Sharing Cultures 2013

Proceedings of the

**3rd International Conference
on Intangible Heritage**

Edited by

**Sérgio Lira
Rogério Amoêda
Cristina Pinheiro**

green
lines
institute
for sustainable development

SHARING CULTURES 2013

SHARING CULTURES 2013

Proceedings of the 3rd International Conference
on Intangible Heritage
Aveiro, Portugal
24-26 July

Edited by

Sérgio Lira
Rogério Amoêda
Cristina Pinheiro

green
lines
institute
for sustainable development

SHARING CULTURES 2013
3rd International Conference on Intangible Heritage

Edited by
Sérgio Lira, Rogério Amoêda & Cristina Pinheiro

Published in electronic format.

Print on demand.

Foreword

Sharing Cultures 2013 - 3rd International Conference on Intangible Heritage follows the path established by the previous Conferences on Intangible Heritage (Sharing Cultures 2009 and 2011) and aims at pushing further the discussion on Intangible Cultural Heritage (ICH), under the main topics proposed by the UNESCO Convention adding some new field of discussion, namely on what concerns management and promotion of ICH, educational matters and musealization. The complete list of topics for this edition of Sharing Cultures included: 1) Oral traditions and expressions; 2) Performing arts; 3) Social practices; 4) Traditional craftsmanship; 5) Management and promotion of Intangible Cultural Heritage; 6) Intangible Cultural Heritage and education; 7) Musealization of Intangible Cultural Heritage; 8) a special chapter on Maritime Intangible Cultural Heritage.

The concept of ICH gained its rightful place among the scientific community during the last decade and a significant amount of work has been done by a large number of researchers, academics and practitioners, leading to the recognition of ICH as fundamental piece for the comprehension of human societies, organisations and ways of living. Accordingly, scientific events that gather scholars, researchers and academics with on-going work on ICH are privileged moments to share experiences, problems, questions and conclusions. Sharing Cultures 2013 aimed at being one of those events and the publication of the Proceedings promotes broader dissemination of the knowledge produced thereof. All papers were published after double-blind peer-review by at least two members of the Scientific Committee.

As in its previous edition Sharing Cultures 2013 included a number of workshops promoting some hands-on experience to all Delegates who had the opportunity to learn traditional know-how from its owners and practitioners.

We would like to express our gratefulness to all members of the Scientific Committee who contributed to the scientific quality of this event.

We would like to thank all Members of the Scientific Committee who reviewed the papers and made suggestions that improved the quality of individual work and the over-all quality of the event.

We would like to express our gratefulness to the Municipality of Aveiro who made this event possible, by hosting the Conference. A special word of recognition is dedicated to the Museu de Aveiro and to all others who made the workshops, bringing their knowledge, their know-how and the expression of truthfully living heritage to this event.

Finally we would like to thank Dr.ª Maria da Luz Nolasco for all the support and willingness to help.

