

Michael Shanks

‘Let me tell you about Hadrian’s Wall ...’

Heritage,
Performance,
Design.



Reinwardt Academy
Amsterdam School of the Arts

Michael Shanks (Stanford, U.S.)

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In 2008 the Reinwardt Academy, Amsterdam School of the Arts, decided to honour its namesake by organising a yearly lecture to be held on or around his birthday, June 3. Caspar Georg Carl Reinwardt (1773-1854) was a well respected naturalist, professor at three universities (Harderwijk, Amsterdam, Leiden), director of four botanical gardens (Harderwijk, Amsterdam, Bogor, Leiden), and director of one natural history museum (Amsterdam). During his stay in the former Dutch East-Indies (1816-1822), he assembled large collections that found their way to major Dutch museums of natural history and anthropology. Reinwardt maintained a large international network, including such famous naturalists as Alexander von Humboldt. The Reinwardt Academy is proud to bear his name.

As a person, Reinwardt stands for values that the academy considers of key importance: international orientation, collaboration in networks, sensitivity to the needs of society, and a helpful attitude towards students. Reinwardt was no prolific writer – he was first of all teacher. Through his lively correspondence, his extensive library, and his participation in a wide variety of scientific committees, he was well aware of contemporary developments in the field of science, and he considered it as his first responsibility to share this knowledge with his students. It is in this spirit, with reference to the values mentioned above, that the academy invites every year a distinguished speaker for its Reinwardt Memorial Lecture.

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Introducing Michael Shanks is a particular pleasure. First of all, I have been acquainted with his name for a long time. As a student of archaeology, from 1973 onwards, I was only dimly aware of developments elsewhere. We were busy dealing with important artifacts and remains of high culture. Politics and critical theory were not on our agenda. That is, until some young UK archaeologists made themselves known, later endearingly referred to as Hodder, Shanks & Tilley. In 1987, we read their landmark book *Re-Constructing Archaeology: Theory & Practice*. They held that studying the past is one thing, but no more the exclusive realm of the specialist (us!) than of anyone else. Your expert interpretation is, more likely than not, an elitist one, which succeeds in bullying away those from other walks of life – volunteers, amateurs, local people, counter voices – by the luck you have to be part of academia, brandishing degrees and bibliographies. This has ever since kept me alert: when deliberating whether to join professional archaeologists' complaints against popular tv shows where objects from the attic of 'ordinary' people are being appraised; in discussions about recently acquired antiquities by top notch museum staff; and in deciding what tone of voice to choose when writing a scholarly article or book.

Then, several years ago, I attended a summer theatre festival in Aartswoud, a sleepy village just north of Amsterdam. Amidst farmhouses, mud, and hundreds of cows in soaked pastures, a friend played in the site-specific performance MELK (Milk), a drama of a farmer family's fight with progress. He is Kees, the oldest son and destined to take over his father's business. But Chinese investors visit the area looking for animal husbandry secrets, perhaps

intent on hiring Kees and have him set up cattle shop in Changdou. Locals join the action, show the audience their farms, share their pride in high tech processing of animal produce. We engage with their sense of place, their aspirations, the drama of the everyday life, dung under your shoes coming from animals each the size and weight of a car. We realize the performance is about engagement, genius loci, the passing of time, the evolution of identities under economic and spatial pressure. It's about heritage: who do you want to be, to what end, and how do you choose your anchors in a changing world?

Lastly, with Hester Dibbits and me joining Reinwardt Academy came the privilege of programming the annual lecture. I had followed Michael Shanks's development from classical archaeology to performance and design. His preferred tool seemed to have become *deep mapping*: collecting, recording and experiencing as much as possible from any given site. With this cultural biography in hand, try to not reduce what's happening to a one-dimensional 'reality'. A research of the past turns into a performance of it in the present. Inviting Michael Shanks to read the 2012 Reinwardt Memorial Lecture was a challenge to intertwine various biographies and disciplines.

The reader is invited to join Shanks in his exciting exploration of pasts-in-the-present. Though the printed text can hardly do justice to the particularly energizing character of last year's performance, I think it's a fair re-enactment in a different medium.

‘Let me tell you about Hadrian’s Wall ...’

Heritage, Performance, Design.

1 Fatal attraction

Northumberland National Park, in England's border county with Scotland. It is 5.30 am on a July morning in 2011. I am still on California time and the jet lag has me out running along what is left of the Roman frontier, Hadrian's Wall, World Heritage Site.

I am alone this morning, though Steel Rigg and its car park, down the hill in my photograph, will later throng with visitors. This is now a ludic landscape of leisure and recreation. The igneous ridge of the Whin Sill makes this the most picturesque of landscapes, now in the care of the National Trust, the charitable organization dedicated to conserving coastline, countryside and heritage properties, and one of the largest landowners in the UK.

But the attraction, the allure of this vista bothers me. It is just as the picturesque should be, but it is too right, too prepared, too easy to photograph. The framed view, with the wall leading off into the distance over the rolling craggy terrain, overpowers everything else and makes it generic, even clichéd. I am very aware of the genealogy of this aesthetic and its politics. The compositional grammar of landscape, developed in high-cultural fine arts in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, puts me off. The careful framing, theatrically, as of a proscenium arch, with strong perspective (linear and atmospheric), layered planes and lofty viewpoint locates me back and up from the composition, as in an auditorium, and never fully involved. At the same time the composition pulls me into the frame, particularly through the depth of the perspective, but somewhat artificially, because this is aesthetic device, not embodied engagement. Some stock narratives or scenarios are embedded in such landscapes: return and retreat into



Looking back at Crag Lough past Steel Rigg, Hadrian's Wall, in the English borders with Scotland. 5.30 am on a July morning in 2011. An anxiety of attraction.

repose; historical adventure; escape into melancholic, lost pasts; the walk to Eden; recreational pleasures. This aesthetic offers a resolution of tensions and contradictions between past and present (the remains of Rome here in this carefully conserved countryside), between city and country, real and ideal, distance and intimacy, the everyday and the allegorical (ruins of imperial aspiration). Any working community is absent. The viewer is abstracted from what is being represented, removed in an escape from social and historical reality, from the anonymous popular masses, from messy vernacular human and natural detail that would upset the aesthetic.

I am also aware that this is a landscape of a particular conservation vision and effort in the mid-nineteenth century, when John Clayton, local landowner wealthy from the remodeling of Newcastle, the urban industrial power to the east, bought up sections of Hadrian's Wall to protect them from both neglect and active reuse through quarrying, and set about rebuilding the monument, excavating its remains, managing its farms so as to preserve the past.

The anxiety is compounded by my suspicion of nostalgia. I know this land because I grew up here. Many friends and family feel they were forced to leave the North East of England to escape the depressed economic conditions of a region that has lost the industries that brought it prosperity in its heyday. I have ended up a world away in the west of the United States and return to research and write.

Returning to write about the Borders. This has long been a troubled region. Immediately before me, looking

back down into the image, is the eighteenth-century Military Road, much of it built on the Roman wall itself. The Jacobite rebellions of the Scottish Stuarts in 1715 and 1745 had threatened the Hanoverian monarchy in England. Their failure brought widespread state effort to control land and community. Military infrastructures, roads and forts, were built, the land was mapped, local culture was suppressed and people evicted from their homes in Scotland. And for centuries these had been 'debatable lands', contested, undecided, between the warring states of Scotland and England. Here the banditry of clans of 'Moss Troopers' held sway, at least in the ballads and folklore collected from the eighteenth century by the likes of Bishop Thomas Percy and Sir Walter Scott, following their romantic interest in nationalism and regional identity. My research digs into these pasts, in debt to the wealth of archival work of local historians and two centuries of archaeological endeavor (Shanks 2012).

Of course a photograph on a walk by a World Heritage Site in a National Park cannot convey all this. Or can it? What would such an image, or set of images be? Perhaps I should resist the temptation to take a photograph that actively directs attention away from the historical realities of the landscape. But I do also feel the invitation, the allure of the mist over Crag Lough at Hot Bank, there in the distance.

2 A genealogy of heritage

Constituted in the eighteenth century and here before me in a landscape are the trace elements of a sensibility, a set of sometimes contradictory dispositions towards pasts-in-presents. Matters of property, ownership and access are at the core, and conditioned by how the land is perceived and experienced, whether by owner, worker, or visitor. The land, its buildings and artifacts are immediately connected with events, stories and histories, folklore, and even an aesthetic of engagement: the picturesque. Certain hegemonic interests may prevail: the vision of John Clayton, for example, to conserve this landscape, or the policies of General Wade who completely modified the landscape two hundred years ago and more in that effort of military suppression that I have just mentioned. The establishment of a state National Park and the inheritance by the National Trust of a countryside to be conserved for a visiting public are fine, but at the same time they introduce the problem of representing and reconciling stakeholder interests. This has involved the development of management practices related to local, national, and international policies and recommendations, regional economic planning for tourism, for example, or the implications of listing as a World Heritage Site according to a notion of outstanding universal value. Expert professional authorities, such as academics, offer interpretation and analysis that guide the presentation of the land, its cultural and natural aspects, to resident communities and visitors. The reception may of course vary, as may the degree of consultation and collaboration between managing authorities and their constituencies or clients. All of this relates to the qualities of engagement with a land like this. Some may feel alienated and excluded.

The question might be asked, for example, how relevant a Roman imperial past is to the modern North East. Others may appreciate the free and open access to landscapes enhanced by historical and archaeological depth and richness, and how these can contribute to community and individual well-being.

This has all come to be called heritage management, but mainly over the last 30 or 40 years, since the acknowledgement of a growing heritage industry. I fear that associating these matters with the relatively recently coined concept and practice of heritage can disguise their origin, genealogy and scope. Elsewhere I have described this field as an archaeological or, more precisely, an *antiquarian* sensibility and imagination that reaches back to the constitution of modern industrial Europe in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (Shanks 2012). This is why I have begun with a particular image taken early one morning, and with a concern that troubles me, this anxiety of allure.

Acknowledgement of the genealogy of this reception of the past is, I am going to suggest, a means to deal with it and some of the related concerns in contemporary heritage.

