2 THEATRE AND ARCHAEOLOGY

It is as if something that seemed inalienable to us, the securest among our possessions, were taken from us: the ability to exchange experiences.

<div align="right">(Benjamin 1992: 83)</div>

In the second phase of encounter, what we have termed 'Theatre and archaeology', attention moves to two issues of mutual interest: the re-enactment and representation of the past at interpretive centres and heritage sites and the detection of ancient performative practices.

First, re-enactment. It may be that the archaeological imagination constitutes a kind of dramaturgy. The archaeologist may resemble writer, choreographer, director in organising, in meaningful ways, the motives, behaviours and actions of anonymous, indeed fictional, individuals within bounded analytical spaces, be they site ground-plans or landscapes. A metaphor too far perhaps but certainly as soon as archaeologists and cultural resource managers begin to replicate, reconstruct, represent and restage the past, then they invariably employ the scenographic devices and dramatic techniques of theatrical practice. And for some of us at least these are not unprob- lematic. Consider some sites of English Heritage or those like the outdoor museum of prehistoric life at Lejre in Denmark or the historical reconstructions at Colonial Williamsburg in the United States. They use interpretive agents, actors, normative techniques such as characterisation,. impersonation and plot to re-create supposedly authentic images of the past. Are their fictions created any more truthful than 'the creation of industrial man and woman by Prometheus, Hephaestus and Frankenstein' at the disused British Coal Foundry in Tredegar in Brith Gof's site- specific work *Haearn?* (McLucas and Pearson 1996: 220ff.) Surely the only distinction between nominated heritage sites and such semi-derelict industrial buildings is one of definition. But the techniques developed in such apparently valueless places may serve to suggest animations of historical locations which can juxtapose varying orders of dramatic material, contemporary and historical, documentary and fictive, without monopolising interpretation, without suggesting 'this is exactly how it was'.

Second, performance in the past. One of the principal ambitions of interdisciplinary approaches to performance and the past must surely be the discernment of performed behaviours in antiquity. Encouragingly, archaeologists, particularly of prehistory, are beginning to employ the terminology of theatre - staging, backdrop, audience - in other than metaphorical terms ('social actors' (Giddens 1984: 281-5); 'academic audience') and to identify those occasions and locales where performance is more or less likely. Consider, for instance, architectures such as the stone and timber avenues, circles and chambered tombs of neolithic and bronze age Britain (Barrett 1994:

17-18). Barrett comments that 'the history of southern British mortuary rituals could now be seen as progressive attempts to make some of these rituals increasingly effective media for display. This would have demanded more than the simple use of exotica for burial with the corpse, requiring instead a more public staging of the ritual process' (ibid.: 186). Thomas comes closer to distinguishing performative activities in his examination of early Bronze Age funerals, suggesting that 'the intended reading of the dead person was made by the audience within the temporarily restricted conditions of the funeral' with 'the large pit acting as a stage for its display' (Thomas 1991 a: 34). Both Barrett and Thomas employ the term 'display', a notion close to that of showing. or *ostension,* 'the most basic instance of performance' (Eco 1977: 110 cited in Elam 1980: 29-30). Both imply the presence of two orders of participant, the watchers and the (albeit dead) watched, orders fundamental to the contract of performance. If we accept these initial perceptions, then an examination of contemporary performance theory and practice might reveal a number of attributes to further extend and elaborate the description of prehistoric funerary procedures. We do this in this chapter.

There are two further premises. The first is that performance is not restricted to any such social or cultural locale as a theatre or ritual. The performative is a dimension of social practice. This takes us on from the field of theatre anthropology which has defined cross-culturally the range and variety of performed practices. Relevant also is the theory of performativity (most frequently associated with the work of Judith Butler; see e.g. 1990, 1994, 1997), that performative behaviour or utterance is not primarily about an extra-linguistic or underlying reality, but enacts that to which it refers. In such anti-essentialism, gender, for example, can be described as performance, as both a 'doing and a thing done' (Diamond 1996:1); the ego or 'I' has no core identity, yet enunciates and acts as itself. Performance both affirms and denies this evacuation of core substance and identity in the coexisting reality and pretence. The concept of performance, under this broad definition, can be used to help understand past societies and contemporary archaeological practices.

The second premise is that archaeology is more than the recovery and examination of the material remains of societies and cultures. The archaeological is held to be a dimension of social practice, referring to the articulation of people and things and the material processes they undergo and witness. In particular the archaeological concerns the material presence of the past.

This chapter deals with the articulation of these two concepts or conditions - the performative and the archaeological. Its trajectory (overly) concentrates upon violence, warfare and death because the traces these phenomena leave - material, physical, psychological - are (overly) explicit.

The cyborg from archaic Greece to postmodernity: dramaturgies of sovereignty

Cyborgs

A fusion of flesh and mechanism, person and artefact combined. Genetic modifications, implants, microtechnologies; Utopias and dystopias; the ethics of changing selves, of self-creation; avatar and other: the figure of the cyborg has come to haunt us.

In this section I turn to an ancient Greek perfume jar as a way of approaching some past and contemporary performative behaviours, and then to raise questions of the articulation of performer and their accoutrements, of the status and character of the social actor. The subject is ultimately the social fabric.

Figures upon an ancient perfume jar laid down with the dead

Consider the *aryballos,* the perfume jar in Figure 5. It is from Brindisi in southern Italy, though made in Korinth in Greece in the seventh century BC, a time of experiments in political forms, expansion of that Greek polity, the city-state. This *polis* was at the forefront of changes, with new architectures, new cityscapes, redefinitions of public and private spaces, representational arts (as here); new forms of regularised warfare accompanied a shift from kin-based community to what became in some places a civil society of the state citizen.

Korinthian pots depict the new phalanx of men (Salmon 1977), the hoplite citizenry of the *polis,* featured in a rich figurative art of stylised animal and human bodies and vegetal and floral forms. Perfume jars and soldiery travelled abroad: men as mercenaries, the hoplite phalanx as efficient military technology, the *aryballoi* to be laid down with the dead or to be dedicated to divinities in the new public sanctuaries.

Here in a painted scene two heavily armed and armoured soldiers, the new hoplites, do battle, face to face. Their coupling is mirrored in a lion attacking a deer, a phallic and naked male assaulting a robed female figure, and two monsters, eastern sphinxes of male and female

Figure 5
A seventh-century
Korinthian *aryballos*
from Brindisi
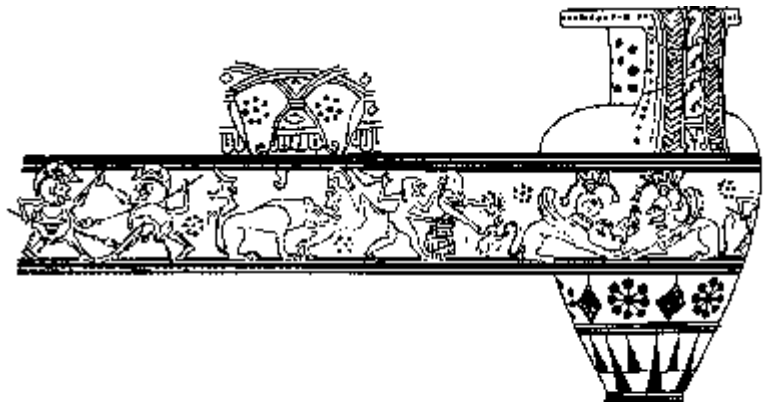
sex. All this is beneath a field of stylised flowers, eastern lotus and palmette. The shape of the jar mirrors the canopic jars of Egypt, vessels containing the innards of embalmed dead.

Iron Man and Bodyhammer

Tetsuo: two movies by Shinya Tsukamoto (Kaijyu Theatre/Toshiba EMI 1989 and 1991). They are violent and surreal fantasies of body transformations.

Tetsuo 1: Iron Man, is a broken narrative and collage about the confrontation and ultimate merging of a metal fetishist and a businessman. It begins with a bleak industrial wasteland and the fetishist - in a scrap metal hideaway he inserts a steel bar into his thigh. After accidentally knocking down the fetishist with his car (and with flashbacks of some guilty sexual encounter), the businessman is infected by his electric shaver. Pursued by a metal-mutating female, he is forced to react to the threat and becomes metal himself. Hard and unfeeling, through dreams of homosexual rape and an amazon mutant woman, he destroys his wife in a bizarre and machinic sexual encounter. The denouement is a homoerotic merging of the businessman with the fetishist, who has turned out to be the businessman's *alter ego;* together they become a monster, part machine, part inert material, part organism.

Tetsuo 2: Bodyhammer, is a reiteration of the same themes. A respectable businessman" takes on an underground sect of muscle and metal fetishists who are experimenting with body mutation, body sculpture, and have threatened his secure nuclear family. The businessman's *alter ego* this time is a charismatic, semi-divine figure in touch with a world of otherness, who turns men to metal through injected infection. Their encounter is one of bodies turned into explosive weapons and gunnery, blowing holes through armoured bodies.

Full Metal Jacket

Full Metal Jacket: a film by Stanley Kubrick and Warner Bothers (1987), after the novel *The Short-timers* by Gustav Hasford. It sounds like armour, but the title is in fact a reference to the live ammunition round of a US Marine. The theme is the initiation of American youth into Vietnam. But this is no formulaic treatment. As in some of his other films, such as *Clockwork*

Figure 6
Tetsuo

Orange (1971), **The Shining (1979),** *Dr Strangelove* (1963), Kubrick continues his exploration of the monstrous alliance of psychic independence and excess.

The first half is set in the recruit depot and follows eight weeks of standard training The film opens with hair cutting - this is to be about the body. The Senior Drill Instructor (not an actor but a professional soldier who started out as adviser to the film) meets the recruits He is hard, he tells them. They are ladies, filthy, low-life, worms, nothing, puke, amphibian shit slime.   '

> If you ladies leave my island, if you survive recruit training ... you will be a weapon
> you will be a minister of death, praying for war. But until that day you are pukes!
> You're the lowest form of life on Earth. You are not even human fucking beings! You
> are nothing but unorganised grabasstic pieces of amphibian shit!'

Lawrence Leonard is Private Pile. He can't learn. He can't change into what he is supposed to become. He is too soft and too fat. He brings down the squad, the collective group of recruits He slips and falls in the mud on the assault course. They beat him up with towels and soap in the night.

Private Pile gets serious. He becomes Section Eight-a nutcase, compartmentalised mad. He is born-again hard. He shoots the Drill Instructor, showing that *he* is not hard after all Then he shoots himself, in the latrines: 'I am in a world of shit.'

The recruits are now soldiers. Their weapons are their girls. They keep them clean The recruits are married to the iron and the wood, ready to eat their own guts. They are off to Vietnam, a foreign and exotic locale. They meet with violence and prostitutes, war and women

The life is one of horrifying violence. Bodies and minds explode. Cornered by a sniper the marines break out and sneak up to find they were being shot by a young girl, an amazon Vietcong. Joker and Animal Mother stand over the wounded sniper, debating what to do. She asks to be shot. Joker looks into her eyes and jerks the trigger.

Figure 7
Full Metal Jacket

Figure 8
Archaic Korinthian
helmet from Olympia

THEATRE/ARCHAEOLOGY

Eyes upon a helmet

Let us turn again to two of the figures upon the perfume jar and their archaic Greek world of citizen soldiers - *hoplites.* Heavily armed, they fought for their community in formation. What was this warfare about?

We begin with an oblique view - the eyes of a helmet. A late-eighth-century BC grave found in Argos, excavated in 1971, contained a bronze helmet, typical accoutrement of the soldier. Those soldiers upon the perfume jar are looking at each other through their helmets. This helmet from Argos has two extra eyes embossed on the forehead (Deilaki 1973: 97-9 and Plate 95e). The returned gaze of the opponent is an experience of close battle. Phalanx formations clashing in combat involve a particular perception of individual and group. The hoplite is one of a formation phalanx, moving and fighting with fellow hoplites. Individual urges and actions are dominated and transformed by the needs of the phalanx to keep together and push forward; the individual becomes one of the group. Anonymous within helmet and armour, the hoplite in phalanx achieves human and direct contact with the enemy through the eyes; the moment of individual contact is that of the returned gaze of the enemy over the top of shields locked with fellow hoplites.

More generally let us say that the gaze returned mirror-like is also a confirmation of the self of the viewer, a self defined in terms of the world looking back (Lacan 1977 on the 'mirror phase'). And if we might wish to belong with that world, then the eyes are those of desire, another experience of the returned gaze.

Violence, desire and sexuality

Eyes meet, and the soldier is confronted with the seducer who has tempted him so long. The enemy surfaces as a momentary apparition of the soldier's own mirror image', Theweleit writes in his discussion of the psychology of the warrior male in inter-war Germany (1989: 195). The returned gaze is also erotic.

For Greece in the ninth-century days of Homer, Vernant (1991c: 100) draws attention to the description in the *Iliad* (22.373-4) of Hektor's dead body, stripped of armour. It was *malakoteros amphaphaasthai* (softer to handle) - *malakos* (soft or limp) refers to the feminine or the effeminate. Vernant relates the image to a series of terms found in early Greek literature which associate combat to the death with the erotic embrace: for example, in Homer *meignumi,* sexual union, also means joining in battle (see also Vermeule 1979: 101f.).

Rene Girard has presented an analysis of violence and desire in Greek literature. Violence may be rooted in rivalry based upon opponents sharing a desire for something (1977: 145). An association between sexuality and violence also exists through their respective dual characters and through notions of exchange and sacrifice. So violence is both terrifying *and* seductive (ibid.: 151). When purified through ritual, violence expends itself upon a victim whose death provokes no reprisals, no bloodfeud. It is as in the ritual violence of sacrifice, an exchange (of a slaughtered victim) to achieve order (between mortality and divinity). Such good violence is contained and ordered; distinctions between self and other, differences within and between

Figure 10
Gorgo, from a black
figure *dinos*

The face, death and personal identity

Here then is an **assemblage** of cultural forms, scenarios and meanings which takes us from battle and the gaze through faces, panthers, violence, seduction, marriage, social order and disorder, and recognition of what the viewer may be and become. What, now, of those other faces, gorgon heads? An immediate connection is that they appear upon pots and as shield devices, but it goes much further. Vernant (1991b), following literary references, shows associations between gorgon heads and martial themes, in these strange gorgon worlds beyond the everyday there are horses, brilliant gazes, death, infernal sounds. Grimacing, human yet inhuman, the gorgoneion is a mixture, revealing the alterity of human and animal. It was associated with marginal states such as death, sleep, exertion, drinking and music (Frontisi-Ducroux 1984). Gorgo was also, of course, female. When you stared into the eyes of the gorgon you turned to stone. Disquieting mixture and disorder,

> the face of Gorgo is the other, your double. It is the strange . . . both less and more than yourself ... It represents in its grimace the terrifying horror of a radical otherness with which you yourself will be identified as you are turned to stone.
>
> (Vernant 1991b: 138)

Deleuze and Guattari (1988: 168f.) have made an interesting distinction between the head and the face. The head, not necessarily a face, is connected to the body, is coded by the body in that it completes the organism. In contrast, a face is when a head ceases to be part of an organic body; the face removes the head from the stratum of the organism, human or animal, and connects it to other strata, such as signification and subjectification' (ibid.: 172). Faces, or

social groups are established and maintained. This is generative violence, directed against an other who may be a scapegoat, a surrogate victim, expelled in a return to differentiated harmony. Bad impure violence, in contrast, is that which results from a crisis of distinctions, as in fraternal enmity; it is a sacrificial crisis, when purity is ignored or not possible (ibid.: 43, 51). The dangers of sexuality are incest and seduction which confuse the distinctions and order of (legal) sexual association, involving impurity and mixture. Marriage, in contrast, is a legal exchange of women which serves the reproduction of social order. In the terminology of Deleuze and Guattari (1988) which we will introduce again later, the contrasts are between molar and molecular fields of order and contagion.

The perfume of panthers

> *then the rage tripled and took hold of him, just like a lion.*
> (Homer, *Iliad5.13b*)

Violence, warfare and violent animals are a major feature of the new representational and figurative ceramic art, like this perfume jar in Figure 9. Martial themes of fighting hoplites accompany animal friezes of stylised lions - boars, bulls, goats, deer - mixed with monstrous recombinations of animal parts - sphinxes, griffons and the like. In the works of Homer, a favourite metaphor of the soldier hero is the lion.

In these scenes the creatures and men run in rings around vessels and look at each other, following a line of sight across the surface of the pot. Only panthers and gorgon heads look out from the painted friezes of perfume jars.

Detienne (1979: 38f.) has noted that panthers were later thought to be animals which hunt with cunning and through their scent or perfume which attracts their prey. Deceit and seduction are thus related. Perfumes and spices are of the order of the gods, belonging with sacrifice (the scent of burning meat), and so heat. As aphrodisiacs, perfumes arouse and heat the seduced, their sexuality and excess threatening the order of marriage (ibid.: 60f., 127f.).

Figure 9
A panther upon an *aryballos*

THEATRE/ARCHAEOLOGY

Some dimensions of a culture of war: an aesthetics of risk taken and death faced

Let me widen out from these aspects of the facial encounter in hoplite battle.

> *Glaukos, why is it that you and I are honoured before the others,*
> *with pride of place, with choice meats and the wine-cups of Lykia*
> *filled to the brim, and all men look on us as if we were immortal?*
> *It is our duty to take our stand in the front line of the Lykians,*
> *to bear our part of the blazing of battle, so that a Lykian man,*
> *fighting close-armoured with us, may say:*
> *'Indeed, these are noble men* [kleos], *these lords of Lykia,*
> *these kings of ours . . . - there is strength and valour in them,*
> *since they fight in the front line of the Lykians'*
>
> (Homer, *Iliad* 12.310-21)

For Homer, the god-like fighting aristocrat, the *agathos,* owed his position and its accoutrement to prowess in battle. And this meant that success mattered, action not intention: good intentions matter not to the dead soldier. The compensation for the risk of the front line was *kudos,* success and its glory, the prestige and authority of the victor, and *kleos,* fame. This makes the culture of the hero a public one of shame and results, not inward intention and guilt. The Homeric conception of man is one where man and action are identical, and there are no hidden depths to the person; the hero is what others see and say of him. With no boundaries between feeling and corporeal existence and action,

> he does not confront an outside world with a different inner selfhood, but is interpenetrated by the whole, just as he on his part by his action and indeed by his suffering penetrates the whole event. . . Even what a man does to others is part of himself.
>
> (Frankel 1975: 80, 85)

The hero clearly enjoys physical pleasures - food, wine, sex, sleep and festivity, even melancholy {*Iliad* 13.636-9; *Odyssey* 4.102-3). But in such an external selfhood the meaning of the act, indeed existence, lies in death and its confrontation. When fame and existence depend upon being talked about (and having deeds done sung in poetry), real death is silence, obscurity and amnesia. So the hero risks his life in the front ranks; 'life for him has no other horizon than death in combat

> . . . In a beautiful death, excellence no longer has to be measured indefinitely against others and keep proving itself in confrontation; it is realised at one stroke and forever in the exploit that puts an end to the life of the hero.'
>
> (Vernant 1991c: 85)

rather the process of facialisation, do away with corporeal co-ordinates to replace them with a system of plane and holes - the face and expression, just as in a bronze helmet. 'The face is not universal' (ibid.: 176), but depends on an *abstract* system or 'machine' of screen and holes, and which signifies, goes with the idea of, a subject to and behind the face, and forms a different medium of expression. In contrast, the head belongs with the body, corporeality and *animality.* This contrast between animal head and abstract face makes it possible for Deleuze and Guattari to write 'the inhuman in the human: that is what the face is from the start' (ibid.: 171). The face provides an overarching layer of identity or expression, and in so doing makes, reference beyond that which is the human or animal.

