

ARCHAEOLOGY, CLASSICS AND CONTEMPORARY CULTURE

But while all this troubles brewing
 what's the Prussian monarch doing?
 We read in his own writing,
 how, while all Europe geared for righting,
 England, Belgium, France, Russia
 but not of course his peaceful Prussia,
 what was Kaiser Wilhelm II
 up to? Excavating on Corfu,
 the scholar Kaiser on the scent
 of long lost temple pediment
 not filling trenches, excavating
 the trenches where the Gorgons waiting
 there in the trenches to supervise
 the unearthing of the Gorgons eyes.
 This isn't how warmongers are
 this professor in a panama
 stooping as the spades laid bare
 the first glimpses of her snaky hair.

The excavator with his find
 a new art treasure for mankind.

(Tony Harrison, *The Gaze of the Gorgon*)

At the turn of the century the German Kaiser bought a retreat on the island of Corfu which had belonged to Elizabeth, Empress of Austria prior to her assassination in 1899. She had brought with her a statue of Heinrich Heine, German Romantic poet and dissident Jew, rejected by his fatherland. The Kaiser evicted the statue again, not liking what it stood for (subversive radical democratic Jew) and, while Europe prepared for war, claimed he was excavating the pediment of a Greek temple (of the seventh century and dedicated to Artemis) which featured a giant Gorgon sculpted in stone. In the poem-film *The Gaze of the Gorgon*, Tony Harrison traces the fortunes of the statue of Heine transplanted through Europe, to its resting place in

Toulon, France. At the same time he sets off a series of metaphors centred on the Gorgon, monstrous female whose gaze turns men to stone, unleashed now upon the twentieth century by the excavating scholar Kaiser.

The Gorgon worshippers unroll
 the barbed wire gulags round the soul.
 The Gorgon's henchmen try to force
 History on a straighter course
 with Gorgon isms that impose
 fixities on all that Bows,
 with Fuhrer fix and crucifix
 and freedom-freezing politics.

Harrison makes pointed use of the panoptic and petrifying gaze of this Gorgon, made to represent the beginnings of the High Art, High Culture of the Greeks, the 'so-called "Eternal Being" the Gorgon gulls us into seeing¹. European connections are spun, national boundaries transcended in the journeys of the statue of Heine, and transcended because of anti-semitic and right-wing bigotry, with references to the transnational cultures so associated with the Classical and with Classically educated elites. The Gorgon comes to be systems of fixed and supposedly eternal values imposed upon history; intolerance and inflexibility distilled in deathly gazes; and war from Flanders to the Gulf Themes of identity and belonging are here (the transient statue of Heine), and systems of thought in twentieth-century Modernity. Systems of petrification are contrasted with forms of vitality. In excavating monuments, attentions are focused upon the stones, forgetting that monuments are invitations to remember (*monimenta in Latin*), to make acts of recalling the past into the present.

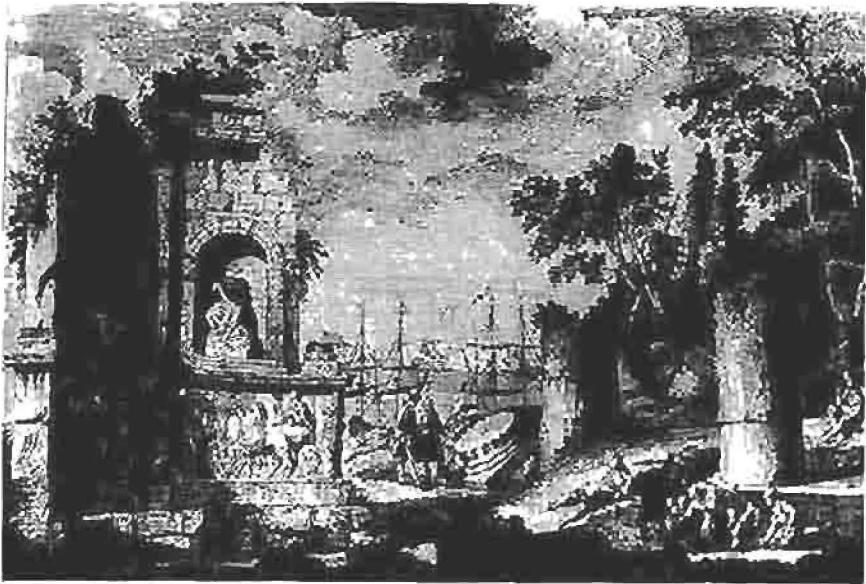
Tony Harrison turns round the Greek, opposing Hellenism, reworking, translating the Greek according to its special qualities - the rich networks of metaphor and cultural association threaded through the centuries. These are surely the roots of the fascination with the Greek. His translation is into a radical cultural and political relevance to the present. Harrison has translated the fifth-century tragedian Aeschylus. These rich reworkings (hardly accurate petrifications), championing English regional dialect and vernacular imaging, are performed in, among other places, ancient theatres, Delphi and Epidauros.