3 Ideology critique

In our book of 1987, *Re-constructing Archaeology*, Chris Tilley and I adopted a critical stand on the heritage industry. In what was becoming a standard basis of critique, we foregrounded contrasts between history and heritage, professional and popular, reality and illusion, authentic and superficial, past and present, proposing that heritage institutions and productions tend to prefer the congenial and popular, even populist reception of the past over historical and archaeological authenticity. We did not, however, champion the interests of the professional expert in offering such an authentic past, and instead questioned the neutrality of academic and professional discourse. We emphasized how heritage productions can be part of a broader and modern phenomenon of commodification and alienation, where dynamic relationships, here between past and present, buildings and remains and experiences today, can be broken, reduced to static components defined according to their commodity value. In the heritage industry, the past is considered made, managed and paid for just like any other commodity, we argued. This abstraction of what can be *rich engagements* is their human impoverishment. It is the alienation of the past from its dynamic constitution in people's social practice and cultural experience today.

I think it is a fair summary that since then heritage studies has questioned these oppositions (Fairclough, Harrison, Jameson and Schofield 2008, as a fine summary). In particular there has been too much emphasis upon heritage being predominantly about the rights and responsibilities of property ownership. The focus has been too much on sites, buildings, artifacts, and collections as the legacy of the past to the future. It is now accepted that

recognition of intangible heritage, such as cultural memories and traditions embodied in festivals and events, entails looking at cultural *production* as much as these cultural products, even when such practice is indeed associated with the appropriation, as cultural capital, of the past by contemporary sectional interests.

Take again the experience with which I began—encountering an ancient monument in a managed landscape. I am undoubtedly in a heritage environment, but the past is not easily separated from my ongoing experience. The Roman past is authentically present, as are the traces of many other pasts before and after. I am not looking at a distortion of the past, for example, in contrast to the academic accounts with which I am very familiar. It is not easy to claim that this is a commodified past to be contrasted with one that finds its origin in the life experiences of a local community.

I am not alone in being suspicious of expert opinion that holds itself above the non-expert, as knowledge over ignorance or naivety. I have less sympathy now with those discourses of critique that are more about establishing a position in academic heritage studies than they are about working to produce better heritage experiences. I find that so much of the debate about heritage in Academia goes nowhere beyond the journal article and monograph listed in a professional résumé. The claim to have introduced a new approach, or better a body of theory, can be used to boost what in the US is sometimes sarcastically called your ‘stock rating’ on the academic market, being, as it were, a unique selling proposition — “Hire me! I’m the leading proponent of the latest hot-from-the-research-seminar

understanding of the heritage industry”. While I am assured of the good intentions of heritage managers in agencies such as the National Parks and the National Trust, where community consultation is accepted and encouraged, I also see little challenge to the institutional and management infrastructures that uphold the radical and hierarchical distinction between managing professionals and engaging with client communities.

What faces me looking down towards Steel Rigg is a very real and vital landscape, not a thin heritage fake. It is a *mélange* of pasts and presents, a rich set of potential experiences subject to competing claims. The mist that morning mingled with hauntings personal and shared, the mnemonics of the ruins and marks on the land amidst old voices carried on the wind, just as in the fabricated eighteenth-century epics of James Macpherson’s *Ossian* (Shanks 2012). Given the qualifications I’ve just outlined, how might we deal with the tensions and contradictions, the anxiety of allure, as I describe it?

I repeat the importance of realizing the genealogy of these heritage concerns in a long history of engagements between past and present through early, industrial, and high modernity. Chris Tilley and I approached the growing heritage industry of the 1980s from a twentieth-century tradition of Western Marxist ideology critique. In particular we drew upon the critique of what Frankfurter Schule members Max Horkheimer and Theodor Adorno in 1944 called the *culture industry*—networks of facilities producing standardized cultural goods and experiences. I still think we were right to treat heritage as always potentially and often actually ideological. By this I don’t mean that, as ideology,

heritage is a set of false ideas. To introduce the concept of ideology is a means of directing critical attention at the way such a culture industry conditions, affects, mediates our experiences and relationships with others, with the world around us, and with the past.

Let me explain. The concept of ideology is regularly associated with false consciousness, the distortion of reality in the service of sectarian interests, legitimization of power promoted through state apparatuses (for example museums and ministries of culture). Such a position could hold, for example, that the celebration of the fine estates, homes and pursuits of the landed aristocracy so associated with the National Trust in England is an aspect of what is typically called an authorized heritage discourse (Smith 2012), a legitimization of existing class relationships behind the wealth and property. Attention is diverted from class relationships to the entertaining spectacle of lifestyle. However, to stick at such a limited concept of ideology would not move us on from those oppositions between real and illusory pasts (history and heritage), between authentic past and superficial reception, between expert authority and those in need of education. I am not prepared to set myself over those less knowledgeable about the history of the landscape who come to Steel Rigg to enjoy the views. Such experiences are real, are rooted in all sorts of more or less sophisticated understanding. Heritage productions are rarely just populist, commercial, superficial fictions, but work with historical narratives, sources, and authentic empirical detail.

Ideology is, instead, better conceived as referring to certain ways we connect with the world around us, and particularly the conditions under which knowledge is created. This is the significance, for me, of the notion of ideology critique, because critique, especially since Kant, refers to investigation into the conditions of possible knowledge. Ideological practice frequently involves reification (turning relationships into commodities, as just mentioned, for example) and alienation (being disconnected from what we make and create, when we don't recognize something as being of our own making). Perhaps the key distinction is between, on the one hand, ideology fixing things, alienating them, reifying, that is turning relationships into things; and, on the other, a more critical and a more critical understanding of reality which recognizes that knowledge is constructed, is the result of processes that are subject to change and negotiation. This concerns *agency*: critique is about the creative construction of social and cultural realities. People are creative agents and make the world they live in, but under conditions that they have inherited, and over which they may have no control.

So I suggest two premises. First of all, in understanding heritage we do indeed recognize that it is a culture industry first and foremost, with agencies, institutional and corporate structures working on the remains of the past, and with individuals and communities as cultural agents, also working on those remains and in relationship to these institutional and corporate structures. Second, ideology critique directs our attention to the nature of these productive relationships.

Because these relationships concern the reception of the past, we do need to consider the history of such reception. The development of modern Western nation states has been associated with the radical reconfiguration of tradition as a primary relationship between past and present. With Chris Witmore I have elsewhere (2010) explored the relevance of the notion of 'risk society' to understanding the manifold of modern relationships with time, our senses of history, and the roles we may play—our agency. The term 'risk society', associated with the pioneering work of Ulrich Beck (1992) and Anthony Giddens (1991), is shorthand to describe escalating shifts in modernity centered upon concern with manufactured risks and threats, and people's relationship to them. Giddens emphasizes changes involving an end of tradition that came with industrial modernity, in the sense of the past no longer being guarantor of contemporary security, and with individuals being increasingly held responsible for their own security in a world experienced as more and more subject to risks to self, family and community. We are no longer simply subject to fate and nature, but the cumulative effect of certain behaviors, policies and values is now considered to have a deleterious effect on the stability of our human cultural ecology. Considerable attention is given to the involvement of individuals, institutions and corporations in changes that seem to threaten the very core of human being: genetic engineering, environmental change, the instabilities of a global monetary economy, international security in the face of terrorism and nuclear proliferation. And we are more than ever concerned with the past-in-the-present, with the potential loss of the past, its conservation, in the context of changes in the way history

itself is conceived and experienced. This genealogy of the reception of the past indicates the extraordinary scope of the archaeological imagination.

Another key topic in ideology is that of representation. By this I mean the practices of documenting, recording, inscribing, and representing the past. It was two centuries and more of work done on the past that was presented to me on my outing that morning: historical and archaeological documentation and narrative that I knew of, as well as physical restoration and conservation. Also, more broadly, I mean political representation—witnessing and advocacy. The case for certain pasts is made against others, witnessed in the mobilization of sources and remains. The allure that morning is the result of the success of a certain argument that a particular experience of the present past is of value.

Why am I connecting the cultural production of the past with ideology critique? Because I care, and I believe that many others share such a care and concern to identify and facilitate the creation of experiences of the past and the present that make life richer. We can bear witness to lost and forgotten pasts. **We can facilitate many more people's creative involvement in making pasts their own.**

Let me stay a little longer with Hadrian's Wall. This is a heartland of the picturesque and the romantic. But the romantic is too easily reduced to an *aesthetic formula*, that algorithm of ideological engagement with place that I just outlined. It is too easy to reduce the allure to the visuality of the property owner or to the tourist gaze, alienated and parasitic. Just as I suggest that we need to connect contemporary heritage to its origins in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century modernity, so too we need to recognize a long and complex genealogy of romantic engagement with time and place.

Consider an archetypical northern romantic, the poet William Wordsworth. Wordsworth walked. His poem about Tintern Abbey (1798), probably the best known work by one of the foremost English poets, deals not with the picturesque ruins, famous as a tourist destination in his day at the banks of the River Wye, so much as with the synaesthetic and constitutive imagination:

...all the mighty world
Of eye, and ear,—both what they half create,
And what perceive.
(lines 105–7)

Revisiting the river is an instance of how place engenders certain responses in us, particularly through memory, and which is dependent upon our creative apprehension that organizes the very substance of experience:



Lindisfarne, Insula Sacra, Northumberland UK. The later medieval priory, after an eighteenth-century aesthetic.

*Once again
Do I behold these steep and lofty cliffs,
That on a wild secluded scene impress
Thoughts of more deep seclusion; and connect
The landscape with the quiet of the sky'*
(lines 4–8)

As one walks and looks. Wordsworth dealt with the topology of time—the folding of time, how pasts and presents meet in the composition of the ‘figure in the landscape’:

*For thou
art with me, here, upon the banks
Of this fair river.'*
(lines 114–5)

And how such encounters are ultimately incomprehensible—sublime—prompting us to restlessly experiment with our responses, representations, reflections:

*I cannot paint
What then I was.*
(lines 75–6)

*Not for this
Faint I, nor mourn nor murmur: other gifts
Have followed; for such loss, I would believe,
Abundant recompense.*
(lines 85–8)

Wordsworth is remarking that he cannot represent what was in the past, but the continuing work of engagement offers ‘abundant recompense’. This primary concern with the process of working on the past is just what I am exploring here (Pearson and Shanks 2001).

