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# Memory Matter(s)

Silvia De Giorgi



Figure 1 Silvia De Giorgi, Mother's Wreath, scanned object, 2020. Courtesy of the artist.

This essay serves as a brief insight into an ongoing art project, centered on the documentation of my grandparents' house. The aim of the project is to formalize an art-based methodology to explore the histories of a familiar place that no longer exists in its original setting. The location, my grandparents' house, was accessed and documented through a collaborative recollection of memories linked to artifacts that characterized the physical site. In this work, drawing, mapmaking, and photography are used as tools to examine the relationships between place, object, and memory, and help reconstruct an image of a site now lost in time. This practical research was initiated in 2020, as part of my studies in Art & Archaeology: Contemporary Theory and Practice at Orkney College, University of the Highlands and Islands, UK.

This project emerged out of a wish to preserve the memories and family histories related to my mother's birth home, following my grandparents' departure. My grandparents' home is a traditional farmer's house, built by my great-grandfather, and is situated just at the edge of the forest in a quiet mountain valley in the province of South Tyrol, in the Italian Alps. This house inhabits most of my childhood recollections; it was the central setting for every festivity and holiday, a place for exchange and pastime, and visited frequently by family friends and relatives. After my grandparents' move to a retirement home, many personal objects, tools, and furniture pieces were gradually removed from the house. Several items had to be taken away for safekeeping due to the deteriorating and humid condition of the building. Other objects were removed at a later point, when the house was repaired and refurbished. The house is still in the family, but it has lost most of its original furnishings, and my grandparents' personal belongings have been divided between my mother's siblings.

The research I conducted for my personal investigation of my grand-parents' house draws on the interdisciplinary approaches and themes present in the study of contemporary archaeology. Conversation and storytelling take on an important role in reconstructing the essence of a place, which, in its integrity, no longer exists in visible space but only as a virtual projection in the remembrance of a few people. Memory thus represents an essential part of the reconstruction procedure. In *Drawing Memories*, Rachel Zuanon and her coauthors write about remembering as a process that "does not exactly entail reconstituting the experiences or events of the past but rather recognizing things that have value and being able to embody them in our present circumstances." Memory is connected to both individuals and society and is thus an intrinsic part of a group's cultural heritage. The value of memory and the heritage created by its documentation constitute a "legacy of past generations" and form an essential "part of the [present] life of communities."

In this work, drawing and photography act as supporting tools for the conversations that took place and the reconstruction of memory; like field

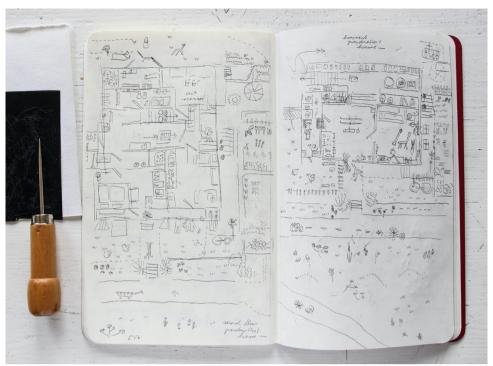


Figure 2 Silvia De Giorgi, Grandmother's House (work in progress), carbon paper and bookbinding awl on paper, 2020. Courtesy of the artist.

drawings and artifact photography in an archaeological excavation, they serve as connecting points between different aspects of domestic life, patterns of usage, and particular episodes in the family history. Drawings and photographs created in the research not only record the conversations that took place but also actively inform the stories connected to them, sparking more memories that in turn lead to additional details in the reconstructed biography of the house and its past inhabitants.

As the house is connected to the matrilineal side of my family, I invited my mother to participate in the first part of the project, through phone interviews. In the documentation process, the various rooms in the house were reconstructed from our personal and shared memories captured as drawings on paper (Fig. 2). The map drawings, which I drafted in real-time during the calls, served as a point of departure to our phone conversation. The subsequent transcripts of the conversations have functioned as guidelines to the drawn maps and provide further details. Photographic documentation of the objects, once situated in the house or related to the discussed memories, is still in progress. The items, now mostly kept by my mother and her siblings, are photographed in my studio using a flat-bed scanner. The selection included in this essay represents a portion of this photographic archive (Figs. 7–23).

In the following essay, I illustrate my working process and observations in more detail. I expand on my findings in relation to the art practice of Marlene Creates and the research conducted by Mike Pearson and Michael Shanks

based around narrative, enactment, and archaeologies of the contemporary past.

