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Museums, archives and collecting

Dionysius, the Syracusan tyrant, was an aspirant playwright and was also said to have been the proud owner of the writing tablets, desks and lyres that in the previous century had belonged to the tragedians, Aeschylus and Euripides. Some two and a half millennia later, devotees of Noel Coward are being invited to bid for a lock of Coward's hair, attached to an interview script dating from 1968.¹ While many such objects have been cherished by fans over centuries, others have only survived on account of their neglect in public institutions: a random list might include a pair of Lydia Lopokova's ballet shoes, David Garrick's gloves, and, more bizarrely, the amputated leg of Sarah Bernhardt, which was recently rediscovered in the anatomical collection at the University of Bordeaux.²

Collecting of all kinds has a long and fascinating history, and the desire to possess the relics of star performers, in particular, has resulted in a lucrative trade for dealers in recent years.³ Many observers have pointed to the erotic impulses behind collecting – Benjamin speaks of 'the final thrill, the thrill of acquisition'⁴ – and it is the 'thrill' of the chase, especially, that fuels the ardour of the collector. As Phillip Blom has noted, 'The most important object of a collection is the next one.'⁵ And when the object itself is sexually titillating – as is the case with much ancient sculpture – there has often been a self-conscious awareness on the male collector's part of the interrelations between the sexual pursuit of a beautiful woman and the allure and 'penetration' of antiquity.⁶

Of equal longstanding has been the desire to put the objects in a collection on display, even if in the early years viewing was generally reserved for the privileged few. Whilst the nineteenth century witnessed the foundation of public museums, which housed collections formerly built up by and confined to the private realm, theatrical memorabilia – both relics and archival documents – took longer to become centrally held and preserved and considerably longer to be put on display. The ancient Athenians, by contrast, kept detailed records of their annual dramatic contest, the Festival of Dionysus, which

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included the names of the winning plays and playwrights (who were originally the principal actors in their own plays), and from 449 BCE onwards the names of the best actors as well. These lists are the earliest extant dramatic records, and details of the dramatic contests were most probably kept from the late sixth century BCE.⁷

Record keeping was often haphazard until the twentieth century – sometimes carried out more or less efficiently by prompters but also recorded by those who were dependent on unreliable sources⁸ – and the documentary evidence of performances survived, if at all, by chance rather than design. In the early 1960s, most London theatres did not hold systematic records; the hope of an editorial in *The Stage* in 1963 was that Kenneth Tynan, on his appointment to the role of Literary Manager at the National Theatre, would serve as the Theatre's archivist as well. But it was only some thirty years later, in 1993, that the National Theatre established its own archives.⁹

This chapter examines the reasons for the relative belatedness of public theatre collections and looks at the new ways in which theatre archives are being developed in accordance with both current thinking about theatre historiography and recent advances in archival theory. Long gone are the days of privileging isolated documentary data in theatre history as theatre historians now insist on the need to examine the multiple contexts of performance histories.¹⁰ Since the 1970s there has been a parallel 'contextual turn' in archive theory: whereas previously the collections housed within archives were considered solely as physical entities, preserved within their original order of acquisition, now archivists are encouraged to examine the institutional factors that shaped their collections and to think of their role as 'liberators' of their collections.¹¹ Indeed the archivist, whose previous focus on the individual record often led to an inability to glimpse the significance of the whole collection, provides the theatre historian with both a theoretical and a practical partnership, which charts a path beyond the 'micro-theatre-history' model.

From the cabinet of curiosities to the public museum

The traditional story of collectors and collecting begins with princes acquiring rare and precious objects to reflect and reinforce their power. It moves on to an account of the indefatigable humanists of the late sixteenth century who believed they were descendants of Aristotle and Pliny, but who had, in the wake of the discovery of the New World, another half of the world to document and assemble in their cabinets of curiosities. In the eighteenth century, there begins to emerge a 'scientific' collector, who collects and classifies in accordance with a rational system where all objects have a logical place.

