

**RETHINKING HERITAGE
AND PHOTOGRAPHY
COMPARATIVE CASE STUDIES
FROM CYPRUS AND CAMBODIA**

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I, Colin Philip Sterling, confirm that the work presented in this thesis is my own.
Where information has been derived from other sources, I confirm that this has been
indicated in the thesis.

Abstract

This thesis critically examines the complex interrelationship of heritage and photography, focusing in particular on the photographic life of two heritage sites: Angkor in Cambodia and the town of Famagusta, Cyprus. The core line of enquiry guiding this research concerns the various processes through which photography might be said to 'shape' heritage (and vice-versa). To this end I begin by outlining a theoretical framework that addresses the idea of 'shaping' from three often-contradictory perspectives: social constructionism, affect, and Massumi's notion of topological transformation. From this analytical foundation a critical review of the historical intersections of heritage and photography is undertaken. Based on previous scholarship in the field and a critique of select publications, exhibitions and archival productions, this general background research is navigated via six core themes: trace, memory, universality, series, cliché and authenticity. Drawing together heritage and photography in thought provoking ways, these themes also resonate across the subsequent case studies, where the work of John Thomson - who documented both Angkor and Famagusta in the nineteenth century - acts as a point of departure. Following a broadly chronological approach, I go on to discuss the role of photography in colonial and postcolonial heritage constructions, disparate articulations of memory that emerge in the deployment of photography at both locations, and, finally, the affective experience of photography at the sites today. Crucially, throughout this multi-sited archival and ethnographic research photography is understood not simply as a representational form, but as an embodied practice (act), material presence (object), and discursive apparatus (medium). This conceptual and methodological approach allows for a more nuanced understanding of the interconnections between heritage and photography to emerge, taking us beyond issues of representation and towards a recognition of the central role photography has in (re)configuring the values, practices, affective qualities and ethics of heritage writ large.

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1.

Introduction

1.1. Preamble

In December 2010 English Heritage took the somewhat unusual decision to grant Grade II listing to a zebra crossing. The site in question did not have any special claim to age, rarity, aesthetic significance or authenticity. Indeed, the listing description admits that much of the road-markings are recent additions and that the whole crossing may have been moved as recently as the 1970s (EH 2010). What made this particular zebra crossing worthy of protected status was rather a single photograph, taken on 8th August 1969 by Iain Macmillan, for use as the cover of The Beatles' penultimate studio album *Abbey Road*. As Bryan Appleyard would argue, 'this very understated photograph has *made the place sacred*' (2012, my emphasis).

This, at least, is the preferred narrative. But can any photographic image truly be said to possess such a remarkable power? Are even the best known photographs capable of altering our perception of the world to such an extent that the locations, people, buildings or events they depict become worthy of special designation and protection? In other words, can the photographic documentation of a locality transform what that place means and why it matters, perhaps even turning the site into an *enchanted territory*?

At first glance the example of Abbey Road presents a relatively straightforward instance of precisely these processes in action. An image is captured, and the site depicted becomes, in time, 'part of our heritage' (Penrose in Jones 2010). A more sustained interrogation of this case study would however tell quite a different story. What might be termed the *constructive potential* of the image emerges not simply from the surface or content of the individual photograph, but from a network of relationships that cuts across the human and the non-human, the visible and the invisible - what James Hevia has called 'the photography complex' (2009). From this perspective, understanding how a single photograph might 'shape' the site of Abbey Road as heritage would demand: an investigation of the moment of production, including the aesthetic, material and discursive choices of the photographer, the band

and the designer of the album cover; an examination of the various ways in which the image has become entangled with the wider 'heritagisation' of The Beatles; an appreciation of the myriad reproductions, emulations and subversions of this particular photograph; and, importantly, an engagement with the role photography continues to play in shaping touristic experiences of the crossing. This final point also opens up two other important considerations: (1) it is vital to recognise that the listing of the zebra crossing by English Heritage does not signal its inauguration *as heritage*, but only the incorporation of the site within an 'official' apparatus *of heritage*; and (2) any research into the role photography has played in these manifold processes of meaning-making would be remiss if it dealt only with issues of representation, and did not also question the 'more-than-representational' (Lorimer 2005) dimensions of heritage and photography at a variety of critical junctures (e.g. production, dissemination, current tourism).

It is no doubt unusual for a single image to act as both the impetus and pivot for such a constructive *and* affective network. At the same time, to claim that this image has any such power without the surrounding network of human and non-human 'actants' (Latour 2005) would fundamentally misrepresent the complexity of the situation at hand. Abbey Road thus offers a compelling introduction to those various processes through which photography as a representational object, reproducible medium and embodied activity might shape the emergence and routine experience of heritage, both as a discrete site open to listing and protection, and as a series of images, meanings, values and social attachments that circulate far beyond any such topographic specificity. I will refer back to the example of Abbey Road throughout the present chapter, which expands on this general hypothesis in various analytical directions, beginning with a clear set of aims, definitions and core research questions.

1.2. Aims, Definitions, Questions

This thesis critically examines the complex interrelationship of heritage and photography, focusing in particular on the photographic life of two major heritage sites: Angkor Archaeological Park in Cambodia and the town of Famagusta, Cyprus.

Angkor, a UNESCO World Heritage Site since 1992, was first photographed by the Scottish explorer and photographer John Thomson in 1866. Since this time countless tourists, journalists, archaeologists, artists, conservation specialists and local residents have documented the site photographically, producing in turn personal records, official surveys, marketing brochures, guide books and media reports. The

town of Famagusta has a less clear-cut inaugural photographic moment, but was also documented by Thomson (in 1878) and - like many heritage sites around the world - has witnessed a similar profusion of photographic records, reports, surveys and artistic interpretations. Crucially, 'historic' Famagusta - a medieval walled city of global significance (Walsh 2007) - is also noteworthy for its proximity to Varosha, an abandoned district of the town that offers an alternative perspective on what might constitute 'heritage' and the role of photography in generating and sustaining certain connections to place. These case studies may therefore be considered both archetypal and, in their historical, socio-political and geographic specificity, highly distinctive. By comparing the interrelationship of heritage and photography around such locations this research looks to 'activate' telling 'details' (Massumi 2002) that, while context specific, may also be of more general relevance to the theoretical and practical issues at hand.

Images from Angkor and Famagusta have been captured and disseminated via assorted technologies and to diverse ends. Archived, exhibited, printed, projected, discussed, forgotten, rediscovered, written about and re-interpreted, photographic images 'envelope' (Burgin 2006a: 65) these and other sites. It is this accretion and spread of pictures I label the 'photographic life' of a locality; an existence simultaneously 'rooted' (Barthes 2000 [1980]: 97) in the spatial and temporal specificity of photographic production and yet 'rhizomatic' in its multiplicity of semiotic, material and social flows (Deleuze and Guattari 2004 [1980]: 25). I would like to suggest that this tension between the rooted and the rhizomatic is apparent across individual images and 'assemblages' (ibid) of photographs that may encircle and animate heritage. While this stance may be considered somewhat abstract, it in fact directs us towards a series of empirical research avenues around specific images and networks of photographic 'mattering' (Edwards 2012a) that surround the core case studies of Angkor and Famagusta. The main purpose of this introductory chapter is to map out these avenues of research.

Clearly these case study locations take us far beyond the relatively limited geographical and conceptual scope of a site such as Abbey Road. They are historically and topographically expansive, materially complex and politically contentious, occupying a central place in diverse and often contradictory socio-cultural worlds. I will expand on the rationale behind selecting Angkor and Famagusta as core case studies in the next chapter, but here it is worth noting that the very complexity of these sites immediately offers a compelling platform from which to examine a variety of *heritages*, rather than some monolithic idea of a definitive 'heritage.' This reflects the

fractured status of heritage writ large, which is perhaps best understood not as ‘a thing’ or a historical or political movement, but [as] a set of attitudes to, and relationships with, the past’ (Harrison 2013: 14). It hardly needs stating that photography may become entangled with this nebulous phenomenon in countless ways. Indeed, one of the core factors motivating this research has been the desire to problematise and potentially re-direct the varied usages of photography within current heritage practice, usages which - I argue - remain woefully under-theorised despite their often central role in shaping heritage as a ‘discipline’ and an ‘industry’.

A core line of inquiry emerges from these initial considerations: *Through what processes, practices and ideas might photography be said to ‘shape’ heritage, and what are the material, conceptual and ethical implications of this relationship?*

The far-reaching consequences of this research question reflect the aims and objectives of the study as a whole, which seeks to rethink the interrelationship of heritage and photography from a series of abstract and empirical perspectives. At the same time however the specific points of analysis established here resonate particularly strongly in relation to Angkor and Famagusta. Foregrounding a consideration of material and ethical consequences for example demonstrates the practical, social and political ramifications of this research: a necessity I would argue given the fraught contexts we are dealing with. As Harrison has recently suggested (2013), the study of heritage must be reoriented so as to address such pressing issues if it is to remain a relevant field of research and practice. The question of how photography might ‘shape’ heritage is therefore of urgent concern not just as a point of theoretical or intellectual curiosity, but as part of a wider project to understand and perhaps even *reshape* ontologies and practices of heritage in the twenty-first century.

A series of sub-questions present themselves here. What ontologies, practices and ideas of heritage has photography made possible, and what has it obscured? How does the use of photography within heritage differ from the way other modes of record and representation (aural, textual and pictorial) are deployed? Is there something exceptional about photography, and if so, why? At the level of the photographic encounter and the accretion of images, what does it mean to ‘know’ a site visually prior to the embodied experience of a locality, and in what ways might the camera facilitate or act as a barrier to more meaningful engagements with heritage? To what extent have certain locations (or other manifestations of heritage) been altered to accommodate the emergence of photography? What are the aesthetic, social and ethical implications of these material transformations? From the perspective of dissemination, who controls the spread of imagery associated with heritage, and to

what ends? What new forms of historical, social, political and ethical knowledge does this material provoke? Might we discern a *photographic resistance* to dominant ideas and discourses surrounding heritage, and if so how does the very ‘nature’ of the photograph play into these subversions? Finally, thinking about the diffuse sites at which the meanings of an image are made (Rose 2007), what new avenues of research and understanding does a consideration of the photography complex open up in respect to heritage, and how might this theoretical and methodological framework allow us to experiment with and go beyond the limits of current heritage ontologies?

As I have already suggested - and as this final question makes clear - throughout the present study photography should be understood not simply as a representational form or two-dimensional image, but as an embodied practice (act), material presence (object) and discursive apparatus (medium). I will expand on this tripartite apprehension in the next chapter, but here it is worth noting that each of these contexts offers a striking array of overlapping processes, practices and ideas that might ‘shape’ heritage, from the touristic use of a camera to the online archiving of historic images. This in turn indicates the diversity of ‘shapes’ heritage might assume: physical and monumental certainly in the case of Angkor and Famagusta, but also intangible, visual, textual, political and economic, and often all of these at once.

To further address the complexities of ‘shaping’ as a critical tool I would now like to introduce three concepts which form the theoretical backbone to this study - namely, social constructionism, affect, and Massumi’s notion of topological transformation (2002).

1.3. Constructs, Affects, Topologies

From the outset, I would like to suggest that the terms prioritised here be seen less as conclusions or presumptions than as *avenues of rethinking*. Their deployment is designed to address the issue of how we might go about examining the interrelationship of heritage and photography in meaningful and productive ways. This I would argue is a necessary process of rationalisation given the nebulous - one might even say rhizomatic - status of both photography and heritage as fields of research. What I am interested in developing here is thus a strategic research agenda, a means of navigating the processes, practices and ideas through which heritage might be shaped, as well as understanding the manifold ways in which it *matters* to people. By positioning photography as the locus of this inquiry I look to centre what has often been a marginal concern in critical heritage studies (although see below for significant exceptions in this regard). Whilst avoiding any pre-suppositions about the results of

this research, I would like to suggest that examining the constructive, affective and topological dimensions of heritage and photography orients this study towards challenging meditations on the conceptualisation, practice and ethics of both. As a starting point, we might ask what questions these different perspectives provoke, and, related to this, what empirical research they occasion.

To suggest that heritage might be socially constructed is far from a radical proposition. While the language and focus may shift, the general idea is present in the seminal work of Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger (1983), Pierre Nora (1989), Benedict Anderson (1991), David Lowenthal (1985), and many others besides (Brett 1996; Bond & Gilliam 1997; Choay 2001 [1992]; Harvey 2001; Holtorf 2001; Smith 2006; Byrne 2008; Gillman 2010). As Hacking has persuasively argued in response to the prevalence of social constructionism more generally, it has been ‘a truly liberating idea, but that which on first hearing has liberated some has made all too many others smug, comfortable, and trendy in ways that have become merely orthodox’ (1999: vii). Mindful of such criticism, my turn to ‘construct’ as a critical tool in this study requires some clarification.

In the work of Barthes, the concept of social constructionism resonates with the mythological, which sees culture transformed into nature or, ‘at least, the social, the cultural, the ideological, the historical into the natural’ (1977: 165). These myths, argues Barthes, are no longer expressed in grand narratives, but only in ‘discourse’ (ibid). To this end, the analysis of ‘language and other symbolic forms’ has remained central to most social constructionist research (Burr 2003: 24). This is certainly true of heritage, where Smith’s (2006) influential delineation of the ‘Authorised Heritage Discourse’ has gained considerable traction in recent years, notably encouraging research into the promotional photography of English Heritage as a visual discourse (Waterton 2009).

For Smith, heritage is ‘ultimately a cultural practice, involved in the construction and regulation of a range of values and understandings’ (2006: 11). Recognising the ways in which ideas about heritage are ‘constructed and legitimated’ is subsequently understood to help identify ‘the philosophical and conceptual barriers that may exist in [...] engaging with competing or excluded forms of “heritage”’ (ibid: 43). How, for example, do we ‘know’ what is and is not heritage? Who controls these decisions, and what are their ethical implications? Fundamentally, a turn to the constructed nature of heritage occasions a revised appreciation of those various processes that photography may have instigated or become entangled in: surveys and the apparatus of the ‘list’ (Harrison, Forthcoming); marketing and other forms of

representation (Watson and Waterton 2014); the recording of sites by archaeologists, conservators or other heritage practitioners. As Burr suggests, the focus on process that is central to social constructionism ‘cautions us to be ever suspicious of our assumptions about how the world appears to be’ (2003: 3). A critical constructivist approach therefore provides a compelling platform from which to describe and perhaps redirect the ‘shaping’ of practices and ideas central to the formation of heritage, both at a general level and with regards the precise case studies I investigate. This research orientation emphasises the political and ethical implications of what might seem a purely philosophical inquiry.

Further questions do however remain, not least concerning the various routes through which photography might ‘shape’ the *experience* of heritage, as well as the continued personal and social resonance of things, places and ideas which are shown to be ‘constructed’. The example of Abbey Road is illuminating in this respect: recognising that the crossing might have been constructed as a heritage space through various discourses, symbols, iconic moments and legislative measures does nothing to diffuse the intensity with which individuals become attached to the unique atmosphere of the place, a level of engagement often articulated through photography. As Taussig has argued more broadly:

When it was enthusiastically pointed out within memory of our present Academy that race or gender or nation [...] were so many social constructions, inventions, and representations, a window was opened, an invitation to begin the critical process of analysis and cultural reconstruction was offered [...] The brilliance of the pronouncement was blinding. Nobody was asking what’s the next step? What do we do with this old insight? If life is constructed, how come it appears so immutable? How come culture appears so natural? (in Thrift 2008: 1)

In recent years affect theory has emerged as a potent means of addressing precisely this problematic (see Ahmed 2004; Zembylas 2006; Clough 2008; Thrift 2008; Bennett 2010). While this ‘affective turn’ is often seen as a corrective to the concerns and conclusions of social constructionism (Navaro-Yashin 2009), I would like to suggest that the issue of ‘shaping’ remains central to the questions arising from this reorientation, although a shift in language inevitably follows (and perhaps precedes) this shift in perspective. Zembylas for example argues that affect must be understood

both as a process and a product: a *process* in which one body acts upon another, and a *product* in the sense of a body’s capacity to affect and be

affected [...] it is not just a feeling or an emotion but a *force of energy* that influences a body's modes of existence (2006: 309, original emphasis).

Examining photography and heritage within this framework would suggest avenues of research that converge upon the 'bodies' (e.g. images, objects, sites, people, technologies) caught up in 'processes' of shaping as well as the 'products' of their affective force - i.e. the results (sensual, material, conceptual) that the emergence and - crucially - *movement* of bodies provokes (see Thrift 2008 for the importance of movement to theories beyond constructivism). My own turn to affect is prompted by these concerns, and is consequently centred around the 'sensual intensities' (Navaro-Yashin 2009: 12) generated by the photography complex as it interacts with heritage, as well as the processual 'bloom-spaces' (Gregg and Seigworth 2010) that surface within and come to define these interactions. In research terms this demands an alertness to issues beyond discourse: as Guattari makes clear, affect is first and foremost 'non-discursive [...] hazy and atmospheric' (in Navaro-Yashin 2012: 168). The significant methodological implications of this approach are dealt with in the next chapter, but here it is worth noting that questions around materiality, resonance, texture, corporeality, experience and mattering feature prominently in confronting affect within the present study.

Theories of social constructionism and theories of affect are often set against each other within the academy (Thrift 2008; Navaro-Yashin 2012). For Massumi, one of the key thinkers on affect, ideas that prioritise cultural or social construction have 'dead-ended' because they fail to take into account 'the becoming of culture, its emergence' (2002: 12). As a result, constructivism is understood to have neglected the 'continuum of interlinkage, feed-forward and feedback, by which movements capture and convert each other to many ends, old, new, and innumerable' (ibid). Crucially however Massumi does not suggest that we abandon social constructionism altogether, arguing that such ideas remain valuable if we are to account for the 'processual continuity' and 'qualitative growth' of a 'self-augmenting' world (ibid). In practice (and with specific reference to the topic of this study) we can see I think how photographic images might be considered simultaneously constructive *and* affective, augmenting the world through their production, reproduction and dissemination, but also generating their own affective force, and - perhaps - reconfiguring the affective qualities of the thing photographed. My concurrent interest in constructs and affects provides critical space for transcending any simplistic dichotomy between these two theoretical positions.

The third ‘avenue of rethinking’ I deploy in this work centred on topologies. In his complex study *Parables for the Virtual* (2002), Massumi introduces the topology as a mathematical term referring to ‘the science of self-varying deformation [...] the continuous transformation of one geometrical figure into another’ (ibid: 134). The topology is thus ‘a kind of superfigure that is defined not by invariant properties but by continuity of transformation. [...] The overall topological figure is continuous and multiple’ (ibid: 184). Giving the example of a pliable coffee cup which can be twisted into the shape of a doughnut or complex knots yet remains *the same topological figure*, Massumi suggests that we view the topology as an ‘image of thought’ or ‘modelling tool’ capable of echoing ‘some aspect of the world’s dynamism’ (ibid: 134-205). This is because the topology is unified and multiple, constantly twisting yet self-referential; a transformation that is always unfolding. In Massumi’s estimation any study that looks only at ‘bodies’ or ‘objects’ misses the crucial dimension of movement and momentum (ibid: 136). A concern for the topological therefore prioritises ‘shaping’ as emergent and incomplete, a process of feedback and feed-forward that may well result in certain figures or forms but is never reducible to those ‘shapes’. I would like to suggest that this delineation has a particular relevance to the study of photography as simultaneously rooted and rhizomatic, a model which might in turn prompt a significant reconceptualisation of the things, experiences and ideas that constitute ‘heritage’.

Even this cautious declaration takes us too far at this stage however. As with the research framework suggested in my turn to constructs and affects, so the topology must be seen first and foremost as a provocation to thinking through alternative points of inquiry. Indeed, for Massumi the topology itself can never be considered empirical, it is ‘a purely qualitative science’ concerned with ‘sensation,’ ‘variability’ and ‘*process*’ (ibid: 135, original emphasis). An interest in topologies therefore speaks of a desire to confront rather than obscure the inherent messiness of the world, ‘bringing to formal expression certain dimensions of the infinitely twisted life of the body and of the cosmos’ (ibid: 205).

What might this look like in practice? Returning to the case of Abbey Road, we can see that a topology of the site *as heritage* would raise incisive questions around a series of critical junctures, including but not limited to: (1) the spatial configuration of the crossing; (2) the processes involved in moulding this static entity through the augmentation of new meanings and values; (3) the sensations and non-discursive resonances these qualitative shifts might play into and occasion; (4) the visual and imaginary transformations of the site wrought through various technologies; (5) the

importance of subtle variations in the constant repetition of bodily movements and photographs around and across the site. Each photograph of the Abbey Road zebra crossing might in turn be considered its own topological entity, related to but independent of the wider topological transformations undergone by the site itself. Crucially, as Massumi points out, it is impossible to diagram each and every step of such transformations: ‘practically, only selected stills can be presented’ (ibid: 134). While it would be too simplistic to suggest that these stills are directly analogous to photographic images, this realisation nevertheless highlights the valuable research potential to be gained from thinking about photographs *topologically*, i.e. as part of a wider network of processes, movements and constant unfoldings. We might argue then that if the constructive and the affective direct us toward certain vital questions about the emergence and potency of human and non-human bodies in the world, the topology draws these nebulous strands together. Not a mid-point in the critical space between construct and affect as such, but rather an overarching alertness to the dynamism of the world. This understanding motivates my interest in the topological.

At the heart of topologies as ‘images of thought’ lies the notion of referential transformation and variability. Put another way, this means recognising the connection between antecedent forms and their consequent metamorphoses: material, sensual, conceptual or otherwise. While a prioritisation of the world’s constant (re)shaping provides the core point of departure for adopting the topology as an avenue of rethinking, the importance afforded to reference *and* mutability in this theoretical framework must also be stressed. The language of heritage routinely falls back on notions of authenticity, rootedness, origins and the sanctity of certain things, places, events and times. Likewise, popular conceptualisations of photography continue to perceive of the photographic image primarily as a record of time and place, an inviolable ‘slice’ of ‘reality’. We might suggest from this perspective that both are defined by an intractable connection to the past, an ‘anchoring’ in Huyssen’s terminology (1995). At the same time however there is a growing sense that, across a constantly shifting terrain of values, meanings and interpretations, both heritage and photography are best considered *fluid*, defined in other words by processes of assemblage and re-reading that occur in the present, rather than by the past to which they refer (see Harrison 2013). As Edwards for example has argued, photographs have ‘divergent, nonlinear, social biographies spread over divergent multiple material originals and multiple, dispersed, and atomized performances’ (2012a: 223). No less intricate is Waterton and Watson’s recent characterisation of the heritage site as ‘a nexus in which meaning is not only made but dynamically remade, constituted,

repeated, structured and found' (2014: 117). Anchored and free-floating, rooted and rhizomatic: the topology as theoretical framework thus echoes one of the core tensions implicit to both heritage and photography, taking up a critical vantage point between Barthes' evocation of the 'umbilical cord' (2000 [1980]: 81) and a Deleuzoguattarian insistence on making 'maps' not 'traces' (2004 [1980]: 24).

In sum, it is worth stressing the divergent benefits each of these approaches bring to the current study. An awareness of the constructed nature of the world emphasises socio-political power structures, dominant forms of discourse and representation and the historical dimensions of apparently stable ontologies. Affect meanwhile has introduced (or perhaps re-centred) issues of emotional resonance, experience, non-discursive forces and more-than-representational routes to meaning and mattering. My turn to the topological strikes a path *across and between* the constructive and the affective, prioritising the constant looping of these movements and drawing out those processes, practices and ideas through which the world might be augmented or transformed. Of course, this also highlights the fragmentation and messiness and of such (re)configurations. The question of 'shaping' is fundamental to each of these theoretical positions, but again in different ways. While a recognition that the world might be socially constructed clearly provokes an interest in precisely how reality might be 'shaped', the affective is concerned with the 'shape' of experience in terms of sensual intensities and bloom-spaces: the things that result from other things coming together. Finally, the topological realises that these shapes are in constant flux - that they are emergent and incomplete, but we might nevertheless begin to apprehend their vast complexity through 'still images', which is precisely the empirical point of departure for this thesis. Together, these avenues of rethinking thus offer a compelling map and toolkit for probing the interrelationship of heritage and photography.

1.4. An Introduction to Current Research

This research builds upon and contributes to a buoyant cross-disciplinary debate on the role of photography in shaping various domains. Of particular relevance to the current study is work carried out in archaeology (Molyneaux 1997; Smiles & Moser 2005; Hauser 2007; Bohrer 2011), anthropology (Edwards 2001, 2012; Edwards and Hart 2004; Pinney 1997, 2011), geography (Ryan 1997; Schwartz and Ryan 2003), memory studies (Hirsch 1997; Kuhn 2007), tourism studies (Osborne 2000; Urry 2002; Selwyn 1996) and architecture (Higgott and Wray 2012). Of course, the approach to photography will vary considerably across these monographs and edited

volumes. This is partly in response to the sheer diversity of material under consideration, ranging from family albums to imperial archives, early British aerial photography to Indian photographic studios of the 1990s. As Chris Pinney writes, photography has become 'globally disseminated and locally appropriated' (2003: 1), unsettling any straightforward account of its invention and technological development and opening up new ontological and cosmological notions of its use and meaning. What this research does have in common however is a desire to look beyond any positivist or objective accounts of the photographic image and the camera and realise the full complexity of photography as - in my own terms - act, object and medium.

These texts offer useful parallels for examining comparable mechanisms in cultural heritage, but they also emphasise the necessity of undertaking a substantial investigation into the convergence of photography and heritage from within the field. Anthropology, archaeology and other subjects have undoubtedly influenced the emergence of heritage, but its current concerns cut across these branches of learning in significant and often provocative ways.

In recent years several authors have turned their attention to precisely this arena. The edited volumes *Images, Representation and Heritage: Moving Beyond Modern Approaches to Archaeology* (Russell 2006) and *Culture, Heritage and Representation: Perspectives on Visuality and the Past* (Watson and Waterton 2010) include chapters on the role of the brochure image in landscape tourism (Neal 2006) and the photographic discourse of promotional literature produced by English Heritage (Waterton 2010, see also Waterton 2009). Again, this work builds on broader themes of representation, the 'gaze' and visual culture in the social sciences (see for example Crang 1997; Hall 1997; Voase 2000; Jenkins 2003; Crouch and Lubgren 2003; Webb 2009). The fact that such research is primarily concerned with deconstructing the relatively banal photographs associated with heritage as a tourist economy is highly telling. These are perhaps the first images that spring to mind when discussing cultural heritage: serene historic buildings, unspoilt landscapes, 'timeless' vistas devoid of people. The systematic unpacking of the codes and signs underlying such practices has been a necessary step towards a greater understanding of the relationship between photography and heritage, and one I build upon with this research. As Waterton suggests,

the apparently neutral and/or informative agendas of tourism brochures, guides and postcards are just as implicated in the processes of conveying power and status as more explicitly ideological texts [...] Moreover, they are [...] as much a topic of analysis and an avenue through which we might tackle wider social issues as verbal texts and language (2010: 157).

More recently, Waterton (with Watson) has followed the affective turn in cultural geography and related fields to put forward a revised appreciation of the role photography might play in heritage tourism as embodied, sensual and, above all, 'more-than-representational' (2014). Their particular approach is worth quoting in full, for it serves as a useful reiteration of the theoretical framework established so far:

each photograph brings with it the photographing body, along with those bodies and any other non-human elements that may be *in* the photo, as well as those will view its results. What this means is taking the ubiquitous touristic practice of photography beyond notions of representation, which is done by considering their affective intensities and their ability, not only to signify but to be felt, bringing with it two intersecting consequences. The first of these is that photography should no longer be considered a straightforward representation of reality, instead becoming something implicit to the creation of new realities. The second is that scholars now need to bring to the fore an understanding of tourists themselves, particularly in terms of their active, corporeal, expressive and engaged involvement in the creation and framing of images (ibid: 29-30, original emphasis).

While the reorientation put forward by Waterton and Watson is to be welcomed, I would suggest that the ensuing methodological approach taken in their study is insufficient to the task at hand. Examining Flickr comments simply cannot hope to grasp the full complexity of the processes, practices and ideas photography brings to heritage (and vice-versa). Here it is also worth noting that again it is *tourist* photography that forms the focus of this revised research agenda. The present study moves beyond this scholarship in two important ways: (1) by pursuing a more holistic, open and reflexive methodological approach that encompasses the archival and the ethnographic, and in so doing apprehends photography from the tripartite perspectives of act, object and medium; and (2) by bringing within the purview of debates around heritage and photography a more diverse set of images and photographic practices (including fine and contemporary art, archival photographs, journalistic work). This second point responds to the work of David Harvey, who has persuasively argued that heritage must engage with debates 'beyond the confines of present-centred cultural, leisure or tourism studies' to better appreciate the 'meaning and nature of what people tell each other about their past' (2001: 320). While research into survey photography (Edwards 2012b), holiday brochures and other promotional activity represents an important opening up of hitherto under-appreciated practices to critical inquiry, the notion of what constitutes 'heritage photography' remains fairly narrow. Indeed, this presupposes that such a category would even be possible, a stance clearly open to criticism given the diversity of photographs now routinely

addressed by the manifold processes of contemporary heritage. A key aim of this thesis is to expand the analytical net of heritage to embrace marginal, unusual and perhaps confrontational photographic practices. As will become clear, this applies to research at both the general and the case study level.

1.5. Structure of Thesis

Around the core question of how photography might ‘shape’ heritage in various ways, a series of critical points emerge that, when brought together, help structure this thesis.

First, an interest in heterogeneous historical and contemporary manifestations of the relationship between heritage and photography should be highlighted. This takes us beyond the familiar concerns of ‘heritage photography’ (archaeological or architectural surveys, tourism, marketing) and opens up new domains of inquiry around how the present might relate to the past through diverse photographic practices and images (fine and contemporary art, family albums, reportage). An awareness of what might constitute the ‘photographic life’ of heritage is vastly expanded by this empirical reorientation. While I can only do justice to a small portion of such complexity in the present study, this concern permeates through both my general background research and the more focused case study investigations.

Second, photography is to be understood as act, object and medium. It is my contention that any attempt to confront photography as a purely static two-dimensional image would fail to engage with the wider issues drawn out through the above research questions. The precise methodological implications of this tripartite apprehension will be dealt with in the following chapter, but here it is worth stressing that, while such an approach again expands my field of study, it also offers a coherent empirical framework that does not shy away from complex and often contradictory points of analysis. This relates closely to the third crucial mechanism for structuring this thesis: interrogating the notion of ‘shaping’ across theories of social constructionism, affect and topological transformation. While these concepts are given varying emphasis depending on the immediate empirical research undertaken, their synthesis is key to the study as a whole. This approach aims not to deny but to *work with* the obvious contradictions, divergences and reorientations occasioned through what might be deemed discordant avenues of rethinking.

These broad interests and lines of inquiry are rationalised and empirically grounded via the core case studies of Angkor and Famagusta. In practice, this involves a considered reading of numerous photographic assemblages from across the

multitude of image worlds that encircle and animate each site. These carefully selected 'research scenes' include colonial archives and publications, archaeological and conservation initiatives, touristic practices, quotidian collections and fine and contemporary art projects. With each research context, rather than dwell on specific images at an art-historical level, I attempt to convey some sense of the photography complex, putting forward evidence as to the various ways in which these networks of human and nonhuman actants - with photographs as their 'metonyms' (Hevia 2009) - 'shape' heritage as a social construct, affective experience and topological entity. The following overview of chapters briefly introduces each chapter to this end.

Chapter two begins by detailing the methodology and methods deployed to address the core research question. The rationale behind selecting two highly distinct yet interrelated example studies (Angkor and Famagusta) is explored in full, and a brief historical context for each location is given. While this approach clarifies the overarching structure of the thesis, I also outline the exact methods deployed at each stage of the research process. Given the diversity of data collected and interrogated - from individual images to online interviews and ethnographic field notes - these will vary considerably. The *bricolage* approach put forward here reflects and responds to the complex social, material and conceptual worlds confronted in this study.

Before discussing my case studies in greater detail, chapter three explores a more generalised picture of the critical constellations of heritage and photography. Taking the long view and embracing photographic forms and concepts that lie outside mainstream heritage discourse, this section develops a theoretical terrain on which to base subsequent case study analysis. The themes identified here - trace, memory, universality, series, cliché, authenticity - seek to demonstrate and problematise a conceptual comingling that has so far gone largely unremarked in the literature. Drawing on key theorists of photography and heritage alongside the real-world production and use of images, this chapter ranges across quotidian, artistic and technical concepts and practices. Crucially, this undertaking should also be seen as an integral part of the overall research methodology, with my core question prompting a philosophical and longitudinal approach to the general topic.

Chapter four opens up discussion of my core case study locations around the work of John Thomson, whose images provide a shared point of departure for examining the photographic life of Angkor and Famagusta. My genealogical reading of the Thomson archive seeks to deconstruct the meaning making implicit in his work and offer alternative trajectories for their influence and interpretation. This investigation of the 'initial photographic topologies' of Angkor and Famagusta is

focused on a critical reading of images in the Wellcome Collection, augmented by a study of Thomson's own publications and the wider networks of distribution his images were filtered through in the late nineteenth century.

Tracing the subsequent evolution of increasingly globalised approaches towards heritage, chapter five questions the documentation and representation of Angkor and Famagusta under the shifting rubrics of colonialism, before interrogating the re-use of 'colonial' imagery in the post-colonial era. Returning first of all to the work of Thomson, I chart the ways in which his early photographic records have been 're-mapped' through exhibition, re-publication and digital distribution. Building on this precise case study, I move on to consider some of the broader image-making practices that impacted on Angkor and Famagusta in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, focusing on projects and initiatives that were closely aligned to the emergence and expansion of heritage as a concept and activity. The wide-ranging work of the *École Française d'Extrême Orient* in Cambodia and equivalent though less substantial bodies in Cyprus provides the locus for this discussion, which connects the colonial and post-colonial by viewing photographs as 'imperial ruins' open to new constructive and affective possibilities through critical re-appropriation (Stoler 2008).

This stance feeds through into chapter six, where alternative communities of photographic concern are highlighted for the role they have played in shaping Angkor and Famagusta in often strikingly different directions to mainstream heritage. These diverse networks encompass the image archives of the Famagusta Association of Great Britain and the Bophana Center in Phnom Penh, plus the work of professional artists at both locations, with a key question emerging around the extent to which the re-use of historic images and the production of new visual forms might provoke an alternative ethics of heritage. From the redeployment of family albums to the creation of highly aestheticised artworks that seek to re-imagine Angkor and Famagusta in unexpected ways, the research presented here looks to expand the analytical terrain of heritage studies with reference to the densely layered accumulations of photography that now engulf the field.

Finally, chapter seven puts forward a fine-grained ethnographic interrogation of the various ways in which photography as act shapes the experience of Angkor and Famagusta. Key photographic 'hot-spots' are identified at each location, with empirical research carried out into the affective resonances between people, site, camera and image at these critical nodal points. Against these conventional or mainstream photographic practices, I also undertake alternative excursions at each site, following the trail of photographers who attempt to provide a more selective (and

perhaps more affective) encounter with heritage through the lens of the camera. A crucial methodology here is the production of my own photographic work, which attempts to emulate and subvert both common and 'alternative' visual tropes around Angkor and Famagusta.

Chapter nine draws all of the above together and offers conclusions and possible ways forward around the topic of heritage and photography. Returning to the core research question, I make suggestions for a radical understanding of the materials, concepts, ethics, and power dynamics caught up in the relationship between photography and heritage. A key concern here is with mapping out ways in which the implications foregrounded throughout this study might be re-centred to offer new paradigms for relating to the past in the present, and - as a result of this - new means of confronting the future through heritage. These propositions encompass practical as well as conceptual means of rethinking the field as a whole.

2.

Methodology / Methods

2.1. Introduction: Ethics and Practicalities

This chapter maps out the methodological approach taken to investigate my core research questions, focusing on the processes, practices and ideas through which photography might be said to ‘shape’ heritage, and the material, conceptual and ethical implications of this relationship.

The overarching methodology and precise methods deployed to address this question can be summarised as follows. First, a general overview of the relationship between heritage and photography is put forward. This takes in a number of discrete empirical cases where these two fields have overlapped, from well-known nineteenth century projects of historical documentation such as *La Mission Héliographique* (see Boyer 2003) to more recent photographic critiques of the heritage industry such as Paul Reas’ *Flogging a Dead Horse* (Reas and Cosgrove 1993). While this initial stage of methodological rationalisation helps develop a long-view on the often-mutual emergence of heritage and photography, there is no simplistic narrative on offer here. Instead links between the two are explored thematically, an approach that draws out a number of hitherto underappreciated conceptual affinities between photography and heritage. To examine these issues in greater depth, the second methodological phase of this enquiry involves a comparative study of Angkor and Famagusta. Numerous photographic ‘episodes’ are prioritised with this approach, from the colonial travel photography of John Thomson to the recent charitable work of the Angkor Photo Festival. Through this study the sites emerge as critical arenas for the detailed interrogation of different modes of heritage ‘shaping’, with individual photographic images, initiatives and events providing concrete verification of the urgent need to reconsider the impact of photography on heritage (and vice-versa). Much of the present chapter is given over to a description of Angkor and Famagusta, introduced here as a means of exploring the methodological rationale behind their selection as core case studies.

The third level of this methodology concerns the particular means of data collection and analysis employed at each stage of this research process. Briefly, these have included: content and semiotic analysis; participant observation around photographic practices at the case study sites; in-depth interviews with image makers and users; archival research into key collections and the historical use of images from these; the production of my own photographic images. Like those working in cultural studies (McGuigan 1997; Alasuutari 1995) and visual culture (Pink 2007; Rose 2007), I see great benefit in this *bricolage* approach to heritage research, where one is 'pragmatic and strategic in choosing and applying different methods and practices' (Alasuutari 1995: 2).

For Rose in particular using more than one method in photographic research has clear benefits; shedding light 'on the contradictory meanings an image may articulate' (2007: 261). This resonates with the tension between roots and rhizomes established in the previous chapter, and I would like to suggest that confronting the 'microhistorical trajectories' of photographs as 'distributed objects' through these diverse methods goes some way to answering Edwards' call for a research model that 'can accommodate the double helix of the simultaneous existence of objects that are both singular and multiple' (2012a: 223-4). The John Thomson archive is a case in point here. To fully grasp the impact of these images it has been necessary to look beyond a critical re-reading of the original glass-plate negatives and towards the material afterlife suffered by these same images in and around Angkor and Famagusta, where they routinely appear in exhibitions, informal displays, publications and tourist marketing. It is my contention that the efficacy of such pictures - in other words their constructive and affective potential - is located across these disparate material and social worlds, not just in the content of the images or their original contexts of publication.

In a Massumian sense, this approach can be seen to take us from generalising concepts (constructs, affects, topologies) to concrete 'exemplars' and 'microexamples' designed to 'activate detail' (2002: 17-18) in the selected case studies of Angkor and Famagusta. The aim here has been to challenge, verify or expand upon the notion that photography might configure these sites as heritage. Crucially however the longitudinal outlook of this research has not prioritised any specific moment of construction or affectivity, instead recognising photography (as act, object and medium) to be caught up in a constant reworking of values, meanings, attachments, representations and even materialities. What constitutes 'the heritage' of Angkor and Famagusta is routinely disrupted in this approach: a key benefit of the empirically

grounded case study. As Massumi argues, ‘every detail is essential to the case’, and each of these ‘microexamples’ harbours ‘terrible powers of deviation and digression’ (ibid).

Alongside the core line of enquiry mentioned above, a number of sub-questions have shaped this methodology. From the outset it has been necessary to ask how we might approach the broad and multitudinous intersections of heritage and photography in a practicable way. In other words, what ‘photographies’ are most pertinent to the issues highlighted by this research, and what manifestations of the heritage phenomenon should be foregrounded in this project? The implications of this selective process are explored below, but here it is worth noting that they give rise to a further question that resonates across the present study, namely: whose constructs, whose affects and whose topologies are given priority in this research? Recognising the bias of any study, what methods might we use to avoid rehearsing narrow conceptualisations of what heritage means and why it matters, and instead provide space for the articulation of alternative heritage futures? What role can photography - as act, object and medium - play in this reimagining of the field? Finally, on a practical level, how might relevant ‘details’ across the case study contexts and their related photography complexes be ‘activated’ to test theories of constructionism, affect and the topological? How, in sum, can we document and analyse the ‘shaping’ of heritage by photography?

Before confronting each of these points in detail, the issue of ethics should be addressed. One of the central concerns underpinning this research has been the need for a more nuanced understanding of the impact certain visual tropes and photographic practices have exercised on our conceptualisation of what constitutes heritage. This refers back to and expands on Sontag’s belief that photographs ‘alter and enlarge our notions of what is worth looking at and what we have a right to observe’, giving rise to a new ‘ethics of seeing’ (1977: 3). I would like to suggest that such an ethics of seeing is intimately bound up with a corresponding ethics of heritage, a nexus of concerns that would incorporate issues of access, ownership, representation, interpretation, knowledge creation and the power asymmetries all of these processes construct and take place within. My decision to focus on the highly contentious political and socio-cultural worlds of Angkor and Famagusta partly reflects a desire to centre these issues in heritage discourse. As Butler has suggested, any reconceptualisation of heritage must be based on experiences currently located outside mainstream concerns of the field, taking in for example ‘displaced, diasporic, transnational, indigenous cultures and cultures in conflict’ to help articulate alternative

heritage futures (2006: 476). This I perceive as an urgent ethical task, one that asks us to centre differential means of heritage construction and routes to affect, potentially giving rise to radically new heritage topologies. In a very real sense this is precisely the aim of the current study, and this is reflected in the methodological breadth of the research undertaken. Questioning in turn colonial and postcolonial constructions, diasporic memory-work, touristic regimes and personal encounters across two very different sites provides space for contradictory perspectives on heritage and photography to emerge.

2.2. The Comparative Case Study Approach

The methodology put forward here opens up the relationship between photography and heritage to useful scrutiny through a comparison of two distinct yet overlapping case studies. Put simply, it is my contention that while investigating a single location, archive or photographer would undoubtedly produce a detailed model of how photography might 'shape' heritage, the specificity of such an enquiry would restrict its wider relevance. At the opposite end of the spectrum, a wide-ranging survey would, I suggest, open up the research as a whole to criticisms of superficiality. Between the shallowness of such an approach and the restricted nature of the individual case, the comparative study is seen to offer a constructive compromise.

The case study is now a familiar methodology in a field that has long acknowledged the inadequacy of universalising definitions of 'heritage'. Indeed, this approach has been called 'the distinctive trope of publication' in the discipline (Sørensen and Carman 2009: 20). Influential examples from India (Edensor 1998), Egypt (Butler 2007), South East Asia (Di Giovine 2009), Britain (Smith 2006; Waterton 2009) and Sierra Leone (Basu 2008) attest to the international scope of this research strategy. The exact purpose of the case study does however vary significantly across these examples. While some take the geographical and historical scope of a particular locality as the final point of analysis, other see the case study as 'a means of exemplifying and learning rather than the goal' (Sørensen and Carman 2009: 20). My interest in Angkor and Famagusta follows the latter trajectory.

For Massumi, the individual case - or 'example' in his terminology - is neither general nor particular, but is instead 'defined by a disjunctive self-inclusion: a belonging to itself that is simultaneously an extendibility to everything else with which it might be connected' (2002: 18). Flyvbjerg offers a more direct reiteration of this stance with his suggestion that the case study allows for longitudinal research that - while necessarily specialised - does offer 'transferability' to other, similar contexts

(2011). Here we begin to see how the case study goes beyond furnishing a specific arena for data collection and provides a testing ground for broader theoretical possibilities. In this sense examining two sites in-depth allows me to appreciate the complexity of individual circumstances whilst drawing out valuable points of convergence and variance in the ‘shaping’ of heritage through photography. The methodological rationalisation implicit to the case study does not therefore prohibit a wider conceptual and practical resonance.

Crucially, this overarching methodology also entails a disturbance in dominant concepts through marginalised ontologies and epistemes. Just as Pinney has shown how case studies drawn from photography’s ‘other histories’ might offer ‘a space for the inversion and critique of authorised Western models of travel, landscape and selfhood’ (2003: 13), so a similar critique is offered here in terms of the construction and affectivity of heritage. Somewhat paradoxically given their status as exemplars, Angkor and Famagusta emerge as critical testing grounds for alternative notions of heritage and photography in this reading. Here then we approach those terrible powers of deviation and digression - so evocatively drawn out by Massumi - that are contained within the case study methodology. To begin to understand where such potential might reside a brief historical overview of Angkor and Famagusta is now put forward: this also addresses the rationale behind selecting these particular sites as core case studies.

2.3. Angkor and Famagusta

A comparison of the photographic life of Angkor and Famagusta forms the backbone to this research. While the emergence of photography as a technology of representation in the nineteenth century demarcates a general point of departure for this study, it hardly needs stating that both of these sites have long and complex histories preceding their first documentation by photographers. Angkor and Famagusta have both witnessed periods of foundation, expansion, military and mercantile supremacy, conquest, decline, abandonment, ruination, colonisation and - most recently - heritagisation. Only these final two stages coincide with the *production* of photographic images, but the content of said pictures has routinely prioritised the material past of earlier periods over the present moment of image-making. Questioning the photographic life of such sites therefore confronts the ‘rendering of a history visualised through a densely temporalised concept of place’ (Edwards 2012b: 166). What precisely that history might include is the focus of this section.



Fig 2.1. Map of Cambodia showing main site of Angkor in relation to capital Phnom Penh

Built by the Khmer empire between 802 and 1431, the cities and temples of Angkor remain as testament to the power and influence of two faiths: Hinduism and Mahayana Buddhism (Freeman 2003). During this period, vast temples were commissioned by the god-kings of Angkor to serve as mausoleums or in dedication to their ancestors or patron deity (Higham 2001). These monumental structures served as the focal point of an urban complex that is thought to have been the largest preindustrial city in the world, covering some 1000 square kilometres to the north of Tonlé Sap - the Great Lake (Evans et al 2007; Figure 2.1). While grand yet intricately carved buildings such as Angkor Wat, The Bayon, Banteay Srei, Beng Mealea, Ta Prohm and Preah Kahn represent the pinnacle of Angkorean architecture, hundreds of smaller temples can also be found dotted across the landscape around modern day Siem Reap (Winter 2008: 526; Figures 2.2-2.5). This is not to mention the countless wood-built houses, palaces and public buildings that were destroyed by the encroaching forest when the kingdom fell into decline in the fifteenth century. The majority of temples were abandoned at this point, although a significant community of monks did remain at Angkor Wat, which continued to attract pilgrims and formed the centre of a collection of rural villages focused around Theravada Buddhist monastic communities (ibid). A number of European and Asian travellers visited the region during this period (c1500-1800) and wrote of the extraordinary ruins they encountered (Higham 2001: 2-3), but it was not until the 1860s that these sites became

well known to Western audiences, largely as a result of Henri Mouhot's posthumous account of their 'discovery' (1966 [1864]).



Figs 2.2 - 2.5. The temples of Angkor today. Clockwise from top left: Angkor Wat, Preah Pithu (Angkor Thom), The Bayon, Beng Mealea. All photographs author's own

Cambodia became a protectorate of France in 1863, but the area around Angkor was not ceded to the French by Siam until 1907. This same year saw the EFEO charged with recording, preserving and restoring the site. The first half of the twentieth century subsequently witnessed an outpouring of research into the history of Angkor, while a steady stream of tourists also began to visit the temples (Di Giovine 2009: 53). This opening out of the site to a global - if largely western - audience was greatly curtailed in the post-colonial era, first as a result of the Vietnam-America War, then with the effective isolation of Cambodia from the rest of the world under the Khmer Rouge regime (1975-79), and finally during a war with Vietnam that lasted until 1991. Tellingly, the listing of Angkor by UNESCO came just one year after the Paris Peace Accords that ended this conflict, a sign of the international desire to swiftly resume the protection and restoration of the site. As Winter suggests,

The reconstruction of Angkor's temples was understandably regarded as the most potent symbol and demonstration of a country in recovery. The ties between monumental restoration and socio-political reconstruction - a

cultural, political dyad first forged during the colonial period [...] were now about to reappear. However, the traumatic events of recent decades combined with a vision of Angkor as a unifying marker of modern cultural, national and ethnic identity to greatly intensify the expectation that cultural heritage would give momentum to a wider socio-cultural recovery (2008: 527).

Today Angkor receives over 2 million visitors per year (ODC 2014). While this mass tourism is now considered the greatest material threat to the temples (see Winter 2006), the management of Angkor has largely shifted from a paradigm of salvation to one that focuses on the increased commodification of the site for economic benefits (Miura 2011a: 11). At the same time, criticism has been levelled at the continued insistence on a positivist conceptualisation of architectural heritage taking priority over any more localised notions of value and use (Winter 2008; Miura 2011b). The 'shape' of heritage is thus highly contested at Angkor, and any discussion of photography at the site must take into account these shifting regimes of meaning and mattering.

Although less geographically expansive than Angkor, the history of Famagusta is equally complex. Founded in 964 and acquired by the French in 1192, the town has known Byzantine, Lusignan, Genoese, Venetian, Ottoman and British rule. At its zenith as a major commercial port in the fourteenth century, one German traveller described Famagusta as 'the richest of all cities, and her citizens the richest of all men' (in Walsh 2007: 50). The historic core of the site is defined by a series of medieval churches and municipal buildings, all surrounded by an imposing defensive wall built by the Venetians, who took control of Cyprus in 1489. By this point the wealth of Famagusta had already declined significantly, and when the town fell to Ottoman forces in 1571 it entered three centuries of neglect (ibid). While some structures were re-used by the Ottomans (notably St Nicholas Cathedral, which became Lala Mustafa Pasha Mosque) the majority of the area was soon abandoned. Expelled from their homes, the Christian population of Famagusta established two villages a short distance away: these became known as Varosha - Turkish for suburb or outskirts. While these areas thrived over the coming centuries, the first official British report of 1878 described Famagusta itself as 'a town of modern hovels and ruined churches and palaces' with a population of around 300 (in Walsh 2010: 248).

Over the course of British rule successive colonial administrators would recognise the importance of dealing with Famagusta and Varosha as a single entity, with the relative affluence of the latter often deployed to alleviate the conditions of the former. This coincided with the enacting of heritage protection for the 'Old

Town’, although here it should be noted that the British were interested ‘not in preserving Famagusta as some sort of outdoor museum per se, but in revitalising the urban landscape as a working, strategically important and culturally significant possession in the Eastern Mediterranean’ (Walsh 2010: 251). While both Famagusta and Varosha witnessed significant development under British rule, gradually merging into a single conurbation, it was not until independence in 1960 and the subsequent growth in package tourism that major high-rise hotels emerged along the extensive sandy beaches of the town. This relative prosperity was brought to an abrupt halt in 1974, when Turkey launched a military offensive that resulted in the partition of the island along the Green Line, now a United Nations buffer zone (Figure 2.6). Famagusta lies just inside this line, and is now one of the largest urban areas in the internationally unrecognised Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (TRNC).



Fig 2.6. Map of Cyprus showing Famagusta in relation to Nicosia and UN buffer zone

The medieval core of Famagusta has received significant attention from heritage agencies in recent years, with the World Monuments Fund (WMF) placing it on their watch list in 2008 and the Global Heritage Fund (GHF) describing it as one of the twelve most at risk sites in the developing world (GHF 2010). Threats to the historic built fabric are seen to come from careless property development and the ongoing political division of the island, in which Famagusta is a ‘pawn, indiscriminately played, and often sacrificed, in a propaganda war between north and south’ (Walsh 2007: 50). While these circumstances also prohibit the listing of the

medieval city as a World Heritage Site, iconic ruins such as Othello's Tower - setting for the Shakespeare play - speak of its global significance (see Walsh et al 2012).



Figs 2.7 - 2.9. Famagusta today. Top: View across town from Ravelin Gate (Lala Mustafa Pasha Mosque in centre). Bottom, L-R: ruins of Venetian Palace inside the historic walled city; abandoned hotels on seafront at Varosha. All photographs author's own

The familiar monumentalism of this heritage site finds its radical counterpart in contemporary Varosha. Just a short walk from the historic walled city, the hotels, shops, streets and homes of this once thriving district have stood empty since 1974, when the Greek-Cypriot population of the town fled at short notice, believing an aerial bombardment by the Turkish air force was imminent. A hastily erected fence of barbed-wire, disused oil cans and corrugated iron was put in place around Varosha by the invading army, who saw in the prosperous suburbs of Famagusta a useful bargaining chip for any future negotiations on the fate of the island as a whole (Weisman 2007). This perimeter endures to the present day, closely guarded by a small military force inhabiting Varosha, and with regularly placed signs warning onlookers

not to take photographs. Distinct from yet intimately bound to the historic walled city of Famagusta, this 'ghost town' is caught up in complex discourses of familial nostalgia, traumatic memory and 'negative heritage' (Meskell 2002).

A number of critical points can be drawn from these brief site biographies. First, the very *sitedness* of both case studies must be highlighted. Angkor and Famagusta are to a certain extent defined by their monumental built remains, a well-established manifestation of the heritage phenomenon. The commemoration and protection of such sites has been codified since at least the nineteenth century, most notably in Britain and France with the establishment of the *Ancient Monuments Act* (1882) and the *Commission des Monuments Historiques* (1837) respectively, and these programmes were exported and subtly reconfigured throughout the colonial period (Basu and Damodaran 2015). The UNESCO World Heritage List represents perhaps the most ambitious articulation of this site-based celebration of the past to date. By examining the role of photography in constructing and making affective such grounded localities as heritage I therefore confront one of the most taken-for-granted expressions of this phenomenon. Rather than prioritising the historic space or architectural ruin as a category of heritage, however, the methodological approach taken here should be seen as contributing to a general critique of such sites, with a particular focus on the tension between their social construction and continued affective resonances (Byrne 2008; Navaro-Yashin 2009; Waterton and Watson 2014).

The second critical vantage point afforded by these case studies may be located in their status as heritage and in their documentation by photographers. This may seem somewhat tautological given the core question driving this research, but there is an important point to be drawn out here. As the above site biographies reveal, for most of their history Angkor and Famagusta must be considered distinct, caught up in wildly divergent religious, cultural, social and political narratives. While certain parallels can be drawn between the sites (notably around the religious architecture which defines both, their rapid move from prosperity to ruination, and their continued habitation) the largely unrelated material and discursive contexts of medieval Cyprus and the Khmer Empire precludes any meaningful comparison of these localities until the modern era, at least in terms relevant to the current research question. Only with the colonial period and the widespread propagation by European powers of a set of attitudes towards the past in the present were these (and many other similar sites) drawn together within a unifying - often universalising - global account of art, architecture, archaeology and history (see contributions to Hall 2011). As I explore in the next chapter, this movement towards a 'world memory' often went

hand-in-hand with the emergence of photography as a technology of representation. Like other sites across the globe, Angkor and Famagusta have thus been discursively and visually (re)assembled *by photography* and *as heritage* over the course of the last two centuries. Crucially, this research agenda does not ignore the widespread visual practices that animated notions of ‘heritage’ before the emergence of photography, but rather situates the *photographic* construction and affectivity of Angkor and Famagusta within a continuum of ideas, representations and physical responses that includes the eighteenth century romanticisation of ruins (Thomas 2008), the related expansion of a self-conscious identification with ‘history’ (Lowenthal 1985), and the concurrent intensification of antiquarian and museological pursuits. Recognising the emphatic historical distinctiveness of each location, it is these more recent connected processes that I seek to compare in the present study.

It may be argued that any two heritage sites are open to comparison in this way, and there is some truth to this criticism. The UNESCO World Heritage List alone now includes 1007 sites across 161 state parties, divided into natural, cultural and ‘mixed’ properties (UNESCO 2015). All of these have been photographed to some extent, and the great majority could indeed be interrogated along broadly similar lines as I intend to pursue around Angkor and Famagusta. I would like to suggest however that there are critical conceptual and methodological benefits to be gained from examining these particular sites. One key point is that both locations are to some extent defined by their photographic existence. Angkor for example has become a potent symbol not just of Cambodia but of the UNESCO heritage enterprise as a whole, while the physical inaccessibility of Varosha in particular is routinely countermanded through the production and circulation of images. Furthermore, the act of photography is highlighted at both sites, albeit in strikingly different ways. At Angkor platforms have been constructed specifically to accommodate vast numbers of tourist photographers, while numerous photo-tours are marketed on the promise of looking beyond the Angkorean clichés such photographic stages vividly materialise. This active encouragement of a camera-based engagement with heritage finds its radical opposite in the banning of photography around much of Famagusta.

Whilst the very real and significant cultural differences between Cambodia and Cyprus are highlighted in this research, the recent historical trajectories of these states can be seen to further augment their comparative potential. Both were ruled by European powers until the middle of the twentieth century, both saw violent conflict in the aftermath of colonialism, and both have recently utilised heritage as part of a tourist driven economy to develop and modernise. Under such circumstances the

meaning, significance and use of cultural heritage is liable to shift and become embroiled in highly politicised and asymmetric narratives of nationhood, memory, history and identity. These constructions will often rely on photographic imagery to demonstrate and publicise their veracity and relevance, frequently incorporating the depiction of 'iconic' heritage sites. Again, Famagusta and Angkor may be seen as paradigmatic cases in this respect, crystallising more generalised studies that have questioned the relationship between photography and heritage in colonial and post-colonial contexts. At the same time however any analysis of these specific cases must recognise their idiosyncrasies, not least because of the recent conflicts that have shaped both localities. While this would seem to diminish their wider relevance, such case studies are well suited to showing the dramatic nature of the processes in question, helping to delineate new and innovative theories incorporating previously overlooked phenomena (Flyvbjerg 2011). One consequence of this may be realised within the comparative approach itself, whereby research around Angkor and Famagusta opens up the potential for novel uses of photography at the opposing location - discursively reframing twentieth century buildings around Angkor as 'heritage', for example, or introducing 'ethically oriented' photo-tours to Famagusta (see chapter seven).

A final point of comparison between these sites is located in the work of John Thomson. The first person to photograph Angkor in 1866 and the first photographer to visit the island of Cyprus after it became a *de facto* colony of Britain in 1878, Thomson's work provides an important example of the move from sketching and writing to photography as the dominant mode of heritage representation, allowing us to trace the emergence of this relationship at a key historical juncture. His photographic archive and publications thus form the initial data-set of my research, providing a closely defined field on which historically oriented methods (detailed below) might be worked through. Without ignoring the impact of pre-photographic visualisations on Angkor and Famagusta, Thomson's imagery thus represents a useful empirical and analytical point of departure not apparent at all sites of heritage.

Simultaneously archetypal and atypical, the case studies of Angkor and Famagusta provide space for an effective interrogation of the photographic worlds that may surround heritage. This research is oriented towards the historical and the contemporary, taking in a significant time period that may encompass a variety of often-contradictory social, political, cultural and ideological perspectives. The overarching methodology of the comparative case study therefore addresses the core research question in a thought-provoking manner, offering ample opportunity for data

collection across a diverse assemblage of photographic images, archives and encounters. The remainder of this chapter will introduce the precise methods deployed to make sense of this data.

2.4. Locating the Photography Complex

What precisely is it we are investigating when we confront the ‘photographic life’ of a heritage site? At the risk of oversimplification, I see this ‘existence’ operating along two interrelated axes. The first of these refers to photographic images themselves - in other words, to any picture that documents some aspect of a site. This ‘image-world’, to use Sontag’s phrase (1977: 153), is rooted in the specifics of the place depicted, but remains open to countless recordings through archiving, exhibition, publication or any other mode of dissemination or assemblage. Here then we are interested in the photograph as object and medium, and in the following research a number of ‘projects’ are approached in this vein, from the John Thomson archive to images collated by Greek Cypriot diaspora groups.