## Recording Memory: Work Process and Observation

#### Conversation

The remote mapping of the house was conducted over several phone sessions. Each session addressed a single room and lasted about one hour, depending on the number of objects and memories discussed. The conversation, which developed spontaneously and had no set instructions, was primarily led by my mother. Set on speaker, she would typically start each room description with the item most significant to her, due to its frequent usage within family life or its emotional value. From there, she would begin to meticulously list all the tools, pieces of furniture, and architectural details contained in the space.

In her description of the kitchen, for instance, my mother spent a third of our one-hour-and-forty-three-minute phone call recalling the various components and functions of the iron stove. The presence of the stove made the room the most important space in the house. The wood-fired stove was used every day for cooking and constituted the main source of heating for the entire building. During our conversations, we noticed that most of our combined memories of my grandmother are connected to the stove and the kitchen, a busy, vibrant space, which would lead visitors from the entrance door to the living room.

#### Drawing

During the phone interviews, I visualized the information I received from my mother in quick sketches on paper, using a bookbinding awl as drawing tool and carbon paper to produce my marks (Figs. 2–4). The lines I drew on the paper left slightly elevated marks due to the applied pressure of the awl. This created a tactile surface, which might recall a stitched textile: a reference to my grandmother's practice as tailor and my grandfather's occupation as traditional leather embroiderer. The drawing informed the conversation. I frequently asked questions about the position of objects, their properties, and their usage. This would spark further descriptions and memories related to particular episodes in the family history as well as local traditions and country lore.

In one of my most vivid childhood memories, I see my grandmother, standing in her bright nightgown in front of the small kitchen mirror. Her figure is sparsely illuminated by the yellowish fluorescent lamp fixed above the

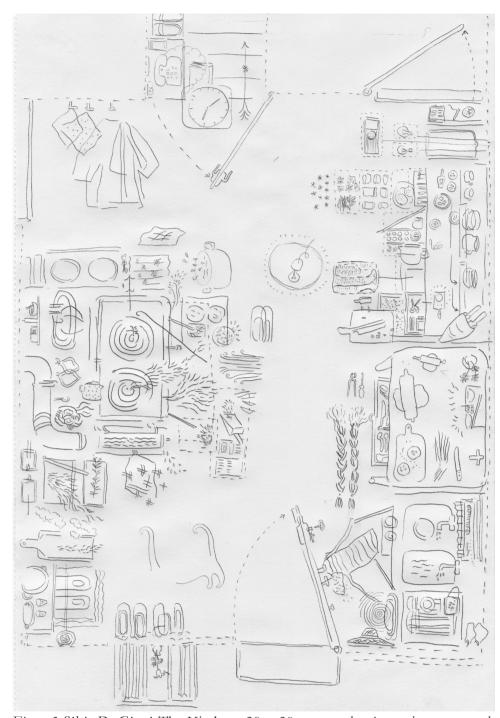


Figure 3 Silvia De Giorgi, The Kitchen,  $29 \times 20$  cm, map drawing, carbon paper, and bookbinding awl on paper, 2020. Courtesy of the artist.

sink. She has loosened her long white hair and is brushing it with a dark horn comb. Her hair is flowing down her back and ends in pale blond strands that barely touch the kitchen floor. She appears to me as if she had just walked out of a fairy tale. As she ties her hair with a ribbon for the night, I am reminded of the weather witches said to inhabit the high mountain pastures at the top of the valley.

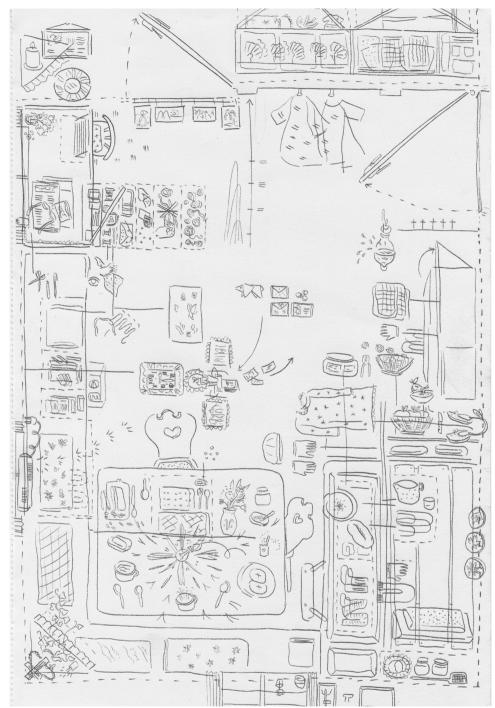


Figure 4 Silvia De Giorgi, The Living Room,  $29 \times 20$  cm, map drawing, carbon paper, and bookbinding awl on paper, 2020. Courtesy of the artist.