The new hypermarket in a town nearby to where I live in rural Wales has a Doric forecourt. Its roof is sloped and is lined with ceramic pantiles. Its predecessor was a system-built warehouse. All over the western world Postmodern pastiche announces a new return of neo-Classicism. The international style of clean glass-sided rectangles, primary colours, simple lines and lack of ornament is giving way, with interests in expressing more local and human scales. Charles Windsor, Prince of Wales, in another line of the

German aristocracy, has precipitated something of a debate in popular circles with his television programmes and books, illustrated with water-colours, arguing that Modernist architectures. nasty carbuncles on the modern city. must give way to new vernaculars. He is (I believe plans have gone ahead) building the late twentieth-century equivalent of a Laird's village, replete with picturesque mock-Georgian Classicism, on his estates in the west country, Questions of taste, style, regional and transnational identity continues to be raised.

The relation relation between Classicism, Modernism, and Postmodernism is an *indeterminate* one: there is no easy categorisation or periodisation, except in books. Just as Hellenism went with Romanism, Modern forms can be quite Classical in their simplicity of line and avoidance of excessive ornament. Adolf Loos. arch-modernist .author of *Ornament and Crime (1908)* Considered that 'Greek vases are as beautiful as , a machine, as beautiful as a bicycle". But the International Movement has indeed been challenged by a renewed interest in old and Classical forms in the production of what some call Disneyland, toytown Architectures.

I will continue this diversion into Classical studies more generally to consider the relationship of the Classical to the late twentieth century. posing the question of the agenda of a Classical archaeology critically aware of its constituting metanarratives.



Temple of the Olympian Zeus, ATHENS, 1759. Engraving by Robert Sayer.

Figure 7.1 Robert Sayer. *Ruins of Athens, London 1759*

The relevance of Classics is a question which has been on educational agendas on both sides of the Atlantic. Should study of the Classics continue to hold the prestigious position in educational curricula that it has held for neatly two centuries? A crisis in Classics was introduced in Chapter 4 as part of Morris's interpretation of contemporary Classical archaeology. Some deny the problem. Some are taking a broader view, as has been shown, in the adoption of new methods for dealing with Classical material. Some assert the continuing relevance of ancient Greece into the 1990s. An anecdote is in order here. I recently delivered a conference paper on Corinthian ceramics which juxtaposed its iconography with that of a contemporary movie. The conference was being held at a university in England which has become well known for developing new course materials for the teaching of Classical Languages. Its professor has lobbied parliament for the inclusion of Classics in the National curriculum of England and Wales, arguing its continuing relevance to modern Britain. I had expected a sympathetic reception, but, from some quarters of the audience, it was one of the most hostile reactions I have ever received, and would certainly contradict any notion that academic conferences are dry and lifeless occasions. I had not realised the agenda. It is to find new ways of delivering the *same* message about Classical Greeks. Some others, like Morris, want a refigured discipline facing up to the task of 'problematizing' its assumptions and practices.

Generally, interest in the Classics continues; it is a popular subject in universities, though the language component (for nineteenth-century Hellenists the key to an authentic communion with the ancient Greeks) has become less emphasised. This is not the place to get into the questions of educational policy, the National Curriculum in Britain, and supposed falling standards on both sides of the Atlantic. There, is a set of wider issues. In Classical archaeology Morris sets Modern against Postmodern. In archaeology too there are debates about the true character of the discipline and its future, which are often conducted as if there were two armed and opposing camps: scientists and humanists, anthropological and historical archaeologists, Processualists and Postmodernists.