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Until relatively recently, the consensus was that the major difference between a pre-modern and the post-Enlightenment collection was that the first contained curiosities, the second 'representative' objects. The pre-eighteenth-century collector wanted to inspire awe and wonder in the onlooker while the modern collector aims, often within a museum context, to 'educate' the viewer. Whilst there is some truth in this overview, it adopts an outmoded reading of the history of collecting, according to which public museums were the only means of providing order and appropriate preservation for objects previously subjected to a chaotic and largely aristocratic and amateur care.¹² This account, moreover, downplays the spirit of scientific inquiry behind many early collections that served as both 'instruments of scholarship and realizations of encyclopaedic knowledge'.¹³ Archives from the beginning were fuelled by serious research.

It is also mistaken to infer that early collections were simply shaped by the zeal and taste of aristocratic collectors: from the outset, collecting was in fact driven by precarious political and economic factors. Cottman's trawl through the records of ancient marble statues in the eighteenth century reveals a story of hard-dealing brokers, the imperial aspirations of patrons, political double-dealing on the high seas (notably between the French and the British during the war over the American colonies) and perilously long journeys across inhospitable terrain once the sculptures had arrived in Britain. It could often take as long as four years for the marbles to reach Britain from Livorno in Italy, occasionally making their way via the Irish ports of Dublin or Cork to avoid import duties.¹⁴

The emergence of the public museum was inextricably linked to political developments, both the overthrow of the monarchy in the French Revolution and the emergence of Romantic nationalism. Enlightened monarchs of Europe had begun to open their collections to public view during the course of the eighteenth century – both to signal their role as public 'educators' and to proclaim themselves as arbiters of taste – and just nine days following the storming of the royal residence and the effective fall of the French monarchy, work was begun on a museum to display the monarch's paintings. One year later, the museum at the former royal palace, the Louvre, and its collections were opened to the public. From 1803 the collections (now greatly enhanced by objects looted during Napoleon's recent victories across Europe) were organised chronologically, according to 'national' schools.¹⁵ Gaps in collections were filled with plaster casts; museums across Europe and the New World began to follow the French example in using museums to forge national identity and as a pedagogical device.¹⁶ The educative goal was viewed by museums in Britain, in particular, as a way of 'civilising' the lower classes and was

pursued 'with wholehearted ferocity: a Victorian missionary bringing to childlike natives the gospel of the rules of cricket'.¹⁷ In a post-Enlightenment and increasingly secular Europe, culture was becoming sacralised.

Nationalism, national socialism and performing arts collections

Whilst the nineteenth century witnessed the birth of the modern, public museum, theatre collections languished in private hands well into the twentieth century. There are plenty of reasons for this delay, not least the still widely held assumption that theatrical memory is something that should be enshrined in the practitioner's art: inscribed in the bodily memory and then passed on over the generations through practice. The absence of central collections was also due to the fact that 'Theatre has no home': few companies or managements have owned the theatres they occupy, putting space at a premium.¹⁸

The Paris Opéra was the exception to the rule concerning collections: from the outset copies of musical scores were kept for revivals, even though none of these has survived from before the mid-eighteenth century, owing to the absence of public accountability. From 1749, when the administration of the Opéra was placed under the City of Paris, proper records had to be kept. In 1866, shortly after the publication of Castil-Blaze's two-volume history of the Opéra, the first archivist, the librettist Charles Nutter, was appointed; in 1875 in the new theatre, Palais Garnier, a library was opened for study and in 1881 a museum.¹⁹ The example of the Opéra serves to illustrate the paradox that benign neglect is often the best means of survival: if the collection had always remained with the company, rather than with the city records, it would certainly either have been consumed by fire or destroyed during the turbulent years following the Revolution.²⁰

There are numerous reasons why the desire for the centralisation of performing arts collections should have come to the fore in Britain at the beginning of the twentieth century. Undoubtedly the most significant of these was the promotion of an increasingly nationalist cultural consciousness. Tours by the Comédie Française towards the end of the nineteenth century led to Matthew Arnold's call for a national theatre company in Britain, and from 1909 onwards the Ballets Russes acted as a strong spur for both a national theatre and a national ballet company.²¹ Following the campaign for a national theatre, and with plans afoot to found the Shakespeare Memorial National Theatre, came the beginning of numerous attempts to establish a central collection of the performing arts. Gabrielle Enthoven began her campaign for a National Museum of