By contrast, the second axis centres photography as act, and is concerned primarily with the embodied photographer as a critical point of enquiry. This draws into the purview of analysis a broad range of camera-based practices, highlighting in turn issues of movement, sensation, experience, corporeality and performance. Photographic excursions and mainstream touristic photography form the nucleus of this research strand, although I do also consider the embodied dimensions of art photography and what Pinney has described as the ‘corporetics’ of viewing images (2001).

Clearly these two axes are part of an ever-evolving feedback loop - after all, the image-world could not exist without the photographic act, while many are inspired to engage in photography at a particular site as a direct result of viewing certain images. This demarcation should not therefore be seen as dichotomous but rather dialectical, and I divide these aspects of the photographic life here merely to draw out the distinct methods of analysis each axis demands. In the case of methods focused on the image-world this includes content and semiotic analysis, archival research, network analysis and what Edwards has called ‘historical ethnography’, wherein ‘fieldwork’ is conducted across ‘scattered visual and textual archives’ (2012b: xii). For those areas of research where the photographic act is given prominence, I have looked to participant observation, formal and informal interviews and my own photographic practice as core methods of data collection and analysis. In practice, the slippages

between and across these diverse methods have often proved the most fruitful avenues of research.

To delve into these methods further, the procedures deployed in this thesis can be seen to have brought within the purview of analysis a composite range of discursive and affective energies in relation to Angkor and Famagusta. At the level of the individual image, I have coaxed out specific details of content and aesthetics, refocusing critical attention on those marginal or overlooked elements that signal the ‘openness’ of photographic recodings. This fine-grained analysis also treats photographs as objects, converging on their ‘physical qualities, their complex sensuality [...] how they look and feel, their shape and volume, weight and texture’ (Rose 2007: 219). Of course, such images do not exist in a representational vacuum, and this approach has also sought to compare different photographs of the same location, picking out points of similarity and difference to complicate notions of photographic ‘redundancy’ (Flusser 2000 [1983]). An important caveat to this stance is the expansion of semiotics beyond a narrow concern with signs and systems (although these remain important) to take account of the experiential dimensions of meaning making that surround individual photographs and image collections (Waterton and Watson 2014). This has necessitated a turn to the human and non-human networks in which photographs are embedded, and a core element of my research has been documenting the diverse communities of photographic interest that coalesce around Angkor and Famagusta. These have included official archival projects, touristic itineraries, and formal and informal artistic collectives. To better understand the tendencies and implications of these networked assemblages, I have interviewed key participants and closely observed the practices that surround key images and image collections, from the performance of the photographic act to the staging of exhibitions and events. The production, accumulation, movement and reinterpretation of photographs has been central to this approach, which asks how and why photography has attained a particular saliency with regards the social construction and affective resonances of heritage.

Martin Hand has recently argued that new technologies and new uses of photography require novel research methods from those interested in the visual (2012). He suggests that this may lead us to abandon traditional, chiefly qualitative methods in favour of large-scale analysis of ‘big data’. While the following investigation does not ignore the impact on heritage of what Hand calls ‘ubiquitous photography’, my research is primarily concerned with fairly discrete and deliberate projects that, I would argue, are best approached qualitatively rather than

quantitatively. As such I have not employed questionnaires or other statistical methods here, preferring ‘thick description’ (Geertz 1973), personal observation and in-depth archival readings. If as a result the findings are subjective and open to re-interpretation, I assert that they remain no less empirically valid.

Interrogating the image-world of Angkor and Famagusta opens up a number of critical questions. Initially we might ask what is contained within the frame of these images and, just as importantly, what has been left out? Which visual motifs are commonly repeated? Are the photographs assembled as a series, and if so how does this grouping of images produce or reinforce a particular perception of the site depicted? How do more recent pictures relate to earlier photographs of the same location, or indeed to previous non-photographic representations? Finally - but perhaps most importantly - how are these photographs used, discussed, exhibited, printed and publicised? In other words, through what processes and concepts are they made meaningful, and what are the material, conceptual and ethical implications of this ongoing recontextualisation?

While content and semiotic analysis has long proved fruitful in addressing many of these questions (see Albers and James 1988), a more diverse set of methods and questions is now advocated by most scholars of photography. As Schwartz argues, the longstanding tendency to view photographs as materially stable must be ‘abandoned’ in favour of an approach that ‘follows their performative trajectories, maps their social biographies, and acknowledges the primacy of context for grappling with the mutability of their meaning’ (2004: 121). The research strategy adopted here follows this course, and while the content of images remains central to their analysis, I also consider issues of materiality, discursive context, performative viewing and environments of dissemination. This holds true across the broad spectrum of image-worlds I confront, from well-established archives such as the John Thomson collection to those fluid online assemblages brought together by the Famagusta Association of Great Britain. Here I look to the narratives and comments that accompany images (written and spoken), to their digital and material framings, to methods of printing and display, and to the movement of images through the world as original photographic artefacts and (re)mediated reproductions. All of these aspects of the photography complex may be caught up to some degree in the shaping of heritage.

If this approach can be understood to centre the photograph as object and medium - albeit in a way that draws out the lived complexity of all images - the more explicitly ethnographic methods employed in this study prioritise the very act of

photography. Participant observation, formal and informal interviews and the ongoing production of my own photographic images take centre stage here. As Waterton and Watson have recently argued, such an approach should aim to capture data through ‘conversation and by sharing experiences with respondents [...] as collaborators, advocates, enablers, fellow travellers and tourists’ (2014: 122). Looking beyond the touristic, my engagement with artists and with alternative uses of photography in and around both Angkor and Famagusta (e.g. The Angkor Photo Festival, the work of Richard Chamberlain) has sought to emphasise the social worlds in which various photographic interventions are situated. It should also be noted that these methods highlight the reflexivity of the present study (Davies 2008), with my positionality in particular fluidly located across the roles of tourist, photographer, researcher and heritage practitioner. This is drawn out in the production of my own photographic work, where the making of images has become an active part of the research process (Rose 2007: 256). Engaging in the very practices under examination in this way combines deeper insight into the embodied and affective nature of the photographic act, as well as providing a set of highly personalised photographs that may complement or subvert the wider image-worlds of Angkor and Famagusta.

The fundamental issue at stake across these diverse methods has been the need to locate and activate those details that might verify, challenge or expand upon notions of the constructive, the affective and the topological. To this end, the following analysis of various images, archives, publications, exhibitions and practices combines a critical examination of discursive meaning making with an interest in the embodied experience, emotional resonance and processual force of photography as act, object and medium. The multifaceted shaping of sometimes-contradictory heritages is drawn out through this approach, a reflexive strategy that allows for ‘all scopes of the imagination to be kept on board’ (Navaro-Yashin 2009: 15).

2.5. Summary

Around the core case studies of Angkor and Famagusta, this research focuses on a series of photographic ‘projects’ or ‘moments’, from John Thomson’s inaugural documentation of Angkor to the online collecting practices of various special interest groups. These episodes in the photographic life of each location have been selected to help draw out the material, conceptual and ethical implications of the relationship between photography and heritage, structured around the analytical framework of constructs, affects and topologies. The processes, practices and ideas contained within each photographic episode represent the Massumian ‘details’ under investigation,

including but not limited to: technologies of production and dissemination; the content of images; narrative or discursive environments of use; and the corporeal moment of photographic encounter. Getting at these diverse nodes in the photography complex demands a *bricolage* approach, and here I have adopted overlapping methods that incorporate content analysis, archival research, in-depth interviews, participant observation and the production of my own photographic images. By focusing this study on two specific geographical locations I do not restrict the wider relevance of this research, simply moderate what could develop into a thesis without end, as heritage and photography intersect on limitless paths. The next chapter tackles this wider context.

3.

Heritage And Photography: Critical Constellations

The varied objects to which Photography can address itself, its power of rendering permanent that which appears to be as fleeting as the shadows that go across the dial, the power that it possesses of giving fixedness to instantaneous objects are, for the purposes of history (not only the purposes of one particular branch of human industry, but the history of everything that belongs to man, and the whole globe that he inhabits), a matter of the deepest importance. It is not too much to say that no individual - not merely individual man, but no individual substance, no individual matter, nothing that is extraordinary in Art, that is celebrated in Architecture, that is calculated to excite the admiration of those who behold it, need now perish, but may be rendered immortal by the assistance of photography. We cannot conceive a more perfect history of everything that belongs to man than Photography is able to record; and not merely of what belongs to man himself, but of everything that can occupy his attention: in short, everything that can be subjected to visual observation is rendered permanent, so that whatever is noticed now be noticed by all the world for ever.

Baron Pollock, President of the Photographic Society, 1855
(in Marshall 1855: 11-12)

3.1. Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to provide a wide-ranging overview of the relationship between heritage and photography, with the more precise aim of contextualising subsequent case study based investigations. This background research is motivated by an alertness to the manifold points of intersection and divergence that may exist between these two fields, crossing a spectrum from conceptual and ontological to functional and ethical. The mass of tourist photography that regularly surrounds sites of heritage; 'official' surveys of places and objects; the re-use of old photographs in various settings; the discursive strategies employed to lend historical significance to certain images: these and other connections speak of a complex interrelationship that

remains largely unremarked upon in heritage scholarship (although see Samuel 1994; Waterton & Watson 2014). Crucially, such convergences surface across my analysis of Angkor and Famagusta, further signalling the broad relevance of my chosen case studies to what I define here as the ‘critical constellations’ of heritage and photography.

For Walter Benjamin, the idea of the constellation described the coming together of events or phenomena in the work of historical criticism. This would go beyond any simplistic linear narrative to recognise the disjointed and ‘suddenly emergent’ formulation of the ‘now’ out of so many fragmented ‘what-has-beens’ (2002 [1927-40]: 462). A constellation in this respect should emerge from the intersection of moments, things and concepts across apparently disconnected times and places. Commenting on Benjamin’s work, Gilloch further recommends that any critical constellation ought to occasion ‘a fleeting but irrevocable shift in the perception of phenomena which preserves both their individual integrity and their mutuality’ (2002: 71). The present chapter follows this route by avoiding any specific point of origin for the relationship under consideration, preferring instead to highlight and traverse the tangled trajectories of heritage and photography across multiple and sometimes contradictory case studies or ‘microexamples’ (Massumi 2002), from the earliest work of Daguerre and Talbot to images produced using the Hubble Space Telescope. Moreover, within the broad aim of outlining how photography might ‘shape’ heritage in various ways (as construct, affect and topology), the individual integrity and mutuality of these fields is stressed at each turn. Distinct yet interrelated, a dialectics of heritage and photography emerges through this reading, with the push-and-pull of diverse bodies, forces and discursive strategies constantly reconfiguring the perception and practice of both.

Six themes are deployed to structure this element of my research, drawing out different facets of the relationship under consideration.

First, the concept of *trace* is highlighted as a means of examining the photograph as both an indexical image and remnant of the past. Here, important associations are forged between sites ‘marked by time’ and the referential qualities of the camera based picture (Hauser 2007). The efficacy of indexical images is explored further in relation to *memory*, a term that resonates across many levels in the articulation of heritage by individuals and social groups. Overturning any simplistic correlation of photography and memory - or indeed heritage and memory - the argument put forward here builds on a rooted and rhizomatic conceptualisation to demonstrate the constructed *and* affective dimensions of memory-work in various

guises. This wider theorisation is developed through a discussion of the problematic concept of **universality**. The global (and often mutual) spread of heritage and photography over the past two centuries is prioritised here, with specific projects that have encompassed both made a focus of analysis, including Albert Kahn's *Archive de la Planète* and Edward Steichen's *Family of Man* exhibition. This research helps locate new possibilities for the current work of UNESCO and other globally oriented heritage initiatives, so crucial in understanding the photographic life of Angkor in particular. Related to this, the cataloguing of the past through strategies such as the World Heritage List is explored through a close interrogation of the **series** as a concept central to both heritage and photography. The constant (re)assemblage of subjects through photographic imaging, display, publication etc. is centred in this analysis, which thus contextualises various projects encountered at Angkor and Famagusta, from Thomson's illustrated books to the artistic interventions of the *Suspended Spaces* exhibition. Finally, the ostensibly opposing notions of **cliché** and **authenticity** are examined with reference to tourist photography, fine-art image making practices, and the construction of meaning and significance through both. Ultimately, the ideas emerging from this discussion (and the chapter as a whole) provoke a reconceptualisation of the importance of photography to heritage theory and practice: a 'rethinking' that underpins subsequent case study research.

Although given separate prominence here, there are clear slippages and crossovers between these thematic sub-constellations. Moreover, as Gilloch suggests, any constellation must be recognised as 'only one permutation among an infinite number of possible configurations, conjunctions and correspondence' (2002: 25). In light of this, other themes or concepts also figure in many of the arguments put forward, not least narrative, mortality, shadow, spectacle, nostalgia, desire and temporality. To borrow from Massumi, these concepts 'appear and reappear like a revolving cast of characters, joining forces or interfering with each other in a tumble of abstract intrigues' (2002: 16-17). The core themes are given special emphasis however for their resonances across the background research *and* case study investigations.

From the outset, it should be noted that I do not posit a radical break between photography and earlier forms of representation in the construction or affectivity of heritage, particularly in purely aesthetic terms. In discussing the photography of ruins, for example, it would be wholly misleading to suggest that the predominant visual language still in use today did not owe much to antiquarian sketching of the eighteenth century and earlier (see Thomas 2008). From this

perspective, the ‘shaping’ of heritage by photography should be firmly located in non-photographic representations, processes and concepts, with the camera merely providing a vehicle for the expansion of already common affective encounters and constructive regimes. This resonates with Harvey’s belief that heritage is not an inherently ‘modern’ phenomenon, and that the technological changes of the last two centuries simply allowed for an ‘increasing intensification, recycling, depth and scope of heritage activity’ (2001: 337).

At the same time, the argument I put forward here is based on an appreciation of photography beyond aesthetics, and in this broader sense photographic images may be seen to occupy a distinct category of visualisation. This recognises numerous qualities distinct to or at least emphasised in the photograph, including mechanical reproducibility (Benjamin 2007 [1936]), stillness (Burgin 1982), and referentiality (Barthes 2000 [1980]). Such characteristics lead Crary to declare that ‘the vast systemic rupture’ of which photography is a part renders any similarities between photographs and older types of images ‘insignificant’ (1992: 13). This claim can be made because the ‘photography effect’ for Crary is not part of a ‘continuous history of visual representation’ but rather a ‘crucial component of a new cultural economy of value and exchange’ (ibid). The above quote from Baron Pollock lends some weight to this stance, with the full braggadocio of Victorian rhetoric brought to bear on the perceived potential of photography. Not only would this new apparatus make permanent ‘fleeting shadows’ and allow for an encyclopaedic ‘history of everything’, it would also communicate, through the exchange and circulation of images and their associated value systems, all that is known or ‘noticed’ across the globe.

This bombastic address, delivered before the Architectural and Archaeological Societies of Northampton, Lincoln, Leicester and the University of Cambridge, was recorded by F.A.S. Marshall in his 1855 pamphlet *Photography: The Importance of its Application in Preserving Pictorial Records of the National Monuments of History and Art*. Like other early proclamations on the possible uses of photography, there is a clear link here between the new technology and nascent heritage practices. One thinks for example of Arago’s famous declaration that, with the daguerreotype, one person might document all the hieroglyphs in Egypt (in Bohrer 2011: 28), or of Daguerre’s 1837 record of a cabinet of curiosities (Figure 3.1). As well as proving Harvey’s point that extant practices are liable to intensify with the emergence of new technologies, these early advocates of photography demonstrate an awareness of the particular qualities subsequently emphasised by Benjamin, Barthes, Crary and others. I would

like to suggest that, understood in this way (that is, beyond aesthetics), photography can be seen to have played a key role in shaping and transforming how we conceive of and engage with heritage, from the experience of visiting a historic site to more abstract notions around how we imagine the past in the present. To varying degrees, the points of intersection and divergence identified in this chapter verify or challenge this hypothesis.

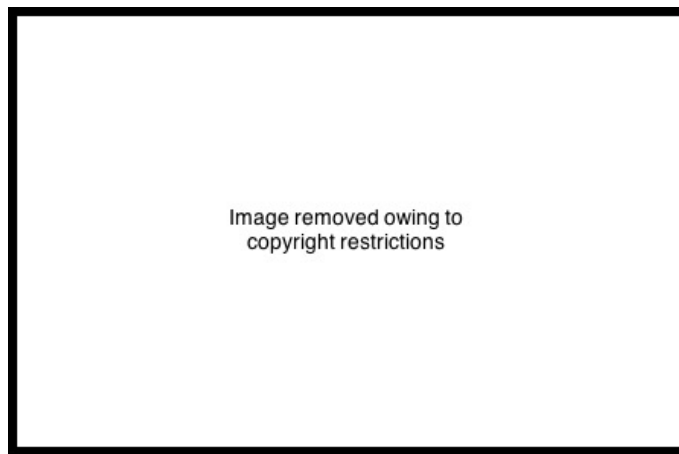


Fig 3.1. Jacques Louis Daguerre, 1837. *Still Life (Interior of a Cabinet of Curiosities)*. © Société Française de Photographie

Finally, it is worth pointing out that while the research presented here addresses a broad range of case studies, time periods, photographic technologies and conceptual approaches, there is a focus on the photography of sites, buildings, places, objects and things, over say portraiture or family photography. This should not be seen as a comment on what might constitute ‘heritage photography’ (if such a thing can be defined), but is rather a means of confronting in a practicable manner what can seem a potentially limitless field of study. As will become clear, centring such photographic subjects does not in the end rule out engaging with a diverse assortment of processes, practices and ideas that might ‘shape’ heritage. After all, ruins, monuments, archaeological sites, historic landscapes and urban spaces are as open to heterogeneous constructs, affects and topologies as any photographic subject matter. This is drawn out in the present discussion by bringing into the purview of analysis domains of photography that remain largely underappreciated within critical heritage studies, including vernacular photographs, fine and contemporary art practices and

scientific imagery. Crucially, this model is also carried over into subsequent case study research.

3.2. Trace

In 1854, on a mission sponsored by the French Ministry of Public Interest, the painter and archaeologist Auguste Salzmann travelled to Jerusalem to photograph historic monuments. Like other such ventures of the time, Salzmann's undertaking was seen as 'an act of scientific documentation and objective reporting to be rendered with the impartial and truth-telling eye of the camera' (Solomon-Godeau 1981: 96). Alongside the strikingly modernist, almost abstract images of archaeological sites and fragments produced by Salzmann over the course of this expedition can be found various landscapes and cityscapes. One of these, entitled *The Road to Bethlehem* (Figure 3.2), led Barthes to expand his well known definition of the *punctum* to encompass something beyond the specific detail: 'This new *punctum*, which is no longer of form but of intensity, is Time, the lacerating emphasis of the *noeme* ('*that-has-been*'), its pure representation' (2000 [1980]: 96, original emphasis). Barthes called this intense affectivity the 'vertigo of time defeated', and with respect to Salzmann's image he writes,

nothing but stony ground, olive trees; but three tenses dizzy my consciousness: my present, the time of Jesus, and that of the photographer, all this under the instance of 'reality' - and no longer through the elaborations of the text, whether fictional or poetic, which itself is never credible *down to the root* (ibid: 97, original emphasis).

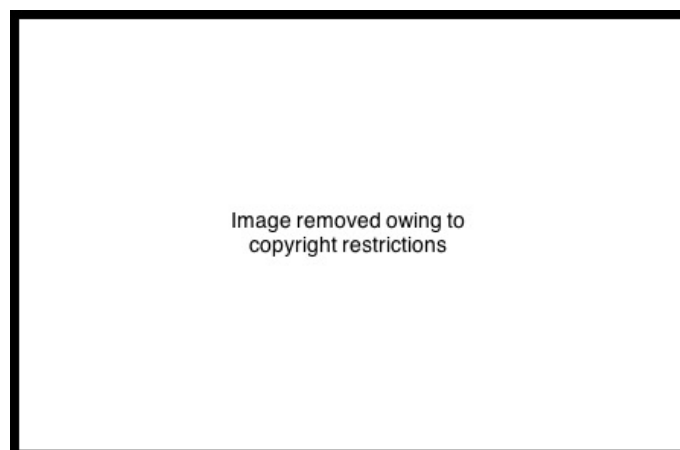


Fig 3.2. Auguste Salzmann, 1854. *The Road to Bethlehem*.
© National Gallery of Canada

By giving emphasis to the ‘root’ and to the ‘realities’ drawn together in the photographic documentation of an historic site Barthes here gestures toward a number of issues I would like to examine through the concept of trace. This term provides the pivot for an initial (re)constellation of heritage and photography, both of which might be defined through their relationship to various articulations of the trace, whether as proof, relic, memento, sign or fragment. As this abbreviated list of related idioms makes clear, while somewhat amorphous the concept of the trace is perhaps best understood as pointing in two directions at once: to the act of tracing, of producing a representation that to some extent indexes the world before the camera, but also to things left behind, which opens up questions around how we relate to traces of the past in the present and what affects they exert on us (see Navaro-Yashin 2009). Of course - as in the case of Salzmann’s image - photography might occupy both of these positions simultaneously. It is worth noting however that the truly vertiginous qualities of the medium only emerge for Barthes in the addition of a third level of trace, namely the historic site as subject matter. Building on this conceptualisation, Hauser has observed a ‘curious affinity’ between photographs and ‘those objects and places marked by time’, leading her to describe pictures documenting archaeological sites as ‘traces of traces’ (2007: 73). I examine the general implications of this stance below, but here it is worth highlighting the particular relevance of Hauser’s delineation to my analysis of Angkor and Famagusta, where the site as trace and the ‘re-tracings’ enacted through photography emerge as crucial points of enquiry.

The concept of trace surfaces in numerous theoretical surveys of photography. Berger for example asks whether the appearances ‘transported’ by the camera are a ‘construction, a man-made cultural artefact, or are they, like a footprint in the sand, a trace *naturally* left by something that has passed?’ (Berger and Mohr 1982: 92). This line of analysis points toward the trace as something authentic and true that opposes artificial or ‘unnatural’ social constructions. Berger’s eventual conclusion - that the photograph might in fact be both of these things at the same time - thus undermines Sontag’s later insistence that any image produced using a camera is ‘literally, a trace of something brought before the lens’ (2003: 21). The crucial point here is that, even while it replicates the world outside the camera, the photographic trace is *not* an exact or unmediated copy. As Kelsey and Stimson explain, photography might deliver a ‘visually replete trace’ of things while also indicating a ‘compartment, a registering sensibility or sensitivity, a point of view’ (2008: xi). The recognition of this latter movement does not then completely overturn the idea of the photographic

trace, and here - against Sturken and others (1999) - I prefer to work along the grain of perceptions that do prioritise the rootedness of photographic images, particularly as this indexicality often lends weight to the affective potential of such pictures, as Barthes conceded.

Heritage in turn is routinely described with reference to the trace, both in terms of the things left behind and the mediation or representation of 'reality'. Nora's seminal delineation of *lieux de mémoire* for example argues that 'with the appearance of the trace, of mediation, of distance, we are not in the realm of true memory but of history' (1989: 8). Harrison meanwhile loosely defines heritage as 'the heterogeneous piling up of the traces of the past in the present' (2013: 1), an orientation that resonates with themes of assemblage without ignoring the things assembled. As Byrne argues, through heritage we 'mobilise elements' from an archive of past traces to form and express identity in the present (2008: 169). Unpacking these notions of trace through a close reading of photography may help us better understand those processes through which heritage is constructed *from traces*, but it is also a vital step towards recognising the affective force of heritage *as trace*. The work of Deleuze and Guattari is again instructive in this respect.

In delineating their concept of the rhizome, Deleuze and Guattari make explicit reference to the photograph as a trace, which they suggest must be overcome in favour of 'maps' (2004 [1980]: 3-28):

Unlike the graphic arts, drawing, or photography, unlike tracings, the rhizome pertains to a map that must be produced, constructed, a map that is always detachable, connectable, reversible, modifiable, and has multiple entryways and exits and its own lines of flight. It is tracings that must be put onto the map, not the opposite (ibid: 23).

Here I would argue we find a rationalisation of the double movement that underpins much of the work of heritage. From this perspective we begin to see how practices such as genealogical research, archaeological excavations, or restoration works - while ostensibly directed toward traces of the past - are as much components of a constant re-mapping of the present. Furthermore, what makes the Deleuzoguattarian model particularly relevant to our examination of heritage and photography is its insistence on 'assemblages' and 'multiplicities' - on the simultaneous conjunctions of 'semiotic flows, material flows, and social flows' (ibid: 25; also see Harrison 2013: 34). This draws out the agency of things (including images and sites) alongside the agency of people, and necessitates a methodology that

considers these overlapping trajectories (Bennett 2010). In opposition to Deleuze and Guattari, however, I would suggest that the concept of trace not be jettisoned through this strategy, for it is a distinctive characteristic of heritage that things are sought out and deemed affective because of their trace-like qualities - their rootedness - and then made meaningful to the present via translation onto the constantly shifting 'maps' of contemporary heritage practice. Indeed, this tension is made explicit when we consider the realm of photography, which Deleuze and Guattari oversimplify for rhetorical effect.

While all photographs are relatable in some way to the concept of trace, certain photographers have sought to emphasise this particular dimension of the camera based image. Zarina Bhimji for example has spent several years documenting empty, largely forgotten landscapes and buildings across Uganda in photography and film. Bhimji was born in Uganda to Indian parents who had moved to East Africa. In 1972, when Bhimji was just nine years old, Idi Amin ordered all Asians living in Uganda to leave within 90 days. Her life and subsequent work is thus caught up in the complex machinations of her parent's experiences of colonialism, her own postcolonial upbringing, and the disjuncture's of migration and exile. Bhimji's images are not however an attempt to simply 'understand' this personal history. They are instead a re-invention, re-organisation, or re-definition of memory, with the camera acting as a powerful tool of narrative creation and mediation (Bhimji 2012a: 43). Much of this has to do with traces. As the artist states: 'My work is not an idea of fact or scraps of evidence to support the assertion of history. The process is something about traces as symptoms of strange structural links between history, memory and fantasy' (ibid: 20).

Take the image *Memories Were Trapped Inside the Asphalt*, in which Bhimji shows the almost sculptural placing of shoes on a wall, above a prosaic collection of vessels (Figure 3.3). The wall is scratched and pockmarked, with a gaping wound revealing bare wires where a plug socket or light switch should be and handprints smeared across the grey-green surface. These are traces of an unknown quantity or reference, marks of a hidden life, and the photograph intensifies this dialectic of evidence and unknowability: 'I didn't want certain things, like this domestic scene, to be forgotten [...] But history is a complex and ambiguous process, and I think that it would narrow the meaning of my work to put it solely in that context. Instead, I like viewers to decide for themselves' (Bhimji 2012b).

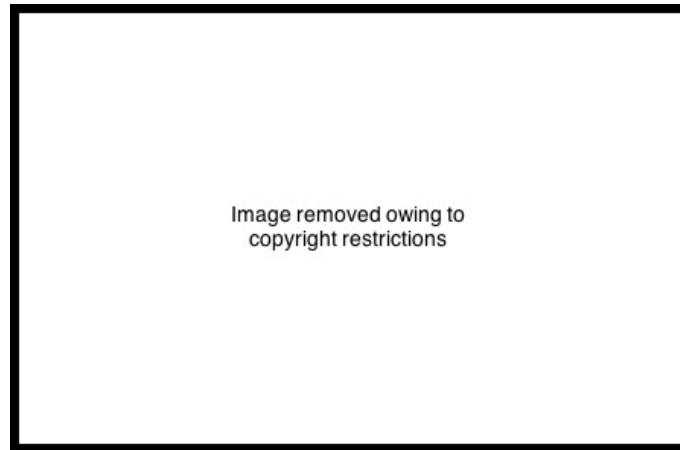


Fig 3.3. Zarina Bhimji, 1998-2003. *Memories were Trapped Inside the Asphalt*, from the series *Love*. © Zarina Bhimji

T. J. Demos calls Bhimji's filmic work a 'cinema of affect', with this powerful quality located precisely in the 'surplus and unknowability, as well as indeterminacy and infinitude' of her imagery (2012: 11-29). Here Demos builds on Pinney's interpretation, which describes such photography in terms of a 'xeno-epistemics' that 'always captures more of the world - its surplus or xenos - than the photographer expects or desires' (2006: 17). We can relate this, I think, to a wider tension between photography as a visual trace and the photographic image as an object of narrative construction, mediation and emotional resonance. The affectivity or otherwise of a photograph from this perspective is fundamentally unpredictable, and may emanate from the most quotidian of compositions (shoes on a wall for example). This efficacy remains however intrinsically bound to the particular conviction that photographs index the world in some capacity, resulting in a connection to the thing photographed that differs from other graphic forms (see Edwards 2011). We are thus drawn back to Barthes' intensity of feeling towards the Salzmann image, which gains its affective power from being credible 'down to the root'. Bhimji's traces may be usefully understood in this way, as might several of the photographic practices I have investigated around Angkor and Famagusta, not least the collecting of postcards and other images depicting the latter site by Greek-Cypriot diaspora communities. How might the theorisation and practice of heritage benefit from a more nuanced awareness of these processes?

Kitty Hauser's interrogation of the trace within archaeological photography may be instructive in this respect. For Hauser, the photograph 'indexes something which is by definition absent: the moment at which it was taken. The marks on the

photograph's surface are the traces of an irrecoverable moment, a moment which is forever gone, but without which the photograph could not exist' (2007: 83). As a result, we have photography '*en abyme*', wherein 'the illusion of presence promised by the photograph collapses under the weight of what we know to be missing from the image' (ibid). What is missing is the past and the passage of time, a sensation brought to the fore when viewing pictures of archaeological or historic sites (such as Angkor and Famagusta), because here the photograph directs our gaze beyond the present of the image and into the distant past of the thing photographed: the 'three tenses' which dizzied Barthes consciousness (2000 [1980]: 97). Photographers such as Michael Wesely (Figure 3.4) have attempted to elongate the moment traced by the camera through exaggerated exposure times (several years in Wesely's case), but even here we are left with a static record of the past that serves to accentuate a feeling of discontinuity with the moving present. As with those early photographs that - because of unavoidably long exposure times - depict empty streets we know to have been populated (Figure 3.5), such images draw us towards the obdurate material surroundings that *do* leave a trace on the world, whether in the form of material or representational fragments.

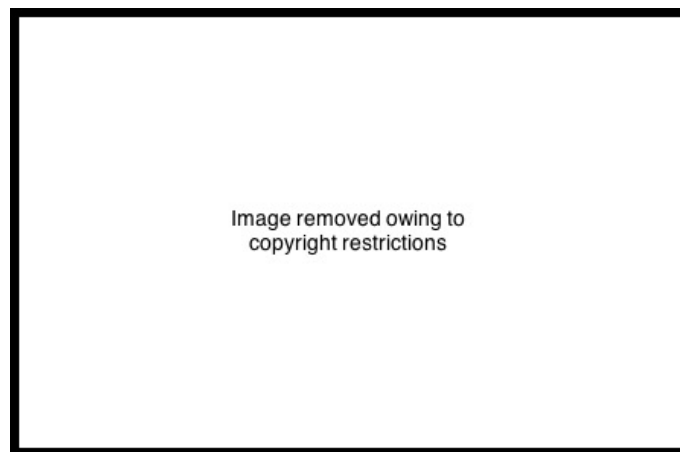


Fig 3.4. Michael Wesely, 2001-03. *The Museum of Modern Art, New York*. © Michael Wesely

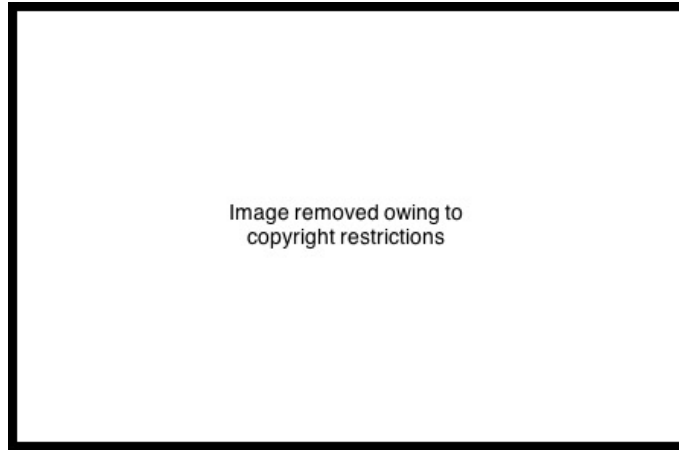


Fig 3.5. Jacques Louis Daguerre, 1839. *Boulevard du Temple*.

The concept of trace emerges in this analysis as a means of distilling the constructive and affective power of photography in relation to heritage, clarifying what we are examining when we discuss the rooted and rhizomatic photographic life of a locality, and illuminating why this image-world might engender particular material, conceptual or ethical transformations. At the most basic level photographs may be said to constitute a visual trace in and of themselves; one of the ‘things’ that heritage might assemble and exploit to shape alternative futures. Beyond this, the peculiar qualities of the camera based image are seen to have a curious affinity with material sites ‘marked by time’ - an important observation as we move on to consider the photographic life of Angkor and Famagusta. Here it is again worth highlighting Barthes’ reading of *The Road to Bethlehem* image, wherein the sitedness of an historic location combines with the referentiality of the photograph to create a vertiginous sensation. Other graphic forms or representational strategies may be deployed to similar effect, but the technological specificity of the photographic trace and the rootedness of even the most free-floating images engenders a particular potency for heritage, as seen in the work of Bhimji. This efficacy may be explored in greater depth through a critical discussion of memory, a concept often prioritised in the literature surrounding both heritage and photography.

3.3. Memory

Of all the thematic constellations I mobilise in this chapter, memory might appear the most unambiguous - a self-evident point of intersection between heritage and photography. From the outset it should be noted however that while this very obviousness motivates my use of the term, the following discussion aims to unsettle

any simplistic correlation of heritage and memory, or indeed photography and memory. This task is given prominence because of the vital role differential conceptualisations of memory continue to play across the photographic lives of Angkor and Famagusta, from the production and sharing of tourist images to the sometimes provocative re-use of historic collections. The general orientation offered here helps contextualise these case study findings.

A constant return to the subject of memory in theorisations of photography speaks of a dense and knotted relationship (e.g. Holmes 1980 [1859]; Bergson 1988 [1911]; Kracauer 1993 [1927]; Barthes 2000 [1980]; Berger 2009 [1980]; Trachtenberg 2008). While these debates often countermand each other, a general trend can be discerned in the eroding of any sense that photography and memory are somehow analogous. As Silverman states, 'whereas photography performs its memorial function by lifting an object out of time and immortalising it forever in a particular form, memory is all about temporality and change' (in Bal 2008: 36). Such arguments reflect the more fluid understandings of personal memory emerging from philosophy and neuroscience over the past century. This has seen Freud's belief in memories being stored and developed like prints from black and white negatives supplanted by a view that memories are never held like 'photographic plates' but are rather mental constructions created according to the demands of the present (Ferryhough 2013: 6). At the social level meanwhile, recent engagements with digital photography stress the communicative potential of the medium over its archival or memorial use (Van Dijck 2007; Were et al 2013). Working along the grain of these revised definitions, I would like to suggest that - while individual photographs and personal memories cannot be seen as directly analogous - a useful line of enquiry may still be drawn around the multiple coordinates of memorial significance often found across the photography complex, from the storing of holiday 'snaps' for later recall to the formation of collective memory through journalistic or historical images. In line with the overarching argument put forward in this thesis, such processes should be seen as simultaneously constructed and affective, a position that recognises the emergent and performative status of memory without undermining its unique efficacy in personal and social lives.

This model might also help us rethink the relationship between heritage and memory. For Nora (1989), Huyssen (1995) and other early writers on heritage (e.g. Wright 2009 [1985]; Lowenthal 1985, 1998), the intensification of this particular means of relating past, present and future coincided with a spread of amnesia in the modern period; a loss of 'real memory' to be replaced by 'nothing more than sifted

and sorted historical traces' (Nora 1989: 8). While the heritage industry may have seen the establishment of a collective (usually national) memory as its *raison d'être*, critics recognised that - like photography and memory - the two phenomena were far from analogous, and often in fact quite incompatible. As Harrison has recently argued, we may even face a 'crisis of accumulation of the past in the present' that will 'undermine the role of heritage in the production of collective memory' (2013: 166). This has not however diminished the scholarly interest in memory as an arena of thought, with debates cutting across issues of personal, familial, traumatic, national, and even universal memory (see Rowlands 1993; Samuel 1994; Butler 2006; Edwards 2006; Barthel Bouchier and Hui 2007; Benton 2010; Moore-Cherry and Whelan 2007; MacDonald 2013). Worth highlighting in particular is Basu's delineation of the 'memoryscape' (2013), a complex means of accounting for the broad spectrum of phenomena that may constitute contemporary heritage. Echoing an understanding of photography and memory that sees multiple and differential points of memorial significance located across the photography complex, the memoryscapes pursued by Basu are

comprised of a multiplicity of different forms of remembering: those that are intentional and communicable through language, narrative or material form, as well as those which are unintentional and inherently non-narrative, such as embodied forms of memory. These different forms are not necessarily temporally or spatially distant, but interact with one another, cohering into new creolised forms, or accumulating at specific sites to form palimpsest-like accretions (ibid: 116).

With specific reference to Angkor and Famagusta, we begin to see in this formulation how the issue of memory may surface in different ways across and within the photographic life of each locality, encompassing diverse forms of remembering through heterogeneous deployments of photography as act, object and medium. At the sites themselves images may be created to draw out the memorial efficacy of certain materialities. In the archive, or in exhibitions or publications, photographs may be catalogued and contextualised to construct particular memorial narratives. At home, pictures of a site may be collected and displayed to support familial or nostalgic memory. To better understand these processes I would like to briefly introduce a number of comparable cases that speak to the continued relevance of memory at a more general level. These cut across the personal and the collective to demonstrate the fractured yet forceful influence of memory in various forms on diverse constellations of heritage and photography.

To open up this discussion further let us return to the level of the individual image, where memory is frequently felt to ‘reside’ in the photograph, or be ‘contained’ by the photographic frame (see Batchen 2004 for a counterpoint to this stance). Where the subject of a photograph is a person or event, this notion of photographic containment relies on the activation of memories in the viewer, so that images may be understood as prompts to personal or collective remembrance. With photographs of historic sites or objects however a different memorial register is often prioritised, one linked not to the recollection of a particular photographic moment, but to the memorial efficacy of the photographed thing. In these contexts, memories of place may be ‘coaxed out and distilled by the camera’ (Dyer 2006: 294), with photographs such as Walker Evans’ *The Breakfast Room of Belle Grove Plantation, Louisiana* (Figure 3.7) showing first and foremost ‘memory in the process of formation [...] This does not feel like a psychological projection on the part of the viewer but a receptiveness to something abiding in the place itself’ (ibid).

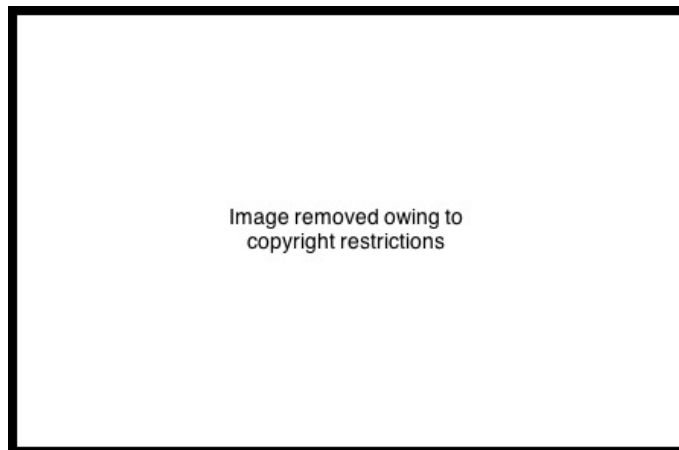


Fig 3.6. Walker Evans, 1935. *The Breakfast Room, Belle Vue Grove Plantation, White Chapel, Louisiana*. © University Michigan Museum of Art

Such a reading tacitly evokes William H. Fox Talbot’s early faith in the camera’s aptitude for recording ‘the injuries of time’ on buildings and monuments (in Sontag 1977: 69), a potentiality underscored by later survey photographers as a means of transforming historic sites into ‘memory-texts that could be both excavated and projected photographically’ (Edwards 2012b: 20). Here then we are presented with a dialectical relationship between photography and the affective potential of sites, places or things, with the non-discursive sensations of place (in this case articulated as

memory) mediated and constructed by the photograph - or coaxed out and distilled to use Dyer's phrase. Such processes rely on the content of the image and the aesthetic and compositional choices of the photographer, but they are also dependent on the moment of interpretation and the projection of pre-formed attitudes towards the 'remembrance' of particular subjects. All of these points in the photography complex come into play around images of Angkor and Famagusta, which in turn surface at various co-ordinates of memorial significance.

This dynamic is complicated further when we consider Barthes' claim that photography has 'transformed subject into object, and even, one might say, into a museum object' (2000 [1980]: 13). In this reading, the photographic trace is understood to remove the subject from the flow of the present as a record of the past, permanently fixing and perhaps even celebrating a specific moment or set of 'injuries', and thus doubly proclaiming (as in Evans' photograph of Belle Vue): *see the memories here, this is what we must remember*. For Barthes, such musealisation (whether of things or people) implicitly constrained the memorial efficacy of photographs, and it is telling that, in *Camera Lucida*, he eventually comes to consider photography as a 'counter-memory' at odds with effective recollection (ibid: 91). As already noted, this understanding has been taken up by several authors, not least Geoffrey Batchen, whose collection of 'hybrid photo-artefacts' makes clear the failure of photography alone to adequately 'capture' or embody memory (2004).

A key point here is that photographs require *work* to become meaningful as memory. Like many of the practices most commonly associated with heritage (archiving, preservation, listing), the use of photographs as memorial artefacts represents a self-conscious gesture of salvation and, simultaneously, transformation: an attempt to make the past relevant while drawing attention to its very pastness. As photography has spread throughout the world culturally-specific processes have emerged to engage with and overcome this paradox. Pinney for example highlights the memorial images or 'yadgar' painted from photographic portraits in some Indian villages, an artistry that is 'concerned with perfecting the past, rendering the transient flux recorded in photographic emulsion into more permanent, truer forms' (1997: 201). Wright meanwhile has explored the endurance of certain corporeal and material elements of photographic 'identity' - including its capacity for memorialisation - in the Western Solomon Islands, a place where Eurocentric notions of the medium may be expected to dissolve (2004, 2013). Such studies indicate a complex appropriation of photography across diverse socio-cultural groups, and while the specific meanings attributed to 'memory' in these contexts will differ significantly, the desire to work

with and reconfigure photographs in the affective connection of past and present complicates any simplistic reading of photography as a ‘failure’ of memory. This can be related I think to a broader awareness of heritage as process, with ‘places of memory’ less important perhaps than the practices of memory that surround them. My analysis of Angkor and Famagusta reflects this position.

While the dense interrelationship of memory and photography continues to exercise much debate, a new paradigm motivated by the widespread use of images on social media has recently caused some authors to reimagine photography as a primarily communicative apparatus (Van Dijck 2007; Were et al 2013). Where the rise of digital photography was once held to signal the end of referentiality and evidential value (see Mitchell 1992), this reading locates a more lasting transformation around the ‘integration of photography into the network milieu’ (McQuire 2013: 224). As a result, photography has become ‘less about capturing “memories” [...] than about commenting on present events as they are taking place’ (ibid: 226). This clearly has important ramifications for any analysis of the ongoing production of photographs at sites of heritage - refocusing our attention on how images are created, shared and discussed rather than printed and kept for example - but I would also suggest the social turn is felt in the re-use of historic images, with digitised collections now open to ever more distributed engagements and interpretations. Hi-resolution images freely available from The Wellcome Collection, National Archives or The British Library (all archival sites consulted for this research) can for example be downloaded, edited, shared and generally redeployed in countless online and offline contexts. Such sites engender a social engagement with images of the past that destabilises any sense of a ‘fixed’ memory adhering to photographs, although the power asymmetries of certain interpretive views and communicative apparatuses must always be highlighted. An example closely related to my core case studies may help to draw this out.

On the popular website Retronaut (tagline - ‘the photographic time-machine’) various images, posters, objects, maps, advertisements and other visual material are collated and made available for sharing across other media platforms (Facebook, Twitter etc.). One such collection shows images from John Thomson’s *Street Life in London*, first published in 1876 with the journalist Adolphe Smith (Figure 3.8). The source of these images is given as The Bishopsgate Institute, via ‘Spitalfields Life’, a local interest website focusing on the history of East London. On this intermediary platform a short essay accompanies the images, along with excerpts from Smith’s original text and numerous user comments on the photographs, described as ‘beautiful little time capsules’ and ‘distilled history’ (SL 2011). Tellingly, the images

also provoke personal recollection of the scenes depicted, with comments mentioning ancestors who carried out the same jobs depicted by Thomson, or memories of similar faces. While the subsequent collection on Retronaut has been ‘favourited’ 1706 times and further distributed via Facebook and Google Plus, the images provoke no such dialogue on this more internationally oriented site. In terms of memorial efficacy, we might then suggest that Thomson’s images lose some of their affective force as the digitised records are ‘detached’ from the site of original archiving; a library which famously maintains close connections to the spaces and themes documented by the photographer. The fluid communicative role of historic images in this context can thus be shown to exist in a dense back-and-forth with the collective and individual ‘memories’ opened up by the photographs.



Fig 3.7. Screen shot of Retronaut website showing Thomson image

As McQuire has argued, one of the ‘defining paradoxes of the technological age’ has been the capacity for photographic images to travel into new times and places and yet remain anchored in a particular temporal and spatial moment (2013: 227). The online dissemination of historic images, common in relation to both the case study sites I focus on, may be considered one manifestation of the new paradigm of memory described by Hoskins, who suggests file sharing systems contribute to ‘a kind of living archival memory’ (2009: 92). This can in turn be related to the wider delineation of memory, heritage and photography put forward here, one developed with specific reference to the constructed and affective nature of these interrelated fields. Memory may be drawn out, reconfigured, projected or suppressed by

photography, and - as we shall see with specific reference to Angkor and Famagusta - this can give rise to a complex range of values, sensations and material and conceptual consequences.

3.4. Universality

The third critical constellation I would like to highlight in this chapter centres on the problematic concept of universality. Although acutely relevant to both Angkor and Famagusta in light of their current and prospective status as World Heritage Sites, my outlook here is more general in scope, centring however on the emergence and articulation of the universal across various concrete examples of photographic meaning-making that have a close link to heritage as a practice and concept. By examining these connective projects a nuanced picture of the universal can be built up, one that recognises the persistence of the term while emphasising its shifting trajectories. As Hacking has argued, the very term universality is not timeless but 'historical, and it and its instances [...] are formed and changed as the universal emerges' (2002: 26). The key aim of this analysis is not to add to the volley of criticisms aimed at universality from within heritage, but to understand how photography might have shaped and maintained this globalising discourse, which seeks to subsume the complexities of the world within a false cross-cultural coherence. An appreciation of photographs as transformative therefore motivates this enquiry, which focuses on the flattening of the world *as image* played out in the photographic domain. What happens when highly particularised subjects (heritage sites for example) are translated into smooth visual artefacts is a matter of more than simply aesthetic or symbolic concern. By drawing attention to some of the most emphatic and globalising expressions of this ontological levelling, I add to a sense of heritage and photography as mutually formed, with all the material, conceptual and ethical challenges this dialecticism carries.

For heritage, notions of universal significance are most commonly associated with the various activities of UNESCO, where, amongst other initiatives, the World Heritage List and Memory of the World Register seek to actively generate a global outlook on the past in the present. The former strategy at least has received significant attention from heritage scholars, with the Eurocentric roots of Outstanding Universal Value often made the focus of criticism (see Cleere 2001; Byrne 1991; Herzfeld 2004; Butler 2006; Smith 2006; Meskell 2013). As Finkelkraut argues, the objectives of UNESCO as a whole reflect an Enlightenment patronage, positing in the universal declaration of human rights and other transnational doctrines 'a being without a being,

a creature without flesh, colour, or particular quality [...] an individual, in other words, stripped of everything that made him [sic] different' (1995: 53). While anthropologists and social scientists were quick to refute this 'universal' being (see Levi Strauss 1952, 1971; Eriksen 2001), the universality of heritage remains a potent force in global politics. Meskell for example draws attention to the fact that the vast majority of nation states continue to pursue the inscription of sites on the World Heritage List, 'regardless of political or religious affiliations, economic status, or historical trajectory' (2013: 492). As a result - and as the List is used as a vehicle to access resources and promote tourism - the universal has shifted to accommodate non-European and non-Western definitions and typologies of heritage, a reminder of the fluid status of the very term 'universality'.

The supposed universality of photography meanwhile can be seen to operate along two intersecting axes. The first of these is related to the very technology of the camera and the photograph, perceived as universally intelligible given the ease with which images might be created, reproduced and disseminated. For the German photographer Otto Steinert, writing in 1952, photography would mould the visual consciousness of the age, going so far as to suggest that 'as the pictorial technique most generally comprehensible and most easily accessible to lay hands on, it is particularly fitted to promote the mutual understanding of the nations' (in Stimson 2006: 164). That photographs in their mute stillness might represent a universal language or sign system 'beyond speech' has been greatly criticised in the post-war years (see Sekula 1982; Morris 2009), and as attention has turned to the differential interpretation of photographic imagery across diverse individuals and socio-cultural groups the universality of photography as act, object or medium has been harder to uphold. While scholars such as Wright (2004) have argued that a certain 'corporeality and materiality' do foster potent cross-cultural perceptions of photography (particularly around the issue of memory), the vast increase of photographic images in the digital era has merely served to demonstrate that, while photography may be everywhere, '*it is not everywhere in the same way*' (Hand 2012: 12, original emphasis).

The second axis of photographic universality - less essentialising perhaps, but potentially more toxic in its effects - relates to Sontag's notion that 'to collect photographs is to collect the world' (1977: 3). In this estimation photography is seen to offer an encyclopaedic archive of the globe, made more valuable by the comparative potential afforded in the uniformity of technological production. Photographs in this respect 'give us the sense that we can hold the whole world in our heads - an anthology of images' (ibid). While Weston is right to suggest that the

grandiosity of such claims predates photography and can be traced to ‘Locke, Berkeley and Hume’ (1988: 5), the indexical and metonymic nature of the photographic apparatus offered an effective platform for the articulation and intensification of this universal accumulation of things as images (Edwards 2001: 52). This is manifest in Malraux’s well-known evocation of the ‘Museum without Walls’ (1954), but also in the personal and institutional archives collated on Flickr, the commercial assemblages of Getty Images, or even the imaging of distant galaxies and nebulae by the Hubble Space Telescope, brought together as the Hubble Heritage Project. Noteworthy here however is that even with this final example, where photography plays such a central role in the scientific documentation of space, the resulting images refer back to historically and culturally situated ideas about the universe (Kessler 2012), and thus speak more to conflicting cosmologies than any universally shared value systems.

One of the earliest examples of photography in the service of a universalising discourse can be found in the French optician Noel-Marie-Paymal Lerebours’ publication *Excursions Daguerriennes: Vues et Monuments les Plus Remarquable du Globe* (1841-44). Shortly after the official announcement of photography’s invention in 1839, Lerebours began purchasing daguerreotypes of famous sites from across the world. At the same time he commissioned a number of daguerreotypists to produce original records of locations in Europe, North America and the Middle East. In a vivid evocation of the fever with which these images were created, the painter Horace Vernet - one of those employed for the task - wrote that ‘we keep daguerreotyping away like lions, and from Cairo hope to send home an interesting batch’ (in Gernsheim 1955: 57). Over 1000 images were eventually collected by Lerebours: of these, 110 were finally published. The sites documented in this work read like an early incarnation of the World Heritage List, taking in the Pyramids of Egypt, the Alhambra, the Acropolis, the Roman Forum, Jerusalem, Nazareth and views of Geneva, Beirut and Moscow (Figure 3.9).

While pictorial examinations of major architectural features from around the world had been carried out before (the well known *Liber Chronicarum* for example was published in 1493), Lerebours’ *Excursions Daguerriennes* directed technological innovation towards the rapid and intense documentation of sites deemed significant by the instigator of the project. Whilst ostensibly global in scope, the selection of subjects therefore reflected a limited, intrinsically European worldview. From this perspective, the daguerreotype, considered by early adopters to be an economical and impartial witness to the world’s most remarkable sites, actually worked to construct a highly particularised idea of the monument. Moreover, as Falconer and Hide point

out, the methods through which the original daguerreotypes were copied and reworked for publication ‘compromised photography’s ambition to present a uniquely accurate and objective record of the physical world’ (2009: 51), with final images altered to appeal to ‘contemporary taste’ through the adjustment of harsh shadows and the addition of people to unpopulated scenes (Marien 2010: 47).

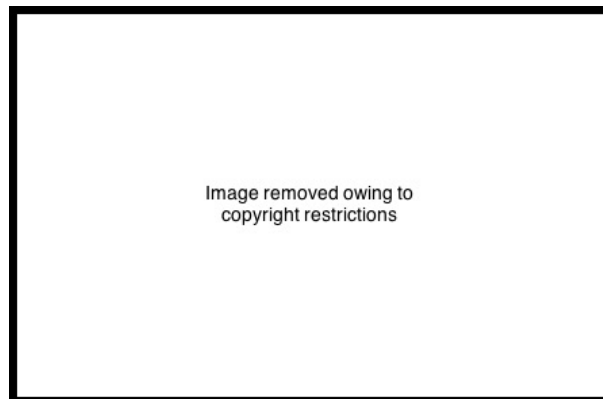


Fig 3.8. Unknown Photographer, 1840-1841. Pokrovsky Cathedral (also known as St. Basil's Cathedral), Moscow. Engraving from daguerreotype. From N. P. Lerebours' *Excursions Daguerriennes*

As the nineteenth century progressed photography was increasingly deployed within the power structures of colonialism (Ryan 1997), which in turn witnessed ‘a convergence between the great geographical scope of empires [...] and universalising cultural discourses’ (1994: 130). Such discourses notably projected European values and ideas about history and the material past onto colonised territories, and while this often resulted in a hybridisation of ‘heritage cultures’ rather than a wholesale suppression of indigenous beliefs, the potential for certain sites to be conceived of as ‘universally’ significant quickly gained traction. Thomson’s work and the later administrative projects of bodies such as the EFEO in Cambodia and the Department of Antiquities in Cyprus must be considered within this context, but we should be aware that ‘the rubric of the colonial gaze has tended to obscure the differentiated intention, production and consumption of images’ (Edwards 2001: 148). Whether as tourists, explorers, administrators, archaeologists or anthropologists, those producing and consuming photographs under the aegis of colonialism brought an individual sensibility to the mechanistic domain of the camera, fracturing any notions of universal significance.

This much is evident in even the most coherent and unequivocally global of photographic endeavours, such as Albert Kahn's *Archive de la Planète*. Inaugurated in 1910, this project saw the latest filmmaking and colour photographic technologies deployed to create 'a world memory through images' (Baud-Berthier 2008: 326). For over two decades Kahn - a self-made millionaire resident in Paris - recruited and funded professional photographers to document buildings, landscapes, people and ways of life across the world, assembling 'a kind of photographic inventory of the surface of the globe, as inhabited and worked by man, as it was at the beginning of the century' (Kahn in UNESCO 1988: 16). The salvage paradigm so central to the emergence and spread of heritage was articulated through Kahn's project, which sought to 'fix in the memory once and for all the different aspects of human activity, the customs and practices, the inevitable disappearance of which is only a question of time' (ibid). Alongside the historical subjects we might expect to find in such an archive, Kahn's photographers were also instructed to capture scenes of modernity, and amongst the 72,000 autochrome plates, 120 hours of film-footage and 4,000 black-and-white photographs now held at the *Musée Albert-Kahn* can be found images of suburban London streets, Mongolian methods of criminal punishment, ancient Syrian water wheels, market traders in Djibouti, aviators of the First World War and religious sites in India (Figure 3.10). Angkor was documented by the photographer Léon Busy as part of this project, with several colour images (perhaps the earliest produced at the temples) notably documenting a small group of Cambodian dancers at the site.

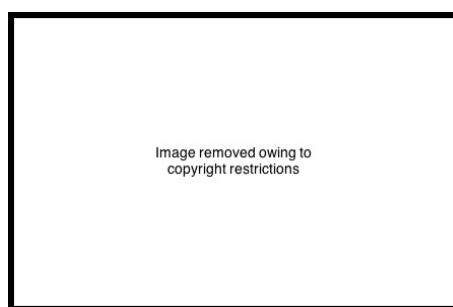


Fig 3.9. Unknown Photographer, 1913. *Priest in Jain temple of Hathi Singh Ahmedabad, India.*
© Musée Albert-Kahn

Apart from its heritage-inflected content, Kahn's archival project is worth highlighting here for the tensions it exposes between the universal and the particular. Each photograph in the *Archive de la Planète* is part of a whole - a unity emphasised by

the consistency in technological production. In this way the mass of images could be deployed to construct certain political narratives actively pursued by Kahn, who saw in colour photography a powerful means of promoting an internationalist and pacifist agenda (Okuefuna 2008: 12). This would be achieved by fortifying a cross-cultural image memory for the world, one not tied to any specific nation state or social group. Differences between subjects were not masked but rather celebrated in this approach; even while the autochrome technology flattened their eventual representation. Working against this ‘cosmopolitics of visual memory’ (Jakobson and Borli, 2014) however we find the evidential power of each picture - a ‘rawness’ that provides conceptual space for countless recordings and (re)interpretations. The universality of Kahn’s archive is in this sense undone by the very apparatus around which it was originally formulated. On viewing these images we are left then with a counter-universality: a planetary wide photographic documentation made up of uniquely affective visual moments. While projects such as *Excursions Daguerrienes* and *Archive de la Planète* thus mark out an obvious trajectory for the universality promoted by UNESCO, they also demonstrate the disjunctive origins of such practices and discursive regimes, and may therefore offer alternative ‘roots’ for heritage writ large. This possibility is developed in relation to the case study sites in subsequent chapters.

Even stronger links can be located between UNESCO and the prominent universalism of Edward Steichen’s *Family of Man* exhibition, first held in New York in 1955. This show and publication included 503 images by 273 photographers from 68 countries, each processed in a commercial lab to harmonise their tonal values and displayed without their original context or titles (Figure 3.11). As Sontag writes, the staging of the exhibition made it possible for viewers to ‘identify with a great many of the people depicted and, potentially, with the subject of every photograph: citizens of World Photography all’ (1977: 32). Organised around ‘universal’ themes of love, eating, play, folk-singing, loneliness and death, the exhibition culminated in an illuminated transparency of an exploding hydrogen bomb and a vast image of the UN assembly. The photographs and the exhibition as a whole are now listed on UNESCO’s Memory of the World Register.

If the universalities of colonialism typically sought to catalogue the world from, for example, a British or French perspective, here the underlying narrative was one of smoothing over social and cultural difference to illustrate - in the hope of bringing an end to Cold War hostilities - ‘the essential oneness of mankind throughout the world’ (Steichen 1955: 4). Crucially, this also meant flattening or eradicating any indications of historical or political alterity. Indeed, for Barthes the mythology of the

exhibition functioned by asserting difference and exoticism then ‘magically’ producing a type of unity from this pluralism (2000 [1972]: 100). This pluralism relied on suppressing the ‘determining weight of History’ (ibid: 101), a point elaborated more recently by Stimson:

The Family of Man offered its audience a continuum of discrete moments of pleasure, of excitation and release, but those moments did not have the historical frame that would allow them to endure, to grow, to develop into sustained and negotiated political and social relationships. The beholder thus was asked to move on to the next photograph and the next [...] ever eliminating the possibility of accumulation, of building a shared history, of negotiating a sustained sympathetic relationship with the other. As such, within its discursive domain, the exhibition inhibited the production of political identity, of identity based on difference, and, as such, inhibited all political relations (2006: 95-6).