John Bintliff and Colin Renfrew, two archaeologists working in Greece, but also interested in general matters of archaeological theory, have made several attacks on developments in archaeology, criticising those who maintain, as does this book, that archaeology is as much about the present as about the past (articles cited in Bibliography). They make a stand for a scientific discipline which develops knowledges of the past and which involves eliminating the present as far as is possible. Bintliff sees his opposition as Postmodernists, in that they call for local knowledges, pluralist views of the past from different present interests, the complexity and ambiguity of cultural fragments, archaeology as an open construction of the present directed to the future rather than the past-the-way-it-was. Behind their criticisms seems to be the idea of a dispossessed Humanities (dispossessed by the success of science) in search

of a new empire; an imaginary world of the interpreter's creation which will flatter low and popular (democratic?) tastes. A response of theirs is to put people in their place, archaeologists in the present and in respective theoretical camps, the past quite separate, and upon which archaeologists should focus.

How can this apparent impasse be avoided? Let us consider Nietzsche.

NIETZSCHE AND THE CLASSICS

Harrison prefaces his poem with Nietzsche, from *The Birth of Tragedy*. Art forces us to gaze into the horror of existence, yet without being turned to stone by the vision',

Friedrich Nietzsche denied the existence of a divine sanction for morality and, being strongly opposed to a distinction between spirit and matter, rejected Platonic notions of abstractions like absolute good or truth. Instead, he upheld a relativist ethics based upon a realist psychology. His impetus to philosophy derived from his study of the ancient world and not only of its philosophy but still more of the religious and intellectual climate in which those systems of ideas developed.

German Classicism, with people such as Friedrich August Wolf at Göttingen, was not so much an academic as a literary movement. It was mentioned in Chapter 3 that Winckelmann was as much concerned with art itself as with art history. Goethe and Lessing were familiar with the ancient world, but for the sake of literature and are richer than scholarship. The link between the two worlds was Wilhelm van Humboldt, scholar and statesman, prominent among the founders of the university of *Berlin* - the model of modern education. Its nineteenth-century success, as we have seen, was *Altertumswissenschaft*. dominated by the historical outlook.

The link between Romanticism and the new growth of a historical sense (historicity) involved new historical writing, rich in cultural and social detail, and owing much to Romantic novels of the like of Sir Walter Scott. But with *Altertumswissenschaft* literature and the arts became separated from scholarship. Nietzsche opposed what he saw as the dullness and dryness of professional scholarship seduced into the fantasies of a concrete and positive science, a systematized and specialised historicism despising the unsophisticated Classicism of Goethe. He attacked philologists for being unable to teach art and culture. Similar arguments, in one of his *Untimely Meditations*, were directed at historians. His criticism was that prevailing materialism was driving scholars to emulate the positive and concrete achievements of natural sciences (this is positivism) in mechanised collection of facts.

Nietzsche's essay 'We Philologists' (to be another *Untimely Meditation*) related what above was termed Hellenism to an ignorance of antiquity, a false idealisation of the Greeks, who were less humane than Indians and Chinese. He ascribes it to the arrogance of schoolmasters, to the tradition of an admiration of Greeks inherited from Rome, to prejudice for or against Christianity,

Macedonia

For 4,000 years* steeped in the history of Greece

THE GREAT MINDS OF GREECE

Aristotle, the tutor of Alexander the Great, was born in Stagira in Macedonia in 384 BC. Together with Plato, he is regarded as one of the greatest philosophers the world has known. Aristotle was a true academic, concerned with Physics, Astronomy, Rhetoric, Literature, Political Science and History. His teachings laid the foundation for modern scientific thought.

THE OTHER TOWNS OF MACEDONIA

Thessaloniki, the heart of Macedonia, is a modern city with 1,000,000 inhabitants. It is strategically located at the crossroads of Europe with Asia. Having spread the Word of Philip, the Apostle Paul continued his teachings in Thessaloniki. Its important monuments from antiquity and byzantium up to the present, provide testimony to the role that the city has played as the second capital of Byzantium.

THE BORN OF THE GREAT ALEXANDER

Alexander was born in 356 BC in Pella, Macedonia, established by his father Philip II, at the centre of Hellenism. Nurtured on the thoughts of his tutor, Aristotle, he rose to fame as a brilliant military leader. He influenced the course of history, rightfully earning his title as Alexander the Great. In 335 BC he became Commander in Chief of all the Greeks. By the time of his death in 323 BC he had created an enormous empire, stretching from the shores of the Adriatic to India, and from the Caucasus Mountains to Egypt. He spread the Greek spirit far and wide among nations who worshipped him as a god.