Walter Scott, writing about the landscapes to the north of my border vista, invented the romantic historical novel in the first decades of the nineteenth century and can be credited with much that came to be associated, authentically or not, with Scottish identity. But his poems and novels do not offer simple romantic melodrama so much as a serious investigation of the shape of history, of historicity, our involvement in social and cultural change. English neoromantic writers and artists after the First World War—favorites of mine include Paul Nash and John Piper — have been associated with an elite, nostalgic and conservative nationalism, celebrating an anti-industrial rural Englishness of countryside, village and parish church. But in a tour-de-force of heritage commentary Raph Samuel (1994) points out their political subtlety and critical consciousness of the options open to the arts in the 1920s and '30s and after (also, more particularly, Harris 2010). This is how I summarize such a critically romantic attitude: local self-assertion as opposed to universal systems (offering definitive solutions); an attention to the ordinary and the particular; an interest in the darker side of experience in the sense of that remainder which always escapes the claims of a rational system; defamiliarizing what is taken as given, revealing the equivocal nature of things and experience; reality conceived, genealogically, as historical process; an attitude critical and suspicious of orthodoxy, because of the impossibility of any final account of things.

My point is again that we are in a long tradition of work upon the tensions between past and present, and upon our creative agency in history. Romantic experiment

is part of a discourse predisposed toward reworking the given, reworking the past, fighting Byronically for a past-in-the-present, with Scott working on manuscripts, publishing stories, reaching out to ordinary audiences on topics of historical plot and everyday ways of life in times past and present, with landowner-industrialist John Clayton rebuilding, intervening in land management, in city planning, building museums, gathering collections.

Here art, literature, cultural work is informed practice (or *praxis*), not simply illustration and reflection, but aimed at throwing light upon the past in active engagements, in authentic work upon the past, challenging reification and alienation. We might recall the words of romantic political economist Marx and industrialist Engels, that philosophers only interpreted the world, whereas the point is to change it.



Jedburgh Abbey, Scottish Borders. After John Piper.

5 Working on what remains

Archaeologists work on the remains of the past. As does the heritage industry. Both are more about the past-in-the-present, and with a care for the future of the past, than they are about the past *per se*. This was the basic proposition of my book *Experiencing the Past* (1992). Focusing on processes and practices that connect past and present reveals how many different cultural fields share an archaeological sensibility or archaeological outlook. These are *embodied* practices, which is why I called the book *Experiencing the Past*—they are compounds of skills, cognition and psychology, emotional disposition, social and cultural contexts—hand, heart, and mind realized in fieldwork, writings and narratives, images, collections, exhibitions, and a whole lot more. This craft of archaeology (McGuire and Shanks 1996) is so pervasive that it is quite possible to claim that we are all archaeologists in the modern world, working on what remains, given the way that any relationship with the past has become questionable.

This simple view of archaeological and heritage practices led me to those studies of science, especially after Thomas Kuhn and Michel Foucault, that seek an understanding of science by giving precedence not to formal structure of argument, to theory and philosophy of science, but to mundane scientific practices and processes, running labs, finding funding, delivering research papers: science as productive work, with knowledge as social achievement.

And then in 1993 I met Mike Pearson and Cliff McLucas, Art Directors of theatre company Brith Gof. In a tradition of European performance that draws on Artaud, Brecht and Grotowski, they begin (though Cliff died in 2002) not with dramatic scripts, but deliver performances designed for particular locales—works of site-specific physical theatre (Pearson 2010). As a calling card Mike brought me a video, *Pax TV*, that dealt with the death of a mother in a house in Wales through a complex composite of vertically tracking camera shots of a bedroom, floating frames of scenes from completely different contexts, with recited texts that ran across the screen. It was a touching evocation of an everyday event, and presented in a way that raised questions of how media can ever offer a fitting record or document, act as a fitting legacy of even something so ordinary as death and memory. At the heart of Mike and Cliff's work are questions of the performance of the past, the object and origin of performance (in a script, to represent an event?), the adequacy of any medium to document performance. They are concerned with how the past is actively mobilized in the present, memories and documents performed, revived, re-enacted, restated, so as to conserve something of the past that might otherwise be lost and forgotten. Created in Wales, a country and culture in tense relationship with hegemonic England, their artwork was also explicitly intended as ideology critique in the sense I have just outlined—seeking to raise matters that are overlooked or suppressed, with deep human richness.



Hadrian's Wall, Northumberland UK, as rebuilt by John Clayton in the nineteenth century. After Paul Nash.



Pax: the mother, the earth, the angel. A work for TV by Brith Gof. BBC broadcast 1994. Video still.

And performance, happening in the now, is always in a state of disappearance. It is over as soon as it happens, leaving temporal lacunae, then, now, after. Performance always implies an archaeology—of what comes after the event. And Cliff and Mike had a problem: twenty years of their performance artwork had left little in the way of archive. They were very interested in how performance and documentation can be connected, working on what remains of performance.

So we started to explore how performance is a *paradigm* of certain kinds of cultural production and practice closely allied to archaeology and heritage.

6 Performing ruins—site specifics

Cliff, Mike and I met in Lampeter, home to a small campus of the University of Wales out in the rural west. Locally there was an upland landscape, appropriated and massively transformed by a government agency, what came to be called *Forest Enterprise*, in the second half of the last century. The farms were compulsorily purchased, people were moved out, and the land was buried under vast plantations of Sitka spruce, the *Clywedog Plantation*. It was 1992, the harvesting had begun and the ruined buildings were coming to light again. The sycamore hedges had grown out to turn the farmyard of *Esgair Fraith* ('speckled ridge') into a shaded copse damp with the moss of decay. Friends introduced the place to us—a picturesque destination for a weekend outing and a mute witness to dispossession and loss, to forgotten community trauma.

The place was remote, miles from a public road up a forest track. Historically inconsequential on its own, home to only a few poor families since the nineteenth century (these uplands were not prosperous farming country), the ruin represented a regular feature of rural Wales. Many communities had been so treated, forced out and away to make room for cash-cropping plantations or reservoirs serving English conurbations or for industrial operations. But the ruin and the unpopulated upland landscape can be made to offer picturesque vistas that do not so much conceal their historical trauma as divert attention, reframe, remove events.

Esgair Fraith became a reference for us, to which we repeatedly returned. How do you visit such a place? What do you do there? How do you tell others? Questions of *performing* the past.



Esgair Fraith (Speckled Ridge), Clywedog Plantation, Llanfair Clydogau, Wales. Farm buildings acquired by compulsory purchase and forced eviction for UK government agency Forest Enterprise. Buried lives.

One major work of intervention in the old farm at *Esgair Fraith* itself was *Tri Bywyd* ('three lives'), a site-specific performance by Brith Gof, in Welsh and English, run over three nights in October 1995. Two temporary architectures, designed by Cliff McLucas (after Bernard Tschumi), were introduced at the farm: 16 meters high steel scaffolding cubes, running through the ruin and among the trees. They were made up with floors and rudimentary features—stairs, furniture, lighting. These three 'houses', including the site itself, became the setting for three interpenetrating and episodic performances, each involving three sections of thirteen two-minute parts, with physical work, commentary and spoken source materials

(records, police statements, newspaper accounts), and amplified sound track. There were five live performers, including two local actors who had known *Esgair Fraith* in the 1930s and '40s. Other items: a dead sheep and various artifacts, including flares, book, buckets of milk, sheets and a pistol. A hundred people were seated in an auditorium built of scaffolding running through the neighboring conifer plantation. Buses bringing the audience were parked in a quarry over the ridge, where also were sited the electricity generators.

The three located lives.

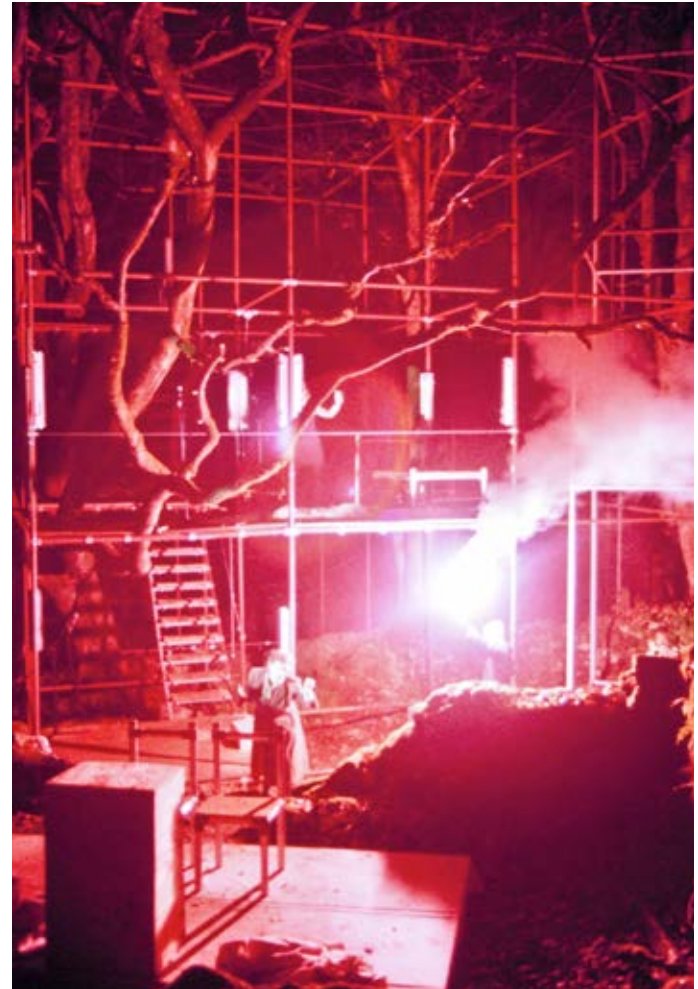
One. 1869: Lletherneuadd Uchaf, a cottage farm in the village of Llanfangel ar Arth, near Pencader, west Wales. Site of the death of Sarah Jacob, who, it is said, survived without food or water for two years, one month and one week. She died when nurses from St Guy's hospital London locked her in her bedroom and watched her starve to death (she had most probably been living off milk from the dairy at the back of the traditional longhouse which she visited during the night).

