"We make our tools and our tools make us": Lessons from Photographs for the Practice, Politics, and Poetics of Diplomatics

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Résumé

En réponse à la recherche de Luciana Duranti de «nouveaux usages d'une ancienne science» cet effort initial d'application de la diplomatique à la photographie dans les archives canadiennes, procède à un survol des concepts de diplomatique dans le contexte de la forme et de la fonction photographiques. L'exercice, les politiques, et la poétique de la diplomatique sont explorées ainsi que les implications de l'adoption d'un outil «positiviste» dans une période d'archivistique post- moderne.

Abstract

In response to Luciana Duranti's quest for "new uses for an old science," this initial effort to apply diplomatics to photograph in Canadian archives surveys the concepts of diplomatics in the context of photographic form and function. The practice, politics, and poetics of diplomatics are explored and the implications of embracing a positivist tool in a postcustodial, postmodern world are discussed.

"... photographs do not in themselves preserve meaning.... Meaning is the result of understanding functions."[1]

John Berger

"We make our tools and our tools make us: by taking up particular tools we accede to desires and we manifest intentions."[2]

William J. Mitchell

"Modern memory is, above all, archival."[3]

Pierre Nora

Information Revolutions: Daguerre to Digital

In his keynote address to the XIIth International Congress on Archives, Jean-Louis Roy, Secretary-General of l'Agence de coopération culturelle et technique (France) noted, "The new information technologies have changed and will change our ways of doing things and our ways of thinking."[4] Roy was clearly referring to the implications of electronic information, but his remarks could just as easily have been made 150 years ago in the wake of announcements in France and England that optical-chemical processes had been developed for recording, preserving, and transmitting information in visual form. Living in an image-saturated environment makes it difficult for us to imagine the impact of the invention of photography on "the organization of humanistic knowledge and the social basis of its production and dissemination."[5] Called "the most important, and perhaps the most extraordinary triumph of modern science,"[6] photography was part of a systemic shift that had profound cultural repercussions. It revolutionized memory,[7] changed the relationship between past and present, produced "a massive reorganization of knowledge and social practices,"[8] and occasioned a "major readjustment of the alphabet/image ratio in ordinary communication."[9]

Because the advent of photography had profound implications for modes of communication, frameworks of knowledge, and uses of memory,[10] archives are implicated in such intellectual upheavals.[11] In Canada, for example, photography was quickly adopted as a means of recording, ordering, and disseminating information, and research indicates that by the late 1850s, government records and personal papers had begun to include cased images, bound albums, illustrated reports, loose prints, and collections of negatives.[12] Although most of Canada's archival past falls within the photographic era, archivists have speculated little about the impact of this new information technology on communication, on record-keeping, and on archives, and our anxiety about electronic records contrasts strongly with our complacency over photographs. Convinced of the archival value of photographic documents and curious to explore diplomatics as a "means of thinking and talking about quite minute fragments of the document,"[13] I am prompted to take up the challenge voiced most recently and most forcefully by Luciana Duranti to find "new uses for an old science."[14]

If this effort to apply diplomatics to the "new" media is to go beyond "old uses for an old science applied to new media," we must first acknowledge that the "new" media configure not only old information in new ways, but also different information in previously unimaginable ways. They are part of the evolution of communication; they reflect and constitute new approaches to information transfer, new forms of record-keeping, new uses of and needs for information, and, ultimately, the historicity and specificity of communication. To be relevant to the kinds of documents acquired by modern archives, especially in Canada,[15] this effort must consider the practical and conceptual implications of extending diplomatics, not only from medieval to modern records, but also from documents of verbal/textual communication to documents of visual communication, from documents created by the few according to prescribed formulas for bureaucratic purposes to documents produced by an increasingly democratized process and with individualized intent.

My comments on the relevance of diplomatics to photographs are, therefore, offered within the "total archives" context of Canadian archival tradition. This combines

aspects of both the historical manuscripts tradition of the United States and the public records tradition of Europe, and presupposes archives in Canada to be repositories with socio-cultural as well as administrative accountability. In that context, we must rethink the nature, production, and purpose of photographs as documents in order to achieve a contextual understanding of their use by government, business, and individuals to convey government policy, communicate corporate ideology, construct national identity, shape collective memory, establish symbolic space, and define concepts of self and the cultural Other.[16] The central premise of this article is that photographs are documents, created by a will, for a purpose, to convey a message to an audience. To understand them as the product of actions and transactions, either bureaucratic or socio-cultural, we must return them to the action in which they participated. It is their functional context that transforms photographic images into archival documents.

I do not pursue diplomatics because it can bring "higher scientific quality"[17] to archival work, although we do have something to learn from its systematic approach to documentary form. Nor do I engage in this exercise because diplomatics is the only avenue to a contextual understanding of photographs as documents, although I concede that its macroanalytical framework and microanalytical methodology can offer archivists a path to greater visual literacy. I do not confine my remarks to "original probative juridical documents"[18] or to documents created by "public persons [who] wanted to communicate authoritatively or unambiguously"[19]; to do so would greatly limit, if not obviate, this exercise. Nor is this an effort to force the photograph into the diplomatist's endeavour by constructing a model of photographic equivalents for the extrinsic and intrinsic elements of written documents. Despite the obvious implications for digital technology, I limit my remarks to traditional chemistry-based photographs, leaving electronic images for some future occasion.

This effort to examine the broad brushstrokes of diplomatics and ascertain their applicability to photographs in Canadian archives will, I hope, contribute to a professional understanding of first, the photograph as the embodiment of a series of decisions governing internal and external form, second, the nature of photographic communication, and third, the place of photographs in Canadian archives. By shifting attention away from the content of the photograph and focusing it on the functional context of document creation, diplomatics has the potential to shed new light on both informational *and* evidential value and thus increase visual literacy. It is also hoped that by opening up for review the theoretical underpinnings of diplomatics and the methodological assumptions implicit in its application to photographs, this effort also sheds light on the larger issue of the politics and poetics of archives.

I embark upon this pursuit prompted by Luciana Duranti's assurances that diplomatics is "the key to an understanding of the action in which the document participates, and of the document itself"[20] and by Leonard Boyle's assertion that diplomatics is "an art by which written records from any age and of any kind are made to speak again with a full distinct voice."[21] What follows is an exploration of diplomatic benchmarks and their application to photographs that is both challenging and rewarding because it forces a theoretical re-examination of the place of photographs in Canadian archives. While it is grounded in the literature of photographs and visual representation, it builds on the postmodern sensitivities to textual and

electronic records explored by Terry Cook, Hugh Taylor, Tom Nesmith, Brien Brothman, and Richard Brown. Their emphasis on the functional context of archival documents is equally important for photographs. Terry Cook's observation that "almost all the concepts, practices, procedures, and even the accepted terminology of the profession reflect our legacy of paper records," is no less relevant to photographic records than electronic records.

Although, as Lorraine O'Donnell points out, "the dominion of word-based records is evolving,"[22] the theories and practices of a paper-based, textual archives have produced, if I may paraphrase Cook, "logocentric minds trying to cope with visual realities."[23] In view of the "crisis of representation" in the human sciences, O'Donnell's attempt to problematize the "normalcy" of word-based records in the total archives project, Nesmith's provenancial approach to the history of the record, Taylor's perceptive explorations of archival media, Brothman's postmodernist "gloss on the cultural significance of archival practice," Brown's inquiry into narrativity and hermeneutics, and Cook's clarion call to adopt a post-custodial focus on "the context, purpose, intent, interrelationships, functionality, and accountability of the record and especially its creator and its creation processes," archivists, now more than ever, need a conceptual tool for analyzing photographs in archival terms.[24] Can diplomatics help?

In the first part of this article, I address the practical application of diplomatics to photographs, placing the elements of diplomatic micro-analysis into photographic perspective. Then, in the second half, I step back from procedural detail to survey the broader issue of the implications of such an exercise and the assumptions that underlie it. Throughout the article, photographs act as ground upon which the positivist, the post-custodial, and the postmodern meet to test the theoretical timelessness of the first principles and strict vocabulary of diplomatics. Framed by the broad brush-strokes and precise details of diplomatics on the one hand, and the historicity and specificity of photographic and archival practice on the other, this exercise yields useful lessons for the practice, politics, and poetics of seeking "new uses for an old science."

Document Structure and Photographic Form

Diplomatics is a seventeenth-century discipline that seeks to identify, evaluate, and communicate the "true nature" of archival documents. It does so by studying their origins, forms, and transmission, as well as the relationships between documents and the facts represented, and between documents and their creators.[25] At the heart of diplomatics is the "written" document. This concern with "written" documents can be extended to photographs if "written" refers to "the purpose and intellectual result of the action of writing."[26] Photography, of course, literally means "writing with light." Despite the fact that "iconic languages, like photography, work differently,"[27] photographs can be considered "written" in the sense that they express ideas in a documentary and syntactic form. They participate in the action of receiving and sending information. They are created for the attainment of effects, although we often fail to see them as prompted by an act of will to produce consequences.

Diplomatics, Duranti explains, is based upon the universal nature of documents; some would say the universal nature of certain, privileged, institutional documents.

While the statement that "a document has an external makeup which is its physical form, an internal articulation which is its intellectual form, and a message to transmit which is its content"[28] can be applied to photographic documents, archivists seldom ask the most basic of questions about their physical form, internal articulation, purpose, or intellectual result. In fact, in archival circles, consideration of physical form and internal articulation have been considered curatorial concerns, subject content is erroneously conflated with their message, issues of representation are ignored, and informational value is equated only with visual fact. But, as John Berger points out, "the simplicity with which we usually treat the experience [of looking at a photograph] is wasteful and confusing,"[29] and as Rudolf Arnheim cautions, "the comprehension of photographic pictures cannot be taken for granted."[30]

Authenticity, Authority, and Validity

Diplomatics, from its inception, was founded to establish the authority of the document. Its origins were "strictly linked to the need to determine the authenticity of documents, for the ultimate purpose of ascertaining the reality of rights or truthfulness of facts."[31] How do the concepts of authenticity, authority, and validity relate to photographic documents? Photographic images used in a variety of identification documents to confer upon or withhold from the bearer certain rights and privileges can be analyzed in diplomatic terms with relative ease because the form of both image and document is prescribed. But what about the vast majority of photographs in Canadian archives that are not part of surveillance documents? How do geological survey photographs or public works construction progress photographs, or health promotion photographs convey authority as documents created by government? What, in fact, do we really seek when we apply the concepts of authenticity, authority, and validity to photographs?

While the visual authority of the photograph is now increasingly undermined by the wizardry of digital technology, the "truthfulness of facts" in a photograph has always been presumed to reside in its verisimilitude. Ever since Paul Delaroche purportedly exclaimed, "From today, painting is dead,"[32] the photograph has been perceived as an objective record of reality, the product of a mechanical and therefore neutral means of documentation. But in our assessment of truthfulness, content must not be conflated with message. Photographs derive the authority of their content from realism and accuracy, what J.B.Harley calls "talismans" of authority; archival photographs convey their message through function and context. Extrapolating from Harley's approach to maps, we can see a parallel between maps and photographs as archival documents based on the assumptions that link authority and truthfulness. In the case of maps, the "truthfulness of facts," and the authority that goes along with it, are derived from scientific origins; in the case of photographs, truthfulness and authority are based on mechanical origins.

Optical precision, of course, is not a guarantee of documentary neutrality. The photograph is neither truth nor reality, but a representation willed into existence for a purpose and mediated by the persons concurring in its formation. Its message is embedded in the visual transcription of facts, but emerges only in functional context. The ability of photography to use optical-chemical transformations and Renaissance perspective to convey outward appearances with unparalleled accuracy does not negate

its ability, simultaneously, to communicate carefully crafted messages for bureaucratic or corporate purposes. Archivists, therefore, must recognize that photographs, like maps, are linked to the exercise of government and business, and ask how they function as "a silent arbiter of power," how they "express an embedded social vision," and how they operate through the "sly rhetoric of neutrality."[33]

In trying to apply notions of authority, authenticity, and reliability to photographs (and further to distinguish between diplomatic authenticity, legal authenticity, and historical authenticity), it becomes clear that these concepts, while not wholly transferable to photographs, are nevertheless useful in breaking down the event-document relationship into its component parts. Duranti explains that "a document is 'authentic' when it presents all the elements which are designed to provide it with authenticity. A document is 'genuine' when it is truly what it purports to be."[34] In the process of inquiring into the authenticity and genuineness of photographs, we are forced to examine the photograph as a physical object and a visual image. The former requires optical or chemical verification to confirm its origins in processes that are considered photographic; the latter demands analysis of the photograph in terms of content and context, representation and reality. It is here that the diplomatic notion of authenticity is useful, because it requires that we analyze the photograph in terms of its physical composition, the correspondence between the image and reality it depicts, and the relationship between the image and its label in order to understand the functional context in which the photographic image is transformed into a photographic document.