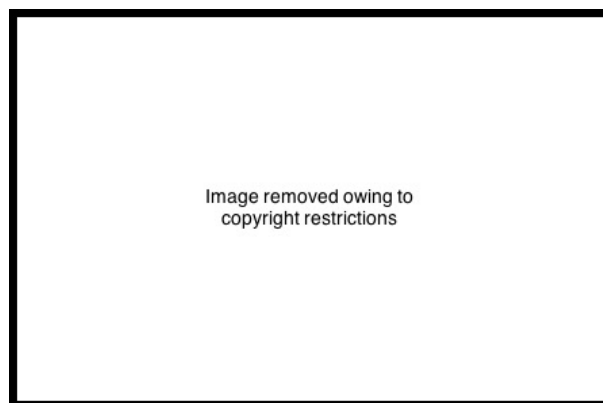


Fig 3.10. Ezra Stoller, 1955. Installation view of *The Family of Man* exhibition

The critical relevance of *The Family of Man* to our wider discussion of heritage and photography emerges from this analysis. Photography in this context acted as an ‘absent centre, a placeholder or empty container that could be filled by any and all meaning [...] a pivot of the world’ (ibid: 100-2). Fragments of humanity were easily connected across cultures because they had been translated into photographic images, stripped of historical information and made ‘compatible’ as photographs (Sontag 1977: 174). While heritage is ostensibly oriented toward the past, there is a sense I think that the universality of programmes such as the World Heritage List now works in much the same way, with sites made compatible *as heritage* even in their acute historical divergences. History is not fully denied in this process, but certain complexities may be suppressed, particularly around the current circumstances of a

site (or other heritage subject). Crucially, this often relies on photography as a metonymic trace to help draw together and reshape the meanings attributed to disparate locations from across the globe. This is manifest at both Angkor and Famagusta, where the ‘pivot’ of heritage and the ‘pivot’ of photography often work in unison as ‘empty’ vessels to ‘contain’ powerful and potentially transformative gestures.

Through the processes outlined here we begin to see how heritage and photography might be individually constituted and operationalised as universal, whether in the form of a concept and practice deemed politically salient by all nations, or as a technological apparatus that might transcend speech. The implications of such perceptions and strategies are numerous, ranging from the disempowerment of marginalised communities to the dehistoricisation of individual and social lives. Such consequences are emphasised further in the mutual articulation of heritage and photography along universal lines, with archives, exhibitions, listing processes and publications routinely seeking to construct a ‘world memory’ through images. While my analysis of the repercussions of such projects around Angkor and Famagusta seeks primarily to unravel any universalising assumptions, the varied motivations underpinning and animating this concept as a category of thought and action remind us of its shifting and always emergent status - by turns pacifistic, colonial, scientific or neo-liberal. Somewhat ironically, the fragmented nature of universality should therefore be acknowledged as we consider its constructive and affective potential in relation to heritage and photography.

3.5. Series

Of course, the compatibility of photographic images also resonates across practices and concepts distinct from or even antithetical to the universalising discourses of UNESCO and other globally oriented initiatives. Difference, diversity and distinct histories are routinely asserted through the assembly of photographs online, in exhibitions or publications, as family narratives or as part of national surveys. While the indexical nature of the discrete image remains crucial to the evidential worth of pictures in such contexts, it may be argued that the broader constructive potential of photography as object and medium emerges from their placing within a series, whether to build a story, compare subjects or create an archive. Seriality might thus be seen as a ‘primary photographic form’ whereby meaning is ‘derived from the relations between pictures as much as or more than from the individual pictures themselves’ (Stimson 2006: 30). The present section critically examines this phenomenon to better appreciate the manifold photographic series encountered at Angkor and Famagusta,

from John Thomson's publications to the online image collections amassed by Greek Cypriot diaspora communities. One of the key lines of enquiry here is to understand what seriality adds to the constructive and affective potential of photography, but also - and just as importantly - where it falters. In other words, how does the photographic series augment the world of heritage, and what do these processes reveal and obscure?

Following the work of Walter Benjamin, Crary writes in his wide-ranging overview of vision and modernity in the nineteenth century that the most significant social and cultural impact of photography was that it represented a 'serially produced object' capable of shaping 'an entire territory on which signs and images, each effectively severed from a referent, circulate and proliferate' (1992: 13). As Choay notes, one of the foremost results of this circulation and diffusion of images was the construction of the monument as a symbolic form, with sites no longer able to function as signs except when 'metamorphosed' into 'weightless replicas [...] detached from their utilitarian value' (2001 [1992]: 10). Again, it should be noted that such practices were not without precedent in the pre-photographic age, and in most cases photography served to intensify rather than invent the processes through which things might be brought together as a series and leant new meaning as a result. The archives, dictionaries, catalogues and museums that proliferated towards the end of the eighteenth century formulated a 'new way of making history' that relied on 'connecting things both to the eye and to discourse' (Foucault in Boyer 2003: 22). These entities sorted and separated the world into discrete chunks that could then be serialised to bolster claims of social or cultural progress, national continuity, or racial difference. Photography was well suited to this historical approach, offering a (relatively) straightforward and economical means through which the world might be transformed into a 'series of unrelated, freestanding particles; and history, past and present, a set of anecdotes and *fait divers*' (Sontag 1977: 23). The words of Baron Pollock give some indication of the initial excitement that greeted photography to precisely this end.

Photographic surveys of a particular geographical area, building type, historic period or intangible practice offer perhaps the most clear-cut articulation of the critical importance of seriality to any discussion of heritage and photography. They are also prevalent in the photographic life of both Angkor and Famagusta, whether as artistic engagement, archaeological record, or touristic slideshow. Understanding the broader context of such image-worlds is therefore vital if we are to fully grasp the constructive and affective power of the diverse photographic series encountered at both case study locations.

Emerging soon after the advent of photography in the mid-nineteenth century, the survey movement was ‘born of the productive interaction of epistemological frames and technological possibility’ - part of an impulse to ‘map, control, and render a wide range of phenomena visible as spectacle’ (Edwards 2012b: 3). Surveys undertaken during this period in France, Britain, the U.S. and India are well documented (Boyer 2003; 2010; Guha 2010; see also Ryan 1997), providing one of the clearest demonstrations of the ways in which photography served to intensify nascent heritage practices. In France for example the well-known *Missions Héliographiques*, which sought to photograph medieval and gothic architecture across the country, was based on catalogues, registers and mapping projects already carried out by the *Commission des Monuments Historiques* (Boyer 2003). The pictorial conventions adopted by photographers employed as part of the *Missions* also reflected earlier graphic practices, although as one commentator noted at the time,

Photography has attained a magic feeling that neither drawing nor painting could have reached, especially with regard Gothic structures [...] photography, by profusely aerating everything, by softening the swarming details without obliterating the contours, presents to the delighted eye monuments as great as their counterparts in reality, and sometime even greater (Wey in Boyer 2003: 47; [Figure 3.11]).

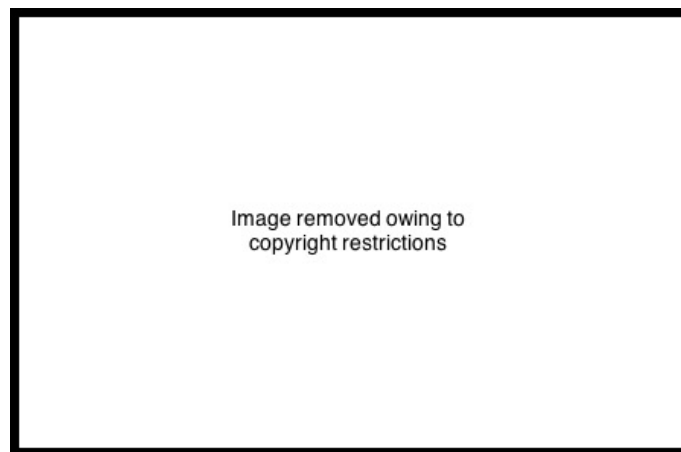


Fig 3.11. Gustave Le Gray, 1851. *Cloister of the Abbey Church of Saint Pierre*. © Photo RMN (Musée d'Orsay) / Hervé Lewandowski

The more extensive British surveys discussed by Edwards in *The Camera as Historian* (2012b) again make clear the critical importance seen to reside in drawing together disparate sites through photography, although as the author states ‘it is

difficult to assess or analyse original orderings, taxonomic intent, and the extent of many of the survey collections [...] Most have been pressed into other contexts and other sets of meanings. Signs of their original forms, juxtapositions, and thus their meanings, have been obliterated' (ibid: 110). This resonates I think with a broader faltering of the series as a constructive apparatus. While images may be assembled in archives, publications or exhibitions to offer a distinct view on a particular subject, they are as liable to become disassembled in the afterlife of such practices. Photographs created as integral to a carefully defined series may transcend their originary context in later interpretation, or become entangled with other ostensibly unrelated series. The image-world of heritage is thus far from static, even in the production and accumulation of still images to document or represent a location.

As a series of discrete yet interconnected images the survey both responds to and marks out terrains of similarity and difference, separating the photographic subject from the flow of everyday life and formulating associations across temporal and spatial barriers. Such series set out to construct a specific and often uniform visual perception of the multifaceted subjects depicted, freezing knowledge and meaning at the moment of photographic documentation. However, the rooted and rhizomatic nature of photography works against this strategy, and images may be encountered in alternative constellations fundamentally at odds with the intentions of the original photographers, archivists, curators etc. Although fragmented and disjointed, seriality remains an important factor in how we should understand photography in such contexts, for the value of individual images shifts with each new deployment, gaining or losing constructive or affective potential in relation to other images in the same series. This has a particular relevance to heritage because of the various processes of assemblage the phenomenon is marked by, wherein traces of the past are constantly rearranged in the present to help shape prospective worlds.

Certain serial forms will of course make every effort to freeze an initial moment of meaning-making to undermine any subsequent reconfigurations. The photographic book for example attempts to persuade us that the effectiveness of pictures will 'be diminished if they are looked at in isolation or randomly, haphazardly' (Dyer 2006: 47). Thomson's early influence on this genre is well documented (Ovenden 1997), and with publications such as *The Antiquities of Cambodia* (1867) and *Through Cyprus with the Camera* (1879) the question of what form the initial published series took remains significant; not least because the narratives formulated through and by the photographs contained in these books may be carried over - implicitly or explicitly - into subsequent interpretations.

The fine art photographic series further complicates this dynamic. For many photographers, the pictures they produce are only deemed meaningful as part of a wider body of work: a series that lends extra weight to each individual image. As Martin Parr notes (2010), this typological approach to photography has gained significant traction in recent years, evident in the work of, for example, Thomas Struth, Candida Hoffer and Simon Roberts. Tellingly, these photographers all take subjects central to heritage as a core focus, from the large scale museum interiors of Struth to the touristic landscapes documented by Roberts in his series *We English* (2009). Such studies attempt to standardise disparate spaces through the technology of the camera, an implicit return perhaps to the dispassionate eye of earlier survey photography.

The pioneering work of Bernd and Hilla Becher has been influential in this respect. For almost fifty years the Bechers have photographed industrial architecture across Western Europe and North America. Each image they produce is based on a rigorous set of procedural rules, with standardised format, ratio, lighting, print quality, framing and display. Individual photographs are then collated by function for gallery exhibition or publication (Figure 3.14). The Bechers generally use the term *typology* to describe their method, and in this their photography appears to mimic archaeological investigation and analysis. As Stimson has argued, however, their photographs in fact avoid almost all context and therefore offer little in the way of social-historical or archaeological interpretation (2006: 143). What they do allow however is *comparison*: ‘Through photography, we try to arrange these shapes and render them comparable. To do so, the objects must be isolated from their context and freed from all association’ (in Stimson 2006: 142).

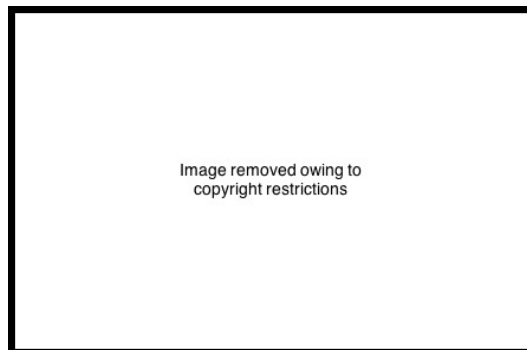


Fig 3.12. Bernd and Hilla Becher, 1983. *Cooling Towers, Ruhr District*. © The Bechers

In this respect the Bechers work might be said to finally realise ambitions for photography first put forward by Oliver Wendell Holmes, who called in 1859 for a vast and uniform image archive of the world, ‘to render comparison of similar objects, or of any that we may wish to see side-by-side [...] they should be taken, so far as possible, with camera-lenses of the same focal length, at the same distance, and viewed through stereoscopic lenses of the same pattern’ (1980 [1859]: 81-2). By executing precisely this desire the Bechers demonstrate the power of seriality in structuring and producing knowledge. And yet theirs is not a scientific project. Instead the rhythm and repetition of the typological method atomises and anonymises, allowing viewers to read the subjects not as historical or archaeological artefacts but as ‘autonomous aesthetic objects or “sculpture”’ (Stimson 2006: 149). From this perspective then their work perfectly encapsulates the perceived effects of the heritage series, severing sign from referent and creating a metaculture of new meaning and value (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 2004; Harrison Fothcoming). The fact that this new value is above all aesthetic also tells us something about photography’s ability to transform mundane subjects into objects of artistic contemplation: ‘Bleak factory buildings and billboard-cluttered avenues look as beautiful, through the camera’s eye, as churches and pastoral landscapes. More beautiful, by modern taste’ (Sontag 1977: 78). Of course, this process of aestheticisation carries with it a further danger, one of de-historicisation. While Stimson may argue that the Bechers take up ‘the heroic age of industrial modernity’ and ‘rearticulate it with a new and different force’ (2006: 144), their own view is that such structures are now empty of all but the memory of an ambition they once housed (ibid: 152). The photographic series here resonates with persistent fears that the past is forever lost to the present, that ‘in the collection, history is pure destruction’ (Maleuvre 1999: 277). Working against this impulse however we find the photographs themselves: their referential power and affectivity. As Marien records, audiences aroused by the disappearance of mechanical technologies have often responded to the Becher’s images with nostalgia and sentimentality (2010: 379). Paradoxically, it may even be that the detachment of the Becher’s technique provides an opportunity for this affectionate and private interpretation to emerge. This tension has a particular relevance to my analysis of images depicting the ruins of Varosha, but there are wider points of interest for Angkor and Famagusta writ large, not least the fact that photographs of each site may well be said to collect, aestheticise and typologise the locations they document, in the process draining them of contextual force. This problematic does not however deny

the potential for other important transformations to occur around the series itself as an affective body in the world.

On this point, I would like to end the current section with a brief discussion of two photographic series that confront a similar subject in different ways and to different ends: Paul Virilio's well-known *Bunker Archaeology* (2010 [1975]) and Marc Wilson's more recent project *The Last Stand* (2010). Both of these series take the Second World War coastal defences of Europe as their central motif, Virilio focusing on the French Atlantic Wall and Wilson offering a more expansive view on equivalent sites across the UK, The Channel Islands, Denmark, Belgium and Norway (Figures 3.13 and 3.14). While there are obvious parallels and divergences between these two collections, my main interest here is in the differing constructive and affective dimensions of the work the photographs are intended to undertake.

For Virilio, photographing the bunkers of the Atlantic Wall was an 'archaeological' exercise: 'I would hunt these gray forms', he writes, 'until they would transmit to me a part of their mystery' (2010 [1975]: 11). Over seven years (1958-65) Virilio carefully researched and visited a huge number of bunkers, or what he describes as 'funerary monuments of the German dream' (ibid: 29). The resulting photographs, brought together as a book, are simultaneously emotive and abstract, with Virilio's archaeological approach leaving space for the poetic, the mythic and the mysterious to emerge.

On the surface at least Wilson's images are no less enigmatic. Ruinous forms shrouded in sea mist or part submerged by sandbanks dominate the series. While personal in the sense of representing a unique photographic vision, the project as a whole is more collective in scope, seeking to reflect the history of military conflict in this region and 'the memories held in the landscape itself' (Wilson 2014). An exhibition of photographs from this series recently toured the UK, notably staged at the Royal Armouries Museum in Leeds. The images have also been featured in numerous magazines, newspaper articles, T.V. shows and online forums. In travelling through such contexts the photographs have become entangled in narratives of protection and preservation, with prominent calls for the sites depicted to be listed by the appropriate authorities (Surtees 2013). They have become in this respect an affective agent in the construction of heritage, a means of reconceptualising what these particular traces of the past might mean to the present and the future. Where Virilio's project emphasises a personal archaeology, Wilson's no less melancholic documentation establishes an alternative relationship to the photographic subject through ongoing realignments with other bodies (an armouries museum for example).

Such heterogeneous fragmentations and (re)gatherings of the series provoke a more dynamic appreciation of the work photography might perform as it intersects with heritage at various levels.

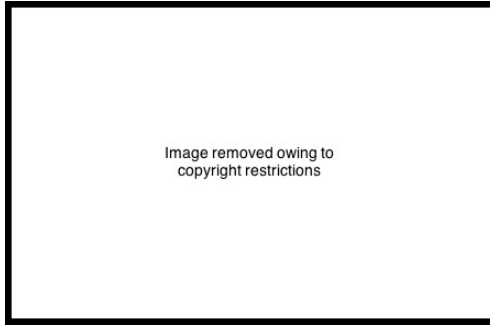


Fig 3.13. Paul Virilio, 1958-65. *Observation Post on a Channel Island* (detail). © Paul Virilio

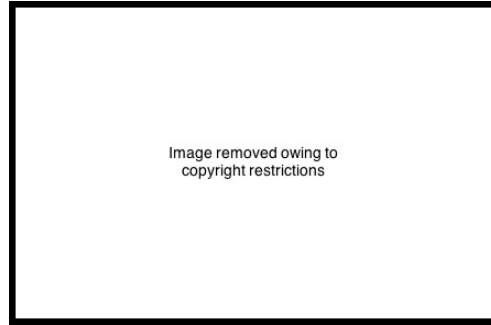


Fig 3.14. Marc Wilson, 2011. *Studland Bay I, Dorset, England*. © Marc Wilson

In both of these cases the subject of the photographic series can be said to exist out there, in the real world, as an already extant material complex. These structures were explicitly built *as a series*, for a distinctive purpose. There are similarities to be drawn here with Angkor and Famagusta (and countless other heritage sites besides), where in effect the historic built form constitutes its own series, whether as a town of churches, a city of temples, or a network of houses, sculptures and palaces. In such contexts the photographic series (and the photographic life of a locality more generally) can be seen as topological, augmenting the world through the qualitative addition of new representations, new concepts and new meanings. As the examples of Virilio and Wilson demonstrate, however, these topologies will be governed by different motivations and pursued to different ends, resulting in distinct 'real world' effects - material, conceptual and ethical.

The various articulations of seriality put forward here coalesce around the idea that photography might 'order' reality, decisively shaping how we perceive a certain subject. In this sense the photographic series should be understood as a visually discursive apparatus that takes the compatibility of images and creates a new category of meaning or significance from individual fragments of the world. Such series are however equally liable to become fragmented - their fluidity exposed via the constant redeployment of images and the manifold interpretations of a disparate viewing public. This gestures towards the possibility of a parallel reconceptualisation in wider heritage practice, where the structures of the list, the catalogue, the inventory

and the guide are to some extent equally driven by the ordering of reality. Formulating a heritage series does not, I would argue, prohibit the re-scattering of its fractious ingredients in a literal or figurative sense. Just as photography might draw heterogeneous items together, so it also atomises, focusing our attention on discrete visual moments. The various processes through which heritage assembles the past in the present are closely aligned to this notion, with series and mediation existing in a dense back-and-forth with their opposing forces: disorder and direct experience. This turn to the experiential opens up an important topic to critical examination, one I have only hinted at so far, namely: tourism.

3.6. Cliché

A tremulous image confuses and multiplies the photographed object.

(de Certeau 1984: 100)

Photographic images are liable to become entangled in myriad inadvertent series, perhaps the most extensive and commonplace of which are photographs taken at different times and by different people of the same subject, often in an attempt to capture that subject in a similar way. Such pictures abound at Angkor, Famagusta and countless other sites of heritage, where a familiarity with representations that have preceded one's own encounter often provokes a desire to mimic or emulate those images. This 'hermeneutic circle' is a distinctive trait of tourism (Urry 2002: 129), but we should not suppose that other categories of photography are immune to such repetition. As Dyer notes in a survey that takes in some of the most respected photographers of the twentieth century, 'often it turns out that when things have been photographed they look like other photographs, either ones that have already been taken or ones that are waiting to be taken' (2005: 258). Indeed, for Martin Parr, whose work I discuss below, this 'echo of familiarity [...] can be as restricting as it can be liberating' (2010). Here I interrogate such phenomena under the heading of cliché, a deliberately provocative term that initially supposes a cynical attitude to certain photographs, but may in fact provide a useful framework for understanding the complexities of an overtly repetitive image-world, such as encircles both of my core case study locations.

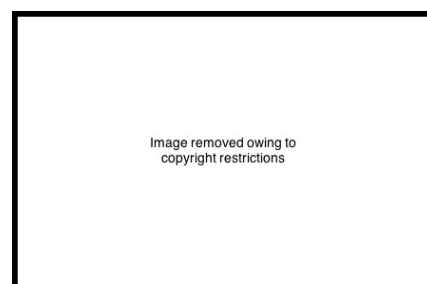
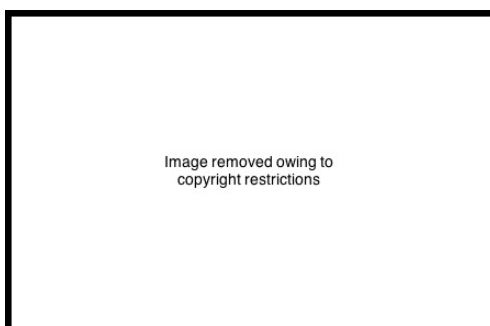
As a hackneyed or obvious thought, phrase, image or experience the cliché precedes and expands beyond the realm of photography. Meades for example draws attention to the fact that Grand Tourists were 'forever running into each other' while

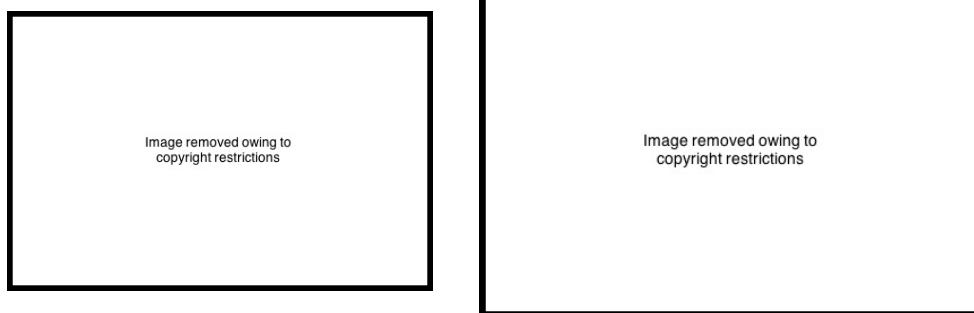
visiting the same sites across Europe, going on to suggest that ‘we see what we have been taught to see [...] We line up our eyes along the axis of an anonymous photographer’s lens. We try to duplicate the very position that a perspectivist long ago adopted for his easel’ (2012: 97). This echo of experience and representation may be conscious or unconscious. While certain images (not just photographic) clearly act as direct inspiration for particular encounters with the world, the great majority of clichéd productions and activities are instinctive and, we might therefore suppose, unthinking. It is this apparent lack of critical awareness that gives rise to a cynical view of the cliché. Vilem Flusser offers a particularly derisive example of this outlook in *Towards a Philosophy of Photography*, arguing that tourists are little more than an extension of their photographic apparatus: ‘A journey to Italy documented like this stores the times and places at which the person taking snaps was induced to press the button, and shows which places the camera has been and to what it did there’ (2000 [1983]: 58-9). From this perspective, touristic photography (and other clichéd image productions) offer nothing new to the world; they are ‘redundant’ and ‘superfluous’, to borrow from Flusser (*ibid*: 26). The understanding of cliché put forward here seeks to complicate this reading.

Of course, certain compositions are repeated not only because photographers and other image-makers seek to emulate earlier representations, but because ‘they express a set of messages which constitute a more widely held and conventionalised body of discourse’ (Albers and James 1988: 140). At the same time, the feedback loop of topological analysis tells us that such visualisations will also re-shape or augment the world to which they refer. The example of Abbey Road is again instructive in this respect. Here the incessant nature of the clichéd experience and photo-opportunity has led to a conceptual and to some extent material transformation of the zebra crossing, now protected through heritage designation. More disquieting perhaps are the implications of a clichéd perspective on locations such as Detroit, where the proliferation of fine-art photography exposing the aesthetic value of decaying structures has played a significant role in transforming certain sites into tourist commodities (Marchand and Meffre 2010; Binelli 2012). While the material alteration of Angkor to accommodate vast numbers of photographers speaks of the direct implications of the cliché, a more oblique yet no less potent effect may be found at Varosha, where - as with Detroit - the clichéd production of ‘ruin-porn’ images risks de-politicising what remains for many a site of traumatic memory. These issues are explored further in chapter seven.

The repetitive nature of the cliché does not then preclude its constructive potential. Indeed, in certain cases the power of photography to augment the world may be said to lie not in distinctive images (as Flusser would suggest), but in the sheer volume of similar photographs depicting the same location or subject. While this potential is of particular relevance in examining the photographic life of Angkor and Famagusta, there are wider implications for the heritage field. What knowledge about the past in the present does the cliché produce and what does it obscure, for example? What is left out and what is underlined in the overt repetition of certain images, and how might heritage practitioners work along or against the grain of these processes to confront the limitations and possibilities of the cliché? Furthermore, from the perspective of the individual photographic encounter, how might a revised appreciation of the cliché provoke new understandings of the affective power of heritage in various forms? Such lines of enquiry are designed to focus an interrogation of the simple yet profound point that so many sites of heritage will be photographed over and over in the same way by remarkably different constituents. To grasp the implications of this phenomenon we must transcend any simplistic cynicism and begin to recognise the cliché as a particularly provocative constellation of heritage and photography.

Clichéd experiences have long been a favourite subject of Martin Parr, whose *Small World* project documents the spread and impact of mass tourism across the globe. The very act of photography features heavily in this work, whether at the Eiffel Tower, the Leaning Tower of Pisa, Mayan pyramids, or indeed Angkor Wat (Figures 3.15-3.18). At their core, Parr's images seek to deconstruct the clichéd propaganda of the holiday brochure, examining 'the great conundrum, the contradiction between the mythology of these places and the reality' (Parr in Romig 2010). As the photographer has stated: 'if there is any jarring at all in my photographs, it's because we are so used to ingesting pictures of everywhere looking beautiful [...] I just show things as I see them' (in O'Connor 2007).





Figs 3.15 - 3.18. Martin Parr, 1987-94. Photographs from the *Small World* project.
© Magnum/Martin Parr

In this sense Parr's images may be said to offer a visual critique in line with Marc Augé's delineation of the 'non-place' (1995). For Augé, the tourist brochure offers would-be travellers an 'anticipated image' of themselves in clichéd poses of 'curious or contemplative faces, solitary or in groups, gazing across the infinite oceans, scanning ranges of snow-capped mountains or wondrous urban skylines' (ibid: 70). As a result, Augé refers to the 'travellers space' of the brochure image as the 'archetype of non-place' (ibid: 77), a term that marks out localities which 'cannot be defined as relational, or historical or concerned with identity' (ibid: 63). To suggest that sites of heritage may fall into this category seems counterintuitive, and yet for Augé well known buildings, monuments or territories (e.g. the Eiffel Tower, Pisa, Angkor Wat) are liable to lose their historic or relational potency even while defined as 'places of memory'. Certain sites, he argues, are so familiar they exist only 'through the words that evoke them, and in this sense they are non places, or rather, imaginary places: banal utopias, clichés' (ibid: 77). Here then Augé illuminates one of the dangers of clichéd photography, namely that an over-familiarity engendered through images might in turn foster a lack of affective engagement, both with the complex histories of a site and the wider possibilities of what that site might mean to the present and the future. These related risks of depoliticisation and dehistoricisation animate much of my analysis of tourist and other photographs at Angkor and Famagusta.

However, while Parr's images may be said to (inadvertently) document the prosaic reality of Augé's banal utopias, they also capture the moment of touristic experience, and may therefore provide an alternative route to understanding the importance of the cliché for heritage and photography. As Bourdieu recognised, tourist photographers are often caught up in the paradox of consecrating a unique

encounter that is experienced by thousands of others in identical circumstances (1990: 36). Parr highlights the layered nature of these moments; by turn consumerist, confrontational, passive, exploitative, dull, exotic and comical. In centring the photographic act such images also go beyond Augé's focus on the discursive space of the brochure. For Waterton and Watson this turn to the moment at which bodies are 'posed and poised' is vital to developing a more nuanced appreciation of the role of photography in heritage tourism (2014: 5), and while many of the scenes depicted by Parr would seem to reinforce the idea that the cliché is carried over into experience (therefore perpetuating the construction of non-places), his photographs also vividly materialise the particularisation and individualisation of spatial encounters, instances of lived experience that immediately personalise and therefore subvert the possibility of the non-place. These may be clichés, but they are *our* clichés. As a recent promotional campaign by the National Trust makes clear, such photographic practices exist for a reason, and those engaged in managing the past in the present may benefit from working along the grain of their popularity, rather than seeing the cliché as simply a 'banal' representation to be fought against (Figure 3.19).

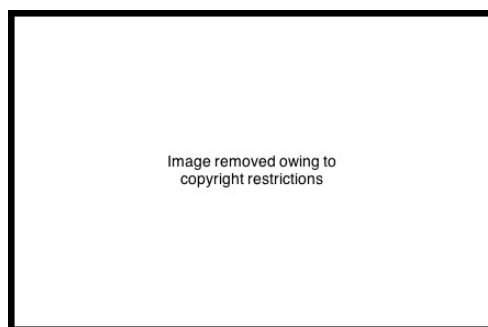


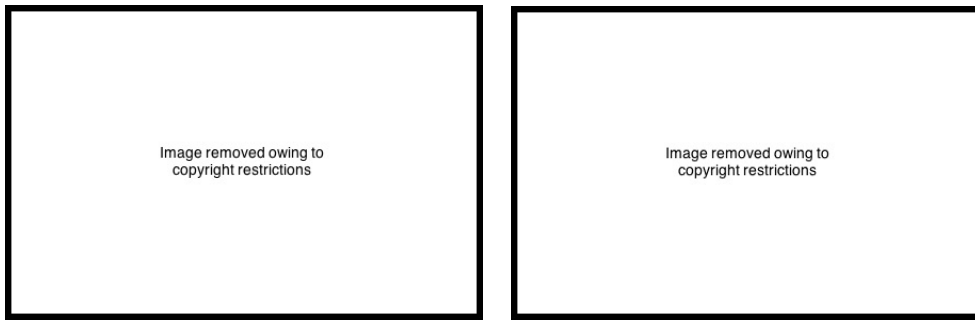
Fig 3.19. National Trust campaign created by Click Design Consultants

In a recent study of tourist photography in Cyprus, Stylianou-Lambert interrogates the duality of a field which sees tourists as either 'passive consumers [...] who reproduce with their own photographs images they have encountered in promotional material [or] active performers who playfully recreate spaces and people they photograph through unique experiences' (2012: 1817-8). Her conclusion - that within the constraints of 'some structural factors and social conventions' people 'actively construct their own narratives, meaning, and sense of self-identity' (ibid: 1836) - is instructive for the argument put forward here. Put simply, this asks for an

engagement with the constructed *and* affective dimensions of the cliché, which thus emerges as a phenomenon of significant critical value. To develop this point I would like to suggest we imagine the repetitive nature of the cliché as *rhythmic* rather than static: a familiar echo that *reverberates* and, in so doing, has the potential to set off new states of the world. This draws out the topological status of the cliché, wherein knowledge of pre-existing representations gives way to direct experience that may in turn (re)shape the meaning or even materiality of a subject.

The work of Christine Vionnet offers a striking visual expression of precisely this point. Assembling thousands of near identical tourist pictures uploaded to online networks, Vionnet creates densely layered composite images of sites such as the Houses of Parliament, the pyramids of Egypt, the Taj Mahal and the Parthenon (Figures 3.20-21). The hazy forms and ghostly figures that result from this novel use of clichéd imagery reflect the complex processes through which a physical site may become ‘imaginary’, to use Auge’s term. However, we must remember that this sketch like quality is an outcome of the almost imperceptible shifts in perspective that mark each individual image. An arresting consistency in photographic creation is thus countermanded by the fact each picture is tied to a specific moment of personal resonance. We might even suggest that the peculiar way in which these static collages seem to vibrate communicates the affective force of the sites depicted; locations that are anything but imaginary to the people who encounter them. Here de Certeau’s ‘tremulous image’ is brought to life, as the assembled images reverberate to confuse and therefore alter our perception of the photographed object.

For sites such as Angkor and Famagusta - pictured in the same fashion time after time by countless individual photographers - this reimagining of the cliché has significant consequences, not least with regards the shifts in value that accompany or are occasioned by new photographic observations. When certain visual tropes reach the point of cliché they take on extra significance, and we must remain alert to the problems and possibilities of photography where these reverberations gesture towards a new conceptual or ethical stance. This subject is explored in depth below with reference to the production of ‘ruin-porn’ imagery at Famagusta, as well as the troubling documentation of disenfranchised constituents at Angkor.



Figs 3.20 - 3.21. Christine Vionnet, 2006-13. *Parthenon* and *Taj Mahal* from series *Photo Opportunities*.
© Christine Vionnet

3.7. Authenticity

Underpinning much of the criticism levelled at clichéd experiences or representations is the notion that they lack ‘authenticity’, and therefore provide a false record of or engagement with the world. This idea immediately undercuts the supposed truth-value of the indexical image, suggesting a complexity to the notion of what might be deemed ‘authentic’ when we talk about photography. Does the authenticity of an image reside in its content, its means of production, its originality, or the feelings it elicits? This question is of more than conceptual interest, for the authenticity or otherwise of a photograph often defines its constructive and affective potential. When we consider the parallel and intricate resonances of authenticity within heritage practice and discourse, this term emerges as a particularly fertile point of analysis in the relationship under consideration.

The complicated status of authenticity is well documented in various fields of scholarship (e.g. Adorno 2003 [1964]; MacCannell 1973; Handler 1986; Cohen 1988; Jones 2010). This literature opens up the multidimensionality of a term synonymous with realism, originality, truth, uniqueness and verisimilitude, yet reducible to none of these. While positivist readings of photography initially understood the camera-based image to be an ‘honest’ and therefore authentic reflection of the world, the reproducibility of such pictures has led more recent theorists to claim that, for the photograph, ‘there is no true being, no authenticity’ (Van Lier 2007 [1983]: 103). As Rosalind Krauss states, ‘authenticity empties out as a notion as one approaches those mediums which are inherently multiple’ (in Steiner 1999: 88). This understanding immediately sets the photograph in opposition to a traditional conceptualisation of heritage, where authenticity is commonly associated with originality of material form, unique authorship, and the continuation of - or return to - original context and use.

The codifying of this approach by bodies such as UNESCO speaks of a deeply held importance (see Cleere 1995; McBryde 1997), and while these notions have been complicated somewhat by initiatives such as the *Nara Document on Authenticity* (ICOMOS 1994), the significance of the authentic for heritage remains unabated. As several authors have noted (e.g. Nora 1989; Samuel 1994; Stewart 1993), this may be traced to a perceived inauthenticity in the modern age, to a 'lack of existential meaning, and the absence of individual originality' (Huysen 2010: 20). Summarising these points in a narrative on the emergence of heritage, Butler suggests that notions of nostalgia and authenticity - or more correctly 'a nostalgia for authenticity' - underpin and motivate modernity's 'escalating desire for roots and origins' (2006: 466). As a result, authenticity may be said to 'haunt the practices of preservation, curation, management and presentation enacted on monuments, buildings, places and artefacts' (Jones 2010: 182). This much is certainly in evidence at Angkor and Famagusta, where decisions over material conservation, interpretation and use are still largely structured around a positivist definition of authenticity (see Winter 2008; Walsh et al 2012).

Building on this diverse literature, I would like to suggest that much of the confusion over authenticity emerges from an uncertainty as to where precisely the authentic is situated in relation to people, things, images etc. For example, the direct experience of the photographic act may be classed as authentic even while the images resulting from such encounters lack the uniqueness commonly associated with this term. Moreover, Krauss' suggestion that inherently multiple mediums of representation lack authenticity falters when we consider the huge sums paid for 'original' or 'vintage' photographic prints. Here, the importance of the photograph as object becomes apparent, with both the material form and the attached personal and social narratives transforming the significance of a discrete image that nevertheless remains 'reproducible'. In this sense differential readings of authenticity may be seen to surface with varied emphasis at assorted points across the rooted and rhizomatic networks of the photography complex.

In a recent study of authenticity, Siân Jones confronts the tensions between materialist and constructivist approaches to this term with specific reference to archaeological sites and objects. She concludes:

Whilst it is important to understand how discourses of authenticity are bound up with modernist ideas about entities and essences, simply deconstructing these discourses and dismissing authenticity as a cultural construct masks and ignores another important aspect. For when we look at how people

experience and negotiate authenticity through objects, it is networks of relationships between people, places and things that appear to be central, not the things in and of themselves (2010: 189).

Although Jones makes no explicit mention of affect here, there is, I think, an echo in this reading of Bennett's belief in the vibrancy of matter, wherein the efficacy or agency of things 'always depends on the collaboration, cooperation, or interactive interference of many bodies and forces' (2010: 21). Interpreting authenticity in this way would not deny the socially constructed dimensions of the phenomenon, which, as many scholars have shown, is not a fixed quality open to straightforward measurement (Jokilehto 2002; Lowenthal 1995; Basu 2006). Instead a focus on networks of relationships draws out the topological nature of authenticity: by turns discursive, affective, constructed and negotiated. Recognising the constant shifts and entanglements of such processes is a fundamental task of the case study research to follow.

Walter Benjamin's definition of the 'aura' has been influential across these debates, surfacing in otherwise unrelated discussions of heritage and photography (e.g. Malpas 2008; Duttlinger 2008; Zhu 2012). Famously declaring that the 'aura of the work of art' may depreciate through mechanical reproduction, Benjamin argued that 'the authenticity of a thing is the essence of all that is transmissible from its beginning, ranging from its substantive duration to its testimony to the history which it has experienced' (2007 [1936]: 221) By effectively removing objects from this 'changeable fabric of tradition' (Jones 2010: 189) Benjamin believed photographic and other mechanical forms of representation would destroy the auratic power of the original. While the notion of a layered, biographic authenticity remains prevalent in many contexts, countless examples from Stonehenge to the Mona Lisa demonstrate that the aura has rarely wilted in the way Benjamin predicted. In fact, viewing an object from afar may accentuate the desire for direct experience, for personal engagement with the 'authentic' thing: 'the more we have learned to understand all images, words, and sounds as always already mediated, the more it seems we desire the authentic and the immediate' (Huysen 2010: 20). As Jones rightly points out, a kind of 'magical communion' may occur through this deepening familiarity (2010: 189), with individuals incorporating themselves into the network of relationships that surround historical or artistic objects. That this integration of person and thing will often involve photographic documentation - or *proof* of experience - gestures towards a further significant point in our analysis of authenticity.

For many early commentators on photography (including Baron Pollock) the revolutionary potential of this new technology was located in its ability to provide a truthful record of the world. As one reviewer of Francis Frith's *Stereoscopic Views in the Holy Land, Egypt, Nubia etc.* (1858) put it, photography offered 'only the plain unvarnished truth; the actual is absolutely before us, and we know it' (in Schwartz 2000: 22). Photography was understood to be wholly objective, the work of 'an unreasoning machine' (Eastlake in Newhall 1980: 94) that would afford not 'second-hand reports' but 'brutal facts' (Salzmann in Schwartz 2000: 10). Such beliefs - central to contextualising Thomson's oeuvre - sidestep the issue of reproducibility and originality to focus instead on the unmediated authenticity of the scene depicted. This indexical potential would be of value to numerous categories of 'information professionals', including 'spies, meteorologists, coroners, archaeologists' (Sontag 1977: 22).

The fact that no two photographs of the same subject are ever strictly identical soon undermined this conviction. As Sekula argues, 'every photographic image is a sign, above all, of someone's investment in the sending of a message' (1982: 87). The 'human decision' at the heart of photographic production circles around the commemoration or valorisation of what is thought to be worth remembering and preserving of the present for the future (Schwartz 2000: 19). In this there is an obvious point of intersection with heritage. Whilst the emergence of digital photography has highlighted the potential for wholesale photographic invention (see Mitchell 1992), analogue photography already encompassed 'as much production as recording of images, as much act as gaze, as much performative event as passive archivisation' (Derrida 2010: 6). The search for or contestation of the 'truth' of photographic representation becomes largely irrelevant in this reading (Burgin 1982: 9); what matters instead is how people perceive authenticity, whether in terms of the evidential value of photographs, or their deeper affective resonances. These two strands of authenticity are drawn together in the use of historical images as heritage artefacts.

As Samuel identified in *Theatres of Memory*, since at least the 1960s old photographs have been used to construct a general 'aura of "pastness"' in various social environments, from museum displays and shops to schools and restaurants (1994: 322). While Samuel's examination highlights the use of Victorian photography (including the work of Thomson) in such contexts, other periods may be prioritised as an authenticating visual backdrop in situations where photography emerged more recently. In the United Arab Emirates for example the recent formation of new

museums and other heritage institutions has seen photographs depicting the pre-oil era elevated to the status of national icons (see Goaman-Dodson 2012). The work of Wilfred Thesiger in particular has been greatly prized in these endeavours, with the UAE government contributing funds to enable the digitisation of his archive (now held at the Pitt Rivers Museum in Oxford), and subsequent major publications and exhibitions of his images (Langham et al 2009; Morton & Jones 2010 [Figure 3.22]). Tellingly, Thesiger - who travelled throughout Arabia in the post-war years - sought to marginalise any hints of modernity in his photographs, and it is this untainted vision of a pre-industrial world that has gained most traction in the contemporary redeployment of his work. This is despite their obvious ties to colonialism. As Goaman-Dodson notes, 'far from rejecting the Orientalised Other that [Thesiger's] photographs would seem to portray, these images have been reclaimed as vital documents for the invention of Emirati tradition' (2012: 90).

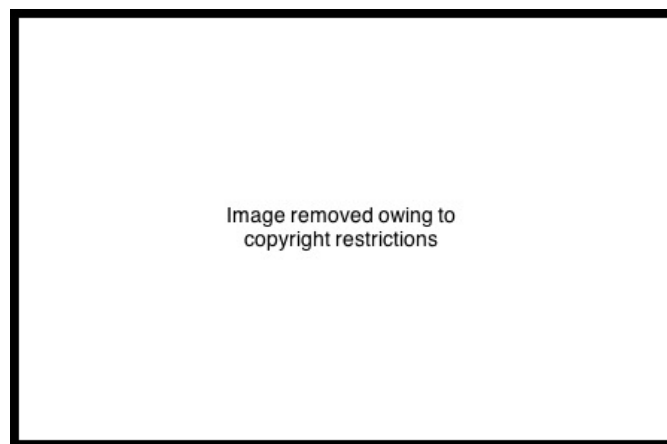


Fig 3.22. Wilfred Thesiger, 1948. *Salim bin Ghabaisha with Warad, a saluki.* © Pitt Rivers Museum

Here we find a vivid illustration of one of the central paradoxes underpinning the use of historic photographs as 'heritage'. Valued as the products of a supposedly truthful and revelatory medium, camera-based images will routinely be considered more 'authentic' and therefore more affective if they conceal or ignore certain aspects of the world. This tension, which helps structure subsequent research into the (re)deployment of colonial period imagery around Angkor and Famagusta, is also present in the ongoing production of photographs that seek to emphasise the 'authenticity' of a site or landscape. As the *Shell Guide to Photographing Britain* puts it: 'Naturally, if possible, you should try to avoid any direct reference to the present -

such as telegraph poles, signposts, or people - as this instantly dispels the mood of mystery' (Lewinski 1982: 132).

The notion that the authenticity of a photograph lies beyond its indexical status has recently been taken to a radical extreme in the project *Real Venice*. Organised by the charity *Venice in Peril*, this touring exhibition invited fourteen photographic artists to portray the city in a manner that would mark out an 'authentic' Venice in opposition to the clichéd touristic scenes of gondolas, bridges and St. Marks Square, an ambition made explicit in the original Italian of the project title: *Venecia Auténtica*.

Even with the limited numbers of photographers involved in this initiative, the diversity of responses to such a brief exemplifies the fractured sense of authenticity that may encircle and animate a given subject. Tim Parchikov's series *Venice Suspense* for example documents the quotidian lives of tourists and locals played out against the backdrop of superlative architecture: a shadowy figure skulks across a canal bridge at the end of an alleyway; children play football on cobbled streets, their goal marked in chalk on the wall of a Church (Figure 3.23); an umbrella is held above a crowd on a sunny day. Robert Walker's *Venetian Apron Suite* meanwhile focuses on more kitsch aspects of the city, particularly bright cooking aprons and advertising banners (Figure 3.24). Here the photographer seeks to capture a Venice of 'artifice and facade' to offer a 'more accurate reflection of today's Venice than those generic pictures of reflections of crumbling *palazzos* in canal waters' (Walker 2011: 164). Others are more sombre, with Matthias Schaller, Lynne Cohen, Philip-Lorca diCorcia and Pierre Gonnord recording in turn cracked and dusty mirrors, banal office suites, overcast skies and the stoic faces of 'ordinary' Venetians (Figure 3.25). As well as their insistence on a Venice beyond the cliché, what draws these disparate visual endeavours together is a dispelling of the myth that photography simply 'reproduces reality' (Sgarbi 2011: 6). These images are emphatically 'performative', to borrow from Derrida, constructed and - crucially - constructive.

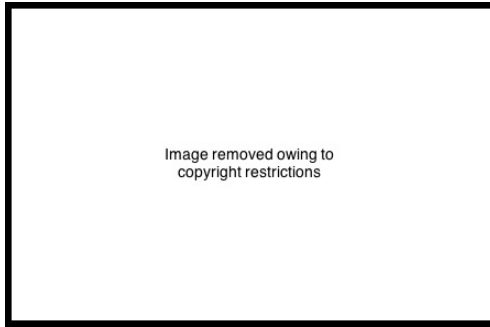


Fig 3.23. Tim Parchikov, 2007. From the series *Venice Suspense*. © T. Parchikov

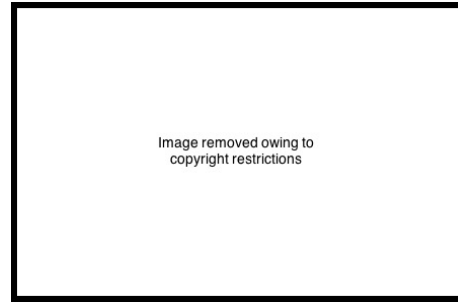


Fig 3.24. Robert Walker, 2010. *Venetian Apron Suite #6*, from the series *Venetian Apron Suite*. © R. Walker

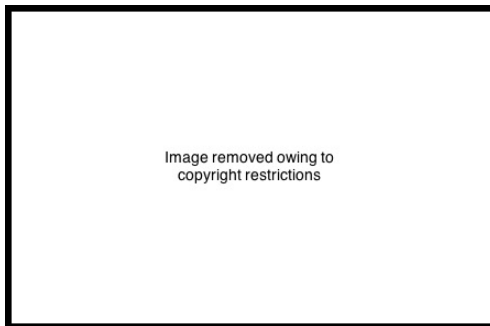


Fig 3.25. Pierre Gonnord, 2010. *Charlotte*, from the series *Venetian Portraits*. © P. Gonnord

Nowhere is this more evident than in Antonio Girbes' *Delirious City*. Here the artist replicates, twists and reconfigures 'real' photographs to create kaleidoscopic montages that aim to transform how we see and understand the original function of the building depicted (Figure 3.26). Girbes takes quintessential urban elements - the library, the square, pavements, the theatre, the cemetery - and creates intricate labyrinths that lead nowhere and yet reference and illustrate very particular places (2011: 240-263). Like many of the artists featured in *Real Venice*, Girbes toys with our perception of the material environment and the visual life of a heritage site. Indeed, the very notions of past and present, reality and fiction are constantly reworked through this project. A new Venice is fashioned from the results, one that offers a critical perspective on the distinctive tensions of authenticity that may arise in a location overburdened by tourism.

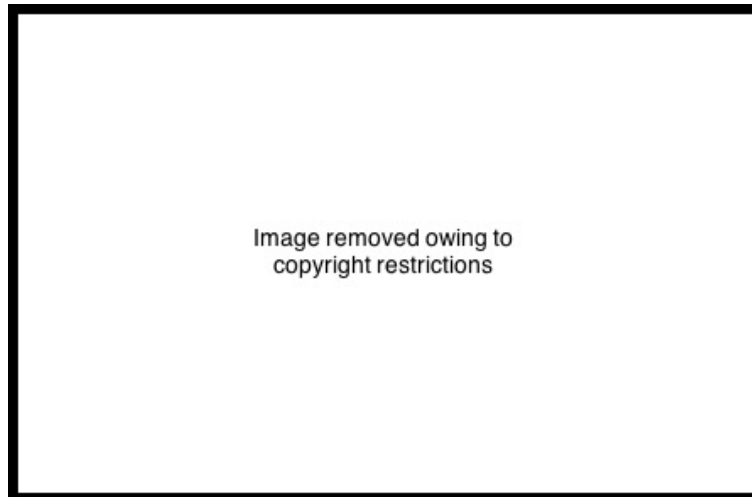


Fig 3.26. Antonio Girbes, 2011. *Main Square by Baldassare Longhena*, from the series *Delirious City*. © A. Girbes

Real Venice emerges through this reading as a valuable case study in the role photographic reconstitutions of a locality might play in (re)shaping our perception of even the most familiar heritage subjects. At the same time, there is a wider significance to such image-making practices. As Schwartz and Ryan note, the ability of photographs to ‘capture and project feelings, the spirit of place and the character of people’ has long been considered a distinctive quality of the medium (2003: 3). In many ways this power works against the supposed truth-value of photographs, residing in notions of atmosphere and affect that are born of a creative and constructive connection between photographer and subject.

While this insight resonates beyond the concept of authenticity, the complexities of this particular term provide a potent framework for reimagining the relationship between heritage and photography. It is my contention for example that a more nuanced engagement with photography as act, object and medium may help navigate the dense relational networks discussed by Jones (2009; 2010). In this sense photography may be seen as one of the ‘things’ around which narratives of authenticity circulate, or it might act as a point of visual mediation between people and things: a way to reframe and reconceptualise what is and is not deemed ‘authentic’. Edwards hints at this potential in her overview of survey photography, where the ‘entanglement of exactness and emotion, tied to the authenticity of the object and the authenticity of photographic inscription [...] enabled photographs to stand for a collective past’ (2012b: 18). A more general intervention vis-a-vis photography may even contribute to UNESCO’s *Operational Guidelines for the*

Implementation of the World Heritage Convention, where Article 83 admits that ‘attributes such as spirit and feeling do not lend themselves easily to practical applications of the conditions of authenticity, but nevertheless are important indicators of character and sense of place’ (UNESCO 2013). The potential for photography to capture and project precisely these qualities opens up the possibility of a more subtle engagement with such images on the part of heritage praxis. This opportunity is explored with specific reference to Angkor and Famagusta in subsequent chapters.

3.8. Summary

This chapter has sought to examine both the broad historical entanglements of heritage and photography central to this thesis, and the theoretical models emerging from this relationship that might be applied to further case study based research. To help draw these thematic strands together, it is perhaps worth reiterating the precise analytical benefits to be gained from each.

The concept of the photographic trace underpins much of this discussion, providing an initial point of departure for confronting ‘photography’ as an analytical category. Building on the work of Barthes (2000 [1980]) and Deleuze and Guattari (2004 [1980]), here I have suggested that photographs be seen as simultaneously ‘rooted’ and ‘rhizomatic’ - tied to specific moments of production through the notion of the indexical trace, and yet open to constant re-mapping as relatively free-floating traces of the past. This reading directs us towards a number of nodal points in the photography complex; from the embodied surface of the image to the unpredictable trajectories pictures may take in the world. Crucially, the concept of the trace also emphasises the evidential value routinely placed on photographic images, which lends meaning and affective force to the medium.

One of the foremost consequences of this evidential reading is the association of photography with memory. While neither heritage nor photography can be considered directly analogous to this phenomenon, the memorial qualities and resonances projected onto and exuding from photographic images routinely structures the use of such pictures across varied heritage contexts, from the archiving of major collections to the display of quotidian visual artefacts. The key point here is that memory is recognised as both constructed *and* affective, remaining uniquely powerful as an emotive connection to the past despite recognition of its constant remaking in the present. By focusing critical attention on the varied sites at which ‘memory’ is given special emphasis in relation to Angkor and Famagusta, I therefore aim to draw

out the tensions implicit to this concept, which veers between the fluid and the fixed, the archival and the performative.

My turn to universality as a critical constellation signals a different analytical register, one related to the transformative potential of photography. The universal from this perspective is deployed to accentuate the gap between ‘compatible’ representations and the highly distinctive subjects to which they refer. Focusing on the globalising discourses in which ‘heritage’ is routinely embedded, this framework looks to the encyclopaedic cataloguing of photographs and conceptualisations that see photography as a ‘pivot of the world’ (Stimson 2006) to help illuminate the processes, practices and ideas through which a singular site of heritage (e.g. Angkor or Famagusta) might be reconstituted *as image*. Closely related to this, seriality is highlighted here as a means of opening up critical questions around the (re)assemblage of disparate bodies by photography and heritage, a process and practice that often works to elide or flatten differences to better enable comparison, listing and symbolic narration. By looking to the series as a ‘primary photographic form’ (ibid) I aim to draw out the nuances of these dynamics as they relate to the construction of heritage in various contexts, from colonial mapping projects to artistic interventions.

Shifting analytical focus again, the notion of the cliché foregrounds two key areas of debate: (1) the material and conceptual repercussions of remarkably similar pictures being taken of the same subject over and over again; and (2) the embodied moment of photographic creation, when even the most repetitive of images takes on a highly personal and uniquely affective timbre. Taking us beyond representation, my turn to the cliché thus looks to expose the performative dimensions of even the most conventionalised photography to critical enquiry, transcending any pejorative sense of aesthetic redundancy to consider instead the ‘real-world’ impacts and ‘reverberations’ of photographic production around heritage.

Finally, the densely knotted concept of authenticity is prioritised in this enquiry as a means of getting inside the relational networks that give the authentic meaning. Like memory, authenticity in this sense may be held up as something constructed through discourse and yet peculiarly affective as an idea or ‘feeling’. Photography then provides a route into and across the varying notions of authenticity that may encircle and animate heritage, from the ‘aura’ of old photographs to positivist conceptualisations and representations of historic sites and artefacts.

Although theoretical in orientation, the critical constellations assembled here notably direct us towards precise empirical research agendas and points of material analysis. Indeed, the general overview undertaken in this chapter has shown how

moments of overlap between heritage and photography cross the abstract and the corporeal, the artistic and the quotidian. From these broad historical trajectories, it is my contention that we can begin to discern particularly salient ‘avenues of rethinking’ around the core concepts of trace, memory, universality, series, cliché and authenticity, always focused on the shaping of heritage by photography, and vice-versa. In different ways and with varied emphasis, these themes direct us towards the relational networks that surround heritage, the values projected onto and exuding from photographs, the transformative potential of static representations, and the embodied nature of the photographic experience. Cognisant of these intersecting phenomena and the impact they have on heritage theory and practice, we can now begin to drill down into more specific archival and ethnographic research around the core case studies of Angkor and Famagusta.

4.

Angkor And Famagusta: Initial Photographic Topologies

4.1. Introduction

The broad conceptual and applied convergences of heritage and photography mapped out in the previous chapter document the longitudinal nature of the relationship under consideration in this thesis. Questioning the reciprocal dynamics of these fields as they relate to Angkor and Famagusta demands a similarly historical approach, with photography having influenced the perception and interpretation of these sites since the mid-to-late nineteenth century. Proceeding chronologically - and attending to precise moments of constructive and affective significance in the photographic life of each locality - the work of John Thomson (1837-1921) is prioritised in this chapter. Thomson undertook the first ever photographic documentation of Angkor in 1866, and, in 1878, was the first British photographer to document the newly acquired colony of Cyprus. Tackling these initial photographic 'topologies' from the perspective of act, object and medium, here I am concerned with the content and materiality of the images Thomson produced, but also with tracing the photographer's physical engagement with each site, not to mention the varying contexts in which his images were primarily deployed, from exhibitions and lantern slide presentations to specialist periodicals. Based on archival research and a critical analysis of Thomson's original glass plate negatives, this approach allows me to examine the heterogeneous affects and constructs that - even at this early stage - coalesced around specific images and photographic forms. The fundamental issue at stake here concerns the extent to which Thomson's photography might be said to have 'shaped' an awareness of Angkor and Famagusta as heritage, and - from the opposite direction - how far conceptualisations of the past prevalent during this period (the 1860s - 1870s) 'shaped' Thomson's photography. What might it mean to frame the sites in this way, visually and discursively? How did photography alter or augment this process when compared to other modes of representation? What were the initial implications - material,

conceptual, ethical - of this topological transformation? The following research addresses these questions as a first step in unravelling the image-worlds that have enveloped both case study locations since Thomson's inaugural documentation.

In recent years many scholars have located the appearance of what might be termed a particular 'Western' heritage consciousness to precisely the era in which Thomson was active in Cambodia and Cyprus (see Byrne 2004; Butler 2006; Smith 2006; Harrison 2013). The edited volume *Towards World Heritage* for example for example takes the 1870s as its point of departure, a moment when 'societal and economic conditions and industrial development were beginning to prompt more focused, more organised, and broad-based efforts to preserve 'cultural' and 'natural' resources for representational leisure in developed countries' (Hall 2011: 2). Others - most notably Harvey (2001) - have argued for a longer historical trajectory, and while I would largely agree with this wider characterisation of the field, it is clear that a particular modernist strand of heritage did emerge in the period under consideration here. This was characterised both by a positivist attitude towards the material remnants of the past in the present - a celebration in other words of the innate qualities historic objects or sites were believed to hold - and a preoccupation with landscape, nature and the 'cult of ruins' that owed much to the Romantic Movement of the preceding century (Butler 2006: 467). Indeed, as Thomas has argued, modern historical consciousness is often held to have come into being in the Romantic period, with a 'quantitatively and qualitatively different sense of history' beginning to inform 'diverse cultural activities' at this time (2008: 48). The ruin and the monument were central to this shift, with 'antiquities' increasingly reconceptualised - through documentation and inventorying - to 'facilitate a commitment to memory' (Choay 1992: 41). Crucially, this reconfiguration of the material past was intensely visual. As Montfaucon stated as early as 1719: 'by this term antiquity, I understand only that which can be seen by the eyes, and which can be represented in images' (in Choay 1992: 51). Photography would thus extend rather than invent this historicising appreciation of space and place (Sontag 1977: 79), providing a vehicle for the dissemination and intensification of nascent concepts and practices we would now label 'heritage'.