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Theatre Arts in 1911; in 1924 she gave her own sizeable collection to the Victoria and Albert Museum, thereby inaugurating the V&A's Theatre Collection, and she worked on the collection as a volunteer until the late 1940s.²²

The nationalist cultural impulse in Britain in the years leading up to the First World War found a rallying point in Shakespeare but was by no means confined to him. Fuelled by anxieties about and antipathy towards Germany both before and during the First World War, British cultural nationalism pervaded wide intellectual circles.²³ A series of lectures on theatre history given by Max Hermann at the University of Berlin in 1900 had led to the inauguration of the Max Hermann Theaterwissenschaft Institut (Institute of Theatre Science) in 1923. It was becoming more imperative than ever to promote a distinctly British theatre history.

Just as opera companies needed to keep musical scores for revivals from the outset, dance companies were similarly dependent on records as they too would regularly revive a complete production. For this reason, dance research was at the forefront of the establishment of archives for the performing arts in Britain owing to the riches residing within personal collections.²⁴ But dance was also at the forefront of the formation of central collections in Britain in the early twentieth century because events in Nazi Germany were even more keenly and immediately felt within the very international world of dance than they were within the more narrowly conceived national schools of Western theatre.

In July 1934 *The Dancing Times* announced the foundation of the Société Internationale de la Danse in Vienna, whose aim was to look for ways of establishing international co-operation within the dance community. Its members were urged to donate their collections of dance material to the Archives Internationales de la Danse, founded by Rolf de Maré two years earlier in Paris.²⁵ During the 1930s, anxieties concerning the dispersal of private collections increased as refugees were forced to flee their homes across Europe and seek shelter elsewhere.²⁶ The need to centralise collections for posterity became paramount: in 1944, in particular, there was considerable concern about the safety of the Paris Archives under the Occupation. The Ballet Guild began to build 'The London Archives of the Dance', under the chairmanship of Cyril Beaumont, which was finally founded in January 1945 with an archivist and a librarian. The central collection for the new Archives consisted of the Ballet Guild's 3,000 volumes, programmes and pictures, all of which are now in the collection of the Victoria and Albert Museum. The express intention was to set up a research centre for the post-war period, which would promote knowledge of the past in order to appreciate the performances of the present.²⁷

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Performing arts collections and the academy

Many collectors began collecting because they were involved in the profession in some way – the two founders of the Mander and Mitchenson Collection were both actors and acquired many important artefacts from friends such as Noel Coward, John Gielgud and Sybil Thorndike.²⁸ The other equally important catalyst for collecting is research: it is not simply the case that performance archives prompt research but that research proper (as was the case with the early humanists) leads to the creation of archives. Just as the publication of Castil-Blaze's two-volume *L'Académie impériale de musique de 1645 à 1855* (1855) had led soon after to the appointment of the first archivist at the Paris Opéra, so Harold Rosenthal's research for his *Two Centuries of Opera at Covent Garden* (1956) led to his taking up, albeit temporarily, the archivist post at the Royal Opera House at Covent Garden, and eventually to the appointment of a full-time archivist in 1969.²⁹ In 1945 the Society for Theatre Research was founded, and the preliminary discussions that year about the establishment of departments of drama within universities further strengthened the desire for the centralisation of performing arts collections.