Two. 1965: Esgair Fraith, Llanfair Clydogau, Lampeter. A local farmer driven to suicide. Small economically unviable farms in rural Wales have driven many to the city; it is little reported that those left behind find it difficult to make a living, to find partners and family life, and regularly fall into depression.

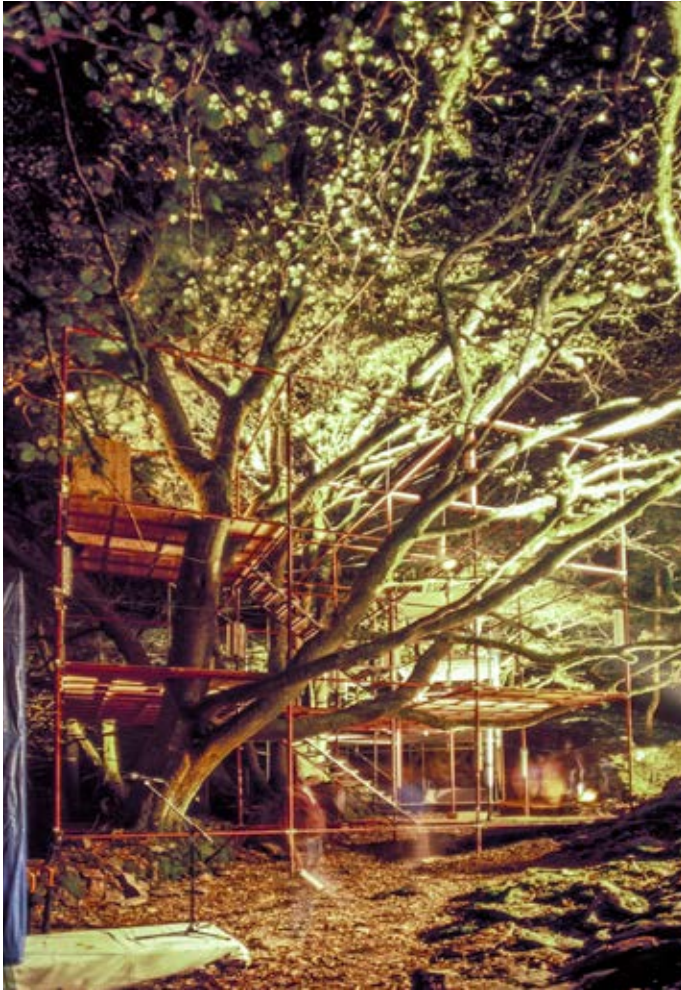
Three. St Valentines Day, 1988: 7 James Street, Butetown, Cardiff docklands, site of the murder of Lynette White, and associated with miscarriage of justice in the notorious and false conviction of 'The Cardiff Three'.

What's the point here? Let me draw upon Mike and Cliff's ideas and comment upon such site-specific performances. They are created outside the traditional theatre and auditorium, in social situations or architectural contexts, both used and disused: they are industrial, ludic, religious; mundane, exceptional; inhabited, abandoned. The specificity of performance is in the degree to which use is made of the particular nature—historical, environmental, architectural, spatial, functional, organizational—of the site in the themes, dramaturgical structures and staging arrangements. Site-specific performance uses size, shape, proportion, atmosphere, occupancy and history to inspire creative engagements that confound the conventions of theatre going and together create new experiences for audiences.

Site-specific performances work upon the complex coexistence, superimposition and interpenetration of architectures and narratives, historical and contemporary, of two basic orders. One is of the site, its fixtures and fittings; the other is brought to the site, the performance and its scenography. There is that which pre-exists the work, and that which is of the work: past and present interwoven. Such works of performance are inseparable from their sites, the only contexts within which they are intelligible. Performance is here the latest occupation of a location at which other occupations are still apparent and cognitively active in their architectures, material traces and histories. Thus, meaning is generated through the friction of the two. In his conception of site specifics and scenography, Cliff connected *host* (site) and *ghost* (pasts performed), to which I think might be added *visitor*.



Tri Bywyd (Three Lives): site specific performance by Birth Gof, October 1995, at Esgair Fraith, farmstead, west Wales.



Tri Bywyd (Three Lives): site specific performance by Birth Gof, October 1995, at Esgair Fraith, farmstead, west Wales.



In this architectonic approach, often large-scale, the scenography might sit at an oblique angle to the site and even appears to extend beyond it. Despite its temporary and spectral presence, it might have separate conditions of surface and micro-climate that change from moment to moment. Significantly, the site is always apparent through the performance—the ruined farm within the temporary scaffolding of the two houses brought to it (*Tri Bywyd*: the hosts and ghosts). 'Site' both allows and necessitates the use of materials and phenomena unusual, unacceptable or illegal in the auditorium, leading to the suspension and transgression of its prescribed practices and bye-laws, since it involves technologies, techniques, apparatus and equipment not conventionally theatrical that confound audience expectations. It necessitates the employment of particular scenic and corporeal techniques to overcome the

material difficulties of the site, and of creating a three-dimensional *mise-en-scène*. The performance *Tri Bywyd* involved visitation and access to restricted places: here scenography is architectural design that may create ergonomic problems for the performers and a need to optimize their physical engagement.

Now performance is both a doing and a thing done—pursuit and event. As pursuit, performance involves heightened and rhetorical articulations of body and voice, enacted through script, choreography, strategy, instructions. As event, performance happens in scheduled occasions and involves the assemblage of concepts, persons, actions, texts, sounds, places and things, juxtaposing and mixing unrelated fragments and phenomena without natural affinities or linkages. In these processes of scenography and dramaturgy, performance is akin to project design. The concept of performance is complicated by the reference to *performativity* in identity construction. In this conception, performance is an active or transitive mode involving attribution (of identity) and iteration, with social and cultural forms such as gender, identity and memory, emerging from practice and interaction rather than preceding them.

Overall, performance is practice that attends to questions of presentation and representation, entailing sets of physical, vocal, technical and scenographic procedures and techniques of exposition. Performance is a kind of engagement and communication that resides primarily in the contractual arrangements and social suspensions between performer and audience, as well as in the design

work of scenographer and dramaturge. Performance can embody, enact, illustrate and indicate without, however, any need of an audience: performance can be the staging of the subject in process, as in the concept of performativity, as much as of the actor acting.

The nature of performance is rhetorical—presenting a case through the assemblage of different and diverse components, making anything significant as representation, elaboration or decoration, as a functional or cognitive instrument. Typically it is characterized by omission—selecting, eliding, making part stand for whole, or action/event stand for something else. In this, performance may be extremely schematic, improvised, contingent, and only barely perceptible within the everyday.

As a forum of encounter, intervention and innovation, as a form of cultural production, as a field of rhetoric, performance may resemble a devised world, set aside from or adjacent to the quotidian, all the elements of which—site, environment, technology, spatial organization, form and content, rules and procedures—are conceived, organized, controlled and ultimately experienced by its different kinds of participants. At once both utopia and heterotopia, performance may proffer extra-daily occurrences. Freed from its theatrical roots, performance becomes both a lens for the apprehension of potential active engagements between, for example, past and present, and an array of pragmatics for their implementation.

Performance is always already disappearing. There is only ever act and aftermath, and irresolvable tensions

between event and document or script. The answer to the question of where performance comes from, its origin, can only be that performance belongs to chains of iterative enactment and re-enactment, with no ultimate origin. For there is no script that can completely specify a performance.

This is why performance has long been a powerful way to understand social practice. People are well conceived as social actors or agents performing roles on private and personal, and public and institutional stages. While social norms or structures and cultural values and forms frame practice, they only exist in re-enactment. Moreover, social practice requires material props and stages that prompt and set scenario and possibility, and thus engage audiences. **We are creative agents inheriting values and expectations, facilities and constraints embedded in the material and social fabric that pre-exists us and that will endure beyond our mortality.**

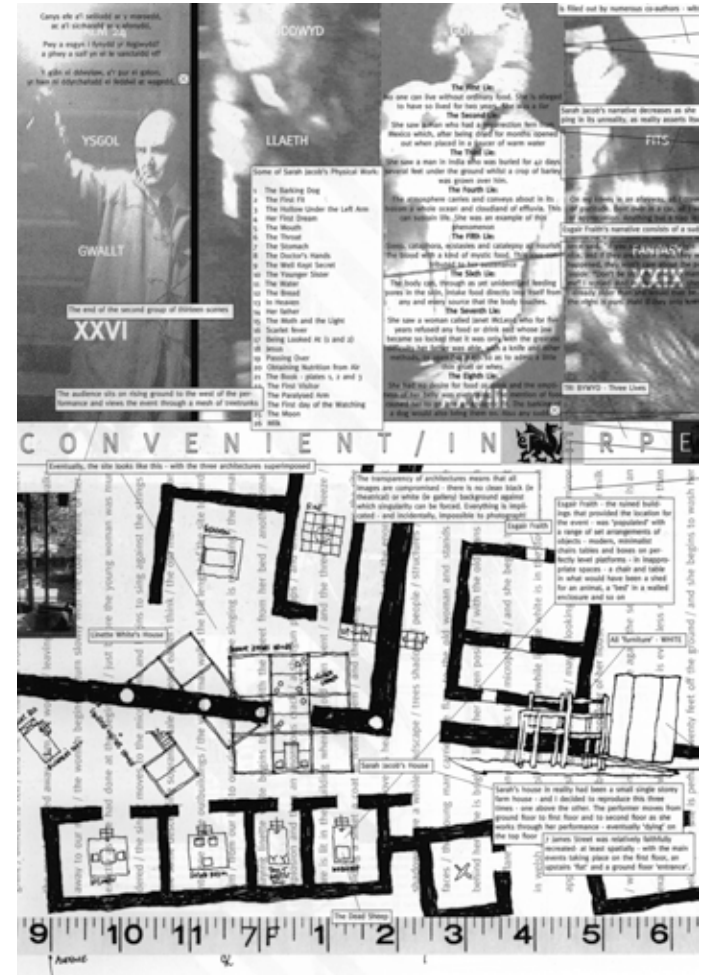
This tension between act, event, site, artifact and their documentation (scripting) is archaeological. While the past happened and is now irretrievably passed, as archaeologists we only can work on what remains, making record and document of trace and vestige. The past is gone and only exists by virtue of a project to care about it, to look to the future of the past in working on ruin: archaeology is about the future! Performance and archaeology share this same relation between event and aftermath. We visit and collect the past, transforming it irrevocably as we engage and displace, for there is indeed no going back upon an excavation: we take the leap into the future and destroy.