This memory relates to a particular practice connected to the traditional costume of my grandparents' region: the Sarntal Valley, in the province of South Tyrol in northern Italy. Women are required to wear their hair in long braids arranged like a wreath around their heads, covered by a hairnet. This tradition was strictly adhered to during my mother's youth. As hair tends to get thinner and sparser with age, it was common practice to collect all the hair

caught in the comb during brushing since a young age and have it bound in tufts of different lengths. These would then be added to the natural braids when needed. The tufts of hair are often kept in the family and traditionally passed on from mother to daughter (Figs. 9, 11).

## Transcription

The phone call was finished once our combined memories of the room were exhausted. Subsequently, I would transcribe the recorded discussion (Figs. 5, 10, 16, 20). The transcript was used not to add details to the drawing but to serve as a map legend to the drawing—a tool to decipher the various signs and identify objects and their stories. For example, the two braids next to the sink in the kitchen denote the previously described childhood memory (Fig. 3).

Transcribing the conversations revealed the complex constellation of relationships between objects and family members. The phone interviews deciphered the functions and biographies of various objects, within the household and its wider cultural setting. The substantial amount of information contained in the room descriptions was surprising. I realized that I had never paid much attention to most tools in the kitchen, including the old-fashioned iron stove, and had no clear idea about how they were used. I learned new words in my mother's native dialect for household utensils and farmer's customs.

The role of language carried further cultural and historical significance in the description of my grandmother's shopping lists. The photographed list captured in Figure 17 is written in German, as the majority of the population in South Tyrol speaks a German dialect, which varies strongly throughout the various valleys of the region. The dialect is used at home and in everyday life, while Standard German is spoken at school and used for official purposes along with the other two official languages of the region: Italian and Ladin. South Tyrol historically formed part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire until it was ceded to Italy after World War I. It was culturally and linguistically connected to the populations of modern southern Austria and Bavaria. During the fascist period, Benito Mussolini attempted to Italianize the region and consequently, German was forbidden to be spoken or thought. My grandmother was a child at that time. Although she was able to speak in the German dialect of the region with her family at home, she was denied the possibility of learning to write and communicate in German at school. Throughout her life she wrote in her own version of German, more dialect than written language, dotted with grammatical and spelling mistakes (see Fig. 17).

Obrn tsch obn isch a kreiz ghongen, so gonz a normals. Donebn donn wor die kredenz und af dor seitnwond aui fa dor kredenz isch ollm der kumpf ghongen mit die messor drin. Hel isch aso a behälter aus holz und zem hot sie die groasn messor drin kop. Und drobor obn di broatkroml—so a bretl, a viereckets holzkistl mit a hockmessor innan drin um hertes broat auzuschneidn. Es messor hot man so hinaher bewegn kennen, des wor aso mobil, und nor hot man afn broat manonderghockt dass so brockn sein gwortn. Und drunter ebn der kumpf, des isch eigendlich wo man in wetzstoan innigeton hot wenn man mahn geat af dor wis. So rundelet und untn lafs spitz zua....

Mitl in kloan tatl zem worn ollm die gewürze drin, oborn tirl mit marmelade und kaffe. Zem worn so gewürzfaschln mit nelkn, zimt, des und sel. . . eppes worn in kloane metallschachtelar und suscht holt wia man sie zu kafn kreag. Nor die linke, sel wor die bsteck- tot und druntr wor die broatot! Und die holzane broatschissl hobn mir do no, de total ognutzte. Die unterste tot wor die teetot, do worn behälter mit salbei, wermut, kotznschweaf, gromilln. Fraunmontl, hel worn oft vorn haus-des worn so die standart tee. Huflattich, hel sein de gelbn gwedn, obr dor hit wenn no dor schnee isch glegnpraktsch wia gänseblümchen lei knollgelb. Zem wenn dor schnee isch grod gongen und olls no braun isch gwedn hem isch dor huflattich kemmen, hel wor gegn dor huascht, dor huflattich.

Above the table there was a cross, just a simple one. Then next to it there was the cabinet with the whetstone holder hung on its side panel, holding the kitchen knives. That is a receptacle made out of wood, and in there she (grandmother) would store her large knives. And above it, there hung a bread slicer—a small board, a rectangular wooden box with a chopping knife inside to cut old bread. The knife could be moved back and forth, it was mobile, and in this way one could chop the bread into small chunks. And below, there was the whetstone holder—that's where people used to put their whetstones in the past, when they went mowing the pastures. It's roundish with a pointed tip at the bottom. . . .

