramic spectator lost '…all judgement of distance and space…' and '…in the absence of any means of comparison with real objects, a perfect illusion was given…' (Gernsheim and Gernsheim 1968, 6 cited in Friedberg 1998, 258). This effect can easily be achieved within passage tombs, such as within Newgrange Site 1 where the spectator is in a darkened environment. Here there are no markers of time and place with which to compare the seen passage tomb motifs, thus dislocating references to the outside world and possibly creating a mirage of simulated realities.

The Diorama was created by Louis Jacques Mandé Daguerre in 1822 and was a viewing device that expanded upon the panorama's ability to transport the viewer. The dioramic simulation was created in part by the manipulation of light through a transparent, often watercolour painting. The viewer saw a scene composed of objects arranged in front of a backdrop and after a few minutes, the scene was rotated 73 degrees to expose another viewing. The diorama was designed to simulate a given reality, altering the relationship of the viewer, to the spatial and temporal present. The viewer is still immobile but the views become mobilised. These paradoxical elements might allow the entire reconstructed Boyne Valley simulations of a given 'past', to be thought of as a gigantic diorama. For the sites in a sense are staged dramas-within-dramas, in which people as well as their views are mobilised to view scenes of a past that are not a past. How these various modes of seeing affect

encounters with the passage tombs and their motifs will now be reflected upon.

If we consider the passage tombs and their visual motifs not from a panoptic-surveillance gaze but rather a panoramic or dioramic gaze, we can imagine a spectator looking at an image (such as a decorated kerbstone or orthostat), maybe standing immobile, not controlling the visual encounter, not empowering the visual engagement, but rather playing an interactive creative role. The spectator is ready to participate with the visual reality, a virtual or simulated reality placed in front of his or her body. Through these visual interactions - these two-way fluid engagements - the image is able to influence the person's experience. One of the best modern examples of this effect is the image of Kitchener saying, 'Your country needs you'. The image literally enters the viewer's 'real-life' space, with Kitchener's direct gaze creating an interpersonal interaction (Messaris 1997, 21). Images therefore can momentarily destroy one perception of reality and instantaneously replace it with another. As such, the viewer of *any* image, be it a nineteenth century watercolour or passage tomb motif, is temporarily 'immersed' and 'engaged' in a world not present, a simulation of a 'world–as-a-picture'. Moreover, in considering panoramic and dioramic gazes, we can envisage spectators absorbed in the sublime experience of artificially simulated worlds, of immersion in worlds not present (Brett 1996, 57; Cochrane 2005, 15). These visual simulations are not stable but rather change their relations to a given reality at particular moments in time and place, creating a matrix consisting of realities within realities (Lyotard 1993, 9; Cochrane 2005, 15) or simulations within simulations. Images that assist in simulating or warping a reality are therefore much more than a static 'world-picture'. Instead they are fluid 'visual-events', 'visual actions' or 'eye-cons', neurologically devised by humans as 'tactics' to place us within the world of everyday life (Messaris 1997, 7; de Certeau 2002, xix). In short, '…the process of vision consists in a never-ending, two-way process of engagement between the perceiver and his or her environment…' (Ingold 2000, 257-58). Such actions or reactions within the modern Boyne Valley simulations create situations where there is '…no more centre or periphery… [it is] pure flexion or circular inflexion. No more… surveillance: only 'information', secret virulence, chain reactions, slow implosion and the simulacra of spaces…' (Baudrillard 1994, 29-30), in which one's interpretations of the 'real' are conjured again.

The Boyne Valley simulations are so successful as a result of some people being fascinated by monuments. There is an impulse to translate a structure and understand a structure of past social relations within modern speculation. The monuments, however, are enigmas, carcasses of flux and images, of networks and interactions. Indeed, the reconstructions may even enhance elements that were unattainable in the original (Benjamin 1977a, 222), as is demonstrated by the electrically simulated midwinter's day sun at Newgrange Site 1. Within this framework monuments act as monuments to mass simulation. One can, however, argue that the reconstructed passage tombs of the Boyne Valley are paradoxes as they contradict their objectives, being less about the past and more about being monuments to *our* modernity. They are in effect monuments to a disconnection with the past and a creation of modern hyper-realities. These (re)constructed structures are an experimentation in the processes of representation, diffraction, rupture, the slowing of decay and fragmentation created by a modern society of simulation and fascination. This is the irony of the Boyne Valley passage tombs. Some modern people visit and study them not only for a desire for Neolithic society that is absent, but also so that they can actively participate in the fantasy of a society with its material and visual cultures that they have never known or that will never be present (see Pearson and Shanks 2001, 115; Thomas 2004, 233).

The Boyne Valley simulacra invite some people to enjoy and participate in this modern execution, this dismemberment, this capitalisation or commercialisation of Neolithic societies (Holtorf 2005, 96). Contrary to Rodaway's (1995, 264) assertions, most people at these sites operate within simulations less as a collective metamorphosing body and more as a collection of individual agents with their own volition. The general public are seduced by and drawn to the simulated worlds of Newgrange Site 1 and Knowth Site 1 in fascination, similar to the fascination that is seen at disaster sites. Paradoxically, they are the disaster; their number, their stampede, their fascination, their need to absorb its 'aura', their desire to touch and see everything and participate and simulate that puts the whole structure and its motifs in danger (Benjamin 1977a, 225)[5]. This occurrence has created the need for professional management of visitor flows and the day-to-day maintenance of the sites, with the increased mass of participants causing changes in the modes of participation (Benjamin 1977a, 241). The Boyne Valley sites are a most professional 'show' or performance (see

Rodaway 1995, 259), punctuated with stages and rhythms, which momentarily reveal the dynamic simulations that underpin the experiences (see Lefebvre 2004). Thus the simulation of a 'hyper-reality' turns some people into agents of execution rather than just spectators or agents of viewing. For example, Newgrange Site 1 could have theoretically disappeared the day after its modern reconstruction, dismantled and captured by an audience fuelled with a desire to further comprehend a past through the habits of 'tactile appropriation' (Benjamin 1977a, 242; Baudrillard 1994, 70). Although the total removal of a stone and earth mound that is c. 85.3m in diameter is unlikely, people do often take pieces of quartz away with them as souvenirs, a fetishised white-bolt of Neolithic society, which has itself been fetishised. This procurement of Neolithic material culture may reflect 'commodity fetishism' (Willis 1991, 175), which transforms the mundane (in this case a rock) into desirable objects that can energise and enhance daily realities that exist outside the Boyne simulations[6]. Interestingly, these stolen artefacts are often posted back to the Visitor Centre by the guilt ridden culprit (Lenehan *pers. comm.*).

Yet these modern visitors are not solely to blame for these actions. The Boyne Valley simulacra also bears responsibility in this two-way engagement. The passage tombs and their motifs are not merely passive. The general public come to these sites not only to select object-responses to *all* the questions they might ask themselves about the past, but they also come in response to the questions that the tombs *themselves* constitute. People visit to manipulate and to be manipulated (Baudrillard 1994, 70), neither of which are mere aspects of spectatorship, of distance or representation. People literally move and participate within the physical realities of the simulations, almost being within an 'incarceration-vacation' (de Certeau 2002, 114; see also Foucault 1979), contained yet free to allow the mind to wander and dream. This total immersion in a simulation can create tensions and feelings of anxiety for some people (as mentioned above). These feelings of anxiety and tensions can devour communication and meaning. For instance, rather than merely creating communication, the passage tombs exhaust themselves in the act of *staging* communication. The net result is that the simulations at these simulacra create mass production; that is the 'production of the masses' (Baudrillard 1994, 68). The modern visitors participate in an ongoing simulation that is perpetuated by an increasingly dense sphere of people at the sites. As such, the Boyne sites

perform in a similar manner to theatre, attracting people who have inquisitiveness in the matter. Following Benjamin (1977b, 149), one might propose that *a priori* interest in the sites presents the visitors as a relaxed audience with the outward appearance of a collective.

The relaxed nature of these collective visitors (see Hodder 1986, 165) can be demonstrated by the ease in which they move from demarcated zones to transportation vehicles. Indeed, the engagement of having to wait-in-line at the designated 'bus-stops' may at some level generate 'practical and theoretical participation in common being' (Sartre 1976, 266), as all the people have a shared interest, which is to visit the sites or return to the Visitor Centre. This 'common being' is, however, only a surface façade covering a 'plurality of isolations' (Sartre 1976, 256), as fellow queuers are potential competitors for spaces on the bus. To miss one bus is to wait longer for another or to be separated from one's companions. The act of waiting in a queue can create feelings of frustration and marginalisation (Moran 2005, 7), and may represent the reality of simulated or prefabricated 'seriality' (Sartre 1976, 265). Feelings of frustration and marginalisation are also generated by the lengths of time that people are allocated to experience the passage tombs and motifs (see Fourwinds 2003; Greyweather 2003; wee_malky 2003; Cursuswalker 2004).

As with theatre, it is not desired that these visitors be intellectually pacified, but rather that the experience is exhibited in a pellucid manner. At Newgrange Site 1 and Knowth Site 1, the general public is encouraged by the guides to stimulate their minds and interact with the material and visual culture through processes of 'simultaneous contemplation' (Benjamin 1977a, 236). During a visit to the sites earlier this year, the tourists and I were informed that our own interpretations of the passage tombs are 'as good as any professor's'. This statement served to entertain, as I had previously over-heard a couple suggest that the eighteenth century graffiti on the passage orthostats were a fake, placed to make the tomb 'look older'! Other interpretations suggest that this modern graffiti was created by 'evilly-disposed visitors' who were 'brutish-minded' (M. O'Kelly 1982, 39), perhaps in an attempt to gain 'nominal immortality' (Lowenthal 1985, 331) at the site and lessen the effects of leaving. Certainly, stimulation by simulations of a past world can often render the adjustment back to the modern world as odd, with the quotidian experience feeling less 'real', 'satisfying' or 'natural' (see Benjamin 1977a, 225; Eco 1986; Boorstin 1992, 235; Rodaway 1995,

258; Moran 2005, 24). These nostalgic feelings have been expressed by Doherty who states that '…the panoramic view of lush land, sparkling waters, and imposing sky is breath taking… [w]ere I there 5000 years ago, I'd want to build a giant monument to its generosity, its beauty, its dependability, and to cradle my dead parents and children in it. So would you…' (2003). Such 'magical' encounters can add to the 'archaeo-appeal' (Holtorf 2005, 155) of the Boyne simulacra. These examples indicate some of the various ways in which an image, such as an engraved motif, can be experienced by different people via overlapping and often conflicting views that are not only *of* but that are also *in* the world (see Ingold 2000; Whittle 2003).

SEEING THROUGH SIMULATIONS

So can the past itself really be simulated, that is to say, (re)constructed by its material and visual culture which attests to its presence in the present? If so, the whole system becomes circular, producing a 'gigantic simulacrum' (Baudrillard 1994, 6). As such it is not unreal, but a process that is not exchanged for what is real, but exchanged in itself, in a revolving process of emanation and reflection without reference or limits (Baudrillard 1994, 6; Gell 1998, 104). I think, however, that the effects and experiences of these modern simulacra and simulations are not negative. For instance, some engagements with heritage are about interactions, ruptures, overlays, continuities and discontinuities and the creation of images (see discussions in Pearson and Shanks 2001), and I argue that some experiences in the Neolithic were about similar encounters. By looking in details at the motifs on the tombs, which are an integral part of them, one can find evidence of past simulated engagements and worldviews that were in part sustained and perpetuated by images (see Debord 1998). I will demonstrate that simulated realities are not merely a modern or post-modern 'myth' and that there may have been many 'ages of contrivance' (Boorstin 1992, 234-5; see also discussions in Kroker and Cook 1986).

The motifs on the Boyne passage tombs are not just a collection of images, but rather a social relationship mediated by images (Debord 1998). Baudrillard's (1994, 1-42) model on image progression is useful, as it allows one to further understand the possible natures of collective motifs and why some motifs might be superimposed on to others.

Baudrillard (1994, 1-42) defines the four successive phases of an image as moving from a pseudo-representational state to a non-representational one. In the first instance, the image might be called a 'positive' appearance. It is the artificial representation of the 'real', such as a portrait painting. Such representation might be regarded as a technology of *reflection*. In the second, it is a 'negative' appearance in that it warps, masks and perverts the boundaries between reality and representation, being a technology of *distortion*. The classic example of this is from Suarez Miranda's *Viajes de Varones Prudentes* written in 1658 and quoted by Borges (2004, 90; see also Baudrillard 1994, 1-3; Smith 2003, 74-5). In this fable the cartographers of a depicted Empire produced a map so detailed and perfect that it coextensively covered the territories point by point. In doing so, the map became as real as the real, rendering any differences indiscernible, and can therefore be termed a technology of *distortion.* Harry Beck's 1930s Tube map serves as a more modern example of these distortions at play. The Tube map is a linear cartogram that demonstrates available routes and the positions of stations within the London Underground networks. The Tube map bears no resemblance to overground features, other than a rough estimation of the Thames River, and distorts perceptions of distance, time and location. As with Suarez Miranda's Empire map, the Tube map creates its own realities and a sense of 'timeless visual logic' (Moran 2005, 56). That the Tube map distorts and masks realities was emphasised in 1992 by Simon Patterson's piece *The Great Bear*, which was based on the map image, but with the names of notable persons supplanting that of stations, rendering the installation a total distortion or 'perversion' of an interpretation of the world (Renfrew 2003, 168-9; Moran 2005, 172-3).

By the third order of simulation, the image masks the absence of reality. Simulation moves beyond the previous positions and augments the generation of models of a 'real' without origin or reality, producing a 'hyper-real'. Representation no longer exists as the model precedes the 'real', thereby detaching reality and representation. One is left with engagements that play at being an appearance; it is a technology of *enchantment* (Gell 1999). Modern examples of this type of simulation by images include technologies of virtual reality where interpretations of the world are structured through patterns and randomness (Halyes 2002). In the fourth phase the image is no longer in the order of appearance at all and bears '…no relation to any reality whatever…' (Baudrillard 1994, 6), instead it is its own simulacrum or simulation. By the fourth stage the

image becomes sophisticated and autonomous enough to abolish its own referent and replace it with itself, creating a performance where the image *is* a non-representational reality. Such performances dissolve the need for polarisations such as 'true' or 'false' and 'right' or wrong', rendering them irrelevant. Although it is possible that the passage tombs themselves referenced other events or structures, I suggest that the motifs on the Newgrange Site 1 and Knowth Site 1 mostly operate within this fourth stage of simulation. This proposition will now be examined in more depth.