Performing ruins: this is to work upon what remains in a mode of cultural creativity and production. It were these convergences, homologies and analogies between performance and archaeology that led Mike and me to propose an explicit hybrid—theatre/archaeology—the re-articulation of fragments of the past as real-time event in the present. In a series of experimental works and performances we probed, as mentioned, the interconnections of host-ghost-visitor—sites, memories and traces, in encounters and visitations, with time folded upon itself as we rework records, documents, archival remains—*performing ruins* (Pearson and Shanks 2013).

7 Assemblage - toward design

Together with theatre company Brith Gof and my own Department of Archaeology at University of Wales, Lampeter campus, we researched *Esgair Fraith* and the two imported cases as part of the production, generating documents and evidences mobilized in the performance itself, read aloud on sound track and live by performers. I took many photographs during the technical rehearsal, *in situ*, *in medias res*, rather than from the point of view of the audience. The event itself was documented in a graphic work commissioned by Nick Kaye for his book about site-specific art. Here Cliff McLucas juxtaposed components of the three case files (texts, photography, line drawings) on a timeline of the performance and under the title 'Ten feet and three quarters of an inch of theatre' (McLucas 2000).

The three houses in *Tri Bywyd* do not repeat the same message in different forms, or conform to a single narrative form or model; they are not analogies of one another, though the juxtaposition is not thereby just arbitrary. This is comparative work, but not in the usual sense. The three houses share an archaeological theme of traumatic event and evidences that persist, though they may be misrecognized and suppressed. We also encountered them in our own personal experiences of west Wales, in our getting to know the region that became home. The technique of juxtaposition involves the rhetorical tropes of *parataxis* and *katachresis*—forced juxtaposition of dissimilar components and designed to produce frictions (parataxis—this and this and this and ...; katachresis—mixed, forced, what could be deemed inappropriate metaphor: Dai the farmer shot himself just as Sarah Jacob drank her milk).



Tri Bywyd (Three Lives): documentation of the site specific performance by Brith Gof. Cliff McLucas 1998, published 2000, with photography by Michael Shanks.

Tri Bywyd, like other works of Brith Gof, did not take an explicitly interpretive strategy of peeling back the layers, digging deep for meaning. Rather, layer was piled on layer geologically through the encounters, the visits, the performances and in the graphical documentation so that the weight creates metamorphosis or decomposition, faults and shifts as the strata grind at each other, as catalysts (words, themes, images, metaphors, whatever) take effect and amalgams or connections emerge, where there probably should be none. So the aim of this *katachresis* is not primarily an *epistemological* one of establishing knowledge of these three sites and their associated people and events. We were not proposing an account of the farm, of nineteenth-century medical science, of a murder in Cardiff, or of something between. The aim is more an *ontological* one of making manifest the features of these conglomerations of people, things and events. This is an associative, connecting method of assemblage I have elsewhere described as *rhizomatic* (Shanks 1992).

Our purpose is to address the question of how to engage with a contested locale in a way that avoids reducing the encounter(s) to a single and exclusive version of narrative or account. The challenge is to maintain an irreducible richness that enables multiple engagements, letting the place *be itself*, open in its multiple manifold to encounters that differ according to time and visitor.

This quest for the local and specific, for senses of presence, of being there, therefore prompted experiment in *empirics*, documenting the specifics of site. Our attention has focused not so much upon illustrating a site,

but upon how we might engage and represent *quiddity*, the 'whatness', the qualities of materials, and *haecceity*, 'hereness', those locational qualities that form a sense of place. This has involved eclectic experiment in many media, analogue and digital.

Let me draw again on Mike Pearson's take on performance. In its essentially expressive rather than explanatory mode, performance can assemble and order material of diverse origins, from the biographical to the bureaucratic. In his dramaturgy Mike chooses dynamic articulations, jumps, ruptures, elisions, asides, non-sequiturs, illogicalities, circularities and repetitions. Performance can render miscellaneous materials—from the anecdotal to the informational—to the same order of significance, and this it does without need of citation or footnotes. Its rhetorical devices facilitate shifts in viewpoint, attitude and emphasis. Performance deals well with accounts of people and events. It can build drama out of mundane sets of circumstance, and summon sites to situate them. Performance can draw together narratives, data sets and disciplinary perceptions, both like and markedly unlike. In their juxtaposition, overlay and friction at a certain place, they reveal its multi-temporality, and through disciplinary convergences enhance its appreciation.

Such dramaturgical possibility lay behind another experiment in *katachresis*. In *Three Rooms*, a text and web site (2004), I juxtaposed a sequence of evidences and archaeological remains of three rooms: a garret in the east end of London from which its occupant, David Rodinsky,

mysteriously departed suddenly in the late 1960s, never to return; Sarah Jacob's farmhouse bedroom in rural west Wales in the nineteenth century where she lay for over two years without, apparently, taking nourishment, as mentioned above; and a dining room in a sanctuary of the 7th-century BC city of Corinth in Greece, times of great social change in the Mediterranean involving the invention of the body politic of state citizenry. The juxtaposed fragments were textual *mise-en-scènes* - arrangements of items before the reader/viewer, three forensic portfolios to be interrogated.

The architectonics of this performance writing (foregrounding the relation of performance to document) explicitly brought into question the way that narratives are pursued and constructed, particularly in relation to archaeological themes of time, tradition and the modern world. Each room references mystery and discovery. The room in nineteenth-century Wales belongs with the period of the reworking of an urban-rural and modern-traditional distinction. It underlines the supposed mystery of rural tradition and its questioning by scientific authority (the investigating nurses dispassionately record the stages of Sarah Jacob's starvation). The room in London is an explicit trope of modernist detective fiction – the mystery of the locked room. It tells of the making of 'interiority' and self in quotidian urban existence. The Corinthian room discovered by archaeologists concerns the shaping of the quotidian past in a comforting form that answers questions of urban origins and civil values, questions inherent to notions of Western civilization (Corinth is

one of the first city-states in the Mediterranean and a pivot in the extension of Hellenic material culture). In each room mystery is both created and then resolved in mundane modernity, just as it becomes disturbing. Modern distinctions are confirmed even as the interior force of Otherness is acknowledged. But the arrangement, specifics, and concomitant dramaturgical possibility disrupt this tendency and aim to open up space for other readings and perceptions.

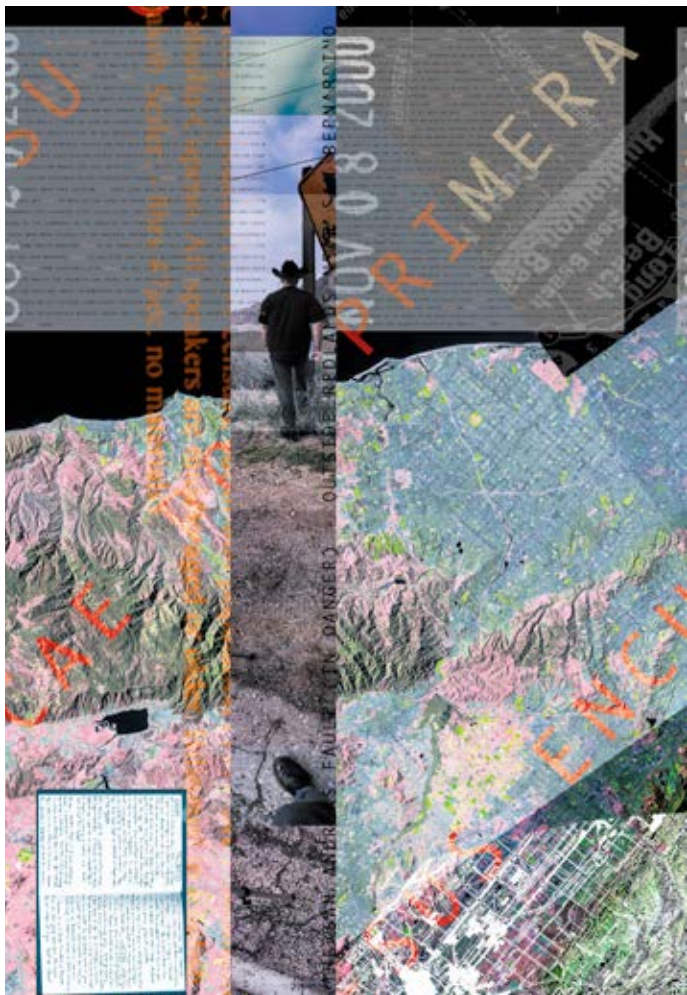
8 Deep mapping and *chorography*

Three Rooms aimed to disrupt certain narrative forms: the encounter between rural tradition and urban rationalism, the mystery of the locked room, the assembly of citizens. These are *chronotopes*, stock associations, typically narrative, of temporal and spatial relationships, place-events, room-evidence-scenarios. In an earlier experiment, *Three Landscapes* (2000), we already brought together encounters with three regional landscapes: the volume—Monte Polizzo, a native prehistoric site under archaeological excavation in Sicily; the surface—Hafod, an eighteenth-century estate in Wales; and the line—the San Andreas Fault of California. This was a collaborative project in *deep mapping* involving Cliff McLucas (architect-designer), Dorian Llywelyn (theologian-musician), and myself (classicist-archaeologist), all of us based in Stanford University Humanities Center, California. Mike Pearson and I had appropriated the notion of deep mapping from William Least Heat-Moon with his 1991 book *PrairyErth (A Deep Map)* when we started our own work on the Welsh uplands around *Esgair Fraith*. Reflecting eighteenth-century antiquarian approaches to place, which included history, folklore, natural history and hearsay, the deep map attempts to record and represent the grain and patina of place through juxtapositions and interpenetrations of the historical and the contemporary, the political and the poetic, the discursive and the sensual; the conflation of oral testimony, anthology, memoir, biography, natural history and everything you might ever want to say about a place....