Although the University of Oxford despatched a team of academics to the United States in March 1945 to examine the work in drama at Harvard and Yale, it was at Bristol in 1947 that the first British Drama Department was established. In 1952 at a conference on university drama departments at Bristol, the theatre designer, co-founder of the Society for Theatre Research and subsequently university lecturer in Drama at Bristol, Richard Southern, advocated: 'we need a library where every known picture or plan relating to the development of the British stage up to the eve of modern times is available, whether in the original or in reproduction'.³⁰ According to Southern, it was not a museum that was needed for the performing arts, but 'the "Back Room" work of a museum – the models, the experiments, the uncased specimens, the notes, the photographic records, the list of references – the wood shavings and the carpentry of this research'.³¹ And it is the universities, he argued, that needed to assume the responsibility for providing such a 'research station'. In 1957 Glynne Wickham, the first university lecturer in Drama to be appointed in Britain and subsequently the first British Professor of Drama, purchased the founding object of the University of Bristol's Theatre Collection, a portrait of the eighteenth-century actor Charles Kean playing King Lear.³²

Concurrent with the emergent new academic discipline of drama were the developments in the training of archivists in the post-war period.³³ In 1948, with the help of UNESCO, a meeting was convened in Paris to strengthen ties between archivists, which led to the foundation of the International Council on Archives (ICA). Behind these developments lay not only the post-war spirit

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of co-operation and collaboration, but also an anxiety dating back to the 1930s that European collections would head across the Atlantic where large sums of money were readily available. It was not, however, until 1965 that America's pre-eminent repository for theatre collections, The New York Public Library for the Performing Arts, was opened to the public.

Archival training was fuelled by a realisation that Europe needed both to appreciate the value of its historical records and, in the case of Britain in particular, to learn how to look after them.³⁴ With education and social policy high on the post-war agenda, 1947 witnessed not only the inauguration of Bristol's Department of Drama but also the institution of archival training within higher education.³⁵ At long last, there was a growing profession of archivists who were trained in and committed to the preservation of the nation's history for posterity.

'Re-opening' performance archives

The role of the archivist has changed considerably over time, both in theory and in practice.³⁶ The archive has ceased to function as a custodial setting where materials are locked away for safekeeping. Today the archivist focuses on how the records have been re-contextualised and often radically altered by the archival process itself. The context of the archive engenders a new understanding of the records, which means in turn that the history of the collection, and the various other societal and institutional contexts within which the records were produced, need careful scrutiny.

The way in which the archive itself is structured therefore becomes part of the object of study, and the fact that it functions as a creator of meaning rather than simply serving as a repository of knowledge is now widely acknowledged.³⁷ The digital performing arts archive, *Sarma*, was founded in Brussels in 2000 upon the belief that all archives are thoroughly subjective. Its core collection is made up of dance reviews from seventeen or so critics from eleven countries, alongside which are transcripts of discussions and workshops. *Sarma's* aim is to 'become a rhizomatic resource for dance discourse, a place where writers join their readers with respect for the polyphony of voices and opinions'.³⁸ Another archiving project, entitled 'My Hotel Medea: The Audience as Document', which was developed at the Victoria and Albert Museum in London in March 2011, involved two groups, one consisting of those who had watched an all-night show entitled *Hotel Medea* at the Arcola Theatre, London, in February 2009 and another of people who had missed the production. The archiving process in this instance involved not only recording first-hand experiences of a show but also capturing information from those whose knowledge had been acquired at second or even third hand.

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The archivist who was formerly the custodian of individual records or objects is now understood to be engaged in the process of ‘re-opening’ or ‘liberating’ collections to a wide range of people, from school students to scholars, from the local community to the international public who may ‘visit’ the archive remotely through the digitised objects within collections.³⁹ The ‘re-opening’ of theatre archives, in particular, has come about through improved communications between different archives. TIG (Theatre Information Group) was founded in the 1980s to bring together those working with performing arts collections. Initially it involved only collections based in London, but it is now the UK centre of SIBMAS, the International Association for Libraries and Museums of the Performing Arts founded in Paris in 1954. Alongside this formal networking, indispensable guides to the various performing arts collections have appeared, in hardcopy and now online.⁴⁰ In Britain plans are currently underway to create a National Performance Database linking the collections held by the main performing arts archives, namely The Royal Opera House, the Victoria and Albert Museum, The University of Bristol Theatre Collection and the National Theatre Archive.