OVERLAYS AND UNDERLAYS

Recent criticisms of studies in Irish passage tomb motifs have questioned a perspective that seems to privilege the static form of the motifs over more fluid social processes (Jones 2004). Jones has argued that this attitude has partly developed from the ways in which academic studies dislocate panels and motifs from their original contexts and present them in isolation, in two-dimensional form, predominantly in black and white line drawing on paper (2001, 335; see also O'Sullivan 1986). Such conventions create a situation where the spectator in studying motifs in a corpus (e.g. C. O'Kelly 1973; Shee Twohig 1981) is under the illusion that the image is a 'realistic' representation of the original design (Jones 2001), and is also given an 'observer-imposed' selection of 'acceptable' visual images (O'Sullivan, 1986, 71). Furthermore, it presents the motifs as spatially and temporally static. I have addressed this phenomenon (see Cochrane 2001), whilst contextualising Dronfield's (1994; 1995a; 1995b; 1996a; 1996b) 'subjective visual phenomena' or entoptic forms with the material evidence from the passage tombs in the Boyne Valley. The presentation of motifs in this format also can facilitate the selective representation of carved panels to reinforce a point (Shee Twohig 2000, 91).

The Boyne Valley passage tomb images have, however, not always appeared as one complete and static composition (see Figure 9-5). There were episodes and sequences, in the substitution or replacement of existing motifs by imposed motifs (Eogan 1997; Jones 2004). O'Sullivan (1986; 1996) was one of the first to attempt to track the evolution sequences from the standard Irish style, through to the extreme 'pick-

dressing' style, and he proposed four steps or stages of development, and these can broadly be summarised as:

- Step 1 incorporates the standard Irish style including spirals, circles, zigzags, serpenti-forms, lozenges, triangles and radial motifs, with the plastic qualities of the stone mostly ignored and designs created via picking and occasionally incision. The right-hand recess in Newgrange Site 1 (see C. O'Kelly 1982, 181) is an excellent example of this style.
- Step 2 applications still include the standard Irish style, yet are more 'ambitious' with bold carving and acknowledging the variants of the stone surface. On K52 at Newgrange Site 1 (see Figure 9-5 again), we can see the Step 1 geometric designs on the upper-left side of the front face of the stone, but in this phase the images respect the profile of the stone.
- Step 3 images are mostly linear designs that follow the shape of the stone, with appreciation to its three-dimensional form. Examples include Orthostat 49, western tomb Knowth Site 1 and K74, Knowth Site 1 (Eogan 1986).
- With Step 4 images there is abandonment of linear designs and a 'pick dressing' approach is adopted, which in some cases mutilates many earlier works. Orthostat 41, of the western tomb, Knowth Site 1, provides an example of this, with the image being not carved in, but rather raised out of the stone via inverted process, or a technology of inversion (see O'Sullivan 1996, 82-7).

After investigating the content and context of the motifs at Knowth Site 1, Shee Twohig (2000) has alternatively suggested three phases for development and placement of the motifs within the sequence construction of the tombs. The *early* phase consists of incised motifs on the inner sections of both the eastern and western tombs in Knowth Site 1, and in some of the satellite tombs (13 and 16). The next stage was the *main* phase which incorporated mainly a depictive style, using a variety of motifs and picked and plain panels. This stage is common on most of the satellite tombs. The final phase is the *mature* one, in which there is predominantly ribbon/plastic style and all-over picking. What both O'Sullivan's (1996) and Shee Twohig's (2000) models demonstrate is that there was a plurality of performances in the fabrication of images on to and into some Irish passage tomb stones.

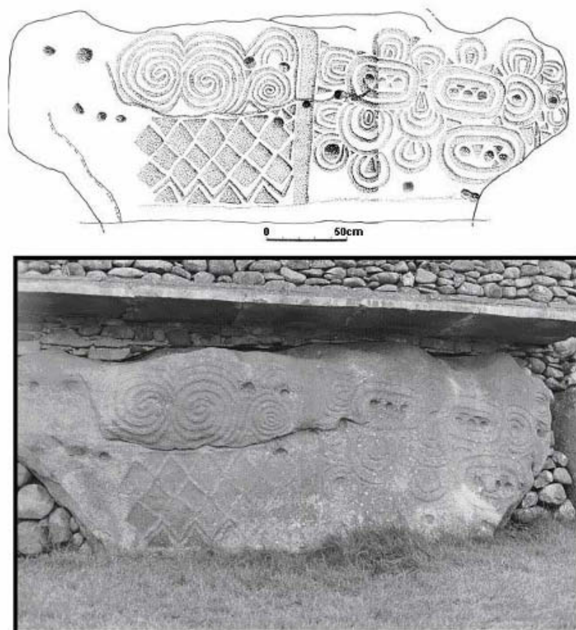

Figure 9-5. K52 at Newgrange Site 1 seen as one complete composition in two different mediums (adapted from C. O'Kelly 1982, 158; photograph: author).

Superimposition is more apparent in the interiors of the passage tombs than the exterior. On the kerbstones at Knowth Site 1, one can document two and sometimes three episodes of superimposition (Jones 2004, 204). In the interior of Knowth Site 1, incised angular motifs (triangles, lozenges and zigzags) are the earliest images (Eogan 1997, 222). They occur on 30 stones in the chamber and passage of the eastern tomb, and on 11 of the stones in the western tomb. Some of these incised motifs were later superimposed with an infill of picking. This later picking occurs as angular in shape and confined in space, formless loose area picking, broad picked lines in ribbons, and formless close area picking (Eogan 1997, 221). As not all the early incised angular motifs were filled by later picking, such as orthostat 41 in the western tomb, Knowth Site 1, it is believed that some incised lines were not just guide lines but motifs in their own right (Eogan 1997, 223). Although others definitely do act as guide lines, as is seen on Corbel 37/38 of the western tomb, Knowth Site 1, where picked angular motifs and dispersed area

picking overlay the angular incised motifs (Eogan 1997, 223 and Fig. 8). Including the incised motifs, there are five episodes of superimposition on the interiors of the two passage tombs in Knowth Site 1 (there are four principal forms of overlay at Newgrange Site 1). If we examine Orthostat 48 from the eastern tomb, Knowth Site 1, we can see an excellent example of these processes of imposition (see Figure 9-6). Note how the visual imagery from the initial angular incised phase is different from the later angular picked overlay. What we are witnessing are two distinct chronological style episodes, which if taken together would form one complete composition. An excellent example of all five overlays occurring on the same stone is from Orthostat 45 from the western tomb, Knowth Site 1. This stone is decorated with angular incised motifs which were followed by angular picked motifs, then dispersed area picking, next picked ribbons and finally close area picking (see Figure 9-7). Individual episodes of motif application attest to individual performances.

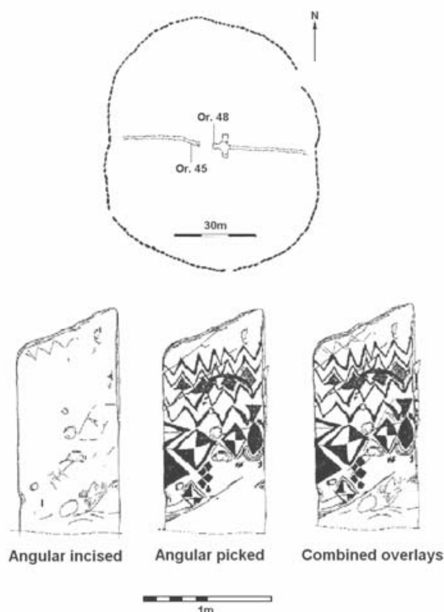

Figure 9-6. Succession of overlays on Orthostat 48 (Or. 48), eastern tomb, Knowth 1(adapted from Eogan 1997, 228).

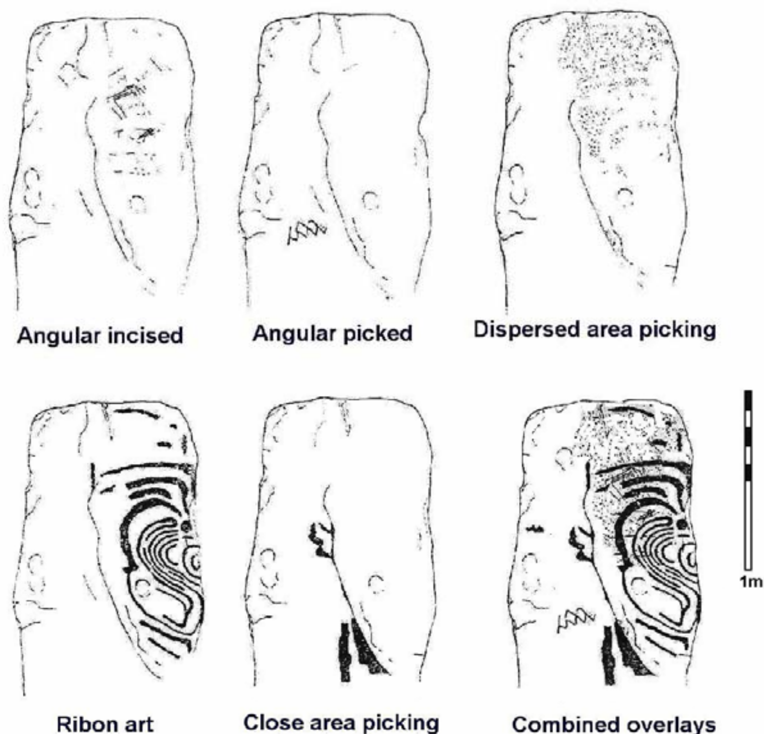

Figure 9-7. Succession of overlays on Orthostat 45 (Or. 45; see Figure 9-6 for location), western tomb, Knowth 1 (adapted from Eogan 1997, 227).

WORLDS, REALMS AND SUBLIME EXISTENCES

We do not know the time periods between the motif depictions, but we can speculate how the addition of each new motif on each tomb may have altered and affected the viewer's subjective experience. This may have in turn influenced social cosmologies or worldview perspectives. By studying overlays in detail, we can see that the motifs were not all applied at the same time; rather they developed over time through a series of successive applications. What we are witnessing is sociality and interpretations of the world, being mediated on the passage tomb stones,

in ongoing simulations that are presented as superimposed motifs. Such is the succession of the simulacrum.

By overlaying one motif on to another, some people may have been attempting to refresh or rupture their worldview systems. The superimposed motifs may indicate a desire at some level to 'perfect' or maintain beliefs; yet paradoxically engraving it may have had the opposite effect. The closer one gets to the perfection of the simulacrum, the more evident it appears how everything escapes representation, escapes its own double and its resemblance. In short, there is no 'real'. The dispersed area picking is only the interpretation of the angular picked. The angular picked is the interpretation of the angular incised, and so on. It is escalation and superimposition in the production of simulated or hallucinated realities that are more and more 'real' through the addition of successive dimensions. None are 'real'. They are all 'hyper-real'. The application of later motifs might therefore be seen as individual attempts to maintain or refresh nodes of thought, such as myth, knowledge or worldviews, whose referential is absent. These simulations may have allowed some people to communicate with the 'other', such as the dead or the 'ancestors', with some people participating with simulations, doing different things and sometimes even the same things but in alternative settings, such as either *inside* or *outside* the passage tombs (see Thomas 1990; 1992; 1993; 2001; Fraser 1998; Cochrane 2005). Indeed, the architectures of the passage tombs today still dictate that modern visitors move in prescribed manners, affecting how or what they think (see cited examples of modern visitors above).

The images are no longer a question of imitation, citation, nor of reproduction, or even parody. Instead it is an instance of substituting simulated images of a perceived 'real' for a 'hyper-real'. We as modern people are used to the idea of believing in our interpretations of the world, in the 'ideatum', distinguishing between imagination and illusion (Baudrillard 1996, 96). Furthermore, one can live with suspicions of a distorted truth, but anguish and uneasiness can ensue from the idea that the images conceal nothing at all and that maybe they are not even images themselves but rather perfect simulacra '…forever radiant with their own fascination…' (Baudrillard 1994, 5). This constant superimposition might therefore imply tensions in the Neolithic, anguish or disquieting foreignness; the uneasiness before any 'technology', which creates simulations.

From these standpoints, one can imagine the images on the Boyne passage tombs as creating engagements that emotionally affect the viewer's life with the transactions never ending in perfect reciprocation, but instead always being renewed, imbalanced and residual. For instance, the images on Orthostat 45, western tomb, Knowth Site 1, could '…slow perception down, or even halt it, so that the decorated object is never fully possessed at all, but is always in the process of being possessed…' (Gell 1998, 81), creating an unfinished exchange. Such performances integrate re-iteration, re-mediation, re-presentation and re-generation (Shanks 2004, 150). By incorporating discussions of modern two-way visual engagements and simulated realities with archaeology and heritage, we can begin to see 'multiple viewpoints' (Mirzoeff 2002, 18); that is transient parallax visions that are no longer a fixed 'gaze', but rather a more fluid 'look' or 'glance'. By a mere glance at a motif, one is engaged in the creation of a temporal image, that is entrenched in pure simulation.

For these processes to perpetuate, one should acknowledge that these motifs are the visual construction of the social and not just the social construction of the visual (see discussions in Mirzoeff 2002). The beauty of the nature of superimposed motifs is that they imply multiple temporalities, with some being plural, contradictory, scrambled and palimpsestic. By looking in detail at the images on the Boyne Valley passage tombs, which form an integral part of the monumental architecture, one can find evidence for the complex relationships that operated between and with past simulated engagements.

CONCLUSION

It is clear that some modern people and Neolithic people experiment or experimented with simulations of realities to access the 'other'. For us the 'other' may be the past itself and for some Neolithic people it may have been a mythical realm. Realities, past or present cannot be owned, only fabricated or denied; thus end the theoretical movements of representation that sought to produce the real. With Irish passage tombs and their motifs the worlds of meaning, language and rationality disappear, and are replaced by the worlds of juxtaposition, repetition, momentum and metamorphosis (see Rodaway 1995; Cochrane 2005). The Boyne Valley simulacra '…ultimately have no finality and proceed

by total contiguity, infinitely multiplying themselves according to an epidemic which no one can control…' (Baudrillard 1988, 29).

I am aware that this paper can be criticised as taking a particular modern or post-modern perspective and I cannot deny the influences that these positions have had. Yet I feel that by acknowledging that simulacra and simulations do occur, we can bypass the experiences of 'simulation confusion' (Sanes 2005) and begin to move more towards what Shanks terms a 'poetic' (1992, 43-7), and what Thomas terms a 'counter-modern' (2004, especially Chapter 10) approach to archaeology and heritage. Simulations can be thought of as creating more than hyper-realities and more than messages derived from mediums (McLuhan 1964), but also ongoing conversations and dialogues. For instance, the Visitor Centre now incorporates more 'sensitive' expressions of the past, staging exhibitions of poetry, sculpture and art, such as Helen Gavigan's exhibition in 2003, as a means of creating resonances unmediated by the transparency or opaqueness of textual interpretation and mechanisms of information (Baudrillard 1994, 35; Brett 1996, 7; Stout 2002, 190-205; Fox 2004). Furthermore, the actual act of visiting the World Heritage Site involves a 'performative practice' (Pearson and Shanks 2001, 159; see also discussions in Harris 2005) as one encounters the motifs and engages with the architecture of the structures. Moving within these simulations adds to the experience of them. Similarly, archaeology and heritage deal with taking pleasure from the visual aspects of material culture, readily producing maps, guides, photographs, drawings, video-installations, models, performances and rhetoric (Brett 1996; Jones 2001; Moser 2001; Pearson and Shanks 2001; Thomas 2004). By further appreciating our modern relationships with visual images, we may generate broader understandings of the complex negotiations that may have existed in the past (see Moser 1992, 842). I hope that in drawing attention to the possible past and modern simulations that occur in the Boyne Valley, and in detailing episodes of the imposition of one motif on to another on some passage tombs, that I have been able to express some of the transforming and dynamic engagements that may have been, and that *are* still performed at some Irish Neolithic sites.