The authority of the photographic document, often conferred or confirmed by the reputation, the reliability, or the power of the person or persons concurring in the formation of the document, is also linked to the diplomatic concern for validity. Validity is usually a measure of the degree to which physical form and internal articulation conform to the requirements of some commissioning or controlling authority. For example, applications for Canadian passports include detailed "photograph specifications" which stipulate "a full front view of head and shoulders without head covering, taken against a plain white background." The paper used for printing must be single weight, matte finish. Maximum and minimum allowable dimensions are given with additional dimensions for the white signature strip and the "face length from chin to crown of head." The physical form of the photograph is very specific: "Photographs which do not meet these specifications, photographs subject to fading or sensitive to heat and group photographs are not acceptable." In addition, the photographer's stamp on the back of the photograph must indicate the name and address of the photographer and the date the photograph was taken, and the photograph must be certified in writing with the signature of a guarantor "to be a true likeness" of the applicant. There are also strict instructions governing who can act as a guarantor. All these conditions must be met before a passport can be issued. But then what is the archival value of a passport photograph without the passport? In point of fact, photographs seldom function independently to enforce or enact legal, political, religious, or social obligations. The physical form and internal articulation are seldom strictly prescribed and validity, in the strictest sense, is not of direct relevance to the majority of photographic documents created for government or corporate use. What is useful about the concept of validity is its insistence that we consider the significance of physical form and internal articulation as it was or was not prescribed by the functional context of document creation.

The Concept of the Original

Closely linked to authenticity and authority is a concern for the original. Developed in an age of fakes and forgeries, the diplomatic concept of the original record was intended "to distinguish an original document from a draft and a copy for the purpose of determining the degree of authority of the document under examination."[35] Its uses were essentially political and economic. In diplomatics, an original is "the first complete and effective document, that is, an original must present the qualities of primitiveness, completeness and effectiveness."[36] It must be perfect in the diplomatic sense that it is "complete, finished, without defect, and enforceable."[37] But photographs are neither complete nor incomplete and cannot be enforceable. Primitiveness is not significant and effectiveness is not a matter of authority. How, then, do we apply the diplomatic concept of the original to photographs when, as John Berger has pointed out, "the very principle of photography is that the resulting image is not unique, but on the contrary infinitely reproducible."[38] This does not deny the existence of something considered an original, but rather recognizes that the concept of "original" functions differently for documents created for different kinds of information exchange.

In his RAMP Study, which is intended to "recommend general principles and specific selection criteria guiding the appraisal of photographs in archives," Bill Leary calls the original negative the "truest record of the information captured by the camera" and claims:

> Because of the importance of uniqueness in appraising archival records, photo archivists emphasize that the camera negative (or colour transparency) is the record copy of any photograph.

Leary goes on to suggest that "concentration upon the negative as the record copy is an important characteristic distinguishing archives from some picture libraries and virtually all art museums."[39] Such misguided thinking, made plain in diplomatic terms, sent hundreds of vintage prints that accompanied the studio archive of Alberta photographers Boorne and May to the dump a decade ago, despite protests from photographic archivists and curators who argued the documentary, let alone historical and monetary, value of the ill-fated photographs. The idea of the negative as the "truest record of the information captured by the camera" emphasizes uniqueness over purpose.

While the negative may in fact be "the truest record" of what was in front of the lens, it is not the document intended to convey a message to an audience. Diplomatics points to the negative as only a draft. Printing, cropping, burning, dodging, mounting, enlarging, and inscription may all be involved in the transformation of a negative into a final print. The diplomatic concepts of draft, original, copy in the form of original, imitative copy, and pseudo-original are all important considerations because they draw attention to the transformation of the photographic image into a photographic document. The fact that many prints may be made from a single negative or that a single print may be used repeatedly under different circumstances points to the possible existence of multiple original photographic documents, based on the same image, but made at various times, for diverse purposes and different audiences. These concepts demonstrate that the meaning of a photographic document lies not in the content or the form but in the context of document creation.

Persons Concurring in the Formation of a Document

Diplomatics demands that we study the complexity of creative forces behind the photograph. "Persons are the central element of any document," Duranti states. "We identify, acquire, select, describe, communicate, and consult documents largely in relation to the persons they come from, are written by, directed to, concerned with, or have effect on." In identifying the author of the act, the author of the document, the addressee of the document, and the writer of the document, diplomatics reminds us that the photographer is not the only "person concurring in the formation of the document."[40]

Humphrey Lloyd Hime was official photographer to the Assiniboine and Saskatchewan Exploring Expedition. He was hired by Henry Youle Hind, leader of the Expedition, with the approval of T.J.J. Loranger, Provincial Secretary. Several dozen photographs were produced by Hime as part of his assignment to "furnish a series of Collodion Negatives for the full illustration of all objects of interest susceptible of photographic delineation, from which any number of copies can be taken to illustrate a narrative of the Expedition and a report on its results." Hind also received the Provincial Secretary's consent to send photographs to the editor-in-chief of the *Illustrated London News* for publication with the proviso that each "photograph was to be accompanied by a brief description and sent to the Provincial Secretary for inspection and approval before transmission to London."[41] Diplomatic analysis of persons concurring in the formation of Hime's photographs lead us to recognize the larger context of document creation. The directions of Hind and the approvals of Loranger frame the purpose and message of these photographic documents created by the Canadian government in a conscious effort to shape ideas about the North-West to support political and economic expansion. It is only when we consider the persons concurring in the formation of Hime's photographs that we can return them to their functional context and recognize them as carefully crafted, visual arguments that expressed the political, socio-cultural, and economic aspirations of the expansionist movement embroiled in political controversy, scientific debate, and cultural confrontation. As such, Hime's photographs emerge as archival documents created in the course of the Canadian government's effort to construct a regional identity favourable to expansionist goals and to create the symbolic space believed to hold the key to Canada's transcontinental identity.[42]

Similarly, the construction progress shots of the Parliament Buildings taken by Samuel McLaughlin for the Department of Works, the survey photographs taken by Benjamin Baltzly for the Geological Survey of Canada, the battlefield photographs taken by Lieutenant Ivor Castle for the War Records Office, and the landscape photographs of mountain scenery taken for the National Parks Bureau are more than mere "illustrations": they are powerful statements about government activities and intentions in which the photographer is but one party complicit in the creation of the photographic document. Diplomatics elucidates the relationship between photograph and photographer by asking, "Who are the persons intervening in the creation of the photograph and what is the nature of the document in relation to them?" The photographers whose optical-chemical transformations produced the images were not alone in shaping the photographic record. Those who commissioned portraits and views as well as those who communicated them to a wider audience must be recognized.

Government, for example, quick to realize and take advantage of photography as a tool of science, exploration, and political persuasion, commissioned and collected photographs for use in official reports and promotional literature. Small-time businessmen and big-time industrialists commissioned portraits of themselves as well as views of their operations--buildings, products, and services--often for advertising purposes. Those who wrote captions, compiled albums, or published portfolios all contributed to the action in which the photograph participated. And before the era of photomechanical reproduction, the work of a photographer might be simplified or embellished by engravers who used likenesses and views to produce plates for prints and the pictorial press. Today, magazine editors, book designers, advertising executives, and a host of others intervene between photographer and viewer; it is their invisible hand that determines the images we see and the context in which we confront them.[43]

Moment of Action, Moment of Documentation

The concept that the moment of action and the moment of documentation are "conceptually distinct moments" is particularly useful to consider in analyzing the bureaucratic and cultural actions and transactions that lie behind the creation of photographic documents. Though the camera now allows us to capture action to 1/ 1000th of a second, the relationship between action and documentation demands investigation. The spontaneity of photographic documentation is deceptive, and the ability to "point and shoot" relatively recent. The need to transport cumbersome equipment and chemicals, and the requirement to prepare negatives or create artificial lighting, involved a decision to document separate from the act of documenting. Because early emulsions could not record action, documentation of an event, usually in the form of a posed group portrait, often preceded, interrupted, or followed the action of commemorative or newsworthy events. We take for granted William England's photograph of a train crossing on the Niagara suspension bridge or Frederick Dally's view of a mule team and covered wagon making its way up the Cariboo wagon road, never stopping to think that the train and mules were deliberately stopped and posed; such effort was neither spontaneous nor aimless and surely deserves diplomatic consideration. Commissions and assignments for government, business, or newspapers continue to make photography a deliberate and premeditated act. Accustomed to instantaneous exposures, it is easy to overlook the functional origins of the event-document relationship embedded in the photograph and the moment of documentation in relation to the decisions which enabled it and the products that subsequently resulted from it.

Intrinsic and Extrinsic Elements of Form

Diplomatic micro-analysis of the intrinsic and extrinsic elements of form focuses attention systematically on aspects of the photograph too quickly overlooked in the conflation of content and meaning. Careful consideration of the elements of photographic form facilitates an understanding of the functional context of creation in which photographs acquired and communicated meaning. It also illuminates the circumstances of authorship and origination by clarifying the relationship between the photographer (writer) and the issuing body (author), and by establishing the

relationship between the photographic document and its functional origins in a larger documentary context of visual and textual documents. While the terms devised for documents of verbal communication must be altered to accommodate the nature of documents of visual communication, many of the basic concepts behind the terms nevertheless apply.

To date, detailed structural analyses of the intrinsic and extrinsic elements of photographic form produced by librarians for cataloguing purposes have been used by archivists as tools of description, not tools of appraisal.[44] Attention paid by photo-archivists to elements of form has largely been mistaken for a preoccupation with the history of the medium, ignored as curatorial concerns beyond the scope of archival interest, or relegated to the realm of public access tools and, more recently, descriptive standards. The "Photographs Hierarchy" of the Getty Art History Information Program's *Art & Architecture Thesaurus* is "organized into sections concerning form, function, technique, and subject type,"[45] and permits an exploration of the elements of photographic form and their recurring relationships with other hierarchies. Although not developed for diplomatic purposes, the Photographs Hierarchy offers an opportunity to explore the photograph in terms the "integral components of its intellectual articulation" and the way they "tend to gather in groups."[46]

The gathering of these elements into protocol, text, and eschatocol is not wholly transferable to visual materials which do not present their elements in a linear fashion. However, Boyle simplifies the intrinsic elements of documentary form to "a beginning (*protocol*), a middle (*corpus or contextus*), and an end (*eschatocol*)" and provides a table which acknowledges that "there are differences between the layout of *instrumenta* that transmit acts of public persons and those in which the principals are private persons, just as there are variations in each depending on the solemnity of the act."[47] Similarly, Duranti offers alternative definitions of intrinsic elements more easily applied to visual documents. Protocol, for example, can be more appropriately described as "the administrative context of the action." The text comprises the action, event, and argument in visual form; the eschatocol presents the documentation context of the action, means of validation, and indications of responsibility. These component parts, however, do not necessarily present themselves in three physically distinct and recognizable sections, and the grouping of intrinsic elements of intellectual form can be accomplished by analysis of protocol, text, and eschatocol elements as presented in physical location (recto/verso, corners) and expressed in visual or verbal form.

Knowledge of the nature and history of visual communication and photographic practice, therefore, is fundamental to the visual literacy necessary for understanding photographic form and function. Emulsions can be considered the photographic equivalent of inks. Blindstamps and embossing are the counterparts of medieval seals and the passe-partout and velvet liners of cased images can be read as special signs. The language elements of vocabulary, composition, and style are easily transposed to photographic documents. The universe of pre-photographic referents forms the vocabulary of the photographer; composition is a key factor of visual analysis and much has been written about the pictorial conventions that have governed photographic composition over the last 150 years. The style of the photograph may be representational (straight), pictorial, abstract, or symbolic. Knowledge of photographic practice is also essential to be able to distinguish annotations made in the execution

phase from those in the handling and management phases. In addition, polarity can reveal the status of transmission, process and format are linked to date, and size may suggest purpose.

Despite some success in identifying photographic counterparts for intrinsic and extrinsic elements of form, differences inherent in the nature of the photograph as a carrier of information pose fundamental problems for a direct application of diplomatics to visual materials in Canadian archives. The documents within the purview of diplomatics were "devised, composed and written for purposes of entering into communication" and have forms that were "designed the better to preserve the burden of the document."[48] But words and images communicate in different ways and carry different burdens. A certain syntactical tension is immediately evident between a discipline based on the linearity of verbal communication and the simultaneity of visual communication. Written documents permit a progressive analysis of documentary elements; photographs "do not present their constituents successively, but simultaneously, so the relations determining a visual structure are grasped in one act of vision."[49] Photographs, like electronic records, pose a challenge to the custodial mind by transgressing tidy organizational and jurisdictional boundaries.[50] Photographic images are decontextualized and recontextualized into photographic documents, and in the process assume new functions and acquire new meanings within new contextual configurations. Archivists must recognize that archival value in photographs resides in the interrelationships between photographs and the creating structures, animating functions, programmes, and information technology that created them.[51] It is for this very reason that we must preserve the functional context which transforms photographic images into photographic documents.

Duranti asserts that "the object of diplomatics is not any written document it studies, but only the *archival* document, that is a document created or received by a physical or juridical person in the course of a practical activity."[52] Photographs have been called "unassailably probative,"[53] but not in the diplomatic sense. While this notion of what is archival accommodates the rigid application of diplomatics to documents, it effectively excludes most photographs in Canadian archives. Such a narrow definition of archival documents may be appropriate to European archival practice, but it is unduly restrictive in the Canadian total archives context and fails to acknowledge the archival nature of visual materials. However, Lorraine O'Donnell, citing Brien Brothman's work on the determinant influence of the social system on authorship and origination, suggests that diplomatics can be extended to private photographic "manuscripts" which "result from non-juridical individuals acting according to their own will," by demonstrating that seemingly private and spontaneous family photographs can be analyzed in terms of the social habits, routines, and conventions as well as ideological rules of representation.[54]

Form and Function

If, as Duranti suggests, "the first important contribution of diplomatics to archival work is its definitional component, which identifies the meaning and function of the constituent parts of the document, and names them in a consistent and significant way,"[55] then we must recognize that the terminological rigour of diplomatics is a

product of the same rules, written or unwritten, as the documents--textual and often written in accordance with precise, unvarying formulae--upon which the discipline was founded. Such definitional precision supplies clarity to communication, but, as Richard Bolton points out in *The Contest of Meaning*, "the intrinsic and universal properties of the photograph have never been established with complete satisfaction."[56] Furthermore, at a fundamental level, verbal and visual communication do not produce documents that share a universal structure. Photographs do not share a common form or "typical structure" with textual documents. They are not produced by the same rules. Their structure is differently constituted and much less rigorously defined. Words and images communicate in different ways and carry different burdens. They arise from different intentions, are directed at different audiences, and suit different purposes.