THE STAR OF THE GREAT MACEDONIAN PHILIP

This 16 pointed star of Vergina was uncovered during the archaeological excavations at Vergina. This symbol of the Greek Macedonian Dynasty decorated the golden tomb of Philip II. The Star of Vergina, extracted from the soil of Macedonia, has since become the symbol of Hellenism.

THE PHOTOPHOS OF OUR CULTURE

The statue of Aphrodite came to light during archaeological digs at the ancient sacred city of Dion. Dion, at the foot of Mt Olympus, was the most important spiritual site for the Northern Greeks, playing the same role in their lives as that of the oracle at Delphi.

Come to Greece and Visit Macedonia

THE PATRON SAINT OF THE CITY OF THESSALONIKI

St. Demetrios, Protector of the city of Thessaloniki, was martyred in 308 AD defending Christianity. He is regarded as the Patron Saint of Thessaloniki and its saviour during difficult moments.

4000 years of Post-Agriculture European history found at Aeghro and Mytilene. Greece found in Greece. And here 4000 years, culture in Macedonia. In the center of Greek history. Enter in symbolically. Discovery, mythical discovery of the Mediterranean since, in the sun of modern gods of the world. Through the years. Macedonia developed in the framework of knowledge of the Aegean Coast. In the 19th century BC. Discoveries. And of course. There. And any work in study.

GREECE
Chosen by the Gods

Figure 7.2 National Tourist Board of Greece. Advertisement of 1992

and to the belief that where people had dug for so long there must be gold. Hellenism was about professional interest and escapism. He considered that if people could grasp the real nature of Classical antiquity they would turn from it in horror. For Nietzsche, horror is difference and heterogeneity.

The *Birth of Tragedy* is a reassessment of Greek culture, life and thought which was bitterly attacked in its day. Its thesis is that Greek tragedy was not Aristotelian katharsis, a purifying purging or discharging of feelings, but a synthesis of the Apollonian and Dionysian elements of Greek culture. Its purity of form contained also an affirmation of life represented by delight in destruction and annihilation - Dionysos. This was an explicit criticism of old Romantic Classicism. Behind the calm and dignity praised by Winckelmann was, for Nietzsche, a struggle to achieve a balance, since terrible and irrational forces were not repressed but used for their own purpose. This is a process of sublimation. In tragedy, ancient gods stood for the fearful realities of a universe in which people had no special privileges. This is the horror.

Nietzsche's primary objection was to the separation of scholarship from understanding: 'the most important thing and the hardest is to enter into the life of antiquity and feel the difference'. This emphasis on the experiential and affective accounts for the great importance assigned to music (a Wagnerian influence),

Nietzsche combines fascination for the Greek with critique, something which is encapsulated in his attitude to Socrates. Clever Socrates used pure reasoning in dialectics, exposing contradiction and irrationality in an opponent's argument through making assumption and lines of argument explicit, destroying, from inside, the opponent. It has been upheld as the philosophers method, the triumph of reason in pure searches for truth. But Nietzsche argued that this method is socially offensive and is, in fact, easily ignored. The dialectician uses pure reasoning, ignoring other rhetorical devices of persuasion (see the section of discourse in Chapter 4). 'One chooses dialectics only when one has no other expedient. One knows that dialectics inspire mistrust, that they are not very convincing .. . Dialectics can be only a *last-ditch weapon* in the hands of those who have no other weapon left.' This is Nietzsche's realism, and it can appear somewhat outrageous: Socrates was ugly and a social misfit, so he developed his skill of dialectics.

From scenting out 'beautiful souls' [a reference to Goethe], 'golden means' and other perfections in the Greeks, from admiring them in such things as their repose in grandeur, their ideal disposition, their sublime simplicity - from this 'sublime simplicity, a *niaiserie allemande* [German stupidity] when all is said and done, I was preserved by the psychologist in me. I saw in their strongest instinct the will to power,

Oliver Taplin, in *Greek Fire*, pits Allan Bloom and I.E 'Izzy' Stone against each other in an assessment of Socrates, democratic ideals and the relevance of ancient Greece to the contemporary west. But the argument, as he points



Figure 7.3 Sokrates

out, is long-standing and not restricted to two best-selling authors in the United States of the late 1980s.