The Editors

Sérgio Lira
Rogério Amoêda
Cristina Pinheiro

Organizing Committee

Sérgio Lira

Rogério Amoêda

Cristina Pinheiro

Scientific Committee

Alexander Bauer
University of Pennsylvania,USA

Alison McCleery
Napier University, United Kingdom

Alistair McCleery
Napier University, United Kingdom

Annette B. Fromm
Florida International University, USA

Anoma Kumarasuriyar
Queensland University of Technology, Australia

Asafa Jalata
University of Tennessee, USA

Carla Almeida Santos
University of Illinois , USA

Chistina Birdsall-Jones
Curtin University of Technology, Australia

Daniel Tércio
Technical University of Lisbon, Portugal

Gabriella Duca
University of Naples Federico II, Italy

Isotta Cortesi
University of Catania, Italy

Janet Eldred
University of Kentucky, USA

John Carman
University of Birmingham, United Kingdom

John Skrzypaszek
Avondale College, Australia

John Tunbridge
Carleton University, Canada

June Akamine
Nagoya City University, Japan

Maria Glória de Sá
University of Massachusetts Dartmouth, USA

Maria da Luz Nolasco
Municipality of Aveiro, Portugal

Mary Kenny
Eastern Connecticut State University, USA

Michael Ripmeester
Brock University, Canada

Pamela Sezgin
Gainesville State College, USA

Paulo Seixas
Lisbon Technical University, Portugal

Peter Davis
Newcastle University, United Kingdom

Rogério Amoêda
University Lusíada, Portugal

Roy Jones
Curtin University of Technology, Australia

Sérgio Lira
University Fernando Pessoa, Portugal

Xavier Roigé
Universitat de Barcelona, Spain

Partners

Contents

Papers

Newstead House: the social history, culture and architecture of a bygone era

Anoma Kumarasuriyar

Queensland University of Technology, Brisbane, Australia

David Nielsen

Queensland University of Technology, Brisbane, Australia

ABSTRACT: Historic house museums form a significant component of the built heritage and social history of a country. They vary from the elaborate mansions of the wealthy to modest dwellings of the working class. Regardless of the original owner's status in society these house museums are vital to an understanding of architecture, culture and society from a bygone era. The Newstead House, the oldest surviving residence, in Brisbane, is the first house to be designated a 'Historic House Museum' in Queensland. It is a representative example of a house that demonstrates the British colonial heritage of 19th century Australia. Originally a modest cottage, on 34 acres of land, the Newstead house was built by a Scottish migrant. The ownership of the house and land changed many times, during the period from 1847 to 1939. During this period a series of prominent residents of Brisbane either owned or rented this residence. They included, an officer of the Royal Navy, politicians, magistrates, merchant ship owners, and a Consul General of the United States of America. As a result, the house went through a series of renovations and extensions to accommodate the needs of its owners and their position in society. This paper aims to investigate the significance of historic museum houses in educating the community on aspects of social history, culture and architecture of 19th century Australia. It will focus on the heritage listed Newstead House as a case study to demonstrate the significance of the house as an artefact and an educational tool.

1 INTRODUCTION

House museums are repositories of the tangible features pertaining to a society's cultural history. These tangible characteristics are expressed through various means such as the arrangement of furniture; the photographs of people who lived in the house; the location of rooms and the spaces that accommodated large gatherings when entertaining; the segregation of the served and the servants, the gardens and so on. Thus a house, through its architecture and exhibits, communicates the history, society and culture of a bygone era. In a historic house museum the link between the building, the collection, and the owner, facilitates the communication, interaction with and appreciation of the historic period and society that it comprises (Cabral, 2001).

According to The Burra Charter (Australia ICOMOS, 1999: p. 2) "....cultural significance is embodied in the place itself, its fabric, setting, use, associations, meanings, records, related places and related objects…" (Worthing & Bond 2008). The Newstead house, one of the significant cultural assets of Queensland, is a house museum that educates the general public on the history of Queensland. In addition it serves the public through free concerts; picnic spots in the garden; guided tours; educational programmes and as a popular venue for wedding celebrations.

Newstead House is the first building to be designated a house museum, in Queensland, Australia. (Royle & Glasscock 1996). In addition, the site, on which the house stands, at the junction of Breakfast Creek and the Brisbane River, was also popular with the original owners of the land, the Indigenous Australians (Ballard & Roessler 1993).

Today, The Newstead House Trust, assisted by a team of volunteers called Friends of Newstead Inc is in charge of the conservation and maintenance of this heritage listed property. The latest conservation work, in 2007, included the refurbishment of the Master bedroom to reflect late 19th century interiors (http://www.newsteadhouse.com.au/friends/friends.htm). As a house museum it demonstrates, through its architecture and exhibits, the lifestyle of the early migrants who were mainly of British origin. They included pioneering pastoralists of Queensland, a former officer of the Royal Navy, police magistrate, merchant ship owners, and a Consul General of the United States of America.

This study will demonstrate how the intangible aspects of society are made tangible through the architecture, the furniture and use of space of a house through an analysis of the stages of its development over the years. It will ascertain the role played by house museums in the education of the public, particularly primary and secondary students on the history, society and culture of Queensland.

2   NEWSTEAD HOUSE: A BACKGROUND

The historic Newstead House was completed in 1846, three years following the opening of Moreton Bay region (present day Queensland) to free settlers. The site, facing the Brisbane River, dictated the orientation of the house. Starting as a Georgian cottage built in 1846 for a Scottish migrant from an elite family; it is now a house museum in a suburb that was named after the house. Newstead House is a narrative of the lifestyles of some of the early prominent citizens of Brisbane and Queensland (Gregory 2010, Hogan 1979).