We mention again the context of physical violence in Greek battle: the individual apparently anonymous in standardised armour, bronze protecting his soft vitals, presenting a formalised head of bronze sheet pierced by eye sockets and slashed down across the mouth.

Do we see the other in the eyes? Face to face across the tops of wide round shields, threat-ening with spear tip. A drilled, disciplined and armoured body was the hoplite's protection. The hoplite is held together by the talismans of his identity, the armour and weaponry, which makes him the same as the others. Identity is found in stylisation, in the phalanx as multi-bodied individual: the unity of the group. It is challenged in the threats, real and conceptual, to the" integrity of the body. But think of the aftermath; finding the dead after the battle. Spear thrusts were made below the shield: facial injury across shield top was common, and bodies were bloated from being left after battle, disfigured, cooked in bronze armour by the heat of Greek summer sun. How would you find your son?

Korshak (1987) has collected and examined examples of frontal faces in archaic Attic vase painting, from a little later than this *aryballos* from seventh-century Korinth. The subjects who gaze out from the vases are satyrs, gorgons, dancers and partying *symposiasts,* fighters defeated or dying, athletes, centaurs. All are predominantly masculine; and female examples occur only later. Masculinity is hereby related with sexuality and animality (the satyrs), death, the body and lifestyle, through faciality. Korshak associates satyrs, gorgons and *symposiasts* via masks (in drama), eastern and exotic god Dionysos as patron of drama and wine, and she makes a further association between masks and helmets. In summary, these all represent 'the coming together of opposites in frontality', that is, occasions 'when governance of the self is relinquished and nature takes hold' (ibid.: 23-4). Vernant and Frontisi-Ducroux (1983) have also noted connections between masks, the gorgoneion, Dionysos, drink and states of 'otherness', adding also references to virgin huntress Artemis and the animal world.

In sum so far: the face breaks the easy order of human and animal, mediating and pointing beyond to identity, death and desire, states of 'otherness'. In all there is a tension between securely categorised identity and an uneasiness associated with marginal states. Looking at the panther draws in animality, violence and warfare. And in hoplite warfare are associated the face, the helmet, the individual in the group, an armoured individual overcoded by the phalanx-group and the system of heavy armour. This is a gendered field, and one of power and violence.

And what more of hoplite battle? There is the aesthetics of heroic death; there was an aesthetics to the art of hoplite war.

In short, anyone who paid attention to the poetry of Sparta . . . and examined the marching rhythms they used when going against the enemy to pipe accompaniment, would decide that Terpander and Pindar were quite right to associate valour with music. The former says of Sparta:

There the spear of young men blooms and flourishes and the clear-voiced Muse and Justice (Dike) too, that helper in fine deeds, who walks in the wide streets.

<div align="right">(Plutarch Lykourgos 21.4s; Terpander Bergk 6, Diehi 4 in Campbell 1982-93)</div>

War, display and the body

There is the display of armour, crests and shields. Vernant (1982) has written of the ceremonial, ritualised, performative character of early hoplite warfare (see also Connor 1988). The fighting formation moved rhythmically. Pipers accompanied phalanxes: this is known from illustration upon Korinthian pots. Henderson (1994: 109-10) has connected war and dance in his interpretation of a Tyrrhenian neck amphora of the early-mid-sixth century.

The Korinthian helmet, a favourite design, had particular effect upon the look and experience of its wearer (Figure 8). We have already discussed eyes and the gaze of the enemy. Consider also body armour. Muscled bronze torsos harden the hoplite against the spilling of blood and intestines, but follow the contours of the human body (however idealised). A widespread convention of Greek art is furthered when the hoplites appear naked apart from their armour and weapons. Other figures too are drawn naked. Why is this, if not because war and violence are a function of the **body** of these men, its aesthetic and politics?

Let *him fight toe to toe and shield against shield hard-driven rest aginst crest and helmet on helmet, chest against chest.*

<div align="right">(Tyrtaios (West 1992)11.31-3)</div>

to fall to work upon the paunch, to hurl belly against belly, thighs to thighs.

<div align="right">(Archilochos (West 1992) 119)</div>

And Archilochos is writing about sex.

Fighting in formation in this warfare required discipline, rhythmic movement, trained manipulation of weaponry - the cultivation of distinctive techniques of the body. These techniques of the body and the bodily lifeworld of archaic violence are clear also in early lyric poetry. There is much reference to discipline and posture:

You, young men, keep together, hold the line.

<div align="right">(Tyrtaios (West 1992) 10.15, translation West 1993)</div>

Make your hearts strong, for you are the race of the never-defeated Herakles - and Zeus does not stand with his neck held askew.

<div align="right">(Tyrtaios (West 1992: 11.1-2))</div>

And the heroes in Homer do not have lingering deaths.

Vernant (1991a) establishes links in this system of archaic values between excellence achieved, a beautiful death, and imperishable glory through the song which remembers and celebrates the death, in a sort of collective memory. The beautiful death is also an escape from the death associated with ageing. Old age, evil and death are contrasted by seventh-century poet Mimnermos with love and pleasure, the 'flowers of youth' (West 1992: 1). Ageing only brings decay, a loss of the *kratos* or power that allows the hero to dominate an opponent, misery and an ignoble death. So at the moment of *euklees thanatos,* the glorious death, the hero guarantees his immortal and heroic youth. The *hebes anthos,* flower of youth, is not so much a chronological age, but an attribute of the glorious death; the hero's hebe goes with his position and standing, his *aristeia,* and an heroic death is always youthful.

> *it is disgraceful this - an old man falling*
> *in the front line while the young hold back,*
> *his head already white, grizzled beard,*
> *gasping out his valiant breath in the dust,*
> *his bloodied genitals in hand-*
> *this is shameful* (aischra) *to the eyes, scandalous to see,*
> *his skin stripped bare.*
> *But for the young man, still in the lovely flower of youth* (hebes anthos),
> *it is all brilliant, this -*
> *alive he draws men's eyes and women's hearts,*
> *beautiful - felled in the front line.*
>
> (Tyrtaios (West 1992: 10.21-30); see also Iliad 22.71-6)

Here Tyrtaios, another seventh-century writer, describes the awful and disgraceful *(aischra).* death of an old man. Yet this would have been glorious and beautiful for a young man. There is an aesthetics to the death of the hero (Loraux 1975, 1986; Vernant 1991a).

The beautiful death, as well as being contrasted with that of the old man, is marred by various things (Vernant 1991a: 67f.). This is *aikia* (disgrace) - dirt, disfigurement, dismemberment, the dogs, birds and fish, worms and rot which eat and spoil the corpse, deprive it of its wholeness, integrity, beauty. These all threaten the proper securing of the beautiful death: the purifying funeral pyre which sends the *hebes anthos* off to eternity, retaining the corpse's unity and beauty, and the burial mound raised in his memory.

The work of Victor Hanson and others (Hanson 1990, 1991; after Keegan 1976), presenting a phenomenology of ancient war, reminds us of the most simple fact, that archaic Greek warfare was based upon a particular conception of battle as direct and formal confrontation, face to face with long thrusting spears in a short decisive encounter, with risk of bloody wounding and death across the tops and below the rims of the round hoplite shield - the faces we have discussed, and the old man in Tyrtaios. War was not about drawn out, cowardly 'terrorism' or guerrilla tactics at a distance. Risk was heightened and blood proliferated, at least in the front ranks. (Alternative experiences of war and battle are neatly summarised in Keegan 1993.)

Tetragonon (foursquare) is reference to *tetractys,* a Pythagorean term of excellence and justice, root of harmony and *arete* (Frankel 1975: 276-7, 308). *Tetragonon* may also be connected to technique of manufacture: the method of sculpting *kouroi* is clear - separate views were sketched on the four faces of a block of stone prior to taking it down to the final form.

The relationship of these sculptures to aristocratic ideologies has been well covered by art historians. Stewart associates these expensive artistic commissions with the aristocracy and its ideals (Stewart 1986; also Zinserling 1975). As grave markers they were monuments to aristocratic excellence *(kalokagathia)* in the flower of youth *(hebes anthos).* Hurwitt puts it like this: 'The kouros and kore (female) forms were perpetuating symbols of the physical prowess, moral authority, goodness and beauty that aristocrats (naturally) considered innately aristocratic' (Hurwitt 1985: 198-9).

Further connections can be made between the anatomical detailing of *kouroi* and bronze armour (Kenfield 1973). Courbin noted (1957: 353 and Figure 37) a similar schematic of muscle on a famous bronze cuirass found in an eighth-century warrior's grave at Argos as on the Argive statue of Polymedes at the sanctuary of Apollo at Delphi. Kunze's study of archaic greaves at the pan-Hellenic sanctuary at Olympia (1991) shows clearly their 'artistic' credentials; they are not simply functional items. The detailing of the knee joint is common to both greaves and *kouroi* (Snodgrass 1991).

Movement, travel and the consumption of goods

Soldiers travelled. There is, for example, the famous graffiti scratched by some Greek mercenaries on the left leg of a colossal statue of Rameses II at Abu Simbel, 700 miles up the Nile. They were on an expedition in 591 BC (Austin and Vidal-Naquet 1977: 209). Korinthian pots, like the perfume jar in Figure 5, are found in graves and sanctuaries across the Mediterranean Greek world. The major archaeological provenance of archaic armour and weaponry is the sanctuaries of Greece. Recently much has been made of the factor of mobility in the archaic Mediterranean: mercenaries, traders, slaves and materials were moving (Purcell 1990; Sherratt and Sherratt 1991, 1993).

For archaeologist and historian De Polignac, religious sanctuaries in these times were rallying points, locales for the exchange of hospitality and alliances, like fairs (Gernet 1968). Games and dedication particularly made of them theatres of ostentation (De Polignac 1994: 17) with individual and inter-state rivalry a function of a loose clan structure. The import of goods, including eastern exotica, is a prominent feature of the mobility represented by sanctuaries, meeting points for local populations and those travelling from further afield. Catherine Morgan mentions the likelihood of itinerant craftsmen (Morgan 1990: 37). Local populations, Greeks and foreigners, sacred and profane goods and activities: the sanctuaries were connective locales for the meeting of different worlds. This may also be seen in the siting of the great pan-Hellenic sanctuaries (Delphi, Olympia, Isthmia and Nemea) in marginal areas between cities and states (Morgan 1993: 31).

The sanctuaries received gifts and pillage, but not all artefacts found in the sanctuaries are votive. There is considerable evidence for sacrifice and burning, cooking and eating from early

Figure 11
Argos cuirass

Figure 12
An archaic Greek *kouros*

The hoplite stands upright and straight in the line. Contrast the death of a monster:

> *Herakles shoots three-bodied Geryones in the head with an arrow:*
> *it stained with darkening blood*
> *his cuirass and gory limbs.*
> *Geryones bent his neck to one side*
> *just as a poppy spoiling its delicate structure*
> *suddenly lets drop its petals.*
>
> (Steisichoros (Davies 1991) S15ii.12-17)

An image from Archilochos is another reference to neck and bearing:

> *hair cut short, off the shoulder*
>
> (Archilochos (West 1992: 217))

Consider now early Greek sculpture: stone *kouroi,* male figures (Figure 12) (Richter 1970; Stewart 1990: 109-13, 122-6). These were set up as dedications to divinities and are found associated with graves. The *kouroi* are all in stiff poses. Why? It is clear that they are the desired appearance of the ideal male. And they are naked. But there is no experiment with bodily form. This artistic conservatism (Snodgrass 1980: 185) is a social requirement - there was no desire to sculpt *animated* naked males. They are made upright and hard, representing the valuation of a posture belonging with new and expressive techniques of the self and body. Simonides, a little later, has the *agathos,* the man of *arete* (virtue) hand and foot alike, and in understanding cut foursquare *(tetragonon),* fashioned without flaw (Page 1962: 542.1-3).

times onwards. At the Korinthian sanctuary to Poseidon at Isthmia 'the material record indicates that drinking and dining were the principal activities . . . emphasis seems to have been placed on communal dining rather than on the display of wealth, and no investment was made in building' (Morgan 1994: 113). Consensus is that communal dining was a significant part of archaic Greek cult activity (Tomlinson 1980, 1990; Kron 1988; Bergquist 1990).

Here then is a connection of mediation and travel between different worlds, real and meta-physical. So consider that in the already mentioned and famous rich warrior grave (number 45) at Argos, dated to about 710 BC, were found, with the fine aristocratic weaponry and armour, twelve iron cooking spits and two fire dogs in the shape of warships (Courbin 1957: 370-85). Other similar firedogs are known from four warrior graves in Crete and Cyprus (Coldstream 1977: 146). Eating a meal with the dead, smelling the roast, and you see the warships to carry you off on travels.

With respect to consumption and feasting, Mason, in discussing the archaic poet Hesiod's cosmogony and account of the origins of sacrifice (1987), isolates a culinary semantic field (separating mortals and immortals via operations performed upon grain and meat, particularly in sacrificial rites) and connects it with gender and economic distinctions. The fire, smoke and aroma of sacrifice draw perfume too into this culinary field. Vernant more generally relates eating and cuisine to personal identity - what it is to be a person - you are what you consume and how you consume it.

Space, sovereignty and the hoplite

De Polignac (1984, 1994) has connected the establishment of Greek sanctuaries in the eighth and seventh centuries BC to a dynamic of territorial sovereignty. Temples and sanctuary precincts marked out the territory and principal axes of a city. Morris (1987: 189-92) also stresses profound eighth-century BC changes in boundaries between gods, men and the dead, with living space more sharply differentiated from the sacred spaces of the gods and dead sanctuaries and cemeteries. One of the changes in the city-state of Korinth, origin of the perfume jar, was a shift in the burial of Korinthian dead from around houses and living space to formally designated areas.

For De Polignac the rural sanctuaries in the territory *(chora)* of the *polis* were set up as focal points of mediation; these 'passages between two worlds' (1994: 8) indicate the impor-tance of boundaries. So the sacred landscape, which is the *polis,* centres on frontiers - political borders between neighbouring states, but also boundaries between the sacred and profane (ibid.: 30), mortal and divinity, this world and that beyond. Axes are set out in the *chora* from *astu* (the city) to sanctuary, axes enacted in the sacred calendar with periodic processions and festivals (ibid.: 48-50, 54-6, and 85-92).

The soldier citizenry of the *polis,* the newly regulated or standardised *hoplitai,* would have figured prominently in these rites, processional, dedicatory, culinary. With Antonaccio (1994: 82) and Connor (1988: 16-17), we repeat the vital point here that archaic Greek war was not about territorial acquisition but civic representation, and was often focused upon borders, disputed or liminal territory suitable for a fight of phalanxes.

So we move through warfare to a human geography - locales connected in the conduct, bearing, dress and performative activities of a soldier citizenry, in their goods and accoutrement, in the form of the architectures and spaces through which they moved.

The heterogeneity of Greek warfare

We have tried to give some indication of the embeddedness of archaic Greek warfare. Far from a unitary phenomenon it extends into fields of the erotic, ideas of otherness (mediatory and marginal states), distinctions between 'us' and 'them', mortality and divinity, identity, lifestyle, posture and discipline, travel and the exotic. In this gendered nexus a prominent feature is a will to wholeness threatened by wounding, ageing, death, anonymity.

A prominent branch of anthropology considers war an aspect of aggressive species behaviour, related to group fitness and often occurring in circumstances of environmental stress and/or social competition over subsistence resources (for example, Haas 1990). Such theory is cross-cultural *a posteriori.* Particular social and cultural expressions, forms and meanings are eschewed. Moreover, the ethics of war and violence are irrelevant to this theory. The position we hold here is different. War is here considered a total social fact, socially and culturally embedded, a heterogeneous phenomenon.

In all this there is a theme of power and control. Let us move on now to piece together a dramaturgy of sovereignty.

The sovereignty of the soldier

In an interpretation of popular German military literature of the 1920s and after, Klaus Theweleit (1987, 1989) has provided fascinating insights into the psychology of a soldier 'society', the *Mannerbund* of the *Freikorps.* With their militarism, male camaraderie and heroic youth, these were part of the political and intellectual culture of the inter-war period, out of which indeed emerged fascism.

A major contention is that war is not only a restricted field of political authority and physical domination; war is a function of the body. The body is the site of the political ethos of militarism. Theweleit is concerned with the social psychology of male sovereignty and its world which elevates the experience of violence and war, hardship and discipline. The centrality of the body is apparent in techniques of the self which define and are practised by the soldier - bodily drills, group drills and regimes, countenance (those eyes and the helmet), keeping one's bearing and expression correct and upright, training, self-control.

A primary motivation is towards bodily and social unity. This will to wholeness arises because of the perceived threat of its opposite: those wild and disorderly powers which break down barriers, setting off floods and waves of lower and sordid elements; there is fear of dissolution, commingling with these base elements, fear of engulfment. For the member of the German *Freikorps* in the 1920s, this was the threat of engulfment by communism and bolshevism, the lower classes, and their women. In archaic imagery there are hybrid monsters, threats of guts spilled in the front rank, associations with seduction and the female gaze of death Gorgo. The will to wholeness is a will to power. It is a compulsion to put down that other which

and birds (Vernant 1991a: 68)). There is fear too of not receiving proper burial, which preserves the beautiful death, and provides, in the funeral mound raised, a mark which is stable and unchanging - *empedos* (meaning 'intact' or 'immutable') (ibid.: 69, citing *Iliad* 17.432-5). So unity, the molar, is a protection from that molecular death represented by dismemberment, splitting, decay, decomposition, being the food of birds and dogs. Unity is that which is preserved by the *kalos thanatos,* the beautiful death. Perpetual unity comes with the funeral pyre and the mound raised for all to see.

Gregory Nagy (1979, especially 151-61; see also Vernant 1969) has interpreted the poet Hesiod's myth of the five generations of humankind *(Works and Days* 109-201) as representing, in the men of gold, silver, bronze and the demi-gods (those generations preceding the present), this dual character of the heroic ancestor. Particularly interesting is the charac- terisation of the darker side of the heroic, the men of bronze: they were brazen, *chalkeion,* and made of ash *(ek melian) (Works and Days* 144-5) just like the warrior's spear. Hard and violent, they ate no grain *(Works and Days* 146-7) and died by their own hands. Nagy compares this violent and destructive masculinity with that of the warrior associations such as the *Mannerbund,* and those violent earth-sprung figures of myth, the Spartoi and Phlegyai, who combine categories of mortality, immortality and the heroic fighter (also Vian 1968).

'People told us that the war was over. That made us laugh. We ourselves are the war. Its flame burns strongly in us. It envelops our whole being' (quoted in Theweleit 1987: x). Fear of that molecular otherness is also seductive and fascinating, and the struggle to retain hard (molar) control is a never-ending one. Battle and actually fighting is a supplement (in Derrida's sense too: Deleuze and Guattari 1988: 417). The warrior caste lives in permanent war. Why fight? For *kleos,* or for city, or for *dike,* justice? It does not really matter. The motivations are easily transferred.

/ *would as soon fight with you as drink when I'm thirsty Archilochos.*

(West 1992: 125)

War is just something that you do; it is even a necessity. Mercenaries appear almost with the beginning of the *polis,* it would seem, and in numbers. Greek historian Herodotos (2.152) records 'brazen men' in Egypt in the seventh century (mentioned above; see, for example, the account by Murray 1993: 223f.). The mercenaries did not need the state. War does not need battles," it is more a war-machine.