In the middle of the cabinet, in the small drawer were the spices. Above the drawer with the jams and coffee. There were small bottles with seasoning and herbs containing cloves, cinnamon, this and that . . . the spices were kept in small metal boxes or in their original packages from the shop. Then, the left drawer was the cutlery drawer and below it, that was the bread drawer. We still have here at home the wooden bread bowl, this used and worn-out bowl. The lowest drawer was the tea drawer. There were small containers with sage, wormwood, cattail, chamomile, lady's mantles—it often grew in front of the house. These were the standard teas. Coltsfoot, that's the yellow flower one could find behind the house, when there was still snow—just like daisies but bright yellow. When the snow was just about to melt and everything was still brown beneath the snow then coltsfoot would come up, it's good against coughs, coltsfoot.

Figure 5 Silvia De Giorgi, The Kitchen, audio transcript (excerpts), 2020. Translation by the author.

## Photography 1 4 1

After completing the transcription of the phone interviews, I began to collect the artifacts linked to the rooms that we discussed. Subsequently, I began documenting them using a flat-bed scanner (Figs. 7–23). I chose this photographic medium because the fine resolution scanner produced images characteristic of forensic or medical photographs in their sharpness. The images retained in this process resulted in a much more detailed view of the objects compared with the photographs taken with my digital camera. Faint surface markings such as hair, dust, tears, and scratches were reproduced by the scanner.

Some objects in the photographic scans are directly referred to in the phone interviews, such as my grandmother's hair (Fig. 11), her shopping list (Fig. 17), or her sewing tools (Fig. 15). Other scans display items that were not specifically mentioned in our conversations. These objects are either linked to the discussions or hold an especially significant place within the family history, such as the metal spoon my grandfather brought back from his imprisonment in Dachau in 1945 (Fig. 13). Like my grandmother's shopping list previously mentioned, the spoon relates to a part of South Tyrolean history marked by great social upheaval. During the Italianization process induced by the fascist regime, the inhabitants of the region had to choose between immigrating to neighboring Nazi Germany or remaining in Italy, where the German language and culture were being repressed by fascist law. My grandfather's family opted to stay in South Tyrol. However, despite his Italian nationality, my grandfather was called up to do military service in Germany in 1944, which he refused. As a result, he was sentenced to hard labor in the Dachau concentration camp from which he was later liberated by American troops.

#### Memory Nets: Ancestral Lines and Household Artifacts

#### Drawing and Narrative

Canadian artist Marlene Creates's practice is focused on the relationship between senses of place, language, memory, and the land. The centerpiece of her project *Places of Presence: Newfoundland Kin and Ancestral Land, Newfoundland, 1989–1991* is formed by hand-drawn "memory maps" and spoken texts.<sup>3</sup> In this work Creates interviewed her elderly family members about the places in which they were born. She then used the descriptions and maps drawn by her relatives to visit the sites, document them photographically, and bring back found natural objects from the various locations. By following the stories and memories, Creates connects to three particular areas: the locations where her grandmother, grandfather, and great-grandmother were born. Family land and

family history embedded in Newfoundland life and culture reveal the intimate and intricate connections between landscape, memory, and identity described by Creates as her "poetic inheritance."<sup>4</sup>

My own "poetic inheritance" is inextricably linked to my grandparents' house and the objects inside: a legacy grounded in domestic geographies and a genealogical sense of place. As in the Creates case, my exploration was led by intergenerational communication occurring through space and time, specifically along the matrilineal line of my family. In my mother's native valley, the farmer's home is the domain of the "house lady," who fully determines the organization of the household. My memories of the house were gradually enriched by my mother's knowledge, who in turn recollected information passed on to her by my grandmother and great-grandmother.

#### Collaboration and Enactment

Mike Pearson and Michael Shanks have frequently brought together performance art and archaeology in their projects through a shared interest in "forms of (re)collection . . . and site and locale," in which "the character of documentation of event, site, and artifact" is explored in performed practice.<sup>5</sup> In his 2000 work Bubbling Tom, Pearson rearticulated fragments of his past in a performance: a two-hour guided tour of the environment in which he grew up open to relatives, friends, local inhabitants, and visitors. Through narration and mimicry, Pearson drew connections between each location and the biographical experiences related to them-memories about family members, friends, and events. As people remember physical space in different ways, his performance was regularly interrupted by the participants of the walk, who pointed out inconsistencies or added further details to his recollections. Similarly, my memories of my grandparents' house were enriched by my mother's contributions: our joint imagined tour of the house sparked conversations and recollections that led to further stories and created a new, narrated record of our family history.