Photographs not only function in different ways, but their physical form and internal articulation are not necessarily indicators of function or markers of context. "The formal arrangement of a photograph explains nothing," John Berger contends.[57] Form seldom "reveals and perpetuates the function it serves."[58] Outward appearances are reproduced with visual authority but neither message nor function is encoded in form. It is here--at the very core of diplomatics, in the principle that "the form of a document reveals and perpetuates the function it serves"--that the rigid application of diplomatics to photographs runs aground. Diplomatics was founded upon the strict relationship of documentary form and function. But the form and function of a photograph are not usually linked strictly and predictably in a determinate way. As a result, the relationship between form and function is not consistent as an indicator of the value, meaning, or authority in photographs. Form does not convey and reveal content.

The photographic image is inherently ambiguous. A photograph of clear-cutting only becomes a document--about progress for developers, jobs for lumbermen, logging practices for foresters, ruin for environmentalists, or territorial appropriation for native peoples--when it is tethered to its functional context. Its "true nature" cannot be discerned from the form or even content of the photograph alone. Its evidential value, linked to a message of financial investment, labour opportunity, technological advancement, environmental degradation, or aboriginal land claims, only becomes clear when the image is returned to its broader context of production, purpose, and use. The value of the photographic image and its role in the action in which it participated is not inherent in the content of the image or embedded in the intrinsic and extrinsic elements of form. Rather, it is anchored to the functional context of creation and cannot be teased from the image itself.

In a remarkably archival commentary, art critic John Berger points out that photographs "do not in themselves preserve meaning.... Meaning is the result of understanding functions."[59] The informational value of a photograph is fixed by its content; its evidential value is neither absolute nor static, but rather varies with the multiple circumstances of document creation. A photographic image may become several, separate photographic documents. A photograph created for one purpose may later be employed to serve others. Identical prints, each a complete original, may be made at different times for different purposes to circulate in different discourses--commercial, scientific, political, economic, journalistic, aesthetic--and may even serve diametrically opposed functions. Each time a negative is printed,

each time a print is used, the photographic image is transformed into a photographic document created by an author with a purpose to convey a message to an audience. And each use must be understood as a distinct, though sometimes interrelated, context of document creation with a change of message from one context to the next. It is for this reason that the existence of the identical photograph in two different *fonds* or, indeed, two different institutions (for example, the National Archives of Canada and the National Gallery of Canada) must not be construed as duplication in the first instance or government waste in the second, but rather must be understood as the logical outcome of the appropriation and reappropriation of a photograph with fixed content and physical configuration into different functional contexts with the attendant transformation of a single image into multiple documents.[60]

These multiple acts of document creation based upon a single photographic image are not inconsistent with diplomatics' useful focus on originals, authorship, and intrinsic and extrinsic form. The point of contention undermining strict diplomatic analysis, however, is that these multiple creations or re-creations do not become evident through an analysis of form or internal structure of the visual document, but rather through the study of functional context around, above, and parallel to it. This points to the importance of studying the context or history of the record and the broader functional universe in which it circulates and acts.[61]

Differences in form and function neither preclude the place of photographs in archives nor deny their status as documents. They do not make photographs special-- or less archival--only different. While they make it unreasonable to expect diplomatics to apply strictly to documents that do not share the structural universals that link form and function, they do not negate the value of diplomatic as a conceptual framework. It is, therefore, not as a rigidly-defined, "scientific" exercise in identification and labelling, but rather as "a mind-set, an approach, a perspective, a systematic way of thinking about archival documents"[62] that diplomatics is especially useful in helping archivists understand the functional context and evidential value of the photographic document.

Evidential Value

Because, as Barbara Craig has pointed out, "people not machines make records,"[63] photography's "relationship with reality is as tenuous as that of any other medium."[64] In order to understand the evidential value of archival photographs, archivists must first abandon their faith in the function of the photographic document as a truthful representation of material reality and cease to equate archival value with image content. Because the mechanical origins and verisimilitude of the photographic image have long veiled its ability to affect, shape, and communicate views of reality, photographs have been successfully enlisted by organizations and individuals as rhetorical devices. Here, the broader purpose of diplomatics "to determine the reliability of documentary sources"[65] runs into problems because the message of the photographic document is not necessarily linked directly to its "reliability" as a transcription of reality. A familiar example will demonstrate this, revealing how the full meaning of the content of a photographic document resides in the action in which the photograph participated.

A large multi-panel panorama showing Canadian troops advancing towards the village of Thelus on Vimy Ridge was part of the second exhibition sponsored by the War Records Office, which opened in London in July 1917.[66] The exhibition catalogue called the photograph "an impression, nay, indeed a reality, of the splendid horror snatched by the photographer, in the fraction of a second, from the clutching of Death." But Peter Robertson has demonstrated that the photograph was, in fact, a composite of at least two negatives with shellfire added through retouching.[67] The final print used to produce the exhibition mural can be understood as a document, created by a corporate will, to communicate through photographs the courage, heroism, and the (implicit) march towards Allied victory by Canadian troops. It was authored by the Canadian War Records Office, although it was taken or, in diplomatic terms, "written" by Lieutenant Ivor Castle. The immediate purpose was to show what was happening at the Front. The audience was the civilian population on the home front. The message, according to Max Aitken, was "what our men have achieved." As a visual record of a pre-photographic referent, the photograph of advancing troops encounters serious problems with the diplomatic concepts of reliability and authenticity; as an evocation of war, it documents the throes of battle more vividly and more accurately than could any single unretouched photograph.

The now famous photograph *Over the Top* was also exhibited. Although (as subsequently revealed) taken not at the Front but during training at trench-mortar school behind the lines, it epitomized the Canadian War Records Office stance that:

> We must *see* our men climbing out of the trenches to the assault before we
> can realise the patience, the exhaustion, and the courage which are the assets
> and trials of the modern fighting man.[68]

Neither the meaning of this photograph, nor its message, nor its archival value, nor its authority reside in the veracity of the facts represented; *none* of these are apparent through a diplomatic analysis of photographic form, but can only be understood within the broader context of the process and purposes of document creation within the Canadian War Records Office.

The evidential value that emerges in the recovery of the functional context of these images undermines the standard approach to photographs which Schellenberg and others have championed:

> ... the provenance of pictorial records in some government agency, corporate
> body or person is relatively unimportant, for such records do not derive much
> of their meaning from their organizational origins.... Information on the
> functional origins of pictorial records is also relatively unimportant.[69]

Because photographs are an integral part of the means by which governments and businesses communicate legislation, implement policies, and "manufacture consent," and because photographs convey, in a non-verbal way, the ideological context of values and beliefs that inform and animate official policies and practices, they constitute an important interface between institution and individual. To see them only as supporting or narrative documents is to employ a typology both inappropriate to the nature of the document and ineffective as a measure of value. Whenever government and business choose to communicate certain kinds of information, values, and beliefs through photographic documents, the very choice of the photograph as

the carrier of information extends the connection between the archival document and the juridical system to the broader social, cultural, intellectual, and technological systems in which the camera, as Jonathan Crary points out, is a "point of intersection," where "philosophical, scientific, and aesthetic discourses overlap with mechanical techniques, institutional requirements, and socioeconomic forces."[70] By going beyond photographic realism and informational value to think more broadly about authorship and function, archivists can engage the photograph as a document, focusing not on its content but on the functional context of its creation.

The extension of diplomatics from records of bureaucratic transactions created within the procedural rules, written or unwritten, of a juridical system to records of cultural actions and transactions created within the technological and cultural rules of production[71] of a social system requires that we abandon our naive belief in photographs as mechanically produced fragments of reality and take a closer look at what Brien Brothman calls the "social act of authorship or origination."[72] The influence of written and unwritten, conscious and unconscious rules on authorship and origination is the subject of an extensive study by French sociologist and cultural theorist Pierre Bourdieu. In his book, *Photography: A Middle-brow Art*, Bourdieu examines how photographic practice is subject to social rules and invested with social function.[73] Looking at the way in which the production of a photograph is subject to "schemes of perception, thought and appreciation," Bourdieu concludes that photographs are taken within "an explicit and codified system defining legitimate practice in terms of its objects, its occasions, and its modalities."[74] Of course, these objects, occasions, and modalities have changed over the last 150 years and must not only be revealed but also understood in historical context. While the system affects the photograph, that system is rarely juridical in nature as understood by diplomatists.

If we set aside our propensity to equate content, truth, and message, we may begin to understand that in the administration of government, business, or any institutional creator, the photographic document is created as an instrument of corporate ideology and fundamental values. The same, of course, holds true for private papers which, embodying the values and beliefs of individuals, must be understood within the larger field of social and cultural production. In his book, *The Burden of Representation*, a title reminiscent of Boyle's "the burden of the document," John Tagg defines photographs as "material items produced by a certain elaborate mode of production and distributed, circulated and consumed within a given set of social relations; images made meaningful and understood within the very relations of their production and sited within a wider ideological complex."[75] Tagg relates "photography's privileged status as a guaranteed witness of the actuality of objects or events it represents" to "the operation of certain privileged apparatuses within the given social formation, such as ... scientific establishments, government departments, the police and the law courts" and argues that the photograph operates within economic, social, and cultural domains as part of what Michel Foucault has called the "general politics of truth."

David Nye's brilliant analysis of the photographic archive of General Electric suggests that "all photography must be understood *not* as a form of realism or as a hierarchy of better or worse artistic expressions, but as the concretization of social values."[76] He argues that the company's huge photographic file can only be understood "as messages to specific audiences":

"WE MAKE OUR TOOLS AND OUR TOOLS MAKE US":
LESSONS FROM PHOTOGRAPHS FOR THE PRACTICE, POLITICS, AND POETICS OF DIPLOMATICS

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Collectively the archive is far more than evidence of General Electric's interest in and use of photography. It records how a major corporation created ideologies appropriate to different audiences and marketed these constructions of reality through photographs.[77]

Proceeding from Nye's premise that "wherever a company photographer pointed his lens lay a subject that the corporation wished to interpret," we may apply the diplomatic concern for the context of document creation to gain insight into the use of photograph by government and business, not as truth, but as message. Underlying Nye's assertion is John Berger's idea that photography plays "a crucial role in ideological struggle" as a "means of testing, confirming and constructing a total view of reality."[78]

Diplomatics and Visual Literacy

At the same time that the rigour of diplomatic criticism is undermined by the inherent ambiguity of the photograph, diplomatics is a useful conceptual tool by which archivists may come to achieve a greater degree of visual literacy, and by that I mean the ability to "read" the message of the photograph, to comprehend its evidential value, and understand it as an archival document. By studying the first principles and foundational concepts of diplomatics, archivists will find insight into the relationships between the photograph and the facts represented. By studying the photograph, not as a more or less accurate transcription of the material world, but in terms of its relationships with the persons concurring in its formation, diplomatic principles and concepts may help to break the presumed link between the photographic image and visual "truth" by revealing the photograph to be a mediated representation of reality; the product of a series of decisions; created by a will, for a purpose, to convey a message to an audience.

"Visual literacy requires the same critical analysis as verbal literacy," wrote William Leary in his RAMP study on the archival appraisal of photographs. But visual literacy cannot be reduced to terminological rigour. The exercise of applying diplomatics to photographs is, remarkably, a fruitful one, providing a foundation for understanding the photograph as a document. In the broad definition of diplomatics lie the fundamentals of visual literacy. It offers another way of asking the questions and addressing the concepts essential to an understanding of photographs in terms of document-creation: context, authorship, intentionality, audience. Photographs have been described as "information severed from all lived experience...like images in the memory of a stranger."[79] Diplomatics offers us one avenue for recontextualizing them, but diplomatic analysis alone cannot suffice to understanding photographic documents. Nor should we, as archivists, limit ourselves unnecessarily by choosing one conceptual framework over another. Rather, we must draw upon whatever resources there are at our disposal to fulfil the goal of diplomatics: to identify, evaluate, and communicate the true nature of archival documents.

Diplomatics is most useful as a mindset that forces us to consider the purpose and function of archival photographs and the action in which they participated. It helps us understand what John Berger means when he calls the photograph "a message about the event it records,"[80] or what Svetlana Alpers suggests when she urges us to

look at photographs, not as "pictures illustrating history..., but rather pictures themselves constituting a social fact."[81] Diplomatics is best embraced "as a body of concepts informing the thinking and writing of professional archivists."[82] While diplomatics places the analysis of the photograph squarely within the world of archival practice and can serve to correct misconceptions about photographs and photographic archives, it is by no means the only route to, nor, as shown, an infallible orthodoxy for the understanding of documents and their broader context. Critical approaches to verbal and visual representation from art history, anthropology, cartography, communication and media studies, history, philosophy, and photographic history and criticism also provide an opportunity for application by analogy and provide valuable insights for evaluating photographs within an archival context.[83] Such approaches tread unfamiliar, though fertile, intellectual territory. From them we must extract methodology and extrapolate to archives. At the same time, the diplomatic concept of the document and its analysis of the elements of form force us to extrapolate in a different direction, transcending the limitations imposed by text-based definitions and returning to the fundamental nature of visual communication and to basic questions of representation.