One important example of the ‘re-opening’ of the archive is The National Theatre Archive, which moved in 2003 from the National Theatre’s Prop and Costume Store in Brixton in South London to the National Theatre Studios, based round the corner from the theatre itself. Under the management of the National Theatre’s Artistic Director Nicholas Hytner and its Executive Director Nick Starr, the National Theatre Archive was deemed to have a key role to play not only as storehouse of the Theatre’s memory, but also in the creation of new work. In marked contrast to the other principal performing arts archives in Britain, such as The Shakespeare Institute in Stratford-upon-Avon, the National Theatre Archive is sited at the heart of the organisation and enjoys therefore a real interaction with practice. According to the National Theatre’s Archivist, Gavin Clarke, the Archive functions very much like the engine room of the organisation, where its ‘mechanical’ parts and its fuel are stored and where there is a regular interchange of ideas as studio work is often punctuated by consultation of archival material.⁴¹ It also demands of its Archivist the role of ‘liberator’ of the collection: while Tynan in the 1960s was expected to double as literary manager and archivist, Gavin Clarke is today both records manager and educator, with links to both nearby Southbank University and King’s College London.

A relatively recent and much smaller scale archive, which also seeks to function as the ‘engine room’ for research and practice as well as seeking to ‘re-open’ its collections, is the University of Oxford’s Archive of Performances of Greek and Roman Drama (APGRD). Founded in 1996 by Edith Hall and

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Oliver Taplin with a grant from the Leverhulme Trust, its aim was to document the history of performances of ancient drama from the Renaissance to the present. Since those early years, the APGRD has extended its remit: back in time to include the performance history of the ancient plays in antiquity; across genres by including performances of epic as well as dramatic texts, encompassing opera and dance within the orbit of modern performance; and across media to include performances on film, radio and television.⁴²

Given the belated centralisation of theatre collections in Britain, the APGRD may not itself appear belated, but in many ways it was: literal amateurs of ancient drama, like Taplin himself, had amassed their own collections of memorabilia relating to performances of ancient drama in the modern world and yet there was no equivalent of the Shakespeare Institute at Stratford-upon-Avon (founded in 1951) within which to house such material. This absence was, perhaps, not surprising given the international impact of the classical world and, since the Second World War at least, the global presence of ancient drama in modern performance, which meant that there was no one obvious centre for such a collection. The nearest equivalents were scattered collections in Greece where performances of ancient plays had played a key part in the forging of national identity and nationalist politics.⁴³

Like other collections, then, there were personal collections at the APGRD's foundation, and personal passion had been fuelled by involvement in research and in practice.⁴⁴ Whilst Shakespeare's rich tradition of reperformance was increasingly recognised as central to an understanding of his plays in the present, classical drama was studied well into the 1970s primarily as philological text, and performance histories of the plays were confined to the realm of the anecdotal or to the pedagogical margins. The founding of the APGRD was inextricably bound up with the desire of Taplin and Hall to promote further research: to demonstrate that an understanding of the performance history of the ancient plays was essential to an understanding of ancient theatre itself and to broaden and shape the emergent discipline of 'classical reception studies'. Research Hall and I conducted at Reading University from 1991-4, documenting the performance history of Greek plays on the British stage from 1660-1914, had produced a sizeable collection of records and artefacts, which supplemented Taplin's twentieth-century-focused personal collection.⁴⁵ Through the research carried out at the APGRD and its burgeoning collections, theatre history has been recognised as an integral component in the study of Classics. The APGRD has, perhaps, more importantly allied theatre history to the history of classical scholarship and to the history of ideas. In the absence of any formal focus for theatre research within the University of Oxford as a whole, it is often said that the

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APGRD has become by default the ‘Theatre Department’ that failed to materialise in 1945.