#### Photography and the Veil of Time

In 2004 Shanks began to collect discarded daguerreotypes—silver-plated copper mirrors used as a photographic medium from 1839 on. Interested in documenting the decaying, flawed images damaged by scratches, oxidation, and dust, Shanks photographed the plates with his scanner. He discovered that the scanner could capture details that were impossible to see with the naked eye or reproduce with a camera. In one of his observations, he refers to the damages

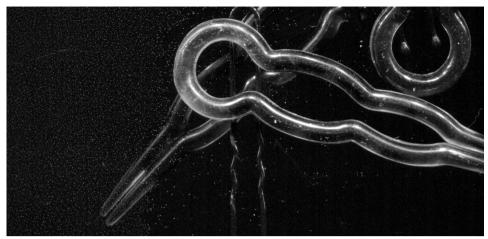


Figure 6 Silvia De Giorgi, Hairnet and Hairpins (detail with dust particles), scanned objects, 2020. Courtesy of the artist.

of dust and frequent handling on parts of the plates, as a "veil of decay." He argues conversely that this disturbance seems to bring the viewer nearer to the subject. Rather than creating a distance, it makes them look closer and "bridge the temporal gap between then and now through the faintest of traces."

The scanner I used for the photographed objects from my grandparents' house is a dated model, which was seldom used in the last years. The interior glass surface is covered by numerous scratches, and dust has gathered in irregular patches on the inside of the machine. These are impossible to clean without dismantling the device. As a result, many of the scans are marked by repetitive dust "imprints," dirt particles, and occasional gray shapes in the dark background caused by the filtering of light (Fig. 6). These irregularities in the otherwise clean and sharp reproductions preserves the objects in a layer of time, reactivating their past histories and records of usage.

In the images I created as part of my research, the collected items are depicted like archaeological remains, removed from their context and site. But unlike most archaeological material, they do not represent a question or a starting point of a study: they are the connecting points of a memory net built in a collective act of remembrance.

## Conclusion

In this short essay I have explored an art-based methodology to retrace the history of my maternal family home through conversation, drawing, and photography. The various historical contexts of the site were examined through the detailed description of domestic artifacts. The documentation method developed in this project led to a new type of family record, composed of map drawings, audio recordings, transcripts, and scanner photography.

The material gathered in this research suggests that collaborative methods of recollection offer unique insight into a contemporary archaeological site. Specific meanings related to domestic life, biographic events, family histories, local customs, and beliefs are revealed and recorded through documentation.

Drawing and mapping are useful processes to reconstruct individual spaces by encouraging the exchange of memories and descriptions related to architectural details, room inventories, tools, and their application. The photographic representation of everyday items, memorabilia, and traditional objects catalogs the connecting elements between subjective memories and inherited knowledge.

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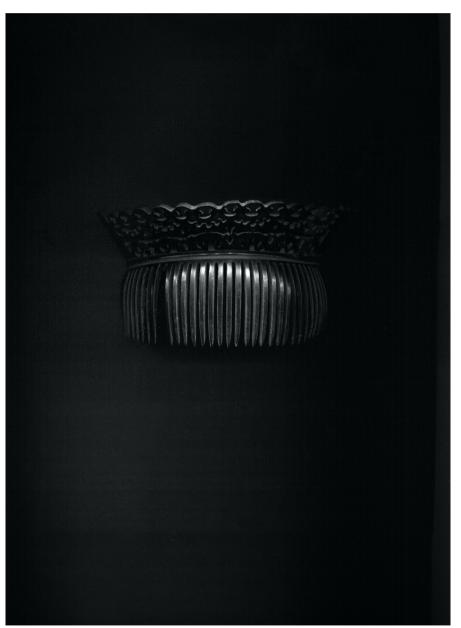


Figure 7 Silvia De Giorgi, Horn Comb, scanned object, 2020. Courtesy of the artist.