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NOTES

1. The Boyne Valley is also referred to as 'Brú na Bóinne' (Coffey 1912) or 'Bend of the Boyne' (Ó Ríordáin and Daniel 1964).
2. For further discussions on how multiple understandings and ways of seeing the world are attributed to the evolution of a cognitively fluid mind in anatomically modern humans see Boyer (1994), Mithen (1996) and Hoffman (2000).
3. I acknowledge that being human also encompasses auditory, olfactory, tactile and paraesthetic sensations, but restrictions of space dictate that these are not considered in this chapter.
4. The 'authority' of some of the guides is reinforced by some of them having excavated with Professors Michael O'Kelly and George Eogan (Anon 2003, 335).
5. The same effects can be noted at Stonehenge, England, where increasingly large visitor flows, traffic congestion and political groups have endangered the site.
6. Other objects from the Visitor Centre can act in a similar fashion, for instance the decorated sugar packets and entry tickets, or purchased items such as postcards and ornaments.

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Section IV

POETIC ARCHAEOLOGIES AND MOVING BEYOND MODERNITY

Ian Russell
Trinity College Dublin

After a series of declarations of the issues confronting archaeology within an admittedly modern world, it is now our task to begin to look for the potentials for action and development within archaeological thought and practice. Utilising the word 'poetic' in the title of this section is not intended to conjure up romantic beliefs about the project of archaeology, but rather, it is intended to signal a fundamental revision of archaeology – not of what it is, but of what it does. Of course the title carries overtones of Aristotelian thought which have been eloquently engaged with by Koerner. For it is from a re-reading of much of Aristotle's work that the issue of the importance of poetics within archaeology becomes apparent.

It is intriguing to follow on from Edge and Weiner's suggestion that many of contemporary society's concerns over crises of interpretation and representation are based on 'limits of Classical metaphysics to take on the problems of memory within the vibrant and unfolding social reality of our time'. (Edge and Weiner) In light of this, it is important to address what are fundamental, Classical conceptions of metaphysics which relate to archaeology's role in society. Aristotle asserts in his *Metaphysics* (1.980a) that 'all human beings by nature desire knowledge'. Interpreted in an archaeological theory context, this has similarities to the assertion of Julian Thomas that

> …in everyday life, human beings grasp elements of the material world, and constitute them as evidence for past human practice … archaeology as science is based on this pre-scientific way of being attuned to the world (Thomas 1996, 63).

I would agree with Thomas that there is an evident quality within archaeology that drives human beings to utilise science as a method of uncovering information about the past. However, I return to Aristotle because I feel that the essence of 'archaeological imagination' lies not in its ability to uncover truth, but it is capacity to offer new possibilities of knowledge and understanding.

In his *Poetics* (1451a-1451b), Aristotle compares the qualities and roles of history and poetry in humanity, arguing that 'the function of the poet is not to say what has happened, but to say the kind of thing that would happen…the distinction [between history and poetry] is this: the one says what has happened, the other the kind of thing that would happen'. In this manner, poetry is part of the process of developing understandings of the universal qualities of humanity and the possibilities of existence. Similarly, archaeology is fundamentally concerned with the development of an understanding of the possibilities of human existence and agency. However, awe at the blinding ability of modern science to represent fact and truth has come to overshadow the fundamental qualities of archaeological imagination. It is no longer acceptable to allow processual approaches to the past and the New Archaeology to take precedence over the inherited tradition of exploration of the possibilities of human self-understandings of which archaeology is a part. The role of practice and science is fundamental within archaeological discovery and is thus appreciated as necessary to the endeavour of archaeology. However, process is not an end in itself. The science of discovering, interpreting and representing objects and data from excavation as observable, tangible fact is a modern belief. For too long archaeology has, as a modern science producing facts, played 'lap-dog' to social groups wishing to utilise its scientific qualities to assert and affirm ethno-cultural claims to truth and origin. Recalling Smith and Stritch's concerns earlier in this volume, this signals desire for individual and social empowerment through blood, ethnic and cultural inheritance both of ideological concepts and physical terrain. Archaeology, as poetry, fundamentally stands against this trend in society. A poetic archaeology continues the long tradition of *tekhne* and of art in the role of aware, reflective understanding of what would or could have been. A poetic archaeology is not so much about 'finding' the ascertainable modern facts of a constructed linear past but more about the possibilities of existence and possibilities of the expression of an understanding of that existence, which at the same time appreciates the

intrinsic modern rationale which gave birth to the discipline. Thus archaeology itself is not of universal importance; rather it interacts with perceptions and conceptions of universality through an engagement with the tradition of expounding possibilities of human understanding and existence.

Thus a poetic archaeology does not focus only on what is produced through process (artefacts, monuments, interpretive centres, etc.). Rather it is about doing, about taking part, about participating in this tradition of understanding and expressing understanding. A poetic archaeology is founded upon an engagement with humanity and a participation in expressions of human understanding which move beyond beliefs in modern scientific processes of discovery of self or of groups in the objects perceived as being left by previous human agency. Its participation is a celebration of human existence in the present and engages objects of excavation as phenomena inherently part of the present experience of the embodied mind.

This section will bring together work by three thinkers and practitioners of archaeology whose poetic, phenomenological and practice-based approaches act, not as solutions, but as participatory expressions of ways of moving beyond modern approaches to the past. Working from his own practical experience, Tim Neal discusses the role of the brochure image within tourism and viewers' engagements with landscapes. This is followed by an exploration of the interplay between archaeological and artistic expressions and reactions to the finding of bog bodies in the 20th century by Christine Finn. Finally, Anita Synnestvedt attempts to put into practice the phenomenological approaches of Christopher Tilley (1994; 2004) as she takes us on a walk through the prehistoric site of Stora Rös outside of Gothenborg, Sweden.

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Chapter 10

PRACTICE MAKES PERFECT

A Discussion of the Place of the Brochure Image in Landscape Tourism

Tim Neal
University of Sheffield

INTRODUCTION

For ten years I worked in a highly specialised branch of the tourist industry providing cultural walking tours in Europe. I am referring to culture in a broad sense although there was a significant element of 'high culture'. Much of my work was in mainland Italy and Sicily with a fair proportion of the tours taking place in Tuscany, the latter providing the focus for the experiences informing this paper. De Certeau's (1984) recognition of the centrality of practices had a significant effect on the development of this chapter. The term practices, as deployed by de Certeau, refers to individual negotiations of what can seem overwhelming monolithic social constructs, one of which is the tourist industry itself. Practices are in a sense the mirror image to the details of power that Foucault (2002) excavated. Practices differ in that they describe the *avoidance* of what becomes monolithic patterns of behaviour rather than the mechanics of increasing subjugation to them. What they share is that they are found in the minutiae of activity. The following chapter in part describes my negotiation of the powerful and many faceted activity that is tourism. The first section places the paper more explicitly in the context of a broader history of the representation of landscape and tourism.

LANDSCAPE REPRESENTATION: A BRIEF HISTORY

Images of landscape are ubiquitous in holiday brochures and the relationship between landscapes and their representation is anything but static. The photographic brochure image, which lies at the heart of this discussion, is one element in a technological momentum that continues both to modify our ability to record images and how we frame those records. The landscape, seen through images, has appropriated 'nature' and with it those who work the land. These images evoke realism which in itself constructs a symbolic landscape. These are two faces to the image - on the one hand the seeming realism and on the other the evident symbolism creates a dialectic that renders them active in the ongoing construction of the landscape. It is the contention of this chapter that the landscape images we inherit from Renaissance paintings and the later techniques of mapping are tied to expressions of ownership and power. Furthermore, the images of the contemporary tourist brochure perpetuate these projections onto the land. The 'tourist gaze' (Urry 1990) recognises agency in the very act of ocular consumption with the practice of tourism situated as an active framing of the tourist's object of attention. This gaze is crystallised in the holiday brochure where photography like cartography, is a form of knowledge and power (Harley 1988).

Contemporary attention to heritage issues and the tendency for this to promote a concern for landscape where preservation is highly valued is born of and lends itself to a view of landscape which is both radical and conservative in intention and outcome. The appreciation of the view and the conservation of landscapes to preserve access to vistas have echoes in the practices of certain seventeenth century landscape painters. Famously Claude Lorrain (1600-82) gave his name to a system for both framing and aesthetically improving views through the Claude Glasses. These were constructed using a hand held, faintly tinted convex mirror in which the landscape could be observed and literally framed over the holders shoulder. They were popular with both artists and travelers and allowed them to discover views coinciding with contemporary aesthetic and artistic tastes for both framing vistas and accentuating gradations of light.

Contemporaneously, the practice of the Grand Tour was intimately bound up with an appreciation of landscape and, in particular, a landscape of Europe valued through art, literature and classics. 'Travelling preferences my young nobleman from surfeiting of his parents, and weanes him from the dangerous fondness of his mother'

(Lassels 1670). Indeed the true practices of the young men may have been more hedonistic than the curriculum suggests with the conflation of land and women allowing for the colonisation of both. Travel writing often selected objects of interest which were at one and the same time mysterious and familiar, such as classical vistas, ruins, pastoral idylls and women. Sights and femininity would often be conflated with women, evoking the antique ideals and presenting to the traveler the opportunity to convert the historical to the personal, re-animating the past. The attraction of a foreign sight was bound up with the seemingly contradictory demand that it be strange yet accessible enough to permit appropriation for the pleasure of the viewer (Chard 1997). The imperative of viewing of certain sights was a feature of the Grand Tour and was further consolidated in the late eighteenth century with the growth of picturesque tours. These delineated acceptable canons of painting, sculpture and architecture as well as providing an inventory of 'natural scenes satisfying pictorial canons of beauty' (Adler 1989, 22). The earlier emphasis on discovering the world and revealing its natural order was over-ridden by the cataloguing of sights and art by 'having seen them' (Adler 1989, 23). There was a contemporary concern to catalogue people as well. The growth of nationalism separated people from each other. Populations who lived on and worked the land were viewed as backward yet by the early nineteenth century the influence of Rousseau made that very lack of civility a key to their nobility. Partly through the influence of antiquarian interest in collecting folk tales, the nineteenth century saw the peasantry of Europe emerge as the real folk, guardians of tradition and, in that role, providing the base for nationalism (Brettel 1986). A re-positioning of the observer in relation to the landscape is evident in the career of Sir William Hamilton, the British envoy to the Court of Naples at the end of the eighteenth century. He demonstrated his position as a great collector of classical antiquities by commissioning landscape paintings. For example, he commissioned Peter Fabris' painting 'Observations of the Volcanos of the Two Sicilies' (1776). In this piece the volcano Vesuvius appeared as one of the attributes of the sitter. Sir William is portrayed as a pivotal point between the natural and man-made worlds and between the past and present (Nolta 1997). Proprietorial values were enshrined in his attitude, a condition where appreciation and knowledge of its past gave him rights over the land. The relevance of this lies in the fact that his power over the land was in part derived from his knowledge of its past and his

willingness to simplify its complexities through his assumption of the vista.

The nineteenth century is generally recognised as a century in which visual technology advanced exponentially, concluding with the fanfare of the cinematograph. Indeed the dominance of the ocular is often proposed as a characteristic of modernity. The *camera obscura* can be understood as a forerunner in this blossoming of the visual. The technique for fixing images on the wall of a dark room was achieved by means of a small aperture through which light could pass with the image being 'projected' on the opposite wall. Lenses were deployed to rectify the image which would otherwise have been inverted. This apparatus has been described as a model for 'the condition of the observer … even as the camera itself had been an element of an earlier modernity, helping define a "free", private, and individualised subject in the seventeenth century.' (Crary 1990, 137) The individual, closed in a room and able to observe a private image, engaged in a performance of individuality. Crary's thesis is an analysis of the changing nature of individuality and the techniques which engendered and nourished it. The image itself was the object of attention in the *camera obscura* however the works of Goethe, Schopenhauer, Ruskin and Turner 'are all indications that by 1840 the process of perception itself had become, in various ways, a primary object of vision.' (Crary 1990, 138) There was also a preoccupation in the early nineteenth century with the sun and its effects on vision. Scientists, while, metaphorically and literallly, staring into the sun, experienced (blinding) light and examined the retinal after images. The corporeal awareness of the interiority of colour production fed the developing awareness of a 'vision that did not represent or refer to objects in the world'. Work was directed towards 'the mechanization and formalization of vision' (Crary 1990, 141) which continues today. For Crary, vision and observation were part of a strategic appropriation of subjectivity (Crary 1990, 148). Modernity required 'a more adaptable, autonomous, and productive observer…in both discourse and practice – to conform to new functions of the body and to a vast proliferation of indifferent and convertible signs and images' (Crary 1990, 149).

Photography was also part of this modernity (Garlick 2002, 290). The collection of sights, which was so central to the practice of seeing and of travelling, provided essential conditions in which tourism flourished. Tourism, like Crarys' ocular techniques, demanded an autonomous observer but one who consumed pre-ordained sights. The marketing

strategies used by Thomas Cook (1808-92) in the foundation of his tourism company are a case in point here (Brendon 1991).

One of the most popular forms of visual entertainment was the Panorama. These were popular from the late 1700s to the last decade of the nineteenth century (Comment 2000). A scene painted on a vast canvas was generally viewed from a central platform within a circular building allowing the spectator to view it from all positions, such as with the Panorama of Constantinople (1847-1889) by Jules Arsene Garnier. Presentations of landscapes, both rural and urban, were common. Central points were chosen which had a real or, in certain cases, imaginary location. The experience could only be visually consumed from the panoramic point or pivot position. They ranged from scenes of popular vistas known to a portion of the audience to foreign fields, both contemporary and classical. Certainly in the early years verisimilitude was perhaps the great element in their success. Earlier techniques such as the development of perspective or methods of surveying and mapping land had also been premised on verisimilitude. Thus, the panoramic painted scenes of Pompeii or Constantinople utilised geometry and its application to draughtsmanship to design ideals which were then put into practice. They were what should, could and would be. Landscapes themselves were theorised, and the viewing of them became the making of them.