Bloom's exemplar is Socrates the great philosopher. With many others on both the right and the left, he complains of spineless Postmodern relativism, indeterminacy, and lack of scholarship. He also voices those general complaints about the 1960s and academic left-wingers. Many, like him, call for a return to established values, to established truths and procedures, whether they be conservative and based on high culture or Marxist. Socrates so also complains about the sophists who put rhetoric before truth and he stands for the constants of truth achieved through pure reasoning. Here is a desire to get back to rational universal and scientific method. Classics in its high cultural variants, as representative of traditional standards and precepts,

as *Altertumswissenschaft*, is easily associated with this social and political programme.

Socrates was put on trial and executed by the Athenian state. Nietzsche has a case against this Socrates and what Classics had come to stand for. Stone in *The Trial of Socrates* (1988) argues that the Athenians had a case against Socrates, because he was undermining democracy by claiming he had some special access to higher truths, absolutes and certainties which come before the opinions of ordinary mortals — the mob with their incessant bickering.

But this should not be taken as a false polarisation. Nietzsche's case against Socrates is not based on the grounds of relative values or of no values, a position which holds that anything may be done to pursue any desired ends. Nietzsche complains about Socrates' *etiquette*, that he is unsociable and rude. The point is that truths are shared and that they are historical. They are not something that we develop individually by some mystical communion with the real world and its underlying character and then communicate to the rest of humanity. Truths, whether about beauty and goodness, or what happened in the past, are real, made, shared and historical. This is Nietzsche's argument, and one that was articulated in a different form in Chapter 4.

NIETZSCHE AND EFFECTIVE HISTORY

Michel Foucault finds in Nietzsche (one of his *Untimely Meditations*) a case for effective history or a historical sense. This aims to avoid synthetic philosophies of history which impose transcendent meanings upon history (including what I have termed metanarratives such as European identity). Foucault and Nietzsche oppose three uses of history: the monumental, devoted to the veneration of the past and great deeds; the antiquarian, dedicated to the preservation of the past as the continuity of identity in tradition; and the critical, which condemns the past on the grounds of present truth (truth thus removed from history and defined universally). Instead the historical sense or effective history is parodic, opposing the theme of history as memory (a record of times past) or as recognition of something great. Such history is dissociative, finding heterogeneity instead of easy identities and continuities (such as the Greek spirit). It is sacrificial - directed against absolute truths used to measure history. It proposes no absolute foundations but problems. As Mitchell Dean, in his book *Critical and Effective Histories* (1994), expresses it:

Let us call history 'effective' to the extent that it upsets the colonisation of historical knowledge by the schemas of a transcendental and synthetic philosophy of history, and 'critical' in proportion to its capacity to engage in the tireless interrogation of what is held to be given, necessary, natural, or neutral.

Consider sexuality. Scholars have long been aware of the prevalence in the

Greek imagination of homosexual love, but it was not until Kenneth Dover's book *Greek Homosexuality* that a serious attempt was made to understand this. Central to his project were more than 500 vase paintings, and the role of material culture and iconography in understanding the everyday has been mentioned. But the point is a greater one. Dover warns us that the modern tendency to consider the world as divided into homosexuals and heterosexuals is a local accident. Students of Classics such as David Halperin, in his *One Hundred Years of Homosexuality* (1990), have been developing an effective history of the sort just described, presenting a genealogy of things taken to be constants, such as sexuality, tracing the changes in their very nature through history.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL ROLES: VITAL HISTORIES FOR THE PRESENT

Nietzsche preferred the philosopher Herakleitos to Socrates. One of his aphorisms goes: 'The Lord whose oracle is at Delphi (the god Apollo and source of wisdom and truth) neither declares nor conceals but gives a sign'. The condition of knowing is not one of revelation of meaning, but of constructing knowledges from signs: the semiotics of tracking down the truth.

Taplin, in *Greek Fire* (1989), makes an apparently reasonable claim:

Rather as Freud said that childhood must be studied in order to understand the adult, so we look to 'the childhood of man', as Marx called Greece, in an attempt to clarify the present. So the ancient Greek message — its original stone long since fragmented — has meant different things to different ages; and many interpretations have been 'right' for different times and places. It is monumental and eternal, yet broken up and open to reformations.