In a fascinating and innovative interpretation of seventh-century social turmoil, James McGlew (1993) supplies a vital clue for making sense of this phenomenon of archaic violence. In the actions and discourses of the political radicals, the tyrants, popular leaders who staged coups *d'etat* and usurped power in many city-states in these times, McGlew finds a redefinition of political power and sovereignty.

Consider the oracles from the sanctuary of Apollo at Delphi, claimed to foretell
the rise of Kypselos, the tyrant of Korinth. In them the tyrant's persona is an
agent of justice:

threatens the soldier's unity and integrity, to oppress those elements in the body of another, or the body in his own self, bringing to order. The relationship with bodies is one of violence and hierarchy, not commingling with the base and dirty, but establishing the preponderance of self over the other, of man over the monster and animal (within).

So the soldier male's commitment to unity and the whole arises out of his own fear of splitting.

> Think in terms of the whole = don't forget that you are subordinate = don't forget that without us you would have no head, nothing above you. Think in terms of the whole = without us you would die = without us you would lack divinity (masculinity) and would be animals.
>
> (Theweleit 1989: 102)

And the soldier is split if and when those 'lower', suppressed and animal elements demand independence.

Unity is the phalanx, those dangerous and animal elements of the body damned and subdued by the machine-like physique of the soldier, his self displaced into armour and weaponry. Homer has *krateron menos,* the 'conquering energy' of the hero, put on like armour *(Iliad* 17.742-6; also Vernant 1991a: 63 on the shining armour of the hero). In Tyrtaios the *arete* of the soldier hero is achieved through weaponry and death (West 1992: 12). Archilochos, a mercenary-poet of the seventh century BC, identifies the staples of life with his weaponry:

> *By spear is kneaded the bread I eat, by spear my Ismaric*
> *wine is won, which I drink, leaning upon* [keklimenos] *my spear.*
> (Archilochos (West 1992: 2), translation Lattimore (I960))

And *keklimenos* is the word which would be used to refer to reclining upon a dining couch in new and exotic eastern style.

Homer's conception of man is a complex mediation of what Deleuze and Guattari call the '*molecular*' and '*molar*' (1988). He has no words for the soul or indeed body of a living man, who was, as related above, a unity of energies, organs and actions (Frankel 1975: 76f.). It was only in death that *psyche,* soul, became separated from *soma,* corpse.

> So long as the body is alive, it is seen as a system of organs and limbs animated by their individual impulses; it is a locus for the meeting, and occasional conflict, of impulses or competing forces. At death, when the body is deserted by these, it acquires its formal unity.
>
> (Vernant 1991a: 62)

And becomes *soma.* The fear of the hero is of *aikia,* disgrace done to the corpse, dirt and disgrace spoiling its wholeness and preventing the death from being beautiful. The images quoted above of the old man's death bring in another element: his death was disgraceful, because old and because it was not masculine - the reference to the wound to the genitals (also eaten by dogs

social practices, values, artefacts and dispositions. Sovereignty is unrestricted power residing in itself, the autonomy to govern, as of a state or monarch, their territory. It is an autonomy of self. Crucial to its understanding is the notion of otherness or heterogeneity. Sovereignty is articulated with barbarism or heterogeneity.

. . . and heterogeneity

This is to do with the affective, states of aesthetic, erotic and ecstatic excess. Heterogeneous States are those which provoke reactions of both attraction and revulsion: marginal states and substances for anthropologist Mary Douglas, subject to taboo (1966). Think of the three types of animal - personal pets; those speciated, domesticated, classified and named; and the quality of the animal which can never be tamed. This latter is the heterogeneous; it cannot be pinned down. Heterogeneity is 'the horror'. It refers to the raw body within, of blood and guts. It is the violence of the animal, the otherness within, which threatens order and civility.

In the three works considered here, the perfume jar, *Tetsuo* and *Full Metal Jacket,* gender and subjectivities are pictured as struggling with the affective energy of the other, with heterogeneity directed into power and domination, through, among other things, violence and militarism. Heterogeneity poses as an external or internal source or threat of disorder and violence. Animality or primitivism are seen as the origin and location of disorder and violence, to be rooted out or requiring domestication, and thereby providing beneficial purpose through vitality. These narratives are centred on the body and the body-politic (see also Rowlands 1989).

We have thus identified two uses of **heterogeneity.** The first is the sense just defined. The other is to do with our statement that we are treating war as a heterogeneous phenomenon. In this use we are stressing heterogeneity as that which escapes orderly classification. War as a total social fact comprises the assemblage or association of heterogeneous phenomena - from perfume jar to human geography. Heterogeneity is thus to do with hybridity, the fusion or overflowing of classes of things.

This use of heterogeneity will connect directly to our argument that we are dealing with cultural work understood as **assemblage,** and we are also relating this to **dramaturgy.**

A Korinthian perfume jar

Perfumed oil, corpses, armoured torsos, eyes across shield tops, helmeted faces signifying the identity of the individual merged into group and facing the risk of the spear thrust into face or groin, dismembered parts monstrously recombined (sphinxes and other monsters in this strange visual world), exotic motifs - orientalia and flowers from an other society, the heroic fight bringing warrior together with his fellows and with divine heroism, sanctuaries and death. Women are excluded in their contagion - war is not their place and they hardly appear in the visual imagery of the perfume jars. They define the boundaries of this cultural assemblage through their absence. But when they do appear it is as threat, as amazon, as female sphinx, or they are controlled and subject to judgement.

Consider again the design with which we began (Figure 5). Fear of those threatening and dirty base elements leads to a stiffening: control, armour, hard bronze. And, of course, more:

an eagle is pregnant in the rocks and will
bring forth a lion, a mighty hunter of flesh,
who will weaken the knees of many.
Be warned of this, you Korinthians who live
around the fair fountain of Peirene and the heights of Akrokorinthos.

(Herodotos 5.92e.2)

For the oracles, tyranny and social revolution arises from injustice, and this belongs with the city and its leaders, not with the motivations and ambitions of the tyrant. So the oracle quoted here reminds the Korinthians of the coming of tyrant Kypselos, whose rule is likened to a lion exacting punishment on (unjust) Korinthians. The tyrant's persona as a reformer required a conspicuous display of freedom *(eleutheria),* hence the lion.

McGlew notes (1993: 67 note 32) many instances of this use of the lion as a political symbol of heroic power, fearful and irresistible, sometimes image of divinely willed destruction.

In those other political commentators of these times, poet Theognis and statesman Solon, there is a reciprocity between crime and punishment, between the wicked ways of a city's administration and an autocratic tyrant putting things right.

Kyrnos, this city is pregnant - and I fear it may
give birth to someone [aner euthunter] *who will right our wicked ways* [hubris].

(Theognis 39-40)

By claiming and being supported in an unprecedented and unique right to autocracy the tyrant implicitly defined that rule as untransferable. This is the basis of their ambiguity - tyrants were popular leaders, but fiercely resisted. Resistance aimed not to overthrow tyranny so much as to appropriate the freedom *(eleutheria)* of the tyrant for the people. Just as the tyrant's divinely willed *eleutheria* involved the subjection of fellow citizens, so the appropriation of that same freedom by the citizenry involved subjugation - of slaves. After tyranny there was no return to political innocence. The persona as agent of justice *(dike)* was adopted, the treasury and foreign interests assumed, *eleutheria* preserved - those aspects of sovereignty which made the tyrant lord both attractive and dangerous.

So in this seventh-century discourse of power, there were two sides to justice and sovereignty. The hero appears as a lion, but the lion, the animal within the hero, may turn and destroy. The soldier damns up, faces, shares the forces of otherness (whether they are conceived as animal furor or violence, spilled intestines eaten by carrion, or divinity); his armour, posture and actions shared with the group help him in this. This is a gendered field - that powerful otherness. So threatening yet seductive is the feminine.

Sovereignty

The point is that much of the imagery and cultural logic of these works and of war is about (masculine) sovereignty, articulated through techniques of the body in a broad assemblage of

Full Metal Jacket

The first half: otherness defined, faced and controlled or expelled. Again the duality of sovereignty is evident. Pile apparently becomes the perfect soldier, but in fact he is not hard and disciplined enough. Though at one with the steel and wood of his M-15 rifle, he is still within a world of shit, not a minister of death praying for war and the realisation of selfhood. He is a monster.

Out in Vietnam we witness the confrontation of otherness - foreign locales, devastated cities which ensnare, mind-exploding violence, and the amazon, the Vietcong, epitome of communist threat, girl-soldier who is minister of death to several of the platoon. But their teamwork triumphs and her threatening otherness is destroyed, or rather encompassed in their weapons.

Heterogeneity is here identified with softness, the amphibian, filth, the explosion of the body in violence. It is madness. Heterogeneity is also woman: the recruits themselves, and the angel of death. Heterogeneity threatens. It is held in check by being hard: drill and regimen.

Dramaturgy - the performer as cyborg

I have presented these evocations of war as focused on techniques of the body - the body sculpted, managed, materialised in various ways and with various props, attachments, accoutrements. It is an embodied and expressive field, and we have tried to locate it in **sensoria,** those culturally located arrays of the senses we mentioned in the introduction as an important focus when attempting to understand social and cultural phenomena. We have been exploring particular *cultural assemblages,* and we propose a connection between this concept of assemblage and dramaturgy (for further definition of assemblage see below and Shanks 1999: Chapter 2). In its creation of scenarios and postures, bringing together narratives, personae, props and characters, we have been exploring an expressive dramaturgy of sovereignty.

Dramaturgy, as cultural assemblage, works equally with settings, people, bodies, things, texts, histories, voices, architectures. In these connective networks that are the dramaturgical,

Figure 14
Full Metal Jacket: amazon

stiffening and hardness are supposed confirmation of manhood. Here a phallic and naked man (hard body bared) assaults with a weapon one of the few likely female figures in this imagery of the new political state. She is dressed in a checked flowing robe (soft, compared with bronze torso), holds a wreath of flowers and pats a hare. The hare touches a sphinx, one of a pair who sit on either side of a bird. One sphinx is bearded, therefore male. Floral devices grow from their heads, associating them with the assaulted female. So from the female extend the otherness of monstrosity, mix of animal lion, avian and human, the dubious sexuality of the sphinxes, the floral and the avian, with eastern associations. The hare was later a gift between lovers. (Schnapp 1984). Behind the phallic man a lion jumps upon a goat, and the two hoplites fight a duel. Parallels are suggested: armoured hoplite fight - drill (the hoplites mirror each other, as is proper) - violence and the animal - violent sexuality against the female - hard body, soft clothes - amorous gift - monstrous sexuality. It is not difficult to weave a set of narratives out of these elements of what we have termed the molar and molecular dimensions of sovereignty.

Tetsuo

Tetsuo is reminiscent of Marinetti's futurist fantasies of machinic society, with its violence, fire and speed. There is constant slippage between normality and fantasy worlds (heterogeneity), mediation occurring through industry and metal. The monsters, representatives of the power and fascination of otherness, are part-thing, part-person, part-alterity, part-cultural appendage, as artefacts stick to the Iron Man and merge. *Tetsuo,* this poetics of metal and blood, of mutation, this pyropoetics of forged flesh, is about a collision of artefact and flesh, questioning the boundaries, and is thus about heterogeneity. Sovereignty, and its dual character, is so evident in the finale of *Tetsuo 1* as the businessman merged with fetishistic alter-ego rampages through the city, ending as some great monument to industry and war. In *Tetsuo 2* the businessman's triumph sets loose the explosive violence of his inner self over the gang who threatened his ordered and civilised life. Gender dimensions are present in the female seen as threat and image of familial security, in the homoerotic, heterogeneous mergings and the bonds of shared male experience of violence.

Figure 13
Tetsuo

it is usual to consider things and people as separate, their conjunction considered after their distinction. We propose instead the inseparability of people and things, values, etc. And in a strong sense - we are not dealing with mixtures of people *and* things, but with *people-things* the body as artefact, the artefact as constituting the cultural body, conduct and scenario defining the person. This raises immediately the anxiety prompted by the cyborg - that monstrous and hybrid mixture, that heterogeneous merging, as we termed it above.

To encounter this anxiety we will make a diversion into material culture studies and consider how people and things differ, or are indeed two aspects of the same cultural field..

Archaeological cyborgs - the life of things

Haraway's world is one of tangled networks: part human, part machine; complex hybrids of meat and metal which relegate old fashioned concepts like 'natural' and 'artificial' to the archives. These hybrid networks are the cyborgs, and they don't just surround us - they incorporate us. An automated production line in a factory; an office computer network; dancers lights and sound system in a club - all are cyborg constructions of people and machines.

(Donna Haraway interviewed by Han Kunzru 1996 (and after Haraway 1991))

Anthropologists and sociologists have begun again to take seriously the things that we live with. There is a clear and popular disciplinary field now concerned with material culture. Included are design studies and design history, cultural studies more broadly, cognitive science and human-computer interaction, anthropologies and sociologies of everyday things, histories and sociologies of technology; and archaeology (Mackenzie and Wajcman 1985; Elliott 1988; Law 1991; Bijker and Law 1992; Collins and Pinch 1998).

We follow a central proposition of interpretive archaeology: that society is inconceivable without artefacts. It is not as if people make society, which happens to include things, goods, artefacts. Material culture actively communicates and helps build society into what it is. Closely connected is the issue of social agency, the power and intentionality in creating society (for a general review in archaeology see Johnson 1989). Goods have come to be seen not as *epiphe-nomena* (secondary to some essential and non-material dimension of society, representing, for example, economic structures) but as being central to the working of society. Material culture is active. (This actually means the term 'material culture' is tautologous - culture is always already material. We retain the use for convenience.)

How does this activity occur? How does this unite people and things?

Consider something found by an archaeologist, that perfume jar in Figure 5 perhaps. Of what time is this archaeological find? We can attribute a date - it is from the seventh century BC. But the attribution of date does not answer the question of the time of a find, however. Which date or moment or period of time is to be chosen? Normally date is accepted to refer to the time of the making of an artefact, or the time of its incorporation in the archaeological record. But why these two dates, both back then in antiquity? The perfume jar is also of our time in that it has been found quite recently, and published a little later. These dates may also be attributed to the artefact;

museums record dates of accession, and publication dates are often cited. But these are also usually considered to be secondary to those dates which are conceived to belong to the *original context* of the artefact.

All these dates are points upon a temporal continuity. That continuity is the duration of the material find. It is the durability of the perfume jar which allows there to be these different dates which are chosen as significant moments along that continuity. In this respect it is common to refer to the life-cycle of an artefact (for example, Schiffer 1987: 13f.; the classic in anthropology is Appadurai 1986 and especially Kopytoff 1986). Raw material is taken and transformed according to conception of design, an artefact produced, distributed or exchanged, used, consumed and lost or discarded. It may be recycled, given new life. This can be held to end when the artefact enters the physical archaeological record and is buried. But it is quite possible to argue that, found in the archaeological excavation and written into archaeological discourse, an ancient artefact is being recycled again, its life-cycle continuing. The durability of the artefact, its historical continuity, its materiality, holds together these events of its life-cycle. There is a continuity, albeit one with lacunae.

The life of an artefact is accompanied by physical changes and processes. An artefact becomes worn in its use and consumption. Marks upon it attest to events it has witnessed, things that have happened to it. It can deteriorate. The artefact ages.

Here then are our first points of similarity between people and things. People too have life-cycles, display changes and marks of time and experience. Some are gathered in the term 'physiognomy'. People show signs of their experience and ageing. These are the *human* conditions of mortality, physicality and morbidity (Olivier 1994).

Marks of origin and individuality. Marks of ageing, time and use. Discard and disposal. Deterioration and death. The physical processes and changes that occur and accrue to objects and people in their life-cycles are archaeology's very condition of being: archaeology, and of course society, is simply not conceivable without them.

In archaeology they are dealt with in a particular way, most often treated as technical issues or belonging with the natural sciences. Conservators in their laboratory work with chemical and other means of dealing with decay and repair, halting the life-cycle (Plenderleith and Werner 1972; Kuhn 1986; Cronyn 1990). Mortuary analysis, as it is often called in archaeology, is the method-ological means of moving from traces, archaeologically recovered, of the practices focusing upon the dead to 'active' social process or structure (Chapman and Randsborg 1981; O'Shea 1984; Tarlow 1999: Chapters 1 and 2). Middle-range theory, as it has been called in archaeology, is held to be a technical means of moving from the statics of the archaeological record to the dynamics of social process (Binford 1977, 1981, 1983a: Section IV, 1983b; Raab and Goodyear 1984). The way things become part of the archaeological record, the way buildings fall down, rubbish deposits accrue, discarded things settle into layers, the way a cooking hearth looks after two millennia, is called the study of site formation processes (Schiffer 1987). This is again usually treated in a technical way, understanding ruin as something to be overcome in getting back to the past, under-standing formation processes as a means to an end, a means to regain the past.

Hence, and ironically, archaeological mortuary analysis is little concerned with death and the

crimson spores, and enliven lawns. The intricacy of bird's nest fungus is a striking adjunct
of stem decay.

(Lowenthal 1991b: 2-3)

Here infection, fungal and bacterial action, which also accompany decay, are seen as complements
to the life and health of a garden. Lowenthal argues for the architectural value of age and decay, a
sensitivity to the qualities of the materials of building. In archaeology the argument is that decay
- is an essential adjunct to a living past.

Conservation may stem processes of ageing and decay. Death may be delayed. But immor-
tality cannot be achieved. This is not to hold that we should allow the past to rot away, but to have
a living past we should cherish decay and ruin. This is about the way that we attend to the life of
an artefact.

Both people and artefacts have life-cycles. Decay and fragmentation are a token of our
symmetry with the physical world. Sensitivity to wear and decay is a mark of humility before the
otherness and independence of material things. The signs of wear upon something that I have just
acquired show that it existed before me; it was not created just for me, but has a particular history
of its own. Historicity, the sense of the linear, directional flow of history and its events, depends
on historiography, writing the plot of history. Writing distances us from cyclical routines of the
everyday and the repetitions of life-cycle, and into which we can be immersed. So the marks upon
an old pot are often also a form of writing, attesting to the history the pot has witnessed, its own
historicity.

The decay of an artefact is a token of the human condition. The fragment, the mutilated and
incomplete thing from the past, brings a sense of life struggling with time: death and decay await
us all, people and objects alike. In common we have our materiality.

When a building collapses, the order of its construction and interior spaces disperses. We
meet the commixture of materials and things in archaeological excavation whose object is, among
other things, to reorder, to abolish the disorder of collapse and dilapidation, to find significance and
signification in the apparent chaos. Archaeologists clear up and tidy the remains of the past. This
too is the work of memory. But we might remember too that the litter and discard which accom-
pany decay are interesting in their heterogeneity: juxtapositions of fibula and quernstone, gold ring
and ox scapula in sifting through the cultural rubbish tip. The strange and oftentimes surreal juxta-
positions of things with which archaeologists deal may be dismissed as distraction, or reduced to
- manifestation of cultural practices we know well; but a sensitivity to the strangeness of litter can
reveal preconceptions about our cultural classifications, for example surrounding dirt (Hodder
1982b: 62f.; see also Douglas 1966). Such an everyday and mundane occurrence like litter can
be surprising.

There is, after Nietzsche, a well-worked argument that discovery and innovation arise from
metaphor, the juxtaposition of what was previously considered separate (discussed by Knorr-
Cetina 1981: Chapter 3). Litter creates.