To sum up, there has been a marshalling of our practices of visual consumption and imagination to look at and for certain aspects of the landscape. This has been effected in parallel with technological and social developments which have resulted in the enhancement of the subjective experience of viewing while conditioning its expression. The following sections, written from a personal perspective, explore how brochure images partake in this process. This will reveal how landscapes are given value by their past whilst situating the inhabitants as gardeners of a timeless world consumed in the present. Furthermore the brochure image acts as a 'Haha!' hidden between the tourist and the coming experience through the images' assumption of accuracy and technology's denial of interpretation. As long as that boundary does not collapse then the world beyond cannot be accessed and we will only meet the gardeners, the real inhabitants now convicted by the very progress that has made the journey possible. This paper is in part an attempt to give space to the practice of tourism, giving attention more often to tourist images rather than the practices which produce them (Crang 1999, 244).

THE CONTEXT OF MY OBSERVATIONS[1]

Between 1988 and 2001 I worked in various capacities in the tourism industry including keeping the till in a 'prehistory park' and guiding groups through caves crowded with stalactites and stalagmites in western France. In the latter years I led cultural walking tours in Europe with a particular emphasis on Italy. These are the experiences that inform this paper.

My earliest visits to Italy were made in the late nineteen sixties and early seventies when camping at coastal holiday destinations with my parents. Of these visits I remember disliking pizza, speaking German, the sand and the sea. In 1979, when eighteen, I returned to Italy following a chance encounter with language students from Perugia and Asti. I returned over the following four years at regular intervals earning my living as a street musician and travelling widely. It was a heady experience, and with a guitar and embroidered waistcoat, I played outside the Palazzo Publico and slept on the Ponte Vecchio in Florence. I spent nights at the Piazza Navona in Rome and slept on the beaches of Linosa. During all this time, I visited very few tourist sights/sites. As far as I was concerned I was not a tourist but rather a sight/site. I do remember the Uffizi gallery in Florence and the Forum in Rome, both of which I visited on days when it was too hot for comfort. Playing music for coins and paper money, literally in the shadow of Italy's imposing urban architecture, I could but be aware of the weight and the presence of the past. However, for me, Italy was predominantly a place of living relationships.

Some 10 years were to pass before I returned to Italy. I began leading walking tours for Anglophones in Central Italy in 1995 and found my self in a different country. I was, of course, older and no longer busking. The reference points from my earlier visits had gone, and a new group stepped up to take their place: churches, museums, restaurants, wild flowers, vistas and landscapes - landscapes in particular. I was a guide to the historic landscapes of Italy, accompanying groups on tours through the countryside on foot. Ours were cultural itineraries. The walks were punctuated with visits to towns, galleries and churches. It was the contrast and even the conflict I sensed between my first discovery of the country when I had travelled on my own and the 'product', which I now promoted and distributed that has led me to write this paper.

IMAGES

Pictures and Photographs were ubiquitous in my work. In museums, in brochures, in albums and in my mind, each step was a continual reframing of the view. Images, views, clients, and guides all began to irritate me. Renaissance this and baroque that. As I gained experience and became more able to contextualise my experiences, the more I wanted to belittle and to shake the seeming complacency of the tourist experience. The poor people who had to travel with me! I did not let on about my annoyance of course. I was always professional. This paper was where I wanted to create a space to continue this deprecation of the activities of the tourist, to lay bare the lack of contextualisation in the context of the holiday. I was overwhelmed by the sense that the tourist experience lacked sensitivity to the landscapes we walked and, furthermore, that the visits were in effect recreating this landscape in a particular fashion which dissolved its complexity into a series of views and possible images over which the tourist held domain. In the particular instance of the cultural tours I led, I must make clear that the images I produced, re-enforced, consumed and communicated were themselves players in the de-contextualisation of the land and its history.

In spring 2001 we were visiting the gardens and villa of Cetinale built by a nephew of Pope Pius II in central Tuscany, northwest of Siena. Laid out like a bow and arrow, the house and gardens dissected the land around, forming a series of viewpoints and apportioning ownership and control of movement and goods (see Figure 10-1). This villa, along with many others, looked upon and drew out the plains around Siena. With this prospect before me, the work of Daniels and Cosgrove (Cosgrove 1988) became very physical. There was no theoretical aspect to this construction of land and space. No more theoretical than a chainsaw. I took pictures, and pictures were taken of me and as I looked again at pictures in the brochures I began to see a striking similarity between images made of and for the rich and powerful in the renaissance and the images made by and for tourists today (see Figures 10-1, 2 and 4). Characteristic depictions of powerful landed nobles posing in front of their land such as in Piero della Francesca's portrait of the Duke of Urbino were replicated as tourist's took pictures standing or sitting before their view, their conquest (see Figure 10-3).

Figure 10-1. Villa and Gardens of Cetinale, near Siena. Seen from the top of the Garden looking down over the Villa. Author's own photograph.

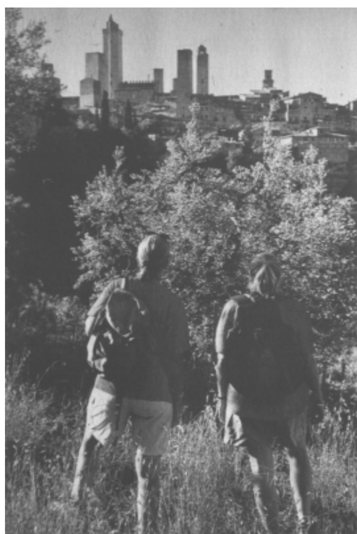

Figure 10-2. Tourists looking at San Gimignano, Tuscany. Author's own photograph from Alternative Travel Group Catalogue 2000.

Figure 10-3. The Duke of Urbino from 'Il Duca e la Duchessa di Urbino' painted by Piero della Francesca (courtesy of the Polo Museale Fiorentino).

Figure 10-4. Looking over Florence from the top of the Boboli Gardens. Author’s own photograph.

I found support in Urry's (1990) notion of the 'tourist gaze' – a gaze fixing a particular vision, a gaze of power. The images fixed this further. The act of framing a photograph itself was selective, the content prescribed by archetypal images which framed the intent of the photographer before the camera was deployed. The gaze of the tourist evidenced through their photographs was one that, like the carefully constructed iconic images of landscape produced in the 18th and 19th centuries through geometry of perspective, acted as a spotlight. The photograph acted as a device directing attention to a relationship founded not in the landscape itself but rather in the intent of the photographer. Ellen Strain's reading of Martin Heidegger seemed to confirm for me that the 'fundamental event of the modern age is the conquest of the world as picture …the structured image that is the creature of man's producing, man contends for the position in which he can be that particular being who gives the measure and draws up the guidelines for everything that is' (Strain 1996, 73). Like the scientist, the tourist takes the position of the subject in relation to an objectified world and seeks a high vantage point from which to grasp the unfamiliar land as an understandable whole and as a uniform system, as a scrutinisable object (ibid). The images themselves were boundaries, intellectual checkpoints, at which it seemed possible to trade experience for a passport to see only what you wanted to see.

Above all, I saw my clients as demonstrating their ownership of the land. Of course they selected only the 'old' and the attractive. A client would not visit or pose in front of modernity other than with self conscious regard and wit. Control of a landscape of factories or a cityscape of apartments could only be exhibited as a parody of the real control which is felt by the cultural tourist to Italy. This 'authentic' ownership is founded in the choice to experience only the 'authentic' heritage of pre-industrial Europe performed through a love of space, isolated vines, unkempt olive groves and the quiet back lane with orchids growing at the roadside. These were 'authentic' places, a timeless Italy, idealistically devoid of the more complex and while at the same time painfully recognisable contours of the modern world. These were spaces which suggested a romantic lack of modern control.

Paintings in the Palazzo Publico in Siena re-inforce this. The room was decorated in the late 14th century by Lorenzetti, perhaps the great forerunner of European landscape painting. One wall depicts 'Good Government' with its ordered fields and woods, labour in action and

presided over by 'The Good and the Virtuous Graces'. The other wall showed the effects of 'Bad Government' with the fields obliterated and the forests incoherent. Ironically, the latter is the landscape over which modern images throw their shadow, a land where the clear signs of ownership have been disguised and the disorder which follows the depopulation of the rural landscape provides a land ready for colonization by a new empire – the empire of the past – the petrifaction of the past in an imaginary form, the empire of the holiday.

Figure 10-5. Clearance cairns on hillside outside San Gimigniano. Author's own photograph.

Readings in landscape archaeology and anthropology have led me to be constantly aware of the complexity of the landscape and of how many stories were lost in the seemingly simple equation of space with wildness and freedom. The land had been made to look this way – continual signals of extensive human labour stood clear at every forest and on every hillside (Figure 10-5). The inhabitants had gone and left traces

behind them in the paths we walked and in the people we met - the ones who stayed behind, who kept the oases of cultivation from being smothered by encroaching cover. The brochure image that sold the tour experience was instrumental in de-contextualising the landscape through an appropriation of the view. The photographs framed the landscape, selecting and emphasising particular viewpoints while avoiding and thus subverting others. They replicated seemingly timeless natural visual structures of order and, through this, nurtured an assumption of complicity on the part of the consumer.

Yellow, heavily perfumed broom was the great example of this. We would walk through hillsides dense with broom, up to our armpits. Some of us loved its perfume while others found it sickly. However, to the 'peasant' who remained, it was a pest, a sign the land was not loved, not worked, not used and not lived. To the visitor this dense display was an 'authentic' sight, reminiscent of the downs in England. It was almost a primeval experience as if this was the way it had always been, the way it should be. I could see just in this small example that this landscape was so complex, yet all the tourist could take away was a photograph - of a hillside choked with broom and walkers processing in an orderly file, of me in front of a villa, of a monk before his monastery, of an empty hermitage where someone still left offerings, of themselves before the land. This was a land that was devoid of obvious signs of division, a land where we could not see the boundaries yet a land where that very lack of clear current order was the boundary which set it apart. As in the image of 'Bad Government' in the Palazzo Publico in Siena, this was a land where strife and change had obliterated distinctions allowing tourists to assume command and to re-form the land in their own image. This was a land where new ownership was effected from ignorance of story, of complexity, of density and most of all, of experience. Of course as a guide, my role was always to entertain as well as inform. Thus, the dialogue I developed as a guide was a contribution, I felt, to the very ignorance I abhorred. In a way, I wanted to preach, to declaim a return to your own life to look at your history, to see where you have come from and rebuild the complexity into your land. Oh yes, and pay me to tell you that! This contract worked remarkably well. My tours became radical romps through the dispossessed of the past centuries in a land they had largely left behind them.

THE HAHA!

Visiting an exhibition entitled ‘Province’ at the Mappin Gallery in Sheffield in 2001, I saw an installation which has inspired much of this discussion – the ‘Haha!’ by the artist jaYxa (Figure 10-6). The main exhibit was a vaulting horse with a landing mat before it on which was printed in bold letters ‘Haha!’.

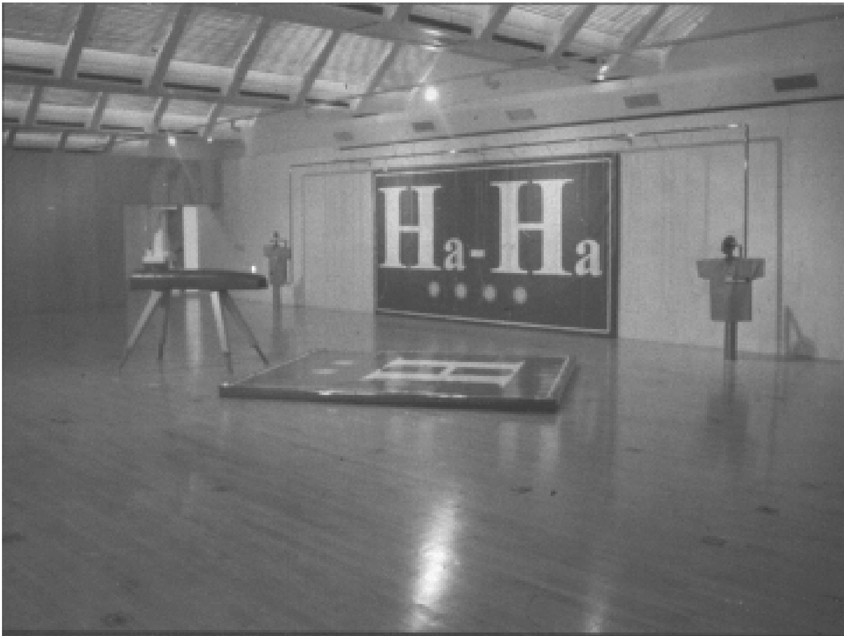

Figure 10-6. The ‘Haha!’ by the artist jaYxa as part of ‘Province’ - an exhibition at the Mappin Gallery, Sheffield. Photograph by Percy Peacock.

The catalogue entry read:

> Haha! – a sunken fence or sloping sided ditch with one vertical side. It was originally spelt ahah!, an interjection expressing the surprise of the walker on discovering or stumbling into one. Thanks to the Haha!, an invisible trench that serves to integrate the garden into the surrounding countryside, cows and deer are kept at a distance, but still in the picture. The Haha! is a subtle, intelligent invention of the English 18th c landscape gardening, which sought a symbolic return

> to the unspoilt nature of lost paradises. The Haha!, that ideal union of leisure and economy, exalts a view artificially created by hidden limits. Today, without going beyond the picture's limits, we citizens-travellers-cultural tourists behold the countryside from the garden; paradise from a brochure, with our feet firmly planted on the edge of the Haha! (Province 2001).

This exhibition crystallised my thoughts, providing a provoking metaphor out of which developed the idea of presenting this paper with the title 'the brochure as boundary'. I understood the images of the modern tourist brochure to be replicating the powerful images of the past and through this imitation appropriating ownership. The brochure image was a barrier to true perception. The 'Haha!' framed vistas that permitted the histories of the land to be swallowed up in strident images whose only context was that of looking as they should look, a fantasy of how it once looked. The brochure as boundary revealed the image as blocking the view to a contextualised present.

THE AFTER IMAGE

Initially I understood the image to be a boundary between here and there – there being the imagination, the memory and the future. The image allowed the tourist to see a 'reality' where they could experience a sense of ownership. However, the metaphor of the 'Haha!' recognised that seeing over the 'Haha!' is not seeing through it. A boundary such as this needs constant attention and renewal before it becomes overgrown and vegetation obscures the view. Thus the tourist may laugh at older images, aware of the meanings they bounded and yet remain innocent or ignorant of the historical chasm at their own feet as they gaze at the view. The issue thus arose of how to achieve the breaking down of the 'Haha!' in the present? Should one attack it with words, deconstruct it with analyses, shatter it with metaphor, examine the boundary or examine the images only for what they tell us of the boundary?