The physical location of a collection is significant. In 1996 the APGRD was based in the European Humanities Research Centre in Oxford but in 1999 it moved to a newly built Classics Centre. No longer the poor relation left to seek shelter with distant cousins in Modern Languages, the APGRD became part of the research culture within Oxford Classics alongside the Centre for the Study of Ancient Documents and The Classical Art Research Centre and the Beazley Archive. The APGRD’s collection, built up over the years by researchers and by the donations from friends and colleagues around the world, boasts a sizeable collection of books, CDs and DVDs, production files containing programmes, photos and reviews, as well as original manuscripts, rehearsal scripts, set designs and oral histories.

Starting its life as a research centre, the collection was largely hidden from public view, visible only as sources for an online database, until the arrival of a professional archivist in 2010.⁴⁶ Indeed until then no one had particularly thought about the collecting process in any systematic way. There were discussions about whether tickets should be kept (the exorbitant price of a ticket for the epic-length *Tantalus* at the Barbican in 2001 had prompted that decision), and considerable thought was given to the widening of the remit of the collection to include loose adaptations, performances within antiquity, dance and opera, and more recently performances inspired by the ancient epics.

The APGRD collection is now ‘re-opening’, in accordance with current archival theory, and continues to grow thanks to the increasing consensus that the written documents, oral accounts and the artefacts relating to the performances of ancient plays need to be preserved – as part of theatre history and of the story of how the classical world has shaped modern life. Whilst there has been no conscious sense of imposing control and exclusion in the way that Derrida identified as characteristic of archival practice in general, there are inevitably gaps and elisions, which have come about through unconscious prejudice as well the inevitable imbalances that derive from an attempt to collect material worldwide.⁴⁷ It is essential to reflect upon the institutional context of the APGRD, within what has been deemed an elitist discipline and an elitist university. Classics and class are inextricably linked, as has been well documented, but the APGRD’s holdings and research have demonstrated how the ancient plays have been used as much to challenge as to reinforce the social and educational elite, for whom knowledge of antiquity was a mark of exclusion and privilege.⁴⁸ Histories of classical scholarship are now in a position to include the countercultural discourse of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century classical burlesques, as well as to examine the often

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radical purposes of productions of ancient plays across the globe since the Second World War.

A particular collection of material within the APGRD dating from the 1920s–1950s, which had belonged to a German Professor of Rhetoric at Humboldt University, points to other ways in which ancient plays have become embroiled in politics. Wilhelm Leyhausen spearheaded the post-Second World War Delphiad series of performances in ancient theatres across Europe, which were staged in order to bring young people together in the spirit of international cultural exchange and co-operation. A former participant in the series put us in touch with the current owner of the material, who was very keen to rid himself of numerous boxes languishing in a damp basement in Frankfurt. In addition to the Delphiad productions, the collection includes Leyhausen's own musical settings for Greek tragic odes and contains much material that documents the wider European avant-garde developments in 'total' theatre during the 1920s and 1930s, for which ancient drama was a major site for exploration and experimentation. Leyhausen's development of *Sprechchor* (speaking chorus) was contemporary with Rudolf Laban's *Bewegungschor* (movement choir) and must be seen in the wider political context of the Hitler youth and the Nazi mass rallies of the 1930s. Leyhausen's ability to remain in post throughout the war years and his reverence for ancient drama are symptomatic of fascism's investment in the ancient world. The theatre archive thus helps classicists and producers of classical drama to interrogate the practice of their own activities.⁴⁹

Like most modern archives, the APGRD is a real space with objects and documents; it is also a virtual space through its online presence, its database and its increasingly digitised collections. More unusually, it has also acquired a further function thanks to the Onassis Foundation, which enables it to commission and produce new works inspired by ancient plays.⁵⁰ Finally, it is a 're-opened' space in which researchers, fledgling and seasoned, amateur and professional, scholars and practitioners, can access information, share ideas, create new work and write theatre history. In 1952 Richard Southern spoke of the need for universities to provide a 'Back Room' for the performing arts: the 're-opened' theatre archive promotes research, pedagogy and creativity and demonstrates that they not only can co-exist but that such co-existence needs to underpin theatre history.