With this overarching context in mind, my turn to the work of Thomson looks to open up a particular moment in the mutual constitution of heritage and photography to sustained critical enquiry. Focusing on precise material-discursive junctures in the photography complex (the moment of photographic production, the materialities of the image-artefact, the spaces of visual dissemination), the following

discussion thus provides a concrete exemplar of the ‘shaping’ of heritage by photography, and vice-versa.

This study centres on two distinct though interrelated sets of images: the first a series of around forty photographs taken by Thomson at Angkor in 1866, the second a smaller series of eight photographs taken at Famagusta in 1878. (This latter group forms part of a larger series documenting the whole of Cyprus from the same period). While print and digital reproductions of these pictures now circulate widely, the original glass plate negatives are held at The Wellcome Collection in London, where Thomson himself sought to deposit them in 1921 (Figure 4.1). Working forwards and backwards from these fragile photographic artefacts, I am interested here in how and why Thomson came to photograph these locations, what characteristics he emphasised and what he pushed to the margins (or out of frame altogether) at each site, how the images were originally publicised and contextualised through various narrative accompaniments, what response they triggered from diverse publics, and, finally, to what extent the sites themselves were altered through these complex processes. These then are the ‘photographic topologies’ of my chapter title: feedback loops of representation, discursive constructions and sensual and material affects centred on a precise assemblage of discrete yet distributed pictures. Augmenting the general analysis put forward so far, issues of memory, universality, cliché, authenticity, series and trace surface with varying emphasis across these topologies, which are thus seen to draw out the complex ‘heritages’ that may be shaped through photography.



Fig 4.1. Chest used by John Thomson to deliver glass plate negatives to Wellcome Collection in 1921. © Wellcome Library

It is worth noting at this stage that Thomson's career took in a huge variety of subjects, and his status as one of the leading photographers of the Victorian period is already well established (Sontag 1977; Ryan 1997: 61-72; Marien 2010: 122-124). Best known in his lifetime for a major series of illustrated publications on China (1873-4), Thomson is now routinely cited as one of the earliest social documentary photographers, primarily for his work with the journalist Adolphe Smith, *Street Life in London* (1878). Either side of these well known projects we find Thomson's documentation of Angkor and Famagusta, with the two sets of images I am concerned with in this chapter 'bookending' his experiences as a travel photographer (Cambodia being his first major excursion, and Cyprus his last). These years of travel provided visual content for numerous later publications, leading Morris to suggest that Thomson - an archetype of the 'peripatetic photographer' - inaugurated 'many of the conventions by which Asia would be represented to and for Europeans' (2009: 1). Indeed, his influence on later generations of colonial explorers was cemented through appointment as the first official Instructor in Photography at the Royal Geographical Society in 1886, a position he held for many years (JSK 1921). In the second half of the twentieth century Thomson's work was 'rediscovered' by various scholars and curators (Arts Council 1951, 1972, 1975; Gernsheim 1955; White 1985; Samuel 1994; Ovenden 1997), and modern reprints of his publications have since appeared with some regularity (e.g. Thomson and Smith 1973; Warner 1977; Gibson-Cowan 1985). While my focus here is on the initial production, deployment and impact of Thomson's images of Angkor and Famagusta, I am indebted to this more recent engagement with his oeuvre, which - as I explore in the next chapter - offers an important example of the postcolonial (re)contextualisation of historic photographs as heritage.

In reproduced form the photographs that form the nucleus of this enquiry are located across multiple sites, a rhizomatic dispersal that began almost as soon as Thomson was able to copy and disseminate his images. Before confronting the earliest examples of this distribution, I would like however to consider the photographs themselves: their content, their aesthetics and - as glass plate negatives in particular - their very 'objectness'. This in turn leads us to ask under what conditions such images were produced; a return then to the 'root' of photographic creation. As Edwards has suggested, photographs should become 'interlocutors' in such research (2012b: 229), understood not simply as static images, but as 'tactile, sensory things that exist in time and space and are constituted by and through social relations' (ibid: 228). This model provides the structure for the following discussion, which thus emanates from the

archive and out towards those initial sites of production, reproduction, consumption and interpretation in which Thomson's photographs were enmeshed, giving rise to varied degrees of heritage shaping.

4.2. Constructing Image-Objects

The online database of The Wellcome Library (part of The Wellcome Collection in London) lists almost 1400 items related to John Thomson. This includes original glass plate negatives, vintage and modern prints, later reissues of his publications, and the chests that Thomson used to store and carry his negatives (Figure 4.1). Among this diverse assemblage, fifty-eight negatives document Thomson's time in Cambodia, with the great majority of these recording the temples of Angkor. In contrast, of fifty-one negatives covering Thomson's Cyprus excursion, only seven depict Famagusta. Strikingly, however, just sixteen of the Angkorean photographs would be included in *The Antiquities of Cambodia* (1867), while all of those depicting Famagusta were printed in the more extensive (and double volume) *Through Cyprus with the Camera* (1879). By focusing my preliminary investigations on the image-objects produced by Thomson at both case study sites (rather than these subsequent publications) I emphasise as critical points of enquiry both the initial moment of photographic production and the distinct potentialities and limitations of this new representational form, drawn out here by addressing the content, aesthetics and materiality of Thomson's original glass plate negatives.

It is difficult to say precisely which of Thomson's images constitutes the very *first* photograph of Angkor. A likely candidate however given the distant view it offers is this stereographic image of Angkor Wat (Figure 4.2), taken from one of the porticos any visitor to the complex must cross before reaching the temple proper. Unlike ordinary single lens cameras, the stereographic device produces two simultaneous images, photographed as if one were seen with the left eye and the other with the right (Marien 2010: 80). When viewed through a stereoscope these slightly different images merge to give an illusion of receding space. At the start of the 1860s (when Thomson first left Britain for the Far East) the stereograph was at the height of its popularity: by the time he visited Cyprus the technology was in decline. It should therefore come as little surprise that we find several stereographic images of Angkor in the Wellcome collection, but none of Famagusta. A second stereograph for example records the portico itself, with the famous towers of Angkor Wat barely visible through the small opening at the centre of each image (Figure 4.3), while a third shows Thomson's

travelling party: a rare glimpse of the porters who accompanied the photographer on this expedition (Figure 4.4)

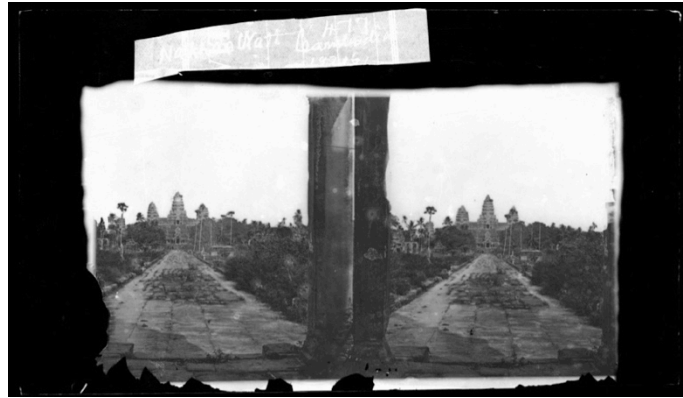


Fig 4.2. John Thomson, 1866. *Nakhon Watt, West Entrance*. Digital positive scan from glass plate negative. © Wellcome Library



Fig 4.3. John Thomson, 1866. *Nakhon Thom, Angkor Wat*. Digital positive scan from glass plate negative. © Wellcome Library

Whether or not these pictures do represent the very first photographic depictions of Angkor, they underline the advent of a new image-making technology at the site, their stereographic status emphasising a rupture with previous graphic forms. It may even be argued that the complex structures and densely layered landscapes of the site made Angkor particularly well suited to representation through this medium, with stereographic images deriving their most ‘intense experience’ from ‘an object filled space [and] material plenitude’ (Crary 1992: 125). We should also remember that for Thomson and many of his contemporaries this technology marked a new way of

apprehending the world in its entirety. As the painter Claudet enthusiastically declared, the stereograph

introduced to us scenes known only from the imperfect relations of travellers, it leads us before the ruins of antique architecture, illustrating the historical records of former and lost civilisations; the genius, taste and power of past ages, with which we have become as familiarised as if we had visited them. By our fireside we have the advantage of examining them, without being exposed to the fatigue, privation, and risks of the daring and enterprising artists who, for our gratification and instruction, have traversed lands and seas, crossed rivers and valleys, ascended rocks and mountains with their heavy and cumbrous photographic baggage (in Gernsheim 1955: 191).



Fig 4.4. John Thomson, 1866. *Howdahs (elephant transport) used by Thomson and Kennedy in Cambodia.* Digital positive scan from glass plate negative. © Wellcome Library

While we do know that Thomson and his retinue of Chinese porters, ox-carts and ponies first glimpsed Angkor Wat on 26th February 1866 (Kennedy 1867: 307), his exact route into and around the temple is unspecified, and so the order in which these initial photographs were produced remains unclear. A logical path however would see Thomson's party move closer to the central structure of Angkor Wat along the main causeway visible in Figure 4.2, eventually reaching a point where the below photograph could be taken (Figure 4.5). Here the photographer dispenses with his stereographic equipment to document in full the western facade of the main temple building, its iconic towers reaching high above a series of elaborately tiered roofs. With the camera placed low to the ground the cracked surface of the causeway is apparent, but while the structure displays some signs of ruination the site is clearly not 'undiscovered'. Indeed, Thomson's travelling companion H. G. Kennedy recorded a bustling scene at precisely this location:

About thirty or forty priests have fixed their habitations under the shelter of the ruins, and find a never-failing employment in conducting the obsequies of those whose bodies are brought to this highly-venerated sanctuary for cremation; and when to the music and feasting, which forms part of such ceremonies, we add the constant influx of visitors who come to make offerings at the shrine, it will be seen that it was not in forest loneliness, but rather amid a busy scene of life, that we were established (1867: 307).



Fig 4.5. John Thomson, 1866. *Nakhon Watt, Cambodia*. Digital positive scan from glass plate negative. © Wellcome Library

While Thomson's images reveal none of this lively atmosphere, the inhabited status of Angkor Wat is further revealed in two images taken from the same position (Figures 4.6 and 4.7). When placed together (as in Thomson's own 1867 publication [Figure 4.8]), these three photographs form a panoramic vista of the western front of the temple, a familiar visual trope encountered in, for example, Henri Mouhot's earlier illustration of the same scene (Figure 4.9). Viewed in isolation however the peripheral images cannot help but draw attention to the small wooden huts clearly visible in each photograph - the priestly 'habitations' mentioned by Kennedy. Returning to the single glass plate negatives here re-centres the marginalised content of published images, a process that articulates the 'exorbitant' potential of photography, with the camera always recording more than anticipated.



Fig 4.6. John Thomson, 1866. *Nakhon Watt, Cambodia*. Digital positive scan from glass plate negative. © Wellcome Library



Fig 4.7. John Thomson, 1866. *Nakhon Watt, Cambodia*. Digital positive scan from glass plate negative. © Wellcome Library

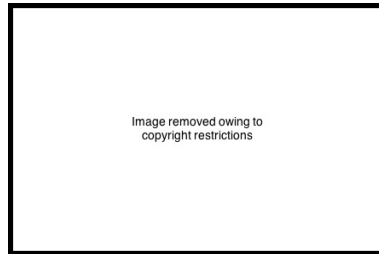


Fig 4.8. John Thomson, 1867. *Facade of Nakhon Wat, from The Antiquities of Cambodia*. © British Library

With respect to the pre-photographic visualisation of Angkor, it is worth noting the specific influence Mouhot had on Thomson, as recorded in his introduction to *The Antiquities of Cambodia*:

During the beginning of the year 1865, while resident in Singapore, I resolved to visit Siam, with the object of making myself better acquainted with the country, its people, and its products, in consequence of the interest excited in me by reading the late M. Mouhot's "Travels in Indo-China, Cambodia, and Laos" [...] The description given in M. Mouhot's work of the magnificence of the ruined cities which the author found in the heart of the Cambodian forests induced me not only to carry out my resolution of visiting Siam, but to cross the country, and penetrate the interior of Cambodia, for the purpose of exploring and photographing its ruins (1867: 7).

The work Thomson refers to here is an English language version of Mouhot's diary, first published in nine instalments of *Tour du Monde* during 1863. The diary recounts a series of journeys across South East Asia made by Mouhot 1858 and 1861. Both the *Tour du Monde* articles and the English book version of 1864 were illustrated with engravings based on the explorer and naturalists own drawings (Pym 1966: xviii).

These include some of the earliest graphic representations of Angkor, and it is telling that Thomson's initial documentation of the temple broadly follows the pattern laid down by such images, with sparsely populated scenes emphasising the architectural grandeur of the site. Clearly, in considering the roots of photographic clichés at Angkor, or the depiction of 'exotic' locations by colonial powers, we must always take account of compositional and aesthetic regimes put in place before the emergence of photography; visualisations that also speak of a 'universal' memory coming into being around such sites.

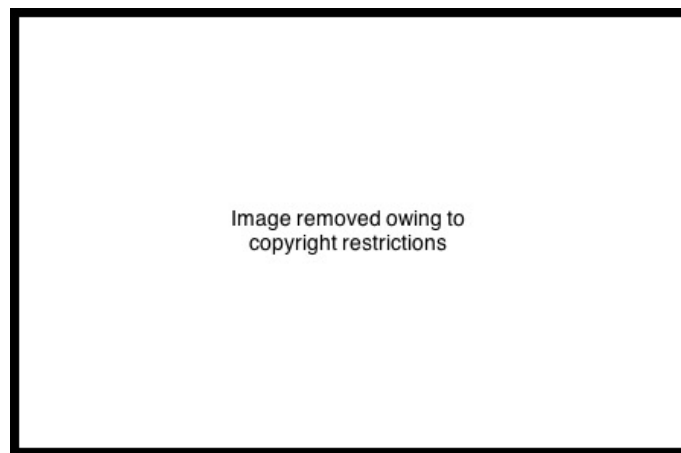


Fig 4.9. M. Guiaud, from a sketch drawn by Henru Mouhot, 1864.
Facade of the Temple of Ongcor-Wat. © British Library

At the same time, however, Thomson's wider documentation of Angkor Wat and Angkor Thom speaks of a different visual register, one greatly influenced by the writings of John Ruskin, whose treatise *The Seven Lamps of Architecture* (1849) played such a central role in the emergence of a preservationist movement during the nineteenth century (Smith 2006: 19). The complexity of Ruskin's ideas cannot be covered in any great depth here, but his prioritisation of accurate observation and detailed documentation should be highlighted (Cosgrove 1979; Schwartz 2000), along with his call to protect (but not restore) historic buildings, which for Ruskin belonged to 'all generations of mankind who are to follow us' (in Harrison 2013: 45). This outlook guided Thomson's apprehension of the 'antiquities' encountered in Camdodia, and while it would not be possible for Thomson to record the full complexity of Angkor 'stone by stone, and sculpture by sculpture', as Ruskin suggested the photography of historic architecture must proceed (in Bohrer 2011: 41),

he remained ‘a devoted, not to say servile student’ of the great art critic (Morris 2009: 2).

In the context of the Cambodian forest Thomson’s Ruskinian approach was manifest most strongly in the depiction of ‘types’: key examples of the multitudinous architectural and ornamental features found across the site. Images of bas-reliefs and other carvings make up almost half of the negatives held by the Wellcome Library, a ratio reflected in the publication of 1867. Focusing on specific battle scenes (Figure 4.10) or representative *apsara* (Figure 4.11) - celestial nymphs from Vedic mythology found throughout Angkor Wat (Freeman 2003: 46) - Thomson here foreshadows the work of the EFEO and other heritage initiatives in seek to methodically document and interpret the iconography of Angkor (Falser 2013). Such practices arguably prioritise a certain variety of knowledge creation, translating these built, lived-in spaces into mute, flattened galleries for decipherment outside the immediate environment of the temples. Bite-size chunks of visual information thus replace the bodily experience of walking and engaging with the sculptures and reliefs, their stories unfolding with each step. Of course, this criticism could be made of photography as a whole, but there is an important point to be made I think in recognising the particular desire for such images to contain only what is relevant to the ancient story being translated, rather than the present circumstances in which that narrative might be encountered. Thomson’s framing of specific sculptural forms might therefore be said to reflect his photography of Angkor as a whole, marginalising the *experience* of the space to highlight the things ‘discovered’.



Fig 4.10. John Thomson, 1866. *Bas Relief, Nakhon Watt.*
Digital positive scan from original glass plate negative.
© Wellcome Library



Fig 4.11. John Thomson, 1866. *Interior Ornaments of the Temple*. Digital positive scan from glass plate negative.
© Wellcome Library

This would have further implications around the trivialisation of the human in Thomson's photography. As Ryan suggests, an 'emptying' of scenes was commonplace in the representational practices of colonialism, with indigenous peoples often isolated from their habitats during the photographic documentation of a locale (1997: 41). In the few cases where individuals are featured in Thomson's images from Angkor (and later Famagusta) they act as a scale against which the main focus of the picture - architectural ruins - might be measured, or as an Orientalising adjunct to the scene (Said 2003 [1978]). The stilted human presence in much of Thomson's work thus speaks of a desire to produce images useful to 'scientific' observation while also referencing a well-established pictorial aesthetic that saw 'degenerate' populations purposefully contrasted with the superlative ruins of antiquity. A different texture of measuring emerges through such representations - a moral evaluation enacted through the supposedly rational and objective regimes of photography. In one such photograph from Angkor we are shown 'Part of a Reservoir', with a single topless figure providing an unsettling focus to the scene (Figure 4.12). If compositionally marginal to the image itself this anonymous individual is central to imperial narratives of past grandeur and present vice, a conceptualisation that would allow certain

strategies of heritage control to take precedence over the coming decades of French rule. The marginalisation of human figures and the spatial neutralisation of photographic scenes may therefore be said to have demarcated an empty canvas onto which the past could be prioritised and a nascent heritage value mapped.



Fig 4.12. John Thomson, 1866. *Part of a Reservoir, Nakhon Watt.* Digital positive scan from glass plate negative.
© Wellcome Library

While the lived complexity of Angkor is often overlooked in Thomson's photography, we are able to reconstitute certain aspects of his own photographic engagement with the site - and later Famagusta - through an appreciation of the technological apparatus he used. For the most part this meant the wet-collodion process, first introduced by Frederick Scott Archer in 1851. Much faster than the daguerreotype or calotype and free from patent restrictions, Archer's process had emerged as the predominant form of photographic production by the time Thomson travelled to Cambodia in 1866 (Gernsheim 1955: 151). This was despite the complicated procedure necessary to obtain results. In highly simplified terms, the wet-collodion process at this time involved covering glass plates with a sticky mixture of

ether, guncotton and alcohol to which light sensitive silver iodide and iodide of iron was then added. Plates were then sensitised with a coating of distilled water and silver nitrate before being placed - still damp - inside the camera and exposed for between 5 and 30 seconds. Immediately afterwards, the plate would be developed in a solution of either ammonio-sulphate of iron or pyrogallol. This final stage required a dark room that, for photographers working in the field, meant a portable tent (see Gray 1997; Marien 2010: 520-1). As Thomson commented later in his career:

The wet-collodion process, appropriately named, could not shed its ponderosity, and was hedged round with difficulties, as I had no reason to know and appreciate, and ill adapted for long journeys. It was the most chemically and mechanically exacting companion to be carried on any expedition, and its shortcomings were accentuated when my wanderings happened to be through forest and tropical jungle. One special virtue must be noted, and that is that the plate had to be exposed, developed and finished on the spot, so that one was enabled to judge of success or failure before striking camp (1907: 16).

The expertise, arcane knowledge and bodily actions required to produce images using the wet-collodion process reminds us of the multitudinous 'acts' that photography may encompass. Where the construction and affectivity of heritage are concerned this realisation undermines the proposition that photographic visuality denies other genres of sensory engagement. The wet-collodion process used by Thomson (and countless other photographers operating at this time) was inescapably bound up with meteorological conditions, aural communication, malodorous scents, infinitesimal gestures and sweeping bodily movements, all of which played an important role in the construction of photographic pictures. Indeed, this entanglement of body and image was highlighted by Thomson in one of his earliest pieces of writing, an article in *The British Journal of Photography* on 'Practical Photography in Tropical Regions': 'I have felt, after a day's work in a tent, so thoroughly saturated with chemicals that I might almost be used for coating a plate or printing upon' (1866: 404).

As well as shaping Thomson's corporeal engagement with Angkor, the technological limitations of the wet-collodion process helped determine what could and could not be photographed, a decisive factor in the emergence and pervasiveness of certain photographic topologies. Temple interiors and bodies in movement for example were impossible to document with the available apparatus, and so any photographic 'uncovering' of the site could only be taken so far. This speaks of a complex relationship between technological capacity, affective force and constructive

potential that should be kept in mind as we consider subsequent developments in the photographic life of both case study locations.

Of course - and as we saw in the last chapter - for many of Thomson's contemporaries' photography did offer a radical and revelatory new mode of representation. Crucial to the appeal of the wet-collodion process in particular was its capacity to record images of extremely high definition (Ovenden 1997). In this sense the process both answered and contributed towards a belief in the exactness and objectivity of photography: in other words, its 'authenticity'. As Pinney notes, the 'relationship of physical contiguity between image and referent [...] played a central role in truth claims of the colonial archive: photography was seen to surpass and eradicate the subjectivity and unreliability of earlier technologies of representation' (2003: 6). The stereographic and single image glass plate negatives captured by Thomson were therefore seen as unmediated fragments of an objectified reality (Freund 1980: 70). Indeed, the photographer himself would perfectly encapsulate these thoughts in a paper on 'Photography and Exploration' written during his tenure as Instructor in Photography at the RGS:

Where truth and all that is abiding are concerned, photography is absolutely trustworthy, and the work now being done is a forecast of a future of great usefulness in every branch of science.

What would one not give to have photographs of the Pharaohs or the Caesars, of the travellers, and their observation, who supplied Ptolemy with his early record of the world, of Marco Polo, and the places and people he visited on his arduous journey?

We are now making history, and the sun picture supplies the means of passing down a record of what we are, and what we have achieved in this nineteenth century of our progress (Thomson 1891: 673).

It is telling, I think, that Thomson here associates a positivist conception of photography with the construction of a visual memory-bank that might be 'passed down' to future generations. While this transmission would ultimately take many forms, there is a clear sense that the authenticity of the photographic object afforded a direct connection to the past through its implicit tracing of the present. The production of glass plate negatives using the wet-collodion process was therefore carried out with a view to their longevity, a position underlined by the material obduracy of such images.

Thomson's glass plate negatives vividly illustrate the notion that photographs 'have inextricably linked meanings as images and meanings as objects; an indissoluble yet ambiguous melding of image and form, both of which are direct products of

intention' (Edwards and Hart 2004: 2). The substance and materiality of these image-objects - perhaps most emphatically their very *weight* - fundamentally alters how we perceive their role in meaning-making and their affective force. Crop marks, fingerprints, smudges, chemical stains and hand written captions reveal complex processes of manufacture and reproduction - traces often expunged from subsequent prints. These can point to specific moments at which a particular outlook on Angkor has been prioritised: the large cross on Figure 4.3 for example indicating an image not to be re-used, or the naming of the site as Nakhon Watt on the original wrapping of many negatives (Figure 4.13) - a transliteration that references the nomenclature of pre-colonial Angkor (in Thomson's publication of 1867 the name has already been adjusted slightly to Nakhon Wat). Also noticeable is Thomson's signature at the corner of each image, an inscription that forever marks these initial photographic topologies at the moment of their emergence (Figure 4.14). While this resonates with the permanence Thomson imagined for his photographs, their paradoxical fragility as image-objects is apparent in the cracked and broken surfaces of many of the negatives now held at The Wellcome Collection (Figure 4.15). Whether or not these fractures occurred in the field or at some later point, they are testament to the very 'thingness' of each image: tangible 'roots' of the photography complex.



Fig 4.13. John Thomson, 1866. *Sculptures on an inner wall, Nakhon Watt*. Digital scan of glass plate negative with original envelope. © Wellcome Library



Fig 4.14. John Thomson, 1866. *Inner gallery, Nakhon Watt (Detail)*. Digital scan of glass plate negative. © Wellcome Library



Fig 4.15. John Thomson, 1866. *Bas relief, Nakhon Watt*. Digital scan of glass plate negative. © Wellcome Library

For viewers today the physicality of Thomson's original photographic traces draws attention to the performative (and therefore inherently creative) moment of image production, but for the photographer himself this durability underpinned a wider belief in the mimetic qualities of the medium. As Thomson argued,

It is quite impossible to illustrate by pencil, with any degree of accuracy, or to describe in a perfectly realistic manner, scenes and incidents by the way so as to render them of permanent value. Lack of time and opportunity constrains

the gifted traveller, too often, to trust to memory for detail in his sketches, and by the free play of fancy he fills in and embellishes his handiwork until it becomes a picture of his own creation. An instantaneous photograph would certainly rob his effort of romance, but the merit would remain of his carrying away a perfect mimicry of the scene presented, and an enduring evidence of work faithfully performed. He would for ever banish doubt and disarm the captious critic. If his object be to write a romance of travel, a fertile imagination may supply the material without his stirring from his study chair (1891: 670).

The notion of photography put forward here is firmly rooted in a philosophy of positivism, one that privileged the direct observation of phenomena to determine ‘empirical reality’ (Byrne 2008: 160). In this estimation observing - and by extension photographing - cultural properties sought to ‘prove’ their intrinsic significance, a reading that denies any construction of meaning or value on the part of the observer. The photographic topology from this perspective would be neither constructive nor affective but simply *reflective*: a ‘perfect mimicry’ to use Thomson’s phrase. As photographs, the images of Angkor and Famagusta under consideration here were thus understood to document and verify the current status of the sites depicted rather than play any active role in their conceptual - or indeed material - (re)formation. At the same time, however, Thomson was fully alert to the power of composition and aesthetics in photography, quoting at length Ruskin’s belief that ‘great pictures’ bring ‘several things together so as to make one thing out of them; the nature and goodness of which they all have a share in producing’ (in White 1985: 40). In this sense, as Morris argues, Thomson was ‘typical of his moment, expressing the simultaneously positivist enthusiasm for nature’s trace and the democratic artist’s hope that the camera could also liberate a new form of beauty for the cultivated and also the unschooled eye’ (2009: 3). While certain images from Angkor clearly resonate with this latter desire (most obviously in the panoramic vistas and stereographic pictures that attempt a more expansive view of the site), Thomson’s later representation of Famagusta speaks of a growing acceptance that photography might do more than just record a locality.

As already mentioned, Thomson’s documentation of Famagusta was far more limited than his depiction of Angkor, at least in terms of the number of photographs taken. And while the few pictures that do capture the town exhibit a similar focus on grand architectural ruins, the ‘greater picturesqueness’ found across this series has led some to claim that Thomson was ‘turning away from the use of photography as a documentary medium on this occasion’ (Gibson Cowan 1985: x). From an aesthetic or compositional perspective this proposition is hard to dispute. If Thomson’s images

of Angkor aspired towards a Ruskinian ‘scientific’ examination of the scenes encountered, his documentation of Famagusta gestures more clearly towards romanticised travel photography. Distant views of ruinous churches predominate (Figures 4.16 and 4.17), with no sculptures, mosaics or other architectural details prioritised in any image. But while such photographs may emphasise the productive potential of the carefully arranged picture, I do not believe we should see this as evidence of Thomson losing faith in the camera as a ‘truthful’ apparatus of representation. Indeed, the indexical quality of the photograph would again be highlighted by Thomson as essential to his undertaking this journey in the introduction to *Through Cyprus with the Camera*:

The objects I had in view when - in spite of dangers, some real, some imaginary - I determined to visit Cyprus were two-fold. The first was to obtain a series of photographs of the island and its people; and the second to so supplement these pictures by personal observation, as to present to the public a faithful reproduction of what I saw and heard during my travels. (Thomson 1879: v)

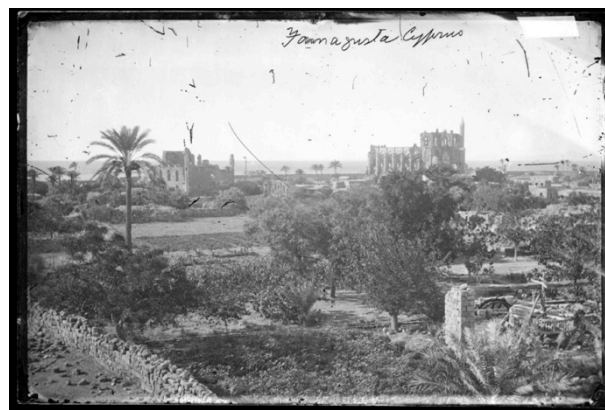


Fig 4.16. John Thomson, 1878. *Famagusta, Cyprus*. Digital positive scan from glass plate negative. © Wellcome Library

What can a return to the glass plate negatives held at The Wellcome Collection tell us about this duality, where Thomson’s images are at once ‘archival’ and ‘performative’, to borrow from Derrida (2010: 6)? We have already seen how the imagined permanence and distinct physicality of such image-objects was integral to their memorial potential. From this perspective photographs were understood to be ‘records of simple truth and precision’ that might afford ‘immediate and direct visual access to the past [and] to sights/sites physically removed in time’ (Schwartz 2000:

17). As in Cambodia, this conceptualisation underpinned Thomson's use of the collodion process at Famagusta, with the detailed visual-material form of the glass plate negative seen to offer an effective method for storing and communicating any scenes captured by the photographer. By the time Thomson toured Cyprus he had perfected this process, and there are noticeably fewer smudges, finger marks and other tell-tale 'mistakes' on the plates from this later excursion. This improvement in technological expertise was allied with a greater certainty in what photographic 'messages' (Sekula 1982) should be conveyed and recorded in relation to Famagusta. Whilst the extent to which Thomson was aware of any specific previous graphic depictions of the site remains unclear, a general knowledge of the history and architecture of the region can be assumed, especially when compared to the 'mysterious' ruins of Angkor. This resulted in a more fixed representation that sought to provide photographic evidence for certain well-established imperial narratives, most obviously around the 'tragedy' of Ottoman rule. The buildings, landscapes and ruins of Famagusta were thus already 'framed' by colonial discourse before Thomson provided the first British photographic record of the site, with any images in effect augmenting complex topologies that shaped how the location might be perceived, classified and - eventually - ruled.



Fig 4.17. John Thomson, 1878. *Famagusta, Cyprus*. Digital positive scan from glass plate negative. © Wellcome Library

The performative dimensions of this process are drawn out in the complex layers discernible on and around several of the image-objects in the Wellcome archive. Crop marks, printing instructions and written labels are clearly visible on numerous

negatives related to Famagusta. In one striking case the central mosque of the town (a converted cathedral) is incorrectly labelled as 'St. Nicholas, Bellapais' - a description that simultaneously reinforces and undermines the compositional priority given to historic architecture in the picture itself (Figure 4.18). Moreover, captioning the site with reference to its past status as a Church rather than its present life as a Mosque historicises the photographic subject. An image of the harbour meanwhile is overlain with various scribbled lines and short captions (Figures 4.19 and 4.20), signs of the immediate and later editing that shaped how prints would be seen by the public. Here it is worth remembering the particular 'virtue' Thomson identified in the collodion process, namely that the need to expose, develop and finish an image 'on the spot' meant that the success or failure of a photograph could be judged immediately. This did not however prohibit the adjustment of images during their later dissemination, a topic I turn to in detail below. Perhaps most noticeable though in terms of the material changes undergone by these negatives are the accidental scratches that mark their surfaces. Indeed, when viewing such glass plates it is often the case that - until the negative is held up to the light - the image itself is barely perceptible, and instead it is these feint marks that dominate our perception - abrasions that speak of an agitated movement through the world.



Fig 4.18. John Thomson, 1878. *Lala Mustafa Pasha Mosque (formerly St. Nicholas Cathedral), Famagusta*. Digital scan of glass plate negative. © Wellcome Library. n.b. Negative has been incorrectly labelled as 'St. Nicholas, Bellapais'

The particular concern shown by Thomson over the way in which certain aspects of Famagusta were highlighted in these early photographs may also be related

to the closer relationship Britain had with Cyprus than with Cambodia. Cyprus was made a *de facto* colony of Britain in July 1878, ending almost three centuries of Ottoman rule. The island was ‘assigned’ to the British in return for future support against any Russian expansion towards the Mediterranean (see Maier 1968). This strategic imperative coincided however with a romantic philhellenism that lent a sense of entitlement to early imperial policy and subsequent colonial administration. With its wealth of Christian architecture and historical associations (e.g. the Crusades, Shakespeare) Famagusta provided an important site for the projection of such concerns. Additionally, Thomson looked forward to a time when his images would be valued as part of the imperial archive: records of a territory that had since ‘risen from its ruin’ under British rule (1879: vi). While the earlier photographic work of French scholars such as Louis de Clercq and Felix Bonfils primarily focused on Famagusta as an historic site (Bonato 2007) Thomson’s documentation of the town would highlight the present circumstances of the locality to better judge its subsequent development. Again, the permanence and verisimilitude of the photographic trace made it well suited to such a task. This goes some way to explaining the tension implicit in Thomson’s images of Famagusta. Unable to avoid the romantic connotations of the site, his ‘objective’ photographic record drifts into a hazy picturesqueness where - unlike at Angkor - the present moment of image production *is* brought to the fore. This has important ramifications as we begin to consider the role of such images in the constructive and affective shaping of heritage.



Fig 4.19. John Thomson, 1878. *Famagusta Harbour, Cyprus*. Digital scan of glass plate negative. © Wellcome Library



Fig 4.20. John Thomson, 1878. *Famagusta Harbour, Cyprus*. Digital positive scan from glass plate negative. © Wellcome Library

Tracing the work of Thomson at Angkor and Famagusta back to his original glass plate negatives has exposed a number of critical points in relation to the shaping

of these sites *as heritage*. The marginalisation of human figures and the picturesque framing of certain scenes can for example tell us much about the prevalence and implications of certain attitudes towards the built fabric and lived experience of both sites. While it would be misleading to suggest such depictions mark a radical departure from non-photographic modes of representation in purely aesthetic terms, the camera-based image was understood to provide something drastically new, namely irrefutable evidence of the ‘realities’ encountered by the photographer. This after-all was the underlying motivation for Thomson visiting both Cambodia and Cyprus: to create authentic and trustworthy images to be kept and communicated as part of a vast visual memory-bank of the nineteenth century. The imagined permanence and objectivity of these images thus reflected and helped to reinforce a belief in the universalising potential of photography, a discourse that continues to resonate across much heritage practice (see Chapter 5). Such grand ambitions should not however blind us to the more precise and grounded affects of these initial photographic topologies. Perhaps most importantly, the very materiality of the image-objects discussed here leads us back to their moment of production: a fully embodied ‘bloom space’ (Gregg and Seigworth 2010: 9) in which the camera and the wet-collodion process inaugurated a new means of engaging with the architecture, landscapes and people of Angkor and Famagusta. By focusing critical attention on photography as act, object and medium we are able to discern a range of constructive and affective ‘moments’ that go beyond the surface or content of the image. To explore these issues further I would now like to turn to the initial spread of Thomson’s pictures through the world, enacted via newspaper articles, exhibitions, lectures and, of course, his own publications.

4.3. Distributed Pictures

If a focus on the highly specific province of the photographic ‘original’ alerts us to the emergence of new affective possibilities in the embodied experience of a locality, questions still remain over the impact these inherently reproducible images might have beyond the immediate confines of the sites of production and archiving. As Schwartz and others have argued, the photograph constituted first and foremost a ‘new form of communication’ in the nineteenth century, a ‘powerful new technology of information transfer which offered a more realistic, more objective, and more truthful path to knowledge through unmediated representation’ (2000: 33). To understand the constructive and affective potential of photography we must therefore confront the distribution of pictures as much as their production, a process that

supplied the visual contours for a distanced appreciation of the sites under consideration here. It is my contention that the movement and ‘placing’ (Edwards 2012b) of Thomson’s photographs lent his images a dynamism that speaks to a diversity of *heritages*, even at this early stage in the photographic life of both Angkor and Famagusta. This in turn relates back to an underlying tension between the photograph as trace and the rhizomatic ‘re-mapping’ of images. While I examine more recent and perhaps more radical examples of this circulation in the next chapter, here I am interested in the topological shifts and augmentations that occurred in the initial - i.e. contemporaneous - publication, dissemination and recontextualisation of Thomson’s work. This brings into the purview of analysis issues of narrative anchoring, the seriality of the book or the exhibition, and the differential aesthetics and materialities of photographic images across diverse media. Tellingly, all of these dynamics take on great significance even in the most direct context of distribution for Thomson’s images, namely his own publications.

In a letter to the Royal Geographical Society written in December 1878, Thomson sought to promote the results of his most recent excursion: a book on Cyprus to be published in two volumes containing ‘60 permanent photographs’. As a postscript to this short note he included the gentle reminder: ‘Photo illustrated travels, as you know, I have made a specialty’ (Thomson Correspondence, RGS).

Although self-serving in this context, the reputation Thomson claimed for himself in such promotional correspondence is largely intact today, with Falconer and Hide for example suggesting that Thomson exhibited an ‘unusually sophisticated awareness of the photographically illustrated book as more than merely a vehicle to carry pictures’ (2009: 68). For the two publications I am particularly interested in here this meant first and foremost a carefully defined seriality, one that saw image and text combined to actively (re)construct the subjects depicted. While there are clear similarities between *The Antiquities of Cambodia* and *Through Cyprus with the Camera* in this respect, there are also significant divergences. These points of intersection and discord may tell us much about the different attitudes Thomson sought to reflect and establish towards Angkor and Famagusta.

Perhaps the first point to note is the different scope and focus of these two publications. *The Antiquities of Cambodia*, Thomson’s first major book, contains just sixteen albumen prints alongside a narrative of the photographer’s journey, a general description of the sites encountered (with a focus on the bas-reliefs), and extended captions for each image. This limited scope is made more acute when we consider that of those sixteen prints, six were given over to the creation of two double-page

panoramas created from three separate images (as shown in Figure 4.8). By contrast, the aforementioned sixty prints included in *Through Cyprus with the Camera* take in a diverse range of sites and subjects, from the view at the summit of Mount Olympus to street scenes in the capital city, Nicosia. While Famagusta is shown in just seven of these sixty photographs, this does make it Thomson's most comprehensively documented location, a sign perhaps of the important place the town held in the British imagination (Emerick 2014). This visual emphasis cannot however overturn the broader discursive framing of Famagusta as one 'feature' of the newly acquired colony - a geographic, cultural and social contextualisation that is almost entirely absent from Thomson's representation of Angkor. Here, a focus on the built historic fabric of the site in effect silences any wider engagement with the people, cultures or landscapes of Cambodia. This results in a highly circumscribed notion of what might constitute the 'heritage' of Angkor, and while Famagusta itself is similarly treated as a ruinous, largely empty site awaiting the enactment of colonial power, a closer relationship is established between this 'historic' town and its present circumstances. The initial assemblage of pictures orchestrated by Thomson in these illustrated books sought to inaugurate what Morris has called a 'world-transforming process' (2009: 5): an assertion of photography's constructive potential that immediately brings into view the 'determinations exerted by the means of representation upon that which is represented' (Burgin 1982: 2). This is made more explicit when we consider the particular narrative anchoring Thomson provided for his images of Angkor and Famagusta.

As Hauser suggests, captions and other 'extra-pictorial information' have a vital role to play in framing a 'place' as a 'site' (2007: 73). This can be achieved through a straightforward title or label - Salzmann's *Road to Bethlehem* for example - or via more complex narratives; extended descriptions that seek to orient the reader/viewer towards a highly specific conceptualisation of the photographic image. In both *The Antiquities of Cambodia* and *Through Cyprus with the Camera*, Thomson takes the latter approach. Detailed notes precede the pictures themselves in a direct attempt to structure any interpretation. These lengthy texts define the subject of each image, but they also take the reader beyond the photographic frame, often describing encounters with indigenous populations not given visual priority, or the physical circumstances under which images were created. For the most part Thomson reiterated the dominant discourses of colonialism in these texts, as seen in this opening sketch of Angkor:

Passing about two miles into the enclosure, we came upon a native settlement, consisting of five or six bamboo huts raised on a paltry clearing of forest. The natives live upon rice, which they plant in small quantities. They have a strong belief that there is an untold amount of treasure concealed somewhere about the city. We saw many places where they had been burrowing in search of it. It is difficult to believe that these are a remnant of the ancient Cambodians - to conceive of a race more simple and primitive in their manners, we would have to go back to an early period, before building was invented. Their modest huts of bamboo and palm leaves, when compared with the magnificent temples and palaces that surround them, present as great a contrast as the habits of the ancient Cambodians must have done to those of these simple foresters who dwell in their huts, trusting to the bounty of nature to supply their wants - while indolence, or superstition, or both, prevent them from stretching forth a hand to protect from the ravages of time those monuments whose existence at no distant period will be marked by heaps of ruins, that, like blots, will only disfigure what might have been a splendid page in the history of the human race (Thomson 1867: 15).

The above description in fact precedes any images in *The Antiquities of Cambodia*, introducing a nascent heritage desire to protect and conserve the ruins of Angkor prior to their photographic rendering. Photography's supposed truth-value would however shadow and confirm this interpretation, with the illustrated book providing a uniquely effective vehicle for the visual and discursive transmission of ideas related to a distant topographic entity. In relation to Thomson's documentation of Famagusta, this process coincided with a more direct affiliation to the power structures of colonialism. As a result, the narrative anchoring of photographic subjects carried with it very real material implications, especially when related to the preservation of architectural features. Thomson's description of Lala Mustafa Pasha Mosque for example draws together an examination of the physical status of the former Cathedral with a savage indictment of the site's current inhabitants (Figure 4.21):

The fine proportions of this noble specimen of Gothic architecture are still preserved, and if the masonry has been sadly mutilated and has now lost much of its ornament, enough yet remains to show what the edifice must have been during the period of the Lusignans and Venetians. The central window with its richly-sculptured divisions is in good preservation, although many of the spaces have been blocked up and coated over with whitewash.

The tower on the left is Turkish, and tells us at once that the splendid old cathedral pile has been transformed into a mosque; a motley range of modern hovels have also grown up under the shadow of the church. On the left, for example, stands one of the most imposing specimens of the present architecture of the place. It is a cafe, propped upon an old Gothic porch and adorned with a flagstaff. Here worshippers at the shrine of the prophet meet and sit for hours, smoking their hookahs, and drinking their coffee in silence; for they have long ago exhausted all the subjects of conversation that so

lonely a spot can supply. One forlorn individual informed me that he had made arrangements for his funeral many years since, and that his chief wish was to mingle with the surrounding dust as speedily as possible. He was a Turk (Thomson 1879: 48).

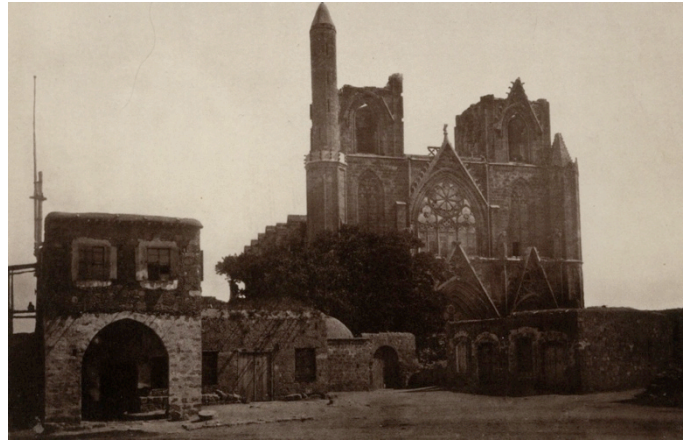


Fig 4.21. John Thomson, 1879. *The Front of St. Katherine's Church, Famagusta.* Digital scan of Woodburytype print.

I highlight these passages here to demonstrate the constructive tenor of Thomson's narrative anchoring: a textual accompaniment to his own images that sought to 'fill in the gaps' of photographic representation. As Sontag maintained, 'all photographs wait to be explored or falsified by their captions' (2003: 9). Where this captioning is expanded to the lengths seen in Thomson's work we are given a clear indication of the importance of the medium to examinations of photography, and - perhaps more significantly - to the complex relationship established between photographic images and their referents in such contexts. Much of this relies on the meaning-making enacted through the physical placing of photographs alongside each other or - as in the case of Thomson's publications - on successive pages with accompanying text. This leads us back to a consideration of seriality as a 'primary photographic form' (Stimson 2006: 30), with a selection of discrete yet interconnected images establishing a new visual field onto which certain values and perceptions might be mapped. Not just the look but the very *idea* of Angkor and Famagusta would therefore be shaped through these initial photographic topologies.

While this evocation of the series and of a certain framed reading should remind us of parallel developments in the sequential arrangement of sites and things as heritage, we must remain aware, I think, of the ease with which such interpretations can be undone. Deleuze and Guattari for example are more inclined to understand the

book as an assemblage made up of 'lines of articulation or segmentarity, strata and territories; but also lines of flight, movements of territorialisation and destratification [...] of acceleration and rupture' (2004 [1980]: 4). In other words, an apparently static (photo)book may be radically reconfigured through alternative readings that locate new trajectories in the assembled material. This conceptualisation has a particular resonance with photographically-illustrated publications, where the potential for intense contemplation of discrete images goes hand-in-hand with what Van Lier has called '*lateral* perception' (2007 [1983]: 43, emphasis in original), a sideways or momentary glance at multiple pictures embodied in the act of 'leafing through'.

The authoritative space of the book may be unravelled and undermined by such movements. This works against the permanence and fixedness Thomson sought for his representations of Angkor and Famagusta - an imagined stability materialised in the transition from albumen prints in *The Antiquities of Cambodia* to Woodburytype prints in *Through Cyprus with the Camera*. At the time Thomson was working the inclusion of photographs in any book added a major expense to the cost of publication, and albumen prints often faded (see Figure 4.22; White 1985: 42). The Woodburytype - while still expensive - was considered to overcome this 'spectre of impermanence' (Szarowski in Ovenden 1997: 177). Such prints, with their 'heightened contrast [...] deep blacks [and] brilliant sharpness' created an overall effect 'consciously more aesthetic, like an artist's portfolio interspersed with extended captions' (Ovenden 1997: 182). Like many of his contemporaries Thomson downplayed the affective resonance of photographs in favour of their evidential value, but here we begin to see how the very materiality of the print might leave space for alternative and perhaps contradictory readings to emerge. The 'shape' Angkor and Famagusta could take on during these encounters would be defined as much by the prior knowledge and understanding of readers or viewers as by the photographic images themselves. This vital point may be drawn out further by considering other less permanent routes through which Thomson's images were distributed.

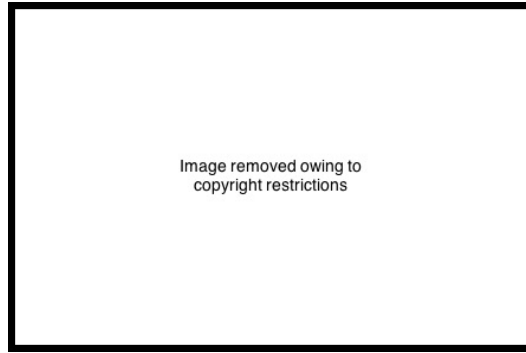


Fig 4.22. John Thomson, 1867. *Tower of Prea Sat Ling Poun*, from *The Antiquities of Cambodia*. Digital scan of albumen print showing faded edges. © The British Library

Before publishing his first illustrated monograph Thomson actively disseminated images of Angkor through exhibitions and lantern slide lectures. In November 1866 he entered several pictures from Cambodia into a large exhibition organised by the Edinburgh Photographic Society at the Museum of Science and Art. The following year the same photographs were exhibited at a meeting of the Architectural Institute of Scotland (Ovenden 1997: 11-12). This transdisciplinary propagation was also reflected in lantern slide lectures to diverse special interest groups. In August 1866 Thomson spoke before the Geography and Ethnology section at The British Association's annual meeting in Nottingham, showing photographs, copies of inscriptions, and ground plans of Angkor to 'an assembled audience of high-profile figures' (ibid: 11). A review of this paper was later published in *The British Journal of Photography*, where - rather than the subject of the images themselves - the focus was on Thomson's technical achievements:

A beautiful series of photographs was exhibited, illustrative of the paper. Apart from the consideration of the difficulties with which Mr. Thomson has to contend, viz. operating in a tropical climate far out of the range of modern civilisation, and having to convey his instruments and chemicals so many hundred miles, sometimes on elephants, sometimes in carts, and at other times by unwilling natives, across rivers, prairies, and jungle swamps, and having to work the wet process at a temperature that made it to the operator the wettest of all processes, and in a country where at any moment he might have to contest the use of the focussing cloth with an ambitious rhinoceros or artistic tiger - apart from all these considerations, the pictures he exhibited are entitled to take a high rank in virtue of their intrinsic merits, their softness and delicacy being such as could not be surpassed even in our own country, operating in the coolest temperature, and with the most perfect appliances of tent, chemicals, and the other comforts to which photographers take so kindly when out for a day's pleasure with the camera (in White 1985: 15).

This method of dissemination would continue with Thomson's later Cypriot photographs, including lectures in 1879 to the Photographic Society of Great Britain and the Royal Geographical Society, again traversing boundaries between 'art' and 'science'. Edwards has suggested that the lantern slide represents 'a much underestimated player in the formation of historical consciousness and imagination' (Edwards 2012b: 237; see also Ryan 1997: 190-5). While I do not have the space here to go into great depth on this aspect of Thomson's work, it is worth noting the fundamental shift in the structuring of visual knowledge brought about through such projections, a medium that engenders an entirely distinct phenomenological engagement from the album or mounted print (Edwards 2001: 16). Less contemplative and more pedagogic, the lantern slide lecture may well have provided Thomson with the ideal forum to present and hone his arguments in favour of a certain perception of Angkor and Famagusta. At the same time, the fleeting encounter between viewer, photograph and referent made possible in the context of the lecture amounted to an alternative affective moment; a unique discursive and corporeal space in which imaginations may be stirred (as seen in the above quote) and the notion of what might constitute the 'heritage' of such subjects fundamentally transformed. This process would be further augmented by the widespread deployment of the same images in other more permanent forms.

Over the course of his career Thomson sent numerous photographs to *The Illustrated London News* (ILN) and *The Graphic*, established in 1842 and 1869 respectively and among the earliest periodicals to include visual material alongside written news stories. Such publications were key to reaching a mass market, with circulation figures in the hundreds of thousands (Ovenden 1997: 176). In contrast to the fairly small editions in which *The Antiquities of Cambodia* and *Through Cyprus with the Camera* were printed and the fleeting context of the magic lantern lecture, this means of distribution therefore brought a much more diverse audience into contact with Thomson's photographic work.

Among the first of Thomson's images to appear in *The Illustrated London News* were two wood-engravings based on photographs from Angkor (Figures 4.23 & 4.24). Made by transferring (either copying or tracing) photographic images onto woodblocks that could then be used to print directly onto the page, the engraving process often involved embellishment or wholesale alterations to the scenes depicted. We see this in both pictures of Angkor included in a February 1868 edition of the ILN. In the first image a general shift in the angle of the view has been enacted by the

engraver, who has also added and removed trees and arranged people more centrally within the scene (although the human figures here still exist primarily to further Orientalise the picture and provide a scale against which buildings might be measured). Tellingly, however, the anonymous engraver has seen fit to retain the small wooden hut within the image frame, a useful if slight reminder to British audiences that the site was inhabited when Thomson captured these first photographs. Conversely, in the translation from photograph to engraving ‘The Western Colonnade of the Temple of Ongou Wat’ has lost its solitary seated figure and gained a tiger (Figures 4.24-5), a move explained in the accompanying text: ‘it is, perhaps, needless to remark that the tiger introduced by our draughtsman into one of these scenes does not appear in the photograph; but tigers are said to frequent the neighbourhood of the ruins’ (ILN 1868: 118).

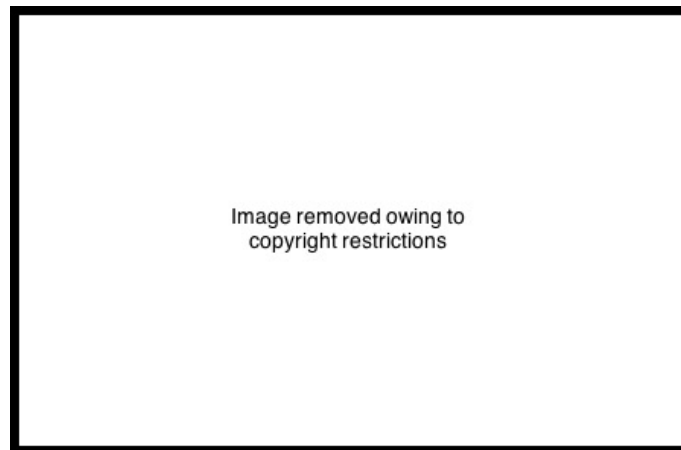


Figure 4.23. *Engraving based on Thomson, 1867.* © Mary Evans Picture Library

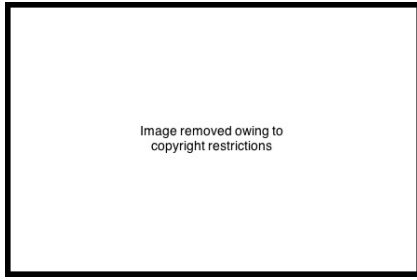


Fig 4.24. Engraving based on Thomson, 1867. *The Western Colonnade of the Temple of Ongou Wat.* © Mary Evans Picture Library



Fig 4.25. John Thomson, 1866. *Interior of Western Gallery, Nahkon Watt.* Digital positive scan from glass plate negative. Original on which Figure 4.24 is based. © The Wellcome Library

There is an obvious romanticism to the pictures in this populist context, a slippage from Thomson's rationalised perception to - perhaps - a more enchanted sensitivity. The concurrent publication of engravings based on Thomson's photographs in more specialised periodicals such as *The Builder* (1867) demonstrates the fluidity of their interpretation and use, although even here the draughtsman would supplement certain images with figures not found in the original image. As Ryan suggests (1997: 70), imperial preoccupations were 'not necessarily primary' in these alternative readings, and I think it is important to consider the diverse heritage genealogies locatable in the immediate diffusion of Thomson's photographic output. One trajectory clearly apparent for example is the onset of the cliché, with the facade of Angkor Wat in particular assuming a privileged position in these early visual representations of the site. While Thomson's photographs cannot be said to have inaugurated this particular view (we have already seen Mouhot's illustration from a similar angle for example), there is clearly a sense that the complexity of Angkor might be distilled to a few select standpoints, an early indication perhaps of the heritage 'brand' that would emerge around the site in the twentieth century.

Alongside these mass-market publications, Thomson's documentation of Angkor also reached a more select audience via inclusion in James Fergusson's monumental study *A History of Architecture in all Countries, from the Earliest Times to the Present Day* (1862-7). Fergusson - one of Britain's leading scholars on Asian antiquities - was still working on his second volume of this encyclopaedic history when he became aware of Thomson's photographs, which would help prove the incredible 'discoveries' reported by Mouhot (Ovenden 1997). A series of woodcut engravings

based on Thomson's images were subsequently included in the volume, with the photographer's contribution to architectural knowledge fully accredited by the author:

It would have been impossible to write anything that would convey a correct idea of these ruins had it not been for the zeal and enterprise of Mr. J. Thomson, who was following his profession as a photographer in the East. At considerable risk and expense he carried his apparatus to the spot, and brought away a plan and some thirty photographs of the great temple, and views of one or two others. These he has placed at my disposal, and it is principally from them, with the information he has afforded me verbally, that the following account is compiled (Fergusson in Ovenden 1997: 13).

While sculptural and architectural elements are highlighted in several of these engravings, others reinforce a more romanticised view of the site, with 'native' figures added to scenes and angles shifted to accentuate the grandeur of the temples depicted (Figures 4.26 and 4.27). Such adjustments may cause us to question the evidential value Fergusson clearly placed on photography, but here we must remember the author himself had access to the original negatives or prints produced by Thomson: image-objects that *were* understood to provide an unmediated record of Angkor. Far from simply providing an avenue of distribution for Thomson's photographs, the images here thus became vital interlocutors in the appraisal and discursive construction of the site.

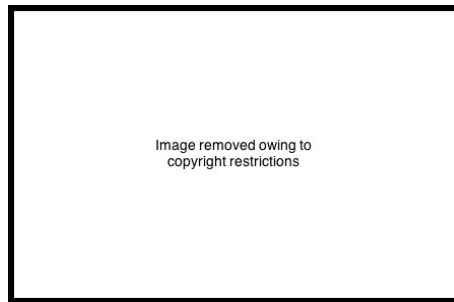


Fig 4.26. Anon, 1867. *View of Exterior of Nakhon Wat.* (From a Photograph by Mr. J. Thomson). Digital scan of woodcut engraving from Fergusson's *A History of Architecture*

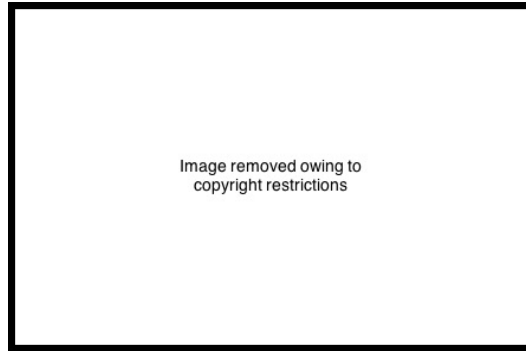


Fig 4.27. Anon, 1867. *General View of Temple of Nakhon Wat (From a Photograph by Mr. J. Thomson)*. Digital scan of woodcut engraving from Fergusson's *A History of Architecture*

A key aspect of this construction centred on the universalising potential of photography. In his preface to a later edition of *A History of Architecture*, Fergusson makes explicit reference to photography's capacity to bring disparate elements of the world together, arguing that, 'for the purpose of such a work as this [...] Photography has probably done more than anything that has been written [...] For detecting similarities, or distinguishing differences between specimens situated at distances from one another, photographs are almost equal to actual personal inspection' (1876: v). More outspoken still was a review of Fergusson's work in *The Builder*, illustrated with a number of the engravings based on Thomson's images. Here the anonymous author writes:

In these our days of constantly extending and accelerated intercourse, architectural contributions flow in from the ends of the earth, and the multiplication of explorers and the thickening footsteps of men who become explorers but by accident of leisure or labour, cause the turning over of records that are recovered last for the very reason they were covered up earliest. And architectural discovery is still running only a parallel course with geographical researches - with geological, ethnographical, philological; is stimulated by exertion, encouraged in sanguine hopes by their successes, gathers hints of enterprise from their combinations, and still remains under no obligation that it does not amply repay. The tendency of all these studies has been for some time sufficiently declared to establish a sequence of development in art and civilisation throughout the general human race, and a connexion of almost *magnetic universality*, by action and reaction, between its wide-spread families, such as aforesaid was contentedly traced only within the limits of independent sections (1867: 217, my emphasis).

In such contexts Thomson's images were thus seen as part of a rationalising drive that sought to document, classify and describe the world in the nineteenth

century. Photography here aided the visual and discursive framing of Angkor within a universalising apparatus of Western knowledge production. It is telling in this respect that early photographs of Famagusta appear not to have carried the same currency. This may be related to the fact the town was known to Western audiences long before the advent of photography, and while Ottoman rule prohibited any significant research at the site, its classical, Lusignan and Venetian built heritage in particular was already firmly enmeshed within European narratives of art and civilisation. By contrast, the ‘discovery’ of Angkor occurred at a time when photography was routinely heralded as a means through which the entire world may be collected, represented and ultimately known. The production and distribution of Thomson’s images reflected and contributed towards this belief.