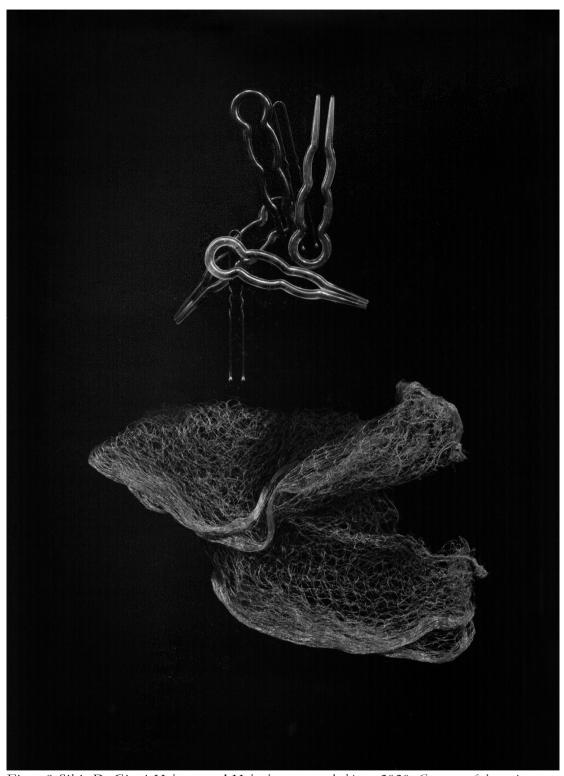


Figure 8 Silvia De Giorgi, Hairnet and Hairpins, scanned objects, 2020. Courtesy of the artist.

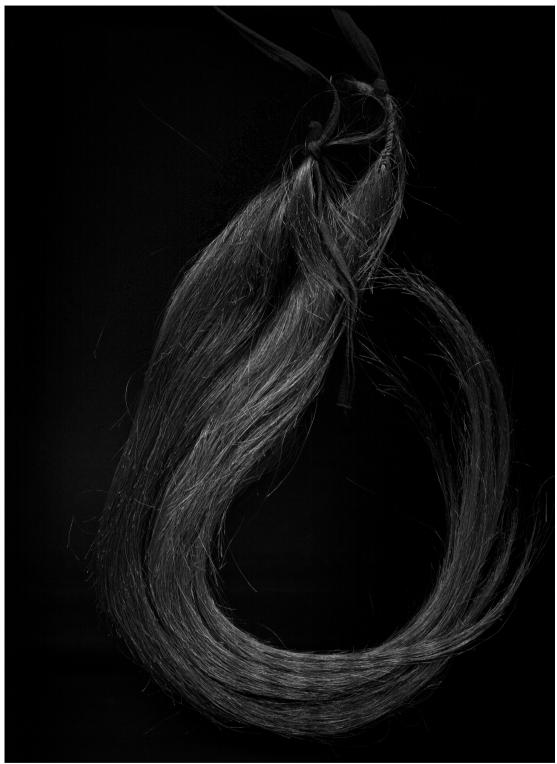


Figure 9 Silvia De Giorgi, Mother's Hair, scanned object, 2020. Courtesy of the artist.

Nochor, nebn dor waschmaschin es waschbeckn, mit zwoa beckn und druntor zwoa tirlar auzutian, mit oschpialzuig in a weißn kastl. Zwoa wosserhäne, für jedn beckn, oans wor für ospialn und oans für oschwenzn. Und obern waschbeckn wor dor spiagl mit den kloan stelele und beim stelele zui isch de bordüre ghongen wos i amol junger gstickt hon. Mit a roatn kreis mit, gigger und sette zuig. Und untn drin, hinter dor bordüre isch ollm dor oma kampl gwedn. Do hot sie ollm gekamplt und die hoor gonz long oiglossn bis afn bodn! Gezöpfnt, praktisch.

Then, next to the washing machine: the kitchen sink, with two basins and beneath two small cupboards with cleaning stuff in a white box. Two water taps, for each basin, one for washing the dishes and one for rinsing them. And above the sink was the mirror with that small shelf and on the shelf hung the trim which I embroidered when I was young. With a red circle and roosters and such things. And down below, behind the trim was Grandmother's comb. There she would always comb her hair and let it hang loose, all the way down to the floor! Making braids, practically.

Figure 10 Silvia De Giorgi, The Kitchen, audio transcript (excerpt), 2020. Translation from South Tyrolean by the author. Courtesy of the artist.



Figure 11 Silvia De Giorgi, Grandmother's Hair, scanned object, 2020. Courtesy of the artist.