By shifting attention away from content and focusing on the context of document creation, diplomatics may help archivists achieve greater visual literacy and recognize that "camera-made images have no special privilege as documents of culture. But they have their own resources, different in kind from those of paint or stone or ink and pen."[84] However, as shown, it is only when applied flexibly and by analogy, rather than rigidly and directly, that diplomatics can help to achieve a balanced archival contextual appreciation and understanding of the record.

Diplomatics and the Myths of Photographic Archives

Diplomatics throws into question three myths that plague photographic archivists and hinder the recognition of photographic documents. Duranti clearly states that "the single document ... is the area of diplomatics."[85] Yet when archivists focus on a single photograph, they are quickly denounced as "curators,"[86] suggesting somehow that single photographs are less deserving of individual attention as documents than are single written documents. The pejorative tone attached to the term "curator" usually derives from the erroneous assumption that a photo-archivist is motivated by the same concerns as the curator, namely artistic merit or connoisseurship. But aesthetic considerations are a minor element of the archival appraisal of photographs and merit attention only for the way in which they contribute to "the consequences wanted by the author." Just as good grammar assists verbal communication and standardizes comprehension, aesthetic quality aids visual communication. The curator, with a mandate to collect for aesthetic reasons, isolates the photographs from the context of creation and offers them up for, what Svetlana Alpers calls, "attentive looking" and thereby transforms documents into art.[87] The first principles and close questioning of diplomatics reverses the process not because form follows or dictates function, but because attention to form helps recover the functional context of document creation.[88]

Leonard Boyle claims that the application of diplomatics demands "a thorough competence in the language of the document," pointing out that the analysis of papal

bulls, royal charters and manorial accounts requires "a knowledge of chronology ... and of local usages [and] conventions..." and "an easy familiarity with the methods, formulae, and practices ... of the period and region."[89] The implication for visual literacy of these textual concerns is obvious. Archivists cannot presume to understand the photographic document without an equally "thorough competence in the language of [photography] ... and an easy familiarity with its methods, formulae, and practices." In emphasizing the need to understand the language of the document, diplomatics challenges the insidious belief that a knowledge of the history of photography and photographers, of technology, processes, styles, and representational conventions is an academic and archivally irrelevant exercise to "document the medium." Quite the contrary, such knowledge is essential to uncover what Boyle calls part of the "central reality" of the document.[90]

If, as Duranti quite rightly cautions, "It is impossible to understand the message fully without understanding the makeup and articulation which the author chose to express it,"[91] how do we explain the glaring omission of courses on visual materials in Canadian and American guidelines for pre-appointment archival education? Photographs receive short shrift, lumped together with all other non-textual documents in some general overview of "special media." Whereas courses were quickly developed for the management of electronic records, scant attention has been paid in archival graduate education to the history, theory, and archival analysis of photographs or, for that matter, visual materials. The only notable exception in Canada is the University of Manitoba MAS programme, which is embedded, curiously enough, in the traditionally visually arid discipline of history.

Ultimately, we must also reject the moniker of "special media," which only serves to exclude or marginalize photographs in archives. How can we learn to "respect all types of records as full participants in the archive economy"[92] if we do not recognize that we live in a visual culture and that information is communicated in different ways by different media. In defining all documents in textual terms and teaching the methods of verbal--written, printed, electronic--communication, we presume we can treat all types of records in the same way. As a result, anything that is not verbal is labelled "special media" and relegated to the margins of archivy. Luciana Duranti, in her series on diplomatics, expresses the hope that "archivists knowledgeable about special media archives will make an effort to apply diplomatic concepts to the material in their care."[93] Who are these archivists and how did they get to be knowledgeable about the special media in their care? Certainly not as a result of the logocentric thinking which frames archival education and underlies archival theorizing. Photographs may not be produced according to the same procedures that confer authenticity or authority in a textual, verbal world; but rules of cultural and technical production do govern their creation and archivists must be taught to recognize them and understand their impact on the photograph as a vehicle for communicating a message.[94]

At the same time that diplomatics can help dispel the myths of photographic archives, it can also reveal the conceptual weaknesses of some archival practices. The application of diplomatics to visual materials highlights the fact that the age-old archival balancing act between preservation and access often leaves archival photographs stripped of their physicality. Providing safe and easy access by copying

photographs onto sheet film, catalogue cards, microform, or CD ROM homogenizes the image, removes differences in size, material, colour, and presentation and perpetuates the notion that photographs are the fragment of reality represented, a neutral configuration of visual facts that can be transposed from format to format without losing the full meaning of the content.

Just as a document written on newsprint differs from one written on parchment, physical form is an essential part of the message. Although not an indicator of function, physical presentation is an essential part of the way in which the photographic document conveyed the message of its author to the intended audience. The format of a photograph determined the circumstances and way in which the image was viewed.[95] A photograph taken with a view camera and tipped into a presentation album conveyed a very different will, purpose, and message than one recorded with a stereo camera and sold in a series of stereoviews. Size matters: a whole-plate daguerreotype is a powerful statement, much more so than a quarter-plate or a sixth plate, because of the cost and status conferred by the choice of plate size. Process matters: the choice of an ambrotype over a paper print implies a desire for uniqueness; the use of platinum over silver gelatin intimates an awareness of status; the use of gold chloride toning suggests a desire for permanence. All these decisions were made consciously by the persons concurring in the formation of the document. In our enthusiasm to embrace copying technology, whether analog or digital, we can easily obscure the aspect of the photographic message embedded in its original physical form.

Archivists have perpetuated the kind of visual illiteracy demonstrated by Schellenberg by unwittingly promoting a conception of photographs as discrete, often decontextualized "pictures of something"--architectural details, building materials, costume, street signs, fence styles, geological formations.[96] Seen only in terms of their informational value, made accessible by name or place, archival photographs are robbed of their functional context and communicative power. In turn, used by researchers to "illustrate" written narratives, usually with minimal caption information, photographs are cropped, horizontals are reproduced as verticals to suit book design, and images are reproduced without attribution, further reflecting and reinforcing the idea that visual materials occupy a lower level in the hierarchy of archival documentation. The micro-analytical contextualizing strategy of diplomatics, if applied creatively, may help us rethink the theoretical underpinnings of photographs as documents, revise our approach to describing and providing access to photographs as archival documents, and refute the arguments of bureaucrats and researchers who expect a degree of item-level access and key word cross-referencing that is never demanded of textual materials.

Diplomatics and Total Archives

At the same time that Heather MacNeil speculates whether the "total archives model will eventually collapse under the weight of its divergent strains or whether these strains will eventually be synthesized into a more amenable framework,"[97] she claims that we need to "listen, attentively and tolerantly, to other, alternative, truths and as far as possible work toward their mutual reconciliation."[98] Diplomatics, with its origins in European archives, can (with caution) be embraced as an alternative truth to enrich

Canadian archival discourse, not transform it into a New World version of Old World practice. Ironically at the very time that Old World archivists are themselves questioning the implications of the total archives approach,[99] MacNeil seems prepared to embrace the enduring value of European methods at the expense of Canadian traditions. However, the total archives framework which she sees as problematical is not, in fact, the problem. It grew out of historical and geographical circumstances which make it appropriate to the preservation needs of documentary heritage in Canada, where there are no well-funded manuscript repositories and well-established historical societies capable of taking up the slack. Furthermore, the total archives concept, now attracting the attention of European archivists, offers a richer, more three-dimensional perspective by addressing historical and contemporary, public and private, textual and non-textual records. Given the breadth of the total archives project. why must bureaucratic and cultural strains be seen to be divergent rather than complementary and supplementary? Surely any strains in or across the three total archives threads can be eased through broader vision. better communication, and greater cooperation, within and between institutions, and within the Canadian archival community.

MacNeil suggests that "the methodological and interpretive differences [between archival and historical methods that] Duranti describes are magnified when filtered through the lens of diplomatics."[100] But diplomatics need not be a source of divisiveness and territoriality. Rather, it can be a means to reconcile MacNeil's "alternative truths." For example, Janice Simpson's MAS thesis on the application of diplomatics to broadcast archives opens the door to a greater understanding of the historicity and specificity of archival practice. Simpson concludes from her study that a modern transaction may be covered by a number of supporting documents rather than by a single probative or dispositive document, and modifies the concept of intrinsic and extrinsic elements "to better identify new documentary characteristics" and indicate "different information configurations."[101] Janet Turner's diplomatic study of authority in the United Church of Canada makes profitable use of diplomatics to achieve "a minutely precise understanding of the documentation of a single procedure." Yet, Turner recognizes that "the exercise also makes clear... that it will be necessary to employ other tools of the archivist's trade in order to corroborate the discoveries of diplomatics and to address questions left unanswered by diplomatics." She concludes that "diplomatics provides a rigorous and precise means of examining the elemental archival unit, and thereby serves to sharpen both our individual perceptions and the other tools in the kit of the compleat Canadian archivist."[102] Such statements admit the possibility of a mutually fruitful dialogue between the so-called administrative-diplomatics and historical-cultural camps in Canadian archivy. Viewed as visual documents, created in the course of administrative and socio-cultural activity, evidence of actions and transactions, and an integral part of the organic accumulation of archives, both personal and private photographs can be subjected to contextual analysis of their origins. Understood as documents grounded in juridical or social systems of representation as well as in the historicity and specificity of photographic practice, photographs can take their rightful place in total archives thinking, theorizing, and practice.

The Politics and Poetics of Diplomatics

"How much has the world changed since medieval times?" Duranti believes that the diplomatic categorization is still valid, and indeed it is for certain kinds of documents. But the procedures developed for documents issued by medieval chanceries and exhibiting "a different form based on what they aimed to accomplish"[103] must be adapted to new media documents which perform different functions and for which form does not follow function. Seventy years ago, Arthur Doughty recognized pictorial records as valuable aids to understanding the advance of civilization and encouraged their acquisition and use. From them, he contended, we can "obtain a connected and systematized view of our development."

Now, forced by electronic records to consider more carefully the context of document creation, archivists might begin trying also to understand the documentary nature and evidential value of visual images as documents that not only resulted from but also participated in actions, both bureaucratic and cultural. By extrapolating from the first principles and conceptual basis of diplomatics, archivists can discover the full meaning of the content of photographs. Duranti's series of articles gives us a useful perspective to bring to photographs, one which emphasizes "context over content, purpose over use," and which poses "some of the most fundamental questions which must be asked in order to gain an understanding of archival materials."[104]

The effort to apply diplomatics to photographs, particularly in the Canadian context of total archives, involves more than an exercise to place a seventeenth-century template on modern documents, to see where the two line up and to tidy up the ragged edges. The lack of fit may be symptomatic of underlying theoretical disjunction and merits further investigation for what may be termed the politics and poetics of diplomatics. By politics, I refer to what Hayden White calls

> those interpretive practices which are ostensibly most remote from overtly political concerns, practices which are carried out under the aegis of a purely disinterested search for the truth or inquiry into the natures of things which appear to have no political relevance at all. This "politics" has to do with the kind of *authority* the interpreter claims vis-à-vis the established political authorities of his society, on the one hand, and vis-à-vis other interpreters in his own field of study or investigation, on the other, as the basis of whatever *rights* he conceives himself to possess and whatever *duties* he feels obliged to discharge as a *professional* seeker of truth.

White's words seem especially relevant in view of the arguments of those neo-Jenkinsonian "professional seekers of truth," whose positivist stance embraces archives as neutral, archivists as objective, and documents as innocent. But postmodernism has stripped concepts of truth, reality, and objectivity of their paradigmatic authority and, as Terry Cook points out, "should make us uneasy, causing us to question certain central claims of our profession."[105] Both imagery and language are implicated in critiques of mimetic theories of representation and universal validity. W.J.T. Mitchell has written, "there is no neutral, univocal, 'visible world' ... no unmediated 'facts'... no vision without purpose ... [no] naked reality... [only] a world already clothed in our systems of representation."[106] Le Goff concurs: "the document is not objective, innocent raw material, but expresses past society's power over memory

and over the future."[107] Nor can we take refuge in the claim that archivy is a science, for science, too, has been unmasked as a highly political and socially constructed process: "The scientific way of knowing is no longer regarded as a privileged discourse linking us to truth but rather one discourse among many, which constructs both the object of its enquiry and the modes of studying and representing that object."[108] Archivists, as Brien Brothman quite rightly points out, "are not simply 'acquiring' and 'preserving' records of value; we are *creating value*, that is, an order of value, by putting things in their proper place, by making place(s) for them."[109] The avowed goal of diplomatics as a positivist search for "truth" is fundamentally incompatible with the postmodern recognition that "the history of the record does not stop at the portals of archives. Archives are participants in that history."[110]

The strict application of diplomatics to photographs in contemporary Canadian archives presupposes, not only the universal nature of documents, but also a monolithic view of archives and a totalizing vision of photography. It presumes diplomatics to be an enduring theoretical basis and methodological practice independent of time, space, culture, and technology. The lack of fit forces us to question the politics of diplomatics, just as Hayden White describes. Returning diplomatics as a discipline to the action in which it participated focuses attention on its functional origins and its own historicity. In an age of fakes and forgeries, diplomatics was developed to ascertain the authority and validity of documents. In an era when the documentary universe consisted of isolated records,[111] diplomatic analysis could focus on the "elemental archival unit" with impunity. However, as Terry Cook points out, traditional bottom-up appraisal "reflects the general orientation of diplomatics, ... [and] breaks down in the reality of modern bureaucracies and contemporary records."[112] While the first principles of diplomatics, like other contextualizing strategies, permit an analysis of large numbers of photographs in the aggregate, diplomatic microanalysis strikes a chord of methodological dissonance in the post-custodial era of archival abundance. Certainly enthusiasm for the microcosmic perspective of diplomatics wanes in view of the enormous volume of photographic records.