The initial dissemination of Thomson’s images via exhibitions, lectures, mass-market periodicals and specialist volumes was largely controlled by the photographer and his publishers, but this did not prohibit other unauthorised routes of distribution. One prominent example in this respect is found in the work of Anna Leonowens, a British resident in Bangkok around the same time as Thomson, whose 1870 volume *The English Governess at the Siamese Court* provided the basis for the musical and motion picture *The King and I*. To help illustrate the exotic scenes described by Leonowens a number of engravings based on Thomson’s photographs were added to this work, including an image of the Royal Barge, a heavily doctored picture of a ‘war elephant’ and a portrait of King Mongkut himself. Two engravings also document the ruins of ‘Naghkon Watt’ (Figure 4.28), a site Leonowens describes in some detail but likely never visited. As she writes in the preface: ‘Those of my readers who may find themselves interested in the wonderful ruins recently discovered in Cambodia are indebted to the earlier travellers, M. Henri Mouhot, Dr. A Bastian, and the able English [sic] photographer, James [sic] Thomson, F. R. G. S. L., almost as much as to myself’ (vii). Perhaps riled by this erroneous attribution, Thomson would later accuse Leonowens of wholesale plagiarism from Mouhot’s diaries (1875: 129-30). Crucially, the images themselves were sourced not from Thomson but - as the frontispiece to *The English Governess* declares - from ‘Photographs presented to the Author by the King of Siam’. These were likely the same pictures gifted to the King by Thomson on his return from Angkor, in an episode recalled by the photographer:

He [King Mongkut] enquired kindly about our journey, said he was glad to know that we had got safely back, but could not forbear wondering why two Englishmen should undergo so long a journey, at the risk of being either devoured by wild animals, or carried off by jungle fever, only to see some

stone buildings very much out of repair, and this more especially as he placed no restriction upon our looking at his own magnificent Wats in Bangkok (Thomson 1875: 98).

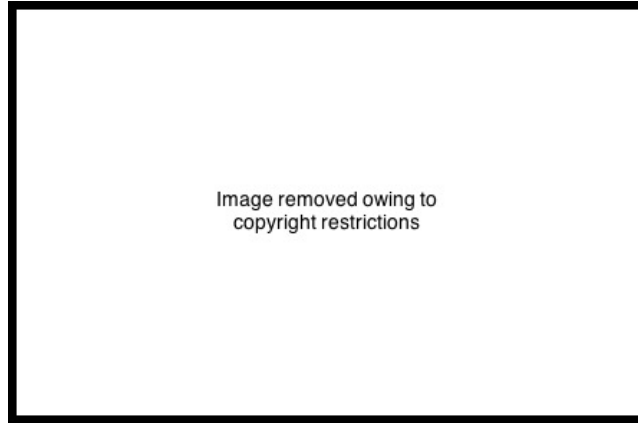


Fig 4.28. Unknown artist, 1870. *Ruins of the Nakhon Watt*. Digital scan of engravings based on photographs by Thomson. From *The English Governess at the Siamese Court* (1870: 306). © The British Library

This final point reminds us of the alternative approaches to ‘heritage’ that may encircle sites such as Angkor or Famagusta. Thomson’s photographic documentation of these localities sought to provide a permanent and trustworthy record of the sights and scenes he encountered, but the particular emphasis placed on certain features and the subsequent discursive and material framing of images actively (re)constructed their perception and meaning. This reading was not fixed by the static representations produced by Thomson, whether as lantern slide projection, original print or woodcut engraving. Instead, we find in the varied distribution of Thomson’s images a network of heterogeneous engagements that stress in different ways the diverse interpretations and possibilities that might be imagined for the sites depicted. Although regulated by the colonial power dynamics of the time (see next chapter), this points to a fractured moment of emergence at the onset of the photographic life of Angkor and Famagusta that may allow for new genealogies of heritage to be written.

4.4. Conclusion

The material-discursive environments sketched out in this chapter help to demonstrate the concrete sites at which heritage and photography may be said to ‘shape’ each other - visually, discursively and experientially. As an early and vociferous advocate of the photographic form, Thomson was unequivocal in his belief that the

camera would provide a ‘perfect mimicry’ of the scenes encountered, affording an ‘enduring evidence of work faithfully performed’ (1891: 670). From our current vantage point this adherence to objectivity seems misplaced, and photography can now be understood to carry a host of ideological choices around subject matter, composition, framing and narrative anchoring. Thomson’s work therefore vividly (though inadvertently) materialises the ‘archival’ and ‘performative’ dimensions of photography, accentuating those processes through which cultural landscapes might ‘derive their meaning [...] from the actions and imaginations of people in society’ (Byrne 2008: 155). At the same time, his images document the photographic rendering of certain conceptualisations about the past in the present that preceded the technology of the camera, referencing pictorial conventions of landscapes and ruins established by the Romantic Movement, for example, or contributing to an encyclopaedic inventorying of the world that owed much to Enlightenment sensibilities. In this sense notions and practices underpinning the emergence of heritage in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries would also structure Thomson’s apprehension of Angkor and Famagusta, suggesting a feedback loop between the photographic depiction of such spaces and their prior framing as ‘antiquities’.

The initial photographic topologies identified here thus existed in a continuum with earlier representational approaches. Writing, illustration, painting or sketching already ‘augmented’ (Massumi 2002) Angkor and Famagusta prior to Thomson’s photographic documentation. Nevertheless, certain attributes of photography do mark out an important shift in our understanding of and engagement with these sites. Most notably, the new affective ‘bloom space’ of the camera and the wet-collodion process inaugurated an entirely novel means of encountering, documenting and relating to the architecture, landscapes and people of Angkor and Famagusta. For Thomson and his contemporaries at least (e.g. Fergusson) this resulted in ‘authentic’ images that carried a different value from other modes of representation: the ‘evidence’ of unmediated truth. Hence the importance of the subtitle to *The Antiquities of Cambodia*, which draws attention to the fact Thomson’s photographs were produced ‘on the spot’. This belief in the objectivity and faithfulness of photographic images also contributed to their comparative potential, with camera-based pictures seen to flatten the world and provide the foundations for a universal pictorial archive. Thomson’s adherence to this principle meant that his images of Angkor and Famagusta were to be understood as artefacts of great significance for the future, both as a testament to the sights and sites he had

encountered and as records of what had been achieved in ‘this nineteenth century of our progress’ (1891: 673). From this perspective the photographs discussed here were to be actively grasped *as heritage*, a process that - as we shall see in the next chapter - has continued to the present day, although in ways unimagined by the Victorian photographer.

Resonating with their moment of production, Thomson’s images of Angkor and Famagusta were caught between a Ruskinian ‘scientific’ examination of the scenes encountered and a romanticised aesthetic that greatly prized the ‘picturesque’ depiction of ruins and monuments (Choay 1992). Thomson’s framing of the ‘heritage’ of each site must be understood in this context, with a network of entanglements structured around colonialism, empiricism, and the burgeoning travel industry greatly influencing the material, conceptual and ethical implications of his photography. One noteworthy example of this can be located in his marginalisation of the human at both Angkor and Famagusta: an aesthetic and procedural choice that dovetailed with plans to remove indigenous populations from the sites (Miura 2011; Walsh 2010). As Ryan notes, Thomson operated outside the mainstream systems of imperial domination, but his images were still ‘part of a colonising movement, establishing visual guidelines and justifications for more palpable forms of colonial control’ (1997: 70). This context animates the next chapter.

The analysis undertaken here has demonstrated the ‘more-than-representational’ status of the photographic topology - a complex that must be seen as embodied, discursive, material, archival and performative. Although rooted in a Barthesian sense by the moment of photographic production, these topologies are equally rhizomatic in their varied points of distribution, a fractured network that may give rise to multiple forms of heritage ‘shaping’. Having focused on the relatively discrete work of Thomson at Angkor and Famagusta, this model of analysis can now be extended to a more diverse range of photographs at both sites.

5.

Colonial to Post-colonial Heritage Constructions

A photograph is only a fragment, and with the passage of time its moorings come unstuck. It drifts away into a soft abstract pastness, open to any kind of reading.

(Sontag 1977: 71)

5.1. Introduction: Ruination and Pastness

This chapter has two interrelated aims: (1) to critically examine the continued photographic ‘shaping’ of Angkor and Famagusta during the colonial period; and (2) to consider the more recent (re)appropriation of individual images and wholesale photographic projects produced under the rubric of colonialism in the post-colonial era. These broad aims thus seek to address not just the production and aesthetics of colonial images, but also the varied affects of their lingering presence in the contemporary ‘memoryscape’ (Basu 2013).

As an initial point of departure here, I return to the work of John Thomson, questioning in particular the ways in which the Scottish photographer’s images of Angkor and Famagusta have been materially and discursively ‘re-mapped’ by diverse constituents in recent decades. From this relatively precise case study I then move on to interrogate some of the broader regimes of image-making that encircled and animated the sites in question following Thomson’s early documentation. While this general overview provides a critical perspective on the vast expansion in photography that occurred around Angkor and Famagusta from the late-nineteenth century onwards, my focus in this chapter is on projects and initiatives that were closely linked to the advancement of varied heritage practices at both locations. Ultimately, such an approach is intended to confront the wider social and political entanglements of photography as act, object and medium, asking how the constructive and affective force of a sites ‘photographic life’ might metamorphose, even while the individual images and collections at the centre of this existence remain resolutely unchanged.

At its core, this line of enquiry prioritises what Stoler has called the ‘ruins of empire’ (2008) - a model that overturns our familiar conceptualisation of material ruination to consider instead the ‘leftovers’ of colonialism as ‘epicentres of renewed claims, as history in a spirited voice, as sites that animate new possibilities, bids for entitlement, and unexpected political projects’ (ibid: 198). As Stoler argues, ‘to think with ruins of empire is to emphasise less the artifacts of empire as dead matter or remnants of a defunct regime than to attend to their reappropriations and strategic and active positioning within the politics of the present’ (ibid: 196). This ‘active positioning’ is closely linked to conceptualisations of memory and authenticity, and may be discerned in numerous ways with reference to photography - from the reprinting of specific publications to the online display of discrete images. Such reappropriations give rise to new and unexpected heritage possibilities: theories and practices that may deploy the very same photographs produced under colonialism to construct alternative heritage worlds in the post-colonial era.

A number of questions emerge from this turn to ‘ruination’ as a critical vantage point. First, we might ask to what extent the photographic traces of colonialism are open to meaningful ‘recoding’ (Pinney 2003) by more recent constituents? What factors (e.g. aesthetics, content, archiving, accessibility) promote or contain such reappropriations, and how might these dynamics undermine or reinforce earlier heritage constructions? Closely related to this, what layers of meaning making and affect are evident in the redeployment of individual photographs or image collections to varied purposes, from the active creation of colonial ‘memory banks’ to the emergence of ‘authentic’ photographic icons? What is made and unmade in these processes, and how might heritage avoid slipping into the ‘soft abstract pastness’ denounced by Sontag? The positioning of photographs within heterogeneous and overlapping networks is key here, and we must be alert to the fact that different photographic traces will often be caught up in vastly dissimilar practices of ‘re-mapping’. To what extent such entanglements might give rise to new notions and practices of heritage in relation to Angkor and Famagusta is a central concern of this chapter, and my thesis overall.

One of the most prominent criticisms levelled against the widespread use of colonial imagery within heritage is highlighted by Edwards and Mead, who argue that the ‘celebratory’ nature of the field represents ‘a serious obstacle to a raw interrogation of the colonial past’ (2013: 20). While this analysis focuses on the space of the museum, such debates can be usefully extended to other heritage domains, notably the historic postcard industry, official and unofficial online collections, and the

republishing of photo-books. Although not always 'celebratory' in the strictest sense, it is a core contention of this research that theorists and practitioners of heritage must begin to engage critically with such uses of photography. Here the knotted concepts of memory and authenticity emerge as particularly pertinent, crystallising around the notion of 'pastness'.

For Patrick Wright, the burgeoning heritage industry of the 1960s was perhaps best thought of as an historical 'gloss' - 'the light touch of a dab hand, an impression of pastness which can be sought at a glance' (2009 [1985]: 65). Although less critical of such phenomena, Samuel too noted that old photographs in particular were increasingly being used to construct an 'aura of pastness' (1994: 322), with books, magazines, exhibitions and commercial outlets (e.g. shops, restaurants, hotels) all deploying historic imagery as an authenticating visual backdrop: a means of establishing 'places of memory' (Nora 1989). Where such practices turn towards the colonial archive in pursuit of pastness - as has occurred frequently in relation to Angkor and Famagusta - this largely uncritical use of photography raises significant concerns. Unpacking the tensions between a familiar framing of heritage as 'soft' and 'abstract' and the need to effectively confront the 'afterlife' of colonial 'structures, sensibilities, and things' (Stoler 2008: 196) might thus be seen as an important step in understanding the photographic life of sites such as Angkor and Famagusta, as well as the interrelationship of heritage and photography more broadly.

A more nuanced appreciation of pastness appears crucial to this task. For Holtorf - who has written recently on precisely this topic within the field of archaeology (2013) - a renewed engagement with materiality and authenticity must start from the premise that it is 'perceptions of pastness' that matter, not the actual age of an object. More specifically, Holtorf suggests that it is 'the narrative that links past origin and contemporary presence' that determines pastness (2013: 434), rather than any strict chronological measurement. While this critique makes no mention of photography, there is a strong case to be made I think for recognising that the 'pastness' of the images I am interested in here emerges not just from the aesthetics, materiality or age of discrete photographs, but from the stories that connect the 'origin' of a picture to its 'contemporary presence' - drawing together, in other words, the root and the rhizome of the photography complex. We must therefore ask what narratives have been brought to the fore in the initial production and active repositioning of colonial photographs, and to what ends? How might 'pastness' take on a political edge under such circumstances, and can this help to elucidate the relationship between heritage and the 'ruins of empire'? Finally, what role might

memory, authenticity, and the notion of the trace play in these dynamics, and how has the resonance of such concepts shifted across the colonial and the post-colonial at Angkor and Famagusta?

While the current study covers new ground in comparing the photographic life of these sites, this research builds upon a significant body of work already carried out into the emergence, conceptualisation and practice of heritage at my two case study locations. With respect to Angkor, notable contributions have emerged from the fields of archaeology (Coedès 1963; Higham 2001), conservation and architectural history (Wager 1995; Falser 2010; Falser and Juneja 2013), critical heritage and heritage management (Miura 2005; Winter 2006, 2007, 2008; Fletcher et al 2007; Hauser-Schaublin 2011; Jacques 2011) and tourism studies (Durand 2003; Di Giovine 2009; Miura 2012). While Famagusta has more commonly been dealt with against the wider context of Cypriot heritage (see Navaro Yashin 2009, 2012; Barthel Bouchier 2010; Hardy 2010; Emerick 2014), recent studies have taken the medieval town as a core focus (Walsh 2010; Walsh et al 2012). Importantly, there is also a growing interest within the study of Cypriot politics and history to address the role of photography in the formation of identity, as well as the tourist economy of the island (Hajimichael 2006; Bonato 2007; Stylianou-Lambert 2012; Wells et al 2014). The present research is indebted to this work, alongside more general critical histories of both case study locations (see Barnett 1990; Chandler 1993; Hitchens 1997; Takei 1998; Cooper 2001; Roussou-Sinclair 2002; Stewart and May 2004; UNESCO 2006; Ollier and Winter 2006; Papadakis, Peristianis & Welz 2006; Edwards 2007; Corfield 2009; Bryant and Papadakis 2012).

This chapter thus considers both the ways in which Angkor and Famagusta were constructed *as heritage* during the colonial era, and the undoing - or even wholesale remaking - of these processes via later image redeployments. It should be noted from the outset however that - as a result of the long colonial histories both Cyprus and Cambodia were enmeshed in from the mid-to-late nineteenth century - the contexts of production examined over the following pages oscillate considerably. Cyprus was effectively ruled by Britain from 1878 to 1960, while the French protectorate of Cambodia lasted from 1863 to 1953. The technological development of photography during this period was matched by variable ideological and aesthetic concerns. It would be wholly misleading then to speak of a standardised 'colonial gaze' present throughout the era in question (Edwards 2001: 148). This is not to mention of course the remarkable expansion and intensification of assorted heritage practices over the same period, many of which were entangled with photography and

underpinned by sometimes contradictory motivations (e.g. tourist itineraries, archaeological research, artistic creation). My empirical focus in this chapter is intended to offset the grand historical sweep terms such as colonial and postcolonial risk evoking, highlighting instead significant ‘microhistories’ (Edwards 2012b) and ‘microexamples’ (Massumi 2002) in the ever-emergent relationship of heritage and photography, beginning with a return to the work of Thomson.

5.2. Re-mapping the Thomson ‘Archive’

As we have already seen, Thomson’s documentation of Angkor and Famagusta in 1866 and 1878 respectively resulted in two distinct yet comparable series of images that actively shaped the sites in question along varied axes of the photography complex. From the embodied moment of production to the initial routes and contexts of distribution, Thomson’s photography did more than simply record and visualise Angkor and Famagusta: his images generated and responded to dense layers of meaning-making and affect, often intersecting with the emergence of nascent heritage practices in Cyprus and Cambodia. This in turn was closely related to a wider insistence on the camera’s ability to provide an objective ‘archive’ or memory bank of colonial progress, a project Thomson actively pursued both as a traveller and as a teacher at the RGS. How this archive has been ‘opened up’ and in many cases radically re-appropriated in recent years is the focus of this section.

Rather than offering a complete inventory of the varied contexts in which Thomson’s images may be found today, here I would like to interrogate crucial sites of encounter across publications, online media, exhibitions and quotidian deployments. Bridging the archival and ethnographic methods employed in this thesis, the aim here is to explore and understand the recent rhizomatic spread of these early photographic depictions, questioning in particular their entanglement with diverse manifestations of the contemporary ‘heritage-scape’ (Di Giovine 2009). Crucially, this empirical orientation takes in examples of what Stoler (2008) might call the ‘active positioning’ of images, as well as instances where the use of colonial era photographs does little to confront the ‘difficult’ circumstances of production. To appreciate this range of reappropriations, and the socio-political forces underpinning such practices, we must first clarify to what extent Thomson’s images might be considered ‘colonial’, and what the implications are for such a temporal and conceptual framing.

In 1878 a flurry of publications greeted the news that the Ottoman Empire was to cede Cyprus to Britain. These included E.G. Ravenstein’s *Cyprus: Its Resources and Capabilities, with Hints for Tourists*, F. H. Fisher’s *Cyprus: Our New Colony and What we*

Know About It, and R. H. Lang's *Cyprus: Its History, Its Present Resources, and Future Prospects*. Many of these accounts were based on second-hand information collated from gazetteers, encyclopaedias or earlier monographs, such as Luigi P. di Cesnola's influential *Cyprus: Its Cities, Tombs, and Temples* (1877). As the subtitle to this work suggests, Cesnola had a particular focus on the archaeology and antiquities of the island, a subject that resonated with British audiences eager to 'reclaim' the classical and Christian ruins of Cyprus from the Ottomans. In the words of Fisher,

We have come down to our own time, to find the once fair Island covered with a pall of dark misrule and tyranny. But a light suddenly springs up. What, this was not night after all? No, it was but an eclipse; see, the dark clouds are even now moving away, and Cyprus will once more stand out as fair as ever, owning her new found mistress - Queen Victoria (1878: 11).

While it remains unclear to what extent Thomson would have been familiar with these specific accounts, the general insistence of such works on the improving potential of British colonial power evidently made its way into the photographers' documentary approach, where he sought to produce 'before' images awaiting their 'after'. This point needs underlining, for although Thomson's images of Famagusta and other sites across Cyprus represent the first *British* colonial photography on the island, more often than not subjects were chosen to reveal the supposed decline three centuries of Ottoman rule had resulted in, rather than the impact of any nascent British activities. As the photographer stated in his preface to *Through Cyprus*, the aim was to record a territory of Empire at the onset of British rule, so as to 'afford a source of comparison in after years, when, under the influence of British rule, the place has risen from its ruins' (Thomson 1879: vi). There is thus a disjuncture between two colonialisms in Thomson's work - one brought out through photography as act, the other through photography as object. In the first instance the performance of photography is to be seen as a vital project of colonialism: a task that should be undertaken to provide an evidential record of a territory at the onset of British control. In the second instance however an earlier period of colonialism is brought to the fore, with the content and aesthetics of specific images focused on the detrimental effects of Ottoman rule. Barthes' three-tenses are at play here in relation to the photographic trace, but in a complication of this dynamic I would suggest that any Ottoman subject matter is held up by Thomson as a material-discursive barrier between the British colonial present and the glories of classical and medieval Cyprus. The aforementioned photograph of Lala Mustafa Pasha Mosque is a good example of this, with the photographer marginalising and denigrating 'Turkish' additions to the

building and explicitly labelling the image as 'St. Nicholas Cathedral'. This complex layering has important ramifications as we consider the recent use of Thomson's photographs, particularly those redeployments enacted by Turkish or Turkish-Cypriot communities in the north of the island.

Although Thomson's relationship to colonialism was somewhat more oblique in Cambodia, similar processes can be discerned in his documentation of Angkor. In the short period between Henri Mouhot's 'discovery' of the site (1860) and Thomson's photographic survey (1866), Cambodia officially became a protectorate of the French. This inaugurated what Chandler has described as an 'heroic period' for the colonialists, with young naval officers 'hungry for glory, eager for promotion, and entranced by the exotic setting in which they found themselves' (1993: 142). While Angkor would come to occupy a central place in this colonial enchantment, the province in which the majority of Angkorean temples were located in fact remained part of Thailand - then known as Siam - until 1907. Thomson's experience and documentation of Angkor thus coincided with an embryonic French relationship to the site, one in which the full influence of European colonialism was yet to be felt. (Here it is worth remembering that one of the earliest points of distribution for Thomson's Angkorean images took the form of a gift to King Mongkut of Siam, not King Norodom of Cambodia).

The timing of Thomson's photographic excursions is thus key to understanding the continued constructive force of his resulting images. While a similar argument may be made of most photography - or indeed other forms of documentation and representation - there is a particular significance to the socio-political moment of transition captured by Thomson in Cyprus and Cambodia. The spread of European powers to the regions under consideration was of course central to this 'moment' (and to the very possibility of Thomson's photography), but periods of transition also point the other way: to the things and events that came before. At both Angkor and Famagusta this would mean that however direct or indirect Thomson's relationship to the colonial project (see Ovenden 1997 and Ryan 1997 for conflicting views on this topic), earlier cultural and political forces would also mark his images. To some extent this is true of all pictures that ask us to look beyond the surface of an image to the past of a photographed site (Hauser 2007), but here the broader context of an emergent colonialism lends a peculiar dynamism to the images, allowing multiple and sometimes contradictory discursive regimes to circulate around the same photographic collection(s). What is more, the sudden or gradual expulsion of one outside power by another at Angkor and Famagusta means that Thomson's

images are able to speak simultaneously to the materialisation of European authority and the ‘aftershocks’ of earlier ‘colonial’ influence, whether Ottoman or Siamese. Such pictures resist any simplistic evocation of the colonial gaze, gesturing instead towards complex photographic topologies that may traverse or underpin heterogeneous levels of colonialism. This in turn has greatly influenced the ‘ruinous’ potential of said images.

One of the most widespread avenues of continued distribution for Thomson’s images has been their inclusion in historical volumes and (less common although perhaps more significant) the wholesale reprinting of his published works, including *The Antiquities of Cambodia* (2014 [1867]) and *Through Cyprus with the Camera* (1985 [1879]). Such reproductions have been enacted by various constituents, from UK-based scholars and collectors of photography to artists and booksellers in North Cyprus. While there are clear points of comparison between these disparate routes of dissemination (each will be tied to the same relatively limited photographic archive after all), the specific circumstances and modes of publication signify a complex assortment of reappropriations, ranging from an almost passive affirmation of colonial attitudes to the strategic and highly politicised positioning of Thomson’s images.

An abridged list of published works featuring Thomson’s photographs of Angkor and Famagusta would include: Stephen White’s seminal publication of 1986, which (re)introduced many audiences in the UK and around the world to Thomson’s work, notably being published in America with the title *A Window to the Orient* (1989); Ialeen Gibson Cowan’s 1985 reissue of *Through Cyprus with the Camera*; a 1991 reprint of *The Journal of Sir Garnet Wolseley* (the first Governor of Cyprus) funded by the Cyprus Popular Bank Cultural Centre; the UNESCO publication *Angkor: Past, Present and Future* (Choulean, Prenowitz, Thompson 1996), which detailed restoration efforts and plans for the socio-economic development of Angkor following its listing as a World Heritage Site in 1992; Richard Ovenden’s major 1997 monograph; The British Library’s exhibition catalogue *Points of View: Capturing the Nineteenth Century in Photographs* (Falconer and Hide 2009); and - most recently - a full reprinting of *The Antiquities of Cambodia* by White Lotus Press, based in Pattaya, Thailand (Montague and Mizerski 2014). Connecting all these diverse works is a heritage-inflected sense of ‘looking back’ - of transforming ‘chance residues of the past’ into ‘precious icons’ (Samuel 1994: 328). This has important consequences related to the often-celebratory nature of heritage. As Hajimichael has argued with specific reference to Thomson’s Cypriot portraits, the reframing of such images represents ‘an act of cultural

imperialism in itself, as the people photographed are enshrined in history through an objectionable colonial perspective' (2006: 73). This criticism could easily be levelled at *The Journal of Sir Garnet Wolseley*, or even the subtler work of Ovenden, who suggests that Thomson - unlike many other nineteenth century photographers - operated at some remove from the political, economic, and cultural conquests of the period (1997: xiv). Such claims tacitly negate the 'aftershocks' of colonial photography. As a result, images of this period depicting sites such as Angkor and Famagusta become suffused with a nostalgic aura, a soft abstractness that - far from being inherent to the pictures - is part of a potentially harmful process of de-politicisation.

This is not to suggest however that reprinted works are unable to assume a significant role in the active positioning of colonial imagery. Such reappropriations depend on a critical or at least contradictory engagement with the photographic archive, one that destabilises the earlier narratives of colonialism. In the UNESCO publication *Angkor: Past, Present and Future* (1996), for example, the captioning of Thomson's composite picture showing the façade of Angkor Wat (Figure 4.8) in effect undermines the photographer's aesthetic 'emptying' of the site. This text is worth quoting in full, as it offers some indication of the re-orientation of meaning attempted in the aftermath of Angkor's listing as a World Heritage Site:

Figure 44. Photograph of the western facade of Angkor Wat, from within the outermost enclosure, 1867. Taken by John Thomson, an Englishman [sic] residing in Bangkok, this panoramic view is among the first photographs of Angkor Wat. Though inspired by Mouhot's spectacular accounts, Thomson clearly encountered more than abandoned ruins. His images show just how remarkably well-maintained the monument was upon 'rediscovery'. A number of contemporary constructions as well as a tall flagpole - elements of a Buddhist temple within the larger compound - can be discerned on either side of the central causeway. According to Thomson, the building to the immediate left housed Angkor Wat's chief Buddhist monk (ibid: 94).

Here, the evidentiary force of photography is drawn out to prioritise elements of the tripartite image fundamentally at odds with Thomson's original documentation. This is still intimately bound to the social construction of heritage, only now the heritage in question is one of human habitation rather than built archaeological remains (although the rest of this publication does also focus on the latter category). A series of photographs commonly framed as part of a colonial record of 'discovery' are thus realigned to centre precisely those communities Thomson sought to marginalise, in the process opening up alternative genealogies of heritage making. Such a critical redeployment suggests that even when the use of colonial imagery is closely tied to

what many have labelled the neo-colonial enterprise of global heritage (Cleere 2001; Smith 2006; Di Giovine 2009), the possibility still remains of initiating new spaces of interpretation and debate.

This tension between context and ‘active positioning’ also animates the recent translation and publication of *Through Cyprus with the Camera* by the Nicosia based bookshop *Galerie Kültür* (2012). On the surface, this work represents a subtle engagement with objectionable histories by those formerly oppressed - in this case the Turkish and Turkish-Cypriot communities so scorned by Thomson in the original text accompanying his photographs (see previous chapter). Quoted in full, the images and captions of the re-issue provide an unedited (although translated) version of early British colonial attitudes, not shying away from the explicit disapproval of Thomson’s work. While it would be misleading to suggest that a publication such as this is not closely tied to the heritage industry of Northern Cyprus, the unexpurgated use of Thomson’s photographic work seen here is far from ‘celebratory’. At the same time however we should not blindly categorise such a mode of appropriation as ‘critical’ in the way Stoler describes. What must be taken into account in this case before we can gauge the constructive potential of said work is the highly politicised context of production, with a North Cypriot publishing company translating - for the first time - a book published in the colonial era and long popular among Greek Cypriot communities (see below) into the Turkish language. As well as opening up the visual and discursive artefacts of colonialism to new audiences, this process serves to disrupt or at least redirect the memorial capacity of Thomson’s images by generating a new nodal point in the photography complex, one that provides an effective counterweight to other nationalist or colonialist projects built around the same pictures.

There is a further layer of complexity that must be considered with this ‘microexample’. Although published by *Galerie Kültür*, the Turkish language reprint of *Through Cyprus* was overseen and edited by Oya Silbery, a mixed media Turkish Cypriot artist who created a series of works to help launch the publication that gesture towards a different mode of archival ‘re-mapping’. This involved overlaying colourful patterns, figures and other visual motifs on top of low resolution prints of Thomson’s images, opening up the immediate space of the photograph to further lines of interpretation or ‘destratification’, to use Deleuze and Guattari’s term (2004 [1980]: 4). One such picture superimposes the silhouette of a figure in movement across Thomson’s photograph of the entrance to Lala Mustafa Pasha Mosque in Famagusta (Figure 5.1). The seated individual originally captured by Thomson is here lost - or perhaps enlivened - in the shadow of a subtle intervention. Like the Indian collage

pictures discussed by Pinney, these ‘complex sculptural meditations [...] transpose the focus of photographic images from the space between the image’s window and its referents to the space between the image’s surface and their beholders’ (2003b: 219). Beyond the immediate aesthetic transformation wrought by Silbery, the circumstances in which this project came to fruition also tells us much, I think, about the contemporary heritage-scape emergent around the Thomson archive. First of course there is the close connection with the aforementioned publication: a highly politicised gesture on this divided island. Further to this, the exhibition of Silbery’s work at The Art Rooms in Kyrenia - a small gallery with links to the nearby Colony Hotel - demonstrates the integral role Thomson’s images have come to play across the shifting terrains of heritage, from the tourist industry to contemporary arts practice. An aura of pastness remains key to the affectivity of the photographs in these contexts, but this is far from soft and abstract. Instead, the Thomson archive is shown to exhibit a potentiality that might help reshape the perception and meaning of the colonial past. To what extent other photographic collections and activities of this era remain open to the same critical repositioning is a question that surfaces throughout this chapter.

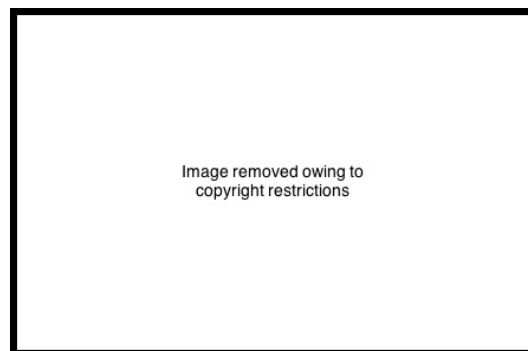


Fig 5.1. Olya Silbery, 2012. Collage based on Thomson, 1878. © O. Silbery

The process of manipulating and (perhaps) locating alternative heritages in the photographic ‘ruins’ of colonialism has recently been lent tacit support through the Wellcome Library’s digitisation programme, which has seen all of Thomson’s photographs made available for free as high resolution scans. Rather than hide the scratches, faults and other abrasions present in the original negatives, these digital copies allow viewers to emphasise hitherto marginalised or veiled characteristics

through the relatively straightforward practice of zooming and enlargement. The detail that emerges through this simple on-screen movement can be astounding. Individual faces and fleeting expressions may be accentuated within a crowded scene (Figure 5.2); marginal subjects can be brought front and centre, mistakes and aberrations made the focus of viewing. Here, for example, we see in Thomson's photograph from the central tower of Angkor Wat a half built timber structure in the grounds of the temple, signs of the vibrant community otherwise marginalised in his documentation of the space (Figure 5.3). Likewise, images from Famagusta are seen to contain more than intended, their 'exorbitance' made palpable through digital magnification. Quite apart from the renewed visual engagement this process makes possible, the notion of zoom and enlargement is also a useful metaphor for the revised practices and narratives of heritage construction I advocate in this thesis, with new genealogies locatable in the historic records of colonialism. In this sense we are able to see how the socio-technical practices now accruing around digital image collections forego any static conceptualisation of the past or of memory to instead 'foreground emergence as a general condition of the archive' (McQuire 2013: 232). The fluidity of the Thomson archive is thus exposed even in its most enduring incarnation: the site of original material deposit.



Fig 5.2. John Thomson, 1866. Thomson's retinue at Angkor Wat (detail). © The Wellcome Library.

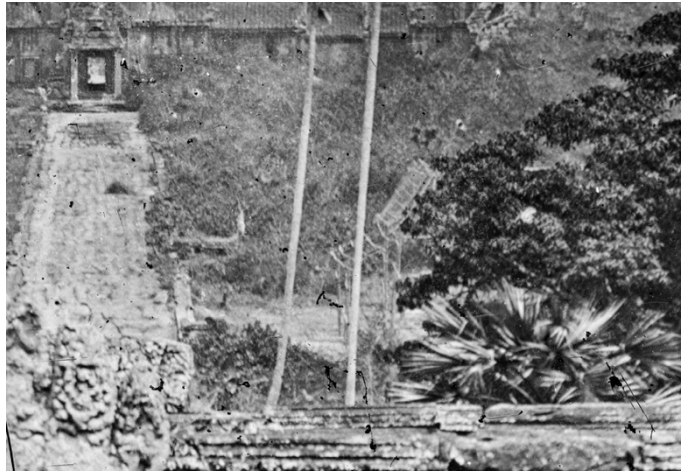


Fig 5.3. John Thomson, 1866. View from the central tower of Angkor Wat (detail). © The Wellcome Library

The online catalogue of The Wellcome Collection is not the only cyber environment in which Thomson's images may be encountered today. As digital records the photographs of Angkor and Famagusta I am particularly interested in here surface across manifold contexts, from the 'official' collections of The National Library of Scotland to the 'unofficial' commercial setting of the Riviera Beach Bungalows website (Figure 5.4). This is not to mention their use on personal and community blogs, social media sites and promotional enterprises (e.g. The North Cyprus Tourism Centre online listings (Figure 5.5)). Across such heterogeneous contexts Thomson's photographs take on varied connotations, linked in turn to academic discourse, nostalgic yearning and the commodification of the past. The digital pictures may be high-resolution scans direct from a print or low quality files likely copied from other websites. Likewise, the degree of captioning is open to considerable variability. In some circumstances the images are barely labelled, whilst in others full transcriptions of Thomson's original published narratives are placed alongside the photographs. Highly personalised interpretations also abound on sites such as Facebook, where extensive comments augment Thomson's documentation of Famagusta. Positioned in this way Thomson's photographs become as much about communication as memory: a means of articulating and re-shaping present identities in relation to visual knowledge of the past. The fact that the very same images here responsible for eliciting an affective attachment to the past might be appropriated by travel agencies to lend an historic gloss to their activities goes some way to demonstrating the unpredictability of photographic meaning-making. To borrow from

Fontcuberta, Thomson's photographs of Angkor and Famagusta have become 'a volatile presence in cyberspace' (2014: 62).



Fig 5.4. Screenshot of 'Riviera Beach Bungalows' website showing Thomson's image of Famagusta



Fig 5.5. Screenshot of North Cyprus Tourism Centre website showing Thomson's image of 'St Nicholas Cathedral'.

Writing on the subject of photographic archives, McQuire has recently argued that the real transformation of the digital age has been less the 'demise of referentiality or the loss of evidentiary value than the integration of photography into the network milieu' (2013: 224). In the case of Thomson, this process is clearly evident in the overlaps between the physical display or publication of his images and more recent online distributions. Within the context of North Cyprus, for instance, ethnographic research brought me into contact with Thomson's images in the form of framed prints on the walls of the official state archives and the Dome Hotel, Kyrenia (Figure 5.6), a CD scanned illegally from the original 1879 publication, and illustrations on the menu of the Historia Restaurant, Famagusta (Figure 5.7). At Angkor meanwhile I was shown Thomson's image of the south gate of Angkor Thom on the smartphone of an official tour guide, who informed our small group that this is what the site looked like '100 years ago - when the French discovered it'. This informal 'return' of colonial era images to the site of their production is an important feature of the physical/virtual network milieu, and while it would be misleading to claim that such appropriations

represent a deliberately critical engagement with colonial imagery, the reduction of Thomson's photographs to the status of historic scenery does speak to a wider set of processes whereby the construction and practice of heritage sometimes denies and sometimes stimulates the present political or social efficacy of difficult pasts.



Fig 5.6. Thomson's images of Famagusta included in a display of historical photographs in the Lobby of the Dome Hotel, Kyrenia. Photograph author's own

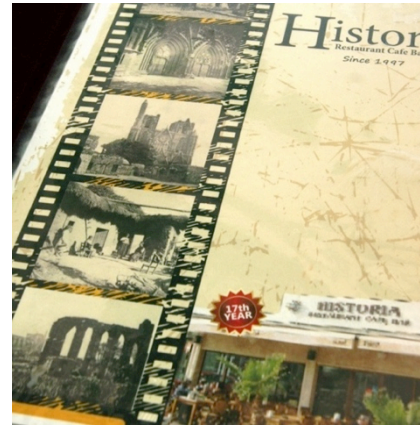


Fig 5.7. Historia Restaurant Menu illustrated with Thomson's images of Famagusta. Photograph author's own

We saw in the last chapter that, in the immediate aftermath of Thomson's documentation of Angkor and Famagusta, much of the constructive power and affectivity of his images resided in their status as objective records of the world. While open to varied routes of distribution and interpretation, the initial photographic topologies set in motion by Thomson's image-making practices centred on the belief that a new 'truth' had been revealed by the camera, and, moreover, that spaces otherwise visually hidden could now be grasped by Western audiences (particularly true of Angkor). Today however few would turn to the Thomson archive to 'discover' these localities. Instead, the primary importance of these images can be found in their capacity for reappropriation and redeployment, with the original positivist, colonialist and orientalist perceptions routinely undermined in often-contradictory directions. In one sense this weakens the significance of content and framing - i.e., the image itself. We might argue for instance that early photographic pictures such as Thomson's could contain almost any detail and remain critical visual 'roots' for a multiplicity of heritage constructions, their 'authentic' historicity outmanoeuvring any concerns over subject matter and aesthetics. At the same time, however, it is precisely the unforeseen or marginalised content captured by Thomson - and the particular

transitional period his work documents - that has provided conceptual space for diverse and often highly politicised engagements with the colonial archive to emerge. It is my contention that the material, conceptual and ethical implications of these processes - not exclusive to but particularly apparent in the use of 'old photographs' - must be made central to the ongoing theorisation of heritage in the post-colonial era.

5.3. Angkor as Colonial Debris

Since Angkor's listing as a UNESCO World Heritage Site in 1992, myriad heritage agencies, NGOs and research institutions from across the globe have become involved in efforts to conserve, inspect and understand the site. These have included organisations and individuals from Japan, Australia, Germany, Britain, China, South Korea and America, with Angkor emerging as an international testing ground for new approaches to architectural restoration and new models of heritage-led sustainable development (Miura 2011). In the midst of this internationalisation, Angkor has also remained a potent symbol of national identity and a source of great pride for Cambodia, a function made particularly urgent in the aftermath of the Khmer Rouge (Hauser-Schäublin 2011: 2). This is not to mention of course the millions of domestic and international tourists who now visit the site each year; a growing threat to the very fabric of many Angkorean temples (Winter 2006).

Although these nationalistic and globalising tendencies have often pulled in opposite directions, they are both profoundly indebted to decades of French colonial rule in Cambodia, and more precisely to the work of the *École Française d'Extrême Orient* (EFEO) at Angkor. From 1907 to 1975, when the growing terror of the Khmer Rouge made work at the site impossible, this organisation was tasked with conserving and researching the monuments of Angkor, as well as opening the site up to foreign visitors (Dagens 1995). As Cambodia emerged from two decades of conflict in the early 1990s the immense institutional knowledge built up by the EFEO therefore presented the ICC (International Co-ordinating Committee for the Safeguarding and Development of Angkor) with a 'uniquely valuable archive of reports, scholarly publications, fieldwork diaries and thousands of photographs, maps and drawings' (Winter 2008: 528). Aided by these material traces of colonial research, an empirical salvage paradigm permeated Angkor in the years immediately following UNESCO's listing. While the scope of this work saw a prominent role for international and domestic actors, the conceptualisation and application of heritage would continue to resonate with a French (and more generally European) focus on the 'high' cultures of ancient Cambodia, in the process neglecting 'vernacular, social histories' (ibid). In this

light the perception of Angkor as a place of ruination takes on a different tenor, tied not just to the fragile architectural remains of the site, but to the restored monuments, deciphered texts, historical analyses, documentary records and general heritage activities 'leftover' by France. The role of photography in giving shape to this sense of Angkor as 'colonial debris' is the focus of this section.

To appreciate the lingering consequences of French power at Angkor, it is worth returning to one of the earliest episodes of 'colonial' intervention at the site. In February 1866, shortly after Thomson and his retinue arrived at Angkor Wat, a team of French explorers led by archaeologist Captain Doudart de Lagree also reached the temple. According to Kennedy, this group were chiefly employed in drawing up accurate plans of the site and taking plaster casts of bas-reliefs (1867: 307). A few weeks later, the photographer Emile Gsell was engaged by de Lagree to supplement these written and illustrated records with his own original pictures. These represent the second collection of photographs produced of Angkor, and they exhibit many similarities to Thomson's work (Ovenden 1997: 10) - aesthetic parallels that speak to the pre-photographic pictorial conventions both photographers were firmly embedded in. At the same time, they are indicative of an iconography of Angkor being established remarkably early in the photographic life of the site, with the same dual focus on specific architectural elements and panoramic views present. As with Thomson's work, there is thus a tension here between positivist conceptualisations of photography as a technology of methodical documentation and the enchantment of a newly 'discovered' site. This latter sentiment is particularly prominent in the text of Francis Garnier's *Voyage D'Exploration en Indo-Chine* (1885), an influential work illustrated with engravings based on Gsell's photographs:

The magnificent tropical vegetation which formed the décor for these imposing monuments gave a certain enchanting quality to their unexpected appearance in the middle of the forest, and to the unknown of the past, whose memory they suddenly evoked; both opened up the most vast field to the imagination where it could walk its dreams of civilisation. I cannot describe what lively joy there is in this search for a still unexplored antiquity, one that European tourists do not recognise. Instead of travelling through places described a hundred times, following some chattering cicerone, to be one's own guide, to discover under the grass a sculpted frieze here, a stylobate further on, to try and reconstruct a destroyed building and to link it to already uncovered ruins, these were the kind of completely new emotions which we experienced in our walks (in Barnett 1990: 113).

Gsell would return to Angkor in 1873 with Louis Delaporte as part of *La Mission d'Explorations des Monuments Khmers*, completing in the process a substantial

photographic study of Angkor Wat and the surrounding temples (Delaporte 1880; Bautze 2012). While this body of work was never published or distributed in the same determined way as Thomson's, Gsell's images nevertheless entered public consciousness in the form of illustrations, both in the aforementioned Garnier book and Louis Delaporte's *Voyage Au Cambodge* (1880). The archive has also been housed at the Musée National des Arts Asiatiques in Paris, and recently made available in the form of digital scans at the Bophana Centre, Phnom Penh (see next chapter).

Amongst this photographic and pictorial collection, one image stands out. This shows de Lagree and other members of the *Commission d'Exploration du Mekong* languorously draped across the steps of Angkor Wat in 1866 (Figure 5.8). Sharing more similarities with later tourist imagery than the art historic and landscape oriented photographs of Thomson, the 'heroes' (Chandler 1993) of French colonial exploration here announce themselves, confidently demonstrating their corporal and imaginative ownership of the ancient temple. In the words of Barnett, 'their body language is unmistakable. They have composed themselves as if they were sitting in a nineteenth century club, as though to say, "Angkor is ours"' (1990: 112).

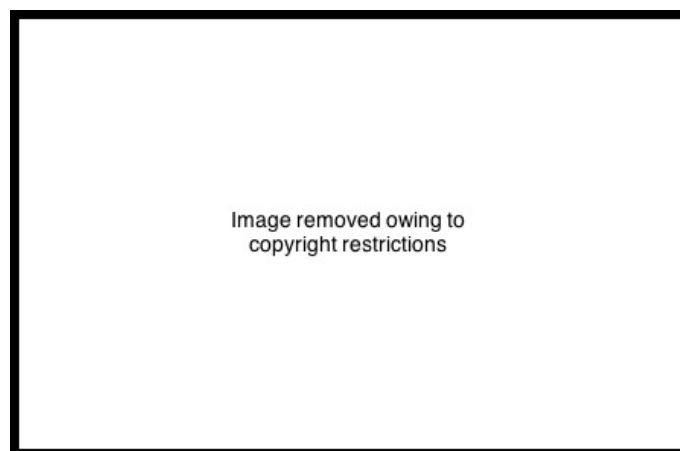


Fig 5.8. Emile Gsell, 1866. Captain Doudart de Lagree and companions at Angkor. © French Ministry of Public Affairs

The act of photography and the act of being photographed can here be seen to epitomise what has been called the French 'appropriation' of Angkor, more commonly associated with the colonial expositions of the first half of the twentieth century (Cooper 2001; Edwards 2007). During this period, Angkor was 'possessed, admired, copied and exhibited as desirable [...] but equally as a proof of indigenous

weakness [...] a tangible monument to continued French colonial intervention' (Cooper 2001: 75). As Osbert Sitwell would write following his own touristic excursion to Cambodia in the late 1930s, 'it should be unnecessary now to have to state how profound a gratitude, for the preservation and opening out of Angkor, all lovers of beauty must owe to the French authorities in Cambodia' (Sitwell 1984 [1939]: v).

While this 'opening out' saw French knowledge creation prioritised at the site, we should not see the colonial production of Angkor as static or monolithic. This is reflected in the different photographic and heritage practices that accrued around the temples following the pioneering work of Thomson and Gsell. Barnett for example highlights the differences between an initial ideological 'discovery' of the site and a later 'cumulative, scientific (even when wrong) uncovering' to help distinguish the various ways in which France claimed cultural superiority in Cambodia (1990: 113-5). As the technological limitations of photography gradually lessened, and as Angkor became more familiar to western audiences, the chief 'official' role of photography (i.e. distinct from the burgeoning tourist documentation of the site) would be to aid this latter approach to heritage meaning making. Contrary to Barnett's analysis, I would suggest however that this 'scientific' approach was not devoid of ideological consequences, both in the immediate contexts of photographic production and the aftershocks of any image reappropriations.

It is worth restating at this point that France did not take full control of Angkor until 1907, when Siam repatriated the region around Siem Reap to Cambodia.¹ Some four decades therefore separate Thomson and Gsell's early photographic documentation of Angkor and the commencement of EFEO operations at the site. As a consequence, this later period would be marked by a sense of 'rediscovery' and delayed fulfilment, exemplified and visualised in the work of Pierre Dieulefils, an accomplished photographer whose early twentieth century survey of Angkor was published as a book (1909, Figure 5.9), made into a postcard series (Figure 5.10), and prominently featured in the pages of *National Geographic* (Conner 1912).

Although not officially attached to the EFEO, Dieulefils' work is worth highlighting here as an important record of Angkor at the outset of French colonial rule. Even forty years after Mouhot's 'discovery' of Angkor, the photographs produced by Dieulefils would be perceived as records of a pristine location essentially untouched by the West, and therefore open to the construction and performance of

¹ The name Siem Reap, which translates literally as 'Defeat of Siam', speaks to the long-standing power struggles between the Khmer and the Siamese over this region.

colonial meaning-making. As Louis Finot - one of the earliest directors of the EFEO - would write in the foreword to Dieulefils' publication,

This work comes exactly at the right moment to confirm that state of the ruins at the moment when the Archaeological Service of the *École Française d'Extrême Orient* is making such zealous and deserving efforts to save them from destruction and bring to light from amid the refuse some of those fine aspects with which they delighted the eyes of the men of former days (2006 [1909]: 9).

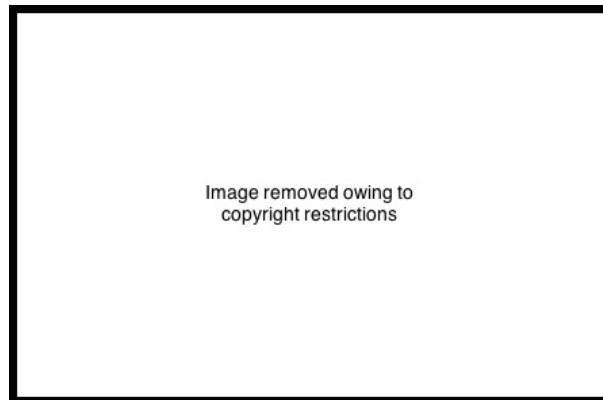


Fig 5.9. Cover of Dieulefils' *Ruines d'Angkor: Cambodge* (1909)

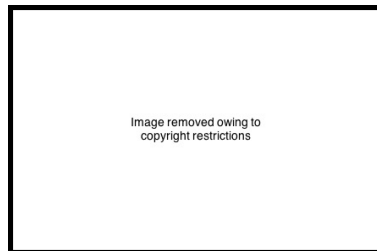


Fig 5.10. P. Dieulefils, c.1909. *Groupe de Tevadas.*

Here then, like the earlier work of Thomson, Dieulefils' opportune photography documents a site in transition, with images that capture not just overgrown trees and tumbling ruins, but also the bustling communities living within the Angkorean temples (Figure 5.11). Crucially however these pictures are captioned (by Finot) in such a way that the viewer is invited to look *through* the individuals and modern structures arranged before the temple to the ruinous architecture beyond (see below). In this sense the population of Angkor is discursively if not photographically

marginalised, foreshadowing a physical clearance of the site by the EFEO (Miura 2011). As with UNESCO's subtle reappropriation of the Thomson image, it is the challenge of contemporary heritage to look anew at these images and find alternative genealogies and future trajectories for the construction of Angkor.

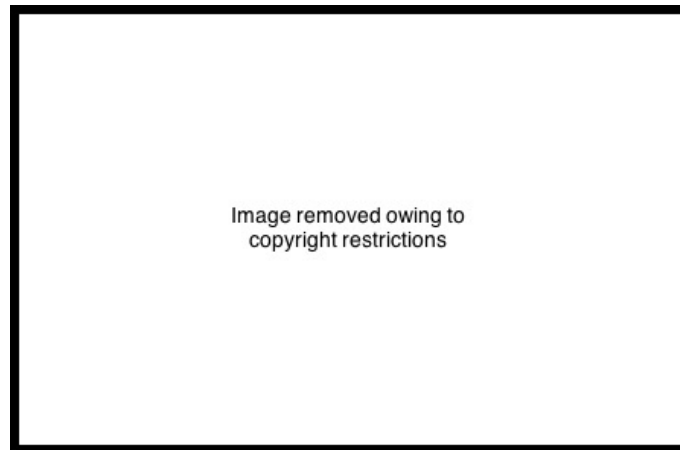


Fig 5.11. P. Dieulefils, 1909. *Portico and Galleries on North Side of Angkor Wat.*

Finot's original caption to this image reads: 'North front of the galleries of the first tier: this front and the south front are exactly symmetrical, while the East front differs from the West in that the middle portico has no staircase, but ends simply in a projection of the basement which served as a stepping stone for mounting elephant' (in Dieulefils 2006 [1909]: 38)

One route this critical reappropriation might take centres on the evidential value of photography. For Finot, writing in the foreword to Dieulefils' 1909 publication, the monuments of Angkor would only ever 'unfold their origins' through 'minute study', with no written description equalling 'the value of a good photograph' (2006 [1909]: 9). Such a reading emphasises the supposed neutrality and trustworthiness of the photographic record, as well as systematic modes of image making associated with the mechanistic camera. Aligning the Dieulefils collection to this 'scientific' examination of Angkor neglects however the very content of many of his pictures, as demonstrated in the disjointedness of the above image and caption. Re-interpreting such colonial 'leftovers' is a relatively straightforward task, but in so doing we must be alert to the complex histories with which they are entangled. As Falser argues, this period of colonial activity at Angkor was marked by a pejorative attitude that saw the monks living on or around the temples as 'unscientific and

harmful' (2013: 94). The evidential force of photography was activated in this context to confirm the types of barriers standing in the way of French 'improvements' at the site: namely the current inhabitants. Working along the grain of a belief in photography as 'authentic', we might however realign this 'evidence' to accentuate not the empirical agendas of the EFEO, but the cross-currents of enchantment that permeate Dieulefils' images, crystallising around the indigenous practices of veneration recorded by the photographer. Given the continued marginalisation of such constituents, repurposing the colonial archive and the value systems associated with photography in this way must be seen as an urgent ethical task, one that might usefully begin at the 'turning point' of the Dieulefils collection. Crucially, the perceptions of pastness liable to accrue around old photographs should be seen as an opportunity rather than a threat in such circumstances - a chance to politicise what Stoler has described as processes that are 'dominant but hard to see' (2008: 211).

If the 'transitional' pictures of Thomson, Gsell and Dieulefils are comparatively open to recoding through (re)publication, online dissemination and exhibitions, the far more extensive and institutionalised photographic archives of the EFEO may present a more obdurate example of imperial ruination. Indeed, it may well be argued that the images produced and catalogued by the EFEO over seven decades of operations at various sites across Cambodia represent the most instantly recognisable 'debris' of colonial Angkor. Far from being hard to see, such visual remnants exert a powerful hold over the perception of Angkor as a place and a culture 'rescued' by the French. Exhibitions based on the EFEO archive are a common feature of the cultural calendar in Siem Reap and Phnom Penh, not to mention the centre of colonial power: Paris. In 2012 for example the luxury Sofitel Hotel on the outskirts of Angkor Archaeological Park hosted a large-scale exhibition of photographs from the EFEO collection (Figure 5.12), while the nearby EFEO library has provided space for smaller displays on numerous occasions. From September 2010 to January 2011 the Musée Cernuschi also exhibited photographs from the EFEO archive in an exhibition entitled *Archéologues à Angkor* (2010). More noticeable still, the visitor centre at Banteay Srei has recently been developed to include a permanent exhibition of EFEO images documenting the restoration of this 'exquisite' temple (Freeman 2003: 89), only 'discovered' by the French in 1914 (Figure 5.13). Such deployments are a familiar manifestation of the visual heritage-scape, a means of narrativising and therefore constructing the memory of colonial Angkor through direct reference to its already highly constructed photographic life. Perhaps unsurprisingly given the fact these appropriations are enacted by the very same body

responsible for producing the images, these modes of appropriation display a distinct lack of critical engagement with the complexities and ethical implications of the colonial archive.



Fig 5.12. EFEO images on display at the Sofitel Hotel, Siem Reap. Photograph author's own



Fig 5.13. EFEO images used as part of interpretation at Banteay Srei temple. Photograph author's own

It is beyond the scope of this study to go into great detail on the numerous individual photographers, subjects and points of distribution that make up the EFEO archive. A common pattern can however be discerned across this vast collection, one that relates directly to the core thrust of the present chapter. At the risk of oversimplifying, this pattern (followed at each temple the EFEO worked on) includes general views and detailed surveys of the conditions of the site before restoration, images of frantic heritage activity - often depicting local workers in groups or spread across the scene - and, finally, post-conservation shots of the restored monument in

both panoramic vistas and close-up studies (Figures 5.14-16). Through such images a narrative of scientific knowledge production and salvation is documented and - crucially - enacted. Each temple becomes the setting for a colonial programme of rescue, protection, (re)construction and analysis: a material and discursive shaping that is in turn lent visual form by the photographic series. Here transformative processes of heritage are brought to the fore around the theatricality of restoration, with 'actors' (European and local) visible in key 'scenes' and a three-act structure - before, during, after - determining both the performance of photography and the intended mode of viewing images. These 'scientific' records were thus also ideological, explicitly celebrating the onset of a rationalised heritage practice and ontology at Angkor. The outcome is a mythical scenography of heritage construction, one open to deployment across a range of exhibitions, publications and other avenues of distribution.

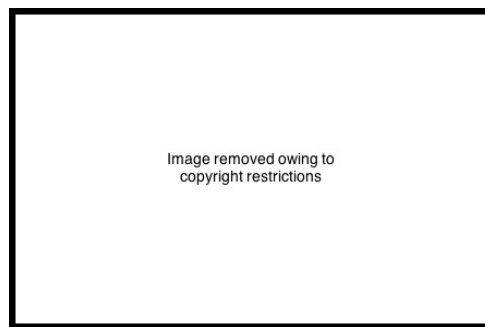


Fig 5.14. Unknown Photographer, 1936. Neak Pean prior to restoration. © EFEO

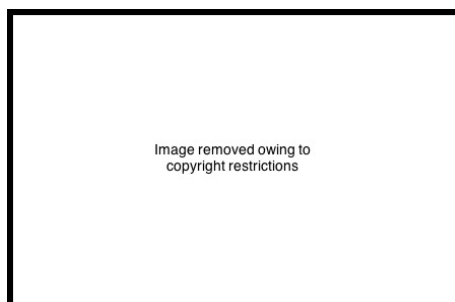


Fig 5.15. Unknown Photographer, 1938. Neak Pean during restoration works. © EFEO



Fig 5.16. Unknown Photographer, 1943. Neak Pean following restoration. © EFEO

Through such processes, the period of French colonial activity at Angkor is made central to any understanding of the site today. This is not just a matter of discursive structures or visual motifs, but also of applied heritage practice. When conservation and restoration activities were re-started in the early 1990s, Japan

financed the computerisation of major reports and graphic documents recording the EFEO's work from 1909 to 1972 (Miura 2011: 13). This vast resource would prove invaluable for ascertaining precisely what preservation initiatives had been carried out over this period, and what work had been 'undone' during twenty years of neglect. For Winter, the 'pre-eminence' of such traces in the post-colonial era would mean that a representation of Angkor inattentive to 'vernacular, social histories' could be 're-invoked and re-authenticated through a late twentieth-century framework of world heritage' (2008: 528). The implication here is that 'the ways in which Cambodians value Angkor as a lived space, a landscape in constant flux and a shared heritage of everyday, inter-generational traditions have been marginalised within a discourse of monumental grandeur and classical antiquity' (ibid: 536).

While this is no doubt true, it is my contention that the broad scope and precise indexicality of the EFEO photographs offer a potential counterweight to these processes, despite - or perhaps because of - the sheer visual abundance they comprise. The crucial point here is that, even where such images document and stimulate a triumphant history of heritage, they also make known the lived complexity of such phenomena, gesturing towards the individual, affective and often chaotic moments that constitute the work of 'scientific' research and conservation. We might for instance look to the EFEO archive to begin formulating a twentieth century typology of scaffolding at Angkor, or (more substantially) focus critical attention on the local communities employed by the French to assist in reconstructing the temples. Only by confronting the photographic ruins of colonialism in a way that actively politicises their content, materiality and persistent distribution can we begin to redirect the power of such visual artefacts within heritage. Tellingly for our purposes, this potentiality is manifest in unexpected ways at the EFEO's own archive in Siem Reap.