Here is a good point about the interpreted character of history. He writes approvingly of an ironic Postmodern revisiting of the past:

A new return to ancient Greece is all part of this. Instead of trying to reconstruct or imitate Greece as a whole, the new return recognises the vast differences between now and then, in tension with the similarities, and the fragmentariness of the evidence and of our knowledge; and recognises how any picture of ancient Greece must be selective, prejudiced, not innocent. It not only asks what is timelessly 'right', it also seeks what can be made of Greece now.

Here is an idea of the ancient Greek message being one of the interpretability of history; but the relation of ancient Greece to the present is conceived as part of that metanarrative of European origins discussed in Chapter 3 — Greek universality and individual appropriations or versions. What is needed is a recognition that this relationship with Greece is *not* a unique and European

one. All cultures exist in this anthropological paradox. We are prejudiced and prejudging, but in establishing common ground, in translating and addressing carefully the 'other' in local and particular ways, according to our interests, we may learn. Such a hermeneutic dialogue of understanding is the permanence and necessity of interpretation. To bypass this universality-ancestor dualism, history and archaeology need defamiliarising and to be made problematical. This process of making problematic is about realising that it is not possible definitively to eradicate ethnocentrism: escapes into insight are always provisional. Contextualisation and bias can be critically acknowledged in holding that knowledges are always constructed.

Herzfeld, as discussed in Chapter 3, treats the anthropology of Greece as a practice, comparable, as a mode of cultural production, to what it observes. Anthropology and constructions of Greece in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries are also historically derived in part from some of the same sources (colonialism and nationalistic imperialism). Anthropology (and here can be included Classical and Prehistoric archaeology) becomes another mode of expressing identity, 'which trivialises its own significance by ignoring this condition of its existence'. The argument can be extended to hold that past and present, just as anthropologist and subject of interest, are symmetrical. This is a critique of exoticism (of the past and of other cultures) and the power relations so entailed between observer and observed, subject and object of knowledge. A principle of symmetry denies that anthropology, archaeology and Classical archaeology have any necessary and a priori privileged status in the relationships that constitute knowledge.

Hard and fast notions of identity (of what the past really is, or of Europe or archaeology), hard and fast categories of analysis and understanding are thus to be avoided. An effective history of Greece follows the trajectory of historical forms of truth and knowledge, without origin or end, disturbing easy narratives of progress (from ancient to modern Europe), seeking to remain open to change — the multiplicity of the things with which archaeologists deal. The attitude is one of perpetual vigilance and scepticism towards the claims of various histories which are, in fact, philosophies of history because they claim to know the meaning of history. This may be described as a Postmodern attitude — turning what is given to us into a problem, not providing an analytic of truth, but an investigation of the ontology of the present.

ACTUALITY: THE TIME OF ARCHAEOLOGY

The time or temporality of such an archaeology conceived as effective history is *actuality*— a return of what is no longer the same. Actuality is the non-arbitrary conjunction of presents: the past's present; the time of excavation and working upon the past; and the time of reading what has been produced.

Compare archaeology with memory. Memories live on with us, as does the material past, and as we reinterpret memories and incorporate them into new stories of our life, so the past may be conceived to change: what was once a temple becomes tourist attraction or archaeological source. Memories sometimes seem to escape time in that they stay with us. We may feel too that archaeological remains sometimes witness that which escapes time, the timeless. The timeless here is not an unbounded infinity, but is convoluted or folded time, a folding or recycling of past moments. As conjuncture between the temporality of person remembering and past event, memory crosses time, just as the archaeological fragment witnesses lost instants in time past.

Memory is in fact the *act* of memorising. The past as memory does not just exist as it was. The past has to be recalled: memory is the act of recalling from the viewpoint of a subsequent time. So too archaeological remains are meaningless unless lent a past and a future, given a place in history. This is done by the contextualisation that takes place in interpretation: we read the signs, make connections and follow tracks.

We may add also the idea of *rapturous* temporality: memory holds on to the past, just as archaeology arrests decay, the past potentially missed, ruined away. In memory time stands still: there are no clocks. In the world remembered there is no bottom line, no horizon, no past-as-it-was, no ordained chronology. There are instead but enfoldings: the art and science of making contextual links. A naturalistic archaeological reconstruction may require chronicle: dates and linear chronology. A realistic memory (or archaeology) may need flashbacks, long-term backgrounds, and reflexive reinterpretations of past events.