NOTES

- 1 <http://modernfirsteditions.co.uk/product/asignedcopyofan4183760.html>.
- 2 A family friend has a number of Lopokova's personal items in her possession that she inherited from a balletomane grandmother; the RSC has one of two identical pairs of gloves that were worn by Garrick and allegedly once belonged to

- Shakespeare. For the macabre story of Bernhardt's leg, see www.factsandarts.com/articles/the-curious-story-of-sarah-bernhardts-leg, accessed 28/4/2011.
- 3 P. Blom, *To Have and To Hold: An Intimate History of Collecting* (London: Allen Lane, 2002), esp. pp. 158–68.
 - 4 W. Benjamin, *Illuminations*, trans. H. Zohn (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1968). See, esp., 'Unpacking my Library: A Talk about Book Collecting', pp. 59–69.
 - 5 Blom, *To Have*, p. 157.
 - 6 V. Cottman, *Classical Sculpture and the Culture of Collecting in Britain since 1760* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009).
 - 7 P. Wilson, *The Athenian Institution of the Khoregia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 214–18.
 - 8 J. Bratton, *New Readings in Theatre History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003).
 - 9 *The Stage*, 15 August 1963, cited at www.nationaltheatre.org.uk/7134/archive-collection/collection-holdings.html, accessed 28/4/2011.
 - 10 Bratton, *New Readings*; T. Postlewait, *The Cambridge Introduction to Theatre History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009); and H. Bial and S. Magelssen (eds.), *Theatre Historiography: Critical Interventions* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2010).
 - 11 T. Cook, 'The Concept of the Archival Fonds in the Post-Custodial Era: Theory, Problems and Solutions', *Archivaria*, 35 (1993), 4–37.
 - 12 T. Bennett, *The Birth of the Museum: History, Ideas, Politics* (London and New York: Routledge, 1995); and Cottman, *Classical Sculpture*, for a critique of A. Michaelis, *Ancient Marbles in Great Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1882).
 - 13 Blom, *To Have*, p. 15.
 - 14 Cottman, *Classical Sculpture*, pp. 150–1.
 - 15 Blom, *To Have*, p. 113.
 - 16 E. Crooke, *Politics, Archaeology and the Creation of a National Museum of Ireland* (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 2000); J. J. Sheehan, *Museums in the German Art World* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000).
 - 17 Blom, *To Have*, p. 120.
 - 18 Muriel St Clare Byrne's address, 'Theatrical Records' (1957), cited in C. Hudson, 'Sixty Years of Collecting', unpublished lecture for The Society for Theatre Research, March 2008. I am most grateful to Claire Hudson for sending me a copy of her notes for this lecture.
 - 19 Castil-Blaze, *L'Académie impériale de musique de 1645 à 1855* (Paris: Castil-Blaze, 1855). See I. Guest, 'Archives of the Dance [8]: Dance Material in the Archives of The Royal Opera House, Covent Garden', *Dance Research*, 6 (1984), 78–82.
 - 20 *Ibid.*, 76.
 - 21 M. Arnold, 'The French Play in London', *The Nineteenth Century*, 5 (1879), 242–3; J. Lawson, 'An English School of Dance', *The Dancing Times*, August (1942), 60–6; and E. Evans, 'Nationalism and the Ballet', *The Dancing Times*, April (1943), 309–10.
 - 22 Hudson, 'Sixty Years'; A. Schouvaloff, 'The Theatre Museum: Where is that?' (2007), at www.theatremuseumguardians.org.uk/TheatreMuseum/curatorspekas.