Ultimately, we must remember that diplomatics was a tool fashioned to perform a particular task. And, "tools are made to accomplish our purposes, and in this sense they represent desires and intentions. We make our tools and our tools make us: by taking up particular tools we accede to desires and we manifest intentions."[113] Not surprisingly, in performing the task for which it was developed, diplomatics also served to maintain the hegemonic ideologies, political powers, and economic might of the great families, the state, and the church. As Thomas Richards suggests in *The Imperial Archive. Knowledge and the Fantasy of Empire*, "The state is neutral about knowledge so long as knowledge belongs to the state." He points out that "Today we routinely assume that no power can possibly exist without its underlay of documents, memoranda, licenses, and files," and that "like power, information does not exist in a vacuum. It has to be made and used. Data has no inherent function..."[114]

The poetics of archives implies those processes by which the nature and function of archives are shaped or reconstituted through social conventions and discursive practices. Archives, like museums, "did not spring ready-made from the earth like men from dragons' teeth, but have a long and complex history behind them which shapes what they are today.... [T]hey embody and shape public perceptions of what

is valuable and important at each period of their existence."[115] Like the documents they preserve, archives have been created by a will, for a purpose, to convey a message to an audience. As a complex of institutional practices, they acquire meaning in society within the context of their creation and their value is embedded in their on-going function as a memory institution. The nature of the will and the audience are socially and politically constructed; the relationship between them determines the purpose and message of archives. As memory institutions, archives preserve what society deems worthy to remember; this is not universal across time and space. Things worthy of memory are constituted by concepts of truth, authority, order, and value, grounded in the relationship of past to present, framed by means of communication, and preserved by information technologies.[116] But, concepts of truth and authority have their own histories.[117] The relationship of past to present has changed,[118] means of communication are reconfigured and transformed and, with them, the information technologies that preserve things worthy of memory. Even writing, itself a "device of memory,"[119] has been examined as a cultural system and a means of communication with its own history of technology.[120]

Jacques Le Goff, in *History and Memory*, suggests that archives have evolved as memory institutions, and traces the relationship between memory and law back to the Greek *mnemon* of oral tradition, the memory official "who maintains the memory of the past for the purpose of making juridical decisions.... The *mnemons* are used by cities as magistrates charged with keeping in their memories what is useful in religious matters (concerning the calendar in particular) and in jurisprudence. With the development of writing, these 'living memories' are transformed into archivists." But LeGoff also points out that in the tradition of the mnemon in maintaining collective memory and group cohesion, archivists were "guardians of the memorable events proper to each reign."[121] Le Goff's exploration of the nature and function of memory from oral memory to written memory to printed memory to visual memory to electronic memory offers a continuum for understanding the poetics of archives. While the *memorandum* is now a common document in institutional archives, we have lost sight of its origins in the concept of memory. Le Goff points out that in thirteenth-century France, the word *mémorial* entered the vocabulary in conjunction with financial accounts and the following century, *mémoire* (masculin) designated an administrative dossier. With the social and political evolution of collective memory, its externalization and expansion first through writing, then through printing, the nature and role of archives evolved.

The growing literature on collective memory offers archivists an opportunity to examine "the social and institutional determinants of remembering and forgetting,"[122] to explore the longstanding link between archives, collective memory, and national identity, and to investigate the impact of advances in communication, record-creation, and record-keeping, including printing, paper-making, and photography, on the content and mechanisms of collective memory. Recognition that remembering is "not the retrieval of stored information, but the putting together of a claim about past states of affairs by means of a framework of shared cultural understanding,"[123] opens the way to an appreciation of archives as "*lieux de mémoire* where memory crystallizes and secretes itself."[124] It also allows us to reconcile the concept of objectivity in terms of "situated knowledge"[125] and acknowledge the role of archivists as historically-situated observers.

Conclusion

The nature, form, and function of recorded information has changed since Dom Jean Mabillon published *De re diplomatica* in 1681. So have ideas about reality, truth, and representation. General literacy has increased and been transformed by mass communication and information technologies. The role and nature of collective memory has undergone profound transformations from oral to written memory, from written to visual memory, and most recently from physical support to electronic memory. Archives as memory institutions have evolved in response to these changes and to the evolution of ideas about the role of the past, of memory, of collecting, and of the communication of information. The revolution in information technology brought about by electronic and digital technologies and the invention and widespread adoption of photography changed "our way of doing things and our ways of thinking." It would be easy to dismiss the seventeenth-century discipline of diplomatics as arcane and outmoded, and declare its terminology cumbersome and of limited relevance to modern archives. Equally, it would be dangerous to accept it uncritically and without reservations.

Throughout this article, I have tried to demonstrate that diplomatics can offer archivists a methodological framework by which to recontextualize photographs viewed traditionally as discrete decontextualized moments. If used creatively and by analogy, as shown, diplomatics can be a useful conceptual tool for understanding photographs in an archival context. However, the emphasis of diplomatics on textual records created for bureaucratic purposes ignores the social and cultural accountability which is central to Canadian archival tradition. If applied with formulaic exactitude and undue rigidity, I fear it may limit archival concerns to "documents which result from a practical administrative activity" and thus overlook, or implicitly devalue, private records, non-textual records, or even those administrative records not having obvious evidential value to their creators.

MacNeil identifies "a growing conviction evident in recent archival writing that archival methods must be driven by our understanding of the document-event relationship,"[126] but photographs are seldom viewed in these terms although it is "the document-event relationship" that reconstitutes the photographic image as an archival document. Traditionally, archivists have presumed that photographs in the "realist" vein are purely descriptive, those in the "expressive" mode purely artistic, setting up a binary opposition that ignores the core of archival thinking: functional context.[127] Here, Terry Cook's insight into the nature of archival documents is no less true of photographic documents than written documents: "Behind a document is the need to document. Behind the document...lies the action, the process, the broader function of the records creator."[128] The benchmarks and micro-level analysis of diplomatics provide one systematic way to explore the functional context of the archival photograph and its document-event relationship.

However, diplomatics must not be embraced as a litmus test for the "archival-ness" of documents.[129] Developed for a practical reason, diplomatics as a discipline provided the right tool for a particular purpose. But procedures designed two centuries ago to ensure the maintenance of hegemonic power do not determine what does and does not belong in archives, particularly Canadian archives. Our inability to apply a rigid concept of diplomatics to photographs in Canadian archives suggests three areas for

further study, each with broad implications for archival institutions, theory, and practice. The first is the evolution of communication technology and its impact on records and record-keeping, the second concerns changing concepts of the nature and uses of memory, and the third involves shifting notions of authority, reality, and truth. What, for example, is visual truth in a postmodern intellectual climate which recognizes that "there is no unmediated photograph... only highly specific visual possibilities, each with a wonderfully detailed, active, partial way of organizing worlds"?[130] If we accept that archives are neither monolithic nor totalizing, but reflect and constitute prevailing concepts of records, memory, and truth, then we must recognize that what archives keep and what archives do is socially constructed, grounded in time and space.

This initial effort to apply diplomatic principles and procedures to photographs in Canadian archives suggests that "analyzing photographs in archival terms" involves more than the excoriation of custodial sins which are more operational than theoretical, more than the articulation of the legal value of a fraction of photographs in Canadian repositories, and more than the assessment of documentary value as an expression of visual truth.[131] Its recognition that photographs are documents "different in kind from those of ... ink and pen," makes it possible to understand the evidential value of photographs in the total archives project without reformulating the definition of total archives or broadening our definition of art.[132] Its effort to incorporate photographs into mainstream archival thinking and theorizing suggests that the total archives project of documenting society in all media is not inherently logocentric; it has only been interpreted that way.

I contend that diplomatics is not a wedge, but a bridge between archival and historical methods. If adapted to modern Canadian archives rather than used as a tool of Eurocentric archival imperialism, and if adopted more as a conceptual framework than as a mechanistic procedure, then diplomatics can reveal a great deal about documents, both public and private, in all media, by clarifying the archival nature of visual materials. The extension of diplomatics from bureaucratic transactions in juridical systems to cultural transactions in social systems demonstrates the complementarity and supplementarity of public and private records in the total archives project by revealing the interrelatedness of functional contexts. Because functionality and context do not emerge solely from the diplomatic analysis of form and structure of photographic documents, diplomatics must be used in conjunction with other contextualizing strategies to return documents to the action in which they originally participated. In the clash between positivism and postmodermism at the heart of this exercise, the historicity and specificity of both photographic and archival practice emerge as seminal concerns.

Traditional photography's high modernist intentions may be easily transposed to the diplomatist's quest for a kind of objective truth assured by a quasi-scientific procedure. If we share William J. Mitchell's "queasiness with ... unabashedly totalizing formulations" and his "skittishness about hugging a logocentroid quite so closely,"[133] let us subject diplomatics to "a continuous process of extrapolation"[134] in order to find "new uses for an old science." Let us adapt, as may be useful and relevant, its principles and concepts to new forms of documents and new functions of archives in an effort to understand the archival nature of visual documents. Let us take up

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O'Donnell's plea for openness to all record forms, and MacNeil's call for receptivity to alternative truths. And finally, let us reconsider the first principles of diplomatics as a means to reconcile theory and practice, administrative and historical approaches. Fiscal restraint has already begun to erode the Canadian "total archives" tradition;[135] let us ensure that a seventeenth-century European archival discipline is not embraced as a tool to justify it.

Notes

* An earlier version of this paper was presented to the Annual Meeting of the Association of Canadian Archivists, Ottawa, 25 May 1994. I would like to thank Luciana Duranti for suggesting that I participate in the session on diplomatics. I base my understanding of diplomatics on her six-part series, "Diplomatics: New Uses for an Old Science," which appeared in *Archivaria* 28-33, and on Leonard Boyle's chapter on "Diplomatics" in *Medieval Studies: An Introduction*, the reference for which I must thank Tom Nesmith. Nancy Bartlett of the Bentley Historical Library at the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, long ago encouraged me to tackle this topic and very kindly gave me a copy of a paper on visual materials and diplomatics that she presented at the École des Chartes in the summer of 1992. Lilly Koltun, Brian Osborne, and Deborah Carter Park read earlier drafts of this paper and offered valuable insights. This expanded and revised version owes an enormous debt to Tom Nesmith and Terry Cook for their on-going support and their characteristically thorough editorial comments. Revisions to this article were undertaken while on education leave from the National Archives of Canada and with the support of a Doctoral Fellowship from the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada.

1 John Berger, "Uses of Photography," *About Looking* (New York, 1991), p. 55 (originally published New York, 1980).

2 William J. Mitchell, *The Reconfigured Eye. Visual Truth in the Post-Photographic Era* (Cambridge, Mass., 1992), p. 59.

3 Pierre Nora, "Between Memory and History: *Les Lieux de Mémoire,*" *Representations* 26 (Spring 1989), p. 13. In this article, oft-quoted in the literature on social or collective memory, Nora describes the transformation of *milieux de mémoires* into *lieux de mémoires*. He goes on to state, "The less memory is experienced from the inside the more it exists only through its exterior scaffolding and outward signs - hence the obsession with the archive that marks our age" (p. 13). Nora discusses the "materialization of memory" and traces the changing relations between memory, history, archives (and other "sites of memory") and society from the classical period when "the three main producers of archives were the great families, the church, and the state" to the present day when "the archive has become the deliberate and calculated secretion of lost memory" (p. 14).

4 Jean-Louis Roy, "Managing the Memory of the World," Keynote Address, XIIth International Congress on Archives, Montreal, 7 September 1992, p. 8.

5 This question was posed by Professor Richard A. Lanham of the Department of English at UCLA at the conference, "Technology, Scholarship, and the Humanities: The Implications of Electronic Information," Irvine, California, 30 September - 2 October 1992. See *Technology, Scholarship, and the Humanities: The Implications of Electronic Information. Summary of Proceedings* (The American Council of Learned Societies and the J. Paul Getty Trust, 1992), p. 16. Jim Burant points out that the revolution in visual communication "affected every aspect of Victorian life" in his article, "The Visual World in the Victorian Age," *Archivaria* 19 (Winter 1984-85), pp. 110-121.

6 Edgar Allan Poe, "The Daguerreotype," *Alexander's Weekly Messenger* (15 January 1840), reprinted in Alan Trachtenberg, ed., *Classic Essays on Photography* (New Haven, 1980), p. 37. It has even been claimed that "Daguerre altered the world more utterly than Marx and changed our view of man more radically than Darwin" (John Wood, "Silence and Slow Time. An Introduction to the Daguerreotype," in John Wood, ed., *The Daguerreotype. A Sesquicentennial Celebration* (Iowa City, 1989), p. 1).

7 In *History and Memory*, Jacques Le Goff discusses how the camera and the images it produced revolutionized memory: photography "multiplies and democratizes it, gives it a precision and a truth never before attained in visual memory, and makes it possible to preserve the memory of time and of chronological sequence" (Jacques Le Goff, *History and Memory* Steven Rendall and Elizabeth Claman, trans. (New York, 1992), p. 89).

8   Jonathan Crary, *Techniques of the Observer. On Vision and Modernity in the Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge, Mass., first published 1990, pb ed. 1992), p. 3.

9   Pointing out the "cultural prejudices of alphabetic literacy," Lanham goes on to note the use of images "for a wide range of communication that formerly used written, alphabetic explanation." Citing the example of computer graphics and digitized images, Lanham argues we are dealing "not with *ornamentation* of a preexistent rational argument but with an expanded sense of human reason itself." Richard A. Lanham, *The Electronic Word. Democracy, Technology, and the Arts* (Chicago, 1993), p. 125.