The 'Haha!' and the image, while being barriers, can be understood to unify. The boundary - the hidden 'Haha!' - on one level constructs difference between the consumer/observer and the object represented through the image - the to-be-consumed. On another level, it draws us forward until we stand at the edge, leaving behind us our fine house and

garden, our order and memory. Beyond it we see the view, framed by the horizons. One of these horizon lies at our feet - the ‘Haha!’. However, only the body can break through it. It is a somatic experience. The reflexive practice of tourism faces of these issues, raising awareness through bodily experience. MacCannell suggested that when we travel far to visit the ‘other’ we are in effect on pilgrimage to worship our own society (MacCannell 1976). Turner (1974) equally conceptualized the touristic zone as a ‘liminal’ zone for both the host and the guest - liminal and ritual in that the usual order of things is suspended. In a similar vein Tom Selwyn (1996, 1) asks ‘why it seems appropriate to think of a tourist as one who chases myths’? The seeking of authenticity in the ‘other’ together with its co-quest for the ‘authentic self’ is not the issue here however. Tourism is the bodily experience that can disrupt the boundary. The tourist is the mythical embedded participant imagining, revealing, and subverting. Adapting a comparison promoted by Crang (1999, 252), the desire to see the sites/sights is equivalent to the academic desire to explain and decipher, both of which must be put into practice.

The ‘Haha!’ provides a perfect metaphor, recognising that there are sights to see, creating a distance from which to view yet providing an opportunity to transgress the boundary. As the ‘Haha!’ allows the appearance of a house and garden contiguous with the distant land, so too the brochure image acts as a boundary that sets up a sense of ownership of land and an ignorance of context. The boundaries are there to mediate our experience, yet tour guides are there to mediate the boundaries. How can we break down this boundary? We go on holiday. We guide. In one way or another we take a path through the past. We negotiate this boundary, and this can only occur through reflexive practice. The image becomes an invitation to transgress, to discover that which is concealed. All this we do when we ‘do’ tourism.

From seeing the image as an obstruction to experience I have been moved to accepting it as an invitation. With this in mind, I changed the title of this paper from the ‘brochure *as* boundary’ to the ‘brochure *was* boundary’ to the pithy maxim ‘practice makes perfect’. I have attempted to throw light on the genesis of my feelings - the frustration of sensing a veil yet the incapacity to find how to work through it. I accept that the boundary maintained by the images prevalent in tourist brochures allows for a de-contextualised present to emerge yet at the same time is an invitation to go beyond. Tourism is clearly not to be understood as an

ethical journey to examine the truth about the past or present. It is fundamentally about pleasure and about experience. However, the physicality of the tourist and her or his practice negotiates between all of these issues and provides the best opportunity to endeavour to engage them. We can only see the images for what they are by immersing ourselves in the land they represent[2]. The most negative legacy of the boundary is that it can replace experience with a form that is closer to observation or recognition. The brochure is a boundary, a ‘Haha!’, a hidden barrier, yet the ‘Haha!’ is only revealed through our agency. Like learning to walk, it is achieved through action. Mental activity alone will not dissolve the barrier but frequentation may, even if the consequences are not as we might wish.

Figure 10-7. Lorry containers above the road near Genova. An image such as this can subvert the categories of the tourist experience. The resemblance of the containers to a hill town require the observer to look further. Author’s own photograph.

CONCLUSION

In this paper I explained how my experience of Italy as a lively culturally modern place in the early 1980's together with my knowledge of landscape archaeology led me to experience tourism images as something negative, which veiled reality. I came to describe them as a boundary, a 'Haha!', an unseen barrier to experience. The limits of this have resulted in my adopting a position where practice and agency are paramount. The existence of the boundary is accepted but it is understood as an invitation to transgress, and it is recognised that the only way through is the practice of tourism itself and not its rejection.

NOTES

1. An earlier version of the following section is to be published in the journal: *Storia del turismo Annale 2004*. Naples: Edizioni Franco Angeli.
2. Crang (1999, 247) suggests in 'Knowing, Tourism and Practices of Vision' that we should look 'at tourist photography as a knowledge producing practice, undeniably situated in specific ways but which needs understanding rather than denunciation. In this sense I want to develop a notion of reflexivity within the practice; it is a self - knowing operation in the sense of constructing a story of the self ...'

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Chapter 11

BOG BODIES AND BOG LANDS

Trophies of Science, Art and the Imagination

Christine A. Finn
University of Bristol

INTRODUCTION

The phenomenon of bog bodies and bog finds continues to fascinate the observer, providing at once a link between science and art and affording both forensic distance and compassionate scrutiny. It is more than a century since the first recorded photograph of a bog body (Glob 1965) more than 50 years since the Danish museum photographer Lennart Larsen took his now-iconic photographs of the Tollund Man in Jutland (ibid.) and some 20 years since the remains of another famous body, the Lindow Man, were found in the peatlands of northern England. Even today, fresh findings are being made as a result of the 'strange power' of the northern European bog waters. And of those bodies long displayed, new - and often provocative - thoughts are being raised. The focus here is on the appropriation of these bodies by non-archaeologists and what this offers us in the discipline.

This is a symbiotic relationship. As Bruce Trigger has noted in *A History of Archaeological Thought*: 'The findings of archaeology, however subjectively interpreted, have altered humanity's perception of its history, its relationship to nature, and its own nature in ways that are irreversible without the total abandonment of scientific method' (1989, 410). The bog finds are distinct from bones, being an amalgam of flesh, sinew, skin and skeletal remains which peer out only where chemistry has engaged, exposing sections of bone matter. Don Brothwell, in the introduction to his 1965 textbook on skeletal excavation notes plainly:

> Bones are commonly an embarrassment to archaeologists, even though the human skeleton offers a no less fruitful subject of inquiry than ceramics, metals, architecture or any other field of historical or pre-historical study (1965, xi).

Figure 11-1. Tollund Man. Photo by Lennart Larsen, reproduced courtesy of National Museum of Denmark, Copenhagen.

Figure 11-2. Tollund Man - head. Photo by Lennart Larsen, reproduced courtesy of National Museum of Denmark, Copenhagen.

Figure 11-3. Grauballe Man. Photo by Lennart Larsen, reproduced courtesy of National Museum of Denmark, Copenhagen.

The central medium discussed here is art, as I have considered elsewhere (Finn 2000; 2003). It is important to consider quite how potent Larsen's photographs were when they first appeared to the public. At the time Larsen was a staff photographer at the National Museum of Denmark in Copenhagen, and the images were part of his everyday work. They were originally taken not for wider publication, but as part of standard archaeological practice, a part of fieldwork process as much as

planning the excavation of a site. The discovery of the Tollund Man (Figure 11-1) and the publication of the photographs thus attuned the public to those of the Grauballe Man (Figure 11-3) and others which followed in the 1950s. But these later images were arguably less 'human' in first prospect than the benign face of the Tollund Man (Figure 11-2). The fact that his face was reproduced internationally in the press was a coupling of two things. As news the face complemented a startling story, and beyond that, the images' explicit ability to both shock and move. This was the face of a 2000 years old man whose features were observably similar to those of the reader or viewer in Denmark or elsewhere.

Beyond enquiry and into inspiration, this chapter draws on science and the arts to consider how we analyse and respond to the 'bog people', and how much our relationship with them has changed over time because of new ideas in archaeology, new techniques in forensics and, not least, the transformative power of the imagination. It draws on material used in, and arising from, an exhibition called 'Strange Powers: bog lands and bog bodies', an interdisciplinary event held at the University of Bradford, UK, in the spring of 2004, and it moves that material further to reveal continual creative possibilities.

THE ROLE OF 'THE BOG PEOPLE'

Central to this line of enquiry is a simple coda:

> There is a strange power in bog water which prevents decay. Bodies have been found which must have lain in bogs for more than a thousand years, but which, though admittedly somewhat shrunken and brown, are in other respects unchanged (from an 'old Danish almanac' in Glob 1965, i).

This paragraph, unattributed, appears at the beginning of the preface to *The Bog People* (Glob 1965). This best selling popular book about the Jutland discoveries was written by the Danish archaeologist Peter (or P.V.) Glob, who worked with Larsen at the National Museum. First published in Copenhagen in 1965 as *Mosefolket: Jernalderens Menesker bevaret i 2000 ar*, it was not translated until 1969 by the archaeologist Rupert Bruce-Mitford. By then, Larsen's photos had appeared all over the world, and the currency these images and the enduring fascination of

the bog bodies, created a best seller. A new edition has recently been published in 2003 in the US as part of a series of classic books.

The book, its text and images articulate the ground between scientific discovery and human mystery. The work inspired a generation to appreciate the story of archaeology, all the better received in a form which was as gripping as the newspaper article. It was simply good and evocative storytelling. *The Bog People*, in its English translation, begins:

> Evening was gathering over Tollund Fen in Bjaeldskov Dal. Momentarily, the sun burst in, bright and yet subdued, through a gate in blue thunder clouds, bringing everything mysteriously to life... (1969, 1).

THE BOG AND HUMAN ACTIVITY

The Danish Almanac entry above also hints at the potential for exploring the curious artefacts offered up by the land of bog. Acts of human intervention in this landscape - notably the cutting of peat for fuel - have been transformative in that this domestic activity has unveiled the metaphysical quality of the bogland. This prompts an exploration of the potential afforded by the human activity itself: the sensation of the cut, the finding and acknowledgement of foreign material, human recognition as this being human remains, the raising of this into the contemporary world and its continued narrative.

The peat cutters who revealed the bodies were, after all, going about an everyday business. What they expected to find was perhaps pieces of waterlogged wood, vegetation, the action of the cut producing fuel, once stacked and dried. Although today much mechanized and industrialized, in the 1950's bog cutting was very much a human pursuit, a social activity in which family groups went off to the bogland and toiled together, cutting and stacking, the dried material being their staple fuel supply. A find of anything foreign would surely break the curious still of the bogland, bringing other diggers to scrutinize. Word of a bog find would get around. Before archaeology, as Glob (1965) reminds us throughout his text, bog finds, particularly those of bodies, remained in the domain of wonder in a pre-scientific era. Bodies were sometimes taken up and placed in a church as a form of miraculous preservation, a relic which soon disintegrated outside their peculiar boggy tomb. By the

1950s, the local archaeologist, as well as the local policeman, would arrive at the scene of a bog body find.

There is an analogy of this resonance with another fieldwork, that of the archaeological dig. In this activity, one expects to find certain artefacts, but one does not know with certainty what will be found. Although archaeological science attempts prediction of structures, pits, metal objects and so on, archaeologists are also dealing with uncertainties and surprises, and in this lies the potential to transform this process of imagination creatively.

SEAMUS HEANEY AND THE BODY IN THE BOG

A metaphysical dig enabled Seamus Heaney to link the Danish bog bodies, which were found in a rural context but originally excavated and analysed in an archaeological one, with the victims of the Irish Troubles. His reading of *The Bog People* was crucial to this. It mediated between the pragmatism of scientific analysis and the wonder of discovery. This mediation prompted Heaney to respond by making poems from those feelings of his own, and his discussion of this is central to his best-known essay on the subject, 'Feeling into Words' (1980).

In terms of practice, we can only imagine how the peat cutters felt when their 'workaday' slice downward with a spade revealed not just the familiar gloss of damp peat, but a suggestion of human flesh, a flap of tanned skin, the leather of ancient clothing. That potential to draw in and fall away tantalises those who work creatively with the 'Strange fruit' (1973, 40-5) of the bog, as Heaney entitled one of his series of bog poems. Heaney's response to the land which was part of his Irish childhood is well explored from the English literature camp (Stallworthy 1982) and not least by the poet himself, whose familiarity with the bog finds coincided with a need within himself, as he has noted. In the commentary he provides for 'Stepping Stones' (1995), a cassette of his poetry, Heaney expressed this intense and particular connection between the prehistoric world and that around him in during the Troubles of 1970s Northern Ireland.

The enduring nature of this metaphorical motherlode extends, in Heaney's work, from a childhood in which he witnessed the practices of peat-digging, through early adulthood when his friendship at Queen's University Belfast with the archaeologist, Tom Delaney, encouraged his

interest. His earliest career as a poet celebrated these relationships, not least, by the series of bog poems.

Heaney first saw the bodies second hand as the images captured by Larsen and reproduced in Glob's book. His eventual journey to visit them in the bogland heartland of Silkeborg and Aarhus only increased his sense of reverence. In 1996, Seamus Heaney opened a major exhibition of bog bodies at Silkeborg Museum, a gathering called simply 'Face to face with your past'. In his opening speech, entitled 'The man and the bog' Heaney contexualised the poetic - 'the fragrant secret heather and scrub, of squelchy rushes and springy peatfields' (1999, 3) - with the science of the bogland and its power to preserve. He provided a bridge for these two perspectives, science and art, by saying:

> The head of the Tollund Man [see Figure 11-2] and the body of the Grauballe Man [see Figure 11-3] have a double force, a riddling power: on the one hand they invite us to reverie and daydream, while on the other hand they can tempt the intellect to its most strenuous exertions (1999, 4).

In 1994, Heaney returned to Tollund Fen and retrod the metaphorical landscape of his earlier poem 'The Tollund Man' (1973, 47-8). This poem 'Tollund', published in the volume *The Spirit Level* (1996), focuses on his re-exploration of the landscape which originally inspired 'The Tollund Man'. However, things had changed both above ground and for Heaney. This time Heaney was a Nobel Laureate, and the bog poems were canonical, being part of his now-established oeuvre. This return, then, was a more self conscious act - it was after all, a revisit, a re-seeing.

An academic conference accompanied the Silkeborg exhibition. Titled 'Bog Bodies, Sacred Sites and Wetland Archaeology' (http://www.ucl.ac.uk/prehistoric/past/past25.html/), the publication of its papers, in 1999, began a dialogue which continues today. In the introduction to the volume, the editors and conference organisers, Bryony Coles, John Coles and Mogens Shou Jorgensen, write:

> Whether skeleton or skin, these people from the wetlands bring us up against the personal in the archaeological record. They shock us and shake our preconceptions, and open our eyes to a spectrum of beliefs and relationships that we are intrigued to glimpse, even if frustrated at the present limitations of our understanding... (1999, 2).

Heaney's Silkeborg speech opens the volume, which progresses through papers of what might be called 'traditional' bog and wetland science, on specific bog finds from the Japanese wetlands as well as the bogs of Northern Europe. Included was my own essay (Finn 1999) on the bog land and bog body as literary inspiration, Heaney being my central focus. The scientific techniques and interpretations book-ended a central theme, papers which explored and segued the artistic and scientific couplings and investigations into the bog phenomenon.

BOG BODIES AND/AS ART

At these 'limitations of our understanding' (Coles *et al*. 1999, 2), the artistic and aesthetic explorations of meaning continue where science can go no further in its particular context. Artistic expression provides a way to think about the objectification of archaeology itself, the transformation of human to artefact to emotive response. Although several artists have used the bog body as a starting point, many of them in Ireland, I will draw here on the work of one contemporary artist, Kathleen Vaughan, who exhibits in interdisciplinary shows, and has a strong presence on the internet. Vaughan, a Canadian, grew up outside what we have come to regard as the traditional *habitus* of bog land artists, who have northern European roots or residencies. Unlike artists, poets, and writers whose early memories of their mysterious childhood playing fields trigger an artistic response later in life, Vaughan approaches the bog bodies from outside her territory. They have a capacity to be both familiar as fellow human beings, but the sensory triggers of the feel of bog, its smell and intense, humid darkness provide for her an aesthetic fascination from the unknown.