Three Landscapes adapted the katachrestic tactic of triangulation to landscape. We conceived 'landscape' not neutrally as another word for land and the countryside, but as a way of connecting with and representing inhabited



A book in a room. A diary experiment in the documentation of visit and encounter. Cliff McLucas for *Three Landscapes*, Stanford 2000.



A map on a wall. An experiment in deep mapping California. Cliff McLucas for *Three Landscapes*, Stanford 2000.

places, typically involving those aesthetic conventions developed from the seventeenth century with which I began this talk: the picturesque and the sublime, designed and staged landed properties, agricultural improvement, associations with classical antiquity, relationships with a past opened to reasoned study. The project focus was on different *modes of engagement* with land: walking, looking, working, experiencing the land, excavating, encountering others, driving across it, mapping, and documentation. The result of the year-long effort was a manifold of manifestation, comprising original research into the three regions; a systematic itinerary of the geological fault; fieldwork and excavation in Sicily; visits to the Hafod estate, under restoration; three performed lectures; a large graphic work—a map on a wall; a large-format journal—a self-published book-in-a-room; three video diaries concerning Sicily, the map and the diary; three essays on Hafod, dealing with place and identity, spirituality, the Celtic revival, notions of the picturesque, Duns Scotus on specificity and *haecceity*, and a whole lot more; twenty-four taped discussions with guests; a report on the project in the form of a visual primer; a software project in collaborative deep mapping using early forms of social software (and later developed into a wiki in my lab, *Metamedia* at Stanford, under the title *Traumwerk*).

Here is what Cliff said about these deep maps, and reflecting this rhizomatic assemblage. They are big—the issue of resolution and detail is addressed by size. They necessarily embrace a range of different media or registers in a sophisticated and multilayered orchestration. The complementary use of rich analogue and the fungible, interchangeable forms of digital media is demanded in this



Diary page. An experiment in the documentation of visit and encounter.
Cliff McLucas for *Three Landscapes*, Stanford 2000.



Video diary: the excavations of Monte Polizzo, Salemi, Sicily. Video still.
Michael Shanks for *Three Landscapes*, Stanford 2000.

regard. Bridging different registers of the local, national and global, insiders and outsiders, amateurs and professionals, deep maps do not seek the authority and objectivity of conventional cartography. They are politicized, passionate, and partisan. They involve negotiation and contestation over who and what is represented and how. They give rise to debate about the documentation and portrayal of people and place. And in this respect, deep maps are unstable, fragile and temporary—conversations and not statements.

The early death of Cliff McLucas (2002) left much of the project in an unfinished and ruined state, sadly not inappropriate to this vision. Dorian joined the Jesuits. The project broke up and became indeed an archival question, as well as one of memory. How might all this be recollected? Currently some archival items are deposited in the National Library of Wales, others are stored digitally at Stanford, and there are still boxes of items in my lab through which I am slowly working— a poignant archive.

The references again to the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, in the definition of deep mapping, in the choice of Hafod as one of the three landscapes, are not gratuitous, but a vital component of theatre/archaeology. For deep mapping, offering orientation, guide, and modeling, is part of chorography, an old antiquarian genre of comprehensive regional account, dating back to the northern European renaissance of the late sixteenth century (see Shanks and Witmore 2010 on this connection between *chorography* and performance). I repeat that I am keen to promote critical awareness of the genealogy of our engagement with region in the context of a Eurocentric sensibility.

9 The performance of document, or The paradox of pictures

It was in the wake of *Three Landscapes* and the publication with Mike Pearson of our book *Theatre/Archaeology* that I returned in 2003 to the English borders with Scotland, where I had grown up and started as an archaeologist, but now with my own chorographic intention. How to represent this region I know so well? One answer has been: Through the performance of document.

The year before I had already begun hosting a series of conversations with colleague and friend Bill Rathje, and later involving Chris Witmore (Rathje, Shanks, Witmore 2013). We asked archaeologists who were visiting our lab about their experiences, and we taped and transcribed them. We heard frank stories about building careers, struggles to be heard and to persuade, quests for funding to investigate, efforts to build institutions, as well as insights into the shape of the human past. The conversations were an extension, for me, of that simple insight that I have just shared, that archaeology, albeit ostensibly about the past, is actually no more or less than what archaeologists do. Our conversations were a project in science studies, in understanding the practice, the *performance* of archaeology.

Why call it performance and not practice, or, more precisely, disciplinary practice? I have just mentioned how performance has long been a root metaphor for understanding social practice. I think that this use of performance applies well to formalized, rule-bound, discursive practices like archaeology. As a classicist I am also very conscious of the genealogy of (theatrical) performance, its roots in ritual, ceremony, body politic, public sphere. Western drama is intimately associated



Lindisfarne, Northumberland UK, the original Bishop's Palace (site of). On this spot: it happened here. Part of the chorographic series exploring "code" in photowork: genre, convention, schema, formal structures. Tactics: irony, exaggeration, pastiche, transgression.

with the assembly of the citizen body in the ancient Greek city state, gathered to witness the enactment of dramatic performance in the city or sanctuary theatre, scripted by a dramaturge, an Aeschylus or Aristophanes, reworking themes from religion, myth and tradition, history and contemporary events. I repeat that cognate with performance is rhetoric, the technical forensic apparatus mobilized in the articulation of a case or argument, in an act of representation before the same assembly, gathered to hear a case, to deliberate, to take decision. Archaeology shares this forensic disposition, one where the remains of the past are mobilized in practices (performances), often conceived as *mimetic*, aiming at representing or restoring behavior.



Dryburgh Abbey, Scottish Borders, near the grave of Sir Walter Scott. Quiddity: "whatness", the qualities of things. Part of the chorographic series *Lapidarium Septentrionale* (Northern Stones).

Documentation as performance entails that shift of attention, already mentioned, to encounter, to how we engage with a site or region, to how we work upon our experiences, making documents. This is not the place to share the archive generated by my visits. I just mention that it is arranged in three itineraries through the borders, connecting episodes, people, places in the richest of archaeological landscapes (itinerary was a regular feature of chorography). Here let me unpack the ways that I use photography in this chorographic effort (see also Shanks and Svabo 2013).

Early in my archaeological career I was responsible for site and finds photography. My chorography of the borders has involved experiment around photography, treated as *photowork*. Photography is, to stretch the term somewhat, *chronotopic*—a spatio-temporal engagement by means of an instrument. This instrument, the camera, is, in essence, a darkened room, *camera obscura*, with an aperture or window on the world through which the outside is projected, via a focusing lens, as an inverted image onto the opposite interior wall. Photography is an architectural arrangement of gatherings and relationships between viewer, room, window, viewed subject. The photographic image is a *secondary* product of such architecture, albeit the aspect that normally grabs attention.

Spaces and arrangements, geometries and connections between people, events and things: the term that captures much of this is *mise-en-scène*. I offer a definition somewhat broader than usual, and, according to the proposition that camera work is architectonic, emphasize structure and arrangement. *Mise-en-scène* is thus the choice of location



Lindisfarne, Northumberland UK, remains of a medieval farmstead in the sand dunes colonized by invasive pirri-pirri from New Zealand. Part of the chorographic series "the quotidian", exploring how "haecceity", hereness, a sense of place, is constituted through everyday ambient textures.

and viewpoint, the arrangement of items and actors in front of a camera or before a recording author, setting a scene to be documented, photographed or filmed, such that the resulting account, still or movie has a certain designed outcome, makes a point, communicates a message, fits into a story, conveys the intention of photographer or filmmaker. *Mise-en-scène* is about staging: the disposition, arrangement and relationships between people, artifacts, places and happenings.

Mise-en-scène points to the performative character of photowork, in that the staging is managed. We are prompted to inspect its temporality. The articulation of components before the photograph happens in a decisive, opportune moment (to satirize Cartier-Bresson): it all comes together when the photograph is captured. The Greek term to describe such a conjunctive moment is *kairos* (we sometimes also use the term *actuality*). The photograph, transparency, negative and print, then supplies a material form to such *mise-en-scène* that persists, may be transported, displaced from site of capture to be viewed at a later time. This temporality is *duration*: the photograph, in its materiality, can endure and offer articulation with times long gone in another conjunctive moment. The photograph offers connection between the decisive *kairotic* moment of capture and its new moment of viewing.

While duration is an aspect of materiality and curation (the photograph needs a certain amount of care for it to survive), *kairos* or *actuality* is specific and located, the temporal aspect of a site-specific, architectonic arrangement or assemblage, as I have just described. *Kairos* is the event of performance. A persistent moment, the



Lindisfarne, Northumberland UK, door to a fisherman's hut on the Ouse, site of the great Viking raid of June 793. On this spot: it happened here. Part of the chorographic series exploring "mediawork" in the documentation of site: framing, surface and materiality, resolution, and the performance of document. Degraded Polaroid film.

subject of photowork, the material photograph re-presents a return of the moment of capture, in a kind of haunting recapture. A photograph says: This was all here then, and is with us still now. In archaeology we recognize the primacy of these two temporal modes. Actuality: the *kairotic* association of the past in the present, found, excavated, inspected, documented, performed. Duration: the persistence of the material past in remains, ruins and traces, ghosts.

The duration, persistence of the photograph, the ruin and the trace, is dependent upon materiality, just as performance is located, site specific, embodied and conjunctural. So the performance of document needs to be sensitive to the materiality of engagement, the material and physical processes and properties of assemblage, of gathering people and props on location, as well as those of mediation, the instruments and processes of transforming encounter into document, inscription, depiction.

What then of the relation between my visit, encounter and the document I make of it?