10   In *History as an Art of Memory*, Patrick H. Hutton discusses the work of Marshall McLuhan and Walter J. Ong in terms of the print revolution and the electronic revolution. Drawing upon the work of Ong, Hutton points out that "until the eighteenth century...literate culture was still primarily a manuscript culture, with limited power to shape the way in which the word was transmitted... The world of manuscript literacy...was for the most part a sphere of elite culture apart....Few scholars had ready access to the written word, and those who did thought of literacy as a personal rather than a public resource." For Ong, "the more profound changes attending the impact of literacy...arrived only with the advent of print culture," and "the primary effect of the print revolution...was to textualize culture." In turn, "media culture has made the contemporary age aware of the limits of print culture, indeed the relativity of knowledge generally to the medium through which it is conveyed." See Patrick H. Hutton, *History as an Art of Memory* (Hanover and London, 1993), especially pp. 13-22.

11   The pervasiveness of visual images in modern communication suggests a parallel between the challenges of visual literacy and digital literacy evident in Terry Cook's warning that "archivists caring even for collections that exist almost exclusively in paper [/textual] form will still need to develop new thinking and new approaches for the electronic [/visual] records they will receive tomorrow if not today. No archivist is 'safe' from these challenges." Terry Cook, "Electronic Records, Paper Minds: The revolution in information management an archives in the post-custodial and post-modernist era," *Archives and Manuscripts* 22, no. 2 (November 1994), p. 301.

12   For example, photographs played a key role in the official investigation of the Great Western Railway disaster at the Desjardins Canal (discussed in Joan M. Schwartz, "Documenting Disaster: Photography at the Desjardins Canal, 1857," in *Archivaria* 25 (Winter 1987-88), pp. 147-154), the submission of the City of Toronto to be named Capital of Canada (see Richard J. Huyda, "Photography and the Choice of Canada's Capital," in Joan M. Schwartz, ed., *Canadian Photography*, a special issue of *History of Photography* 20, no. 2 (Summer 1996), and the exploration of the North West of British North America (see Richard J. Huyda, *Camera in the Interior: 1858. H.L. Hime, Photographer* (Toronto, 1975).

13   Janet Turner, "Experimenting with New Tools: Special Diplomatics and the Study of Authority in the United Church of Canada," *Archivaria* 30 (Summer 1990), p. 99.

14   Luciana Duranti, "Diplomatics: New Uses for an Old Science," *Archivaria* 28 (Summer 1989), pp. 7-27 (hereafter cited as "Diplomatics [Part I]"; Part II, *Archivaria* 29 (Winter 1989-90), pp. 4-17; Part III, *Archivaria* 30 (Summer 1990), pp. 4-20; Part IV, *Archivaria* 31 (Winter 1990-91), pp. 10-25; Part V, *Archivaria* 32 (Summer 1991), pp. 6-24; Part VI, *Archivaria* 33 (Winter 1991-92), pp. 6-24. This direct challenge was preceded by indirect calls for research on the application of diplomatics to both modern records, in general, and to images, in particular, by, among others, Michael Quetin in France and Tom Nesmith in Canada. Duranti, however, in her thorough explanation of the vocabulary and concepts of diplomatics provides the groundwork upon which to proceed.

15   In Canada, for example, the legislated mandate of the National Archives of Canada includes "private and public records of national significance" and "record" includes "any correspondence, memorandum, book, plan, map, drawing, diagram, pictorial or graphic work, photograph, film, microform, sound recording, videotape, machine-readable record, and any other documentary material, regardless of physical form or characteristics and any copy thereof." *National Archives of Canada Act* (25 March 1987), Sections 4.(1) and (2).

16   For example, see: David Buisseret, ed., *Monarchs, Ministers, and Maps. The Emergence of Cartography as a Tool of Government in Early Modern Europe* (Chicago, 1992); David E. Nye, *Image Worlds: Corporate Identities at General Electric, 1890-1930* (Cambridge, 1985); Stephen Daniels, *Fields of Vision. Landscape Imagery and National Identity in England and the United States* (Cambridge, 1993); Elizabeth Edwards, ed., *Anthropology & Photography, 1860-1920* (New Haven and London, 1992); Donald E. English, *Political Uses of Photography in the Third French Republic, 1871-1914* (Ann Arbor, 1984); G. Fyfe and J. Law, "Picturing Power: Visual Depiction and Social Relations," *Sociological Review Monograph* 35 (New York, 1988); J.B.Harley, "Maps, Knowledge and Power," in Denis Cosgrove and Stephen Daniels, eds., *The Iconography of Landscape* (Cambridge, 1988), pp.

277-312; Peter Jackson, "Constructions of Culture, Representations of Race: Edward Curtis's 'way of seeing'," in Kay Anderson & Fay Gale, *Inventing Places. Studies in Cultural Geography* (Melbourne, 1992), pp. 89-106; Catherine A. Lutz and Jane L. Collins, *Reading National Geographic* (Chicago, 1993); W.J.T. Mitchell, *Landscape and Power* (Chicago,1994); Simon Pugh, ed., *Reading Landscape: City - Country - Capital* (Manchester, 1990); James R. Ryan, "Photography, Geography and Empire, 1840-1914," (Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, University of London, 1994); John Tagg, *The Burden of Representation. Essays on Photographies and Histories* (Amherst, 1988); John Taylor, *A Dream of England. Landscape, Photography and the Tourist's Imagination* (Manchester, 1994).

17   Luciana Duranti, "Diplomatics [Part I]," p. 8. In light of recent critical writings exposing science as a social construct, I prefer to think that our professional credibility and disciplinary legitimacy do not rest upon striving to elevate archives to a science.

18   Leonard E. Boyle, "Diplomatics," in James M. Powell, ed., *Medieval Studies. An Introduction* (Syracuse, 1976), p. 74.

19   Ibid., p. 76.

20   Duranti, "Diplomatics (Part V)," *Archivaria* 32 (Summer 1991), p. 21.

21   Boyle, "Diplomatics," p. 78.

22   Lorraine O'Donnell, "Towards Total Archives: The Form and Meaning of Photographic Records," *Archivaria* 38 (Fall 1994), p. 105.

23   Describing the mindsets and solutions that archivists bring to electonic records, Cook asserts, "We have paper minds trying to cope with electronic realities." Terry Cook, "Electronic Records, Paper Minds," p. 302.

24   The "crisis of representation in the human sciences" is summarized by George E. Marcus and Michael M.J. Fischer in *Anthropology as Cultural Critique. An Experimental Moment in the Human Sciences* (Chicago and London, 1986), esp. pp. 7-16; O'Donnell, "Towards Total Archives," pp. 105-118; Tom Nesmith, ed., *Canadian Archival Studies and the Rediscovery of Provenance* (Metuchen, 1993), see especially Tom Nesmith, "Introduction: Archival Studies in English-speaking Canada and the North American Rediscovery of Provenance," pp. 1-28; Hugh A. Taylor, "The Media of Record: Archives in the Wake of McLuhan," *Georgia Archive* 6 (Spring 1978) pp. 1-10 and "'My Very Act and Deed': Some Reflections on the Role of Textual Records in the Conduct of Affairs," *American Archivist* 51 (Fall 1988), pp. 456-69; Brien Brothman, "Orders of Value: Probing the Theoretical Terms of Archival Practice," *Archivaria* 32 (Summer 1991), pp. 78-100; Richard Brown, "Records Acquisition Strategy and Its Theoretical Foundation: The Case for a Concept of Archival Hermeneutics," *Archivaria* 33 (Winter 1991-92), pp. 34-56; Terry Cook, "Electronic Records, Paper Minds," pp. 300-328; Debra Elaine Barr, "Analyzing Photographs in Archival Terms," (unpublished MAS Thesis, University of British Columbia, 1985).

25   Definition after Giorgio Cencetti by Luciana Duranti, "Diplomatics [Part I]," p. 17.

26   Ibid., p. 15.

27   John Fiske, *Introduction to Communication Studies* 2nd ed. (London and New York, 1990, repr. 1991), p. 109. Much has been written on whether photography is a "language" in the strict sense of the word. Barthes has called photography "a message without a code." In *Visual Communication and the Graphic Arts. Photographic Technologies in the Nineteenth Century*, Estelle Jussim uses the constructs and vocabulary of information theory to discuss information transfer through channels and codes.

28   Duranti, "Diplomatics [Part I]," p. 15.

29   John Berger, "Understanding a Photograph," repr. from John Berger, in "The Look of Things," in Alan Trachtenberg, ed., *Classic Essays on Photography* (New Haven, 1980), p. 294.

30   Rudolf Arnheim, *Visual Thinking* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1969), p. 309.

31   Duranti, "Diplomatics [Part I]," p. 17.

32   This oft-quoted statement appears in most discussions of the relationship between art and photography. For example: "Its astonishing fidelity in reproducing natural forms and light and shade effects, together with the delicacy of the earliest daguerreotypes, made such an overwhelming impression on the celebrated painter Paul Delaroche that when leaving Daguerre's studio after a visit he exclaimed: 'La peinture est morte à partir de ce jour.'" Josef Maria Eder, "Chapter XLIII. Beginning of Photography as an Art by Daguerreotypy, Calotypy, and the Wet Collodion Process," in Edward Epstean, trans., *History of Photography* (New York, 1978), p. 348.

33   J.B. Harley, "Deconstructing the Map," in Trevor J. Barnes and James S. Duncan, *Writing Worlds. Discourse, text and metaphor in the representation of landscape* (London and New York, 1992), pp. 231-253.

34   For the distinction between authentic and genuine, see Duranti, "Diplomatics [Part I]," p. 17ff. The

concept of authenticity is further elaborated in Luciana Duranti, "Reliability and Authenticity: The Concepts and Their Implications," *Archivaria* 39 (Spring 1995), pp. 5-10.

In a theoretical exploration of the "true nature" of photographs, Rudolf Arnheim suggests that, "in evaluating the documentary qualities of a photograph we ask three questions: Is it authentic? Is it correct? Is it true? Authenticity... requires that the scene has not been tampered with. Correctness... calls for the assurance that the picture corresponds to what the camera took... Truth... refers to the depicted scene as a statement about the facts the picture is supposed to convey.... A photograph may be authentic but untrue, or true though inauthentic." Rudolf Arnheim, "On the Nature of Photography," *Critical Inquiry* (September 1974), p. 157.

35   Duranti, "Diplomatics [Part I]," p. 18.
36   Duranti, "Diplomatics (Part VI)," p. 9.
37   Duranti, "Diplomatics [Part I]," p. 19.
38   Berger, "Understanding a Photograph," p. 291.
39   William H. Leary, *The Archival Appraisal of Photographs: A RAMP Study with Guidelines* (Paris, 1985), p. 46.
40   For a discussion of "the persons concurring in the formation of a document," see Duranti, "Diplomatics (Part III)," pp. 5ff.
41   Huyda, *Camera in the Interior*, pp. 8-9.
42   Joan M. Schwartz, "More than 'competent description of an intractably empty landscape': H.L. Hime's *The Prairie...looking South* as photographic record and government rhetoric," (manuscript in preparation).
43   In their recent book, *Reading National Geographic*, Catherine Lutz and Jane Collins call the photograph a "dynamic site at which many gazes or viewpoints intersect." They identify seven possible types of gaze (the photographer's gaze, the magazine's gaze, the magazine readers' gaze, the non-Western subject's gaze, a direct Western gaze, the refracted gaze of the Other, the academic spectator's gaze), and contend that it is at the intersection of gazes that "the analyst can perhaps most productively begin to trace its connections to the wider social world of which it is a part" (p. 216). However, they also point out that "visual illiteracy leaves most of us with few resources for understanding or integrating the diverse messages these looks can produce." Catherine A. Lutz and Jane L. Collins, *Reading National Geographic* (Chicago, 1993). See especially Chapter Seven, "The Photograph as an Intersection of Gazes," pp. 187-216.
44   For assistance with the materials and concepts of photograph cataloguing, I am indebted to my colleague at the National Archives of Canada, Gerald Stone, from whose command of the rules and thesauri I have greatly benefitted over the years and now generously acknowledge. See for example Helena Zinkham and Elisabeth Betz Parker, *Descriptive Terms for Graphic Materials: Genre and Physical Characteristic Headings* (Washington, 1986); also *Art & Architecture Thesaurus* (New York and Oxford, 1990).
45   The Getty Art History Information Program, *Art & Architecture Thesaurus* (New York and Oxford, 1990).
46   Duranti, "Diplomatics (Part V)," p. 11.
47   Boyle, "Diplomatics," p. 84.
48   Ibid., p. 77.
49   Susanne Langer, *Philosophy in a New Key*, quoted in Lanham, *The Electronic Word*, p. 77.
50   This is described for electronic records in Cook, "Electronic Records, Paper Minds," pp. 310ff.
51   Ibid., p. 310.
52   Duranti, "Diplomatics [Part I]," p. 15. Boyle discusses the differing attitudes to the place of non-juridical documents in diplomatics, "Diplomatics," pp. 72-75.
53   William J. Mitchell, "When is Seeing Believing?" *Scientific American* 270, no. 2 (February 1994), p. 73. *The Concise Oxford Dictionary* defines probative as "affording proof, evidential." Mitchell uses probative to mean "causally generated, truthful reports about things in the real world" or, as Barthes calls the photograph, "a certificate of presence" (Roland Barthes, *Camera Lucida. Reflections on Photography*, Richard Howard, trans. [New York, 1981], p. 87. Diplomatics distinguishes between dispostive and probative documents in terms of the relationships between fact, act, and document. Proceeding from the recognition of the moment of action and the moment of documentation as conceptually distinct moments, diplomatics defines *dispositive* documents as those in which "the purpose of the written form was to put into existence an act, the effects of which were determined by the writing itself," and *probative* documents as those in which "the purpose of the written document was rather to provide evidence of an act which came into existence and was complete before being manifested in writing" (Duranti, "Diplomatics [Part II]," pp. 7, 8, passim).