Figure 1. View from the Brisbane River (east entrance).

Figure 2. View from the driveway (west entrance).

Over the years, Newstead had many owners and has undergone dramatic transformation; from a modest cottage into a sprawling homestead with intricate balustrades; spacious verandas; a vista that incorporates the Brisbane River; and surrounding parkland (Figs. 1 & 2). From late 19th and early 20th centuries, a series of prominent residents of Brisbane either owned or rented this residence. In 1918, with purchase of the property by the Brisbane City council Newstead House public property ((Ballard & Roessler 1993).

In 1939, the Queensland Government, by an Act of Parliament, created a Trust, called The Newstead House Trust. It is said to be first ever legislation passed through the parliament of Queensland for the conservation of a historic building (Gregory, 2010). This Trust, consisting of Brisbane City Council, the Historical Society and Queensland Government as trustees, then became the custodian of the Newstead House. Thus, the preservation of a vital part of Queensland's history was guaranteed. In 1932, The Headquarters of the Historical Society of QLD was moved to the Newstead House on a 21 year lease (Royle & Glasscock 1996). Architect JVD Coutts was commissioned by the trustees to make an assessment of repair work needed on the house. However, with limited funds and the looming shadow of war on the horizon the repairs were limited to the basics such as the timber veranda floor, posts and brackets, wooden doors; roofing, gutters and downpipes; and some work on the interior. In November 1940, after the completion of repair and maintenance work, Newstead House was opened to the public, as a museum of Queensland History, by Sir Leslie Wilson, the Governor of Queensland (Royle & Glasscock 1996; Gregory, 2010; Luttrell, G.G. 1974).

During the Second World War, from 1942 to 1946, Newstead House was occupied by the US Army and many records pertaining to the house were lost during this period (Luttrell 1974). A monument currently stands on the grounds to commemorate the role played by Newstead House during this period. In 1950, The QLD Women's Historical Association (QWHA) was formed at Newstead and they occupied a room for 18 years. In 1955 the 'Friends of Newstead Inc.' a volunteer organization was formed and they continue to assist The Newstead House Trust in the conservation and maintenance of the house (Royle & Glasscock 1996). In 1969, major alterations and repair were done by Brisbane Works Department, The Royal Historical Society of Queensland and the Newstead House Trust to restore the house to reflect Victorian styles and values. In 1970 the Board of Trustees, with the objective of educating people on the society and lifestyle of Brisbane in the 19th century, refurbished the house to return it to the residence it once was (Hogan 1979). The Australian Heritage Commission entered Newstead House in Australia's Register of the National Estate in 1978 thus establishing the significance of preserving the house for future generations (Ballard & Roessler 1993).

Over the years Newstead House went through many extensions and alterations. The most significant phases of these developments are:

- The original cottage built and occupied by Patrick Leslie and his wife Kate in 1846
- The house extended and occupied by Capt. John Wickham and his wife Anna from 1847 to 1860s.
- The house extended further and greatly altered by Brisbane's prominent architect James Cowlishaw, for the 3rd owner of the house George Harris, in 1860s.

Newstead House, as it stands today, has had only one major change made since the time it was the Harris family home, which is the annex built in 1890 to replace the former service wing. The social and cultural life of Brisbane represented by this house will be examined next through the changes done to the house to accommodate the lifestyle of the afore mentioned prominent citizens of Queensland (Ballard & Roessler, 1993).

3 NEWSTEADHOUSE: FROM 1845-1846

Newstead House was completed in 1846 for Patrick Leslie and his wife Kate from the Darlings Downs, of the colony of New South Wales, Australia. Today, 167 years later, Newstead House survives as Brisbane's oldest house. Patrick Leslie, a 29 year old Scottish migrant, the son of the 10th laird of Warthill, Aberdeenshie, bought the land on which Newstead House stands on the 9th April 1845. The land comprised of 34 acres, two blocks of 17 acres each. He bought it for his father, William Leslie, a resident in Scotland (Fig.4). The adjoining block of 25 acres was bought by Captain John Wickham who was the Police Magistrate of Moreton Bay district and Patrick Leslie's brother-in-law. (Royle & Glasscock 1996; Luttrell, 1974).