So too, the fragment of the past evokes. We can work on the archaeological fragment to

accompanying putrefaction. Grave goods may be connected to social hierarchies, skeletons may be analysed for evidence of disease, for demographic patterns, their genetic material used as a means of tracing population dynamics. Just as the sentiments which surround bereavement are considered unnecessary or contingent to mortuary analysis, so too are the manifold dimensions of the central physical processes - death and rot (but see now Tarlow 1998, 1999).

Consider also what is often called the 'conservation ethic'. That things from the past should be preserved or conserved seems unchallengeable. The past should be protected and conserved (Lipe 1977, 1984; Lowenthal and Binney 1981; Cleere 1984; Renfrew and Bahn 1996: 522-33; Carman 1996). It is more than a little sickening to think of the loss of so much of the past due to contemporary development and neglect. The seduction of conservation is one of gratification ridding the self of this nausea of loss and decay. Associated with loss and decay are dirt, death, illness, those organic properties of the past. They are to be removed. The past is to be purified in a staunching of decay; death held in check. The task is given to science. Science is applied to clean up the wound and sterilise (Shanks 1992a: 69-75).

Around the world many ancient sites are in the care of the state and are open to the public. There is a very distinctive style to most. They are ruins, but consolidated. Loose stones are mortared in position. Walls are cleaned and repointed. Paths tended or created. Park benches may be provided to seat weary visitors. This is all justified in the terms of health (stopping the further decay of the monument) and safety or amenity (of the visiting public). However reasonable such a justification, it creates a distinctive experience of the visit to such a past monument. Masonry, earth and sky: such monuments are interchangeable, if it were not for their setting (Shanks 1992a: 73). And these ruins are, of course, not in ruin. These preserved monuments are **simulacra** of ruins **(simulacrum** - an exact copy of an original that has never existed).

Conservation is a potential sanitisation and sterilisation of the past. These conventional and legitimate archaeological approaches sometimes also neutralise their object. The life-cycle of. things is occluded. Life and death are missing. They are actively avoided. In cleaning up the ruined building ready for the public to visit it can be forgotten that objects haunt. We can fail to feel the ghosts.

Ageing and decay, basic aspects of the materiality of both people and things, are today often considered negatively. Worn out things are thought to be of no use to anyone and, when cleaned up, only of interest to a museum or collector. To be old and retired is not always to be valued and respected.

Instead of this negative attitude, and with David Lowenthal, we make a plea for pathology.

Consider plant pathology. Most gardeners strive to eradicate slime, mould, rust and fungi. Yet these are natural, even essential adjuncts of plants they infest. Many attack weeds. Others create compost. Some, like entomophthora, kill off flies. But these ecological virtues still leave them unloved by flower-fanciers. When bacterial fasciation infects forsythia, clusters of distorted leaves tip plank-like shoots. Rather than cutting them off for burning, why not keep them? They do not spread; and their oddity adds varietal interest to any garden. Slime moulds congeal into a mass of powdery grey or sulphur and

it is usual to consider things and people as separate, their conjunction considered after their distinction. We propose instead the inseparability of people and things, values, etc. And in a strong sense - we are not dealing with mixtures of people *and* things, but with *people-things* - the body as artefact, the artefact as constituting the cultural body, conduct and scenario defining the person. This raises immediately the anxiety prompted by the cyborg - that monstrous and hybrid mixture, that heterogeneous merging, as we termed it above.

To encounter this anxiety we will make a diversion into material culture studies and consider how people and things differ, or are indeed two aspects of the same cultural field.

Archaeological cyborgs - the life of things

Haraway's world is one of tangled networks: part human, part machine; complex hybrids of meat and metal which relegate old fashioned concepts like 'natural' and 'artificial' to the archives. These hybrid networks are the cyborgs, and they don't just surround us - they incorporate us. An automated production line in a factory; an office computer network; dancers lights and sound system in a club - all are cyborg constructions of people and machines.

(Donna Haraway interviewed by Hari Kunzru 1996 (and after Haraway 1991))

Anthropologists and sociologists have begun again to take seriously the things that we live with. There is a clear and popular disciplinary field now concerned with material culture. Included are design studies and design history, cultural studies more broadly, cognitive science and human-computer interaction, anthropologies and sociologies of everyday things, histories and sociologies of technology; and archaeology (Mackenzie and Wajcman 1985; Elliott 1988; Law 1991; Bijker and Law 1992; Collins and Pinch 1998).

We follow a central proposition of interpretive archaeology: that society is inconceivable-without artefacts. It is not as if people make society, which happens to include things, goods, artefacts. Material culture actively communicates and helps build society into what it is. Closely connected is the issue of social agency, the power and intentionality in creating society (for a general review in archaeology see Johnson 1989). Goods have come to be seen not as *epiphe-nomena* (secondary to some essential and non-material dimension of society, representing, for example, economic structures) but as being central to the working of society. Material culture is active. (This actually means the term 'material culture' is tautologous - culture is always already material. We retain the use for convenience.)

How does this activity occur? How does this unite people and things?

Consider something found by an archaeologist, that perfume jar in Figure 5 perhaps. Of what time is this archaeological find? We can attribute a date - it is from the seventh century BC. But the attribution of date does not answer the question of the time of a find, however. Which date or moment or period of time is to be chosen? Normally date is accepted to refer to the time of the making of an artefact, or the time of its incorporation in the archaeological record. But why these two dates, both back then in antiquity? The perfume jar is also of our time in that it has been found quite recently, and published a little later. These dates may also be attributed to the artefact;

reveal what is missing; the shattered remnant invites us to reconstruct, to suppose that which is no longer there. The fragment refers us to the rediscovery of what was lost.

More generally it can be argued that the disfunction which accompanies wear need not, indeed should not be seen as a problem (see the discussion of Heidegger on disturbance and breakdown by Dreyfus 1991: 70-82). Disfunction refers us to the being of something; it draws attention to the artefact or social actor which is otherwise overlooked and ignored. We do not notice the working of a washing machine until it goes wrong, 'goes on strike', and then it is treated as a problem. But to accept disfunction as a revelation of being involves a project of *maintenance* of getting on with something on a day-to-day basis. To treat disfunction as a problem calls for a project of *intervention* - not just getting on with things, but acting upon them. Furniture designer David Pye (1978) detailed an approach to design which accepts that nothing is ever purely functional in that useful devices always do useless things; design is always partly failure. Washing machines do and always will break down. Cars are comfortable ways to transport ourselves, but they generate noise and heat, they guzzle fossil fuels, pollute the earth, and they always break down eventually.

When disfunction and decay are not conceded there is a desire for dead things, things which do not change, essential qualities of things (abstract and unchanging), things which do not go wrong. This desire is encompassed by the concept of commodity.

The commodity form is a principle of abstract and universal exchange. Money, as a medium of universal exchange, allows the exchange of anything for anything else. The particularity of what is exchanged does not matter. Any transaction is the same as any other, and can thus be termed homogeneous or abstract. Because the commodity form takes no account of different things, no account of the particular and historical life of things, it is the principle of death represented by pure repetition.

The commodity form may find expression in the mass-produced object - the output of controlled, predictable, repeated and standardised production. Every commodity is seen as the same as any other. A particular washing machine is representative of its class of artefact and is held to wash clothes. This is compromised when it goes wrong; breakdown is a problem. We are detached from its life-cycle which runs through the relations of its production, distribution and processes of ageing. The washing machine goes wrong; throw it away and get another - repeat the purchase.

THEATRE/ARCHAEOLOGY

The death represented by the commodity becomes clearer if we contrast the mass-produced artefact with the product of craft, a piece of studio ceramic for example (Figure 8). The latter is a denial of pure repetition. Its life resides in its resistance to its making, its unpredictability.

Walter Benjamin (1970a, 1970b) related the rise of the commodity form to changing conceptions of aura. Aura refers to the sense of associations and evocations that cluster around an object, correspondences and interrelations engendered by an object. Aura is a sense of distance, no matter how close an object may be: it somehow seems more than what it is. To perceive the aura of an object is to invest it with the ability to look at us in return' (Benjamin 1970b: 190); it is the transposition of qualities of the animate to the conventionally inanimate world.

When we speak of something having sentimental value we are referring to aura; the article means something to us because it evokes memories of a common history; both the article and we have shared a life. Benjamin discusses the aura of works of art. Tourists cluster around the *Mona Lisa* in the Louvre because of the singularity of the painting achieved through its associations and evocations.

Consider rock brought back from the moon by astronauts in the late 1960s and early 1970s The piece of rock displayed in a museum is not just any piece of rock. It is from up there, the moon. It is not of this earth. The rock is both present to the viewer now, but also beyond (admittedly also on the other side of the glass in the museum). Moon rock has an aura. It may be objected that this is something read into the rock, something which is not an attribute of the rock. If it were discovered that it was not in fact from the moon its aura would dissipate immediately and it would become just a mundane piece of rock. So what is the difference between moon rock and mundanity? It is life history. One has an everyday history; the other is part of a project which took people up in rockets and spacecraft for great distances and at great effort, and then back again. It ties in American political manoeuvres in the 1960s, and those ghostly figures on TV stepping down on to the moon surface. Aura is the mode whereby these associations and events are gathered around an artefact. Aura refers to the life of things.

Such particular relations with things can be lost with the rise of mass-production and the commodity form which deny any living relationship with the material world, treating it as the stuff of manipulation and controlled repeated production.

Aura and the commodity form are not, however, exclusive. In collage and montage the commodity can be treated as a heterogeneous fragment. Evocation, association, displacement,

diskette will not let you. It will allow only one mode of insertion. The diskette is active. So too are these bookshelves in my room, though they are apparently passive. They hold up my books and allow them to remain in order. Objects and artefacts can do work. Simply think of what a person would have to do to replace an artefact and then it can be seen how active the object world is.

Language: only humans talk, and when artefacts are said to speak it is through a human intermediary. But there has been an enormous amount of work associated with structuralism and post-structuralism which shows convincingly that a linguistic analogy can be applied to the material world: it is often structured like a text and communicates (see, among others, Hodder 1989 and Tilley 1990b for archaeology). But again this may be ascribed to an intermediary - 'society' making its classifications. There again some have argued for the death of the author (after Barthes 1986 and Foucault 1986b), that issues of linguistic and textual communication are not simply about an expressive agent or subject expressing. The easy integrity of the person and the self have been questioned in an historical and philosophical decentring of the subject. A monstrous elision of people and things is a continuation of the contemporary project of inscribing text on bodies and things, constituting agents in discourses (from Levi-Strauss through Foucault and beyond; the focus on agency and the social theory of those such as Giddens).

Consider also representative democracy. Who is speaking when a Member of Parliament speaks in the House of Commons in London, a Congressman in the House of Representatives in Washington? Is it the member or their constituency? It is impossible to tell apart those who speak directly or indirectly, unless we start to argue about the nature of representation (political and other). There is no simple answer to the issue of language, agent and object. Consider again the constitution of science discussed in the previous chapter. In a scientific experiment the object world responds to questions put and trials made upon it - the natural world 'speaks'. Is this to be denied? Solipsism is the result if it is denied. No, it cannot simply be argued that people speak and objects do not. The issues are far more subtle.

The world of objects is that of objectivity; not anything can be done with the object world: it has its own logic and rules (laws of nature) which impose limits on human manipulation. In this argument we are getting to the nub of the matter. Objects are considered to belong to another order. People and things are inscribed into a series of dualities, from which they cannot, and indeed must not, be extricated (so it is conventionally held).

Objects are written into an order separate from the social:

human world	**object world**
society	**environment**
history	**nature**
the social	**the technical**
humanities	**natural sciences**
mind	**body**

The former may be held to supplement the material world; the latter to do with materials, science, technics, the environment, objectivity and the inanimate.

There are perceived dangers in not upholding the dualisms. The alternative to keeping things

meaning, life can be found in the gaps between things, in difference and dissonance (Berger et *al.* 1972; Shanks 1992a: 104-5,188-90). This is made conspicuously clear in subcultural style - f o r example, the mobilisations of things and their associations in punk of the late 1970s (Hebdige 1979; see also Clifford 1988). Safety pins became unfamiliar- reused as body piercing. It is some-thing many of us do everyday in juxtaposing in our homes and offices things brought from all sorts of aspects of our lives; together they generate meaning and association. They may bring homes and offices alive. This too is the life and fascination of litter and rubbish.

In the common process of life, life-cycle and history there are these many parallels and associations between people and things. Why then, and how, are things held to be different to people? We will attempt to counter the usual arguments.

Simplicity and complexity. Objects are often thought to be simpler than people. But many interactions between people are very simple; people often merge into the background and may be, in particular circumstances, treated far more simply than many machines. It is quite possible to have a complex relationship with a computer. Or indeed a work of art which can gather around itself many associations and connotations. Cognitive scientist Don Norman (1988) argues that most of the complexity of everyday knowledge lies not in people's heads but in the objects with which people surround themselves. There would seem to be a continuity from simple to complex irrespective of whether we are dealing with people or things.

Lack of consciousness. Objects, it can be argued, do not possess consciousness as do people. I am not necessarily for imputing consciousness to things, but it might be asked how could you tell? Think of the issues raised by Ridley Scott's film *Blade Runner.* If you create an artefact (a cyborg) which performs as a human and also give it personal memories, how is it different to a person? The now classic Turing test (Turing 1950) sets out to answer the question of the nature of artificial intelligence, and holds that if a questioner cannot tell from the answers to a series of ques-tions whether those answers come from a machine or not, then it may be accepted that the answers come from an intelligent being. This is irrespective of the form or materiality of the entity answering. Whatever the validity of the Turing test, the field of artificial intelligence raises serious questions about the boundaries and interactions between human and object or machine worlds. Many objects do display extremely complex and independent behaviour. The mathematics of chaos deals with object worlds which are based on regularised principles but which nevertheless display unpredictable and independent, 'lifelike' behaviour. And what of animals? They may not have a consciousness as we understand it in ourselves, but this does not mean that we are absolved morally from treating them as equals. Why not also apply this to things?

But does this not involve a naive anthropomorphism? Immoral because human suffering should not be debased by comparison with an object world which lacks feeling and consciousness (but see above). This criticism can be answered with other questions. Who mixes the worlds of objects and things? Doctors do. They connect people, chemicals, artefacts, bacteria. In what ways are they immoral? There are no simple ethical answers here (Latour 1989: 125).

Surely objects are passive, inert, inanimate? But consider a computer diskette. It looks like an inert and passive square of plastic and magnetic medium. Diskettes are inserted into computers. As a square you might think there are six different ways you could do this. But you can't. The

and people apart is represented by the spectre of the cyborg. It is an epistemological threat too. If the object world is collapsed into the social world (via notions such as the symmetry of people and things in their common life-cycles) it might appear that objective standards of truth are lost and relativism results; if objects and their materiality are historical, objectivity (the quality an object possesses) would be contingent. This is feared because the object world is seen as providing constraints and limits on what can be said and done through its quality of objectivity which is held to be beyond the historical particularities of the social. Society is seen as weakness, objectivity as strength. With no constraints there would seem to be idealism and all its dangers. Ethics and . politics gets mixed up with circuit boards and robotics.

It is because of these dualisms that most archaeology and heritage cannot cope with the evocations of decay and morbidity; they threaten abstract and timeless objectivity, the solid rock upon which fact and truth are supposed to be built. Life-cycle is instead ascribed to the technical and the natural; decay is a problem and to do with preservative chemicals. Archaeology cannot have objects which are somehow on a par with people otherwise the dualisms threaten to dis-solve. The past has to be killed off. This is the guilt at the heart of archaeology: in excavation archaeologists destroy that which they think they cherish.

We are arguing that the archaeological experience of ruin and decay reveals something vital about social reality, but something which is usually disavowed. Decay and ruin reveal the sym-metry of people and things. They dissolve the absolute distinction between people and the object world. This is why we can so cherish the ruined and fragmented past.

What follows if it is accepted in this way that artefacts and people are similar, both having a material and historical nature which is expressed in the concept of life-cycle? People and the realm of the social become material, and the object world, nature, acquires a history (of different rela-tions with people). So there is nothing purely social or technical, human or non-human. There has not been a 'pure' human social relation for perhaps over two million years, since artefacts came to regularly accompany hominids. If a pure social relationship is sought, reference should be made to primate society (Strum and Latour 1987; Byrne and Whiten 1988). So where are we now? We are inextricably mixed up with non-humans. Our histories are united. This is also to argue that society is not *sui generis,* but has to be materially constructed. It means that humans have always been part machines (Mumford 1966 to Law 1991). And if you do not like being part machine what are you going to do? Become a baboon? (cf. Deleuze and Guattari 1988.)

If objects and people are to be held in symmetry, what then is an artefact?

Consider again the perfume jar in Figure 5. What is it? It is a pot - a ceramic vessel of a particular kind. Does this answer mean that materially its object quality is that of the ceramic, while the rest - its social meanings, aesthetic qualities, all that we discussed above - are supplemental? If this separation of pot from 'context' is upheld, invoked are those dualisms, introduced above, of the social and technical, object and person. To identify this artefact as a 'pot' does not explain the particular life and historicity of this artefact - its movement through production, exchange, consumption, deposition, decay and discovery, reconsumption in the nineteenth-century museum and twentieth-century text. Are all of these contingent to its nature, its objectivity? If so, how did it come into being, then and here and now? How is it here now, as a picture in this book? Is this

irrelevant to its reality? The very category of ceramic ('it is a pot') is a changing and historical one. For example, and in the context of this section on the temporality of an object, the attribution of this artefact to an objective category such as pot does not explain the origin (the genealogy) of the category 'pot'. The simple answer does not allow for difference: the ceramic substratum of 'pot' is here an essential quality, abstract and general. Although it is quite legitimate to unite things through qualities of sameness it is vita! to consider also difference and variability, both within the category, and applied to the uniting category itself.

We have shown in a small way how the perfume jar ties people and things together in its l i f e -. cycle (raw material - design - production - distribution - consumption - discard - discovery, etc.). What did it unite? This particular artefact brings together clay and potter, painter and new brushes (for miniature work), a new interest in figurative work, the interests of patron perhaps and trader, heterogeneous elements in its figured designs (animals, warriors, monsters, violence, flowers, special artefacts), perfume (it is a perfume jar), oil (perfumed), the body (illustrated and anointed), travel away from Korinth (its place of making), ships, sanctuary of divinity, colonist, corpse and cemetery (pots such as this were given to divinities and the dead) (Johansen 1923; Payne 1931, 1933 and many works after; the pot is fully discussed in Shanks 1992b, 1995c and 1999). The perfume jar helped constitute the nineteenth-century art museum (albeit in a small way). This pot has been mobilised many times in defining the discipline of classical archaeology (see the biblio-graphical listings of Amyx 1988: 23 and Benson 1989: 44). And this life-cycle can be extended to include ourselves and readers - the pot unites us here even now, mobilised as it has been by us in this project of ours.

In its life-cycle the pot brings together all this, including aspirations, futures, distances, feelings, hopes as well as objects, people and social relationships. This is a network of heterogeneous actors. And in this network or assemblage, the pot gathers through people's interests and projects.

In this cultural assemblage we are dealing with what Theodor Adorno would have called the 'non-identity' of an object. Let us explain. Identity may be asserted with a statement such as 'this is a pot'. And/or the dimensions of association and affiliation may be followed through a life-cycle as we move from this to this through this and that connection, in an assemblage. Following these connections may involve holding back on deciding what the artefact is - its 'identity' is suspended. Regarding classification and identity, the self-contained identity of an artefact may be defined according to attributes - 'this is a pot with these attributes'. The discovery of identity may equally be made by following an agglomerative and synthetic articulation that is the artefact's life-cycle-following the artefact as it assembles heterogeneous actors (people, things, feelings, interests . ..).