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54   O'Donnell, "Towards Total Archives," pp. 105-118. While O'Donnell makes an important contribution to an archival understanding of photographs as the product of a technology "mediated through social rules of representation," her analysis of family photographs has more to do with genre than form and makes only passing and somewhat obtuse reference to diplomatics, reducing "form" to a loose interpretation of extrinsic or physical aspects, and intrinsic or intellectual aspects.

55   Duranti, "Diplomatics (Part VI)," pp. 7-8.

56   Richard Bolton, "Introduction," in Richard Bolton, ed., *The Contest of Meaning: Critical Histories of Photography* (Cambridge, Mass. and London, 1989), p. x.

57   Berger, "Understanding a Photograph," p. 293.

58   Duranti, "Diplomatics (Part V)," p. 6.

59   Berger, "Uses of Photography," p. 55. Berger's statement is in keeping with the increasing concern of art historians and photographic critics for a contextual understanding of photographs.

60   Duranti acknowledges that "there may be more than one original of the same document created either at the same time or at subsequent times," but the diplomatic concern for "completely identical" does not allow for "completely identical" photographs to assume very different functions. Duranti, "Diplomatics [Part I]," p. 19.

61   This argument has been forcefully articulated by Tom Nesmith, Terry Cook, and Brien Brothman and is equally relevant to electronic records. See Tom Nesmith, "Archives from the Bottom Up: Social History and Archival Scholarship," *Archivaria* 14 (Summer 1982), pp. 5-26; Terry Cook, "From Information to Knowledge: An Intellectual Paradigm for Archives," *Archivaria* 19 (Winter 1984-85), pp. 28-49, and "Mind over Matter: Towards a New Theory of Archival Appraisal," in Barbara L. Craig, ed., *The Archival Imagination. Essays in Honour of Hugh A. Taylor* (Ottawa, 1992), pp. 38-70; Brien Brothman, "Orders of Value: Probing the Theoretical Terms of Archival Practice," *Archivaria* 32 (Summer 1991), pp. 78-100; David Bearman, *Electronic Evidence: Strategies for Managing Records in Contemporary Organizations* (Pittsburgh, 1994); Richard Brown, "Records Acquisition Strategy and its Theoretical Foundation: The Case for a Concept of Archival Hermeneutics," *Archivaria 33* (Winter 1991-92), pp. 34-56.

62   Duranti, "Diplomatics (Part V)," p. 21.

63   Craig, "The Introduction of Copying Devices into the British Civil Service, 1877-1889," in Craig, ed., *The Archival Imagination*, p. 105.

64   Fred Ritchin, *In Our Own Image. The Coming Revolution in Photography: How Computer Technology is changing our View of the World* (New York, 1990), p. 1.

65   Duranti, "Diplomatics [Part I]," p. 22.

66   Custom enlargement of negative O.1162 showing troops of the 29th Infantry Battalion advancing towards Thélus during the battle of Vimy Ridge, France, 9 April 1917. National Archives of Canada, Department of National Defence Collection, PA-4875.

67   Peter Robertson, "Canadian Photojournalism during the First World War," *History of Photography* 2, no. 1, (January 1978), pp. 37-52.

68   *Report submitted by the Officer in charge to the Right Honourable Sir Robert Borden, KCMG, MP* (London, 1917), p. 6, CWRO, quoted in ibid. p. 40 (note 13, p. 52).

69   T.R. Schellenberg, *The Management of Archives* (New York, 1965), p. 325.

70   Crary, *Techniques of the Observer*, p. 8.

71   J.B.Harley suggests that maps are governed by technological and cultural rules of production. Work by J.B. Harley and Denis Wood (with John Fels, *The Power of Maps*. New York and London, 1992), Mark Monmonier, (*How to Lie with Maps*. Chicago, 1991), David Woodward (ed., *Art and Cartography: six historical essays*. Chicago and London, 1987), and others look beyond what Harley calls the "sly rhetoric of neutrality" to examine maps as documents--created by a will, for a purpose, to convey a message, to an audience. For a discussion of the use of maps, see also David Buisseret, ed., *Monarchs, Ministers, and Maps. The Emergence of Cartography as a Tool of Government in Early Modern Europe* (Chicago, 1992).

72   Brien Brothman offers a "counterpoint" to Luciana Duranti's "interesting and all-too-rare analysis of the relationship among action, intentionality, and record creation," suggesting that "her heavy emphasis on juridical status and legal competence...does not address the increasingly problematical nature of the social act of authorship or origination...[and] ultimately...overestimates the power of individual intentionality and being as opposed to social and discursive determination," ("Orders of Value," note 30, p. 96). Luciana Duranti responded, "If diplomatists were formulating their terminology today, they would use the term 'social system' conceding that diplomatics does deal with purely private documents by analogy, because its assumption is that the 'structure' penetrates all aspects of human life and limits our inner freedom" (Luciana Duranti, "Brothman on Authorship: The Diplomatic

Perspective," *Archivaria* 33 [Winter 1991-92], p. 4). For the photographic perspective on authorship and origination, see, for example, Abigail Solomon-Godeau's discussion of "the role played by context, subject/object relations, and the various structuring mechanisms that determine photographic meaning" in her essay, "Who Is Speaking Thus? Some Questions about Documentary Photography," in Abigail Solomon-Godeau, *Photography at the Dock. Essays on Photographic History, Institutions, and Practices* (Minneapolis, 1991), pp. 169-183. In his "Introduction" to the volume, *The Contest of Meaning*, Richard Bolton treats photography as "a part of a large social, economic, and intellectual landscape," advocating the analysis of "the material, institutional, and ideological influences on photographic practice..." (p. x). Essays explore the contest of photographic meaning in terms of the "social conditions of production and reception" and the "construction of photographic truth." Bolton points out that the essays by Rosalind Krauss, Martha Rosler, and Allan Sekula "describe how interpretive structures are tied to the intended *use* of the image: that is, photographic truth is considered as a function of instrumentality" (Richard Bolton, ed., *The Contest of Meaning. Critical Histories of Photography* [Cambridge, Mass., 1989], p. xvi). John Tagg claims that to understand what makes a photograph meaningful "we must look...to the conscious and unconscious processes, the practices and institutions through which the photograph can...take on meaning, and exercise an effect" (John Tagg, *The Burden of Representation. Essays on Photographies and Histories* [Amherst, 1988], p. 4).

73   Pierre Bourdieu, *Photography: A Middle-brow Art* Shaun Whiteside, trans. (Stanford, 1990), p. 15. In *Archivaria* 38, Lorraine O'Donnell examines the social and discursive determination of family photographs, but makes no reference to Bourdieu's extensive inquiry into the social function and meaning of family photographs.

74   Bourdieu, *Photography. A Middle-brow Art*, p. 7.

75   Tagg, *The Burden of Representation*, p. 188.

76   Nye, *Image Worlds*, p. 158.

77   Ibid., p. 29.

78   Berger, "Understanding a Photograph," p. 294.

79   Berger, "Uses of Photography," pp. 56-57.

80   Berger, "Understanding a Photograph," p. 292.

81   Svetlana Alpers, "The Museum as a Way of Seeing," in Ivan Karp and Steven D. Lavine, eds., *Exhibiting Cultures. The Poetics and Politics of Museum Display* (Washington, 1991), p. 29.

82   Duranti, "Diplomatics (Part V)," p. 22.

83   For example, from art history, Erwin Panofsky's "iconology"; from anthropology, Clifford Geertz's "thick description"; and from the history of cartography, Brian Harley's "sly rhetoric of neutrality." See also: Rudolf Arnheim, *Visual Thinking* (London, 1969); Estelle Jussim, *Visual Communication and the Graphic Arts. Photographic Technologies in the Nineteenth Century* (New York and London, 1983); Alan Trachtenberg, *Reading American Photographs. Images as History, Mathew Brady to Walker Evans* (New York, 1989); Lutz and Collins, *Reading National Geographic*; John Fiske, *Introduction to Communication Studies*, and Terry Barrett, *Criticizing Photographs. An Introduction to Understanding Images* (1990).

84   Trachtenberg, *Reading American Photographs*, p. 288.

85   Duranti, "Diplomatics [Part I]," p. 10.

86   In a stinging judgment, Barr declares in her MAS thesis: "It is a sad comment upon the current state of archival art that among the custodians of photographs in Canadian repositories there are few archivists to be found" (p.39). Barr concludes that they function, in effect, as curators since "a survey of their published work yields few references to the serious administrative uses of photography." In her chapter structure, Barr distinguishes between "scholarly uses of photography" and "literature by photographic archivists" as if the two were necessarily mutually exclusive. What she identifies as the propensity of photographic archivists to go "beyond the archivist's customary role," (p.72) to exceed "their professional obligation to make available photographic records along with a minimum amount of background information," (p.76) and to act "as scholars by using photographs as source material for the reconstruction of history and the determination of past social values" (pp.76-77) as well as their failure to address issues of appraisal in their writing leads Barr to label them curators, historians, academics, or scholars, but not archivists. The implication that archivists must wear only one scholarly hat and limit their extracurricular writing to narrowly-defined archival concerns surely places an untenable straitjacket on the intellectual creativity and scholarly pursuits of the profession.

87   Alpers, "The Museum as a Way of Seeing," p. 27. Joel Snyder tackles the question whether photographs made for purely "documentary" reasons can possess artistic value in his essay, "Aesthetics and Documentation: Remarks Concerning Critical Approaches to the Photographs of Timothy H. O'Sullivan," in Peter Walch and Thomas Barrow, *Perspectives on Photography. Essays in Honor of*

"WE MAKE OUR TOOLS AND OUR TOOLS MAKE US":
LESSONS FROM PHOTOGRAPHS FOR THE PRACTICE, POLITICS, AND POETICS OF DIPLOMATICS

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Beaumont Newhall (Albuquerque, 1986), pp. 125-150. For a discussion of the aestheticization of documentary photographs and their consequent appropriation into art historical discourse, see Abigail Solomon-Godeau, *Photography at the Dock. Essays on Photographic History, Institutions, and Practices* (Minneapolis, 1991), especially Part I, "The Politics of Aestheticism" and Part III, "Rethinking Documentary." Rosalind Krauss takes up the question of photography's position with respect to aesthetic discourse in her seminal essay, "Photography's Discursive Spaces." In it, she suggests that the interpretation of the aesthetic values of work produced by survey photographer Timothy O'Sullivan within scientific/topographical discourse is really a "retrospective construction designed to secure it as art." Rosalind Krauss, "Photography's Discursive Spaces," in Richard Bolton, ed., *The Contest of Meaning. Critical Histories of Photography* (Cambridge, 1989), pp. 286-301. Others who have explored the documentary/aesthetic interface include Martha Rosler, Allan Sekula, and Victor Burgin.

88   Michael Baxandall uses pictorial style to explore fifteenth-century Italian painting as "the deposit of a social relationship" (p. 1). While his work weaves art history and social history, Baxandall's central premise is that "one has to learn to read [an old picture] just as one has to learn to read a text from a different culture, even when one knows, in a limited sense, the language... [A]pproached in the proper way...the pictures become documents as valid as any charter or parish roll" (p. 152). Michael Baxandall, *Painting and Experience in Fifteenth-Century Italy: A Primer in the Social History of Pictorial Style* 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1988).

89   Boyle, "Diplomatics," p. 78.

90   From an archival perspective, the history of photography, photographers, technology, processes, styles, and representational conventions are not, in and of themselves, the basis for appraisal and acquisition. But an appreciation of these criteria as reflections of socio-cultural functionality is essential. This was the essential point made by Terry Cook, but has often been missed by critics who have latched onto isolated statements from the "tyranny of the medium " debate without a broader understanding of photographs as documents. While I am not wholly in agreement with Lorraine O'Donnell's summary analysis of the total archives debate, I do agree with her conclusion that because "the history of photographic technology...places the elements of extrinsic form...within a larger system of representation tied to modern social realities...the technical history of photography is not only relevant, but essential, because it supposes that the meaning of a photograph *must* be considered within a particular historical context." O'Donnell, "Towards Total Archives," p. 110. However, O'Donnell herself is led astray when, in note 52, she judges a book by its coverage in the *New York Times Book Review*. Citing not the book, but a review of *Picturing Time: The Work of Étienne-Jules Marey (1830-1904)* by Marta Braun (a professor in the Department of Photography and Film at Toronto's Ryerson Polytechnic University), O'Donnell uses Braun's book as an example of the way in which "photographs deemed 'documentary' in one period have sometimes been 'recovered for art'." While Braun does acknowledge that Marey's chronophotographs became the "key visual resource" of aesthetic modernism connecting modern art to "new modes of thinking about and experiencing time," she makes it abundantly clear that "the extraordinary pictures that resulted from Marey's investigations into movement constituted raw scientific data," and that "an aesthetic response to them that ignores their reason for being falsifies the production, the evolution, and the meaning of his imagery." Braun must, therefore, be credited with returning Marey's photographs to their functional context of creation, at the same time situating their production within the larger historical context in which Marey worked.