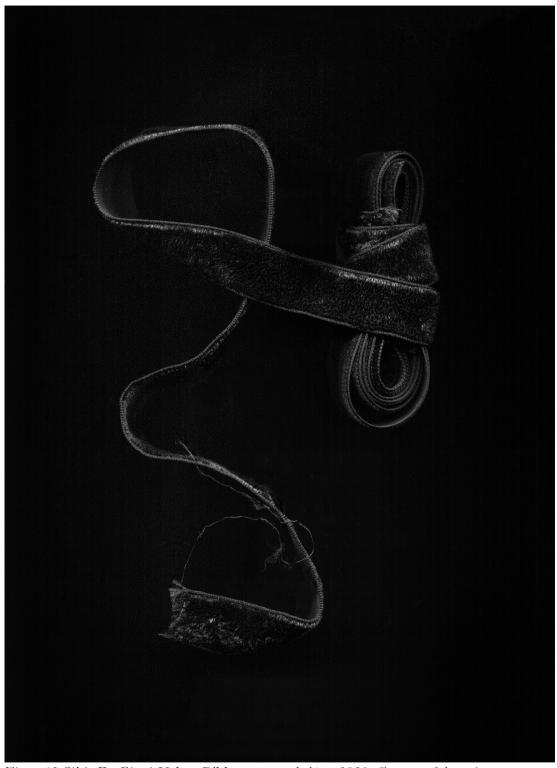


Figure 12 Silvia De Giorgi, Velvet Ribbon, scanned object, 2020. Courtesy of the artist.



Figure 13 Silvia De Giorgi, Dachau 1945, scanned object, 2020. Courtesy of the artist.



Figure 14 Silvia De Giorgi, Knitting Spool, scanned object, 2020. Courtesy of the artist.



Figure 15 Silvia De Giorgi, Scissor, Thimble, Darning Egg, scanned objects, 2020. Courtesy of the artist.

Pock Reisferschluss Weizenmehl Paradeis Lorber Kichenrolle Nötz

Af dor wond nebn dor kredenz hem wor ollm die einkaufsliste . . . und wor do net a ollm so a kuchluhr? Jo, so a roater wecker und af dor tirleiste fost, hem isch so a brett ghongen mit a bleckl zum aufschreibn fa dor einkaufsliste, und a kuglschreiber odr bleistift ba an soalele zuigheng. De wor ollm lustig zu lesn die einkaf- sliste wos sie gschribn hot, in dialekt und mit rechtschreibfahler.

pack (of) zip fasteners wheat flour paradeis (salad) bay leaf kitchen roll (hair) net

On the wall next to the sideboard was the shopping list... and was there not a kitchen clock? Yes, a red alarm clock and, almost on the door molding, there hung a small board with a note pad to write down the shopping list, and a pen or pencil attached to it with a piece of rope. It was always funny to read that list she wrote, in dialect and with spelling mistakes.

Figure 16 Silvia De Giorgi, The Kitchen, audio transcript (excerpt), 2020. Translation from South Tyrolean by the author. Courtesy of the artist.



Figure 17 Silvia De Giorgi, Grandmother's Grocery List, scanned object, 2020. Courtesy of the artist.

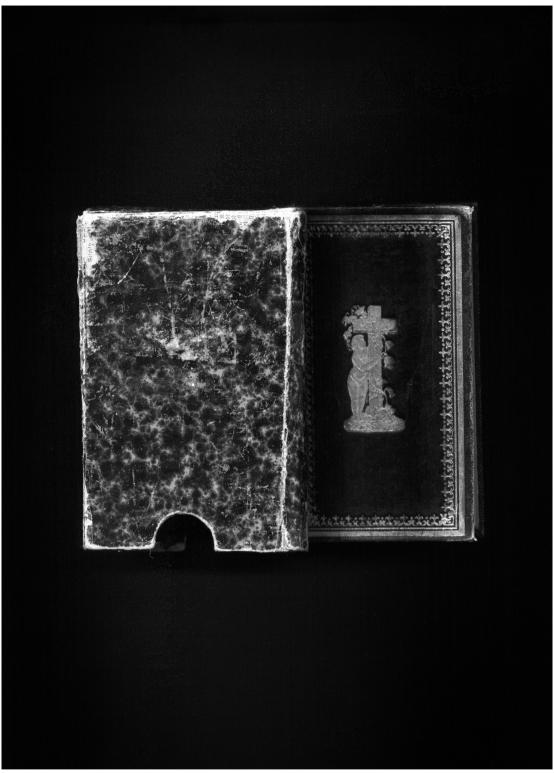


Figure 18 Silvia De Giorgi, Gilded Prayer Book, scanned object, 2020. Courtesy of the artist.



Figure 19 Silvia De Giorgi, All Saints, scanned object, 2020. Courtesy of the artist.

Nochor wo dor tisch mit so a beign linoleum obn, sel isch zwor lei a kloaner
tisch gwedn obor im summer hot sie in
an eggele ollm a vase mit bluamen kop!
Obwohl amerscht schun koan plotz isch
gwedn af den kloan tisch. Im summer
worn iboroll so kloane glasln ummer mit
bliamlen drin. Jo, in dor stub, beim fenstor, entn beim kuchlfenstor wor a so a
kloans schnopsglasl mit an bliaml. Im
summer, wenn lei es äusere fenster wor
isch man zuikemmen, hem wor ollm a
glasl mit a guggu odr suscht irgend a
bliaml.