We are here proposing a conception of the artefact as a multiplicity, an historical and hetero-geneous assemblage. Abstract identity (ceramic/pot) is bracketed as we follow the artefact in its life.

An artefact, as is accepted, is a multitude of data points, an infinity of possible attributes and measurements. Which ones are made and held to constitute its identity depends conventionally upon method and the questions being asked by the archaeologist. But we also hold that the arte-fact is *itself a* multiplicity. Its identity is multiple. It is not just one thing. The artefact does not only possess a multitude of data attributes, but is also itself multiplicity. We come to an object in rela-tionships with it, through using, perceiving it, referring to it, talking of it, feeling it *as* something.

another world of colours and patterns which technical skills can interpret as mineral inclusions and effects of temperatures. And even specifying chemical and physical composition is understanding 'as' something else. Metaphor and analogy are essential, as particle physics with its strangely named entities and forces conspicuously shows. The vital role of metaphor and analogy, for example in innovation, is widely accepted in the philosophy of science (Black 1962; Hesse 1970).

All this is to open space. That pot can take us in many directions - we are invited to follow the artefact and the people it unites through their projects and interests. To attend to the artefact. This is a sensitivity to its historicity, its life and the way it gathers many sorts of things, people, feelings, aspirations. The assemblages respect no absolute distinctions between cultural categories such as things and people, values and materials, strategies and resources, architectures and dispositions. And in this archaeological cyborg world we will have to talk a great deal of 'might' and 'if, of slippage and fluidity, of mess and what is missing, of gaps and bridges between different worlds, of time breaking up, moments lost and regained. We will need our dramaturgical imagination.

Heterogeneity figured in the presentation of experiences of war in the archaic Greek world, *Tetsuo* and *Full Metal Jacket.* Our digression into material culture and the archaeological has led to a further exploration of notions of assemblage, gatherings around artefacts and our working upon worlds of multiplicity. We have associated concepts of artefact, cyborgs and assemblage with performance and dramaturgy. We now shift direction again, to consider the articulation of past and present in site-specific theatre. Assemblage here is of specific dramaturgical elements which obey no hierarchy of text, performer, stage, props and viewing audience. Fragments are energised in an explicit and located cultural politics of performance. Another immediate link is the event and conduct of war.

Gododdin: the past in the present

It begins with a fragment of poetry.

> *Gwyr a aeth Gatraeth gan wawr ...*
>
> *Men went to Catraeth with the dawn,*
> *Their fears disturbed their peace,*
> *A hundred thousand fought three hundred*
> *Bloodily they stained spears,*
> *His was the bravest station in battle,*
> *Before the retinue of Mynyddog Mzvynfawr.*
>
> (From *Y Gododdin,* Jarman 1988)

Y Gododdin is one of the earliest surviving examples of Welsh poetry, transcribed in the twelfth century but commemorating an event in the sixth: an elegy for slain heroes and a eulogy of their excellence and bravery as fighting men.

The land of the Gododdin (the Votadini of the Romans) lay around, and to the south of, Edinburgh in Scotland. Sometime towards the end of the sixth-century AD, a small

This *as* is vital. It is a relationship of analogy - *as if* it were something. And it is always ironically something else - our references to the object are always metaphorical. That artefact in Figure 5 is not the word/label/category 'pot', though we can legitimately treat it as if it were, given certain interests and goals - projects. And these projects, interests and goals are culturally and socially constructed and meaningful. There are an infinity of possible relationships with an object and these literally make it what it is for us. The relationships are not abstract or given, but social and historical. So the materiality of an object has a history. This pot found by an archaeologist is not what it was.

We are back to time and ruin. Skara Brae in the Orkneys is an archaeological site, a prehistoric _ settlement in the sand dunes. An ancient place. It is the reality of the past, at least what is left of it. What does this statement mean? We are arguing that a site such as this does not belong to a singular date back then, and that its objective being has a history. Things have a history which is often tied to that of people. This means that Gordon Childe, who excavated Skara Brae with a team of archaeologists, is part of the (multiple) existence of Skara Brae. Just as Skara Brae is part of the biography of Gordon Childe, so too Gordon Childe is part of the life-cycle or biography of Skara Brae. Gordon Childe 'happened' to Skara Brae. We find ourselves in our relations with things, just as they come to be in their historical and cultural relations with us.

How could Skara Brae be conceived before the storm which blew away the sand and revealed the site to archaeologists and led to the excavation directed by Gordon Childe? Are we to apply his work retrospectively and suppose that Skara Brae was there all along, even without Childe, his workers, the British archaeological establishment, the funding agencies, the hard realities of archaeological work? Are we to project the present into the past, arguing that we know it here now and it must have been this way in the past? Isn't that what ideological archaeologies do? Nazi archaeologists find their political realities in the past, projecting back from the present and claiming that Aryan supremacy can be traced in the archaeological record.

Of course you may believe that Skara Brae was there all along, projecting back. But really it is. of no necessary concern. And how would you prove it? Is there a time machine which would allow an archaeological team to excavate Skara Brae in the fourteenth century to check that it was there then? Is it not better to accept the gaps and lacunae in these life histories? To accept that the object world comes to be in our relationships with it? Gordon Childe and everything he brought with him is part of the historical reality of Skara Brae.

What is in this pot Figure 5? Well, probably not an aryballos; a perfume jar! So rather than saying that this illustrated object is a pot, we might also acknowledge that this object *becomes* a pot (and many other things), and these are due to our productive relationship with it. Of course, this does not mean that we can say it is an axehead, but we can make of it many things, depending on interest and purpose. We might explain its painted designs in terms of a history of animal art, or we might relate the form of the figures to ideological conceptions of the body, or we might imagine and investigate the haptics of miniature jars and perfumery. In all cases this may mean making no reference to the object being a ceramic form. We simply work on its materiality in a craft that includes archaeology.

We can never capture raw materiality. Why should we? The object always withholds some-thing. We put a thin section of the ceramic beneath a polarising microscope and it becomes

warrior-band mounted one last, suicidal attack from that region against the Anglo-Saxons who were already consolidating their occupation of much of present-day England, in the period of upheaval, contest and reorientation that followed the collapse of the Roman world. Fuelled by heavy drinking, three hundred met one hundred thousand in battle near Catterick in North Yorkshire. Inevitably they were slaughtered almost to a man. One of the few survivors was the poet Aneirin himself. His hundred stanzas celebrate the heroic disaster: the Gododdin and their exploits are remembered in this one epic.

> *Y Gododdin* wears the aspect of a genuine relic of a long forgotten strife, a massive boulder left high on its rocky perch by an icy stream which has long since melted away.

> (Brith Gof: *Gododdin* programme notes)

The language of the court of the Gododdin chieftain Mynyddog Mwynfawr was a form of proto-Welsh known as Brythonic spoken at that time down the western seaboard of Britain: a shared ancestry meant that the Gododdin could call upon brethren from Wales to join their cause. *Y Gododdin* records the assembly of warriors, a year of riotous preparation and training and the final, fateful conflict. But there is no linear narrative here. Instead the sequence of events is revealed in a fragmentary manner, as the exploits of individual heroes and groups of fighters are lauded and extolled. Whilst tonally familiar, much of this remains elusive and obscure to the modern Welsh ear.

Performance as political theatre

The decision to make a performance based on *Y Gododdin* came at the conclusion of a long series of productions, collaborations and training schemes organised by Brith Gof and based upon the theatrical animation of Francisco Goya's eighty etchings *The Disasters of War* and their captions (see Goya 1967). Thirteen major pieces of work, staged from Norway to Hong Kong, were inspired by the same graphic source. *Gododdin* was to be the penultimate manifestation. But the impetus to create the performance came with the darkest days of'Thatcherism', a time when Margaret Thatcher herself proclaimed society dead. We had long harboured a desire to work with Test Dept, a group of industrial percussionists - 'a skinhead gamelan' - with several Scots members, whose own spectacular performances and collaborations - with such unlikely partners as the South Wales Miners Choir - had marked them as amongst the few authentic voices of artistic dissent and opposition. But together we resisted the temptation to create a didactic and hectoring piece of agit-prop theatre. Neither did we want to make some 'period' dramatisation of *Y Gododdin* with the music as a kind of congruent backing for the events of the epic. Of course, the metaphorical implications of the poem were self-evident. But in deciding to create a large-scale work, at the limits of our ability to achieve it both technically and physically, we aimed to echo the folly of the Gododdin, the small struggling with the impossibly greater. We wanted to constitute political theatre as sophistication and complexity, elaborating dramatic material and detail in all available media simultaneously, to

work with the friction between the sensibilities and procedures of theatre and rock music and with anachronism.

> Defeat is never to be cherished, but the glorious rendering of their account against an infinitely stronger enemy lessens the smugness of victory and lends dignity to the vanquished. Culture then and now becomes a tool for survival. History-brought alive through the power of a performance, no matter how times have changed. To day the wealthy invade for personal and political gain.Yet after thirteen hundred years there is nothing marginal about the issues at stake. The right to self determination, the growth and celebration of native language, looking back further than thirty years of 'pop culture', making huge visions concrete and breathing life back into characters who, like so many, were destroyed when a race first began to flex their colonial muscles.

<div align="right">(Brith Gof: Gododdin, Test Dept in programme notes)</div>

Gododdin was conceived, constructed and initially presented - for three nights late in December 1998 - in the engine-shop of the enormous, disused Rover car factory in Cardiff, itself a potent symbol of economic decline and industrial decay. The production included fragments of the poem sung and spoken in Brythonic and English within the musical spectrum; a highly amplified instrumental soundtrack played live and on tape; dynamic physical action which made no attempt to tell the story of what is, after all, an elegy and a scenography which 'brought the outside inside', an arrangement of hundreds of tons of sand, dozens of trees and wrecked cars, and thousands of gallons of water, the latter of which gradually flooded the performing area during the performance. Dramatic material was generated and manipulated in each of the constituent media, as libretto, as musical composition, as choreography, as architecture.

The dramatic elements were written, composed and developed in relative isolation in order to reach their fullest, unmediated potential and only then combined at a date late in the rehearsal process. To function successfully this required two working principles: the establishment of an agreed dramatic structure, in the case of *Gododdin* a sequence of named, thematic sections - with consensual agreement about the nature, purpose and emotional tenor of each - and the institution of a time-base with fixed durations for each section. The schematic sequence included entry, prologue, heroics, berserking, arming, journey, battle, lament, epilogue.

Clifford McLucas's scenography resisted all temptation to provide an anecdotal or naturalistic setting for the literal exposition of the text. Instead his rigorously formal arrangement of scenic elements - trees, cars, sand - distributed on the architectural principles of line and circle throughout the hundred metres by forty metres space engaged the entire room (McLucas and Pearson 1996: 211-34). The design centred upon the old factory clock suspended somewhat off-centre towards the middle. Immediately below this a mountain of sand-covered oil-drums was constructed. Around the mountain a circle of sand thirty metres in diameter and three inches deep was laid out, kerbed with concrete

within which particular voices could be placed, moved and panned, with text moving over, through and around the spectators.

The soundtrack now bore the principal responsibility for providing the dramatic shape and continuum of the performance: each section had a distinct musical atmosphere. Significantly, the physical performers had to accept that they could never compete with the volume of the music, their acoustic voices lost and despairing, their actions puny and pitiful. And that they could never hope to animate the entire scenography: they were figures in a landscape. They became one element in a locale where there were other things . to see - active environment, musicians, other spectators - and to hear. The physical action then, freed from its role of being solely responsible for the exposition of the narrative, became schematic and non-illustrative. It was conceived as a series of group movements; as the manipulation of a limited repertoire of objects - oil drums, long wooden poles, banners - and semi-fixed scenographic elements such as cars and rope nets; and as a series of tasks, as a set of rule-based engagements and confrontations with the constructed environment. But there was no enemy. If there was an opponent it was the scenario, the tasks to be completed, with exhaustion as the ultimate failure. Or the scenography as the performers fought with the increasingly difficult environmental conditions, mirroring the frenetic energy of the hapless struggle of the Gododdin themselves. This became the more poignant as there were only six physical performers - two women, four men - lost in the cold, wet enormity of the theatrical concept. All were dressed in kilts, ubiquitous Dr Marten boots, jackets and shawls which could be transformed into banners: wrecking vehicles, using car bonnets as shields.

> Theatre in free space, reacting to (and conditioned by) the surrounding architecture
> … performers working at the very edge of their ability and stamina.
>
> (Brith Gof: *Gododdin* programme notes)

The articulation of the physical action was mediated by the environmental conditions, composed as much as a series of strategies and tactics for coping with difficulty as a complex choreography. It was as much rock concert or architectural installation as theatrical performance, as much political event as artistic endeavour. As such it prefigured the rave, that rush to the communal, to being part of the mass, to that subsuming of one's identity rather than dressing up to be seen as a member of a stylistic sub-culture, in reaction to the prevailing notion that the only safe place is a home. Here it's unclear who are the performers, who the spectators, as in a conventional rock concert. Following this model, performance may once again have to think of the 'we' rather than 'us' and 'them': the crowd may once more become exciting, dangerous and unstable. And this theme began to assert itself in subsequent Brith Gof productions.

In *Camlann* (1993), an examination of happenings in former-Yugoslavia through the myths surrounding the death of Arthur, with Arthur equating to Tito, the spectators were divided into Welsh-speakers and English-speakers, each group following different

blocks, its surface raked like a Japanese garden. Around the circle were four groups of two cars, all distressed with thin white paint and with working headlights. Across one diagonal of the room stretched two rows of pine trees tied to the roof trusses and creating an avenue for the entry of performers and spectators alike. A row of yellow and black banners each five feet square hung down one long side of the room. Two rows of facing cars demarcated an additional area for use during the 'battle' section.

The sand circle provided the main arena for the physical action, the spectators standing around its circumference. Twenty minutes into the performance, the circle began to flood with water from hoses from above, turning the sand over a period of time into a circular lake retained by the concrete kerb. At one side of the circle was a large stage for the musicians; opposite it were the lighting and sound control desks. The light sources included the car headlights, follow-spots and strip-lights removed from the building and rehung in a circle around the sand.

The design was thus a juxtaposition of that which was of the place - cars, neon, metal and that which was brought to the place - trees, sand, water. As a total designed environment it was from time to time indifferent to, and in conflict with, not only its host site but also with the activities pursued within it. The spectators were free to move throughout the space; during the battle section the performers burst out of the circle.

The soundtrack was constituted as a musical composition. First, a tape - which was to play throughout the performance - was recorded, providing a continuous undertow of rhythmic pulses and patterns, signalling timings for sections and cueing changes. Again the analogy of the practices of a sound-recording studio is useful: against this basic track, all the live instrumental and vocal elements were placed, elaborated, articulated and layered. For each section of dramatic development a fragment of text from *Y Gododdin* was chosen; other elements were developed through improvisation and trial-and-error. Test. Dept's drumming provided the dynamic impetus to the performance, each section having a different rhythmic and tonal quality. Their drums, of wood and metal, included both orchestral instruments and 'found objects', from timpani to huge aluminium thunder sheets, from home-made marimbas to large metal tanks struck by swinging logs. Instrumental textures were then added on trumpet, cornetto, cello, bagpipes and animal horns and these were occasionally modified by electronic effects. All instruments were highly amplified. The use of contact microphones meant that on-stage samplers could be triggered by the actions of the physical performers themselves. For instance, by striking their own shields the warriors could create the sounds of battle, such as the screaming of terrified horses. This gave the sound engineers key responsibility for creating the complex sonic effects of the performance and for ensuring its dramatic coherence. All of the textual elements were sung and spoken as an amplified libretto. Finally only twenty-five stanzas were chosen, as much for musical qualities as for their meaning. Lis Hughes Jones sang in Welsh, her voice singular and haunting against the relentless percussion. Conventionally the use of amplification means that voices issue from the same locations. However, through the judicious placement of amplification speaker units, a sonic architecture was built

performers in different areas of the warehouse and only gradually coming together (Pavis 1996: 174-6). Each language was constantly heard over, through and in conflict with the other. In the open performance area of *Arturius Rex* (1994), there were no formal divisions between performers and spectators. Welsh and English were spoken at the same time, the spectator free to find and follow the voice of his choice.

Prydain: The Impossibility of Britishness (1996) was part-building site, part-performance, part-concert - a hybrid of action, music, architecture and audience participation - for five performers, ten technicians, two music groups - with a live soundtrack by Slovene composer Robert Merdzo and the 'techno/jungle' sounds of Welsh band Reu-vival. There were fifty spectator/participants and one hundred and fifty spectators. And some fragments of text by William Blake and Iolo Morganwg spoken, shouted and scrawled on walls, floors, furniture and inscribed on the naked bodies of the performers. Both Welsh and English were again present but - to match the theme of revolution - half-heard, over-heard, heard in fragments. Here the spectator had to negotiate her presence, moment by moment, deciding whether to participate. 'Who do I listen to?' 'What language is being spoken here?' Standing, moving, running with, running away. To decide where to stand, to work out what her *stance* was.

The main artistic conceit was that the whole show arrived on the back of lorries and was built during the performance, in an ad-hoc way, performance as field. Stage-managers, directors, performers worked to devise the theatrical effects as they occurred. So the performance was always in motion, being built and falling to pieces in and around the participants. It utilised small generators, megaphones, battery amplifiers, industrial lighting and a repertoire of utilitarian materials: scaffolding, plastic sheeting. A theatre in the making, a work of invention with nothing to watch and everything to do. Within this maelstrom of activity, the fifty participants were invited, urged, to take part, to be choreo-. graphed. And this necessitated choices, commitments, courage ... the primal scene. Of this work there are few photographs. But then what could you photograph here, would you want to photograph here, from what standpoint and why?

Gododdin was subsequently restaged in a sand quarry in Italy, in a disused crane factory in Germany, in an empty ice-rink in Friesland and in Tramway in Glasgow. On tour, all of the production elements were regarded as kit of parts, a repertoire of

0.5   S.5   B.5   M.5

scenographic elements and performance sequences, to be reworked, reconceived, relocated for each separate architecture, according to the specifics of the location and the material means of the producer. All of the information necessary for a local construction team to create a given performance was enclosed in a strategic workbook: lists of materials, technical procedures, constructional timetables, line drawings of objects, diagrams, plans, sections .. .

In Polverigi, Italy, the open-air location allowed the use of motorised drum platforms during the battle section, high-pressure water hoses to repel the warriors, fire and naked flames, including a blazing log-slide which descended from the lip of the quarry to strike a large cement hopper. The topography of the site, where mounds of soil had been left to support electricity pylons which traversed the hillside, provided cliffs for scaling and an open arena within which to locate the various sequences, the spectators shifting from locale to locale. Two days before the premiere, heavy storms created a substantial lake in one area. Rather than altering the choreography to accommodate this, the battle ensued on, in and through it. The lament occurred in an area of thick mud, in the rain provided by upturned water hoses. All services such as electricity had to be brought to the site enabling the juxtaposition of fire and strip-lighting, the lighting tubes arranged vertically against one side of the quarry.