On her website, Vaughan describes her relationship with the northern European landscape and how it connects with Glob's seminal work *The Bog People*. She describes her work as:

> ... a cycle of mixed media works on canvas and linen, The Bog Series incorporates life-sized photographic images of Iron Age figures, full-scale drawings from models, textile elements and highly textural paint and wax. This series is a visual and visceral celebration of the life-death continuum and an exploration of the connections that our

shared human corporeality allows us to build between one another (Vaughan 2005).

Vaughan developed what she describes as her 'bog series' (Figures 11-4-7) as an artistic response to science. It originated as part of her Master of Fine Arts thesis – *Modes of knowing and artistic practice: of beauty, bog bodies and brain science* (1995). In her response to the art and science divide, Vaughan considers her art has an inherent interactive role: 'In exhibition and discussion, the series also shows how the visual arts can promote and stimulate both classroom- and community-based learning' (Y-File 2004).

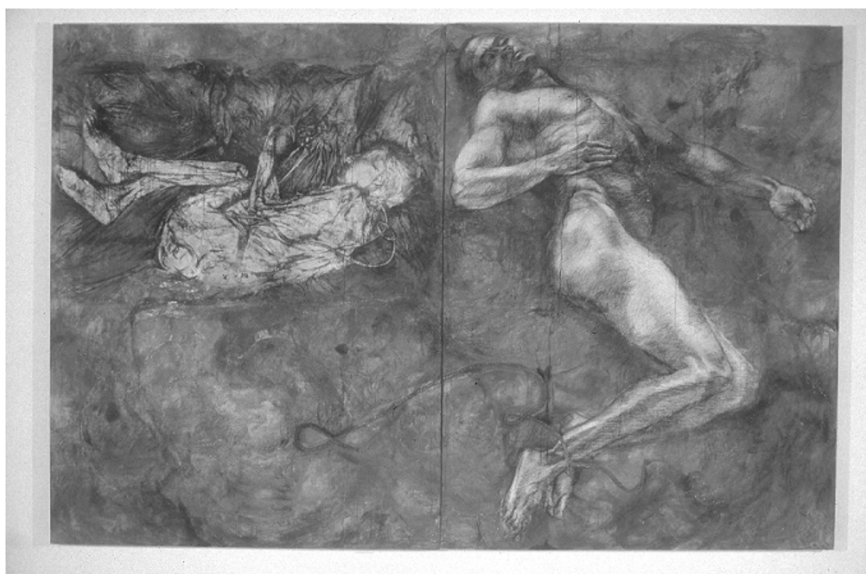

Figure 11-4. Kathleen Vaughan, *Bog Series 3* (1996), 39 x 48 in, in three panels as installed - oil, acrylic, encaustic paint; photographic emulsion, on layers of canvas (Tollund Man's profile in left panel – see Figure 11-1).

Vaughan's work has received international audience, not least via her website, on which her paintings are featured, together with a background to their inception. She has also received critical acclaim. In 2003 she was invited to show her work in what would be regarded perhaps, as a scientific space, presented alongside the trappings of lab research in a

major exhibition with traditional archaeological foundations. ‘The Mysterious Bog People’, which originated in Canada, toured to the Netherlands, thus bringing Vaughan’s - foreign - artistic vision of a 2000 year old ‘local’ to one of the bog body homelands.

Figure 11-5. Kathleen Vaughan, *Bog Fragment 7: The Touch of You* (1996), 12 3/8 x 37 1/4 x 2 1/8 in, four panels (outside view) oil acrylic and encaustic paint; photographic emulsion; acrylic castings; xerography on acetate; all on cavas.

Figure 11-6. Kathleen Vaughan, *Bog Fragment 7: The Touch of You* (1996), 12 3/8 x 37 1/4 x 2 1/8 in, four panels (inside view) oil, acrylic and encaustic paint; photographic emulsion; acrylic castings; xerography on acetate; all on canvas.

Figure 11-7. Kathleen Vaughan, *Bog Fragment 7: The Touch of You* (1996) (outside view - close up). This is Grauballe Man's hand.

Vaughan's response to the science of the bog is as tactile as Heaney's description of the 'mild pod' (1973, 47-8) of the Tollund Man's eyelids, the Grauballe Man, who 'seems to weep a black river of himself' (1973, 35-6), or the Windeby Girl's 'shaved head/like a stubble of black corn' (1973, 37-8). Heaney's finely honed choice of words mirror Vaughan's working through of a different process, in which she takes the presence of the bog body, mediates it through 'art' and produces work which moves the bodies to another place, and indeed, another space: the gallery (see Figures 11-4-7). These are not works held in limbo by temperature controlled display cases, but paintings hung in a humanly shared, breathable location. Vaughan's work likewise bridges a conceptual gap. Michel van Maarseveen, Director of the Drents Museum, where the paintings were displayed in 2004, noted:

> Kathleen Vaughan's work ...is spiritual by nature, it reminds us of our own mortality. Not in a frightening way, but almost reassuringly and lovingly she shows us that we are all part of this eternal cycle. This makes her work a tribute to life itself and the transient human body in particular. Dust we are, and unto dust we return. Even the slowly disintegrating body contains beauty. This is shown quite evocatively

by the confrontation between the bog bodies and the vital, zestful and often sensual bodies of flesh and blood (Vaughan 2005).

While Seamus Heaney's poetry was an immediate response to seeing Lennart Larsen's photographs in *The Bog People* (see Figures 11-1-3). Likewise, Vaughan's interest in the bog people was sparked by those same photos, also seen in Glob's book (compare Figures 11-1 and 11-4). She was moved as much by the bodies as the underlying social and cultural processes which had been at work, 'by stories of their willingness to be sacrificed to an earth goddess for the benefit of their communities' (Y-File 2004).

While archaeological science works on the elemental nature of the bog, scrutinising the practices in terms of theory as well as analytical method in the laboratory, this essential quality enthrals Vaughan in terms of artistic form. 'The beauty of the photos of these bodies moved me, as did the mysteriousness of these individuals' deaths and the value systems of their pre-literate cultures' (ibid.). Moreover, Vaughan complements new directions in self-reflexive contemporary archaeology with her consideration: 'The more I researched the bog people's late Iron Age cultures, the more their world-view seemed a much-needed complement to our post-industrial ethos' (ibid.).

FURTHER INSPIRATIONAL DIALOGUES WITH THE BOG

Fifty years ago, a group of British schoolgirls from the Convent of the Assumption in Bury St. Edmunds, East Anglia, also responded to Larsen's photographs. They had seen them in the national press shortly after they were taken. The class were so fascinated by the story that they wrote to Glob. Their correspondence, as he spells out in his preface, to inspired him to write *The Bog People* in response. Indeed, the book is dedicated to the girls and to his daughter Elisabet.

In March, 2004, I invited some of the girls and Sister Simon, their former teacher, to revisit that experience. I was interested to see how they would respond to the images today, and this was captured in a BBC radio 4 programme called 'The Glob Girls' (British Broadcasting Corporation Radio 2005). This was coupled with the unusual location for this encounter, the crypt of St. Pancras Church in central London, where

I was showing a DVD installation entitled 'Strange Powers' inspired by Larsen and Heaney. 'Strange Powers', originally made for the Bradford exhibition, was here shown in the non narrative version, on a small, book-format DVD player housed in a dark room, part of the historic crypt, and secured rather like a medieval chained book. The DVD was part of a show in which I had been invited to participate with three sculptors. As the title suggests, 'Memoire Collective' (2005) was based on the idea of memory collected in objects.

I have discussed elsewhere the various technologies involved in making this short film piece and how the authenticity of Larsen's original images compared with problems of capturing other data (Finn 2005). Simply, the installation's memory bank was the electronic data of the DVD, encoded with digitally captured photos taken by Larsen, scanned from Glob's book. This layering of memory, and the inherent processes of media translation, were set against music which mimicked the human breath. To this mix came the genuine responses of the former schoolgirls and their teacher, who were seeing the images for the first time in half a century. In this case they remembered their first glimpses, and recalled that earlier inspection of the Tollund Man's bristled chin (see Figure 11-2), the peaceful look of his visage.

While I was initially motivated by seeing how the girls, who were now women, would respond to the bog bodies photographs over time, there was another story in tandem. The women revealed that they did not know a book had resulted 10 years after they had written to Glob nor that the work was dedicated to them and to Elisabet.

CONCLUSION

Other revealed bodies have also been rendered artistically, and in new and intriguing media. Most notable of these is Otzi, the so-called 'Ice Man' found in a melting glacier in the Tyrol, and claimed by both Italy and Austria until finally resting in the museum in Bolzano. The performer and director Simon McBurney, son of the prehistorian Charles McBurney, spent many childhood summers excavating with his father and has a long interest in archaeology and recently took up the potential of Otzi in a multimedia play called 'Mnemonic' (McBurney 2000; Complicite 2005). The production was premiered at the Saltzburg Festival, close to Otzi's Tyrolean find site. The production fused a

modern love story with the life, death, and discovery of a man who lived and died perhaps 5000 years before. It was a critical success, and a popular one, widely applauded in both Europe and America, where it played off Broadway to sell-out audiences.

Otzi continues to be the subject of film and documentary. The most recent being ‘The Mysterious Otzi’ (2005) a collaboration between France, UK, Germany, and the USA. Directed by Richard Dale, the film intercuts feature-film style reconstruction with actual archaeologists filmed in a discussion with colleagues. Meanwhile, the artistic potential of the bog bodies and the bog landscape from which they were exhumed (and in which some are likely to remain) is also far from exhausted. The Oxford don and sculptor Brian Catling and scriptwriter Tony Grisoni are (at time of writing) working on an art film called ‘The Cutting’ inspired directly by Glob and Larsen. The film is more abstraction than documentary and includes reconstruction – in graphic detail – suggesting how the Tollund Man (see Figure 11-1) died, and connecting this event with the finding and displaying of his body, they present a love story (of sorts) spanning 2000 years. In addition, the Tollund Man and the Grauballe Man (see Figure 11-3) are still distinguished by the public reverence of 50 years ago. Their involvement in early media transformations from scientific artefact into a mirror which reflected our living selves continue to inspire new and diverse artistic expression.

The boundaries of the life-in-death visage, the textual middlingness of the watery peat, and the objectification of people as artefacts, all conspire to create an environment which shape-shifts between ‘Art’ and ‘Science’. Over time, generations have viewed the bog bodies and responses provide an opportunity to consider a number of things. In Denmark, for example, the images are part of a canon which is both cultural and a form of national pride. Lennart Larsen is a well known name in Denmark. Mention the Tollund Man or the Grauballe Man and no further explanation is needed, even 50 years since publication of the photographs.

Outside Denmark, the picture is different. Although the most well-known image of Larsen’s series is arguably the Tollund Man’s head in close up (Figure 11-2), other images are less iconic outside the archaeological realm. The Grauballe Man (Figure 11-3), for example, is less immediately recognisable, possibly because it is less palatable outside the discipline. Is it a reason of aesthetic? While the Tollund Man’s head exhibits a restful pose, the bristles on his chin are visible,

and he appears asleep, the Grauballe Man's head is distorted under the weight of the peat. His image is both less pleasing aesthetically, and less universal as a reminder of the relationship between contemporary humans and those of 2000 years ago. While the Tollund Man's face has been used on the cover of several books of popular archaeology, including one by this author, the Grauballe Man, in the eyes of editors, is perhaps a less approachable, less marketable image to a general readership.

However, in terms of broadcast journalism or a specialist feature on say, bog finds, one might suppose the Grauballe Man's impact is just as desirable, given its undeniable impact. In this age of forensic horror and archaeological sensationalism, there is even room for the Grauballe Man's contorted head and his slashed neck which, as Heaney describes, lifts 'like a visor', coupled with any amount of evidence of decomposition or partial decay (1973, 3-6).

After engaging with these forms for more than 10 years now, it is difficult for me to suspend a value judgement. It is by showing them to new eyes that I reorganise my responses. As a practising print and broadcast journalist as well as an archaeologist, I am probably guilty of encouraging the objectification of the bodies in making programmes and a film in their celebration. However, and others will certainly disagree about this, I do not regard the reworking of my responses or their transformation of this into creative works to be a form of materialization in terms of the bodies being ideological symbols of conceptions about the past. I can see the difference in my own response and those of other audiences to Otzi whose twisted body and face are less recognisable – immediately – as one of our own.

For two weeks in 2005, I was Visiting Professor of Art at Oberlin College, Ohio, where I introduced student artists, art historians to the everyday images of excavation – tools, trenches, artefacts, aerial photographs – and coupled them with contemporary music, fashion, art and sculpture. The images which prompted the most discussion? The Lennart Larsen photographs. The tenderness with which Larsen captured the images in his fieldwork photography and part-archaeological techniques and the way in which Glob humanised the 2000 year old bodies so that we become aware of our own embodied self, enables continual mediation between past and present, between scientific analysis and artistic form.

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Chapter 12

WHO WANTS TO VISIT A CULTURAL HERITAGE SITE?

A Walk through an Archaeological Site with a Visual and Bodily Experience

Anita Synnestvedt
University of Gothenburg

INTRODUCTION

A cultural heritage site might be a publicly unknown, tiny monument known only to archaeologists and especially interested people or it might be a large, well-known monument with parking-lots, souvenir shops, guides and information centres. In this essay, I am mainly concerned with the archaeological site, situated within in a local environment. It may well be a tourist attraction, but it is mostly hidden and forgotten, a place where the historical monument is considered a decoration in the landscape (Löfgren 2003, 16-8). A diversity of perspectives is needed to tell different kinds of stories about cultural heritage sites; stories, not only about the time of the archaeological remains, but also about the change in the place and the human activities there over time, until the present. Freeman Tilden (1957) developed foundational work in the philosophy of interpretation in *Interpreting Our Heritage* and advanced his six guiding principles for interpretation. They are still accurate and useful when accompanied by the fifteen guiding principles introduced by Larry Beck and Ted Cable (1998) in *Interpretation for the 21st century*. As Tim Merriman says in the forward of this last publication:

> The authors even find Tilden's principles in need of a tuneup. It seems like a sacrilege. It is not. Like the girl looking for carved faces from the past, we must continue probing our profession for deeper understandings, principles learned from practice, and new challenges.

> We must provoke ourselves to learn more in both familiar and unfamiliar settings (1998, ix).

My aim in this paper is to develop a way to enter and interpret a cultural heritage site as a first step towards a management plan for the site. In this essay I will investigate a site called *Stora Rös (Big Cairn)* on the island of Styrsö which is part of the archipelago south of the city of Gothenburg. I will enter the site from a visual perspective, but I will also make use of the discussions by Christopher Tilley (2004) about phenomenology and bodies. I would therefore like to invite you to Styrsö and walk through the site of *Stora Rös* with these perspectives as a guide, even if it is as Ernest Gombrich suggests, without 'innocent eyes' (1960, 297-8).