91   Duranti, "Diplomatics [Part I]," p. 15.

92   Craig, "Introduction: The Archival Imagination," in Craig, ed., *The Archival Imagination*, p. 9.

93   Duranti, "Diplomatics (Part III)," p. 19, note 15.

94   Many useful parallels can be drawn between cartographic and photographic representation. For a useful discussion of the rules governing the technical production and cultural production of maps, see J.B. Harley, "Deconstructing the Map," *Cartographica* 26, no. 2 (1989), pp. 1-20.

95   The intimacy of the document-audience relationship established communication between author and audience. In the same way, oil paintings were produced for formal viewing on walls and watercolours were collected into folios for informal examination on a lap or table. The physicality of the visual document and the intimacy of the viewing experience determined the number of people able and expected to receive the document's message at any one time. The textual equivalents for the physical circumstances of the author-audience relationship range from the announcements of town criers, to publicly posted edicts (presuming the literacy of the populace), to correspondence marked "personal and confidential."

96   In this early effort to introduce ideas from visual anthropology and social history converging the function of nonverbal documents to the information profession, Jussim distinguishes between visual

information ("the visual content of documents") and visual communication ("the purposes, social interactions, context, or other variables of the larger process"). She concludes: "The important question is whether or not the information profession can learn how to control, manage, store, retrieve and disseminate the complex aggregates, the technlogical forms and the new access modes required for important research which both demands and produces visual information." Estelle Jussim, "The Research Uses of Visual Information," *Library Trends* 25 (April 1977), p. 763-778.

97   Heather MacNeil, "Archival Studies in the Canadian Grain: The Search for a Canadian Archival Tradition," *Archivaria* 37 (Spring 1994), p. 148.

98   Heather MacNeil, "Archival Theory and Practice: Between Two Paradigms," *Archivaria* 37 (Spring 1994), p. 18.

99   See Oddo Bucci, "Introduction," and "The Evolution of Archival Science," in Oddo Bucci, ed., *Archival Science on the Threshold of the Year 2000* (Mascerata, 1992). The PIVOT project has issued nearly a score of analytical volumes in Dutch; for a summary in English, see T.K. Bikson and E.F. Frinking, *Preserving the Present: Toward Viable Electronic Records* (The Hague, 1993), pp. 33-34.

100 MacNeil, "Archival Studies in the Canadian Grain," p. 145.

101 Janice Simpson, "Broadcast Archives: A Diplomatic Examination," (MAS Thesis, University of British Columbia, 1994); Robin Wylie, "Student Archivistics," *Archivaria* 39 (Spring 1995), p. 100.

102 Turner, "Experimenting with New Tools," p. 101.

103 Duranti, "Diplomatics (Part IV)," p. 20.

104 Duranti, "Diplomatics (Part VI)," p. 18.

105 Cook, "Electronic Records, Paper Minds," p. 318.

106 W.J.T. Mitchell, *Iconology. Image, Text, Ideology* (Chicago and London, 1986), p. 38.

107 Le Goff, *History and Memory*, p. xvii.

108 Denis Cosgrove and Mona Domosh, "Author and Authority. Writing the New Cultural Geography," in James Duncan and David Ley, eds., *Place/Culture/Representation* (London and New York, 1993), p. 28. Terry Cook comes to the same conclusion that "the positivist model based on the integrity of a scientific resurrection of facts from the past has been discredited" in "Paper Minds, Electronic Records," p. 318. In "Orders of Value," Brien Brothman describes archives as "constituents or objects within a larger, historically characterizable structure which both determines and is determined by archival practice through a dynamic of negotiated social and cultural relations" (p. 91). Writing about maps, J.B. Harley contends, "Representation is never neutral, and science is still a humanly-constructed reality." J.B. Harley, "Texts and Contexts in the Interpretation of Early Maps," in David Buisseret, ed., *From Sea Charts to Satellite Images. Interpreting North American History through Maps* (Chicago and London, 1990), p. 11.

109 Brothman, "Orders of Value," p. 82.

110 Ibid., p. 91.

111 Diplomatics, Duranti tells us, originated along with paleography in "the need to analyze critically documents considered to be forgeries" (Duranti, "Diplomatics [Part I]," p. 12) and points out that "the only instrument which the founders of diplomatics had for understanding the world was constituted by isolated records, namely deeds of land issued by royal and imperial chanceries and preserved by various monasteries, not fonds, which were unacessible to them because of the secrecy of archives at the time of the absolute monarchies" (Duranti, "Diplomatics [Part II]," p. 4).

112 Cook, "Mind over Matter," p. 43.

113 William J. Mitchell, *The Reconfigured Eye*, p. 59.

114 Thomas Richards, *The Imperial Archive. Knowledge and the Fantasy of Empire* (London and New York, 1993), pp. 152, 8, 73.

115 Susan M. Pearce, *Museums, Objets, and Collections: A Cultural Study* (Washington, 1992), p. 89. Patrick Hutton, for example, points out that "it was not until the Renaissance that scholars became interested in verifying the authenticity of their manuscript sources." Hutton, *History as an Art of Memory*, p. 18.

   In "Orders of Value," Brien Brothman sets out to encourage broader reflection about the cultural meanings of contemporary archival practice, pointing out that archives have lagged behind art galleries, libraries, museums, and other cultural institutions as the subject of scholarly reflection both by archivists in the profession and by intellectual and cultural historians outside it. In a note, Brothman cites the lament of one historian over "the virtual absence of any serious self-examination of museum practice among museum professionals." The comment, made in 1990, was quickly followed by a flood of self-reflective volumes by American and English museum professionals. Important parallels between museums and archives as "memory institutions" emerge from: Eilean Hooper-Greenhill, *Museums and the Shaping of Knowledge* (London, 1992); Ivan Karp and Steven D. Lavine, *Exhibiting Cultures.*

The Poetics and Politics of Museum Display (Washington and London, 1991); Susan M. Pearce, ed., *Interpreting Objects and Collections* (London, 1994); Susan M. Pearce, *Museums, Objects and Collections: A Cultural Study* (Washington, DC, 1993, first published in 1992); Daniel J. Sherman and Irit Rogoff, ed., *Museum Culture: Histories, Discourses, Spectacles* (Minneapolis, 1994); George W. Stocking, Jr., ed., "Objects and Others. Essays on Museums and Material Culture," *History of Anthropology* 3 (Madison, 1985); Peter Vergo, *The New Museology* (London, 1991, first published in 1989); and Kevin Walsh, *The Representation of the Past. Museums and heritage in the post-modern world* (London, 1992).

116   Brothman, "Orders of Value," pp. 78-100.

117   For example in, *Authority. Construction and Corrosion* (Chicago, 1994), Bruce Lincoln argues that "authority is not an entity but an effect," and Steven Shapin addresses universal questions about how we come to trust our knowledge of the world in *A Social History of Truth. Civility and Science in Seventeenth-Century England* (Chicago, 1994).

118   See especially, Stephen Kern, *The Culture of Time and Space, 1880-1918* (Cambridge, Mass., 1983).

119   M. Christine Boyer in *The City of Collective Memory. Its Historical Imagery and Architectural Entertainments* (Cambridge, Mass., 1994), p. 174.

120   See, for example, Henri-Jean Martin, *The History and Power of Writing* (Lydia G. Cochrane, trans.) (Chicago, 1994). Luciana Duranti acknowledges that "with the diffusion of education, the growing accessibility of writing instruments and materials, the development of communication systems, the increase of business activity, and the rise of complex bureaucracies...people began to create documents for the purpose of communicating facts, feelings and thoughts, asking for or providing opinions, preserving memories, elaborating data, and so on." As a result "an ever decreasing proportion of written documents came to originate from juridical acts... Today, most documents are about facts, often juridically irrelevant, and their written form is discretionary." Duranti, "Diplomatics (Part II)," p. 8. There is no suggestion, however, that this evolution in communication and documentation has occasioned or allowed a concommitant evolution of the nature of archives and archival documents.

121   Jacques Le Goff provides an excellent framework for understanding the historicity of archives in terms of the evolution of memory in the chapter "Memory," in *History and Memory*, pp. 51-99.

122   John Shotter, "The Social Construction of Remembering and Forgetting," in David Middleton and Derek Edwards, eds., *Collective Remembering* (London, 1990), pp. 120-138. From Frances A. Yates's classic work, *The Art of Memory* (Chicago, 1966) to Simon Schama's recent bestseller, *Landscape and Memory* (Toronto, 1995), writings on the nature of memory have explored important links between social or collective memory and history and identity. The lessons and implications for the nature and practice of archives, especially in the total archives context, are obvious if not explicit. Other useful writings on collective memory include: M. Christine Boyer, *The City of Collective Memory. Its Historical Imagery and Architectural Entertainments* (Cambridge, Mass., 1994); Edward S. Casey, *Remembering. A Phenomenological Study* (Bloomington and Indianapolis, 1987); Paul Connerton, *How Societies Remember* (Cambridge, 1991); James Fentress and Chris Wickham, *Social Memory* (Oxford, 1992, repr. 1994); John R. Gillis, ed., *Commemorations. The Politics of National Identity* (Princeton, 1994, see especially John R. Gillis, "Memory and Identity: The History of a Relationship," pp. 3-24); Patrick H. Hutton, *History as an Art of Memory* (1993); Michael Kammen, *Mystic Chords of Memory. The Transformation of Tradition in American Culture* (New York, 1991); Jacques Le Goff, *History and Memory* Steven Rendall and Elizabeth Claman, trans. (New York, 1992); George Lipsitz, *Time Passages. Collective Memory and American Popular Culture* (Minneapolis, 1990); David Middleton and Derek Edwards, ed., *Collective Remembering* (London, 1990, see especially David Middleton and Derek Edwards, "Introduction" Alan Radley, "Artefacts, Memory and a Sense of the Past," in David Middleton and Derek Edwards, eds., *Collective Remembering* (London, 1990) John Shotter, "The Social Construction of Remembering and Forgetting"; Pierre Nora, "Between Memory and History: *Les Lieux de Mémoire*," in *Representations* 26 (Spring 1989), pp. 7-25); and Raphael Samuel, *Theatres of Memory. Volume 1: Past and Present in Contemporary Culture* (London, New York, 1993).

123   Alan Radley, "Artefacts, Memory and a Sense of the Past," pp. 46-59.

124   Nora, "Between Memory and History," p. 7.

125   The term "situated knowledge" comes from Donna J. Haraway, who proposes "a doctrine of embodied objectivity that accommodates paradoxical and critical feminist science projects: feminist objectivity means quite simply *situated knowledges*." Donna J. Haraway, "Situated Knowledges: The Science Question in Feminism and the Privilege of Partial Perspective," *Simians, Cyborgs, and Women. The Reinvention of Nature* (New York, 1991), pp. 183-201. Haraway's approach to objectivity, scientific knowledge, and partial perspective offers a useful conceptual framework for perceiving the archivist as historically-situated rather than neutral.

126 MacNeil, "Archival Theory and Practice," p. 15.

127 Addressing the locus of photographic meaning, Eric Homberger examines whether the meaning of a photograph is "prescribed by what we can learn of the intention of the photographer, the ideas and values which that photographer endorsed, and the specific circumstances in which the image was created," advocating a contextual understanding and warning against free-floating interpretation. Eric Homberger, "Review essay: Can we say absolutely anything we like about photography?" *Word & Image* 4, nos. 3-4, (July-December 1988), pp. 732-738.

128 Cook, "Electronic Records, Paper Minds," p. 302.

129 Boyle, for that matter, contends that "it is not the fact that a document has a juridical character that qualifies it to be the object of diplomatics, but the simple fact that it is found in an archive."

130 Haraway, "Situated Knowledges," p. 190.

131 Barr, "Analyzing Photographs in Archival Terms."

132 O'Donnell, "Towards Total Archives," pp. 105-118.

133 William J. Mitchell, *The Reconfigured Eye*, p. 8.

134 Duranti, "Diplomatics (Part V)," p. 21.

135 Like Heather MacNeil, Christopher Hives is prepared to abandon total archives in his enthusiasm to reconcile decreased resources and new demands for bureaucratic accountability. Abdicating responsibility for socio-cultural accountability, Hives justifies his narrow perspective on archives in British Columbia by claiming that "the proliferation of recorded information has caused large bureaucracies to expend increasing resources in the systematic management of the records they create, collect, and use. These new priorities have, in turn affected archival priorities: cultural priorities, once considered paramount, have, of necessity, been supplanted by administrative priorities with respect to the management of recorded information throughout its life cycle" ("Thinking Globally, Acting Locally," *Archivaria* 38 [Fall 1994], p. 158). Hives's unimaginative justification for diminishing the richness of Canadian archival tradition ignores the significant linkages between institutional and socio-cultural accountability and passes responsibility for private records to local archives which, if true to their own bureaucratic agendas, are no more prepared to shoulder the province's cultural memory. The notion of networked repositories proposed by Terry Cook as only one of four interrelated facets of the total archives concept (see Terry Cook, "The Tyranny of the Medium: A Comment on 'Total Archives'," *Archivaria* 9 [Winter 1979-80], pp. 141-142) is singled out and cited out of context to substantiate his ideas about the "natural evolution of the concept" of total archives. This scholarly perversion of Cook's original commentary and ideological subversion of a constructed evolution as somehow "natural" reveal a neo-Enlightenment, if unenlightened, approach to the broader view of archives in Canada incompatible with the postmodern wisdom that archivists "are not simply 'acquiring' and 'preserving' records of value; we are *creating value*..." (Brothman, "Orders of Value," p. 82.) In other words, there is nothing "natural" about Hives's "natural evolution of the concept" of total archives.