The current centre of EFEO operations at Angkor is located a short drive from the main World Heritage Site, in a small, purpose built wooden compound overlooking the Siem Reap River. Here, the EFEO library houses a small selection of books, periodicals and documents related to Angkor and the history of the organisation, with posters advertising exhibitions of historic photography decorating the exterior of the main building. It is important to note, however, that the collections on which these exhibitions are based are kept in Paris rather than Cambodia, a clear demonstration of the lingering effects of the centre/periphery dynamic typical of colonial power asymmetries (Bhabha 1994). While photographs have the capacity to collapse the distance implied by such models (Edwards 2001: 32), the limitations of

this potentiality must be recognised - a stance drawn out by those EFEO image-archives that *are* physically located close to Angkor.

Briefly, the collections I am interested in here consist of c50 photo-albums detailing recent (1992 onwards) conservation and restoration efforts at key sites across Angkor (e.g. The Terrace of the Elephants, The Terrace of the Leper King, The Baphuon). Largely uncatalogued in any systematic sense, this assemblage is distinct yet closely related to the more 'official' photographic records held in Paris, which often document earlier work at the same locations. Here we find images exposing the day-to-day work of conservators, the condition of buildings before and after restoration, ceremonies celebrating the completion of works, staged tours of visiting dignitaries, and daily life around the temples. While it would be possible to date many of the images from the activities documented, there is a pleasing ambiguity and openness to these uncaptioned prints, particularly those black-and-white images that seem anachronistic to the period in which the EFEO recommenced conservation efforts at Angkor (Figure 5.17). Indeed, on first reading these pictures appear to exist somewhere between the early work of the EFEO and more recent heritage activities, with the 5x3 photographic prints bordered by a white frame and trimmed edges suggesting the use of an outmoded technology. Also worth noting is the fact this collection ends around the late 1990s, when digital cameras became more common as a tool of the heritage professional (and the tourist of course). Subsequent EFEO archives will likely be held on discs and servers; readily accessible to varied constituents in a way these photographs - which remain resolutely undigitised - are not. All of this lends a nostalgic quality to the Siem Reap archive that belies the relatively recent date of image production, a reading heightened by the sense of 'rediscovery' many of these pictures are caught up in, as the EFEO returned to a site it had been expelled from two decades earlier. The colonial and the post-colonial are thus entangled in this collection, with the aftershocks of the former not just felt but reactivated in the latter.



Fig 5.17. Photographic archive at the EFEO Library in Siem Reap.
Photograph author's own

The way in which these photographs have been stored is also significant for provoking a reconceptualisation of the ‘official’ or ‘authorised’ status of the heritage archive. Carefully filed in stained vernacular photo-albums emblazoned with kitsch imagery and sentimental titles - ‘Love me Tender’, ‘In Those Days’, ‘Life Encouragement’, or simply ‘Memory’ (Figure 5.18) - the archive here is loaded with the idiosyncrasies of personal taste and the pragmatic availability of storage materials. However unplanned, this positioning of images deftly exposes a tension between the supposedly scientific, rational and objective practices of conservation photography and the emotional, affective and embodied experience of such work, accentuated through the intensely personal domain of the family album. In this context the visual remnants of the EFEO are open to a conceptual reframing that is not reliant on the digital realm or any explicit discursive reinterpretation. Indeed, it is the very materiality and quotidian aesthetics of the archive that disturb the significance and constructive potential of the images here, with photographic forms that may be criticised for repeating colonial image making practices effectively restrained by the mode of picture storage. This is not to suggest that these photographs are wholly without affective power in the world, only that their status and resonance are fundamentally disrupted by the immediate space of encounter (i.e. the series and the kitsch photo-album). Such unorthodox settings are liable to bring about a subtle metamorphosis in even the most commonplace elements of Angkor’s photographic life.



Fig 5.18. Vernacular photo albums contain the EFEO photographic archive in Siem Reap. Photograph author's own

In his influential history of Cambodia, Chandler asks what it meant for the ‘memories and the grandeur’ of Angkor to be brought back to life ‘in times of terror and dependence’ (1993: 2). This section has shown that there is an equal and urgent need to question the ways in which recent heritage practices have uncritically appropriated the work of individual French photographers (e.g. Gsell, Dieulefils) and organisations (e.g. the EFEO) to construct certain narratives around the ‘heroic’ discovery and salvation of Angkor in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Whether in exhibitions, publications, archives or on-site displays, the photographic ‘ruins’ of Angkor are routinely called upon not just to visualise the past, but to actively re-shape the present and future of the site. In this way contemporary Angkor may be said to exist as an aftershock of colonialism as much as a potent symbol of ancient Khmer. Crucially, however, while photographs have played a central role in forming this sense of Angkor as colonial debris, the fluidity of such traces means they remain open to alternative and perhaps disruptive recordings.

5.4. Shifting Perceptions of British Famagusta

When Thomson photographed Famagusta in 1878, one of his core aims was to produce a series of ‘before’ pictures that might be used as evidence by some future historian to prove the civilising influence of British rule in Cyprus (see above). Even where individual images foregrounded the ruinous churches of the town, Thomson’s photographic work was thus caught up in a narrative of potential development: an entanglement of past, present and future that immediately signals the need for a more

complex reading of the 'heritage' photograph. This tension between a photographic record ostensibly focused on the past and a moment of production oriented towards the future is routinely lost in the reappropriation of images. Here I want to complicate such deployments by showing how photographs produced under the aegis of colonialism that may be said to have constructed an idea of Famagusta as historic and unchanging (both at the time of production and through subsequent interpretations) can equally be seen to document a site in constant flux, with this ever-emergent quality underlining the highly contested status of the town's heritage. While the static nature of the photographic archive often seems to deny this possibility, my broad interest in the photographic *life* of historic sites is precisely intended to draw out those processes of negotiation and change that overturn conceptualisations of heritage as frozen and immutable. Even more so than at Angkor, the various ways in which different parties sought to use photography in and around Famagusta during the colonial period opens up the uncertainty of heritage practices to critical examination.

It is important to reiterate at this stage the shifting nature of British rule in Cyprus over what is commonly seen as the colonial period (1878 - 1960). Up to November 1914, when Turkey joined the First World War on the side of the Central Powers, Britain exercised only *de facto* sovereignty of the island. While the apparatus of this government closely resembled that of a crown colony, certain stipulations limited British influence, not least the payment of a substantial 'Turkish tribute' that left very little funds for any 'productive development' (Maier 1968: 135). Rule without reference to Ottoman practices did not begin until 1915, and it would be a full decade before Cyprus was officially proclaimed a crown colony, on 10th March 1925. For the first fifty years of British rule a sense of temporariness therefore permeated colonial Cyprus. Perhaps as a result, interest in the island waned significantly over this period (Emerick 2014), with planned improvements slow to materialise. The harbour at Famagusta for example was not drastically extended for many decades, largely as a result of Britain acquiring Alexandria and Port Said as bases for the Mediterranean fleet in 1882. Debates over Enosis, or union with Greece, also shadowed British rule from the outset. As one Bishop would write on the arrival of High Commissioner Wolsely at Larnaca in 1878, 'We accept the change of Government inasmuch as we trust that Great Britain will help Cyprus, as it did with the Ionian Islands, to be united with Mother Greece, with which it is naturally connected' (Cyprianos in Maier 1968: 130). The British balanced this political agenda - not without supporters in the colonial metropole - with a paternalistic attitude towards the minority Turkish population of Cyprus, and an awareness of the continued strategic significance of the

island. With the Second World War this militaristic role gained prominence, and it is perhaps telling that major improvement works were not undertaken in any concerted fashion across Cyprus until the late 1930s. As a consequence of this investment, and in stark contrast to the first half century of British rule, the people of Cyprus could be said to have enjoyed an ‘artificially high standard of living’ by the time of independence in 1960 (Maier 1968: 161). Such ‘progress’ must however be understood against a backdrop of increasingly hostile social division and a perception amongst many Cypriots that modernisation had failed (Bryant 2006: 62). The local adoption and refutation of this civilising discourse is one example of the ways in which ideas and practices of British colonialism were ‘co-opted’ by Cypriots (ibid: 48), a process with great bearing on the imperial ruination I am interested in here.

Approaches towards what we would now term the heritage of Cyprus were greatly affected by these variable colonial attitudes. Archaeological research and excavation were already known on the island before British dominion (e.g. di Cesnola 1877), and the international scope of this activity continued during the colonial period, with French, German, Swedish and Italian institutions all active from the mid to late nineteenth century onwards (Emerick 2014: 118). Simultaneously, the historic architecture of the island was documented and studied by various European constituents (see de Vogue 1860; Rey 1871; Enlart 1899). Unlike at Angkor, no narrative of exotic discovery was available here. Instead, the substratum of interest in the built remains of Cyprus was the presence of distinctly European architectural styles, both those derived from the mainland (Greek, Roman, Gothic, Venetian) and those reflected back to Europe from the period of the Crusades (Emerick 2014: 119). Historic knowledge and awareness therefore prefigured and shaped many nascent heritage practices, including photographic documentation. But while such work intensified under the British, concerted efforts to safeguard and conserve key historic sites were greatly limited by the political and economic status of the island. Indeed, it was not until the 1930s that any systematic restoration work was undertaken at Famagusta, directed by the recently established Department of Antiquities (Tümer 2012). The perceived neglect of Cypriot monuments by Britain went against the initial excitement that had greeted the inauguration of British control in 1878 - so notable in the work of Thomson - and led to fierce criticism from many commentators. As one letter to *The Times* declared in 1899,

Does England wish to have it said that what the Turks left the English destroyed? The landmarks of history are the most precious legacy of the past, the most priceless heritage of the future. Who is to restore them once they are

effaced? Every civilised government in the world is at last becoming awake to its responsibility in this matter (Countess Martinengo-Cesaresco in Emerick 2014: 120).

In the case of Famagusta, this situation was exacerbated by ongoing debates as to how best to 'conserve' the site, or indeed whether it should be protected at all. While initial interest in the town as a major strategic port may have waned almost immediately after Britain took control of the island, the colonial administration of Famagusta was not geared towards creating an 'outdoor museum per se', but rather a working and 'culturally significant possession' of Empire (2010: 251). At the same time, however, prominent calls were made for Famagusta to forego restoration of any kind. 'It should be left alone in its desertion and solitude', argued George Jeffery in a letter to the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings in 1900, as 'a place of pilgrimage for the artist and the antiquary' (in Emerick 2014: 125). Although the urban development of Famagusta and its surrounding environs (including Varosha) greatly undermined this stance, there remained a lingering sense up to the start of major conservation works in 1935 that the historic walled city might be 'frozen' through effective heritage intervention (Tümer 2012). The intersecting and sometimes divergent concerns of tourism, art history, conservation and economic development thus generated and reflected a complex set of attitudes towards the 'heritage' of Famagusta throughout the colonial period. Photography would both respond to and help shape these kaleidoscopic perceptions and practices.

While those practices commonly linked to heritage - conservation, protection, tourism, restoration etc. - were slow to materialise at Famagusta, subtle shifts in the perception and meaning of the site were played out and enacted through photography from the late nineteenth century onwards. Crucially, this process relied not just on the content of images, but in the networks of relationships they were embedded in. As my discussion of Thomson has already suggested, there was an implicit tension in much early colonial photography between a belief in the camera's capacity to offer an authentic, empirical record of reality and an intensification of the picturesque depiction of monumental architecture, an approach familiar from earlier modes of representation. Encountering sites of historical or archaeological interest (notions that already encompass some form of socially constructed projection of course) therefore elicited a complex set of visual responses, ranging from the meticulous documentation of architectural details to the enigmatic rendering of isolated ruins. These approaches should not however be seen as wholly incongruous, existing rather as points along a continuum of shifting attitudes towards what we might now term sites of heritage.

Indeed, as Emerick notes with specific reference to the emergence of a nascent heritage industry in Cyprus, the combination of ‘science, education and the picturesque’ was considered possible in late nineteenth century Europe (2014: 124). In this context, a site such as Famagusta, redolent with the ‘stirring events of the Middle Ages’ (Jeffery in Emerick 2014: 124) and already familiar to many artists, writers, historians, archaeologists and indeed photographers, presented both a case study in the value of ‘scientific’ analysis and an environment onto which certain notions of ruination and the picturesque might be mapped (often by the same individuals).

The celebrated work of French historian and archaeologist Camille Enlart is a case in point here. In 1896, Enlart travelled to Cyprus under the auspices of the Ministère de l’Instruction Publique et des Beaux-Arts to study ‘the reverberation of Gothic art outside the borders of France’ (Bonato 2007: 17), a subject open to myriad lines of enquiry in and around Famagusta (Enlart 1905). Taking up photography early in his career, Enlart deployed the camera as an apparatus of ‘objective’ documentation and a foundation for his architectural drawings: detailed sketches used in abundance throughout his magnum opus, *L’art Gothique et La Renaissance en Chypre* (1899). In many ways this volume epitomises the visual and discursive construction of Famagusta as a site of ‘scientific’ measurement and analysis, a space onto which emergent European heritage values and historical associations might be mapped. At the same time, Enlart’s work would be caught up in the embryonic tourist industry of late nineteenth century Cyprus, with original prints of his photographic work offered as souvenirs to ‘privileged personalities’ (Bonato 2007: 17) and his general research into noteworthy Gothic monuments employed as a proto Blue Guide amongst European travellers (Emerick 2014: 119). While it is testament to the depth and range of Enlart’s scholarship that his publications remain an important point of reference for the ‘scientific’ work of modern-day historians and archaeologists (Coldstream 1987), the photographs he produced have largely ceased to be of academic value, instead taking on a new role as part of the visual memory-scape of post-colonial Cyprus (see their use in the 2007 volume *The Island of Cyprus: A Photographic Itinerary from the 19th to the 20th Century* (Bonato et al.)). Although distinct in their nuances, both these types of appropriation (the scientific and the nostalgic) demonstrate the lingering affects of colonial image-making practices on the island; even those practices and ideas ostensibly detached from British rule. On this point however it is worth noting that correspondence between the various administrative departments of Empire suggests that Enlart may have exerted more than just indirect influence on the emergence of

heritage initiatives across the island (Walsh 2010). As High Commissioner Sir W. F. Haynes Smith wrote in July 1901,

I have in a separate despatch reported the kind assistance rendered to me in making certain investigations at Famagusta by Monsieur C. Enlart [...] who was lately entrusted by the French Government with a special mission to Cyprus, and I attach another copy of his report as it may be of interest to those who have regard for the antiquities of Famagusta. Monsieur Enlart's suggestions for better securing the preservation of the antiquities are being carried out (Haynes Smith 1901).

While laws protecting the ruins of Famagusta from unnecessary development and theft were passed in 1898 and 1891 respectively (see Basu and Damodaran 2015), the activities Haynes Smith refers to here were for the most part piecemeal and reactive, and this is reflected in the photographic records of the period. Colonial officers documented Famagusta not to record nascent heritage practices or - as Enlart had - scientifically understand the monuments, but to announce the ruinous state of this historically important site to the relevant parties in Britain. Thus barren landscapes are coupled with carefully chosen antiquities in the Colonial Archive: the former to promote the need for development and the latter to excite the concern of those who might be able to enact necessary changes in governmental policy (Figures 5.19-20). Photography in this context was deployed as a tool of communication to make known and substantiate the problems faced by the town, but in so doing the images also constructed a specific perception of Famagusta as deserted and resolutely historic - not a place of current habitation. This was closely related to British desires to 'empty' the small Turkish population from the medieval walls, an aspiration clearly laid out in an early report by the Civil Commissioner of Famagusta:

It [Famagusta] possesses every requisite to make it the first seaport of the island. Its chief drawback is its lazy and bigoted population, but as these are only 285 males, means may perhaps be derived of gradually squeezing them out of it.

The object is by degrees to lower the existing walls around the homes and to get more air and ventilation with these, The Turks by their religion are not allowed to overlook one another - hence these high walls and low houses. But if the Turks don't like improvements, they must lump it and go elsewhere (Swaine 1878).

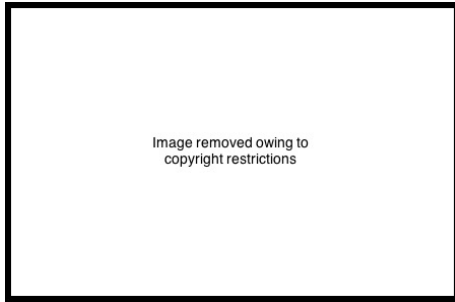


Fig 5.19. Anon, c1900-10. *Famagusta from the Armoury*. Colonial Office Archive CO 1069/694/7

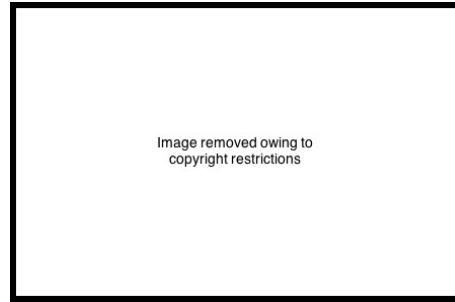


Fig 5.20 Anon, c1900-10. *Church of St. Nicholas - formerly St. Sophia - said to have been built by Richard Coeur de Lion*. Colonial Office Archive CO 1069/694/39

There are obvious parallels here with the contemporaneous activities and desires of the French in Cambodia, and it is important that we acknowledge such contexts when dealing with photographic records that are easily framed as ‘picturesque’ and therefore somehow neutral in their evocation of pastness. The recent digitisation of the Colonial Office Photographic Collection by *The National Archives* for example risks an uncritical memorialisation of said images; an intensification perhaps of the meaning generated in their careful material depositing, which implicitly subsumes the original communicative role of the pictures within a revised historical valuation (Flickr 2015). It is via such processes that the photographic ‘ruins’ of colonialism are liable to gain new constructive and affective force, both shaping and being shaped by the heritagisation of the subjects depicted.

Also important in understanding the continued resonances of the imperial archive are those subjects that were *not* photographed as part of any official programme of documentation. In relation to Famagusta, the absence of Varosha from the photographic record is particularly noteworthy, especially given the close interdependence this Greek Cypriot community was understood to have with the medieval walled town from the outset of colonial rule. As James Inglis - one of the earliest Commissioners of Famagusta - noted in 1879, Varosha was a ‘well to do place’ when the British took *de facto* control of Cyprus, and this prosperity was immediately seen as an opportunity for improving the protection of the historically significant sites of Famagusta (Inglis 1879). When, in the 1930s, extensive conservation plans were eventually put in place for Famagusta, the neighbouring town was seen as a natural site for counteractive development:

The value of the Famagusta monuments is not only in the individual buildings and ruins, but also to a large extent in their setting within the Fortifications.

The aspect of the Old Town from within the Walls, the prospect from the Walls, and the aspect of the Walls from without, are accordingly matters of primary importance; this involves consideration of the development of the modern town outside the Walls (McLean 1936).

Tellingly, the small selection of images that accompanies this report ignores the ‘modern town’ of Varosha altogether, focusing instead on those sites worthy of protection as part of the ‘zoning’ and planning of Famagusta (e.g. ‘ruins, walls, Cathedral Square and Turkish House’). To underline this point it is worth noting that perhaps the earliest photographic images of Varosha were produced not by the British, but by Charles Winckelsen, a French photographer attached to the *Legion d’Orient* (subsequently the *French Armenian Legion*) who was stationed in Cyprus during the First World War. In a marked departure from the prevailing representation of Famagusta as deserted and ruinous, here we find images of smallholdings, family homes and industrial life (Figure 5.21). Winckelsen thus implicitly frames Varosha as the antithesis of nearby Famagusta - a site of present lived experience countermanding the ‘frozen’ past of the medieval walled town. While the British were acutely aware of the need to consider these locales in tandem, photography was only deployed to document those monuments deemed worthy of protection, rather than the sites that would be developed to enable this preservationist work.² This lack of a communicative record in the imperial archive has had a lasting impact on our ability to visualise and ultimately remember - critically or otherwise - the colonial past. With certain elements of a site deemed more significant (i.e. more photographable) than others because of their perceived heritage potential, an accumulation of clichéd imagery emerges, in effect impoverishing our ability to confront wider processes of colonial meaning making through photography. Here then we might suggest that the aftershocks of colonialism are paradoxically experienced in the absence of certain photographic tropes. What emerges in the fissure created by this disregard is a matter of great interest for current understandings of heritage and photography.

² Here it is worth pointing out that in other contexts across Cyprus the British did photograph infrastructure projects (railways, hospitals, new harbours etc.), but in the dialectic of Varosha/Famagusta the former site was commonly left undocumented.

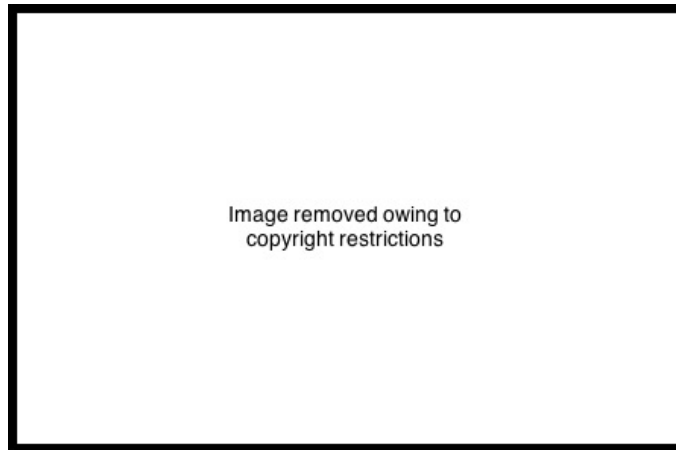


Fig 5.21. C. Winckelsen, 1918. *Fabrique de Gargoulettes*. © Ministère de la Culture (France) - Médiathèque de l'architecture et du patrimoine

The postponement of any major restoration or conservation work at Famagusta finally ended in the 1930s, when a comprehensive rehabilitation programme was begun under the direction of Theophilus A. H. Mogabgab, architect and officer of the Department of Antiquities. This work continued until the mid-to-late 1950s, when the increasing struggle for independence from Britain began to engulf the island, greatly prohibiting heritage practice (Tümer 2012: 232). Over this twenty-year period, the concerted efforts of Mogabgab and his team saw the ruinous architecture of Famagusta - including medieval walls, churches, palaces and other 'antiquities' - saved from further deterioration. At the height of this activity, 71 masons and labourers were employed in the restoration or clearance of monuments, assisted by local prisoners (ibid: 220). In a recent study of this concerted salvation programme, Ege Tümer has analysed Mogabgab's photographic archive to ascertain the types of work carried out across 56 distinct sites between 1935 and 1956, identifying examples of wholesale restoration, rehabilitation, attention to later intrusions, and excavations and clearance (ibid: 221). Without going into great depth on this collection, Mogabgab's methodical approach to photographic documentation is worth noting here, with the architect cataloguing and labelling thousands of images to 'fastidiously record every step of each project' (ibid). As with the EFEO archive, Mogabgab's images therefore record not just the picturesque sites and monuments of Famagusta, but also the very *work* of heritage, documenting the transformative tendencies of this phenomenon through images of people, 'before' and 'after' shots, and records of the wider environment in which historic buildings might be found. In stark contrast to the earlier work of Thomson and the limited visual repertoires

contained in the Colonial Office records, the scale and depth of this concerted photographic endeavour should be highlighted, especially for its associations to the fluid, pragmatic and responsive heritage measures enacted by Mogabgab. Currently held by the Turkish Archives of Northern Cyprus (Milia Arsiv), the wider post-colonial resonances of this collection have yet to be seen, although there is clear potential for the images to complicate narratives around the emergence of Famagusta as a site of heritage.

In 1960, on the eve of Cypriot independence, the Nicosia based publisher K. Rustem produced a *Picture Book of Cyprus* to introduce prospective tourists to different aspects of life on the island, 'from the modern towns to the smallest village' (Rustem 1960: 1). Across 185 black and white images collated and edited by Rustem, readers are shown power stations, factories, skiing parties in the Troodos mountains, ruinous castles, Turkish Cypriot folk dancing, animal shows and even a student volleyball match. As a marketing brochure this publication gestures towards an industry and an activity - tourism - that would come to shape the island over subsequent decades (a pursuit that also forms the focus of the next chapter). At the same time, I would suggest that we can read in this photographic volume a tacit response to Thomson's 1878 imagery, with the 'progress' made under British rule evaluated by highlighting such sights as 'the busy port of Famagusta', or the juxtaposition of 'ancient and modern' buildings in the same town. In this sense Rustem's publication might be seen as an 'unofficial' version of the Colonial Office's own 1959 report on Cyprus, which inevitably encompasses many of the same themes (e.g. infrastructure, trade, quality of life). Here we should also note that Hugh Foot, the last British Governor of Cyprus, provided a short foreword to the *Picture Book*: a sign of the ongoing entanglement of colonial practice and touristic visualisation at the end of imperial rule. Indeed, this point may be drawn out further when we consider that in the Colonial Office report Famagusta appears only once, and rather than the ruins of the Old Town or the functioning harbour it is a crowded beach that is given prominence (Figure 5.22).

Looking south towards Varosha, this image resonates with more recent depictions of the same location - depictions that emphasise not the playfulness of life on the beach, but the oppression of Cyprus (and Famagusta in particular) by Turkey. For many commentators the presence of such forces is a reminder that, in the context of Northern Cyprus, we cannot be said to have entered a 'post-colonial' era at all (Bryant and Papadakis 2012). Imperial ruination under such circumstances is not simply a matter of subtle affects that are 'dominant but hard to see' (Stoler 2008: 211), but of practices that are flagrant in their tyranny. The role of photography (as act,

object and medium) and the dynamics of heritage in this discursive and material environment form a central line of enquiry for subsequent chapters.

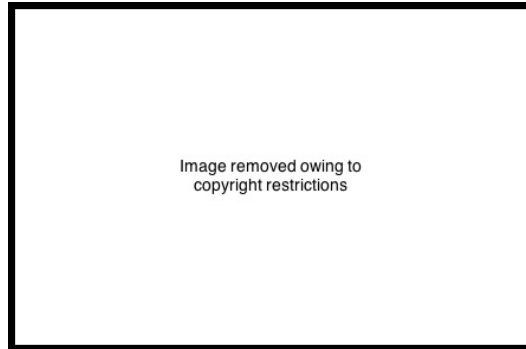


Fig 5.22. Anon, 1959. *Summer Holidays in Cyprus: Bathers on Famagusta Beach*. Colonial Office Archive CO 1069-708-7

5.5. Conclusion

The intentionally wide-ranging scope of this chapter has brought into the purview of analysis a number of critical photographic projects enacted during the colonial period at Angkor and Famagusta. Focusing on key moments in the photographic life of these locations, I have endeavoured to outline the broad constructive dynamics that might be said to have shaped such sites as heritage from the late nineteenth century onwards. In both case study contexts this has demanded an appreciation not only of the precise impulses driving image production, but also of those wider heritage concepts and practices emergent at the time that photography can be seen to have fed into and been influenced by. Resisting any simplistic evocation of the colonial gaze, this approach has demonstrated the shifting entanglements of heritage and photography over the period in question; a mutability that belies the static nature of the photographic object and suggests the need for a more nuanced reading of certain visual tropes (e.g. the ‘before’ and ‘after’ images of conservation practice at Angkor, or the ruinous landscapes of Famagusta used to promote the development of nearby Varosha).

This variability also underlies the more recent use of the same photographs by diverse constituents in the post-colonial era. Taking the increasingly expansive circulation of the Thomson archive as a key point of departure, I have sought to critique this phenomenon across a broad range of heritage-inflected deployments: sites of appropriation where the ostensibly ‘celebratory’ nature of the field can often

be shown to mask a complexity of values, meanings and consequences. While the inherent pastness of 'old photographs' is key to their continued constructive and affective potential in these circumstances, this can take on a distinctly political edge, overturning the soft abstractness described by Sontag. Heritage practitioners and theorists must continue to emphasise this potentiality in the photographic record, actively positioning images so that the densely layered and often problematic histories they are part of becomes apparent. Of course, a further challenge here is highlighted by the noticeable absence of certain subjects from the colonial archive (Varosha being a prime example). What emerges in the space left by this photographic void may be a thought-provoking avenue of further research.

Both Angkor and Famagusta were conceptually and materially transformed in the colonial era by European powers eager to exercise their authority over notable 'antiquities'. The very categorisation of a site as 'heritage' can therefore be read as a form of imperial debris, one of those dominant ideas and systems that 'originate in Western societies, assume a life of their own, and colonise the rest of the world' (Argyrou 2006: 220). By interrogating the production and subsequent appropriation of diverse images and collections within nascent and more established forms of heritage practice (ranging from large scale conservation work to 'unofficial' touristic commodification), I have shown how photographs might reflect and generate such constructive processes; visually emptying a site of its inhabitants, for example, or helping to map new material-discursive regimes. The key issue at stake here is to what extent the lingering presence of images put to such uses under the auspices of colonialism might be deconstructed and recast to serve more ethical heritage programmes in the twenty-first century. This problematic forms an important substrate across subsequent chapters.

6.

Remembering and Remaking Angkor and Famagusta

6.1. Introduction

From the late nineteenth century onwards, Angkor and Famagusta were caught up in an increasingly globalised exchange of ideas and practices related to the intensification of ‘heritage’ as a concept and activity (Hall 2011). Through precise documentation, scientific research and ideological transformations, these sites and others like them around the world were reconfigured *as heritage*, with all the material, abstract and ethical implications this term carries. As act, object and medium photography played a significant role in these processes - responding to and helping to augment the desire for ‘objective’ and lasting records of the present, and producing and visually communicating the ‘look’ of disparate sites and sights to international audiences. Rather than simply taking place against the shifting backdrop of colonialism, these photographic trends contributed to the power asymmetries of the period (Ryan 1997), generating and bolstering particular attitudes towards the past in the present - tangible or intangible, sacred or profane. And while the archiving and ongoing distribution of ‘colonial’ photographs in the post-colonial era shows how these structures may be reinforced or undermined through the redeployment of images, it is important to recognise that photography at Angkor and Famagusta has long encompassed much more than just ‘top-down’ representational and discursive regimes. It is to these alternative models of photographic mattering that I turn in the present chapter, interrogating a selection of projects that - whilst distinct from the ‘official’ practices of mainstream heritage (Harrison 2013) - are still intrinsically connected to the production and spread of certain heritage-inflected values, which may be seen to morph and fragment with the accumulation of these heterogeneous photographs.

More specifically, my aim in this chapter is to map out a set of related instances where photography has provided a nodal point in the formation of new networks of heritage concern. In the post-colonial era different communities of

photographic interest have coalesced around Angkor and Famagusta to very different ends, from artists and archaeologists to diaspora groups and charitable organisations. Focusing on a small number of these ‘projects’ and moments, I look to draw out the alternative notions and trajectories of heritage that may be contained in the kaleidoscopic photographs encircling and animating my core case study locations. Briefly, these projects comprise: the photographic memory-work carried out by the Bophana Archive in Cambodia; the similar though less ‘official’ archival collections of the Famagusta Association of Great Britain; the work of a select cohort of professional photographers active around Angkor in the 1990s; and, finally, the impact of the Angkor Photo Festival. Cutting across commercial, creative, reportage, familial and touristic photographs, the individuals and groups behind these projects have sought to harness the constructive and affective energies of the photography complex in the service of new heritage trajectories. The processes, practices and ideas encompassed by these projects include the assemblage and digitisation of quotidian image collections, the activation of historic photographs in unusual settings, and the production of new images using antiquated photographic technologies: a myriad of attitudes and approaches brought together here under the broad notions that photography might provoke new topologies of memory, and new imaginaries of heritage perception.

The performative nature of collecting and interpreting images is as important to this discussion as the act of creating and distributing new photographs. Through archival research, ethnographic fieldwork and interviews with the producers and consumers of photographs, I have been able to piece together a complex picture of the alternate heritage worlds that photography might become entangled in, separate from but responsive to the ‘official’ regimes of mainstream heritage practice. This research follows Tagg in recognising the need to analyse the ‘concrete institutions and apparatuses’ within which representational practices take place, establishing the ‘material, social and symbolic contexts in which they are sited, in which they operate, and in which they intervene’ (1989: 211). At the same time, the more-than-representational qualities and resonances of photography must be highlighted, particularly when we consider the intensities of affect that circulate around certain images. Indeed, this line of enquiry takes on particular significance in the post-conflict settings of Cyprus and Cambodia, with photography emerging as a locus for the projection and articulation of highly emotive interpretations of the material and intangible past, and the very concept of heritage. The key question structuring this research is the extent to which the production or accumulation of photographs might

be seen to act as an effective counterweight to the narrowing categorisation of Angkor and Famagusta as sites of heritage - a classification that, as Butler has argued (2006), must be opened up to alternative modes of thought and practice in the post-colonial, post-modern era. Taking this further, we might also ask whether a new ethics of heritage can be located in the revised concepts and materialities that precede and follow photography as act, object and medium, and this question forms an important substratum to the following discussion.

6.2. Topologies of Memory

As we saw in the previous chapter, the rhizomatic status of photography means that images produced under the rubric of one discursive regime may be re-appropriated and re-contextualised within alternative social systems. This results in a dense layering of meaning and interpretation, with the same photographs often pointing in multiple constructive and affective directions simultaneously. In the words of Thrift, photographic images may become 'hollowed out' but still retain a presence as 'enigmatic signifiers' (2008: 8). Through such processes individual images and photographic collections may become entangled with networks of meaning-making at some remove from their original setting, lingering on as 'denaturalised reminders of past events and practices, purposely memorialised in various ways or simply present as ruins, as melancholy rem(a)inders' (ibid: 9). While the re-use of 'official' colonial heritage photographs in the post-colonial era provides a striking instance of such phenomena at work, it must be emphasised that other photographic forms are also open to this critical 'ruination' (Stoler 2008). To this end, here I would like to focus on two very different archival projects related to Angkor and Famagusta as a means of teasing out some of the implications of this ruinous memorialisation. Examining in turn the processes of collation underpinning the archives, the types of images brought together, the layers of interpretation accruing around the photographs in these contexts, and the motivations behind their assemblage, I aim to unravel via concrete examples the broader consequences of 'remembering' the past through photography.

The Bophana Audiovisual Resource Center was opened in 2006 by Cambodian filmmaker Rithy Pahn and Ieu Pannakar of the Film Department at the Ministry of Culture and Fine Arts of Cambodia. Having witnessed the genocidal horrors of the Khmer Rouge, Pahn and Pannakar set out in the late 1990s to preserve the audiovisual heritage of Cambodia as a means of reconstructing some sense of 'historical continuum' for the country (Bophana 2015). This would be achieved through a global project of research, cataloguing and digitisation, with international

partners including the US State Department, UNESCO, the French Ministry of Foreign and European Affairs, and the Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation. Having amassed a diverse collection of audio, film and photographic material from across the world, the centre was opened in Phnom Penh and named after a young female prisoner tortured and executed by the Khmer Rouge. Today - as well as providing free access to this documentary material at a suite of digital access terminals - the centre organises screenings of historic films throughout the country, hosts regular concerts, art workshops and conferences, and trains young Cambodians in filmmaking, broadcasting and new media. As their website states, the Bophana Archive thus aims to

gather, image after image, snatches of life and a volley of voices. In order to try to understand, to try to give a name, a soul, a face and a voice to those whose had been deprived of them. To return to the victims of a murderous history their destiny and their memory. To recover freedom of speech by integrating reflection about the past with the construction of the present in order to escape tragedy and to begin to invent the future.

It is not only a question of recovering memory, but also of knitting up the elusive warp of a multiple and living identity, that of contemporary Cambodian society (Bophana 2014).

Clearly this undertaking encompasses much more than simply images of Angkor. With collections including 1970s film posters, footage of circus performances, recordings of traditional songs and music, and photographs documenting the victims of American bombing campaigns, the Bophana archive constructs and publicises a multifaceted picture of Cambodia before and during the Khmer Rouge, one that immediately unsettles conventionalised discourses of the country's national heritage. Crucially - and in line with these fractured historical trajectories - it is worth noting that very little of this material is held 'on-site', with the centre acting more as a point of digital access for disparate analogue collections than a physical archive in the traditional sense. This does not however prohibit powerful notions of personal and collective memory from permeating the project - a sign perhaps of the need to recognise the crucial role spaces of archival encounter play alongside the spaces and materialities of archival storage in the memorial processes I am interested in here.

Despite some crossovers with the colonial archives discussed in the previous chapter,³ the few image collections that do prioritise Angkor at the Bophana Center gesture towards a very different reading of the site to that found in the ‘official’ photographs of the EFEO. In the work of Mimi Palgen for example we find familiar temple vistas and architectural details from across Angkor, but also subtle hints of the surrounding life of the site, including inhabitants of the villages found throughout the archaeological park (Figure 6.1). Palgen, an amateur photographer and staff member of Radio Phnom Penh, made several trips to Siem Reap and Angkor during her time in Cambodia, which lasted from 1946 to 1962. Recording scenes of individual reflection and significance, Palgen’s work represents an important reference point for the expansion of photography at Angkor beyond the domain of conservators, archaeologists and other researchers. There is no specific agenda to these photographs, no explicit colonial or preservationist impulse, and this openness ‘at the root’ has aided in the translation of the images to a site of collective memorial resonance (the Bophana Center). With Palgen’s physical archive held by the Arizona State University Library, the digital movement of this collection (which consists of over 2000 images) also speaks to the shifting material-discursive frameworks that influence how and why certain images may become venerated *as* memory - a process that relies as much upon personal transactions and historical relationships as the content of said pictures.

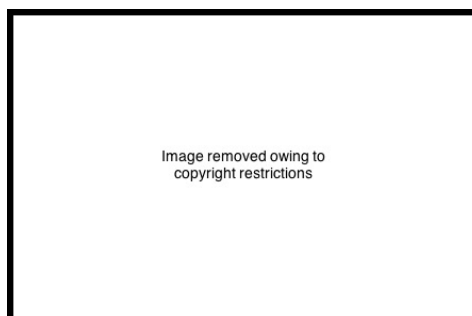


Fig 6.1. Mimi Palgen, 1946-62. *Two boys on bicycles in front of the Elephant Terrace.*
© ASU Libraries

A similar archival movement can be located in the work of Japanese artist Yoko Toda. Visiting Cambodia in 1965 and 1966, Toda explicitly sought to capture life in its ‘natural’ state around Angkor (2006), documenting the people and everyday

³ The earliest records ‘held’ by the Bophana Center are digital copies of Emile Gsell’s Angkorean photographs.

environments encountered as well as familiar temple scenes. As with Palgen's collection, Toda's photographs must be seen as records of a creative and intensely personal engagement with the site, one that emphasises the embodied and affective experience of Angkor at a specific (and subsequently highly emotive) historical juncture (Figure 6.2). Indeed, this sense of a quotidian heritage persisting and thriving in the shadow of superlative historical architecture is what lends the images a dynamism as memorial artefacts, a potentiality the artist herself looks to explore in the redeployment of said photographs as part of the project *Silence Remained*. Here, Toda juxtaposes historic black-and-white images of Angkor with colour film of the same locations today: a process of de-coupling and re-imagining the photographic trace that underlines the shifting notions of heritage that may accrue around these 'rooted' visualities. Working along a parallel trajectory, the integration of Toda's images within the Bophana Center archive speaks to a 'belated registration' of the content of her photographs, a reframing that can both 'facilitate or block remembering or forgetting' (Baer 2002: 181). In sum, Toda's images (like Palgen's) are now held up as part of a collective cultural memory of the pre-Khmer Rouge world, becoming significant *after the fact* in ways unanticipated by the photographer.

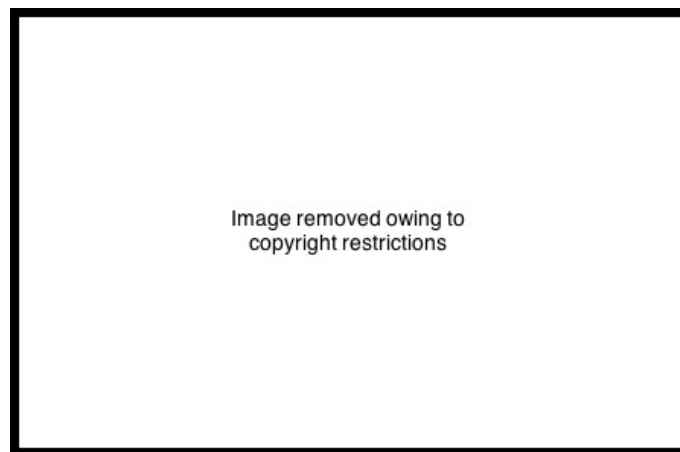


Fig 6.2. Yoko Toda, 1966. *Untitled Image*. © Yoko Toda

The work of Jean Boulbet provides a useful counterweight to this sense of belated registration. In the 1960s Boulbet was attached to the EFEO as an ethnologist, researching widely around the sites of Phnom Kulen and Battambang. In 1970, when visiting Angkor Wat, Boulbet created a remarkable series of images that document the conditions of refugees living within the temple (Figure 6.3). Ronnie

Yimsut records the experiences of these refugees in his memoir of life under the Khmer Rouge, writing of many families being sent to Angkor by the Vietcong to serve as ‘human shields’ in the face of an American aerial bombing campaign (2011: 34). Boulbet’s images thus show Angkor in an unfamiliar guise: heavily populated not with tourists, but with starving and anxious local residents. This little known collection hovers at the margins of the main EFEO archive in Paris, and it is highly telling that Boulbet’s work has only been given special prominence at the Bophana Center, forming part of the first public exhibition held at the site in 2007. Far from retrospectively commemorating the everyday, the archiving and exhibition of Boulbet’s images recognises the constructive and affective power to be gained from this highly particularised moment, when the desire to preserve Angkor directly coincided with the protection of human lives.

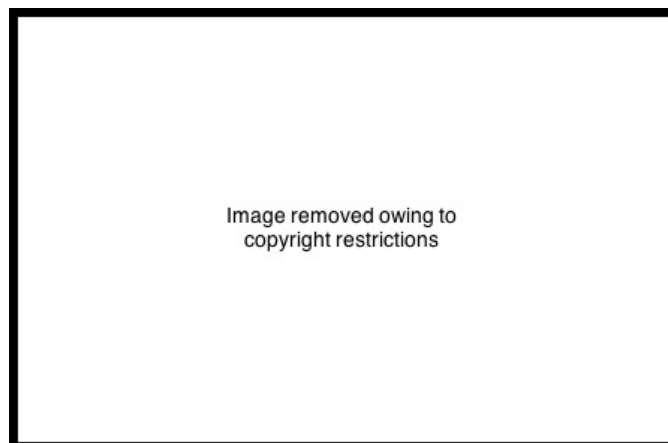


Fig 6.3. Jean Boulbet, 1970. *Refugees at Angkor Wat*. © EFEO

While it remains beyond the scope of the present study to examine this particular collection in great detail, it is worth emphasising here the alternative heritage genealogies contained and projected onto such images, which propel the lived dynamics of Angkor in provocative directions. In a similar vein, the ongoing photo-journalism of John Vink collected by the Bophana Center opens up the ‘fluidity’ of Angkor by showing not the familiar sights of a frozen heritage-scape but the evolving contours of a site in constant flux. From the striking image of an armed guard at the Bayon in 1989 (Figure 6.4) to the more recent documentation of unofficial New Year celebrations at Angkor Wat (Figure 6.5), Vink’s extended engagement with this subject overcomes the inherent stasis of the photographic medium to draw out the

'becoming' (Massumi 2002) of Angkor: a state of potentiality that works with and against the image as trace, as memory, as universal signifier and as cliché.

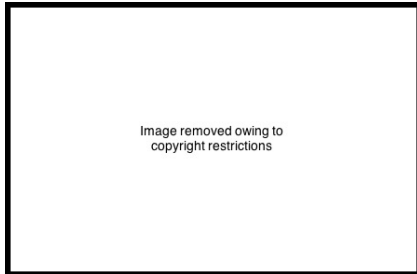


Fig 6.4. John Vink, 1989. *Bayon temple at the Angkor Vat complex. Museum guard, khmer style.* © John Vink/Magnum Photos

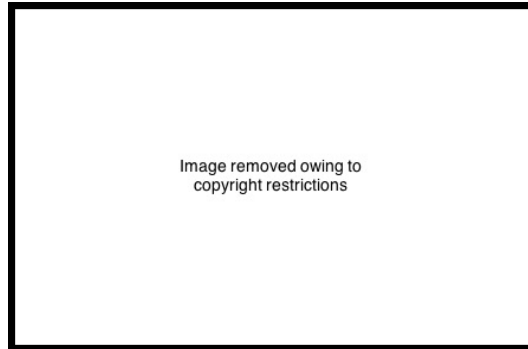


Fig 6.5. John Vink, 1999. *Cambodian tourists starting the Khmer New Year celebrations in front of Angkor Wat temple.* © John Vink/Magnum Photos

From this brief overview we can see how the photographic collections brought together by the Bophana Center might undermine or subvert familiar conceptualisations of Angkor as heritage. At the same time, however, the archival processes enacted by the Centre are heavily indebted to notions of salvation, rescue and preservation emergent around the work of heritage more broadly. The photographic trace is here vital to a re-shaping of memory in the aftermath of conflict, with the infinitesimal gestures and human moments 'captured' by the camera allowing for a belated registration that actively reconstitutes images from and of Angkor as part of a 'living, archival memory' of Cambodia (McQuire 2013: 232). The subtle differences apparent around photographic archives related to Famagusta may help elucidate this point further.

In recent years a number of projects designed to collect and disseminate historic and contemporary photographs of Famagusta have been enacted by various individuals and organisations concerned with the loss of this town to the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus. These include major publications from the Cultural Centre of the Marfin Laiki Bank (Lazarides 2009), highly personal acts of assemblage and publication such as 'Thiakos Zissis' *In-Hostage* project (Zissis N.D), and more communal programmes of research and interpretation, such as that carried out by The Famagusta Association of Great Britain (FAGB). Although distinct in their practices of collation and diffusion (encompassing CD-ROMs, hardback books, online forums and public exhibitions) all of these endeavours are motivated by a desire to ensure

some sense of continuation with the recent past of Famagusta, connecting in particular the Greek Cypriot exiles of Varosha with their former lives. In this context the process of collating photographic images and other historic material acts a focal point for the highly politicised memorialisation of pre- and post-conflict Famagusta, alerting disparate audiences to the vibrant past and derelict present of the town in an attempt to force Turkey into action over the 'return' of Varosha to its exiled population.

Tellingly, and in opposition to the monumental heritage familiar from colonial representations of Famagusta, this archival activism revolves primarily around quotidian aspects of the past, with school photographs, family albums and postcards dominating the visual discourse of these interrelated projects. Indeed, similar or even identical photographs surface time and again across these collections: everyday images torn from their initial contexts and elevated to the status of 'iconic' memorial objects. So, for example, postcards depicting 'Famagusta seafront as it was before the Turkish invasion in August 1974' featured on the FAGB website might appear in an exhibition at the Hellenic Centre, or in a slideshow of images displayed behind speakers at the event *Famagusta: From Tragedy to Opportunity*, held at Portcullis House in May 2012 (Figure 6.6-7). This shifting re-deployment speaks to a limited photographic repertoire, one that forces audiences and image-users back to certain visual 'roots' of the photography complex, and therefore certain topological forms. As one member of the FAGB informed me, 'if someone has discovered another one, a picture you haven't seen before, you get really excited'. Concerted acts of collation and interpretation may therefore be supplemented by sudden archival unearthings, or - more common nowadays - the sharing of 'new' pictures online via social media. The unique affectivity of the photographic trace clearly plays into the excitement that greets such discoveries, but there is also a sense I think that the framed photograph inevitably sets up perimeters around the past, and that with each new image these barriers are destabilised, thus allowing new memorial topologies to emerge.



Fig 6.6. Screenshot of postcard images collated by the Famagusta Association of Great Britain (FAGB 2010)



Fig 6.7. Exhibition of Famagusta images held at Hellenic Centre, London, April 2014. Photograph author's own

As Harris has argued in relation to the Tibetan diaspora, ‘the portability of photographic objects makes them ideally suited for spreading networks of cohesion between people separated by great distance both within and beyond national boundaries’ (2004: 133). In the context of Famagusta, the overarching purpose behind collecting and publicising photographs in this way is to show what was, and therefore what has been lost. Even when the images used to this end are not loaded with the saccharine sentimentality of the postcard they must be viewed in this affirmative light. The most routine photographic records - polaroids of a construction site for example (Figure 6.8) - thus become entangled in the formation of an idealised past. They are set to work in opposition to present circumstances, transformed into uniquely affecting and affective diasporic artefacts intended to breathe life back into the empty

streets of Varosha. Of particular interest here is the way in which the FAGB and other groups seek to ‘re-inhabit’ Varosha via such photography, ‘reanimating’ the town as a living entity even while the physical infrastructure of the locality falls into ruin. As one active member of the FAGB informed me, photographs allow the exiled community to ‘walk the streets every night’, an imaginative projection that explicitly undoes any suggestion that Varosha is simply an abandoned ‘ghost town’. Indeed, this politicised ‘haunting’ of the site demonstrates that the language of abandonment is wholly unsatisfactory here, for Varosha is kept vital to present lives in a host of ways, not least through the collecting of photographs, as one exile of Famagusta explained:

I think it’s true to say that by collecting [...] whatever you find, pictures or other stuff [...] you keep together with people with the same passion of returning, we have the same roots, we share the same experiences, so I think that’s a kind of therapeutic way of dealing with the loss, because it is a bereavement.

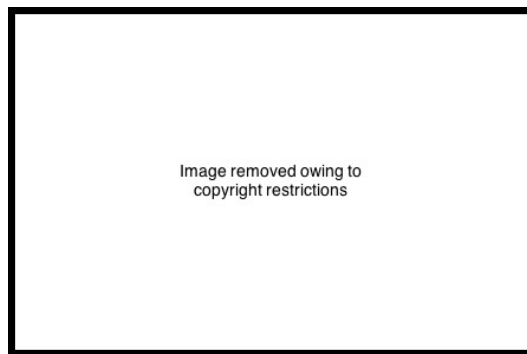


Fig 6.8. Photographer Unknown, 1970s. *Hot Pants Boutique* (Λεωφόρος Κένεντι) ΑΜΜΟΧΩΣΤΟΣ. Photo from Pavlos Lacovou Facebook album, via FAGB

There is of course also a strong sense of injustice to this ‘bereavement’ on the part of the Greek Cypriot diaspora community, and it is worth highlighting that, alongside ‘historic’ images of Famagusta, the FAGB have amassed a parallel photographic series documenting the dilapidated state of Varosha since 1974. Although brought together as a separate ‘set’ on the official FAGB website, these photographs are clearly meant to be viewed in dialogue with the pre-1974 images. They establish a dichotomy between ‘then’ and ‘now’ which, as Samuel realised, plays an important role in the emergence of heritage discourse: ‘Instead of the past being a prelude to the present it was an alternative to it, a reverse image of the way we live’ (1994: 322). The nostalgia suffusing this phenomenon is cast in a different light here,

however, for the ‘reverse image’ of a Famagustan past promoted by diaspora groups is also a reminder of the physical inaccessibility of the town today. Under such circumstances Hauser’s evocation of photography *en abyme* is drawn to the surface (2007), with the ‘missing’ past of the image doubly referencing a ‘missing’ present: that of a thriving and populated Varosha.

While both the Bophana Archive and the work of the FAGB can be seen to circle around notions of loss, salvation and the ‘belated registration’ of quotidian pasts, the specific aims of the latter project mark out a different terrain of photographic mattering, making explicit the role of memory in shaping new futures. This is highlighted on the FAGB website, where exiled residents are invited to submit their memories of Famagusta via an online questionnaire. At one point respondents are asked: ‘How did you feel when you found yourself on your home soil as a visitor in a museum; See but don’t touch?’ Such provocative language gestures towards an existential fear that Varosha can now only be seen as an object of the past, a *museal* artefact ‘to which the observer no longer has a vital relationship and which [is] in the process of dying’ (Adorno 1981: 175), a fear of ‘neutralisation’ borne out through comments made when discussing tourism to Famagusta with members of the diaspora community:

There is one hotel, now called Palm Beach [...] and it’s true that people do stay in the hotel, and you do have tourists staying, and sunbathing on the beach, and behind them there is a backdrop of all these ruined hotels. I don’t know how, I just think they are people with no brain cells, because they don’t question this and feel happy to be there. I don’t understand.

Here Hitchens’ suggestion that the ‘eradication’ of Greekness in the northern part of Cyprus has been so thorough that, ‘if one were not the prisoner of one’s knowledge, one could relax very agreeably’ is given added poignancy (1997: 25). By constantly reminding audiences that Varosha was - *and could still be* - a living space the Association seeks to re-occupy and revitalise the town through photography and other discursive strategies. This process looks to complicate any simplistic perception of the site as dead and inert, highlighting both the lived experiences of the past and the traumatic realities of the present. Such practices explicitly question those antagonistic processes - most notably tourism - through which the intense affectivity of Varosha is somehow ignored or marginalised (see next chapter).

Like the Bophana Archive, the images collated by the FAGB and other groups and individuals related to the Greek Cypriot diaspora are drawn from

numerous sources, including extant publications, social media collections, family albums and commercial outlets (e.g. postcards). Such processes of assemblage draw together varied strands of heritage concern, from the nostalgic and the touristic to the archaeological and the economic. Often however the networks established through such memory-work can be fragile, and we should not take the inclusion of certain images or collections within wider archival accumulations as evidence of a singular approach or attitude towards 'heritage'. This can be drawn out with respect to Famagusta by considering the personal collection of Richard Chamberlain, which has yet to be incorporated within the communal 'archives' of the FAGB.

Between 1954 and 1955 Chamberlain worked as a post orderly for the British army in Cyprus. Like many soldiers on the island he often carried a camera, wishing to record the 'paradise' (2010: 2) in which he had been so fortunately stationed. Chamberlain lost the negatives from this period shortly after returning to Britain, and it was only when his brother rediscovered them some fifty years later that he began to digitise and promote the collection, culminating in the publication *Cyprus Scenes and Way of Life in 1954* (2010).

Documenting a period towards the end of British colonial influence on the island, Chamberlain's images show the everyday life of Famagusta and its inhabitants, with bustling markets, camel trains on the main high street and games of Backgammon outside the cafes. The harbour and Varosha waterfront are also documented, including the Palm Beach Hotel. In the Old City meanwhile Lala Mustafa Pasha Mosque dominates Chamberlain's photographic repertoire, although the surrounding area is also captured (Figure 6.9). By his own admission Chamberlain's images are far from 'works of art' to be valued in their own right, and yet their uncovering garnered significant interest across varied contexts, opening up extensive networks of heritage interest. These included connections with a London based Greek Cypriot photographer who helped digitise and publish the collection, and a close relationship with the Martin Laiki Bank in Nicosia, who provided Chamberlain with one of their own publications on historic Cypriot imagery in exchange for his volume. Furthermore, while Chamberlain had spent many holidays in Famagusta before rediscovering his negatives, the photographs initiated a more in-depth affiliation to the town:

When we go there, it's a bit of a laugh. I start getting the books out [...] Sometimes I walk down the road and I meet these old boys who are as old as I am, and they know how things were, and then when I get the book out, you

want to see them, they're so interested - look at that! They remember how it used to be.

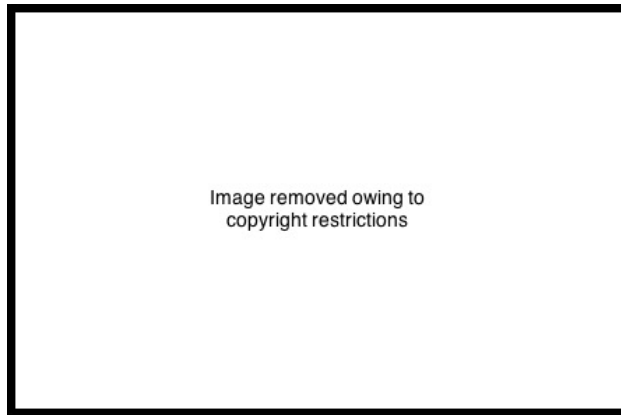


Fig 6.9. Richard Chamberlain, c1954. *Large Old Cannon that was on the Old City Wall.* © Chamberlain

On another occasion, while staying at the Palm Beach Hotel, with the fence surrounding Varosha just a few metres away, Chamberlain's photographs raised interest in another format:

I'd published a calendar, and one of the managers in this hotel said, oh we'll help you sell that calendar. I had a big pile of these calendars, and these Greek Cypriots were coming along the beach and going up to the border, and I got these calendars out and started selling them on the beach.

Clearly an interest in or desire to purchase Chamberlain's photographs, or others like them, may surface for a variety of reasons, coalescing around the 'evidential force' of the photographic image (Ryan 1997: 19). Combining with the 'social life' of the collection as a whole - wherein photographs 'have agency in [...] specific, performative social situations' (Rose 2007: 223) - the information contained in Chamberlain's images would thus prompt new material-discursive connections between past, present and future. One connection that has not however been solidified relates to the FAGB, who sought to obtain the rights to Chamberlain's photographs upon hearing of their discovery. Not wishing to relinquish these rights or align his images with the overtly politicised work of the Association, Chamberlain refused this offer. Such discord reminds us of the differential interpretations and affects that may accrue around photographs, and the subtle shifts in heritage meaning that may result from these alternate readings and deployments.

Sontag suggested that ‘what renders the photograph surreal is its irrefutable pathos as a message from time past’ (1977: 54). As the response to Chamberlain’s photography attests, this pathos may have an acutely political edge. Heritage plays no small part in this process. Most notably - for Chamberlain at least - photographs of this period document ‘an idyllic age’ before the onset of major inter-communal violence and conflict across the island. Such discourse closely resembles the ‘redemptive formula’ identified by Butler, with heritage acting as a ‘medium by which to mythologise, reclaim and repossess ‘lost’ pasts, imagined homelands, ancient Golden-ages’ (2006: 464). Photography provides a powerful conduit through which this medium might operate: the ostensible bluntness of its visuality reinforcing such overly simplistic heritage constructions. The post-colonial conflict which forced many of Famagusta’s residents into exile, turning home into an inexplorable past in opposition to the foreign lived-in present, accentuates this dynamic.

The memorial topologies emergent around the collecting practices of the Bophana Center, the FAGB and other similar archival projects take the ‘rootedness’ of the photographic trace as a critical point of departure, transforming ‘chance visual residues’ into ‘precious icons’ (Samuel 1994: 328). Motivated by a powerful sense of rupture, images of Angkor and Famagusta may be fundamentally ‘remade’ through such processes, their content, materiality and - importantly - social lives coalescing around a ‘belated’ registration of the past in the present. In both cases, it is not so much the depiction of physical monuments or historic architecture that motivates this re-use of images, but rather the fleeting glimpses of ‘everyday’ life contained - often inadvertently - in the photographic record. The constructive potential of images under such circumstances may be fundamentally at odds with the original intentions of the photographer, propelling the trace towards unanticipated directions of meaning making and affect. Through these processes new layers of cultural, social, personal or familial value may exude from or be projected onto the photographic life of Angkor and Famagusta, and this in turn may alter how we perceive and engage with the sites today. The material-discursive environments of assemblage and interpretation thus intersect with the space of the photograph and the original ‘sites’ of image production to produce a densely layered ‘memoryscape’ (Basu 2013) that resists any simplistic categorisation as heritage.

6.3. New Imaginaries of ‘Heritage’ Photography

Working in parallel to the re-use of ‘old photos’ as constructive mechanisms, the production of new images at Angkor and Famagusta routinely seeks to re-imagine

what these sites might mean to varied constituents. Indeed, over the last two decades both localities have seen a growing trend for creative photographic interventions that explicitly seek to provoke alternative heritage readings, locating new visual, material and discursive possibilities in sites that have been photographed time-and-again in the same way (see next chapter). In this sense such photographs may be said to answer Flusser's call for images that inform and change:

As inhabitants of the photographic universe we have become accustomed to photographs: They have grown familiar to us. We no longer take any notice of most photographs, concealed as they are by habit; in the same way, we ignore everything familiar in our environment and only notice what has changed. Change is informative, the familiar redundant (Flusser 2000 [1983]: 65).