This short inspection of photowork simply indicates the important differences between several kinds of documentation, according to their materiality, instrumentality, architectonics, agency, and temporality. Johannes Vermeer may well have traced the image thrown onto ground glass by his camera obscura, or perhaps transposed the projection onto canvas. That inscription or transcription was delegated by photography to 'the pencil of nature'—the action of light on light-sensitive chemicals. Agency, of artist or natural chemistry, is involved, and much more. Though there are no accepted conventions or

definitions, we might, for example, distinguish illustration from representation. If the term illustration is used to refer to depiction that intends to elucidate a statement, representation invokes additional temporal and political modalities. Re-presentation may involve the presentation of self, of a case, of a relationship, of a depiction, before an audience or assembly of people. The political or legal representative may stand-in as delegate for those he represents, constituency or client, in order to present a case.

Compare the *mimetic* and what we may term the *eidetic*, in relation to this performance of document. The *mimetic*, imitation, the work of *mimos* (actor in ancient Greek), refers to a set of questions about the real and the represented. Often *mimesis* is connected with metaphor and simile: the relationship between real and represented is one of analogy, comparison, likeness - 'it was *like* this', '*as if* it happened like this'. In its reflection of everyday life, performance is both *synecdochic* (standing in place of), and *metonymic* (substituting a part for the whole). Richard Schechner famously emphasizes the double temporal component of performance. He calls it 'restored', or 'twice-behaved' behaviour, consisting of physical, verbal, or virtual actions that are not-for-the-first-time—'here *is* the way it *was*'.

The notion of the *eidetic* takes the matter further and poses questions of how we treat the materiality (the actuality) of performance and the performed. The *eidetic* refers, in some psychological use, to mental imagery that is vivid and persistent. *Eidetic* memory means memory of a sensory event that is as accurate as if the person were still

viewing, or hearing, in the presence of the original object, present at the event. There is no need to restrict ourselves to the usual association with 'photographic memory'. I prefer to emphasize the instructive etymology of the word *eidetic*, with roots in the Greek *eidō* and its cognates (to know, see, experience; that which is seen, form, model, type, image, phantom) and hold that performance is *eidetic* because it raises questions of what is real and what is simulated, what persists, what is at the heart of experience (knowledge, impressions, physical materials?). Performance, as *eidetic*, is ironic: in its act of re-presentation, performance is this and that, simulated *and* real. The political representative is a person speaking in democratic assembly *for others*, conveying their voice. Performance is ironic in drawing upon theatrical metaphors. For while we might suppose a script, performance has no such sole origin and there is always that gap between script and act, as well as between performer and audience, representative and constituency. What is being acted out in performance? Who is speaking in democratic assembly—representative or constituency? We should answer that there is only ever the irony of reiteration without an ultimate origin, simulation without an original. Representative or constituency?—at best it is both. And in these iterative chains the question of performance is immediately the question of how we may speak and write of performance, given the irony. Performance is about re-iterating, re-mediating, re-working, re-storing, re-presenting, re-enacting.

For me, this also is archaeology, heritage practice, working on what remains. We seek in vain a representation that will explain the ruin of history. In dealing with remains,

the archaeologist in all of us is working upon relationships between past and present that circle around the impossible irony of trying to turn action and experience, material form and body, remediated, into representation. There can thus be no finality to *mimesis*, only constant reworking and restoring. So my performance of document in the Borders is about incessant return and reworking around these material architectonics (see Pearson and Shanks 2013).



Eidetic presence: daguerreotype, circa 1850. From the series Ghosts in the Mirror.

10 Performance and *pragmata*

The heritage manager caring for a landscape; the community member researching local history; the property owner negotiating regulations concerning conservation of the historical character of his or her home; the archaeologist excavating a Roman fort; the collector planning the purchase of a new collectable: all are working on what remains of the past. For us theatre/archaeology has been a cultural probe into these. We shared experiments in performance in order to monitor and evaluate responses, and so to establish the characteristics of this field of practice, following the proposition that archaeology and heritage are *performative*. All instances of such work upon what remains allow creative appropriation of the past, though subject to all sorts of constraints and determinations. The resources available to heritage managers are, of course, quite different to a community pressure group lobbying for the conservation of a building, or someone researching their family history. Likewise, the epistemological aims of an archaeologist may conflict with the desires of a museum visitor to witness and experience the authentic presence of the past. Nevertheless I hope to have shown that there are fundamental homologies and convergences that elsewhere I have described as the *archaeological imagination* (Shanks 2012).

Process, practice, performance: these are the active articulations of past-present-future that take precedence over the familiar oppositions with which I began my talk. Such separations of past and present, amateur and professional, history and heritage, for example, are real indeed, but are *the result* of particular interruptions of the processes of working on what remains of the past. My photograph of Hadrian's Wall is a temporary freezing of



The Persians (Aeschylus). Site Specific Performance of the ancient Greek play by National Theatre of Wales, directed by Mike Pearson, August 2010. Set in the model village used for simulating urban fighting in the Sennybridge military training ranges, Wales. (Paul Farrow Creative/National Theatre of Wales).

an encounter, a dynamic experiential flux. This occurs when the (archaeological) temporalities of performed engagement (*actuality/kairos* and *duration*, associated with place/event and the multi-temporal topological folding of landscape) are eclipsed by a framed moment, as in a photograph. And such arrest or freezing may be ideological.

Critique, as investigation into the conditions of possible knowledge, can unmask and make manifest what some may prefer to remain hidden. We can raise consciousness, explicitly drawing attention to the process of knowledge making rather than to its objects, with the purpose of revealing context, sites and location, interest. This may be to a hermeneutic end, that is, aiming to reveal how statements are made and acts occur under specific conditions.

I have outlined some tactics that can help reveal and maintain dynamic creative flux. Performance, as a field of rhetoric and theatre, of forensics and storytelling, can use satire, caricature and the grotesque, as exaggeration of salient features. Powerful techniques of compression can be brought in, such as allegory, metonymy, synecdoche; or irony and inversion, so as to point the finger and efficiently convey a message; also carnival, mockery, humor, as well as staged, scripted and improvised argument are used in addressing different audiences.

All these rhetorical tropes can take powerful form through scenography and dramaturgy, assembling agents and artifacts, sites and events, the *architectonics*, the poetics of delivering pasts-in-presents. I have illustrated *katachresis*, (unjustified) comparison, displacement,

challenges to scene-setting through shifting the proscenium arch, or doing away with this framing device, the separation of real from represented.

Above all, however, a performative perspective invites not just commentary but action, making new pasts-in-presents, just as the performed past of a re-enacting society may make no explicit reference to academic knowledge contained in textual discourse (though while in character they may engage in gossip and know much of past ways of life!). Re-enactment, restaging, restoration, remodeling: all these practices direct attention at the relations and connections between past and present, in offering *mimetic* and what I have called *eidetic* works. A classic tactic here is to interrupt and intervene in performance, Brecht-like, in processes of knowledge construction, with disrupting or incongruous events, breaking the illusion of the theatre, so as to reveal precisely the process—working on what remains. This can happen within the staging. As Mike tells the story of *Esgair Fraith*, he offers an aside on his own village upbringing in Lincolnshire. As I question the re-enacting Celt about his composite bow, he tells me where he bought it in Slovakia.

However, these tactics of site-specific performance and theatre/archaeology, which may be summarized as assemblage and interruption, do not constitute a *method* of heritage practice. Indeed they beg the question: What form should heritage management practices take? These tactics are a way of approaching matters of pasts-in-presents, conscious of ethics, responsibilities, ideals of democratic inclusion. In this they are a pragmatics: *modi operandi*—ways of working.

What might we call this diverse field of working upon what remains? I suggest *pragmatology*. Pragmatology: the theory and practice of ‘*pragmata*’. Encompassing the richness of the old Greek meaning of the term, *pragmata* are ‘things’, but also, ‘deeds’, ‘acts’ (things done), ‘doings’, ‘circumstances’ (encounters), ‘contested matters’, ‘duties’, or ‘obligations’. The verb at the root of *pragmata* is *prattein*, to act in the material world, engaged with things. This is cognate with making as poetics (the Greek root is *poiein*) — a creative component to practice generally. Here I emphasize the care archaeologists, heritage managers, and many others have for pasts-in-the-present, a loyalty to *ta archaia* (a root of ‘archaeology’), literally translated as ‘old things’. Remnants, vestiges, monuments, artifacts hold memories which we attentively piece together with, typically, an aspiration to fidelity and authenticity. Of course, *archaia* demand a particular orientation, both practical and imaginative. To regard old things of archaeological and heritage interest as *pragmata* reminds us of the primacy of engaging with things, that many others are drawn to these matters in different ways, in different (performed) engagements or encounters, and so may even constitute them as different things, because *pragmata* do not stand on their own—they become **what they are through our relationships with them**. This constitutive importance of particular engagements with the past, as the past comes to be what it is through our actions upon it, means that there is no definitive end to the past. The past lives on in our relationships with what remains, and so there is always more to be said and done. The challenge is to meet things, the past, halfway, in our future-oriented archaeological projects to make something of what remains.

I have commented that performance is project design—scenographically and dramaturgically assembling and arranging agents, props, architectures, and events, in relation to scripts, precedents, styles, ideologies, sets of skills and techniques, and with regard to intention, affect and effect. Pragmatology includes such design processes. Working on what remains: this is a field of design. I return to the question I just raised: What form should heritage management practices take? An answer is: Design practice. A detailed exposition of design practice is not really necessary here, because the way I have described archaeology and performance, with an emphasis upon process, is in fact as design pragmatics. I am just calling them what they are. Nevertheless I offer a few comments as summary and to point to connections so fertile they offer considerable potential for addressing the concerns of heritage management.

In the Hasso Plattner Institute of Design, where I teach, we pursue ‘design thinking’ (Brown 2009). This is our shorthand for a distillation of *human-centered design*, that approach to industrial and product design that began in the 1960s to give less priority to styling (the look of a product) and more to the way artifacts relate to people’s physiological needs, experiences, emotions, dreams and desires—interaction and experience design. It is well described as a *pragmatics*, and in architecture and product design this is highly professional and refined, having close connections, as I have tried to show, with contemporary arts practice.