The viewer always comes to visual experiences, weighted with previous images, obsessed by his or her own past and by old and new insinuations of the ear, nose and tongue, fingers, heart and brain. The viewer's eyes function not as instruments that are self-powered and alone, but as a cohesive members of a complex capricious organism. The metaphorical eye selects, organizes, discriminates, associates, classifies, analyzes and constructs. Nothing is seen nakedly or naked (Goodman 1988, 7-8). This walk is therefore a very personal one and I will enter the place *Stora Rös* as if I were entering an exhibition. It is from this perspective that I will approach the objects, the space, the information, the lighting and weather and the scenery made in this space. I intend to do what Irit Rogoff (2000, 73-111) amongst others, calls mapping, but I will also do this visual walk with my whole body, including all senses as Goodman (1988) suggests. Doing this kind of walk is also a way of dicsussing the fact that cultural heritage sites have a wide potential when it comes to interpretation, but this is not always recognized or on the agenda.

First of all I will begin this journey with a discussion which will create a theoretical framework for my experience of the landscape, the site and the people of Styrsö and *Stora Rös*.

THE LANDSCAPE, THE SITE AND THE PEOPLE

The phenomenology of Husserl (2004) amongst others (Lawler and Bergo 2002) approaches the world and reality as a subjective, descriptive

and interpretive experience. Christopher Tilley (2004) in his recent work, *The Materiality of Stones, Explorations in Landscape Phenomenology*, uses the thoughts of Merleau-Ponty in his discussions of the body, place and landscape. In my walk trough the site of *Stora Rös*, I will use my eyes as well as my whole body to approach the site both from a perspective based upon visual studies as well as a phenomenological approach in relation to the body as Tilley discusses.

James Elkins (2003, 25) says about visual studies that:

> As it stand, visual culture draws on nearly two dozen fields in the humanities, including history and art history, art criticism, art practice, art education, feminism and women's studies, queer theory, political economy, postcolonial studies, performance studies, anthropology and visual anthropology, film and media studies, archaeology, architecture and urban planning, visual communication, graphic and book design, advertising, and the sociology of art.

This interdisciplinary approach in the field of visual studies makes the subject not only complex, but also a useful tool if you want to include an interdisciplinary approach, which is what I want. Nicholas Mirzoeff (1996) talks about the sublime in *An introduction to visual culture* and this kind of feeling might be useful in the description of a cultural heritage site. The site is not 'wild'. It is affected and manipulated by humans, although it is often described as a natural environment. The place may for that reason be identified as sublime, because it is not made by nature; it is a culture construction and therefore central to visual culture. An example of the sublime feeling is that many cultural heritage sites are sites related to death; if we were to participate in the actual event once performed at the site we might have felt grief, while we today feel joy of perhaps having a picnic and enjoying a lovely day in the greenery (Mirzoeff 1999, 16).

There is also a nostalgic feeling associated with sites that is often used for political reasons or capitalised in the tourism industry and this feeling of nostalgia is often referred to as 'low culture'. But no other feeling or state of mind has the same kind of possibility gathering a huge crowd of people around a common cause. It is therefore of great importance to pay attention to this issue as well as other kinds of so called popular culture (Bal 1999, 72- 3). As Elkins (2003, 63) says by using the term visual studies instead of visual culture, 'visual studies makes a bridge between 'high' and 'low' culture'.

Therefore, to use the term visual studies makes it possible to use the feeling of nostalgia in a creative manner. One aim in the field of visual studies is to transform the understanding of the visual event as an exhibition, a piece of art or a piece of theatre, to an understanding of the visual event as a part of our everyday life. When I take my walk through the site *Stora Rös* I will regard the site as an exhibition with its objects as well as a part of a daily connection. I would like to create a visual event; an interaction between the viewer and the viewed (Mirzoeff 1999, 13-6). In my walk I will use this visual kind of perspective and the reflections discussed by Tilley (2004) about our bodily experiences made in the landscape. I can move around and experience different aspects of things, but I always experience them through my body, it can never be an object since I cannot move my body away from me. My body is open to the world yet things are always hidden from it and therefore perception always involves a relationship between the visible and the invisible. What Tilley (2004) suggests is that we should make a move away from considering things as being merely representational, to objects that help construct the world around us. We need to think about places and landscapes in the way we think about persons, as entities that can and do make a difference. To make this move we need to be in an embodied interaction with the world and he says, ‘we need to see with the whole body just as we think with our body rather than part of it’ (Tilley 2004, 16).

My intention in this essay is trying to use these perspectives as I make a journey to the island Styrso.

JOURNEY TO THE ISLAND STYRSÖ DURING THE SUMMER 2004

On the 10th July 2004 I entered a tram in the centre of Gothenburg city, which took me to the quay where the boats leave for the islands. Dependent on time of day and on season of year the quay is more or less full of people eagerly waiting to enter the boats. During summer the quay will be crowded, but almost empty on a rainy autumn day. The southern part of the archipelago around Gothenburg consists of about thirty large and smaller islands. Altogether the larger islands today have a permanent population of about 4400 persons. As there is no land connection to the city, transport depends on sea transport of people and goods and no cars

are allowed for residential use on the islands (http://www.miljo.chalmers.se/case/styrsopresentation2001.htm). My case study is situated on the largest island in the archipelago, called Styrsö. It is a site with a Bronze Age cairn and it is to be found on the highest point on the island; 56 m above sea level. This is also the highest point of all islands in the archipelago and the name of the site is *Stora Rös* (*Big Cairn*) (Figure 12-1). One of the reasons for choosing this place for a case study is perhaps as Christopher Tilley says (2004, 6):

> Places such as sacred mountains associated with light and air that lie up and above always tend to be privileged culturally and emotionally, while places situated down below tend to be associated with darkness and death. Natural and cultural things of significant height as mountains, church spires, stones, buildings etc. most usually impress and we find them awe inspiring and they relate to the physicality of our bodies.

Figure 12-1. The Bronze Age Cairn at 'Stora Rös' (Photo: A. Synnestvedt 2005).

As the boat gets closer to the island of Styrsö I prepare myself to enter my destination and I will walk about 15 minutes through small narrow roads passing a lot of old and new villas until I reach the little path which will lead me up to the top. I will now put on my spectacles to look at this place from a visual kind of perspective. At the same time, I will enter the landscape and the location with my body in an attempt to investigate the kinds of lives the archaeological site might have today and what kind of possibilities it might have. I will compartmentalise the site into the space, the object, the scenic impression, the light and weather conditions, as well as the available information.

THE SPACE

A cultural heritage site is generally situated in a natural environment, which means there are trees, grass, stones and open air with different kinds of weather conditions. Hence, the place is not wild; it is affected and manipulated by humans. Entering such a site is crossing a border. You will pass into a new space, known but at the same time unknown. To us the archaeological site is a picture of an ancient culture; different from modernity, were you will find a line dividing *now* and *then*. But, the location is actually a part of continual human presence and experience as well as an actual present and an unknown future. Unfortunately, the place is often given one costume regarded suitable and is therefore seldom given the possibility to change suit or wear different kinds of suits (Mirzoeff 1999, 129-61). Besides, there is not only one kind of landscape with one kind of value; we all have our own interpretations and subjective values of the landscape. These values or meanings can be different depending on your cultural background and on what kind of 'cultural-capital' you possess. The landscape is therefore given different kinds of definitions dependent on what kind of memories, smells, names, myths and expectations we have about what is considered beautiful, ugly, kind or bad. There is not only one history, but many, which rely upon who is doing the telling (Svensson 1998; Carman 1996; Bourdieu 1984). Therefore there are many ways to gaze into the space of the cultural heritage site, move in this space and make an interpretation of the site.

Figure 12-2. The seamark on top of the former bunkers at the site 'Stora Rös'. Photo: A. Synnestvedt 2005.

I walk into the space on a narrow, windy path through small trees and raspberry bushes. I can feel the wind increasing as the vegetation diminishes and I enter the space of *Stora Rös* a little breathless, with a smell of flower and grass still lingering in my nose. The seagulls are the voices welcoming me as I look at the landscape and the space I have entered. The location as previously mentioned is situated on the highest point of the island, the view is broad both to the mainland, over the ocean and to other islands. The area has been used from 1914 until some years ago by the military authorities, and because of that, it was a protected area not accessible to civilians and foreigners. There have been several military bunkers in one part of the mountain, but they are now closed. This part of the location has sustained much damage because of the military activities as the mountain is covered with some kind of asphalt. There is a seamark placed on top of the former bunkers on this asphalt, visible from far away and a well known spot for sailors (Figure 12-2).

The cairn is situated about 20 m away on a little terrace just below the highest point. The cairn was accessible even when the military was in charge, which is possibly the reason why there is a small fence surrounding the grave. Also, at the site there is a table and some benches and a huge landmark. I will now move around in this place and feel, touch, think and look at what might have happened here and what is going on here today.

THE OBJECT

On most cultural heritage sites, you will find ancient remains of various kinds, such as cairns, rock-art, different monumental remains of stones like henge's or house remains. In addition to the ancient monuments there might be other objects of various kinds; benches, landmarks, information centres, panels and also remains of more recent activities, not yet considered ancient. Moreover, this cultural landscape consists of non-material remains like place names or events connected to the locality. The list of the various kinds of remains is therefore in a constant state of flux. The original meaning or use is for ever lost; instead new significances are all the time created (Burström *et al.* 1997, 87-8). Nicolas Mirzoeff (1999, 129-61) talks about transculturation and says that this is a three-way process, where the issue is about the acquisition of special aspects from the new culture, the loss of an older culture with the third step putting these fragments of the old and the new into a new entirety. Transculturation is therefore an ongoing process that is renewed by every generation in their own ways (see also Cochrane this volume).

Tilley (2004, 11-2) says that from a phenomenological perspective the properties (their shape, size, colour, texture etc.) of an object are internally related and we could therefore say that things have their own properties. Also, the size and shape of objects in the landscape appear to alter as we change our relationship to them. With a reference to Merleau-Ponty, Tilley says that knowledge of a thing is grounded in our bodily relationship with it.

Does the object talk? Of course not, you would say, but maybe they do. James Elkins (1996, 51) poetically suggests that every object sees us, there are eyes growing on everything and to see is to be seen, there are also objects all around us without us noticing them.

Figure 12-3. The restored cairn with its little fence around at the site 'Stora Rös'. Photo: M. Häggström 2005.

I will move in the space of this location and touch, feel and look at the objects to be found here. With my kind of background knowledge I can recognize the cairn as a grave dating to the Bronze Age. Also, I know that it is a plundered, destroyed and reconstructed cairn. The stones were not only plundered, they were also used for different purposes; in 1914 the military took stones to build a protection wall and a couple of years later the navy took the rest to build a house for observation. It was restored to its present condition in 1923 (Danbratt & Odenvik 1966, 20). You will therefore find a history about this object not only about its original use, but also a history of the use and transformation of the monument by other generations through time. Today there is a small fence around the cairn, but in spite of this, as an archaeologist, I will touch the stones as I wonder about the possible purpose of the fence (Figure 12-3). I can feel the monument looking back at me as I am climbing to a higher point in the site. It is a strange feeling to walk on a 'mountain' which is not a real one. This strange mountain is the roof of bunkers, now hidden and closed but still there. I have to sit down and

feel the surface of this human made mountain. It makes me think about what's been going on at this location during several decades, in times of both war and peace (Figure 12-4).

Figure 12-4. The 'man-made' mountain with its peculiar surface (Photo: M. Häggström 2005).

From this object I will move down to some benches and a land mark, and I will drink my coffee and eat my sandwiches with the company of the always present seagulls while the objects stare back at me… (Figure 12-5)

Figure 12-5. Seagulls meeting by the landmark at the site 'Stora Rös' (Photo: A. Synnestvedt).

THE SCENIC IMPRESSION

The scenery on a site depends on what kind of demarcation is made, relying on ownership of land or the topography in the area. The archaeological site might be a space in a forest where trees and bushes have been cleared in an effort to support and show the monument. Also, the location might be on its own on top of a hill, a mountain or by a road. It may or may not be accessible depending on roads, walking paths, parking lots and signs both on how to find the site as well as panels at the site. The objects often seem more fixed in relation to the rest of the environment' as you can plant or remove the vegetation, but very seldom the objects themselves.

One example of a cultural heritage site where there has been a transformation and change of scenery is a place called *Blomsholm* in the northern part of the landscape of Bohuslän in southwest Sweden. The location *Blomsholm* has value for science as well as for cultural history. The site was used during several years for a dance performance, because of the beauty and mystery on the location. In 1987 the world renowned choreographer Ivo Cramer presented '*Domaredansen*' in the wood of Blomsholm. In 1993 the cultural heritage management (Länsstyrelsen Göteborgs och Bohuslän) set up a protection program for the site and its environment. The management says in this program that they want to make the area more vivid and accessible for the public and by chopping down trees, like spruce, around the monuments they wanted to recreate a visual connection to the past (Yttrande 1993). The spruce were removed because these kinds of trees were considered not to be contemporary with the Bronze Age graves. Through this cultural heritage program the authorities wanted to recreate an environment assumed to be as authentic as possible with an archaeological and scientific kind of view, but for whom? Because of the change of scenery it became impossible to make the dance performance which was a very popular event during the last decade. The dance project also generated a lot of side activities and it created a great interest in the local communities (Carlie 1997, 235-7). *Blomsholm* is an example of how a scenic impression can make a difference and how it affects the visual experience of a site.

As I walk around in the space of 'my' site on this day in July 2004, I think about what kind of scenery I can experience at this place. Depending on where I choose to stay in the space I will see the objects in different ways; from one point the cairn will be the most important

object, from another angle it will be the benches or the seamark. Each object has a story to be told and as I move around, I can make and experience scenery for all these stories; the military activities, the Bronze Age cairn, the seamark, the benches and the landmark. I have to ask a question; is something more important than something else? I cannot distinguish that it should be the fact; instead my body tells me that it all has the same significance. But, I do realise that in order to decide about the scenery, the most important issue is to investigate what kind of activities people of today prefer to perform at this place (cf. Blomsholm) (Figure 12-6).

Figure 12-6. A present use of the site; the nearby school has an athletic day and uses the site 'Stora Rös' as a place for the youths to do press-ups (Photo: A. Synnestvedt 2005).

THE LIGHT AND WEATHER CONDITION

Because of the fact that most archaeological sites are to be found in an open-aired environment, the light that illuminates the space with its objects is different depending on the daily weather and the variation of the seasons. Therefore, the site might appear in various ways due to the time of the day or year and weather condition. In other words, the archaeological site is a special exhibition as it is mostly the same, but yet never the same whenever you choose to visit the place.

At the location *Stora Rös* you are close to heaven both in darkness and light, on top of the world where wind, sun, snow and rain are near. The objects are simultaneously exposed in a similar light as there are no covering big trees and only small vegetation.