To begin fleshing out this idea, I would like to focus on a distinct moment of photographic activity at Angkor, namely the 1990s to 2000s, a period which coincides with the renewal of major conservation initiatives, a vast increase in tourism, and, in 1992, the inscription of the Angkor Archaeological Park on the World Heritage List. The near contemporaneous work of John McDermott, Kenro Izu, Thierry Diwo and Marc Riboud forms the central thread here, and while I do interrogate key images produced by these fine-art photographers, my core concern remains the more fleeting 'photography complex' (Hevia 2009) that feeds into and emerges from their various intersecting acts of documentation, publication, exhibition and interpretation.

The Angkor Advisory Body Evaluation reported to UNESCO in 1992 that the absence of the site from the World Heritage List had long been considered to 'devalue' the list as a whole (UNESCO 1992: 7). The 'universal' significance of these monumental ruins was thus assumed from the outset, with the criteria for nomination focusing on the exemplary nature of ancient Khmer artistic and architectural achievements. According to UNESCO's evaluating body, the complex included a 'number of artistic masterpieces' that resulted in a 'new artistic horizon in oriental art and architecture' (ICOMOS 1992: 8). The ruins of Angkor represented 'all that remains' of the Khmer Empire, a civilisation now only discernible in its 'rich heritage of cult structures in brick and stone' (ibid).

As Di Giovine has noted, this designation "forgets" the contestation, violence and abandonment that comprised so much of these Cambodian temples lives' (2009: 134), a history that included the recent use of the site as a refugee camp, as Boulbet's photography testifies. Rather than confront this complex and to some extent more elusive heritage, the predominant narrative of the period focused on the

renewal of conservation efforts, a programme with ‘tangible’ impacts that largely accorded with earlier colonially inflected initiatives led by the EFEO. The perceived importance of this work is reflected in the simultaneous nomination of the site to the World Heritage in Danger List, where it would remain for the next decade.

The return of conservators, archaeologists and other heritage practitioners to Angkor had a distinctly international flavour. The Polish conservation body PKZ were involved in the site around this time, while in 1989 the Archaeological Survey of India began a three-year campaign of vegetation removal, reconstruction and stone cleaning at Angkor Wat (UNESCO 1992: 3). Soon French, Hungarian, Swedish, Japanese, German and British teams would be engaged in work across the various temple complexes. All of these projects would of course implement some form of photographic documentation of the buildings under their jurisdiction. While this may well be critiqued as a neo-colonial enterprise aligned with the rationalist imposition of ‘Eurocentric’ values, it is worth noting that ‘save Angkor’ also became a symbol of ‘reconciliation, peace, recovered past glory, and national prestige and hope’ for the people of Cambodia (Miura 2011a: 15). Tellingly however the aforementioned advisory document makes no mention of the voluntary cleaning work carried out at various temples by local villagers in the 1980s (Miura 2011b: 112), practices that speak to alternative cosmologies of care, protection and the ‘doing’ of heritage.

The photographers I am primarily interested in here (American, French and Japanese) reflect this resurgence of international concern, but does this also make them antithetical to local heritage ontologies? Can the privileged world of fine-art photography offer anything to a site such as Angkor other than the realisation of an acutely aestheticised encounter? The central consideration in this regard must always be to those asymmetrical photographic processes that, in the words of Morris, risk casting the photographed into an ‘abyssal space where history constantly threatens to become, quite simply, the past, and even the surpassed’ (2009: 10). The documentation of Angkor by fine-art photographers usefully illustrates and unsettles such concerns.

There were of course countless tourists to Angkor before UNESCO listed the site in 1992. Nevertheless, alongside concerns over the physical preservation of individual buildings, the Angkor Advisory document highlights tourism as one of ‘the most serious potential threats’ to the site: ‘the impact of increased tourist facilities’ the authors write, ‘could be catastrophic [...] This factor must be given the highest priority [...] so as to avoid irreparable damage to the setting of the monuments’ (1992: 7). Ostensibly a warning about the possible physical degradation of key architectural

features, there is a barely hidden subtext to this apprehension. Tourism and its associated industries would fundamentally alter the *look* and *feel* of Angkor - the atmosphere in other words - with new buildings, new infrastructure and - perhaps most importantly - new and ever greater numbers of *people* encroaching on the experience of the site. This would be reflected in notable photographic topologies of the period, particularly those which sought to evoke a 'timeless' Angkor.

The Cambodia-based American photographer John McDermott has been an especially vocal advocate of this stance. In a *New York Times* article on McDermott's work from 2007 with the telling headline 'Capturing Angkor Before Tourism Works Its Changes,' the photographer states that 'I wanted [my pictures] to look as if they'd been taken 300 years ago, 500 years ago, or yesterday - or tomorrow' (in Gross 2007). This timelessness would be explicitly constructed through a number of pictorial choices: the use of infrared film and filters; the avoidance of any references to modernity; traditional methods of printing and publication. As McDermott himself has written, these techniques and effects lend the images a 'dreamy, impressionistic quality, [they] appear almost like etchings or charcoal drawings from another era' (2009; Figure 6.10). In conversation during fieldwork in 2012 the photographer expanded on this premise, suggesting that infrared film 'adds a little magic to everything [...] it pulls a veil over the pictures, just gives an otherworldly touch'. More emphatically still, McDermott admitted to wanting 'no indicators of time frame' present in his images, and while certain pictures may be said to exhibit a theatrical quality in their content and composition, he would also avoid 'orchestrating' any shots.

What does this longing for timelessness via camera-based imagery say about the relationship between heritage and photography? More immediately, how can an invention so bound to the material-discursive processes of modernity ever be said to produce 'timeless' images? This question pulls against the foundations of the photographic trace, unravelling the primacy of the 'moment' and of the specific image in any analysis of photography, and directing us instead towards those networks of mattering which make up the photography complex.

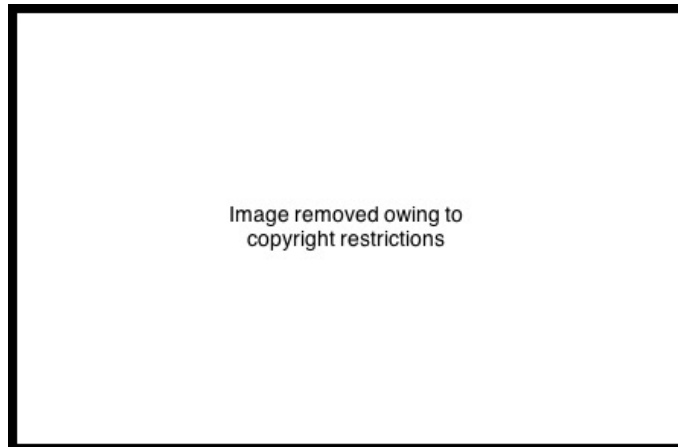


Fig 6.10. John McDermott, 2001. *Angkor Wat*. © John McDermott

While McDermott was first drawn to Angkor at a very specific temporal and spatial moment - a total solar eclipse in 1995 - the bulk of his work was produced more recently, in 2001-2002. This period marked the culmination of the ‘Save Angkor’ decade (Miura 2011a), with many of the sites subsequently depicted by McDermott having undergone significant conservation work over the preceding ten years. It therefore goes without saying that any ‘timeless’ evocation of these (relatively) well preserved structures could only have been undertaken at a particular juncture in the heritage life of the site.

The timing of Thierry Diwo’s photographic work at Angkor would also be crucial in creating a *timeless* evocation of the site. Now based permanently in Cambodia, Diwo promotes his collection - largely taken in the early to mid 1990s - on the fact they document a site before the arrival of mass tourism. As literature available at one of his two Siem Reap galleries states: ‘his photo of an empty Angkor Wat causeway [...] would be virtually impossible to take today’. This is not to suggest however that Diwo’s (or indeed McDermott’s) images are devoid of people. As the wiry French photographer informed me during an interview conducted in 2012, his primary aim had always been to create portraits rather than architectural studies, humanistic photographs that would focus as much on present Cambodians as the ancient temples they live alongside. Images depicting the local cleaners at Ta Prohm or young children in and around Preah Kahn articulate this concern. While such pictures offer a welcome glimpse of the lived inhabitants of Angkor so often missing from the photographic record, the imagined timelessness of such images is ultimately more troubling, reminiscent of what Chandler has called a ‘myth of changelessness’ often propagated by colonial administrators (1993: 2-10). ‘There is here a permanence

of things, a continuity', writes photographer Marc Riboud in his own reflections on the 'daily life' that 'mirrors' the friezes of the Bayon and Angkor Wat (1993: 144). Such trite engagements with the site and with Cambodia as a whole undermine attempts to better understand the complex lived realities of Angkor, a task photography (as act, object and medium) may be well placed to serve.

Here it is worth noting that Riboud's comments are in fact at odds with his own photographic documentation of Angkor, carried out across various excursions to the site between 1968 and 1990. While the images resulting from this sporadic engagement do include familiar subjects attuned to the timeless - detailed studies of bas-reliefs, ruinous structures engulfed in plant life, statues cast in shadow - they are also emphatically located in a particular temporality. Riboud's 1993 publication for example includes a striking series of pictures taken during a three-day religious festival at the Bayon in 1990. More specifically, this festival was in honour of a huge statue of the Buddha known as Prah Ngok which sits nearby to the Bayon: one image shows a mass of pilgrims crowded around the figure, their experience framed in Riboud's interpretation by a ruinous doorway of the ancient temple. This complex layering of past and present is made even more explicit in the violent intrusion of a shadowy gun-wielding soldier into the familiar flow of depictions of bas-reliefs. Working against the timeless, here we have Lyotard's 'intensity of instantaneous experience' (2001: 58), making Riboud's images appear resolutely *timely* - a position made all the more vital by the recent conflict these photographs show Angkor and the people of Cambodia emerging from. As Lacouture wrote at the time, Riboud 're-creates' Angkor 'as it is here and now, living in the midst of a suspended tragedy' (1993: 15).

This is in stark contrast to the work of Japanese photographer Kenro Izu. Beginning in the late 1970s, Izu set out to document places 'possessed of a "spirituality"' (Worswick 2001: 11), from Easter Island and Stonehenge to Borobudur and - in the mid 1990s - the temples of Angkor. The resulting images include no people and no signs of modernity: nothing beyond the stark monuments themselves. They represent 'an absolute, totally reductive vision' (ibid: 9), 'hacked and pruned' to the point where 'nothing can be added and from which absolutely nothing can be subtracted' (ibid: 17). Again, it is the Angkor without tourists that interests Izu, an 'original' Angkor that might be 'retrieved' through photography. Although clearly redolent of the timeless in terms of content and composition, Izu openly discusses the highly particularised moment of the photographic act, nowhere more so than in his description of the circumstances surrounding this image of the Bayon (Figure 6.11).

I positioned the camera at the eastern gate [...] and waited for sunrise. As the sun rises over the jungle behind me, cirrocumulus clouds begin to spread across the western sky. In the moment that the Bayon temple is covered by a mysteriously pure light through the trees, the clouds cover the entire sky, creating an ethereal scene that filled me with profound inspiration. I made my first exposure in a state of ecstasy, but by the time I loaded the second plate, the vision has vanished to become just another landscape (Izu 2011).

This final point gestures toward a further layer of imagined timelessness located in Izu's work: his apparatus of production and printing. Izu uses a custom built large format camera and specially ordered film, subsequently creating contact prints using traditional platinum/palladium techniques - following, in his own words, 'the nineteenth-century photographer's footprint' (2001). For Worswick these adherences to an earlier form of photography mean Izu 'occupies a different place,' one 'closer to the men who crafted the sacred monuments' (2001: 21). This evocation of an enduring craftsmanship is however always dependent on a specific moment of affective encounter; visceral and even animalistic. 'I try to use my basic instincts' argues Izu, 'like an animal sensing danger. I want to be as *pure*, as *empty* as possible and just try to document the spirituality of the place. If I can't, then I don't want to make another picture postcard that someone else has already taken under perfect conditions' (2011, my emphasis).

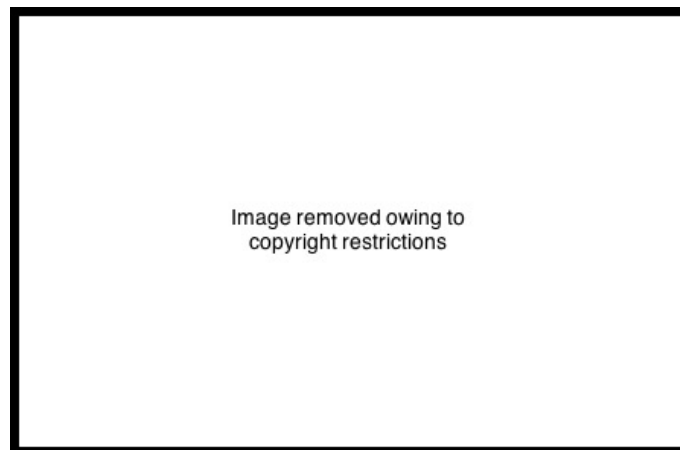


Fig 6.11. Kenro Izu, 1994. *Angkor #74*. © Izu

There is, I would suggest, an implicit assumption in the interpretation of images as timeless that photography represents a 'pure' medium, to use Izu's term; which is to say that photographs continue to be perceived as 'authentic' or, perhaps

more accurately, *untainted*. The camera from this perspective is thought to provide access to earlier modes of perception and ‘originary’ engagements with space and place: ‘A much more archaic way of looking at things’, as Sebald suggests (in Schwartz 2007: 41). Other means of representation - film, illustration, painting, even writing - are too obviously the product of a particular time and place, or too visibly the outcome of a personal creative process. This reading does not deny the artifice of the photographic image, but instead understands this unique subjective ‘vision’ as somehow less polluted by the present moment: a paradoxical return to positivist conceptualisations of the medium. This effect can of course only be achieved through the palpable avoidance of certain subjects or indeed the wholesale manipulation of images (digital or otherwise). Tellingly, I would suggest that a similar twisted logic is discernible in responses to heritage sites that are known to have undergone significant restoration (of which Angkor is a prime example). In both instances, the timeless demands the interference of the present. Indeed, it is perhaps only imaginable or meaningful within the contours of modernity.

A photograph is never timeless, in the material sense. Perhaps more so than any other technology of representation, the photograph as act, object or medium is ‘rooted’ to specific moments of creation, production and dissemination. Such images are however given new layers of meaning at every stage of this process. One of these may well emphasise the timeless qualities of the photograph, a level of *mattering* - not just meaning - that may work with or against other actants caught up in the photography complex (e.g. technologies of production and reproduction, the photographer and the photographed, networks of communication). As I have argued, evocations of a timeless Angkor will depend as much on what is not shown as what is shown at the surface of the image. This has a curious affinity with the work of heritage, which so often seeks to obscure the temporally located processes through which the timeless is constructed. I examine the ethical implications of this in greater depth below.

If the listing of Angkor by UNESCO and the urge to photographically document a timeless version of the site can be considered thematically linked, rather than simply concurrent, then what are we to make of the associated appeal to ‘enchantment’ in the work of the photographers under discussion here; an evoking of the spiritual that seems counterintuitive to the ‘rational’ practices of mainstream heritage (see Byrne 2004). This tension has a particular relevance to notions of affect: intensities of experience and becoming that ‘can leave us overwhelmed by the world’s apparent intractability’ (Gregg and Seigworth 2010: 1). The key question here is to

what extent the domain of fine art photography as practiced by a tiny number of privileged experts can truly be said to capture the ‘barely comprehensible virtuosity’ (Meskell in Byrne 2007: xvi) of enchantment which - for so many - animates a site such as Angkor? There is I would suggest a process of *translation* here that speaks to wider dynamics of photographic mattering in relation to heritage. This may, in the end, involve a topological transformation of enchantment that has far-reaching material and ethical consequences.

I have already spoken of Mouhot and Thomson’s earlier ‘enchanted’ encounters with Angkor, which was inflected by the overarching structures of colonialism, and would soon give way to rationalising practices of research, classification and conservation, dovetailing with the idea that ancient monuments were of ‘predominantly historical, archaeological, and aesthetic value emerged from this experience of disenchantment’ (2004: 17). Consider then Riboud’s description of his first encounter with the Bayon: ‘a temple-mountain with so many summits and towers that only archaeologists have bothered to count them [...] For my part, I preferred to let my eye wander over the towers, and to experience the enchanted gaze, mirrored to infinity, of those colossal faces that look down through lowered lids’ (1993: 139-140). Here we have an extension of Mouhot’s enchantment, one that emanates from the temples themselves and - eventually - finds an outlet in Riboud’s photographic creations. Indeed, for Riboud it is primarily the monks and pilgrims engaged in their three-day long festivities which ‘give voice to the silence of the ruins’ (ibid: 139; Figure 6.12). They represent ‘a serenity reborn’, he suggests: ‘the eye was never more enchanted’ (ibid). There is what we might term an ‘everyday enchantment’ to such images. Although refracted through the lens of a western photographer, these pictures effectively communicate something of the complex vernacular spirituality of the site beyond the posed serenity of saffron clad monks (see next chapter).

The photographic constructions of Izu and McDermott resonate with a more familiar conceptualisation of ‘enchanted’ Angkor. They attempt to capture the ‘mystique of the place’, to use McDermott’s phrase - an ephemeral yet uniquely affective force that is both highly personal and open to collective contagion, as the continued popularity of both artists work would seem to suggest. In this sense such images might be said to translate enchantment, re-interpreting the affective moment of the photographic encounter for a diverse audience of potential viewers. Indeed, the high esteem both McDermott and Izu are held in might be directly related to their perceived ability to successfully convey such notions as enchantment through the medium of photography.

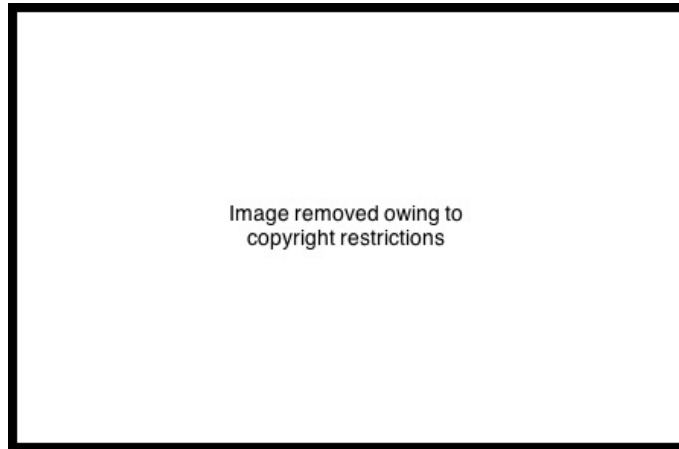


Fig 6.12. Marc Riboud, 1993. *Angkor*. © Marc Riboud/Magnum Photos

Discussing his photograph *Angkor #26*, taken at Ta Prohm in 1993 (Figure 6.13), Izu writes that ‘I was filled with thoughts that surpassed such mundane notions as life or death. I felt that when I encountered a moment, wondered of my own existence, this tree may have an answer’ (nd). Whether or not this image is read in a similar way by all subsequent viewers is not of consequence to the present analysis. More relevant I would argue is the fact that the burgeoning field of critical heritage studies has largely ignored such photographic activities, productions and reflections in its (entirely valid) criticism of an overly rationalised heritage practice. A focus on the content and subsequent technical use of photographs produced by archaeologists, conservators and other heritage professionals under the aegis of colonialism has resulted in a skewed perception that sites such as Angkor were wholly divorced from any enchanted imagination over the course of the twentieth century. Clearly there are important power dynamics to consider here (most ‘art’ photography is conducted outside mainstream heritage praxis and is therefore isolated from decision making processes), but the ongoing influence of images produced by Izu, McDermott and others on more populist sensitivities directs us toward issues of affect, intensity and contagion that, in many ways, return enchantment - at least at the personal level - to the centre of debate.

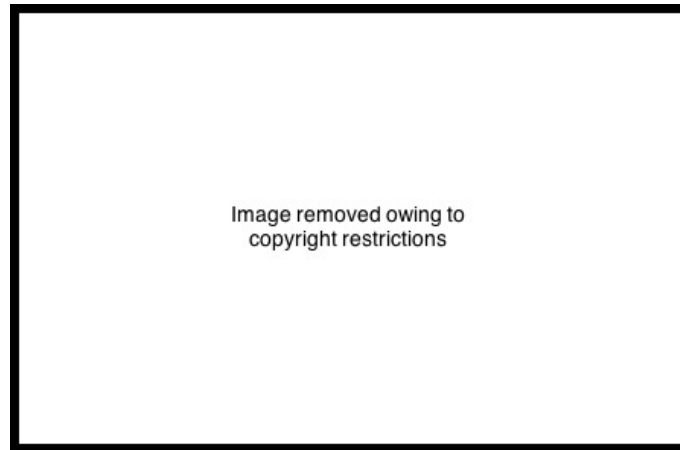


Fig 6.13. Kenro Izu, 1993. Angkor #26. © Izu

A crucial question nevertheless remains: does this subjective enchantment offer anything close to the localised and collective spiritual realities of Angkor? In other words, can a *photographic* depiction of monks at worship ever convey the complex sacred dynamics of a cosmology that existed long before the invention of the camera?

Pinney has posited a similar line of inquiry in his discussion of the Buddhist monuments at Sanchi. 'It is difficult to reconstruct the responses of early Buddhist pilgrims', he admits, 'but one can imagine the magical effect of its astonishing imagery [...] Pilgrims would have encountered a proliferation of visually stunning narratives that exceeded those they encountered in their quotidian life. This was a super-charged place of remarkable visual complexity' (2010: 191). Pinney's speculative interrogation leads him to ask what the 'iconic parameters' of a 'Buddhist' photography might be (ibid: 194), a question with obvious resonances for our examination of photography at Angkor. As at other 'world' heritage sites, routine photographic engagements with Angkor consistently rehearse earlier modes of embodied perception. Visual representations follow the perspectival and corporeal strategies laid down by architects, builders, religious leaders, landscape designers and vernacular craftspeople of distant epochs, but this does not necessarily leave them any closer to the original cosmological impulses of the subjects creation. Conceived without the ontological dictates of the camera in mind, there is always a translation to the photograph, however 'enchanted'.

The work of Izu again complicates this dynamic. As Worswick has described, the Japanese photographer approaches photography with a 'Buddhist' simplicity: 'one camera, one film, and one printing paper' (2001: 21). At the level of the photographic

act meanwhile Izu himself draws out the force of the affective encounter: 'I try not to think, not to compose. I try to face a monument, blank my thinking, and see if it *vibrates to my heart*' (2001, my emphasis). If this point in the photography complex puts in motion the creation of another actant - the photographic image - we must remain aware, I think of Massumi's caveat on the disjunction between affect and emotion: the latter representing a 'qualified intensity' he argues, 'an insertion of intensity into semantically and semiotically formed progressions [...] into function and meaning' (2002: 28). The affectivity of the image in this sense is only locatable at the level of interpretation, where enchantment may or may not re-emerge.

To conclude this discussion of a particular moment in the photographic history of Angkor (the 1990s) and the work of a particular category of photographers (fine-artists) I would like to briefly consider the ethical dynamics of such photography as it relates to heritage. Crucially, I locate the nexus of this ethical dynamics not within the content of the images, or in the act of viewing, but in the more diffuse yet grounded space of engagement between photographer and photographed; with the latter here referring not just to human subjects, but also to the spaces of Angkor more generally. This critical reframing directs us toward the ethical work photography might be asked to perform and - significantly - that photography as a distinct ontological practice might provoke. There is an immediacy to such issues at Angkor, a site which at the time of listing by UNESCO included some 22,000 people living within its boundaries (the population of Siem Reap province as a whole was estimated to be 550,000 (Miura 2011a: 14)). Given the dire circumstances faced by many local residents at the end of two decades of near perpetual conflict, what 'ethical' role could the acute aestheticisation of monuments through fine-art photography possibly play in this context? Again, this line of enquiry demands a turn to the photography complex over any simplistic image analysis.

For Sontag, 'photographic knowledge of the world' could never be considered 'ethical or political knowledge [because] the knowledge gained though still photographs will always be some kind of sentimentalism, whether cynical or humanist' (1977: 24). Turning away from the surface of the image (object) to the space between the image and viewer (medium), Azoulay has more recently suggested a focus on the 'ethics of the spectator, an ethics that begins to sketch the contours of the spectator's responsibility toward what is visible' (2012: 122). This latter position opens up the recoding of images to critical examination, but there remains a transience to such ethical engagements, a sense that the spectator can always turn away. We might understand both these points (which reflect wider movements in photographic theory)

as different approaches to an ethics of the image, rather than a broader ethics of the photography complex.

Clearly, it would be difficult to categorise the work of photographers such as Izu or McDermott as 'ethical' from either of these perspectives. There is an overt sentimentality to evocations of 'timelessness' or 'enchantment' at Angkor, and while responses to such images will vary considerably at the level of the individual spectator, the acute aestheticisation of the site undoubtedly risks casting the photographed into the 'abyssal space' of the past (Morris 2009: 10), an imaginative space where any ethical action on the part of the viewer is greatly proscribed.

As I have already hinted, these issues also serve to make clear many of the ethical dilemmas facing heritage more generally: Who is involved in processes of knowledge creation and historical interpretation? Who has the power to act on their desires for how a locality is managed and perceived? Who benefits (monetarily, socially, intellectually) from the 'shaping' of heritage? Summarising the broader context of such uncertainties, Thrift has argued that 'becoming ethical' means critically confronting the 'norms under which we are asked to act but which we cannot fully choose and taking responsibility [...] for the dilemmas that subsequently arise' (2008: 14). This problematic can be seen to animate the work of photography just as it does the work of heritage.

The critical question of who has the capacity to 'represent' Angkor and what the impact of this asymmetric power balance might be is usefully drawn out in reconsidering the work of McDermott, Izu and others. The figure of the privileged male photographer looms large in this respect, further gesturing towards issues of the western, masculine, neo-colonial gaze (see Lutz and Collins 1991; Ryan 1997; Urry 2002). Here however it is worth reiterating the multifarious intentions, modes of production and means of consumption that overly simplified discussions of the gaze have tended to obscure (Edwards 2001: 148). Indeed, my turn to the ethical *engagement* is specifically designed to emphasise these alternative points of analysis in the photography complex.

Take the work of Izu. At the level of the image Izu's photography seems categorically distant in its engagement with Angkor. The site is purposefully depopulated, cast in an otherworldly hue, and 'pruned' of any extraneous visual information. This aesthetic is not inherently unethical, but there is a tendency when viewing such images to re-imagine Angkor as 'out of time' and to project our own 'enchantment' onto the local cosmologies of the site. To be the spectator of Izu's Angkor from this perspective is to look on heritage as fundamentally divorced from

the present and therefore unrelated to the ethical dilemmas facing contemporary Cambodia.

But this is not the limit of Izu's photography. At the site of production we may already discern an alternative conceptualisation, an 'ethic of craftsmanship' to borrow from Thrift, 'a means of composition and channelling which involves bringing together discipline and concentration, understanding and inspiration, in order to bring out potential' (2008: 15). Izu's measured comportment *as a photographer* may from this point of view be understood as a conscientious intervention at the site, an engagement only made possible through the slowness of a particular mode of traditional photography. To a lesser extent, this unhurried approach is also apparent in the photographic engagements of McDermott, Diwo and Riboud, all of whom have spent extended periods interacting with the landscapes, buildings and - crucially - people of Angkor. The ethical potentiality of such long-standing encounters should be kept in mind as we turn to the domain of tourist photography.

More important however is the extraneous work Izu directs his photography towards, drawing out in a very immediate fashion the ethical possibilities bound up in his reductive vision. As the artist states:

always I feel like I've invaded: I photograph a monument, take it home, exhibit it, and make a living. Always I feel a pain in my heart, that I take those beautiful scenes but don't return anything. [...] I was forty-five years old and I thought, "I'm a photographer. My career is observation. Looking, very carefully. Did I never see the reality behind those scenes, behind this magnificent Angkor monument?" They are the people, especially the children, who have absolutely no responsibility for this civil war or greed or political arguments. Yet they are victims of it. No compensation from the government or anybody. They have to survive on the street. And I thought this is one thing I cannot pass by. I have to face its truth. I'm not the journalist or journalistic photographer, but I like to see, so I have to turn my body straight to this truth (2011).

This realisation led Izu to establish a children's hospital in Siem Reap, just a short distance from the Angkor Archaeological Park. Since the mid 1990s any money the photographer earned from prints and publications related to Angkor have been invested in this project. Such a direct and ethically oriented engagement relies on the very affective force of the photograph as produced by Izu. The artistry and potentially unethical content of the image must thus be seen as just one node in the larger ethical dynamics of the photography complex, a network of actants that includes the photographed subject (the monuments themselves), the technological methods of production, the sale of prints and publications, and even the children who benefit

from Izu's charitable work. While photography is by no means the only route such philanthropic ventures might take, the emergence of a certain photographic culture at sites such as Angkor does seem to have provoked a critical reflection on what the medium can and should do for disenfranchised constituents, particularly those who are routinely made the subject of photography or - and this is crucial - whose heritage is placed in a similar position. Representations which have sought to evoke the 'timeless' and the 'enchanted' might in this respect be understood as both timely and resolutely pragmatic.

By foregrounding the wider ethical work to which photography might be aligned we are also made to consider the direct impact of the camera on a site. This line of inquiry will be pursued in some detail in the following chapter (having already emerged in our discussion of Thomson), but as a way of summarising the arguments put forward here let us briefly return to McDermott, who has been described as the 'Ansel Adams of Angkor' (Gross 2007). This allusion, hastily rebuffed by the photographer during conversation in 2012, refers to the iconic status that McDermott's images have attained. Like Adams at Yosemite Valley (see Liebovitz 2011), McDermott is thought to have 'shaped the public's imagination' of a particular locality (Gross 2007). Such a conceptualisation neatly encapsulates the wider constructive and affective powers of photography I examine in this thesis. In turn however this forces us to consider the ethics of 'shaping' heritage, whatever form this process of assembly and exploitation might take. As Miura makes clear, Angkor has a symbolic and inspirational importance for Cambodia as a whole, but it also remains 'closely linked to the everyday life of local villagers, together with their memories and ancestors' practices' (2011b: 113). By shaping - through fine-art photography - the imagination of those who might engage with the site in whatever capacity, McDermott (and others) risk diluting these alternative, vernacular ontologies.

In all but name, the Angkor Photo Festival has little connection to the World Heritage Site. Now in its ninth year, the festival takes place in Siem Reap, with galleries, outdoor exhibitions, youth workshops and - most notably - evening slideshow projections that bring photographic projects from around the world to this tourist town. The work featured is primarily journalistic or contemporary-art focused, rather than the travel imagery usually associated with the region. This includes images created during specialised youth workshops, which see leading international photographers provide technical and aesthetic guidance to participants who are invited to produce a series of images on any subject over the course of a week. During the 2012 festival, at least two such participants chose to document life in and around

the temples of Angkor: not the touristic performance of 'authentic' life regularly seen and photographed, but the quiet moments away from the main temples, or at those times of day when most outside visitors have returned to their hotels. These compelling and understated visions are unlikely to replace the trees of Ta Prohm or the faces of the Bayon as the defining visual images of Angkor, but they are *critical* (in both senses of the word) introductions to the wider social landscape of the site.

While the workshops, exhibitions and competitions undertaken throughout the *Angkor Photo Festival* demonstrate a considered approach towards photo-journalism and fine-art photography from the perspective of the final image, the prominence given to photography *as an activity* which may be able to bring disparate groups together and - perhaps - empower the disenfranchised represents a provocative opportunity for heritage. This is taken even further with the ongoing work of Anjali House, a non-profit organisation supporting street children in Siem Reap through education, healthcare and the arts. In the latter category photo-workshops play a vital role, with the results available as high quality postcards and brought together in the 2010 publication *Cambodia: Our Vision*. The charity therefore builds on the tourist economy of Angkor as a major heritage destination and the popularity of photography to directly assist under privileged children financially. At the same time, the workshops serve to build confidence and provide a creative outlet. While the subject matter may be far removed from the built heritage of Angkor, this model is, I think, one with great relevance to preservation initiatives more generally as the ethical and moral consequences of such work are called into question.

6.4. Conclusion

This chapter has brought within the purview of analysis a series of projects that help document the broad impact photography - as act, object and medium - may have on sites of heritage. Taking us beyond the colonial work of Thomson, the EFEO and others, the activities prioritised here address the formal and informal networks of photographic interest that have coalesced around Angkor and Famagusta, from the memorial practices of the Bophana Center and the Famagausta Association of Great Britain to the fine-art productions of Izu and his contemporaries. Different registers of heritage are drawn out in the analysis of such endeavours, with the re-use of historic images and the production of new photographic representations equally liable to instigate new approaches and attitudes towards the past in the present. These shifts in meaning and significance rely not simply on the content of images, however, but on the material-discursive practices that accrue in and around the photography complex.

One of the key points here is that both the belated registration of photographic (re)discovery and the active provocations of new visual imaginaries may be equally transformative in terms of heritage. By collating, digitising, interpreting and exhibiting ‘old photos’ as part of a concerted effort of remembrance, bodies such as the Bophana Center and the FAGB explicitly encourage revisionist perceptions of the past with the aim of ‘shaping’ or ‘inventing’ new futures. This recovery and restitution commonly circulates around quotidian histories, giving rise to complex stratas of memory and heritage where intersections occur with the monumental sites of Angkor and Famagusta. Boulbet’s remarkable images of refugees at Angkor Wat for instance firmly situate this site within the traumas of the recent past, a narrative frequently overlooked in mainstream heritage discourse. Conversely, the often-banal images of pre-1974 Famagusta collected by the FAGB and other Greek Cypriot diaspora groups are put into the service of a traumatising reconceptualisation of the town, one that looks to unravel the ‘ignorance’ of tourists at the site today. From a different perspective, the work of fine-art photographs active during a particular turning point in the ‘heritagisation’ of Angkor can be seen to complicate the rationalising agendas that predominant in this phenomenon. Crucially, this depends on a nuanced appreciation of the varied spaces and activities beyond the frame of the image, rather than a narrow focus on aesthetics (see next chapter).

On a final and related note, it is worth reiterating the particular benefits to be gained from considering the ethics of photography not in terms of the gaze of the observer or the interpretations of the viewer, but rather as part of an ethical dynamics of the photography complex. Critiquing the broader networks in which photographs are embedded allows us to understand how both the re-use of historic images and the creation of new pictures may be driven by an ethical engagement with the world, one that directly seeks to overcome social injustices or improve ways of life for disenfranchised constituents. Theorists and practitioners of heritage should look to engage with these dynamics as part of a reassessment of the place of photography within the field.

7.

Photography and Tourism: Corporeal Clichés / Selective Encounters

7.1. Introduction: Affective Reverberations

The expansion and evolution of tourism over the last two centuries has shadowed the archives, projects and photographic appropriations I have discussed so far in this thesis. From the late nineteenth century onwards, both Angkor and Famagusta were framed as sites of touristic experience; spaces that might to some extent be separated from the flow of everyday life by distinctive social relationships and structures of meaning (MacCannell 1973). While the spectre of conflict would severely curtail this trend during the second half of the twentieth century, the resurgence of tourism to Cambodia and Northern Cyprus in more recent decades represents an important field of enquiry for the present study. Sheer numbers are of consequence here (Angkor for example currently receives over 2 million overseas visitors a year (ODC 2014)), but a more fruitful avenue of research might be located in the embodied and uniquely affective moments that give meaning to tourism at the level of the individual. What role photography plays in the structure and significance of such moments - and what the implications of this 'active, corporeal, expressive and engaged' creation of images might be for heritage (Waterton and Watson 2014: 30) - provides the critical framework for this chapter.

Underpinning this turn to touristic photography at Angkor and Famagusta is a concern for the mounting accretion of clichéd imagery around sites of heritage more generally. As detailed in chapter 3, however, my aim here is not simply to criticise this repetitive accumulation of pictures. Instead, I want to unpack and problematise the direct and subtle consequences of their production. Working against the belief that clichéd tourist photographs are 'redundant' and 'superfluous' (Flusser 2000 [1983]: 26), this approach asks how the 'echo of familiarity' (Parr 2010) contained in such

visual tropes as sunrise over Angkor Wat or the ruins of Varosha might shape our engagement with and further representation of the world. And while I am mindful of the fact that thousands if not millions of tourists will seek to consecrate their unique encounter with a site through near identical images (Bourdieu 1990; also see the work of Vionnet discussed earlier), it is the transformative potential of these collective and individual moments that stimulates the present chapter, not a pejorative sense of visual or aesthetic surplus (Albers and James 1988). Here I closely follow the work of Edensor, who has argued for an appreciation of tourist photography that looks beyond the notion of an 'abject, facile and mindless subject who can do no more than simply reproduce banal styles and themes' to consider instead the 'enlivened body of the engaged photographer' (2014: 25). This model does not abandon the discursive regimes that have been shown to structure heritage, but rather expands on this critical lens to take into account other trajectories of meaning making and affect - notably around the corporeality of the photographing body. As Waterton and Watson write,

a visitor's perception of any given heritage place or experience inevitably already entails responses to its representations, which will trigger a range of kinaesthetic senses and flows, that in turn act as entry points for the retrieval or (re)emergence of memories in a cycle of affective contagion. Importantly, while these particular moments occur *outside* of representational space - within sensations, feelings, atmospheres - they nonetheless unfold against or within the patterns of affordances circumscribed by their representations and materialities (2014: 76, emphasis in original).

Methodologically, the scope and direction of this inquiry clearly necessitates a shift from previous chapters, which - with some important exceptions - have largely focused on the dynamics of photography as object and medium. In contrast, my principal area of investigation here is the photographic act - a mode of 'kinaesthetic appropriation' (De Certeau 1984: 97) that may by turns be seen as playful, exploitative, distancing, aggressive, creative, tactless, mundane or rebellious. To get inside the 'more-than-representational' (Lorimer 2005) movements and disturbances of such a photographic apprehension of space demands a qualitative and participatory approach, one that follows the common patterns and structures of tourism but remains alert to the varied textures of photographic practice that now engulf Angkor and Famagusta. As a way of limiting this field somewhat, my focus here is on two distinct but related categories of photographic production: (1) the pursuit and impact of particularly prominent clichéd image opportunities at both sites; and (2) the desire to escape, transcend or even emulate with greater clarity these familiar visual tropes as part of a more selective and explicitly photographic engagement with the world. At

both locations I therefore begin by pinpointing and examining specific areas of intense camera-based activity - what I term here photographic 'hot-spots' - before pursuing established and more idiosyncratic itineraries that attempt to move beyond these orthodox domains: visually, discursively and bodily. Here a distinct variance emerges between Angkor and Famagusta, with the former playing host to an increasing number of guided 'photo-tours' that explicitly seek to provide travellers with tailored photographic experiences, while the latter demands a more individualistic attention to place. At both sites however my aim has been to share in the engaged and embodied creation of images with fellow travellers and tourists, capturing the interconnected phenomena of heritage and photography via sustained participation in the very practices that - in many ways - have come to define their complex relationship.

In terms of structure, this chapter scrutinises Angkor and Famagusta as discrete touristic spaces, distinctive in their histories and current social worlds, and yet broadly comparable in the types of photographic productions that may be observed and participated in at each site (this comparability being one of the key factors underpinning my adherence to the case study methodology after all). This approach explores parallels and differences between the two localities, with the latter seen as symptomatic of both the vastly greater numbers of tourists (and photographers) visiting Cambodia when compared to Northern Cyprus, and the widespread parcelling up and commoditising of Angkor *as image* - a process that is far less developed in relation to Famagusta. This critical divergence should not however be taken as a sign that photography is somehow less meaningful in relation to the heritage of Famagusta. Indeed, as I explain towards the end of this chapter, quite the opposite may be true. The crucial point here is that, in altered and equivalent ways, photography may be said to contribute to the *affective experience* of heritage at both locations. Confronting these processes 'on the ground' is vital if we are to appreciate the impact of photography beyond the representational space of the image. To this end, I would like to turn first of all to the often-frenetic world of photography at Angkor, an affective milieu that is routinely lost in familiar visualisations of the site.

7.2. Photographic 'Hot-Spots'

It is a short journey by car, bicycle, túk-túk, coach or scooter from Siem Reap to the main entrance of Angkor Archaeological Park. This route, normally thick with traffic, is noticeably calmer in the pre-dawn hours. That is until you reach the ticket office

itself. Here, a throng of visitors belies the early hour, their objective all the same: sunrise at Angkor Wat.

These crowds continue within the World Heritage Site itself. Following the road north from the ticket office a mass of headlights reflects off the still waters of Angkor Wat's great moat. At the western entrance to the temple, official tour groups, small excursions and lone travellers gather, and soon a parade of hundreds if not thousands of visitors snakes along the central causeway of the complex, torches guiding their every step in the darkness. The vast majority soon peel off to the left of this path, seeking out a well-known spot where - if the time of year is right - a small body of water provides a reflective surface for the emerging sun. There is a jostling for position as tripods are erected and the most picturesque angles sought. And then soon - for milliseconds at a time - flashes illuminate the scene, as the sun begins to rise and the famous photo opportunity unveils itself (Figures 7.1 and 7.2).



Fig 7.1. Sunrise at Angkor Wat. Photograph author's own

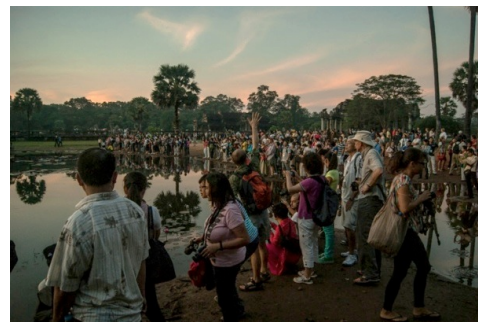


Fig 7.2. Sunrise at Angkor Wat: looking the other way. Photograph author's own

In many ways this panorama has come to define Angkor, even appearing as part of the statewide branding strategy *Cambodia: Kingdom of Wonder*. Countless variations on this theme can also be found online, testament to the thousands of photographers who have recorded the spectacle. While it would therefore be misguided to imagine that the familiar tranquillity of the site as represented might be carried through to the moment of photographic encounter, the gap here between visual-discursive construction and affective experience is striking. The clammy, frantic and overtly *collective* moment of photographic creation played out in this context is modulated in the serene imagery produced by tourists, who push and pester each other to get a 'clear' shot of the sunrise. As part of the 'hermeneutic circle' of tourist photography (Albers and James 1988: 136), the clichéd image encourages and tacitly

orchestrates such moments, providing a nexus for individual and collective meaning making. Serene images of sunrise at Angkor Wat exemplify this process, promoting and anticipating a certain category of experience, which is then ‘certified’ and ‘sealed’ by the travellers own photographic productions, reaffirming ‘the privileged position of photography as a source of [the tourist’s] own awareness’ (ibid). Quite apart from undermining the embodied nature of the photographic act, such representations draw attention to the appropriative dimensions of tourism: excessively concerned with an idealised aesthetic, and interested only in the production and consumption of ‘banal utopias’ (Augé 1995). To what extent we might reconceptualise the photographic cliché as a means of unravelling these crude assumptions is the core concern of this section.

One of the most palpable signs of photography’s transformative potential at Angkor is found in the numerous strategies of touristic control that now permeate the site. Designed to alleviate the impact of mass tourism on the fragile temple ruins, these protective measures are to some extent motivated by the very form of the camera-wielding tourist, becoming then a tangible manifestation of the more-than-representational affects of the photographing body. As Milgram suggests, photography has ‘created a new choreography of gestures and movements that did not exist before the creation of photography’ (in Stylianou-Lambert 2012: 1830), and these must be controlled and regulated in contexts where the sheer volume of individual photographers risks becoming a source of injury. Understanding the embodied engagement of the cliché takes on a marked urgency in such contexts.

Ta Prohm is a case in point here. Responding to issues of visitor safety and material preservation, a series of wooden platforms has been constructed across this site as a means of controlling where and how people interact with particularly fragile or well-used parts of the temple complex. Tellingly (and unlike at other sites such as Banteay Srei or Beng Mealea), these platforms are oriented so that visitors might use certain evocative elements of the temple as a backdrop to their photographs without physically touching the structure (Figure 7.3). At one particular spot (Figure 7.4) this will often involve ‘playing up’ to the camera in mimicry of Angelina Jolie’s portrayal of Lara Croft in *Tomb Raider*, which was partly filmed at the temple. In this sense the platforms make tangible Edensor’s analysis of tourist photography as the ‘dramatisation’ of sites and events to aid the recounting of holiday narratives (1998: 138), a reading that draws together the performative and memorial connotations of the clichéd image.



Fig 7.3. Tourists gather in front of a photo stage at Ta Prohm. Photograph author's own



Fig 7.4. Photographic stage at the 'Lara Croft' temple, Ta Prohm. Photograph author's own

A less visible but no less significant materialisation of the changes made to accommodate mass photography can be found in the *Angkor Sunset Finder*, a digital guide launched in 2013 to encourage visitors away from well-trodden sunset viewing sites such as Phnom Bakheng. The first temple-mountain built in what became the main Angkorean complex, the 70 meter summit of Phnom Bakheng provides views of the Siem Reap plain, the Western Baray, Phnom Kulen, and the temples of Angkor Wat and Angkor Thom. As Califano notes, however, the original symbolic significance of the temple structure and its location is somewhat overwhelmed by the sheer spectacle of the sunset (2005), and even with limitations on visitor numbers, there is a sense that Phnom Bakheng is 'overrun' by tourists each evening. In 2005 a report by the World Monuments Fund described the impact of this time sensitive gathering as 'catastrophic' (Sun Kerya 2005: 138), and - alongside the sunset finder - direct place-making strategies have been implemented to alleviate the effects of mass tourism. These include the construction of new routes into and across the site, with carefully managed 'stopping points' providing 'panoramic views' and alternative 'photographic opportunities' (ibid: 146).

The need for these subtle touristic structuring mechanisms was brought vividly to the fore during my own experiences at Phnom Bakheng, a site where the chasm between representation and affect is of more than simply theoretical concern.

While not all visitors to this location will see photography as a priority, a multitude of cameras are trained on various sights visible from the temple, most notably Angkor Wat bathed in the fading sunlight and the setting sun itself (Figures 7.5). There is a conspicuous divide here however between tourists who bring with them high-end photographic equipment (e.g. large DSLRs with telephoto lenses) and those who employ nothing more than a small compact camera or even smart-phone to take pictures (Figure 7.6). This divergence in photographic equipment speaks of a different mode of engagement and not just visualisation: a different way of *being*, not just seeing. Rather than simply pointing and shooting, the utilisation of expensive photographic technologies demands careful composition, awareness of light, patience and - most notably - planning and forethought (the Lonely Planet guidebook helpfully suggests a lens of at least 300mm will be required to get a ‘decent’ picture of Angkor Wat from the summit of Phnom Bakheng (2012: 141)). Such practices visually and physically situate the tourist within a complex web of discursive and affective energies; an entanglement in which photography assumes a particular force as a prompt to meaning making and an intensely embodied act of spatial appropriation. And while the particular types of image sought by tourists will owe much to pre-photographic representations, the intensification of the photographic act that has accompanied and to some extent shaped tourism has brought with it a series of material corollaries that demand the attention of heritage theorists and practitioners alike. Although on a far smaller scale, the same processes and systems may be observed at Famagusta.



Fig 7.5. Tourists gather at Phnom Bakheng.
Photograph author's own



Fig 7.6. Photographing Angkor Wat from Phnom Bakheng.
Photograph author's own

As we have already seen (Chapters 5 and 6), tourism has long played a central role in the photographic life of Famagusta. During the colonial period (1878 - 1960) the Medieval Walled City was publicised as a site of significant antiquarian interest,

while from the early 1960s Varosha underwent major development as a holiday destination. High-rise hotels were built along the popular seafront, and the population of the town increased dramatically. Indeed, at the time of the Turkish invasion in 1974, Famagusta accounted for 54% of all hotel occupancy in Cyprus, with a further 16,422 beds (65% of the national total) under construction in the region (Saveraides 2014: 281). The division of the island brought a sudden halt to this economy, and while much of southern Cyprus soon recovered to become a 'success story' of international tourism in the 1980s and 1990s (ibid), Famagusta - part of the internationally unrecognised Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (TRNC) - was effectively isolated from this global trade. Along with the continued uncertainty surrounding Varosha, this isolation and lack of development structures tourism to the site today. Thus, half a century on from its touristic hey-day and more than ten years after the border between north and south re-opened in 2003, Famagusta can still be described in promotional literature as letting 'visitors put life on pause for a moment [...] The atmosphere hopes to let you experience a glimpse of life that is un-fussed with the rush of commercialism, and instead gets right to the heart of cultural heritage' (Direct Traveller 2013: 88).

A peculiar effect of this suspended tourism is that clichéd representations popular with visitors to Famagusta since at least the nineteenth century can be encountered and recreated in relative tranquillity. Although sites such as Lala Mustafa Pasha Mosque (St. Nicholas Cathedral) and Othello's Castle routinely stand in for Famagusta as a whole in much the same way that sunrise over Angkor Wat does for the temples of Cambodia, the corporeality of these clichés is qualitatively different, with less intensity and frenzy to the photographic moment. To borrow from De Certeau (1984: 97), there is none of the 'swarming mass' so prevalent at many sites of heritage here, allowing the 'innumerable collection of singularities' that constitute the affectivity of the cliché to take precedence. Indeed, a sense of solitude permeates even those spaces where some material transformation has clearly been made to accommodate visitors at particularly 'photogenic' ruins (Figure 7.7): the Famagustan equivalent perhaps of the photographic stages found at 'hot-spots' across Angkor.



Fig 7.7. Seating area at St. George of the Latins, positioned at precisely the most 'photogenic' angle of the ruin. Photograph author's own

Nevertheless, certain spaces do continue to resonate with the former popularity of Famagusta as a tourist destination. The square in front of Lala Mustafa Pasha Mosque for example is by far the busiest touristic location in Famagusta. Here, steady flows of people gravitate towards the structure of the old Cathedral, which dominates both the physical space of the town and its visual representation. While it is possible to enter the Mosque, most visitors prefer to linger outside, taking turns to position themselves in front of the building in a familiar act of photographic consecration (Bourdieu 1990). Others make use of the ruinous arches of the nearby Venetian Palace to frame the scene, emulating a popular postcard image of the town (Figure 7.8). Unlike much of Famagusta this space is well tended: a tacit response perhaps to its continued popularity with tourist photographers. Beyond this central square there is limited evidence of the kind of tourist economy usually associated with a major heritage site, with only one hotel still open in the town (the aforementioned Palm Beach). The majority of visitors therefore experience Famagusta as part of a day trip from nearby resorts or other, more developed, tourist centres across the island (e.g. Kyrenia in the North of the island, or Larnaca in the South). As one waiter overseeing ranks of empty tables at a café adjacent to Lala Mustafa Pasha Mosque informed me, 'they come in, they go out, they don't even stay long enough for lunch' (Figure 7.9).



Fig 7.8. Lala Mustafa Pasha Mosque (St. Nicholas Cathedral) framed by the arches of the Venetian Palace. (Note the distinct absence of visitors). Photograph author's own



Fig 7.9. Tour group visit Cathedral Square. Photograph author's own

Under such circumstances (also prevalent at Angkor of course), the photography of heritage sites is primarily associated with carefully managed tours that allow little deviation from a set itinerary encompassing certain key photo opportunities. Recognising the corporeality of the cliché under these circumstances stresses more than just the singular and embodied nature of the photographic production, drawing attention to the circumscribed character of many heritage experiences. From this perspective, while different visitors may well ‘gaze upon the same set of objects and read and perform them in different ways’ (Urry 2002: 101), the repetitive and often-tightly controlled nature of the photographic cliché may be seen as a useful lens through which to examine the broader power dynamics of heritage and tourism. This brings us towards the conceptual and ethical implications of the types of processes, practices and ideas I am particularly concerned with in this thesis; dynamics that underscore the need to develop a more nuanced appreciation of photography within heritage (and vice-versa). Two examples from two very different sites across the Angkor Archaeological Park may help to draw this out.

Standing as enigmatic testaments to the reign of King Jayavarman VII, the serene faces of The Bayon have long captivated visitors to Angkor (Figure 7.10; see Mouhot 1966 [1864]; Higham 2001). Today, through tricks of photographic perspective, many tourists at the site will engage with these faces by pretending to kiss or rub their noses against the profile of the sculptures. Guides helpfully point out the

best positions from which to compose such images, and there will often be a disorderly queue waiting to form their bodies into the requisite stance at these spots (Figure 7.11). Like ‘pinching’ the Taj Mahal or ‘supporting’ the Leaning Tower of Pisa, the photographic construction of such scenes speaks of a ludic or even subversive encounter with monumental sites of heritage. In these contexts, the knowledge of previous representational practices combines with a desire to verify one’s own experience to initiate a distinctly photographic and personalised appropriation of space.

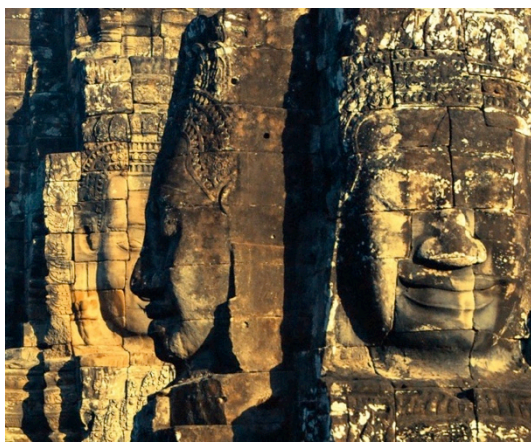


Fig 7.10. The faces of The Bayon. Photograph author’s own



Fig 7.11. A tourist is manoeuvred into position and photographed by a guide at The Bayon. Photograph author’s own

In contrast to the often-hectic atmosphere encountered at The Bayon, Beng Mealea, which sits around 40km east of the main Angkorean temples, can still be visited in relative solitude. Built in the twelfth-century under Suryavarman II, the main structure for this temple follows (or perhaps precedes) the template of Angkor Wat, with a vast moat surrounding the main complex (now largely dried up), four entranceways, and three enclosing galleries around a central tower. Here, the quiet of the site is matched by its ruinous state, with a lack of any significant restoration work creating an unmistakable sense of ‘discovery’. As a result, guidebooks proclaim Beng Mealea the ‘ultimate Indiana Jones experience’ (Lonely Planet 2012: 153).⁴

It is therefore highly telling that, even in this isolated location, the act of photography has attained such a familiar currency that unofficial guides at the site will

⁴This is despite the presence of wooden walkways across the site, originally constructed for the filming of Jean-Jacques Annaud’s 2004 film *Two Brothers*.

direct visitors to certain points of view, certain compositions, and certain visual and bodily enframings. During fieldwork in 2012 for instance a local caretaker led me across the site, first drawing a map of the ruin in the sand (Figure 7.12) before pointing out key architectural elements such as finely carved apsaras, strange animal reliefs, and a relatively well-preserved library building. Navigating the temple in silence (a result of the language barrier between us), my guide would halt at various junctures and gesture towards a particular spot, forming his hands into the unmistakable shape of a body about to photograph and repeating ‘picture, picture’ until I followed his command and captured the scene. These photo opportunities ranged from the evocative sight of a tree emerging from the summit of a ruinous tower (an iconic symbol of Angkor as a whole), to the personal framing available through the fortuitous growth of a vast root into the shape of a swing (Figure 7.13). Although organised around a local, vernacular knowledge of the site, this itinerary clearly owed much to the interest previous visitors have shown in certain viewpoints, as well as the documentation and promotion of the temple in tourist literature and - perhaps - more ‘official’ heritage related visualisations. Crucially, then, while Beng Mealea is far less prominent than sites such as Angkor Wat, The Bayon or Ta Prohm in the photographic life of Angkor, we are still led here towards a selective documentation; prompted, in other words, to cliché.



Fig 7.12. Guide at Beng Mealea draws a map of the temple in the sand. Photograph author's own



Fig 7.13. Author photographed by guide at Beng Mealea. Photograph author's own

While such comportments can be seen to accentuate those processes through which ‘place consumers draw upon their imagination and memories to reconfigure heritage sites and landscapes’ (Selby 2010: 44), they are also part of a broader and potentially more pernicious transformation of Angkor. One of the key issues at stake here is the fact that photography (as act, object and medium) may be seen as giving

rise to a sense of touristic ownership over a site, acting as part of a discursive and affective appropriation of space that works against local cosmologies. Winter's analysis of tourism at Angkor is instructive here, highlighting as it does the troubling realignment of the site as a 'cultural enclave [...] socio-historically disembedded from its Cambodian context' (2007: 91). Drawing on the work of De Certeau, Winter sees this touristic consumption emerging across 'an ensemble of spatial enunciations [...] where place becomes meaningful through its "kinaesthetic appropriation"' (ibid: 20). As one of the fundamental practices of modern tourism, photography may from this perspective be seen as transformative in terms of the bodily contortions and aesthetic engagements the particular technology and materiality of the camera engenders. To suggest however that photographic clichés might countermand dominant techniques of spatial organisation and control (the aim of kinaesthetic appropriation for De Certeau) would be wholly misleading. Indeed, while the cliché underscores the need to examine photography as a corporeal phenomenon, the constant (re)production of such a limited visual repertoire also hints at the suppression of value systems that might contradict 'authorised' heritage practices (Smith 2006). At Angkor this means that the site is routinely framed as 'a set of ruins frozen in time' rather than a 'living heritage and an important constituent of identities still very much in flux and reconstruction' (Winter 2006: 115). Such a reading emphasises the need to remain alert to the political and ethical implications of photography as an affective apparatus of heritage 'shaping'. As Waterton and Watson argue, 'the same dynamics that operate behind the scenes of representation and discourse will operate behind the scenes of engagement and performativity, limiting what is enactable, prescribing what is appropriate, writing or affording particular emotions and affects into its scripts' (2014: 121). These dynamics, conspicuous when interrogating Angkorean clichés, take on even greater significance in relation to Famagusta, and particularly the abandoned district of Varosha.

A simple Google image search lets slip the visual dialectic of ruins that exemplifies present day Famagusta (Fig 7.14). Here, alongside the façade of the Cathedral turned Mosque and aerial views of the Old Town, the abandoned district of Varosha emerges as a contemporary cliché - part of a conventionalised photographic register of the town. While these images will point in varied directions with respect to their online 'source' (hinting at the dense socio-political networks photographic clichés may become entangled in) an increasing number can be traced back to a distinctly touristic documentation (e.g. Trip Advisor). This reflects the material and discursive reframing of Varosha's ruinous hotels as one of Famagusta's main 'sights';

an integral element of any touristic experience. To this end, guided tours may be taken from the south of the island to ‘Famagusta City and Ghost Resort’ (Red Bus 2014), while excursions from Kyrenia highlight the stark difference between Varosha today and pre-1974 (Figure 7.15). As one prominent brochure puts it in the context of a suggested walking circuit of Famagusta:

Continuing you reach the edge of Varosha, what was once a famous cosmopolitan destination for travellers and movie stars alike but is now a ghost town. The glamour and luxury have been replaced with decay and a sad crumbling effect, buildings slowly being reclaimed by nature. Sitting on the outskirts to Varosha you get a vision of a place that was once bustling with the fashionable and wealthy but is now frozen in time (Direct Traveller 2013: 79).