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- html, accessed 5/5/2011. The Theatre Museum was based in Covent Garden from 1987–2007. The collections are now held in the dedicated Theatre and Performance galleries in the Victoria and Albert Museum, Kensington, and at the Museum's premises in Blythe House, Kensington Olympia.
- 23 C. Baldick, *The Social Mission of English Criticism 1848–1932* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987), pp. 70–108.
 - 24 J. Pritchard, 'Archives of The Dance (7): The Rambert Dance Company Archive', *Dance Research*, 6.1 (1988), 59–69.
 - 25 *The Dancing Times* (July 1934), 391–2.
 - 26 *The Dancing Times*, (March 1942), 296.
 - 27 K. Sorley-Walker, 'Archives – Positions and Problems', *The Dancing Times* (February 1944), 113–14; *The Dancing Times* (February 1945), 208; *The Dancing Times* (May 1945), 353. Cf. earlier concerns *The Dancing Times* (July 1934), 391–2; (March 1942), 296; (December 1939), 125, (March 1942), 296.
 - 28 The Collection is now part of The University of Bristol Theatre Collection.
 - 29 F. Franchi, 'Archives of the Dance [3]: Dance Material in the Archives of The Royal Opera House, Covent Garden', *Dance Research*, 6 (1988), 78–82.
 - 30 R. Southern, 'Theatre Research and the Universities', in D. G. James (ed.), *The Universities and the Theatre* (London: G. Allen & Unwin, 1952), p. 97.
 - 31 *Ibid.*, p. 100. The University of Bristol Theatre Collection dates from 1951.
 - 32 M. White, 'Professor Glynne Wickham', Obituary, *The Independent* (11 February, 2004). The painting was purchased after he persuaded the University to put up the requisite £110.
 - 33 E. Shepherd, *Archives and Archivists in Twentieth-Century England* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2009).
 - 34 Cf. France and Spain where training was offered from the nineteenth century onwards. *Ibid.*, p. 218.
 - 35 At UCL, Liverpool, and Oxford. *Ibid.*, pp. 175ff.
 - 36 For archival theory, see T. Cook, 'The Concept of the Archival Fonds in the Post-Custodial Era: Theory, Problems and Solutions', *Archivaria*, 35 (1993), 4–37; T. Nesmith, 'Reopening the Archives: Bringing New Contextualities into Archival Theory and Practice', *Archivaria*, 60 (2005), 259–74.
 - 37 P. Michelakis, 'Archiving Events, Performing Documents: On the Seductions and Challenges of Performance Archives', in E. Hall and S. Harrop (eds.), *Theorising Performance, Greek Drama, Cultural History and Critical Practice* (London: Duckworth, 2010), pp. 95–107.
 - 38 <http://www.sarma.be/nieuw/about/about.htm> (accessed 5/5/2011).
 - 39 Nesmith, 'Reopening', 274.
 - 40 E.g., Diana Howard's pioneering *Directory of Theatre Research and Information Resources* (London: Arts Council of Great Britain, 1980). The third much expanded edition by Francesca Franchi appeared as *Directory of Performing Arts Resources* (London: Society for Theatre Research and the Theatre Museum, 1998). In 2002 Backstage database appeared, the records for which have now migrated to the Culture Grid (<http://www.culturegrid.org.uk>).
 - 41 In conversation with the NT Archivist, Gavin Clarke.
 - 42 Two five-year AHRC grants and support from the Mellon Foundation and a further grant from the Leverhulme Trust have made this possible.

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- 43 G. Sideris, *To Archeo Theatro sti Nea Elliniki Skini 1817-1932* (Athens: Icarus, 1976).
- 44 Taplin had acted as academic consultant on the 1981 *Oresteia* at the National Theatre and had more recently written a book (1990) based on his Channel 4 series *Greek Fire*.
- 45 This research was eventually published as E. Hall and F. Macintosh, *Greek Tragedy and the British Theatre 1660-1914* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005).
- 46 The online database contains details of over 9,000 productions (www.apgrd.ox.ac.uk/database). The APGRD has published nine volumes to date (one due in 2013) and numerous monographs by its researchers, who are both senior and emergent academics.
- 47 J. Derrida, *Archive Fever* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996), trans. E. Prenowitz.
- 48 Hall and Macintosh, *Greek Tragedy and the British Theatre*.
- 49 Dr Eleftheria Ioannidou (Humboldt Postdoctoral Fellow, Freie Universität, Berlin) is working on this collection for a monograph on Greek drama under totalitarian regimes.
- 50 www.onassis.ox.ac.uk.

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