I have made many walks in this landscape and to this place and the experience of the place is much the same, but then each visit is unique with its own environmental variables. On a bright summers day you can feel the sun burning with a fresh feeling standing above the heath down below; on other days you want to enter the place just to feel the forces of nature when the wind almost carries you away over the ocean. In the winter the snow shines white and the cold bites deep at the summit. There are also days when this place would be the last place you would go to, when the winds are too strong, and the rain falls too heavy.

THE INFORMATION

Information panels are found at a lot of cultural heritage sites. Their intention is primarily to tell about the monument and the location. These panels are generally made to last over a long period of time irrespective of changes in academic perspective and general knowledge as well as changes in society at large. The environment competes with the attention of the panel and many ingredients are needed if a panel is to be a success. It is supposed to function in all kinds of weather; the space is limited, which makes the demands on form, material and the content exceptional. It is rare that a text on a panel of approximately 20 lines interests and communicates to the reader (af Geijerstam 1998). In recent panels you will mainly find illustrations; maps, symbols, reconstructions of buildings, environments and perhaps items found at the location or associated with site and monument. Also, social differences in society

enable people to absorb this information differently. Therefore, you will find diverging views on what is true or false, good or bad, acceptable or not.

As a result, an exhibition addressed to everybody is impossible, just as a cultural heritage site that is appropriate for everybody is impossible (Adolfsson 1987). Outdoor panels are not considered good for maintaining contact with regular or local visitors. Being informed by an entertaining and enthusiastically guide is often the most successful form of presentation, but usually it requires a lot of organisation and commitment. Publications are useful for providing information and offering interpretation which can be enjoyed both before and after the visit, but the disadvantages are that it can take too much time and effort reading the publications (Carter 2001, 43-5). From this discussion, one might draw the conclusion that there is no perfect 'one way' solution to interpreting a site. Instead it is to be recognized that what is needed is a wide variety of different media in order to make an interpretation successful.

Figure 12-7. A present use of the site: a wedding performed at the place in July 2004 (Photo: The Family Holmqvist 2004).

In my first attempt to take a walk to *Stora Rös* in September 2002 I took a wrong turn, and did not find the place as there are no signs guiding you to the monuments with there also being no panels on the location of the cairn. But if there were panels in this space, would I read them? The scenery and the weather condition might distract me? Could there be other ways to encourage my curiosity about this place? Once again as I move and look at the objects and the scenery in this location, I think about all the bodies and the stories about that have happened here. In my imagination I see them all pass by and move around in the place; the soldiers, people carrying stones to the cairn, children playing, families eating, a lady with a dog, the fisherman's wife waiting for the boat to return, a wedding (Figure 12-7), a funeral, arguing, laughter, tears, joy, anger and fear…It is as if the objects cry out to me; ask us and we will reveal our secrets. But is the solution to put up a panel?

Iritt Rogoff (2000) discusses in *Terra Infirma: Geography's Visual Culture* how geography writes relations between places and subjects and Rogoff asks whether contemporary art can rewrite geography's relation to place and identity. In her work Rogoff (2000, 36-72) discusses the frequent use of baggage in contemporary art as well as the metaphor borders. These are both topics of interest in cultural heritage sites; in the metaphor of baggage there is room for excitement, sadness, expectation and all that has been left behind, as well as a journey to something new. In the metaphor of borders, Rogoff (2000, 112-143) says that if there is a border there is also something on each side of this border and even a relationship in between. In a cultural heritage site there are also borders made by different bodies, even if they are invisible to us, but you could imagine them as boarder lines with baggage of different kind in a diversity of rooms. The obvious border visible to us today might be a fence, or a road demarcating the space. But there are also other borders to be discussed; who has access to the site? Who's allowed to look at it? Who has got the cultural capacity to read the panel? How is the place experienced by people of different kinds of cultural background? It is essential that these questions are asked and discussed by the cultural heritage management when creating a plan for a cultural heritage site. In order to make a location interesting to others it is important for the planners to be engaged and involved with the site, so I would therefore suggest that they engage with their site with visual as well as bodily experience.

A WALK TROUGH THE SITE WITH A VISUAL AS WELL AS A BODILY EXPERIENCE

As I move my body around in the site *Stora Rös* I have the feeling of being on top of the world and I know that I share this feeling with thousands of people who have circulated in this space in the present, in the past and in the future. Even if it is a subjective kind of feeling it is also universal. In my walk through the location I have thought, looked and felt and I have followed Tilley (2004, 29) who proposes that 'any study begins with lived experience, being there in the world. It must necessarily be embodied, centred in a body opening out itself to the world, a carnal relationship' (Figure 12-8).

Figure 12-8. Being 'on top' of the world at 'Stora Rös'. Photo: A. Synnestvedt 2005.

How shall I then use these experiences in my work as an interpreter of cultural heritage sites? Beck and Cable (1998, 50) argue that a firsthand perspective is very important if you want to make further

interpretation of a site and you should therefore record these first impressions. Things become familiar very quickly and the uniqueness of people and places fades. To undertake the kind of walk that I have is therefore only one way to record your impressions of a place.

Now, the question is, how can I use this information in an effort to interpret the site *Stora Rös*, or maybe I should ask whether there is a need for interpretation. I do believe that this place has a lot of possibilities where hidden and forgotten stories can be brought to life. Interpretation is a process that can help people see beyond their capabilities and it tells the story behind the scenery or history of an area (Beck and Cable 1998, 4). In constructing an interpretation, I think it is important to remember Freeman Tildens (1957, 32-9) thoughts on what he considers to be the chief aim of interpretation, not instruction but provocation. There is an important difference between interpretation and information. Information just provides facts, but interpretation can provoke ideas, perhaps even push people into a totally new understanding of what they have come to see. This sometimes means being controversial, but if you manage to create a discussion about your place, that should be encouraging. The quintessence of good interpretation is that it reveals a new insight into what makes a place special. It gives people a new understanding (Carter 2001, 5).

There are many borders and a lot of baggage to discuss, show and tell at *Stora Rös.* This can be achieved by using different kinds of media, not only a panel or a brochure, but also through the expression of contemporary art. Through the use of alternative types of media, you can provoke rather than instruct about the place. There is also a question of time when you deal with interpretation and it is so customary to think of the historical past in terms of narratives, sequences, dates, and chronologies, and we are apt to suppose that these things are attributes of the past itself. But they are not; we ourselves put them there (Lowenthal 1985, 219). Therefore, it is a challenge for us as interpreters to find new and inspiring ways in the art of interpretation in an effort to avoid presenting the past in a stereotype manner. Also, one of the most essential questions to ask, is what people of today, yesterday and tomorrow does, have done and will do on 'your' location. Every place is unique and has its own stories to tell and not only about the archaeological remains but, there is also a lot of baggage left for us by all kinds of people, to be opened if we dare and want to reach new insights.

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Concluding Remarks

IMAGINING THE PAST

Moving beyond Modern Approaches to Archaeology

Ian Russell
Trinity College Dublin

ADDRESSING MODERNITY

Jean Baudrillard pronounced of modernity that: 'We, the modern cultures, no longer believe in this illusion of the world, but in its reality (which of course is the last and the worst of illusions)' (1997, 18). The belief in the 'real' as an observable phenomenon obscures the many layers of confusion and misrepresentation that are experienced in everyday life. That modernity believes in the 'real' is not so much a declaration of the 'current state of affairs' but more an affirmative declaration of the desire of the project of modernity. Perhaps Bruno Latour (1993) is right to ask whether we have ever been modern. If modernity is a progress which is in search of the scientifically explicable 'real', will the project ever come to completion? Is it possible to attain a utopia of the 'real', or is this merely a modern purgatory of struggle for authoritative meaning? Ulrich Beck (1992; 1999) is right to call modern societies to move towards more reflexive engagements with the modern world (also see Koerner this volume). The greatest danger of belief in modernity is that it causes us to believe that things are statically 'real', denying the possibility for experience to be dynamically poetic. Archaeology as modern science asserts to society that there is an ascertainable and tangible reality of the past. However, poetic archaeologies appreciate the inherent illusion, imitation and simulation of life. Baudrillard (1997) would have called us to exorcise the illusion of the 'real' through civilised forms of simulacrum. To follow this call is not to delight in deconstruction of the ability to convey meaning or to

undermine the value of archaeology. Rather it is to reflect on the qualities of human participation in archaeologies and to develop reflexive approaches to conceptions of meaning and value.

ARCHAEOLOGY AND MODERNITY

People in the modern world emotively engage with beliefs of the past. Evident from Stritch's note following Blain and Wallis' study, there is a growing phenomenon of individuals and groups making 'pilgrimages' to archaeological sites and cultural heritage sites to experience their identity. Smith and Holtorf show that this is an opportunity to take advantage of rather than to avoid. Through engagements with the public regarding individual beliefs in grand narratives of identity, archaeologists can help develop discourses over the dominance of modern concepts of universality and universal dichotomies. Edge and Weiner after Koerner call archaeology to engage with universality through sociality. Perhaps this is one of archaeologists' greatest assets as Holtorf leads us to think – the opportunity to communicate openly with an interested public.

However, there are fundamental dilemmas facing archaeology in its relationship with modern individuals and groups. Stritch argues that archaeology has an important role to play in the discourse over the use of the past in modern political discourse over national identity. Provoked by this situation, Brighton and Orser respond arguing that archaeological research is embedded in the discourses of the nation-state. They call for archaeologies of liberation which 'throw off the shackles of the place/culture duality' moving the public on from engagements with the past along purely national and ethno-cultural terms. However, Missikoff highlights that for archaeology to do so effectively, archaeological education must begin to empower archaeologists with skills and understandings of the economic and political systems which govern the discipline's ability to be successful in a modern economic world. Blain and Wallis are right to assert that under present legal frameworks, preservation and conservation schemes, cultural heritage sites are owned by nations. They urge that this results in a 'caging' of archaeological sites in discourses of national identities and national economics.

Following Orser and Brighton, we should ask the question 'what is the archaeologist's responsibility in this situation?'. They feel that there is a need for archaeology to confront issues of power and marginalisation

in the telling and retelling of history. Stritch's suggestion follows this theme as she calls for archaeological heritage presentation to become more multi-vocal through exchanges with other interested parties. This is a theme also shared in Smith's contributions which suggest a utilisation of popular interest in the past to develop and tell stories which alleviate the marginalisation of minority groups. These thoughts act as a suggestion for ways in which archaeology can participate more actively within the contemporary world. It is through such reflexive interactions that an understanding of archaeology's current engagement in a crisis, regarding its relationship to modernity, can move through modernity.

IS THERE A CRISIS AT ALL?

Edge and Weiner rightly ask the question of whether or not the declaration of a crisis over archaeology's relationship to the modern world is premature or even necessary. If Latour (1993) is right that we were never modern, then perhaps there is no crisis. If the project of modernity has not come to completion, then is it necessary to move beyond something which has not been completed? Indeed the declaration of crisis has not been the focus of this volume, rather it has been the inspiration. Whether or not a crisis exists is not critical. What is central to the thought of this volume is that there are representations of a belief in modernity and a symptomatic belief in a state of crisis. Archaeology as science has grown up in this discourse, and it could be suggested following Edge and Weiner that in archaeology 'we have a techno-imitation in which *mimêsis* is the participation in the hyper-real'. The hyper-reality of the representation of epistemic crisis needs urgent engagement because it fundamentally attempts to mask its own manifestation through belief in illusion as 'real'. In these spaces of rupture and contestation, Cochrane finds montages of simulation and imitation which do not restrict participation but rather create opportunities of experience.

In these new spaces, expression and participation must take precedence as Finn and Synnestvedt's works suggest. Finn finds in the encounter and experience of images of the past, opportunities for expression and development of meaning which take part in reflective engagements with modernity. Reflectivity and reflexivity are themes which are followed by all contributors but especially in the writings of

Stritch, Koerner, Blain and Wallis. Orser and Brighton call this the 'thinking archaeologist', and it is perhaps this thinking archaeologist which is best equipped to facilitate Neal's call for re-imaginings and re-visions of the role of the past in the modern world. However, Neal also highlights a critical issue for archaeologists which is that theoretical reflectivity and reflexivity is not sufficient. It must be explored through practice. Neal's boundaries in brochure images are metaphorically akin to the dividing lines between modern dichotomies which Koerner crosses over actively in her contribution. Neal is right to assert though that these boundaries whether physical or philosophical must be crossed in practice. This is archaeology's greatest asset in the current philosophical state of affairs. As archaeology is practice-centred, engaging with philosophical issues arising from critiques of modern thought through archaeology facilitates a balanced practice-centred, participatory yet theoretically informed contribution to the development of new ways of communicating meaning. In this respect, archaeology as poetry and as *tekhne* relates to society in a more artistic fashion, highlighting the discipline's original meaning and value which was founded in art history and antiquarianism. This is the point where archaeological discourse should re-engage with archaeologists' own theories about what they are and what they do in the world, refounding archaeology as a discipline which focuses on participatory expressions of human understanding of existence.

AN END OF A PROJECT, A BEGINNING OF A PARTICIPATION

Public interest in archaeology provides archaeology with the opportunity to put into effect Beck's (1992; 1999) call for movements towards reflexive modernity. Such approaches have been readily adopted within sociological circles (e.g. Demetrious 2003), encouraging the development of community relationships between sociologists and contemporary communities. By encouraging the development of standards of practice for archaeologists regarding public communication, archaeologists can situate themselves within the contemporary communities in which they work – within Blain and Wallis' heathen communities, within Stritch's contemporary Cypriot communities, within Cochrane's visitor and tourist communities and within Brighton and

Orser's contemporary Irish emigrant communities. Such approaches can help bring archaeology through Koerner's declaration of the current modern crisis facing archaeology's relationship to the industrialisation of heritage within modern 'risk society' (Beck 1992; 1999) as they are founded on reflexive participations with modern society

It is hoped that the result of this volume is that archaeologists and other practitioners involved in the study of the past will begin to see opportunities rather than focus on problems concerning the relationship between archaeology and popular culture. As was highlighted by Smith and Holtorf, it is a blessing the public takes so much interest in archaeology, and this is an asset that must not be overlooked. The contributors to this volume are not seeking to undermine 'value' and 'meaning' in archaeological research and practice but to identify opportunities to open new discourses over the way 'value' and 'meaning' of the past is constructed in society. Missikoff's digital spaces, Finn's art and poetry and Neal's walking tours, amongst many others, represent new and exciting opportunities for archaeologists to participate in popular discourses over 'meaning' and 'value' in the study of the past, creating new and diverse expressions of understanding of the human condition in the world. Archaeology as *tekhne* and as poetry focuses not on what archaeologies are, but appreciates the phenomena of archaeologies as symptoms of modernity and seeks to understand what they can do. Now is the time to develop reflective practices of participation within society based on an awareness and appreciation of the scope and nature of human agency in society, in the environment, and in the world. Capturing the spirit of the conclusion of Koerner's contribution, archaeologies approached in this manner are not about stagnant, scientifically studied and documented pasts but about explorations of the possibilities of human existence, participation, cooperation and understanding today and for the future.

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