Let’s begin *in medias res* with a design challenge or brief. Here, imagine it is a local archaeological museum. Research the context—ethnographically, or by whatever appropriate means, with an eclectic research methodology that aims to establish deep, empathic insight into needs and desires of clients, constituencies, and communities. Define the problem/need/desire, or else redefine—building a museum may not be the solution to local circumstances and points of view. Make this definition design actionable, something that can be addressed by a service, a product, an experience, something made or assembled. Ideate: generate ideas and possible solutions to the challenge/brief—perhaps enhanced support for a local history society may be just what is needed. Choose some of these ideas for prototyping: material models/mock-ups that can be shared, showing possible solutions, not specifying a definitive answer. Show, rather than tell. Share these models, test them out with people to see how they work, or not—evaluate. Perhaps it emerges that what really is at stake is demographic in character—a disjunction between the attitudes to the local past of younger and older generations. Repeat/iterate with another prototype. Build when force of circumstance dictates (depending on feasibility of technology and resources, practical and economic viability). Be aware that any ‘solution’ is provisional.

In all of this process there is rich and flexible interplay between action, inscription and description, research and theory, fabrication and display, with agents, witnesses and audiences, experts and users constantly exchanging roles in collaborative co-creating teams or communities that recognize little hierarchical structure. Such design thinking

connects with what I have outlined as *agile management* (Shanks 2007). This pragmatics is about informed intervention under a tactical attitude, performative remix and assemblage, post-disciplinary, because it freely can combine scientific research and expressive arts, and located in specific encounters between past and present. There is both ambition to make a difference and contribute to well-being, as well as a humility that stands by work done while recognizing how provisional that work always is.

I suggest that here we have a way of practically carrying the insights afforded by performance art, ideology critique, archaeological theory, and critical heritage studies into heritage management strategies and structures, making these points about the ontology of the past actionable.

I end with that anxiety of allure with which I began. There is no need to be puritanically correct. Just be mindful. We are thrown into a wonderful mix of past and present. Look, appreciate, address your own reaction—and listen to my words: ‘Let me tell you something about Hadrian’s Wall ...’



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I am profoundly grateful to The Reinwardt Academy for this opportunity to share some of my ideas about this most important of contemporary concerns—our relationship with the past. Riemer Knoop has been wonderfully helpful in bringing it all off, sensitive and smart in his guidance and editing. In a lecture such as this I can never do adequate justice to the work which lies behind my own. I have made some reference mainly to my own writing to provide a means for those interested to follow up and explore work that has inspired and informed my own. Particular mention nevertheless has to be made of Cliff McLucas and members of theatre company Brith Gof whose superlative site-specific performance practice can never receive enough recognition, and above all to Mike Pearson, the most profound presence in my archaeology now for twenty years. I hope that the personal family and community dimension to my case for heritage design is very evident. In this regard I have been so fortunate in exploring pasts-in-presents with Helen, Molly and Benjamin Shanks, together with wider family and friends, and several labrador retrievers. Such is surely the ultimate significance of our explorations of heritage.

About Michael Shanks

Michael Shanks (Newcastle, 1959) is generally considered one of the most important innovators in the field of archaeology. His position is that archaeologists not so much discover the past but rather work on what remains, with a view to the present and the future.

Michael's work bridges the arts, design and heritage. His research expertise in Greco-Roman art and urban life in the Mediterranean and Roman provinces is a fulcrum in his explorations of design history, material culture studies, regional archaeology (the English-Scottish borders), and eighteenth-century antiquarianism and connoisseurship. He is currently focused on the role of co-creation in digital media and the humanities, while experimenting with new approaches to archives, visual media and the performing arts.

Michael is a Professor at Stanford University, a faculty member of the Hasso Plattner Institute of Design, and a CoDirector of the Revs Program, connecting automotive heritage with contemporary car design in the Center for Automotive Research at Stanford.



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chorography	(Greek, “place” + “writing”) is a term deriving from the writings of the ancient geographers Pomponius Mela and Ptolemy, meaning the geographical description of regions. However, its resonances have varied at different times. Some state that “chorography defines itself by opposition to chronicle. It is the genre devoted to place, and chronicle is the genre devoted to time”. Other prefer a broad definition of “the representation of space or place”.
chronotope	(from Greek, “time” and “space”) a term coined by Mikhail Bakhtin in 1937 to describe: indicate the way time and space are described by language, and, in particular, how literature represents them.
eidetic	(from Greek, “image”) usually in connection with memory, commonly referred to as photographic memory or total recall, is a psychological or medical term, popularly defined as the ability to recall images, sounds or objects in memory with extreme precision.
haecceity	(Latin, “thisness”) is a term from medieval philosophy. First coined by Duns Scotus (1266-1308), denoting the discrete qualities, properties or characteristics of something which make it a particular, specific thing.
heterotopia	is a concept in human geography elaborated by philosopher Michel Foucault (1926-1984) to describe places and spaces that function in non-hegemonic conditions. These are spaces of <i>otherness</i> , which are neither here nor there, that are simultaneously physical and mental, such as the space of a phone call or the moment when you see yourself in the mirror.
kairos	(Greek, “time”), the right, opportune or supreme moment. The ancient Greeks had two words for time, <i>chronos</i> and <i>kairos</i> . While the former refers to chronological or sequential time, the latter signifies a time between, a moment of indeterminate time in which something special happens. What the special something is depends on who is using the word. While <i>chronos</i> is quantitative, <i>kairos</i> has a qualitative nature.
katachresis	(Greek, “abuse”) is used for an often intentional misapplication of a word, especially in a mixed metaphor. Another meaning is to use an existing word to denote something that has no name in the current language.
ludic	esp. interface: in human-machine interaction, Ludic Interfaces is the name for a new discipline focusing on playful types of user interfaces. The notion of “homo ludens”, introduced by Dutch anthropologist Johan Huizinga, is its conceptual backbone. The tools and concepts differ from traditional technological systems in that they are playful, user-generated, flexible, low-cost and cooperative.

mnemonics	(from the Greek), is a learning technique that aids information retention. Mnemonics aim to translate information into a form that the human brain can retain better than its original form. Commonly encountered mnemonics are short poems, acronyms, or memorable phrases. Their use is based on the observation that the human mind more easily remembers spatial, personal, surprising, physical, sexual, humorous, or otherwise ‘relatable’ information, rather than more abstract or impersonal forms of information.
Ossian	the narrator and purported author of a cycle of epic poems published by Scottish poet James McPherson in 1760. McPherson claimed to have collected word-of-mouth material in the Gaelic language said to be from ancient sources, and that the work was his translation of that material. Ossian is based on Oisín, son of Finn, a character from Irish mythology. Contemporary critics were divided in their view of the work’s authenticity, but the consensus since is that McPherson framed the poems himself.
pragmatology	[source: HumanitiesLab, Stanford] is an approach to reveal the action of things (human and nonhuman), a criterion for understanding our relations in the world: what work, what action is done. It is opposed to <i>pragmatism</i> , which is a way of knowing the world through effects/action. Pragmatology, by contrast, understands it not by reductionism, by breaking phenomena/events into constituents, reifying conceptual categories (modernist) and placing causality in a ‘chain of effects’, but by specifying the action achieved, knowing what work by collectives has been done.
quiddity	(Latin, “whatness”), a term used in scholastic philosophy for the essence of an object, literally “what it is.” It describes properties that a particular substance (e.g. a person) shares with others of its kind. <i>Quiddity</i> was often contrasted with the <i>haecceity</i> or “thisness” of an item, which was supposed to be a positive characteristic of an individual that caused it to be this individual, and no other.
rhizomatic	In botany, a rhizome (from Greek, “mass of roots”) is a modified subterranean stem of a plant, often sending out roots and shoots from its nodes. In philosophy, the term is used to describe theory and research that allows for multiple, non-hierarchical entry and exit points in data representation and interpretation. It is opposed to conceptions of knowledge which work with dualist categories and binary choices.
synecdoche	(Greek, “simultaneous understanding”) is a figure of speech in which a term for a part of something is used to refer to the whole, or vice-versa. Most often, it is used as <i>pars pro toto</i> , or <i>totum pro parte</i> .

Colophon

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Reinwardt Academy

The Reinwardt Academy (1976) is a faculty of the Amsterdam School of the Arts, which comprises six faculties and a total of 3,500 students. The faculty's aim is to prepare students to become all-round professionals in the field of cultural heritage.

The Bachelor's programme, followed by some 500 students in four years, is a Dutch-taught, skills-based programme with a practical orientation.

The 18-months International Master's Degree programme, in which some 20 students enrol annually, is fully taught in English and offers graduates a multi-faceted training, aimed at providing an academic and professional attitude towards museology and the rapidly changing museum and heritage fields. The graduates are prepared for leadership and policy-making positions within heritage organizations, museums and elsewhere in the cultural sector, all over the world. From its very beginning in 1994, the Reinwardt Master Programme has been among the internationally most respected vocational trainings of its kind.

The Memorial Lectures

The Reinwardt Academy annually commemorates the birthday of its namesake, Caspar Reinwardt, with a public memorial lecture, held by distinguished scholars in the field of the academy's disciplines. Caspar Georg Carl Reinwardt (3 June, 1773 – 6 March, 1854) was a Prussian-born Dutch botanist, founder and first director of agriculture of the royal botanic garden at Bogor (Buitenzorg) on Java, Indonesia. An early receiver of honorary doctorates in philosophy and medicine, he later became professor of natural philosophy at the University of Leiden (1823 to 1845).

www.reinwardtacademie.nl

The Amsterdam School of the Arts

The Amsterdam School of the Arts (AHK) offers training in almost every branch of the arts, including courses which are unique in the Netherlands. The AHK is continually developing and is now proud to occupy a prominent place in education, the arts and cultural life, both nationally and internationally. The school benefits from exchanges with and close proximity to the artistic life of the capital – including theatres, museums, galleries, and studios. The departments include the Academy of Fine Arts in Education; the Academy of Architecture; Dutch Film and Television Academy; the Theatre School; and the Amsterdam Conservatory.

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