Then there was the table with a beige linoleum on top, it was just a small table but in the summertime she (grandmother) always kept a small drinking glass with flowers in a corner! Even when there was hardly any space on that small table. In the summer, there were small vases with tiny flowers everywhere. Yes, in the living room, near the window, there, by the kitchen window was always a small liquor glass with a flower. In summer, when there was only the outer window it was easy to put a glass there, with a gentian flower or some other flower.

Figure 20 Silvia De Giorgi, The Kitchen, audio transcript (excerpt), 2020. Translation from South Tyrolean by the author. Courtesy of the artist.

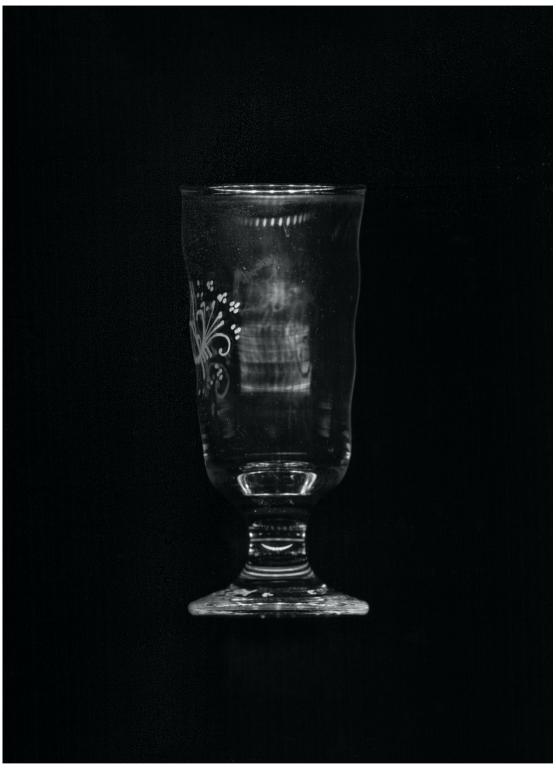


Figure 21 Silvia De Giorgi, Grandmother's Drinking Glass, scanned object, 2020. Courtesy of the artist.



Figure 22 Silvia De Giorgi, Buttons, scanned objects, 2020. Courtesy of the artist.



Figure 23 Silvia De Giorgi, Grandfather Knife, scanned object, 2020. Courtesy of the artist.

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Silvia De Giorgi is an Italian photographer and artist who lives and works between Oslo and Bolzano, Italy. She graduated from the University of the Arts London with an MA in visual arts (Camberwell College of Arts, 2017), and an MA in drawing (Wimbledon College of Arts, 2019). In her projects, she interrogates the varied relationships between people, places, and landscapes. Her work is concerned with notions of time and memory and is frequently influenced by archaeological research practices. She was among the winners of the Passepartout Photo Prize 2021, the Feature Shoot Emerging Photography Awards 2020, and the LensCulture Emerging Talent Awards 2019. She can be found online at:

http://www.silvia-degiorgi.com/

https://www.facebook.com/silviajdegiorgi

https://www.instagram.com/silvia.de.giorgi/

#### Notes

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>Rachel Zuanon, Melissa Ramos da Silva Oliveira, Haroldo Gallo, and Cláudio Lima Ferreira, "Drawing Memories: Intersections between the Sites of Memory and the Memories of Places," in *Digital Human Modeling: Applications in Health, Safety, Ergonomics, and Risk Management*, edited by Vincent G. Duffy (Cham: Springer, 2018), 375–91, <a href="https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-91397-1\_30">https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-91397-1\_30</a>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Marlene Creates, "Biographical Notes," *Marlene Creates* website, accessed June 2021, <a href="http://www.marlenecreates.ca/bio.html">http://www.marlenecreates.ca/bio.html</a>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Joan M. Schwarz, "Constituting *Places of Presence*: Landscape, Identity and the Geographical Imagination," in *Places of Presence*: Newfoundland Kin and Ancestral Land, Newfoundland, 1989–1991 (St. John's, Newfoundland: Killick Press, 1997), 14.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Mike Pearson and Michael Shanks, "Pearson | Shanks—Theatre/Archaeology—Return and Prospect," in *Art & Archaeology: Collaborations, Conversations, Criticisms*, edited by Ian Alden Russell and Andrew Cochrane (New York: Springer, 2014), 199–230, <a href="https://doi.org/10.1007/978-1-4614-8990-0">https://doi.org/10.1007/978-1-4614-8990-0</a> 14.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Ibid., 210–11.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Ibid., 220.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Ibid.