In Hamburg, Germany, a tower-crane placed at the centre of the circle allowed a wooden boat to be hoisted into the arena during the lament, circling and floating eerily a few centimetres above the water. In the restricted space of a site which usually functioned as a garden, the branches and foliage of trees and bushes were bound up tightly in muslin to protect the plants and to improve sight-lines. Metal mesh allowed the performers to climb high above the spectators, their bodies again beaten by water jets. Whilst the popular reaction to the performance was enthusiastic, some critics assumed that the presence of drums, boots, fire and naked torsos indicated fascist affiliations. It was with such ambiguity and reappropriation of iconography that groups such as Test Dept and Laibach from Slovenia toyed in the late 1980s.

In the empty ice-rink in Leeuwarden in the Netherlands it was decided to flood the whole space. This was, after all, a building designed to deal with water. Thus, as the performance progressed, the spectators became isolated in groups on islands created from

A.5   E.5   R.5

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eight thousand sand-bags, a scene reminiscent of the flat Friesian landscape where communities stand on man-made mounds or *terps*. Here Gododdin was presented to another linguistic minority and as one newspaper commented 'Everyone was there'. Four local artists created a wooden war-wagon in the shape of a swan with a nodding head: huge milk containers were used as drums, such is the nature of scrap-metal in Friesland, necessitating the use of large, extremely soft drumsticks and mallets which created a deep, muffled ring.

In Glasgow, Scotland, the tracks in the floor of the old tram depot enabled the use of mobile spotlights mounted on boogies but the restriction of size meant that a stage for the musicians had to be cantilevered out, halfway up one wall. A ramp made of corrugated iron, for the warriors to attempt to ascend, was lowered only late in the performance. It was here that *Gododdin* revealed itself not only as a political act but as the earliest Scottish epic too: as the run of performances progressed the physical performers found themselves accompanied by kilted spectators eager to participate.

Performance: against theatre

Since the classical Greek period, theatre has been regarded as an institution in which a society reaffirms and articulates its common identity, turning its history into a story for the audience to include in its common memory. This representation is achieved spatially, and arrangement of performance and spectators is the result of and medium for concrete social practices. This is a place where a community is supplied with a socially acceptable and valid representation of its world, a spatial machinery of identity. The evolution of theatrical space has witnessed its gradual division into two distinct places built around the principle of separating the 'see'[1] from the 'being seen', stage and auditorium, limiting perception to the stage alone and the increasing formalisation of this fundamental structure. The basic paradigmatic design for theatre is thus a box-shaped stage and a raked auditorium, the separation stressed by light on stage and darkness in auditorium, reinforced with the coming of electricity (See Roms 1993). The existence of the stage has allowed the elaboration of private places and restricted places, off-stage, places of preparation and storage and the development of scenic effects and machinery hidden from audience. In the nineteenth century, theatrical space becomes increasingly fixed and theatre serves as a verbal depiction of inner worlds and psychological spaces. So modern auditoria are **sociofugal,** throwing spectators apart, limiting their eye contact, discouraging social interaction with implications for the practice, function and meaning of theatre. Space becomes a static object whose structure is regarded as unchanging, representation as fixed, imagination as given, criticisms controllable. The role of the spectator in signification is denied.

Recurrent challenges to this model and development of aesthetic and political alternatives have taken two basic forms, both of which confront the concept of space as static and imagine a new role for the spectator. Within the auditorium, directors such as Robert Wilson have deconstructed the stage picture, suggesting for instance that we are glimpsing only one part of a much larger picture which continues beyond the frame of the proscenium (see Fairbrother 1991). In Brith Gof's *Patagonia* the whole auditorium was regarded

as a **found** site within which another architecture, an acoustic architecture, was created. So the sophisticated 'miking' and amplification of 'on-stage' voices allowed the distribution, movement and stratification of voices throughout the auditorium, removing from the performers the need to project their voices, employing instead intimate modes and tones of address, with visual and aural expression sliding out of synchronicity (see Pearson 1996a).

Others have left the auditorium altogether. *Gododdin* is a political imperative. With few endemic dramatic forms, with no mainstream tradition defining what theatre should and ought to look like, with no National Theatre prescribing an orthodoxy of theatrical convention, with no great wealth of playwriting, no extensive circuit of auditoria, then theatre in Wales still has options. It need not aspire to the normative practices of its majority neighbour: the exposition of dramatic literature in English playhouses. It can fold together action, text, music, scenography, place and public into performance forms and manifestations with no parallel in England. It has the chance to address different subject-matters, using different means, in spaces other than the hushed and darkened halls of theatre spaces, to create a counter-discourse. Yet in its forms, preoccupations, themes, function and placement, Welsh theatre may be distinct, but it need not be authentic. As much as the country itself, it is a work of imagination and invention (see Williams 1985). For the fractured, problematic nature of Welsh society and the endless tension between conservatism and innovation may lead to the creation of performance **hybrids,** as unafraid to **abrogate, appropriate** and **mimic** (sec Bhabha 1994) alien techniques and foreign aesthetics as they are to revisit and deconstruct traditional cultural motifs. Here dramaturgical assemblage unites with a very particular cultural project - located.

The lack of theatrical tradition doesn't mean that we commence empty-handed. Wales does have a sophisticated repertoire of musical, poetic and oratorical forms and techniques, enshrined in the cultural competitions of the *eisteddfod,* in the choral singing and preaching practices of the chapel and in the bombast of a fiery political culture: Welsh practitioners are used to performing, but on platforms and in contexts other than the auditorium. And these are highly instructive for new approaches to performance not only in informing the expressive techniques of performers, but also in suggesting alternative types of material - poetry, song, speech - and their sequencing. Welsh performance may include performers who sing as often as they speak, particularly in moments of deep emotion, without the work ever becoming a musical or opera, and who speak with the voice of the preacher, the politician and the auctioneer. It can employ the verbal and vocal traditions of poetic recitation, of wordless religious ecstasy and four-part harmony. It can substitute rhetoric and soliloquy for dialogue, declamation for discursive reason. And as Wales has only a limited range of auditoria, performance has naturally sought other locations, places in which Welsh audiences might feel more at ease than in the serried rows of the auditorium. Welsh performance can substitute real tasks or patterns of work for stage illusion and gesture, tasks which utilise the processes and rhythms of work, play and worship: recontextualised, mutated, re-energised. It can concern itself with the actions of nameless

eight thousand sand-bags, a scene reminiscent of the flat Friesian landscape where communities stand on man-made mounds or *terps*. Here Gododdin was presented to another linguistic minority and as one newspaper commented 'Everyone was there'. Four local artists created a wooden war-wagon in the shape of a swan with a nodding head: huge milk containers were used as drums, such is the nature of scrap-metal in Friesland, necessitating the use of large, extremely soft drumsticks and mallets which created a deep, muffled ring.

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characters who look as much like rugby players as actors, who behave as much cultural activists as fictional characters. Often, Welsh performers are already politicised, beyond the subject-matter of the performance, in the degree of their engagement. Identities may actually be at stake here. Performance may exist for the performer over and above motivation, character, blocking .. .

It can draw themes and subjects from the common currency of myth and religion; from a rich literary tradition; from a political history of bureaucratic and state interven-ion; from the effects of industrial and economic decay, of emigration and immigration and_ from a love of language and landscape. Whilst applying the most recent of technologies, it can address the oldest of anxieties. It returns recurrently not only to the Bible, to ancient lyrics and to mythical stories but also to specific instances of injustice, repression and resistance. For, in a traditional society, history may be experienced, or characterised, as a series of crucial, **inciting incidents** around which opinion accumulates and which resonate in the present: history conflates. Thus the flooding of the Welsh village of Tryweryn to make a reservoir for the English city of Liverpool in the early 1960s is still a potent metaphor for heavy-handed colonialism. Theatre in a minority culture can thus assume a certain level of knowledge and approbation in its audience, which is finite in number and already 'in on something'. With the existence of such a collective conscious-ness, knowledge or memory, theatrical interpretation can be audacious, detailed and diverse. And it can anticipate more acute levels of criticism! This does not mean that the tacit affirmation, by a Welsh audience, of entrenched stances such as passive resistance to bureaucracy, civil disobedience and anti-Englishness, or of such familiar notions as *hiraeth*
 the love of native land - should go unconsidered. Welsh performance can also resemble the political meeting or the *noson lawen,* a rural entertainment of songs and sketches. It can employ the conventions of the chapel service and the barn dance as its performance structures. It need not even be *in parenthesis,* signified as distinct mode of expression: performance can be as much an actual memorial service as a fictional story. This is the particular social and political context within which *Gododdin* was created.

Site-specific work and the material past

Theatre auditoria are sites of continuous occupation: the material traces of previous performances may still exist. There are traditions of usage and the memory of previous performances will certainly provide perceptual orientations for the spectators. But to understand the processes by which different performers are simultaneously manifesting different imaginary landscapes onto a fixed" topography we may need to look at notions such as Jameson's **'cognitive mapping'** (Jameson 1991:409).

The continuous use and reuse of locations bestows meaning upon them, affecting the way in which they are experienced. This is only partly to do with the configuration of the space, and partly to do with what one brings to the place: an attunement, an awareness of the place's historicity. The place is 'read' and thereby interpreted in the same way as

the performance. Indeed, the reading of the place is a part of the setting of performance, as much for the performer as for the watcher. By a mirror-play, each site gathers its surroundings, in association and connotation. Places are reworked by playing upon and transforming past associations and meanings.

<div align="right">(Thomas 1994: 143)</div>

Gododdin was created at the time when the term **'site-specific'** was first applied to performance. At site, no such traditions of theatrical usage exist. However, the traces of other usages are apparent occasioning a creative friction between the past and the present and drawing attention to the temporality of place. And within such places, free from conventions of dramatic exposition, performance may be constituted as a locale of cultural intervention, as a temporary autonomous zone, as both **heterotopia** and **Utopia.**

Site may be directly suggestive of performance subject-matter, theme or form. Its usage, or former usage, may directly inform dramatic structure, the hand-in-glove congruence of performance about war-wounded in a hospital or constituted as a religious service in a chapel or as a political meeting in a council chamber. Performance, in turn, may reveal, make manifest, celebrate, confront or criticise site or location, and its history, function, architecture, micro-ciimate . . . Conversely, site may facilitate the creation of a purposeful paradox, through the employment of orders of material seemingly unusual, inappropriate or perverse at this site, site serving to recontextualise the material, relocating it and suggesting environment, equipment and working processes which might mediate and illuminate it.

At site, architecture and everyday usage may suggest a dispersal of activity and modes of performance. There may be an existing institutional arrangement of watchers and watched which can be annexed: the formal organisation of pulpit and congregation in a chapel or beds and visitors in a hospital. However, site-specific performance may allow the construction of a new architecture, imposing another arrangement, floor-plan, map or orientation which confounds everyday hierarchies of place and patterns of movements.

We might envisage performance which refuses the panoptic view, which is aware of what it brings to site, which makes no attempt to re-enact the million, million occurrences which have happened there, which is aware of its nature as a contemporary act, as the latest occupation of a place where previous occupations are still apparent and cognitively active, the friction of what is *of* the place and what is brought *to* the place. Composed as a number of different, overlaid and interpenetrating orders of material, fictions or conceptual frameworks - some temporal, some spatial, some thematic, some textual - performance in heritage contexts can conflate the documentary and the fictive within a given location or architecture, covering the full range of Tschumi's programmatic proposals without laying claim to historical accuracy or authenticity. No single story need be told here. Indeed the frameworks may be so different in nature that their juxtaposition recurrently creates new and unexpected meaning. The work can be ambiguous and provocative, exciting and engaging whilst revealing and complementing the auras of the place. Here is a fusion of the creative and the analytical, the past and the present, and the animation

of individuals within a variety of dramatic structures which can evoke a richness and density of meanings, trapped neither in one period nor in the mannerisms of costume drama.

> They are enigmatic, inasmuch as any one viewer may pay more or less attention to any one event in such a multi-focus field of material. For the viewer, they are inherently non-hierarchical - any of the work's components may, at any one time, provide the 'centre' or 'datum' around which other materials are working, but the responsibility for fulfilling this role is not carried by any one prime component (as, for instance, does the script in a piece of orthodox, narrative theatre).
>
> (McLucas in McLucas and Pearson 1996)

Visiting the past: stories of heritage and authenticity

Gododdin re-enacted past in present and in a future-oriented project of performance against theatre. This chapter began with a section on sovereignty which juxtaposed diverse elements to generate interpenetrating and multifocus frictions. We have dealt with notions of artefact and site, and, throughout this chapter, with a fusion of the creative and the analytical. We move to another set of locales where past and present percolate - museums, heritage sites and interpretive centres.

By the village of Saint Fagan's near Cardiff is Amgueddfa Werin Cymru, the National Folk Museum of Wales. The wooded valley is setting for cottages, farmhouses, rural industrial buildings, a methodist chapel. The buildings have been brought from all over Wales and rebuilt here. Guidebooks give information about the different buildings: timber construction or the arrangement of accommodation for animals and people together in a long house. Uniformed museum officials are at hand to answer questions. But wandering around the exhibited structures is less about-information than it is an evocation of pre-modern, pre-industrialised times. Fragmented - a collage of spare puritan methodism, dark smoky interiors, warm glow of blacksmith's fire, rural labour. No particular dates, simply pre-modern. You may buy traditional stone-ground flour and bread, taste organic farm cheeses. Schoolchildren visit, dress up, sit on old school benches and listen to teacher forbid them to speak in Welsh.

At one edge of the museum is a more recent addition. A 'Celtic' farm has been constructed - round houses in a small palisaded enclosure. The draughty walls and puddles on the earth floors do not make for congenial interiors. But a primary focus in the other buildings at Saint Fagan's is the homely interior. Period detail; contemporary consumers are sensitive to style and design. The bedspreads and furniture in Llainfadyn cottage; country kitchen of the Abernodwydd farmhouse from Powys. Period style. Perhaps we would all wish for such a country cottage.

The round farmhouses are called 'Celtic': here are connotations of those who are indigenous, belonging before Roman invaders. This is the Welsh National *Folk* Museum. The Museum's theme is the folk, a term which raises images of folk costume, ideas of national identity, belonging and attachment to the countryside, land, the soil. It may be somewhat quaint too: folk-tales and fairies; cauls and love-spoons. Hitler's *Volk* was more than a little different.

The institution and discourse of the museum supply an authenticity - this is all accredited by an academic and authorised body. Money and resources have been invested by the state. The transported buildings were carefully chosen because of their value to history, to *Welsh* history, to the history of the Welsh *people,* the lowly folk rather than great public figures. The museum curates, takes care of the material history in its keeping. There is no trace of ruin (the litter of some rusting farm machinery, yet to be attended to, is hidden behind bushes). The past is here pristine.

Complaint may be made that this is a very particular authentic Welshness which is being presented. What of the major nineteenth- and twentieth-century experiences of the South Wales valleys - coal mining and steel production? There is a row of industrial workers' cottages, but again the vehicle to understanding is domestic interior. Saint Fagan's is reminiscent of John Ford's film *How Green Was My Valley* (1941) - Welsh miners' singing community, wandering down the hill from the colliery pit head, mams at doors with roast dinners waiting. Staged romanticism.

The comparison with Hollywood, and indeed the costume dramas produced by British TV companies and marketed worldwide (numerous novels by Jane Austen, Dickens, Trollope), is not an arbitrary one. Outdoor museums such as Amgueddfa Werin Cymru invite comparison with heritage centres and theme parks. The lack of heavy and detailed interpretive presence offering information and historical, chronological and social context could bring the criticism that visits verge on the historically incoherent, being more to do with spectacle and entertainment than the 'real' past.

Authenticity and the romantic fallacy of the 'real' past

But what is the real past now? What does an authentic past look like? Is this visit to St Fagan's an experience of an authentic past? The issue of authenticity is one at the heart of our project of theatre/archaeology.

Outside of Paris and east along the Marne is to be found Disneyland Europe, or Eurodisney as it was first called. There you can fly in a gondola through a window in a London terraced house, out with Peter Pan into the night sky and over to Never-never Land. On an underground boat trip swashbuckling model pirates sack a town of oldendays; a stuffed goat bleats as the runaway goldrush mining train careers out of control; ancient holographic ghosts feast in Norman Bates's house from Hitchcock's *Psycho.*

It is a strange experience, out of time and place, for where and when is this all supposed to be? Much of Disneyland Europe makes reference to time and temporalities - lost and better pasts, nostalgias, storyland historical romances, progress and technological futures. Heritage generally, taking it as legitimate to write of a unity 'heritage', references time and the past. The archaeological, that is, the material past, is being used more than ever. And a major complaint against heritage is that it involves an ignoral or distortion of the 'real' past; heritage contaminates. A typical response of an archaeologist may be to check the references to the past that are made in the cultural work of heritage, proposing instead a 'better', more real or authentic account, less contaminated by spectacle and the present, more in line with the discipline of archaeology.

Authenticity? The country cottages of the Welsh National Folk Museum are as authentic as they can be; they are the real thing. You might expect Disneyland to be cheap and shallow - it is

not. The old disused mine is carefully staged with all sorts of 'genuine' artefacts and equipment brought from industrial workings in the United States; in this it fascinates and is not easily dismissed as superficial. In 'Toad Hall', which is presented as an English pub (without the beer), are served fish and chips. Cliche perhaps, but the designers have, in detail and ambience, excelled in producing a non-pub which is far more 'authentic' than many English pubs we know.

So what is the difference between Amgeuddfa Werin Cymru, other sites aiming at historical and archaeological respectability, and places such as Disneyland?

Archaeologists gather objects and nominate sites. Archaeologists interested in the past do not want fakes. They select those to be studied on the basis, ultimately, of age and authenticity, originality. But authenticity is not an intrinsic property or essential quality. What would be an essential quality of 'authenticity'? Truth to self? If so then the hope for a quality such as authenticity involves abstract definitions of self (object self) and truth, on the basis of which the inessential and contaminating may be excluded. This is all very philosophical and difficult. Alternatively, and more usually, the archaeologist prefers to guarantee authenticity through context and association - where the object comes from, the traces remaining of the object's 'present', the artefacts and features of a site remaining from a time past. Although the traces of the past are now part of our present, authenticity and the value of a genuine artefact to (archaeological) knowledge depend upon it being *removed* from the present. If you mix up old artefacts and spectacle, entertainment, interests of the present, then that old artefact is supposed to be of less use to proper archaeological concerns such as producing knowledge of the past.

It may be argued that a proper and respectable mixing of authenticity and entertainment is that for purposes of education. The designers of Jorvik Viking Centre in York, England were some of the first to learn a great deal from Disney's 'imagineers', and produced an entertaining trip in a time car to a reanimated Viking settlement and through to an archaeological excavation frozen in time Wishart 1984). But, arguably, Jorvik is considered more respectable than Disney. Why? Because the spectacle sticks to the facts of the past and is educational? Or because the profits go back into archaeology?

We have made reference to value and use. What use is an entertaining experience to archaeology? What is value in this context? Value may be exchange value, what something means to someone else, the value of something for an other. Or it may be use value, the relevance of an object to a purpose or interest. Use value refers to the object as a tool. Tools are fitted to some purposes, and are useless for others. Use value is the relevance of an object to a purpose or interest. Archaeologists, in their professional work, exercise choice in selecting and gathering artefacts (and experiences) according to archaeological purpose or use. It is important to note that both forms of value include acts of *choice* on the part of agencies beyond the object itself. In this way authenticity and value are about *desire.*

To think of authenticity as essential and intrinsic obscures the relation of exchange which exists between past and present. It is to forget that the object's value is decided in moving from past to present through the work of desire. Archaeologists, or Disney imagineers, *want* what they find and use. What is found is not naturally 'authentic'; its 'original' context is not natural. For what is natural about the comminglings of the cultural garbage heap, of the abandoned home? Only

perhaps the entropy, decay and rot. There is no archaeological 'record', just a ruined mess. What is found *becomes* authentic and valuable because it is set by choice in a new and separate environment with its own order, purpose and its own temporality - the time co-ordinates of the discipline archaeology which give the object its date and context. This is a moral setting, when authenticity is considered good, as opposed to deceitful fakery.