To point out the affinities between memory and archaeology, and to emphasise the temporality of actuality is not a call for 'relevance', to recognise simply that archaeology happens in the present, that this matters above all else and so we should ensure the relevance of archaeology to present interests. Such an argument corresponds (as opposite or negation) to a historicism which denies the present in a self-effacing posture emphasising that what happened in the past is the measure of all archaeology. Instead we should retain the ambiguity and tension which is actuality; actuality is the *primacy*, but not the *superiority*, of the present over the past. This is simply to acknowledge that the soluble present is the medium of knowing the past.

So archaeology has a multiple temporality involving the past, its decay, and the encounter with remains in our future-orientated projects.

Archaeology presents us with inventories of mortality, quoting fragments, creating juxtapositions potentially as strange as a vase, quernstone and ox scapula which may be found together in an archetypal archaeological report, archaeology turns the now (remains) into the past, or more grandly, into history, depending upon the rhetoric. Reality is turned antique. Documented triviality is made memorable.

CLASSICAL HERITAGE AND CONSUMING INTERESTS

Classical archaeology provides so many materials for contemporary heritage interests: European heritage, Greek heritage, world heritage, indeed the heritage of archaeology, given the role of Classical antiquities in the history of the discipline. Here is a major cultural field which, according to the arguments of this book, needs to be addressed and a stand taken.

Heritage interests take the past and use it in the present. Criticism is often made that this may simply be consumerism, an expansion of the market to include the past which is bought and sold without attention to scholarship and without respecting what actually happened then.

But the heritage industry continues to expand. It is popular and gains considerable political and commercial support. Why? The power of heritage is that it is a symbolic exchange of past for present which takes the form of an apparent sacrifice of the past for the present. The significance of things from the past is what they mean to the present, and this is mostly to do with contemporary senses of identity. Heritage attends to this vital interest with active mobilisation of the past. And heritage does not just tell a boring academic story of the past. Heritage is an affective field of *experience*: the multidimensional experience, for example, of visiting the past and all that it has come to stand for in a walk up Akrokorinthos. Through the category of experience I argue that archaeology and heritage are comparable and commensurable because they are both active mobilisations of people and things from the past. Heritage projects are concerned with work done on the past for the present; as projects they look forward too (to expansion, more visitors, conservation and such). Archaeologists, visitors, things, times, feelings, perceptions, images, books, places are related. Heritage and archaeology deal both with perceptions and experiences of the times of things and with how these are connected with knowledges of who we are, have been and want to be.

A significant difference is that heritage often explicitly focuses upon the place of the past in the present. This is foregrounded, not least, because heritage attends to those who will be visiting or who want to relate to the past. The difficulty of giving a precise definition of heritage, and the dangers of treating as a unity such a disparate and heterogeneous assemblage (exceptions and anecdotes contrary to any particular argument can usually be found) attests to the dispersal of heritage through indeterminate fields of feeling, sentiment, culture, knowledge and experience - many of which are not consciously or discursively formulated. Courses in Cultural Resource or Archaeological Heritage Management are academic attempts to colonise, to service the heritage 'industry'. For most academic and professional archaeology these are concerns separable from producing knowledge of the past. The conventional main task, I suggest, is seen to be ensuring that heritage and all it represents does not stop archaeologists from doing what they want to do.

Many arguments have been aimed at the dangers of an uncritical and romantic appropriation of the past. So too in the heritage industry easy sentiment, spectacle and melodrama may be preferred in the place of work done upon the past. Cliche, stereotype, stock metanarratives or myths may take the place of careful empirical attention to the past as 'other', as an agent reciprocal in our self-definition. There are many such 'consumerist' experiences where gratification comes from the act of consumption: abstract consumption where the item consumed is of no importance or is assimilated with no effort, without reflection or critique. A consuming interest is one which is self-gratifying, introverted and erosive, returning nothing.

But there is nothing wrong with consuming the past, if, by this, is not meant consumerism as just defined, but rather consumption as taking something 'other' within the self. Consumption of the past may be seen as an exchange: the past renovated, reincarnated, as it is taken within the self, providing material for personal and cultural construction. This reciprocity is the potential power of heritage — the past developed for the present. The active involvement of the past in the present's self-definition is a source of critique. Attention to the independence and character of archaeological sources is the basis of a challenge to present complacencies and a realisation of the heterogeneity of both past and present. I hope it is clear from materials presented in this book that Classical archaeology holds so much potential for such a project.