Fig 7.14. Screenshot of pictures resulting from Google Image Search on search term ‘Famagusta’

Like many deployments of the cliché, these discursive strategies (and their visual counterparts) look to ‘tame the object of the gaze’ (Urry 2002: 127), making manageable the heterogeneous and volatile meanings of a complex space. This takes on a greater urgency around sites such as Varosha, where abandonment, decrepitude and the presence of military forces exerts a detrimental effect on the broader travel industry. There is thus an economic imperative to the construction of the cliché in this context, a process that seeks to circumvent the ‘ontological disorientation’ (Edensor 1998: 129) often felt by the tourist photographer by transforming a site (and sight) of confusion and apprehension into one of anodyne consumption. While such processes may appear to anticipate and respond to the framing of Varosha as a site of ‘dark tourism’ (Lennon and Foley 2010) or ‘negative heritage’ (Meskell 2002), the parcelling up of the photographic life and experiential value of the ‘ghost town’ with more traditional holiday excursions (walking medieval ruins, enjoying time at the beach) tells

us much, I think, about the problematic entanglements of the cliché in highly politicised contexts. To unpack this further let us turn to the affective and embodied moment of the photographic encounter with Varosha, opening up - in the words of Gregg and Seigworth - a 'vibrant incoherence' around this particular 'zone of cliché and convention' (2010: 9).



Fig 7.15. 'Ghost Town' of Varosha promoted as a holiday excursion. Photograph author's own

The great majority of photographs depicting modern-day Varosha record one particular view: that available from a small section of shoreline close to the Palm Beach Hotel, where a barbed-wire fence demarcating the abandoned district trails off into the Mediterranean beneath the ruinous hotels of the 'ghost town' (Figures 7.16-7). An immediate paradox presents itself here, however, for while this locality might be considered one of Famagusta's main photographic 'hot-spots', cameras and other recording equipment are in fact prohibited in and around the space. Indeed, the photographic ban in place all around Varosha is more heavily enforced here than at any other location, with guards ready to caution anyone seen taking pictures. As a result, the performance of photography takes on a furtive character along this stretch of beach, a restraint unusual where clichéd images are concerned. Small groups meandering along the shoreline will openly photograph the sea and the Palm Beach Hotel, but their documentation of Varosha is more clandestine. This is because, even from a distance, the unmistakable pose of the photographer takes on a different resonance here, eliciting (as I discovered on numerous occasions) a sharp blow of the whistle from a sentry overlooking the boundary fence. While the emergence of

smartphone and tablet technologies has allowed for less conspicuous image-making productions to occur (the digital sweep of the ‘panorama’ is particularly useful in such circumstances), the very act of photography assumes a transgressive or even rebellious quality here. Rather than the brazen and incessant photography familiar at tourist sites, visitors to Varosha are thus forced into a more contemplative experience, one where the camera - almost conspiratorial in this context - is subordinate to a rich, multi-sensory encounter. The gentle waves of the Mediterranean; the silence of the ‘ghost town’; the pounding midday sun: all may be felt and experienced alongside the photographic act in a moment in which ‘affinities, memories, families, identities, place and even notions of what it is to be a tourist are worked through and affirmed’ (Waterton and Watson 2014: 87).



Fig 7.16. Ruinous hotels overshadow deckchairs on the beach at Varosha. Photograph author’s own



Fig 7.17. Graffiti (much of it erased) on the first floor of this building reads ‘Fotoğraf ve Film Çekmek Yasaktır’ (Photography and Film are Forbidden). Photograph author’s own

This last point - working through *what it is to be a tourist* - needs unpacking further. Crucial to remember here is the fact that Varosha - slowly transformed into a clichéd photographic subject through the popularity of self-led and guided tours to the site - is also a space of profound personal trauma and ongoing political tensions (see Chapter 6). This, after all, is what holds the site in limbo and imbues the abandoned hotels and streets with a distinct affectivity. As Navaro-Yashin has made clear, in the context of Northern Cyprus such ‘abject ruins’ are not simply ‘packed away [...] in order to maintain personal or social integrity’ (2009: 6). Instead, they are ‘central to the social order or the political system itself’ (ibid). Thus Varosha, whilst fenced off, closely guarded and ostensibly isolated from the experience of ‘historic’ Famagusta, is in fact fully embedded in the social systems of tourism, as made clear by the emergence of the photographic cliché. What ‘reverberates’ in this case with the

accretion of images and the repetitive act of photography is the growing acceptability of a situation, a fatalism that does little to animate the photographic subject in any direction other than further touristic consumption. The challenge here then is for the conceptualisation of Varosha *as heritage* - even dark or negative heritage - to mean something more than simply a sight to be seen and photographed. Yes, the corporeal and affective nature of these moments is to be stressed, but this should not be at the expense of a disengagement from the political sphere, where photography - as act, object and medium - continues to play such a vital role in shaping heritage. The ruins of Varosha and the ruins of Famagusta are both caught up in these material-discursive energies, which draw out the broader politics of 'making' heritage.

One route around this may be to consider the photographic cliché as an emergent force in the world, asking both what it shuts down and what it masks, but also what it might make possible. If a turn to the affective moment of the clichéd encounter and its material, conceptual and ethical consequences tells us anything, it is that the static image can reverberate in unexpected ways, taking on a significance that belies any sense of aesthetic redundancy. Indeed, a clear example of this may be found in relation to Famagusta, where clichéd picture postcards of the town before 1974 have gained a distinct and previously unanticipated emotional resonance as part of the connective tissue linking exiled communities to their former homes (see previous chapter). Crucially, this process is leant added poignancy at the Varosha 'hot-spot' I have described here, where the emergent cliché of modern ruins has in effect supplanted postcard representations of the same locality in its touristic hey-day. The fact these ostensibly discordant clichés are often paired in a highly politicised 'then and now' motif familiar from less fraught cultural contexts is also worth emphasising, for it draws attention to the discursive weight such tropes now carry beyond the 'celebratory' domain of heritage. As with those sites inside the Medieval Walled City where the accumulation of images may be seen to have faltered post-1974, conventionalised image-making practices thus assume a distinctive tenor with respect to Varosha, highlighting both the transformative potential of photography and its critical limitations.

As observed at both Angkor and Famagusta, one of the key dilemmas posed by the photographic cliché is that the individual moment of encounter so often prioritised by tourism is subsumed within a wider cultural discourse, with certain visual tropes shaping how a site is both seen and experienced. Highlighting the affective embodiedness of these moments is crucial if we are to understand how the singular production of photographs works both along and against the grain of

widespread aesthetic conventions, but this should not be at the expense of critiquing the social embeddedness of the photographic act. It is in the tension between these two points that the reverberations of the cliché take hold, being both ‘terminal’ in their adherence to routine and sometimes problematic representations, but also ‘topological and accumulative’ in the constant qualitative growth and subtle changes marked out by their intense personalisation (Pétursdóttir & Olsen 2014; Massumi 2002). Such image forms stress the role photography has come to play across a continuum of heritage shaping, from individual and collective experience to state branding and commercial practices. I would suggest however that all of these ‘heritages’ coalesce around the question of what the past means to the present, and how reconfiguring the material, conceptual and ethical meaning of that past through photography might provoke alternative futures. Often when discussing the cliché this is simply about making a space more palatable and more manageable for the general tourist, but other ways of thinking and behaving around sites such as Angkor and Famagusta can also be located in the production of what might seem quite ‘familiar’ photographs. This can be explored further with reference to distinct photographic practices now emergent around both these locations.

7.4. Photography and the Pursuit of ‘Better Memories’

In *The Tourist Gaze*, John Urry famously maintained that photography ‘constituted the very nature of travel’, turning sites into sights, and constructing ‘what is worth going to “sightsee” and what images and memories should be brought back’ (2002: 129). But if this can be said about most tourist photography, what are we to make of those photographic encounters that take this dynamic even further, looking to the camera not just to ‘mediate’ reality, but as a route to deeper and perhaps more ‘authentic’ touristic experiences? Here I suggest that such practices - taking the form of both individual photographic explorations of certain subjects and expert-led ‘photo-tours’ - signify not just a different mode of embodied spatial engagement or ‘kinaesthetic appropriation’ (De Certeau 1984), but also gesture towards a different range of socio-cultural, political, ethical and - crucially - memorial systems of meaning-making and affect. As a recent ‘advertorial’ in the Hong Kong based magazine *Manifesto* put it,

Let’s be honest, how many times have you had an amazing, eye-opening, once-in-a-lifetime adventure, only to come home and find that the subpar photographs on your camera made your experience seem all too pedestrian and mundane? We might just have the solution to that little problem, whether it’s to keep the memories fresh in your mind or to share the wonderful sights that you saw on Facebook, Twitter, Pinterest, and whatever other social

media platforms you're on. La Residence d'Angkor [...] is offering an Angkor Photo Adventure package that will cover three days' worth of Kodak moments.

With specific reference to my core case study locations, a central question presents itself here: namely, what new heritage worlds might be brought into being through these intensely photographic apprehensions of place? Crossing the social and the individual, this line of enquiry again prioritises the constructive and affective potential of the camera, seeing in the photographic exploration of heritage a conventionalised form of *détournement*, whereby 'pre-existing aesthetic elements' might be brought together in the 'superior construction of a milieu' (Debord in Coverley 2010: 94). This point recognises the fluid and ongoing reconfiguration of 'sites' via photography, but also the desire amongst those behind the camera to create - in the words of one traveller I joined on a photo-tour of Angkor - 'better memories' through such experiences. Personal development, material-discursive change and aesthetic contemplation therefore collide in these tailored encounters, which complicate Sontag's characterisation of photography as inviting 'an acquisitive relation to the world that nourishes aesthetic awareness and promotes emotional detachment' (1977: 111). To explore these notions further I would like to turn first of all to a series of tours run in and around the Angkor Archaeological Park, a World Heritage Site that - as the above promotional literature indicates - has recently emerged as one of the foremost subjects for specially crafted photographic excursions.

During fieldwork in 2012 I was able to attach myself to three photo-tours that took in diverse subjects in and around Angkor, from well-known sites such as The Bayon, Preah Kahn and Ta Prohm, to countryside villages and working Wats some distance from the main temples. This provided a useful overview of the types of tours currently available in the area, ranging from day excursions led by Siem Reap locals for as little as \$30 to full holidays lasting ten days and covering 'jungle temples, scenic landscapes, river life and villages where little has changed in a thousand years' (Responsible Travel 2014). The breadth of available tours speaks of a vibrant industry built around the prioritisation of the camera as a means of exploration and knowledge creation, but these orchestrated experiences are also often sold on their ethical engagement with the photographic subjects (human and non-human). As one popular tour website suggests: 'to paraphrase an old cliché - take nothing, leave with great photos and memories and leave only footprints behind' (Horton 2013). Differentiating such excursions from the commonplace practices and imagery of tourism is an important factor in their marketability, with photographic

aestheticisation here caught up in the ‘experience economy, where we purchase not so much goods anymore as packages of designed experiences’ (Shanks 2014: 44). These tours therefore represent a significant shift in the relationship between site and photographer, intensifying the notion that a locality might be understood *as image*, but also transforming the wider implications of this process, which might thus take in an extended and perhaps more ethical view of photographic aesthetics.

The three tours I joined were led by Peter Oxley, John McDermott and Nathan Horton: all expatriate photographers (British or American) resident in Cambodia for some years.⁵ Although broadly alike in representational approach, the tours offered different levels of technical and creative instruction, along with highly distinct modes of engagement with locals and other tourists. Oxley for example preferred to lead one-on-one sessions across subjects (e.g. the countryside) considered ‘his turf’, while Horton operates large-scale group tours that include a whole morning of photographic tuition. The latter tour also provided more background on the ‘official’ heritage of Angkor, with an APSARA guide present throughout. While such experiences might therefore be said to reflect a very particular ‘type’ of photographic encounter - privileged in terms of demographics, technological apparatus, site access and knowledge production - they are also highly distinctive, echoing the skills, personalities and interests of those leading the tour. The constructive and affective potential of photography under these circumstances is located across multiple coordinates, encompassing (in no particular order): the images people are taught with and seek to emulate; the embodied and instructive moment of photographic production; the review and editing process; the material-discursive environments of the tours (often covering the same location in strikingly different ways); and the technology of the camera itself. This last point is particularly crucial, as one of the origins of the current explosion in photo-tours across the world is surely to be found in the increasing complexity of the types of cameras readily available to tourist-photographers, especially the kind of DSLR models marketed by Canon, Nikon and Sony. Understanding how to use this equipment in a way that makes the most of the incredible possibilities of digital technology and gets beyond the ‘point and shoot’ approach of most tourist photography should thus be seen as a core factor underpinning the tours I describe; a dynamic that further influences what ‘heritages’ are prioritised in these encounters.

⁵ It is worth highlighting the gender imbalance of such tours in Cambodia (and many other places around the world), with male photographers invariably leading the excursions. This dynamic ties in to a broader gender discrepancy across professional photography, and no-doubt requires further investigation around the ‘official’ representation of heritage.

John McDermott - a prominent fine-art photographer and owner of three galleries in Siem Reap (see previous chapter) - runs perhaps the most exclusive of the photo-tours currently operating in and around Angkor, charging \$300 for a half-day course or \$500 for a full day. Rather than provide 'off-the-peg' experiences, these workshops are tailored to an individual's technical expertise and previous knowledge of the temples: what they would like to learn and where they would like to go. As McDermott informed me, the types of people choosing to join these tours varies considerably, and while most carry the kind of advanced DSLR equipment popular with amateur photographers, a few 'used nothing more than a smartphone'. As well as highlighting the individualistic nature of such tours, this disregard for more expensive camera technologies suggests a gap between those prioritising the experience of joining a well-known photographic expert on a tour of Angkor and those wishing simply to create striking images. Given the fact most tour goers will fall into both these categories, we might argue that the constructive force of photography in these contexts has as much to do with the socio-cultural domains in which the photographer operates as it does their particular aesthetic approach, surrounding and imbuing Angkor with particular meanings via the types of knowledge and memory formation taking 'great pictures' is felt to generate and disclose. It is this different register of engagement that, I would suggest, marks out the photo-tour as a phenomenon of great significance to heritage.

This position was drawn out on the tour I joined, which saw McDermott guide a Luxembourg national who had visited Angkor several times to the temple of Preah Kahn, built in the late twelfth century by Jayavarman VII. Diverting from the main tourist paths, McDermott led us through thick jungle to reach the northern perimeter of this site, where we would spend the next three hours learning about the settings of our respective cameras and capturing key elements of the structure (walls fractured by giant tree roots, carved reliefs, headless statues). Circling the temple, McDermott declared that such spaces are never the same twice: light, the impact of nature and specific weather conditions transpire to alter the building, which of course is reshaped again in the body of the camera. The clichéd nature of the subject thus exists in tension with the unique moments orchestrated but also chanced upon by the photo-tour. Indeed, on this particular occasion McDermott commented that this was the best light he had ever come across at Preah Kahn, and we were instructed to compose a shot and then wait for the perfect dappling of sunlight across a scene (Figures 7.18-9). Quite apart from producing more accomplished images, this approach also transforms the affective 'bloom space' (Gregg and Seigworth 2010)

between photographer and subject, emphasising stillness and attention to detail over the fleeting encounters characteristic of most tourist photography. This self-restraint and shift of focus fundamentally alters the relationship between visitor and site, prioritising the aesthetic value of heritage in a way that goes beyond even the mass photography described earlier.



Fig 7.18. John McDermott provides instruction to photo-tour participant at Preah Kahn. Photograph author's own



Fig 7.19. Sunlight falls across the outside wall of Preah Kahn. (McDermott encourages the production of monochrome images in emulation of his own infrared pictures (see previous chapter), which seek to draw out the 'timelessness' of Angkor). Photograph author's own

This evocation of the aesthetic should not however be seen as purely visual in its resonances. As Eagleton has argued, the aesthetic is also concerned with 'how the world strikes the body on its sensory surfaces, of that which takes root in the gaze and the guts and that arises from our most banal, biological insertion into the world' (1990: 13). Any sense of the passive contemplation of beauty dissolves in this reading, with the 'messiness' of human engagements opening up the aesthetic to a more embodied conceptualisation. At the same time, the ethical and political implications of an explicit aestheticisation of the world cannot be overlooked. Landscapes and sites of heritage have 'ontological import' because they are 'lived in and through, mediated, worked on and altered, replete with cultural meanings and symbolism - and not just something to be looked at or thought about' (Tilley 1997: 6). To deny such contours and textures risks delimiting the very notion of heritage: the question of whether this is something the photo-tour contributes towards or seeks to overcome is a key point of departure for this section.

The different mode of engagement marked out by the photo-tour as a 'designed experience' (Shanks 2014: 44) was highlighted during my time with Horton, whose three day circuit of Angkor I joined in December 2012, along with five other participants. On the second day of this tour - after substantial technological and creative tutoring and an afternoon trip to Ta Prohm - the group were taken to photograph sunrise at Angkor Wat, a scene I was alone in having witnessed previously. Guided by Horton, we were among the first photographers at the temple on this occasion, and were thus able to secure a particularly advantageous position in front of the aforementioned reflecting pool. After setting up our tripods in near total darkness, Horton began to explain how, by experimenting with the settings of the camera, we might go about photographing what remained a largely invisible sight at this early hour, adjusting shutter speed, aperture, ISO and white balance so that the unmistakable silhouette of Angkor Wat would appear on the viewing screens of our respective cameras long before it became visible to the naked eye (Figure 7.20). The extra-sensory perception granted by digital photography in this context thus mediated an awareness of Angkor antecedent to corporeal perception: a representation that, moreover, would go out of its way to recapitulate the well-established cliché of an Angkorean sunrise. Here it is worth restating that none of my fellow photo-tour participants had visited Angkor Wat before this experience - a sign of the overt and potentially troubling aestheticisation that frames these crafted photographic encounters. Under such circumstances the visual exoticism of Angkor can be seen to decentre alternative readings of the site, and while it is important to highlight the embodied nature of such engagements - in this case sweaty, frantic and agitated - this should not be at the expense of critiquing the serene portraits emergent from that other 'body' essential to the moment of photographic production - the camera itself.

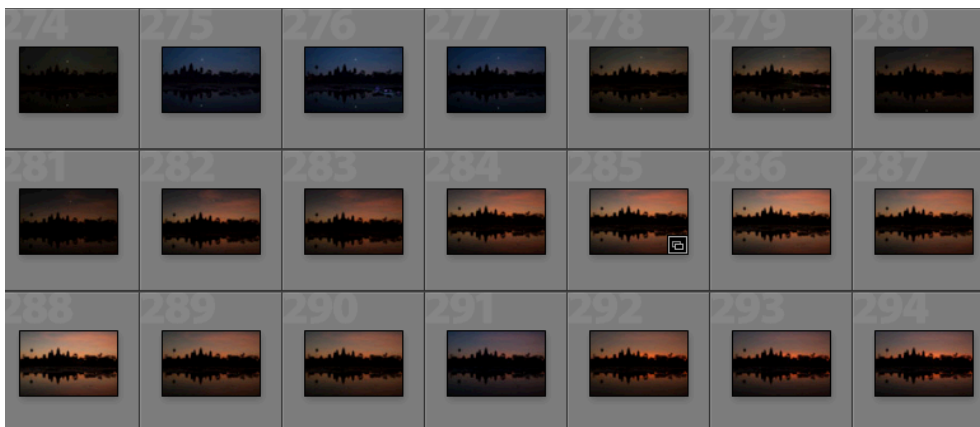


Fig 7.20. Screen shot of digital image files showing photographic 'emergence' of Angkor Wat at sunrise

The photo-tour brings to the centre of attention a number of ethical issues related to the heritage of Angkor. Chief among these is the prospect that Cambodia - as the setting and subject for these designed aesthetic experiences - might come to be seen as little more than a 'playground' of rich visual opportunities for the privileged tourist photographer, with this deeply asymmetrical power balance resulting in an exploitative photo-culture that accentuates many of the problems of tourist photography more generally. Tellingly, both Horton and Oxley - who, in contrast with McDermott, focus on the lived heritage of Angkor as much as the built archaeological remains of the site during their tours - articulated this danger particularly strongly, with entreaties to always 'give something back' through photography. While this may take the form of financial contributions to the communities documented as part of the tours - which often take place in remote and highly disadvantaged villages to provide that 'off the beaten track' experience - more indirect methods of support and engagement are also possible. In common with the work of development NGOs and heritage initiatives supported by the World Monuments Fund, much of this circles around the notion of collaboration and co-operation over straightforward charitable donation. As Horton explained during the introductory session of his tour, this ties in to a wider dissatisfaction with the very language of photography - take, capture, shoot: the language of the hunt (Ryan 1997) - a colonising and appropriative discourse that provides little space for the deeper engagements necessary to produce 'great' pictures, especially portraits. This desire to work *with* subjects and 'make or create rather than capture', to use Horton's words, photographs challenges us to look beyond the surface of the image for an expanded ethics of photography, one that perhaps offers a provocative model for heritage more broadly.

Over several years of undertaking his own photographic work and leading photo-tours to Angkor Wat, Horton has built up a close relationship with the community of monks who still inhabit the site. This has allowed him to create a series of enigmatic portraits depicting saffron robed figures against the backdrop of the temple, and it is these evocative studies that provide a 'USP' for his tours. While such images may have begun spontaneously, however, the designed experience of the photo-tour demands a certain level of staging, and to this end Horton now employs monks to act as models for his groups: a transaction that draws out many of the concerns and possibilities underpinning my interrogation of these photographically oriented excursions.

This experience began with a blessing from the principal monk of the temple, and a small donation from each member of the tour group. Two younger

monks were then asked to join us, with Horton selecting what robes they should wear (the brighter the better to stand out against the sandstone of the ancient temple). Returning to the ruinous structure of Angkor Wat, Horton then posed the monks in key locations, asking them to sit, stand, walk or 'pray' in postures familiar from his own photography, and always requesting that sandals be removed, 'to avoid any references to the present'. The group was then instructed on how best to document these scenes - what settings to use, how to frame and compose the images, how to wait for and orchestrate the light. As might be expected, such performances soon attracted the interests of other tourists, and Horton would often be pre-occupied by informing onlookers that we have paid for privileged access to the monks. This work continued for around two hours, stopping at various corners of the temple to provide a suite of photographic opportunities for the participants of the tour (Figures 7.21-4). The overarching aesthetic instructions never changed during this time, with the focus always on the monks as 'found' subjects divorced from the flow of the present, as if we had stumbled across rather than arranged their serene contemplation.

Clearly these images are intended to reference a long-held perception of Angkor as 'enchanted': a place fundamentally isolated from modernity where the 'adventurous' traveller might encounter traditional ways of life and religion. But while this visual approach might seem to complicate archaeological or preservationist impulses that emphasise a positivist materiality over the lived experience of the temples, we are still left with a sense of Angkor as 'frozen' and 'timeless', a reading that denies the layered complexity of the site's ongoing present. As Norindr writes, 'Angkor is not simply a monument to mans [sic] creativity, a repository of cultural values, or an object of pure aesthetic enjoyment; it is the site of intense aesthetic re-imagining, and political and economic appropriation' (2006: 54). What I would like to suggest here however is that while the images produced and sought out by those undertaking photo-tours might reinforce a certain problematic conceptualisation of Angkor, the broader photography complex in which they are embedded can and does open out towards alternative dimensions of meaning-making and affect, from the embodied moment of the photographic act to the politics of the transaction that makes these moments possible. On this point it is worth noting that the reason Horton and other photographers are granted permission to use monks in the way described here is primarily because religious leaders at Angkor expressly desire a counterweight to what they see as the frivolous imagery of mass tourism. What might easily be perceived as a musealising and intensely clichéd representation can thus be reframed as a collaborative (albeit asymmetric) practice allowing disenfranchised

communities to underline their ownership of a site through photographic discourse; pursuing, in other words, ‘better’ memories of the present to actively create new futures.



Figs 7.21-4. Buddhist monks posed around Angkor Wat posed during photo-tour. All photographs author's own

There are, as yet, no photo-tours available in and around Famagusta. Such activities rely upon a network of local and expatriate photographers willing to share knowledge and experiences with paying visitors, and while Northern Cyprus has seen an upsurge in tourism since the border was re-opened in 2003, there is not the market for trips oriented specifically towards improving photo-skills and creating ‘great pictures’. This divergence between the photographic lives of Angkor and Famagusta cannot be explained away purely with reference to visitor numbers however. From Snowdonia to Morocco, Cuba to New Zealand (Dixon 2011), the emergence of

photo-tours is predicated on a general sense that the site to be explored and documented is visually arresting, loaded with striking photographic opportunities that - whilst recognisable - will prove 'unique' enough to warrant the expense and time of a dedicated excursion. Here the 'extended aesthetics' (Shanks 2014) of the photo-tour becomes apparent, encompassing experience, poetics (imagination, design and making), temporal and spatial specificity, iteration (the revisiting of earlier forms) and the limitations of 'knowing' reality, which 'always withholds something' (ibid: 44). From this perspective, the phenomenon of the photo-tour can be seen to exemplify the dense back-and-forth between images and the sites they to represent, with the former actively constructing an intensely photographic version of the latter, which in turn motivates others to pursue and experience the same subject matter as image. While it would be wrong to suggest that Famagusta has not been exposed to this dynamic - early British heritage practitioners after all described it as a 'place of pilgrimage for the artist and the antiquary' (Jeffery in Emerick 2014: 125) - a distinctive photographic culture has not enveloped the town in the same way it has Angkor (or perhaps we should say re-enveloped, given the prominent tourist status of the town in the post-war years). As such, the material and conceptual transformation of the site through photography is less acute, and perhaps therefore more open to ontological redirection.

Any photographic exploration of Famagusta that diverts from the main tourist hot-spots of Cathedral Square, Ravelin Gate and Othello's Tower immediately draws attention to the dilapidated condition of much of the historic Old Town. As Walsh has described (2007: 52), years of international neglect, political obstruction and property speculation has meant that the built heritage of the city and its environs has hardly been given 'a second glance' in the rush to develop Famagusta. This has led spaces such as Martinengo Bastion - one of the most formidable examples of military architecture in the Mediterranean - to fall into disrepair, returning a once much-visited site of heritage to a state of apparent desertion, emphasised by what appears to be an abandoned ticket booth at the gates of the site (Figure 7.25). To photograph Martinengo - or indeed the nearby Nestorian, St. Anna or St. Mary Armenian Churches (Figure 7.26) - takes us away from the 'digestible, pre-packaged information and reified discourses about places and cultures' typical of most heritage sites, which are 'highly regulated, smooth, homogenous and constituted through the interconnected sequence of similar spaces' (Edensor 2005: 95). Instead, these ruinous localities - once popular with tourists it must be remembered - might now be perceived as profoundly 'anti-touristic', to use Edensor's phrase (ibid), marked out by

their roughness, disorder and lack of clear spectacle. Under such circumstances photography might take on a different quality from that seen on the photo-tour, allowing for a movement beyond representation that ‘invites explorations of more acute forms of material meaning, aesthetic memory and knowledge beyond hermeneutics and interpretation’ (Pétursdóttir & Olsen 2014: 23). Indeed, I would suggest that this photographic sensibility - built around the layered complexity of space and the ‘vibrancy’ of matter (Bennett 2010), and now commonly associated with the documentation of ‘modern’ ruins - holds the potential to reconstitute the meaning and affectivity of more traditional sites of heritage, which are all too often ‘fixed’ through photography as benign aesthetic icons. The aim here, as Schönle writes, must be to ‘reconcile oneself with the present’s heterogeneity, to recognise its rich texture [...] Neither opposed to, nor defined by the past, yet respectful of it [and] draw[ing] inspiration from the ruin for mapping out the future’ (in Dobraszcyzk 2014: 7).



Fig 7.25. Abandoned ticket booth at Martinengo Bastion. Photograph author’s own



Fig 7.26. St. Anna Church, Famagusta. Photograph author’s own

Tellingly, it is not the historic Old Town but the abandoned district of Varosha that is most often cast in this light through recent photographic explorations. Paul Dobraszcyzk for example has described walking Varosha as a ‘resolutely corporeal experience, involving much more than the gaze alone’ (2014: 9). The images resulting from this experience - focused on decaying objects, empty rooms and streets overgrown with plant life - document a complex space suspended from the present yet alive with potentialities. As Dobraszcyzk writes in a rumination accompanying the online dissemination of his own photographic tour:

This is the emancipatory power of urban ruins: they calm, liberate and offer visions of different kinds of futures freed from the constraints of the normative present. However, ruins on this kind of scale are also always deeply unsettling, especially if we think of the violence that made them what they are.

Embedded somewhere in the present peaceful spaces are traces of the tens of thousands of stories of violent rupture and loss that accompanied the abandonment of Varosha. All these silent spaces were once imbued with human qualities, whether those of the home, workplace or places of play. It is these stories that are waiting to be reconnected with the spaces as they are now (2013).

One can easily (too easily?) imagine a time when Varosha, like Pripyat (Chernobyl) or Detroit, is a common or even clichéd setting for tourists wishing to experience and document for themselves the ‘ghostly’ ruins of modernity. While Dobraszcyzk’s highly individualistic explorations represent a critical and reflexive engagement with the complexities of this site, such interrogations are less common in tourist photography, even while the images that result from these distinctive encounters are often strikingly similar. At the heart of this difference is the touristic desire for designed and repeatable photographic experiences, exemplified in the practice of the photo-tour. This is not to suggest however that such activities are without potentially productive consequences, only that for the photo-tours I have described here to mean something beyond simply the production and dissemination of ever-more aesthetic imagery, they must begin to work along the grain of camera usage to push in new visual, ontological and affective directions. The concept of the tour itself may prove a valuable tool in this respect, offering as it does a selective and contemplative engagement with space and place that - while visually still indebted to the cliché - underlines the embodiedness and socio-political embeddedness of photography in a way that accentuates the practices of mainstream tourist photography. These two positions greatly impact on the kinds of heritage that might come into being through and around the camera.

To conclude this discussion I would like to briefly turn away from the direct environs of Famagusta, and consider instead a site of touristic encounter where the traumas of this ‘suspended space’ (Coblence 2011) are brought vividly to the fore. Here, my own images also seek to unpack some of the problems identified so far in the production of ruin photography.

The Famagusta Municipality Cultural Centre opened in Deryneia (the nearest Greek Cypriot town to Northern Cyprus) in 1998, in a neo-classical structure housing meeting rooms, exhibitions, a large assembly hall and - crucially - a viewing platform from which to observe Varosha. The rooms of the centre are decorated with photographs and paintings documenting Famagusta before and after 1974. On one floor, a large interactive map details all the buildings of Varosha, with visitors able to ‘light up’ hotels, public offices, shops and other remembered sites. The centre hosts

school groups and official meetings, with a large selection of literature on the destruction of cultural heritage in Northern Cyprus and leaflets explaining the recent history and current political context of the island. Visitors are also invited to watch a short documentary on these issues, entitled ‘Famagusta: The Hostage Ghost City of Europe’. This same video is shown at the Famagusta View Point, a small family run museum, cafe and viewing platform a short walk from the Cultural Centre (Figure 7.27). The main focus here (apart from a similar outlook onto Varosha) is a room decorated with antique furniture and paraphernalia, with walls covered in laminated newspaper cuttings, photographs, posters, letters and political leaflets. This evocative little space - raw, haphazard and dusty - demonstrates the affective power of unofficial heritage expressions, although this is not to suggest that the narrative followed differs in any considerable way from the main Cultural Centre. Indeed, both locations draw on a familiar repertoire of images and texts to document and publicise the current circumstances of Varosha. As with the more geographically removed work of the FAGB, much of this involves re-inhabiting the site through photographs and stories, highlighting the continued presence of the ‘ghosts’ so very near to the ‘ghost town.’



Fig 7.27. Famagusta View Point Museum. Photograph author's own

The foremost reason for visiting either of these locations is, of course, to observe Varosha from their respective viewing platforms. Large binoculars or telescopes are provided for this activity, a practice that seems inadvertently to militarise the viewer, casting the tourist as spy and voyeur. The bodily and optical contortions required to focus on specific scenes within the lenses of these devices causes a deeper attentiveness. Here the visual is undeniably predominant in ones

experience of Varosha, but this ocular engagement is distinctly embodied and affecting: surveying the landscape becomes a form of possession or occupation, another method of remote habitation. Undertaken from another locality such a distanced viewing may well be open to criticism as the enactment of an exoticising or neo-colonial gaze (see Alloula 1986). In this environment however one is invited to comprehend the spectacle as part of a larger strategy of self-exhibition, with the former inhabitants of Varosha encouraging and contextualising the 'gaze' within a wider narrative of anti-colonialism.

In an attempt to capture and translate this experience I began photographing Varosha *through* the binoculars available at the Deryneia Cultural Centre (Figures 7.28-30). This creates strange effects. The dark circular frame focuses the gaze but prohibits the materialisation of detail. Signs of ruination for example are not obvious, and so we half-expect to see people occupying the buildings. Where 'ruin porn' may emphasise the beauty of abandoned spaces and thus encourage new forms of exploration and heritage experience, these photographs underline a different mode of the auratic, which Benjamin after all originally described as 'the unique phenomenon of a distance, however close it may be' (1999 [1936]: 222). These images thus attempt to convey some of the affective force of a non-corporeal engagement with a locality that is geographically close yet physically inaccessible. In line with recent scholarly approaches to the aesthetics of ruins, such photography looks to overcome the nostalgic gaze and reflect instead on contexts of violence, war, and imperial conquest (Hell 2011: 231). To over aestheticise the ruins of Varosha in a way that perhaps romanticises the idea of the ghost town would, I argue, perform a disservice to those individuals forced into exile. Emphasising the detached proximity of these absent presences instead draws out their tenacious connection to the past *and* present of the place. As Maleuvre has observed, ruins stage the past as distant, they are 'unapproachability made into a monument' (1999: 61). When this remoteness is also materially enforced, there is a risk of the monumental collapsing into the *museal*, into a dead space. Photographing Varosha in a way that emphasises its status as an abandoned territory always veers close to this possibility.

This tension between distance and closeness is also made manifest at the Deryneia viewpoints in more direct ways. The physical inaccessibility of Varosha does not dilute its psychological rawness, a position which draws out the haunted and *haunting* - in terms of unsettling - nature of the site. Both the administrators of the official Cultural Centre and the family operating Famagusta View Point are exiles of Varosha, living just a few hundred metres from their former homes. These 'ghosts'

linger in painful proximity to the spaces they once corporeally inhabited. Moreover, the material, visual and discursive strategies employed at both sites draw on a familiar heritage inflected language of roots, soil and homeland to articulate their connection to place, even while their status as viewing points perhaps encourages a detached touristic gaze. Common heritage practices of collection, display and historical education are thus transformed into something radically political, constantly reminding visitors of the absent people who should form the focus of their observation.



Fig 7.28. Varosha viewed through binoculars on the roof of the Famagusta Municipality Cultural Centre. Photograph author's own

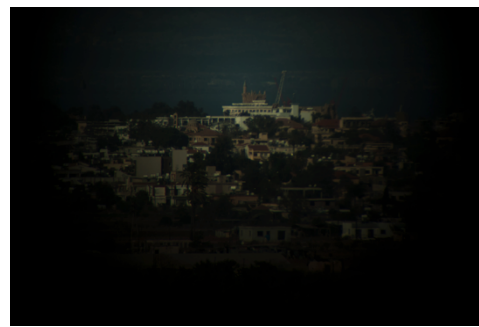


Fig 7.29. Varosha through binoculars. Photograph author's own

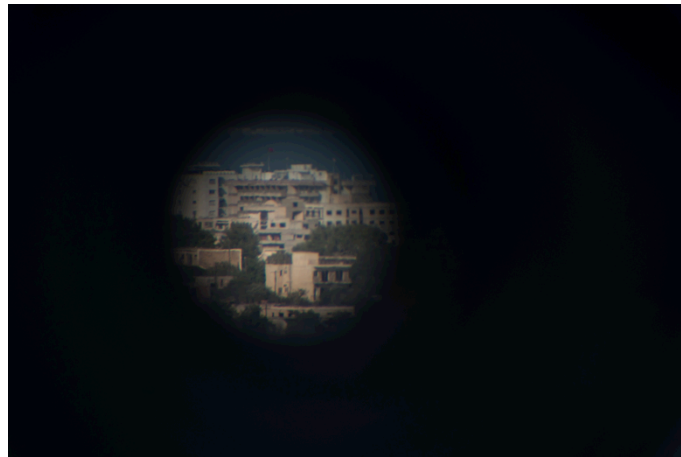


Fig 7.30. Varosha through binoculars. Photograph author's own

How successful is this strategy? During fieldwork in the autumn of 2013 I joined a small group of British tourists at the Famagusta View Point Museum. As we stood on the crude viewing platform and took turns to survey the landscape beyond

through an assorted collection of binoculars and telescopes, it soon became clear that the political context of present day Varosha was largely irrelevant to this particular experience of the site. The vista was simply a curiosity, a way of observing without entering the spaces of Northern Cyprus. This did however spark discussion amongst the group about a relative who had been trapped at Nicosia airport at the outbreak of conflict in 1974. The emotional resonance of the ‘ghost town’ was thus translated to the domain of personal and familial memory, an avoidance perhaps of the complex material realities of the present site/sight in favour of a nostalgic anecdote. Of course, not all visitors will respond in such a fashion, and it is telling that for the staff I spoke to at both viewpoint locations there remained a sense of duty to the act of observation, an overriding conviction that there must exist a space to view, remember, and - crucially - *think* about Varosha. (See Sontag (2003: 103) for a compelling argument on the critical need for such spaces in contemporary life.) As one administrator at the Deryneia Cultural Centre informed me, ‘while the individual pain of exile may lessen over time, a collective pain remains’.

7.5. Conclusion: Fluid Photo-Lives

The individual gestures and collective accretions I have focused on in this chapter highlight the active and corporeal nature of any subjects ‘photographic life’. Although centring on the production of static images, photography in this sense is best understood as a crucial component in the vibrant social worlds that surround and animate sites of heritage. Indeed, for both case study locations, the photographic cultures that accompany tourism in particular can be seen to have directly generated new materialities and - perhaps more importantly - new ideas of what might constitute the ‘heritage’ of Angkor or Famagusta. Notions of the ‘tourist gaze’ are important here (Urry 2002), but only when considered as one aspect of an embodied and often highly engaged interrelationship between site and visitor. As Stylianou-Lambert has observed with specific reference to tourist photography, within the constraints of social conventions ‘people actively construct their own narratives, meaning, and sense of self-identity’ (2012: 1836). Clearly discernible in relation to Angkor and Famagusta, these processes and practices are part of a dense layering of visibility and affect in which well-known representations give way to or work alongside personal memory formations and kinaesthetic appropriations. While such phenomena are often cast as somehow less meaningful or less ‘authentic’ when compared to the ‘original’ functions and experiences of an historical site (see Urry 2002; Hamilakis 2008, 2009; Selby 2010; Waterton and Watson 2014), the research put forward here has shown how a more

detailed appreciation of photography might unravel some of the assumptions around heritage and tourism writ large.

There is no single point of origin for the photographic clichés that envelop Angkor and Famagusta, only shifting terrains of visual interconnectivity and disjuncture that cut across photography, illustration, painting, film and other modes of representation. This constant back-and-forth between site and image predates the camera at both locations, and can be read as constructive in precisely the way Massumi describes, with the self-augmenting world in a condition of ‘constant qualitative growth’ (2002: 12). From one perspective the cliché may be seen to bring an unwelcome halt to this process, freezing what a place means and how it is represented. Building on the concept of the reverberation, however, we can begin to understand that such images and image-making practices are alive with individual moments of creativity and sensation. And, moreover, whilst part of a conventionalised visual discourse, they provide a locus around which alternative photographs might circulate, including the photo-tours pursued at Angkor, and the more individualistic explorations undertaken around Famagusta and Varosha. While such tours currently tend to focus on the continued (if more sophisticated) production of clichéd visualisations, the level of intense photographic engagement they adopt carries the potential for more progressive notions of heritage to emerge around tourist photography.

Digital photography has inaugurated many shifts in photographic production, dissemination and interpretation (see Fontcuberta 2014), but in the touristic desire to document every moment and detail of a site that - after all - is likely to be experienced only once, the most noticeable change is simply the option to take *so many pictures*. While this has the effect of relocating crucial decision making processes to the subsequent (off-site) viewing, editing, saving and deleting of digital image files, the vast accumulation of photographs within the direct sphere of the human body also allows for immediate review, so that compositions and ‘unique moments’ can be repeated and - hopefully - improved. The carefully designed aesthetic experiences that have emerged partly as a result of this technological development cannot be dismissed simply as further evidence of an appropriative engagement on the part of the tourist-photographer. Indeed, I would suggest that there is in fact a real need and a real desire for the language and performance of the photo-tour to encompass a more expansive sense of heritage; to take the depth of engagement offered by such practices and provoke new futures for sites such as Angkor and Famagusta, which can and must be imbued with a greater fluidity through their static photo-lives.

8.

Conclusion

Every photograph is the trace of a previous state of the world, a vestige of how things were. The sum of all photographs is the ruin of the world.

(Burgin 2006b: 86)

8.1. Ruinous Photographies

The tangled trajectories of heritage and photography cut across many different fields of enquiry and points of analysis. Taking the photographic life of two heritage sites as a critical focus, this thesis has interrogated a constructive sample of the myriad interconnections that structure this relationship, from museum displays and conservation work to survey photography and online albums. While the technological onset and development of photography at Angkor and Famagusta can be mapped with relative ease, questioning the wider complex in which photographic images are embedded has permitted a deeper and more nuanced reading of the impact of photography at these sites to emerge. This has been made possible by considering photography not just as a static and two-dimensional visual apparatus (although this is important), but as an embodied, performative, relational and discursive phenomenon; one that intersects with the practices and ideas of heritage in heterogeneous and often unexpected ways.

Although focused on the specific photographic practices that have encircled two well-known heritage sites over nearly two centuries, it has not been possible to define a particular category of 'heritage photography' within this research. In part, this speaks to the fluid and multifaceted character of the field, with even the most obdurate manifestations of the heritage phenomenon - in this case the ruinous site - animated by complex and diverse social worlds. Here I would like to suggest that one corollary of this research can be found in the potential for photography - as act, object and medium - to provide a route into and across these often densely knotted conceptualisations. The very fact that so many different photographs will be taken of the same subject by diverse constituents is worth reiterating here, but also important is

the moment of interpretation, where new meaning and value is liable to be generated around specific images and photographic collections (the ongoing distribution of the Thomson archive being a case in point). By taking a longitudinal approach to my core case study locations I have brought within the purview of analysis a broad range of processes, practices and ideas related to photography, and these have exposed the shifting projections and potentialities of 'heritage' at Angkor and Famagusta to critical scrutiny. Without denying the very real influence pre-photographic systems of meaning-making have exerted on these dynamics, it is clear that the emergence and expansion of photography inaugurated an intensification of image based activities, and this in turn has provided greater depth and scope to the very concept of heritage (Harvey 2001). From the early work of Thomson to the touristic productions encountered today, photography can thus be seen to have reflected and helped define how we imagine and engage with heritage; a role leant particular urgency in the often-fraught contexts interrogated here.

As Edwards has recently argued in the context of the Colonial Office archive, we must avoid an 'over-determined causal relationship' between photographs and the practices they are embroiled in (2014: 185). Photos may well be 'stories about connections through time, affirming the existence and significance of the past in the present' (Edwards 2012b: 257), but they are also unstable and negotiated: part of a constant ongoing reassessment of the past and its role in shaping new futures. The processes of image production, use, assemblage, archiving and interpretation I have described provide further confirmation of this photographic 'uncertainty' (Edwards 2014).

Over the course of this research we have seen how the photographic life of a particular subject may be endlessly fractured - propelled in multiple directions all at once by the ongoing accumulation of subtly different image traces and visual messages. In Burgin's terms (2006b), we might therefore suggest that photography echoes the ruinous materialities of Angkor and Famagusta, adding a further layer of visual fragmentation to these already atrophied sites. The critical point here however is not that such ruins are simply 'vestiges' of the past, but that they are active and responsive bodies able to exert a powerful influence on the present and the future (Bennett 2010). Indeed, for Navaro-Yashin the metaphor of the ruin is expedient precisely because such spaces 'exude their own affects', as well as allowing for the projection of discursive regimes, symbols and interpretations (2009: 14). As she writes with specific reference to Northern Cyprus,

A ruin is rhizomatic in the sense that it grows in uncontrollable and unforeseen ways [...] But a ruin is also about roots, because it is sited as a 'trace' of a historical event, it is remembered, it is kept, lamented, and cherished in the memory of those who left it behind, it is sited and noticed by those who uncannily live in it or in its vicinity, it leaves marks in the unconscious (ibid).

Conceiving of photographs in this way - especially the vast accumulation of pictures that surround sites such as Angkor and Famagusta - allows us to see how static images might act as dynamic and efficacious 'ruins' that occasion 'not a melancholic gaze, but a critical vantage point' (Stoler 2008: 196). Between the root and the rhizome, the ruin thus gestures toward a dense layering of site and image that is simultaneously discursive, affective and topological: a constant qualitative augmentation that has far reaching material, conceptual and ethical consequences. Paradoxically, one of the clearest signs of the importance of this dynamic can be found in the moment when certain visual tropes attain a pre-eminence that suppresses alternative or marginal photographic practices. In these contexts we might suggest that the topological transformation of a site becomes 'stuck' around certain 'shapes': visualisations or ideas that provide a metonymic nodal point around which conventionalised discourses might coalesce. The notion of the cliché is a palpable manifestation of this phenomenon, and while such repetitive images need not be 'authorised' in any strict sense of the word, they do exert a sense of control and order that belies their ephemerality. Indeed, this is given material and procedural expression in the photographic platforms erected at Angkor, and the tight controls put in place on photography around Varosha. It is precisely the emergence of such practices, and the wider notions of heritage making they connect to, that has occasioned my turn to photography in this study.

8.2. Heritage & Photography / Photography & Heritage

We have seen throughout this research how photography might 'shape' heritage - visually, physically, conceptually and experientially. This reciprocal process can be considered both constructive and affective: a topological augmentation of the world that sees images 'rooted' to an original reference point (in this case the sites of Angkor and Famagusta) and yet 'rhizomatic' in the varied transfigurations they may be caught up in. Of course, all representational or illustrative technologies carry this capacity to some degree, and all are open to fine-grained analysis in more-than-representational terms (i.e. as embodied and emotive). There are however striking nuances to be discerned with photography, and I would like to suggest that these can be usefully

summarised with reference to the six themes outlined in chapter three - trace, memory, universality, authenticity, series and cliché. At various junctures these thematic constellations have helped crystallise the kaleidoscopic interrelationships central to this thesis, and I would argue that this has worked in ways distinct from, say, the written word, drawing, or even film. With Angkor and Famagusta as a core focus, these critical terms have thus provided a platform for rethinking heritage and photography writ-large.

When Thomson visited Cyprus and Cambodia in the mid to late nineteenth century, the camera was seen as an apparatus of candid documentation, admitting a 'perfect mimicry of the scene presented, and an enduring evidence of work faithfully performed' (Thomson 1891: 670). This conviction both reflected and helped contribute towards a more generalised positivist ontology that prioritised empirical observation and material 'truth'. While academic theorisations of photography have largely moved on from this view, an adherence to the idea that photographs in some way 'trace' reality has surfaced throughout this research, from the collecting practices of The Famagusta Association of Great Britain to the touristic performances witnessed across my core case study locations. In very different ways, these photographic 'moments' speak of the power of photography to connect past, present and future in an affective embrace; one that relies on the evidential quality of the camera-based image. The production and use of photographs is made meaningful in this sense precisely because photographic images are perceived to be traces of the world - evidence of *how things were*. While other forms of representation or history-making may be deployed to similar effect, the technological specificity of the camera and the apparent rootedness of the photographic image can be seen to produce an intensity of feeling that means pictures are routinely assembled, treasured, manipulated and re-distributed by varied constituents, and often with great urgency. Through such processes the most banal photographs might be mapped and re-mapped as part of contemporary heritage practice, a phenomenon that stretches beyond the highly politicised context of the Greek Cypriot diaspora to shape the use of images in museums, publications or quotidian displays (restaurant or hotel decorative schemes for example). The key point here is that photography can be thought to offer 'proof' of past experiences, places or ways of life, and while 'ruinous' in Navaro-Yashin's terms, individual images might attain a particular potency because of their trace-like qualities. As we have seen, this reading has obvious resonances across the photographic life of Angkor and Famagusta, and the theorisation and practice of heritage more generally.

The importance of memory to this dynamic cannot be overstated, both at an individual and collective level. Despite assertions that neither photography nor heritage are analogous to memory - and may in fact contradict the notion of memory in important ways - the use of photography in relation to Angkor and Famagusta has been shown to cut across multiple and distinctive co-ordinates of memorial significance throughout this research. From the Bophana Archive in Phnom Penh to the contemporary touristic documentation of sites, the diverse intersections of photography, memory and heritage identified in this thesis speak of the densely layered 'memoryscapes' that animate sites of heritage (Basu 2013). As act, object and medium, photography can be seen to provide varied avenues for the 'work' of memory, a process that often circles around the notion that things from the past might well be 'remembered', but that through this remembering they are inevitably remade. In the words of Fernyhough, memory then might best be seen as a 'habit' wherein something is 'constructed from its parts, in similar but subtly changing ways each time, whenever the occasion arises' (Fernyhough 2013: 6). Foregrounding the complexity of such phenomena as they relate to Angkor and Famagusta has allowed us to see how the memorial connotations of even the most familiar of heritage expressions - i.e. the ruinous site - might be (re)imagined through a revised appreciation of the photographic domain.

One of the principal tools for reconfiguring such memoryscapes can be found in the notion of photographic seriality; itself a 'primary form' of the medium (Stimson 2006). As photographs are placed in varied 'series' - the photographic book, the online collection, the museum display - their meaning shifts to accommodate the relationships between images as much as the content of individual pictures. The initial 'setting' in which a photograph may be found - Thomson's publications for example - thus gives way to other discursive and interpretive environments as images make their way through the world. As my research has demonstrated, this re-purposing can have lasting implications. A case in point here is the engendering of an heroic narrative of discovery and restoration through the redeployment of EFEO images in and around contemporary Angkor, which has both echoed and helped to shape a myth of European salvation. From another perspective, the recent artistic series encountered at Angkor suggest the creative leverage that may be found in the relatively simple act of ordering, inventorying and comparing sites through photography (Izu's *Sacred Places* for example): methods familiar from conventionalised heritage practices but here deployed to emphasise an altogether less empirical agenda. This realisation alludes to a potentially constructive meeting ground between the explicitly imaginative domain of

'art' photography and the more positivist approaches of mainstream heritage, a space increasingly seen as fertile ground for research and debate across the related fields of archaeology, history and museology (see Roelstraete 2014). Because of its ability to formulate new associations across spatial and temporal barriers, and to subtly mutate the content of images in new directions, the photographic series has emerged in this analysis as a potent means of rethinking and reshaping the broad potentialities of heritage.

For Thomson and his contemporaries (e.g. Baron Pollock), the invention of photography offered an accurate and efficient means of documenting the world in its entirety, and in this the new technology both answered and helped to reinforce an Enlightenment inflected drive to catalogue and archive the planet. This encyclopaedic universality found expression at Angkor and Famagusta in the work of colonial photographers eager to contribute to a 'global' archive of architectural styles and cultures. Although relatively isolated in their endeavours when compared to projects such as Albert Kahn's *Archive de la Planète*, the work of Thomson, Gsell and Enlart must be understood within this context, which saw photographs prized for their ability to 'truthfully' communicate the sights encountered by European travellers to audiences back home. While these dynamics find recent expression in the work of UNESCO and other globalising heritage agencies, I would like to suggest that a more fundamental corollary of the 'universal' can be located in the capacity for photographs to render highly particularised sites or histories compatible *as image*. In this reading - prevalent across many of the contexts scrutinised in this thesis - the 'empty container' (Stimson 2006) of the photograph is seen to flatten the complexities of the world by subsuming the represented subject within an explicitly photographic visual domain. For sites such as Angkor and Famagusta, this has meant that the meaning and efficaciousness of 'heritage' has often been translated to the image-world of photography, separating the spaces themselves from their constructive and affective force, although remaining resolutely 'rooted' through the notion of the photographic topology. Indeed, it is this rootedness that means the consequences of the image-world may be deeply felt at the sites themselves, a phenomenon drawn out through my turn to the cliché as a critical field of enquiry.

As with so many sites of heritage, Angkor and Famagusta are routinely documented through recourse to (overly) familiar visual tropes: clichés that risk casting these complex localities as little more than 'banal utopias', to use Augé's evocative term (1995: 77). While my engagement with the embodied moment of photographic encounter at both case study locations has sought to unpack this

pejorative reading, we must remain alert to the political, ethical and material implications of these recurring image forms: visualities that speak of a narrowing sense of what might constitute the 'heritage' of a site. Moreover, as with each of the thematic constellations identified in this thesis, the particular significance of the cliché in relation to heritage can be seen to have intensified rather than originated with the emergence and spread of photography. The aftereffects of such a development are particularly acute in this context, however, made palpable in the physical interventions constructed to accommodate mass photography at Angkor and, to a lesser extent, Famagusta. These material outcomes demonstrate the grounded significance of the present study, with photography disrupting the world in ways that go beyond representation, imagination or perception (although remaining closely tied to these forces). As evidenced by projects such as the 'Sunset Finder' at Angkor, the need for heritage to develop a more nuanced appreciation of the cliché highlights the broad operational implications of this research.

If one theme can be said to link these overlapping threads, it is the concept of authenticity. We find in the evocation of the trace a belief that photographic images might provide a 'true' record of reality, evoked by Thomson and his contemporaries, but also in the more recent touristic desire to photograph for oneself the clichéd sights encountered in holiday brochures and other media. The use of historic images to connect past and present as memory also rests on the notion of an 'authentic' photographic record, while the seriality and imagined universality of photographs demands that we take images to be evidential and broadly comparable with other pictures of the same category. The crucial point here however is that all of these conceptualisations are not implicit to photography, but are rather products of the constructed and affective networks in which photographic images are embedded. Far from being simply authentic 'slices' of the world, photographs therefore provide a route into thinking through the varied webs of authenticity that surround and animate heritage, as seen in the re-use of conservation images, the pretence of the photo-tour, and the creative productions of artists at Angkor, which mutate the concept of authenticity in surprising directions.

With reference to these critical constellations, we can begin to see how the dense interrelationship of heritage and photography might be constructively reimagined to provoke new conceptualisations and practices for both, structured around a more nuanced appreciation of trace, memory, seriality, universality, the cliché, and authenticity. The knowledge and insight gained through this research can therefore help to generate new and perhaps radical notions of what it means to care

for the past in the present, and - related to this - what new heritage futures a deeper understanding of the photographic domain might provoke. This urgent task must begin with precisely the kind of fine-grained and longitudinal analysis I have attempted in this thesis, which has opened a multitude of further avenues of research.

8.3. On the Future ‘Shape’ of Heritage

I began this study questioning the role photography had played in shaping heritage over the past two centuries, and what the implications of the complex interrelationship between these two fields might be - materially, conceptually and ethically. Through a longitudinal approach examining the photographic life of two sites, I have been able to explore a diverse range of potential heritage ‘shapes’: topological forms connected to but distinct from the tangible configurations of Angkor and Famagusta. Simultaneously constructed and affective, heritage has emerged in this reading as a phenomenon of considerable mutability; deeply individualised and emotive at the level of the embodied encounter, and yet tied to far-reaching social and political systems of meaning-making. It is not enough therefore simply to say that photography is ‘more-than-representational’ and has important links to the themes described above (memory, trace etc.): we must find ways of provoking - through photography - new augmentative loops that re-direct the very concepts and practices of heritage towards a greater efficacy in the world. In other words, how can the impact of photography on and within heritage be better understood or even orchestrated so that the future ‘shape’ of the discipline takes account of the ethical, emotional and radical potentialities of the past in the present?

A number of the photographic ‘episodes’ described in this thesis suggest ways this might work. The digitisation and ongoing reinterpretation images produced during the colonial era for example has opened up the construction of Angkor and Famagusta as heritage to critical re-evaluation, with the evidential force of photography deployed to locate new and unexpected genealogies in the records of imperial domination. The charitable work of photographic artists such as Kenro Izu meanwhile speaks of the benefits to be gained from approaching photography not as an end in itself, but as a nodal point in the ethical reverberations of a site; a potentiality demonstrated in different ways with the Angkor Photo Festival. Finally, from a more prosaic perspective, the practice of the photo-tour may be seen to encourage a prolonged engagement with the heritage space that works along the grain of tourist photographs, provoking new modes of encounter and experience even while the resulting images reference a highly conventionalised aesthetic. All of these

routes of heritage shaping - translatable to sites and contexts geographically and thematically distinct from Angkor and Famagusta - have in common the need to understand photography not as a static mode of visualisation, but as part of a complex web of individuals, images, interpretive moments, embodied sensations and collective practices. The cross-fertilisations of heritage and photography proceed along similar lines, and it is to these heterogeneous assemblages that any future research or applied programmes must be addressed.

One of the core aims of this research has been to complicate the suggestion that photographic engagement with a locality is somehow shallow or unthinking. By focusing on the heterogeneous ways in which 'outsiders' (colonialists, tourists, archaeologists etc.) have documented, appropriated, experienced and interpreted the heritage of others through photography, I have sought to provide a more nuanced picture of such 'consumption'. At the same time, however, we must recognise that the photographic shaping of certain subjects - whether through new visual productions or the recontextualisation of extant images and collections - routinely carries with it very real socio-cultural affects, and a greater alertness to these from within heritage may provide a platform for moral-ethical shifts in the discipline. The example of Varosha is noteworthy in this respect, opening up as it does problematic questions around the potential for sites of traumatic memory to be 'neutralised' through visual representation. A decisive point of enquiry here (and one I have only hinted at in this thesis) may be located in the foregrounding through photography of the beliefs and interests of groups who interact with sites such as Angkor and Famagusta in ways that diverge from mainstream heritage practice and discourse. Understanding how photography might be used to facilitate conversations between practitioners, theorists and the people directly affected by the *work* of heritage requires further investigation.

Despite the fractured and ubiquitous status of photography, theorists and practitioners of heritage might discern clear paths of engagement with the medium around the dynamics outlined here. Forces of economic development, social change, sacred value and touristic desire buffet sites such as Angkor and Famagusta, and often photography can be seen to contribute to these tense predicaments. At the same time, however, the 'photograph' offers a productive means of thinking through these varied structures and processes, opening up the emotional resonances, embodied experiences and ontological positions contained in the very term heritage to renewed critical scrutiny.

Appendices

Appendix 1: Archives Consulted

Bophana Audiovisual Resource Center, Phnom Penh, Cambodia: Digitised photographic collections:

- EFEO (including Jean Boulbet Collection)
- Ministry of Foreign Affairs (including Emile Gsell Collection)
- Yoko Toda
- John Vink
- Mimi Palgen

The British Library, London, UK: Asia and Africa Collections

École Française d'Extrême Orient Library, Siem Reap, Cambodia: EFEO Photographic Collections

The Royal Geographic Society, London, UK: John Thomson Correspondence

The State Archives of Cyprus, Nicosia, Cyprus: British Colonial Collections

The Wellcome Library, London, UK: John Thomson Photographic Collection

The National Archives, London, UK: Colonial Office and Successors: Photographic Collection

Appendix 2: Individuals Interviewed

Name	Date
Andreas Droussiotis	23 rd November 2013
Christina Christodoulou	25 th November 2013
Christos Christodoulou	12 th April 2012
Francoise Callier	16 th November 2012
Geoff Stevens	30 th June 2011
Hellada Charalambous	29 th November 2013
John Children	14 th April 2014
John McDermott	Various
Maria Spyrou	12 th March 2012
Nathan Horton	7 th – 8 th December 2012
Olia Papacosta	Various
Peter Oxley	19 th November 2012
Richard Chamberlain	18 th May 2012
Thierry Diwo	4 th December 2012

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