The systems of value according to which archaeologists gather and order their 'finds' are not natural then, but tactical and strategic. This is *not to* write arbitrary. But the archaeologist's choice is *no more or less meaningful than* the choices and juxtapositions of Disney imagineers. To recognise choices made makes archaeology and Disney comparable and commensurable. No longer are there archaeologists on one side virtuously holding on to the past while on the other Disney corporation adulterates for contemporary interests of profit and perhaps the American way of life. In this latter case there is no reasonable choice to make between the experiences of Disneyland and the archaeological profession, and we can only suppose that all those people who visit Eurodisney are stupid, conned or uninterested in the past. But with this view of authenticity as a mediation and relationship of past and present, we can see that both archaeology and Disney are mobilising heterogeneous assemblages of artefacts, reason, ingenuity, experiences, knowledges, interests, purposes.

Disney's choice of things is made according to criteria that are very different from those of archaeology. Heritage, more generally, is not about the attractive presentation of a past as it is understood by archaeology. The power of heritage, its seduction, is that it is about signification - things' meaning for what we are now. Heritage is a symbolic exchange like sacrifice, wherein a victim is given in exchange for a favour from an other - this for that. Heritage is a sacrifice of the past for the present. But this does not mean that the past is necessarily of no importance. In fact the opposite is true of sacrifice; it is vital that the victim is appropriate and correct for its purpose. It must be scrutinised thoroughly to achieve the power of sacrifice which is communion with an other. What is this other? It depends upon the heritage site, but it is, *ex hypothesi,* to do with things and qualities which are **desired.**

The symbolic exchange of heritage is about sacrifice and consumption (of the past) rather than accumulation and the hoarding of new knowledge. In this heritage logic the meaning of the past does not lie in the dusty cellars of a museum. The meaning is what the past can do for the present. Nor does consumption mean that the past is necessarily served up for a consumer society, suitably trimmed and cooked. Consumption (potentially) means that it is taken within the self.

The Welsh National Folk Museum offers an experience of a rural heritage authorised by its national status, its academic officials, its period details in a pastoral location far from the contemporary city and suburbia. Further west is another offering of Welsh heritage under a different authorising notion of authenticity. Set in an old squire's house, *Celtics* offers experiences. The visitor is guided through a sequence of sets, dioramas, stages which all mix time, narratives, character, viewpoint. There are evocations of megaliths, extracts from Celtic mythology, accounts of Druids, a Celtic village diorama, with an actor/interpreter in character (an Iron Age blacksmith when we visited), surreal and mystical settings (misty ancient oak groves) for projections and soundtrack.

The message is that the ancient Celts were a spiritual, warlike, fiery, passionate and highly creative race of people who dominated central and western Europe. Though marginalised in late antiquity, they are still with us now, we are told, found on the 'Celtic fringe' of Europe, still speaking their old languages, still embodying their ancient characteristics. They are the Scots, Irish, Welsh, Bretons, Catalans. Celtica is a story of genealogy and the true identity of the Welsh. Authenticity is here directly connected with continuity from past through to present; authenticity is here associated with the aboriginal.

Gwydion, a Druid's apprentice, is cast into the vortex and tells the future from the past, shown to the audience on video. 'Can you still see our craftsmen?' asks the Druid of Gwydion. And the flickering video clears to show modern industry. Rugby playing merges into the contemporary *eisteddfod*- descendants, it is claimed, of those ancient warlike and artistic qualities. So what has happened to this great Celtic people of old? The answer is confirmed again at the end as a Welsh choir sings Dafydd Iwan's song 'We are still here'.

Predictably perhaps, after the guided visit to megaliths, oak trees and mystical vortex, the visitor is directed to a more conventional learning experience, an historical timeline recording various events on the continuity from Celtic past to present. This, explicitly affirmed at the beginning of the exhibition, is all authorised by an academic team, again.

The eclipse of academic values of 'rational' knowledge by sentiment, sensation and melo-drama may be termed 'Romanticism'. The mobilisations of the past in the service of nationalist and regional identities (with no necessary reference to the academic) add weight to the use of the term, given the traditional association of romantic ideologies and nationalism. The association between language, soil, society, culture, and a smoothed-over continuity of history is great ideological force. There are grounds here upon which criticism can validly be made. Sensation and melodrama often use cliche, stock characterisation and scenes for a predictable and easy response. The particularity, otherness and difference of the past may be ignored because upon. these work is required. The past is not attended to. We may wish to criticise nationalist sentiment when past evidences are ignored. And all those notions, at the heart of the Celtica agenda, of a Celtic people and unity of culture are, for archaeologists and historians, deeply problematic. Again, however, we stress that these criticisms cannot claim that the past is hereby being contaminated by the present (it is always past/present). Criticism is of the *character of the relationship* between the past and the present.

Celtica is heavily dependent upon media of diorama and video projection accompanied by simple dramatic enactment - pretending to be a Druid or a blacksmith. But here we note a paradox or contradiction which confirms our point about the authenticity being dependent upon the character of mediation or relationship between past and present. The actor in the Celtic village, speaking modem Welsh, performed the past. His language, far from being contemporary, was proposed as archaic, signifying the ancient, the Celtic, the continuity. 'These words were then'. So although he was playing an ancient role, we also had to simultaneously suspend our belief, because the role of the actor was his physical presence, a nice modern Welsh boy, speaking Welsh. It was this modern identity that was the crucial point, making him an authentic interme-diary. We will take forward this theme of dramatic re-enactment.

THEATRE/ARCHAEOLOGY

Rupture and the authentic imagination

Dramatic replication of the past is fraught with difficulties. Theatre is constituted as a sophisticated system of simulation, of illusion of place and person. Its nature is towards unauthenticity; our distance from the stage precludes the need for exact similitude. We accept the codes of representation. Sadly, re-enactment at heritage sites recurrently takes the conventions of stage practice — the rhetorical devices of acting - and the technical means of the auditorium - lighting, sound, fabricated decor-and applies them in contexts where they are singularly inappropriate and where the spectator is asked to accept their very unauthenticity as authentic, as a true window on the past. Here it is the intention that is at fault, a process which reduces the complexity of the past to the linearity of dramatic narrative, changing the 'it was this and this and this' of the visitor's imagination to 'it was this'.

There never was a *then* for this place: it *is now, was then* and *all points in between.* At least in the auditorium we the spectators collude in the deception of theatre. We suspend our disbelief, we acknowledge the fiction, the illusions and simulations of place and person. We are supposed not to do this at places like Celtica. Nevertheless many visitors spend much effort in trying to expose the fraud, revealing the performative nature of representation by, for instance, confronting the historical personages with contemporary objects. At least this is playful, indicating that the relationship can never be other than theatrical, that spectators will always view such interpretation with scepticism, resisting closure. But why bother in the first place then? Awkward questions about attempting to control interpretation arise.

Within such contexts actors are often presented with an impossible task. They are caught between **now** and **then,** between the need both to explain and to re-enact. Yet the actor/spectator interaction occurs in the public domain of the present not the past: it is inevitably tempered by the social norms of contemporary society and by the transactional conventions of modern theatre practice. Re-enactment then is often neutered, without extremes of emotion or action. The actors cannot become dangerous: we don't see them defecating, having sex, sleeping . . . And whilst it remains a fascinating project, we rarely see any attempt to reconstruct the gestural conventions, particularly the private ones, of a particular period, as opposed to the linguistic affectations (which are surely no more discernible than physical activity). These people, these actors, cannot do otherwise: they never have enough knowledge of 'how to go on', how to improvise 'as if in the past'. And whatever the degree of verisimilitude of costume drama, we always suspect that they are wearing modern underwear.

Training prepares actors for the strange half-turned - speaking out, speaking across conventions of the proscenium stage. Once removed from this protected environment, the actor becomes three-dimensional, in an alien environment. As the stage picture, his normal workplace, is characterised by omission, by a series of design concepts which hold the elements together, there is little wonder that he may appear swamped in denser aggregations of site and objects. Inevitably, he must find ways to survive. The blacksmith fiddles with props in the mock-up Celtic village. He might include a certain knowingness or collusion, communicated to the spectator as an 'I know you know this is not real, so we're all in it together' attitude and undoubtedly of the

present. Or the creation of *character,* a construct of biographical fiction, speculative motive and response, and personal technique. Both lead to a closure of dramatic potential and ultimately to a banalisation of the past. He's just a nice Welsh boy really; and this, as we have shown, is the point.

Consider now the *Big Pit.* Up another of the South Wales valleys is a site of industrial archaeology, the Big Pit at Blaenafon. On a bleak and scarred hillside, snow-flecked when we last visited in October, is one of the few remnants of the South Wales coalfield, in its heyday at the turn of the century the biggest in the world. The pit was closed in 1980, then opened again three years later as a visitor centre, though its future still remains uncertain. The colliery is not cleaned up, other. than at the entrance and reception. Bits of machinery lie around. The pithead is worn, dirty and used. Ex-miners take visitors down the pit and walk them around the now disused workings. The miners speak about the history of coal mining, but the chronology is imprecise. They speak of the way it was; *was,* because work stopped. No romanticising of the past, very little nostalgia. Just talking about what they did and showing us where and how.

Here was a simple contact with another order of experience. Mediated by a vitality - the life of the ex-miner and his experiences expressed in anecdote and incidental detail, and by a site which had not been sanitised, but left. In the pit baths, again just left empty, a plain photo exhibition expanded with old pictures of miners and a few stories told mostly through contemporary journalism. They added to a physiognomy of Blaenafon.

The guide at Blaenafon Big Pit also told of his times and points out things of note. He just shows you around in circumstances which are as staged as Celtica. The character there just shows you around too. You know it's not 'real'. He is a character, and plays his part well. Visitors are there to use their imagination. In this perhaps Blaenafon and Celtica are not comparable. But there is another difference, in the type of experience afforded. Much of Celtica is as sterile as the magic oak in whose roots we are supposed to see the future; which is not to say that it does not attract. The story may well be perceived as a good and relevant one. It has been academically authorised . and an accompanying conventional exhibition goes to great lengths to provide archaeological and historical authorisation. Empirically it is supposed to be correct. But it isn't. The underground machinery has mostly been removed from Blaenafon and the coal workings are empty. In this it is not anything like the way it was: Blaenafon has *changed,* and the visitor perceives this. But the empty underground stables echo, resonate, evoke. Blaenafon haunts. The ghosts at Celtica are the faces projected when you push the button on the mystic stone.

Again we want to stress that the haunting of the past is not to do with 'authenticity', meaning the simple material and empirical presence of the past. Many museum displays, traditional and contemporary, are as sterile, sanitised and dead as Celtica. The authenticity of Blaenafon is the character of the changes we perceive it has undergone. Thus we argue that rupture is essential to the *authentic imagination.*

Work such as *Gododdin* never claims authenticity. Yet, like the National Folk Museum, Celtica and Blaenafon, it is inherently archaeological. *Gododdin* worked with the traces of the past, in this instance a text and a legend, and makes something of it in the present.

And heritage sites differ from the locations chosen for Brith Gof's site-specific work in designation only. They may be equally susceptible to the oblique strategies and approaches of an

experimental theatre which has gained the experience and expertise to deal with the most diverse of sites. It may be possible to create theatrical presentations which are not reliant upon the re-enactment and singularity of interpretation of conventional dramatic practice, which make no pretence at verisimilitude, which juxtapose alternative interpretations simultaneously, which reveal site continuously and which serve to evoke rather than to monopolise meaning, rupturing rather than consoling. Such interpenetrative hybrids may include anachronism, lack of congruence, fantasy, the overlaying of 'like' and 'unlike' in order to stimulate the imagination of the spectator, to provoke questioning and to embrace her in an interpretive and critical process. Their parts never fully coalesce and they contain irreconcilable discontinuities within their juxtapositions of material. They are purposefully unauthentic.

Monuments and morbid echoes: choreographing the prehistoric body

We have dealt with things, the performer, mediation of past and present, rupturing authenticities and enduring pasts, evocative and haunting. We move on now to consider more of architecture and site. Our subject is performative behaviours seen through European prehistory.

Site and place in prehistory

> *I am the family face;*
> *Flesh perishes, I live on,*
> *Projecting trait and trace*
> *Through time to times anon,*
> *And leaping from place to place*
> *Over oblivion.*
>
> *The years-hiered feature that can*
> *In curve and voice and eye*
> *Despise the human span*
> *Of durance — that is I;*
> *The eternal thing in man,*
> *That heeds no call to die.*
> ('Heredity', Hardy 1993: 103)

On a hillside in west Wales looking out towards the sea, stands the elegant structure of Pentre Ifan. Its simple sculptural form - three uprights and a capstone, in local stone resembles a contemporary art-work, an intervention or **interruption** in the landscape (see Kastner and Wallis 1998: 72ff.). Yet it is over five thousand years old, an example of those built structures, with an insular flavour, which emerged with what has been described as the advent of the neolithic period. During a period of cultural change and

innovation, soil, timber and stone were fashioned into a new range of architectures, ceremonial sites, avenues and circles which reached their developmental zenith with the final phases at Stonehenge and Avebury (Thomas 1993: 32). This may have involved the adoption of new beliefs. It certainly witnessed the advent of a set of new body practices manifest in space and in relation to the dead, as new attitudes to the human body, both as active agent and as corpse.

> My mother heard a gasp in the bed beside her and my father was dead. In his dream was there sudden black, the jolt of a fall, or just another page turning in the wind?
>
> (Brith Gof: *A Death in the Family,* 1991; text by Mike Pearson)

Prior to the neolithic, social life was lived out as a series of encounters, in the face-to-face co-presence of other participants, in highly localised arenas (see Giddens 1984: 75-92). These encounters occupy regions of space and time, the opening and closing of the bracket marked by mechanisms and techniques of entry, body positioning and turning away. They may have been informal for the 'figures in the landscape' - on path, in clearing, around fire - the human body experienced in relation to environmental features and to impermanent dwellings. Or more formally at oft-visited places, recurrently or seasonally visited, in a complex narrative weaving of time and space. So there are meetings with friends, kin, strangers . . . and these probably have to be formalised to prevent misunderstanding and violence. Initially we might have to signal our presence - by smoke signals, by use of the voice; shouting, yodelling, singing as Pygmies do in the Congo jungle … and then use a series of conventionalised and mutually understood postures and gestures to clarify our intentions. We may have to perform our identity. Inevitably this will include. *proxemics* - placing the body in particular relation to those of others, and *haptics* - particular kinds of touch, rubbing noses and such, as well as meaningful gestures. And men we begin to tell of what we have seen and done - to describe, to represent, experiences of other places, other times. To sing, to gesture, to enhance our telling. And perhaps this telling is about a shared history, recited to hold it, and us, in place. Inevitably we exaggerate, we dramatise our story to keep the listener interested. And we may too begin to imitate and impersonate others, humans and animals, mimicking their postures, movements and voices to make then present in the moment. Shouting across the valley, whooping in the hunt, calling out greeting, chatting around the camp-fire, wailing in front of the corpse.

Fred Machin did a good job, calm and deferential; the frayed cuffs on his suit at the crematorium burst any pretence. His mortuary was a breeze-block shed in the yard, a small wooden cross above the door to distinguish it from several others.

The dead were disposed of then in ways which we can barely discern. Perhaps they were just left on the ground for carrion or thrown into the nearest river, got rid of. Or slightly more formally, hung in a tree for the birds to eat or covered in a pile of animal bones or cast in the same midden as the food remains. Environment - topography, climate,

flora and fauna - and body - living and dead - in a field of fluid, tactical and improvised engagements.

He looked serene, the blond hair that lingered at his temples neatly brushed. The rest, as is the way with the Pearsons, he lost in his early twenties, whilst sticking his head out of a Liberator bomber, over Ceylon, or so he said. And in the cream silk suit of the coffin, he looked like a cardinal. Whether through some alchemy of the embalmer's art or the sudden release of all fear, strain, tension, his face was completely without lines.

Monument and architecture

And then - earthworks, great stones moved and arranged, quarries opened up, chalkland scarred, uplands dug. It begins with the construction of **place.** These new architectures separate and demarcate: they mark out, mark off and set aside space. They are the trans-formations of space through objects: linear and circular configurations and constraints which affect and regulate the way space is experienced and interpreted (Thomas 1999: 35f.). They inscribe the newly cleared landscape. They are 'special places' where the human body is framed and observed in relation to new facades, backdrops and screens; where movement is controlled and channelled; where the voice is contained and amplified; where encounters, events and physical and vocal intercourse may be prescribed and choreographed and where actions and performances are staged (ibid.: 41f.; Bradley 1993: 48f.; Barrett 1994: 9f.).They arc as much about the movement of people as they are about the stars. They are the locations of events: feasts, gatherings, burials. Within enclosures and at locales and settings, in places specially allocated and 'bracketed off from other activities, in places of meeting and of regionalised practice, individuals are brought together in time and space. Here the space may act directly upon the body, causing irregular movements and orientations, channelling the eye, regulating patterns of visibility and hiddenness, controlling the spacing and timing of encounters. And here there can be the formal and strategic deployment of the body and the voice in extra-daily practices. At such places there is an articulation of interior and exterior, inclusive and exclusive, watchers and watched. And discourses are protected from evaluation through restricted access (Whittle 1988: 149-50).

She bent down and kissed him on the cheek. Only later would she stagger and wail and here I can make no impersonation of my mother - 'He's not coming back to me'. She had known him since she was 6 years old. 'Touch 'im, touch 'im, you 'ave to touch 'im', hissed my grandmother, responding to some age-old imperative. Slowly, my hand slid to his. And then I realised it was all wrong. The nails were clean, manicured, no trace of soil. And the skin was smooth, waxy, like the skin of a potato.

John Barrett identifies places where performance is more or less likely - processions in avenues, presentations at stone settings or locales (Barrett 1994: 15ff.). Performance may have four axes of manifestation: space, time, pattern and detail. This model might cause us to seek those places in the past where architectural surface and closure might necessitate and prescribe certain altered behaviours and bodily orientations. But we should never

forget that movement defines and articulates space just as much as walls or columns and that 'performed movement' is our elemental means for the realisation of space-creative impulses. Movement in space is at once a 'reading' and a 'writing'. Barrett supposes that the stone rows of southern Britain are the physical manifestations of the existence of processional activity: setting out from and arriving at henges, along avenues. He suggests that the architectural settings of Bronze Age monuments created formal opportunities 'to enter and leave each other's presence, to observe passively or to act, to lead processions or to follow' (ibid.: 29). Here he distinguishes between those included in the activity and those. excluded and 'amongst those who were included were those who led and those who followed' (ibid.). Body practices of leaving, moving, entering; leading and following; observing and acting.

There were no flowers. Instead, a collection to buy a defibrillator for the Scunthorpe Ambulance Service, which was ironic, as during his second event they almost killed him with one. Without time even to grease the terminals, they slapped them straight on, leaving two huge burn marks on his chest. The funeral service at the crematorium was the usual public affair: family, friends, colleagues, those come to make their peace, those come seeking some sort of retribution. And the body is surrendered into the hands of others. And as it slides from view, a link is cut.

In regular and sporadic cycles of physical engagement, of encounter between body and environment, social and ritual generate people's understanding both of themselves and their surroundings. Acting as 'stations' in this network of movements, features which have been constructed by human beings will have a constraining effect on the interpretive process. That structuring then of a landscape through the building of monuments, is actually the 'making' of human subjects and their consciousness. 'For these constructed features have a constraining effect upon interpretation' (Thomas 1999: 36).They channel. and direct movement, the encounter between body and environment, in choreographies which prescribe time and sequence and which ultimately map patterns of practice and of belief.

In fact, it's not easy to dispose of a body. Burial always leaves a trace. Even in the most acidic of soils, a black shadow remains or perhaps just a concentration of certain minerals, potassium for instance. Head of femur, teeth, usually resist burning.

Amongst the earliest sites are the causewayed enclosures, discontinuous ditches surrounding a central area and crossed by … causeways (Mercer 1990; Parker-Pearson 1993: 28f.;Thomas 1999: 38f.).These ditches demarcate; they don't defend. And they are filled with extraordinary debris. At all levels, there arc the disarticulated remains of dozens of individuals (350 at one site): scattered single bones, and parts of skeletons - limbs, torsos and the pelvis/femur/lower vertebrae assemblage which is the last to fall apart, because of the strong muscle attachments. Also single skulls and bundles of bones. And enveloping them, the remains of feasts: animal bones from meat-rich parts of the body and quantities of unweathered drinking cups and bowls. The conjecture is that these were vast mortuary enclosures or open-air cemeteries, where bodies were left on the surface of the

interior to rot, decompose and naturally deflesh - in a process called *excarnation* - and then handled, carried, used, deposited - in fragments - in subsequent rites. The access of the living to this reeking site was restricted to the narrow causeways. And there they ate and drank amongst the remains, in a conflation of choreography and improvisation and sensual contacts with organic objects which many performance artists will doubtless appreciate. Significantly, certain parts of the bodies are underrepresentcd.

What to do then? Throw it into a river like they do in the Ganges. Feed your victim a special breakfast porridge, garrotte him and throw him into the local bog. Where the leathery skin will turn up generations later in the unforeseen quest for peat. Bury it where no one will expect to look: in a cemetery for instance, as they did during the Dirty War in Argentina.

The henges have a circular ditch with an external bank and one or two entrances, a marking off of space, rather than a defensive structure (see Burl 1991). Inside there are concentric settings of timber uprights, perhaps buildings, perhaps circles of posts. Movement is channelled towards a facade which draws attention to the place of entry, across a platform and depositional area of hearths and meat-rich animal bones - principally pig - and into the concentric area where it must turn aside or approach the fire at the centre. Also within the henge are localised settings or stages - locales, architectural and depositional - to amplify and focus activity, to act as backdrop or screen, with in-front and behind. Places for events and for offerings.

But perhaps you don't want to get rid of it. Perhaps you want to keep it, hanging on the wall, embalmed. Death is easy to look at in the cool, clean, odourless catacombs of Palermo. But Death always laughs back. The priests in their vestments have faces pulled into grimaces, hands tightened into talons.

Simultaneously with the causewayed camps, new tomb types emerged, apparent today in the landscape as long mounds. These mounds cover a number of different structures, in two basic traditions. In the south and east, they are of timber and turf; further west are tombs with dry stone masonry and stone-built chambers, which were entered over centuries. And in the far west, there are the table-like structures - uprights and capstone - also in stone of the classic megalithic dolmens, as at Pentre Ifan. Both traditions involve communal burial rites: the tombs include the skeletons of many individuals ordered, sorted, reordered, mixed, reassembled over centuries of re-entry (Shanks and Tilley 1982; Thomas 1993: 37). Here the identity of the individual is subsumed within that of the community, albeit the community of ancestors. They become literally 'of the one body'. But we should never see them as monuments, as mausolea, merely as depositories of the dead. They were sites of long-term, though intermittent activity, functioning as shrines, as the locale for rite and ritual. And we should not isolate mortuary practice from social practice: these are places of the living and the dead, of lamentation as well as silence.

Bones and bodies

In all types, the bodies were defleshed elsewhere, the bones gnawed by rodents and invaded by terrestrial land snails, perhaps in temporary pits or on platforms as in native North

American practice (Parker-Pearson 1993: 46). And again all the parts are not here! There is a suggestion that some parts of each body are in the tombs, others in the enclosure ditches! What is certain is that the placing of bones in mounds was only one stage in a complex process and that the internal patterning may be the end-product of a long sequence of additions and removals from the burial deposit, whilst the mortuary structure was still accessible. Bones and parts of bodies were circulating, disarticulated, like religious relics. Perhaps the corpse was seen as unstable, dangerous, polluting, with corruption marginalised to the enclosures, whilst bones came to represent the ancestor as opposed to the individual.

Auschwitz is all you expect. 'Arbeit Macht Frei' above the gate. Rooms full of shoes, suitcases, hair, spectacle frames. The killing wall where death came swift and savage. But Auschwitz is a brick barracks, not the image in the mind. That is two miles away. And however often you've seen the photographs, nothing prepares you for the reality of Birkenau. There is the gate-house with the railway running beneath . . . there the wooden watch-towers … there the acres of broiler houses … there the platform where man played God - 'To the left … To the right' - as the band played on. And there are the crematoria where the disposal of bodies was turned into a science. And even if all of this were obliterated and every trace of human remains removed, you would still know that this was a place of death. It lingers in the atmosphere in this place where God looked away.

Physical access to the bones was controlled. At the earth sites, there is an embanked linear zone across which may be a bedded timber facade; an avenue of posts aligned to the mortuary area and an enclosure, chamber or platform (Thomas 1999: 131 f.)- So whilst the corpses were available for the selection and manipulation of bones, entry was limited and channelled directionally. The bodies were defleshed elsewhere, on occasion the flesh even being burned off in an investment of effort by others (ibid.: 136).The arrangements of skulls and long bones and variation in the number of ribs and vertebrae indicate conspicuous selection, the deposition being only the final phase in a circulation and the pattern a result of additions and removals (Shanks and Tilley 1982). Bones were even moved from one side of the mortuary to the other. There are piles of male and female, patterns of laying out and grouping, breaking down and reuniting. Eventually, earth was piled on the wooden structures - frames, mortuary houses, rows of posts - and on the pits and hearths.

They seem to have succeeded in the early Iron Age, no burials, no bodies. Perhaps nobody died. The Oglala Sioux believe that we all leave a trace: 'Aye, footprints I make, footprints I make.'

This involvement with the bodies of ancestors was much more protracted in the chambered tombs, such as West Kennet (Thomas and Whittle 1986). Here, over several hundred years, bones were being moved and removed: placed in, taken out, resorted, rearranged, the remains of previous generations mixed with those of the present (Thomas 1991b: 103f.). The tomb consists of five chambers, with a facade and forecourt area bearing the remains of hearths, pits, platforms and pig feasts. Defleshing occurred outside,

perhaps on the forecourt itself. In the five chambers, individuals were separated according to age and gender. But the bones are sorted, skulls in one area, long bones in another. Skulls are often underrepresentcd (Shanks and Tilley 1982: 138-50).

Entry was possible, to allow an approach by the living to the dead. The architectural complexity stage-manages the encounter with the remains. But perhaps not for everyone. The spaces are restricted; few people can fit physically at one time. They require stooping, bending, squatting, in a poorly lit charnel house. This has led commentators to suggest that there are two groups present (Whittle 1988: 181-2). Only protagonists with specific knowledge of layout and contents could enter. Here perhaps the privileged feasted with the ancestors, as evidenced by the smashed drinking vessels, burnt soil and bones. They would then return to a larger audience outside, with new knowledge or even to display body fragments. So, details and contents remained private and public rituals occurred outside. Megalithic tombs represent a stage for the performance of rituals (Barrett 1991: 8). Rituals involve the manipulation of space and material objects; they represent a microcosm of the world which can be manipulated within a bounded analytic space - passage, chamber, forecourt - in a combination of display and secrecy.

Barrett (1994: 57f.) proposes that the facade distinguishes those who face it from those who face out from it, passive spectators and active protagonists or performers. The front space is a stage, the chambers a back-space. He imagines a turning away, an entry, a re-emerging. Inside a series of choices are presented: left/right; front/back. Bones are added or withdrawn for display, consulted, reordered, reinterpreted and placed in new spatial configurations, in a complex interplay of burial and rite, of the living and the dead, in a confined space. There is a physical constraint on the way in which the chambers arc experienced. Entry is on a specific axis, traversing a courtyard through its pits and hearths, into a passage of limited height.

And this is highly suggestive (Shanks 1992a: 194-206). We might begin to envisage a series of **entrances** and **exits** signalling dramatic **thresholds.** And a pattern of **inciting incidents** and their **trajectories.** Changes of consequence. **Crises. Ruptures** or sudden shifts in orientation. **Nodes** or densities of activity. Breaks or pauses. **Irrevocable acts** such as the display of the dead. And **decay** as in the breaking of vessels. We might envisage the existence of the event for the participants as a chain of physical orientations and mutual re-engagements. As an **interrupted practice** of different modes of expression, of varying types and intensities, from display to disengagement. As a **discontinuous activity** including changes in style, mode, material. As a kind of **incoherent behaviour** switching from whisper to oratory within a performance continuum. We can envisage changes in *proxemic* and *haptic* engagement, in quality of light, surface-texture, temperature, odour … **kinesic** restriction inside the tomb, the facade as framing backdrop outside, different tones of voice inside and outside. And we might suggest that the demeanour of the watched was different confined in the chamber than in front of the crowd.

And the ring passed from his finger to mine in two days.

S.6   O.6   R.6   M.6

course, they might be. But they might also be the scenes of violence; they might be the location for a celebratory party as much as a liturgy. And whilst one can whisper and chant in these spaces, one can also wail and shout. The relationship of voice and architecture can be **assymetrical.** It is not enough to say that these places were about lowered voices simply because their enclosure necessitates little vocal projection, though of course it does. We know, for instance, the effect of the sudden, piercing cry in the gentle murmuring of funeral prayers.

Further, we might suggest employments and engagements of the voice at and within these tombs which are akin to Tschumi's **programmes.** If then we propose a spectrum of vocal exposi-tions - whisper, speak, shout, sing - and a variety of articulations - loud/soft, with energy/without energy, solo/group or even transformational devices like Tschumi's and apply them with **indiffer-ence, reciprocity** and **conflict,** then we can begin to imagine the effects of the tombs on the voice, and vice versa, not only for those inside but for those outside. Not to say this is what happened but to say this is what the effect could have been had these vocal expositions occurred. And perhaps the best way to understand this might be to go there ourselves and try ourselves, to engage the site, using our contemporary voices as a kind of 'experimental archaeology of phenomena'.

Now this might not be saying much but we can elaborate our model somewhat by considering the work of both Goffman and Hall (Goffman 1971 a; Hall 1966). Goffman's notion of **'region'** (1971: 107-40) may lead us to suspect that a formality of layout may prescribe and direct the nature of discourse. Within them, behaviour can be ordered, stylised, carrying a message. Both have a public and a private area, fore-stage and back-stage. The public is more staged, laid out, lit in a particular way; the private is ad hoc, improvised. The question we must ask ourselves is, at our structures: 'What is the "off-stage" and what the "on"?' And whether modes of formal discourse, heightened vocal address, occurred outside or in. If in, then the effect for those waiting might be muffled, resonating, emerging from deep within. And Hall's work on proxemic zoning may help us discern the relationships being honoured and transgressed here. Thus whilst we might suppose that the relationship of watchers and watched on the forecourt is in the public zone, occasioning vocal projection, oratory, public pronouncements, communal singing, entry into the tombs forces some bodies together, perhaps even transgressing daily codes of closeness and touch. And this may enhance particular modes of vocal address which again may be appropriate or inappropriate, in relation to the everyday modes of discourse, within the varying zones: singing in someone's ear.

E.6   A.6   B.6

Giving voice to the past

The haunting past is an issue of embodiment.

Significantly, these sites and structures enhance the voice: channelling its effects, amplifying it, echoing it; enabling its manipulation and elaboration; allowing its employment in new and unexpected articulations and modulations within and in relation to man-made architectures. For the first time perhaps and even leading to its formalisation. Here the voice constructs and is simultaneously constructed. New discourses, new ways of telling, appear. These are places of, and for, the voice.

Bernard Tschumi might give voice to the 'insiders':

> Space is real, for it seems to affect my senses long before my reason. The materiality of my body both coincides with and struggles with the materiality of the space. My body carries in itself spatial properties and spatial determination: up, down, right, left, symmetry, dissymmetry . . . here is where my body tries to rediscover its lost unity, its energies and impulses, its rhythms and flux . . . One can participate in and share the fundamentals of the labyrinth, but one's perception is only part of the labyrinth as it manifests itself. One can never see it in totality, nor can one express it... We cannot both experience and think that we experience.
>
> (Tschumi 1990:20-21,28, 27)

We can suppose that different tones of voice were employed from time to time both inside and outside and by both watchers and watched. But can we ever get close enough to hear the voices? Can we 'read off' what was happening here from the architectural remains? After all, we usually assume that places are more or less suited to the activities they contain. Surely, these places suggest hushed, reverential tones. Yet there are enough smashed cups inside to equally suggest a riotous carousal. What we need is a model which allows us to embrace a multitude of possibilities what might have happened, what could have happened - of the million, million things that perhaps happened here during its long history. But within this precise set of material conditions. We will need to use the word 'if a lot... 'If this happened, then this would have been the result'.

The relationship between event and space in Bernard Tschumi's work may be instructive as it suggests that linkages may be other than causal: it may be reciprocal but it may also be indifferent or in conflict. Thus we cannot infer from these structures that they were places of reverence. Of

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and standing and being passed. Participants will rarely have an impression of the totality of the procession, experiencing it rather as a transitive 'being part of', as leading and/or following in two basic states: move and stop. Move may vary from slow to fast and may be subject to stylistic diversification. Stop may simply be 'marking time'. It may also include rest, the opportunity for stylistic change and energetic re-engagement. Those being passed, the watchers, will have a complex and individual impression of a three-dimensional organism with length but no face.

Journey may occur along a prescribed route and it may have an immutable sequence. Arrival may be experienced with a sense of satisfaction, accomplishment or relief. There may be an intensification of emotion towards climax and jubilation in conclusion. It may be accompanied by greetings, congratulations and the reintegration of watchers and watched.

When a procession encounters a resistance, when it 'hits the buffers' or comes to rest, it must change its nature in order to prevent its participants piling into each other! On some signal, it may simply halt and then fragment or disperse. It may, however, take up or adopt another shape or form. This may be suggested, and indeed channelled, by entry into another architecture, such as a church, or by the physical arrangement of those waiting. Or it may reorder itself in relation to a particular focus, such as a grave or fire. The procession thus becomes a filling, an encircling or an ordered dispersal. And as it comes apart, it may reveal, within its body, different orders of participants whose hierarchical status is suddenly reinforced by their elevation to raised areas or placement at the centre of circles. This may signal a change in activity and a new distinction between 'who the watchers' and 'who the watched'.

Our archaeological neolithic shades into Bronze Age. The landscape of southern Britain was inscribed in even more substantive ways by the construction of a range of ceremonial structures from the enigmatic banked enclosures of the cursuses to the great trilithon structures of Stonehenge. All required vast amounts of labour, using rudimentary tools such as deer horn picks and shoulderblade shovels. The fact that this may have been by the 'many' for the 'few' suggests hierarchies, literally the 'incrowd' and the 'outcrowd'. But this loses sight of the communality of labour, the recurrent, perhaps seasonal gathering, to work, to sweat, to talk, to build social realities. We see these sites as finished monuments, designed, built, preserved. But perhaps they were never completed, more like building sites or locations of changing practice.

Eventually the tombs were filled and blocked. The last acts included the reconstitution of individuals from scattered parts, the construction of 'virtual' individuals, the separation of piles from several individuals, the grouping of skull, mandible and one or two long bones, and the uniting of crania with different jaws (Shanks and Tilley 1982; Thomas 1999: 151). The latest tomb types have a long passage and a single chamber, with a mass of intermixed bones. In Brittany, at Les Pierres Plattes and at a date slightly earlier than in Britain, the passage turns through a right angle. Suddenly, you are bending, crawling, in total darkness. In torchlight, the walls are revealed to be covered in carvings - of ribs and torsos (Thomas and Tilley 1993): a passage like an internal organ. Your body is in a body, with bodies. Perhaps this 'theatre of death' was experienced alone as an extraordinary encounter with one's ancestors, a rite of passage, all one's senses alert. Or as a graded, deeper and deeper, access. Or perhaps it involved a guided reading, a performed interpretation for a small group, huddled in front of the images. At Gavrinis, the whole tomb interior is

The spatial enclosure may enable the use of quieter tones of voice. However, if those outside are intended to hear what is going on, then the repercussions inside might be deafening!

And so in combining Tschumi, Goffman and Hall we begin to create a dizzying map of vocal potentials. Yet our constant premise must be: 'If the voice was used in this way then the effects might have been these.' In this way we do not monopolise the past but make a creative engagement with a given set of material circumstances. As our ancestors surely also did.

Walking in the past

As noted previously, Barrett (1994: 9f.) suggests that a prime feature of emerging sacred landscapes may have been procession, setting out from and arriving at henges, along avenues. Examination of the performative nature of procession might illuminate body practices of leaving, moving, entering; leading and following; observing and acting.

Procession is a release of energy, a concerted effort on a particular occasion. And whilst it may be purely a means of reaching site B from site A, it may indicate 'meaning through movement'. For, it manifests 'walking together', communal endeavour and vitality; it may denote renewal and invigoration. It has to begin and end somewhere. We can thus suppose that it has at least three phases: departure, journey and arrival. Prior to this may be preparation and organisation. And subsequently, change and dispersal. In each of these phases, different activities, different emotions and different modes of intercourse are evident.

Organisation takes place adjacent to the processional route. It requires space or area which may be especially designated. Its first period may be informal, including dressing, 'warming up', greeting fellow participants. This is followed by a semi-formal period of assembly in which an amorphous group begins to order itself. This may be the communication of the rules of engagement or a 'getting into line', the creation of the processional form without motion. Or it may involve the creation of another configuration from which the procession will emerge. This may resemble. a coil ready to unwind; or concentric rings of participants who will pass through some filtering aperture such as a porch. Departure is a setting out. It may involve a separation. And the revelation of participants and those left behind or abandoned. It may be accompanied by well-wishing, embraces, turning and waving, signs of regret and/or expectation. There may be explicit signals to begin, both aural, such as instrumental blasts or 'strike up the band', and visual, such as the hoisting of banners. For the participants the engagement may be instantaneous, experienced as a push from behind, or gradual, as the wave-like motion, which spreads from front to back, is experienced as 'following' or 'joining in'.

If there is to be a division of watchers and watched, then the moment of engagement is the moment at which distinction is drawn. It may be marked as the crossing of a threshold, an emergence from a private place of organisation into the public arena and the difference in formality and attitude this may engender for, or necessitate in, the participants. A narrow doorway may act as the filter through which an amorphous shape becomes a linear one. Even though they may make no direct appeal to the outside through the employment of spectacular techniques and improvisation in response to audience reaction there may be watchers and watched. If there are watchers and watched, then journey generates two basic and different experiences: moving and passing

covered in swirls, axes, ribs, a dizzying, disorientating other world, which unites the bodies of the living and the dead within this one theatre.

And in these places I can imagine that had I screamed in terror, chanted in reverence, talked to myself, sung in the darkness, whispered to my fellow initiates, as I am doing now, then it would have been just so.