Andrew Petrie, Brisbane's first builder, is believed to be the builder of Newstead House (Mckinnon 1947; Petrie 1937). The red-brick two storied house was constructed of double bricks on a stone foundation. The hipped roof was originally of slate and had two chimneys on either side. Each chimney, and thus each fireplace, was shared by two rooms. The cottage measuring 45 ½ feet x 32 feet (13.9m x 9.9m) was raised off a basement and had identical layouts on both floors (Fig.3). The ground floor, partly buried on the sloping site, had the kitchen, two cellars, servants' room and a pantry. Correspondingly, the upper floor had two large rooms serving as sitting room and bedroom with two smaller rooms, directly behind them, serving as dining and dressing rooms. The sitting room and bedroom had French doors opening onto an eight foot front veranda that faced the Brisbane River. This was the main façade of the house, especially for those arriving by boat. While the opposite side, had the entrance hall, off the veranda that was accessible by a few steps, and faced the driveway for those arriving by carriage or horseback (Royle & Glasscock 1996; Hogan, 1979; Ballard & Roessler 1993: Waller, K.G.T. 1957).
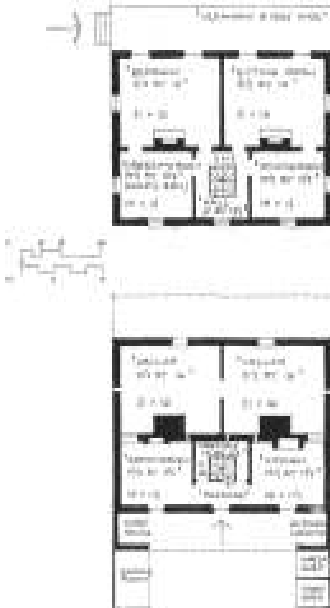
Figure 3. Leslie cottage plans.

Source: Ballard & Roessler 1993. p.20.

Figure 4. Map showing plots bought by Leslie (62 & 63).

Source: Stewart 2005, p.11.

According to Royle and Glasscock (1996: 12) "Although a relatively simple cottage, Newstead would have been one of the best houses in Brisbane Town at the time." On the 10th April 1845, Patrick Leslie, upon the purchase of the land, wrote to his parents, "Most lovely situation for a cottage commanding a magnificent view and the land is very rich, part of it is the finest brush land and will yield great crops." (Waller, 1957: 119). However, in June 1847, a year after the completion of the cottage, he wrote to his father that he had instructed his attorney to sell Newstead House to Capt. John Clement Wickham, for £1000. Capt. Wickham was married to his wife Kate's sister Anna (Ballard & Roessler 1993; Stewart, 2005). Patrick, his wife Kate and son William left for New South Wales in 1847 (Royle & Glasscock 1996; Hogan, 1979).

4 NEWSTEADHOUSE: FROM 1847-1860

Captain John Wickham's land holdings increased to 59 acres when he purchased Newstead House. Wickham was appointed Police Magistrate, for the Moreton Bay district of New South Wales, in January 1843. This was after the closure of the convict settlement and opening of the district to free settlers in 1842. In addition to supervision of the Moreton Bay district he also took on the role of Protector of Aboriginals (Stewart, 2005). He and his family lived at Newstead House until 1859.

John Clement Wickham was born in Leith, Scotland on 21st December, 1798. He was a 1st Lieutenant and served in HMS Beagle, that surveyed the Australian coastline. He married Anna Macarthur, the daughter of an influential family from New South Wales, in October of 1842. The John and Anna Wickham arrived in Brisbane in January of 1843. Their first house was the house vacated by the commandant of the convict settlement. (Royle & Glasscock 1996; Stewart, Brian). They had two children before moving into Newstead in 1847 and two more were born at Newstead House (Ballard & Roessler 1993).

Capt. Wickham and his wife Anna made Newstead their home for 13 years. It was during their occupancy that Newstead became established as the centre of the social scene in Brisbane. Wickham rose to the position of Government Resident in Moreton Bay for the New South Wales government. It was in this capacity, as the leading citizen of the district, that he and his wife played host to prominent citizens, government officials and important visitors to Moreton Bay. They became well known for their hospitality and distinguished visitors to Brisbane Town either stayed or were invited to lavish dinner parties and balls at Newstead House (Ballard & Roessler, 1993). They included: the Governor Charles Fitzroy of New South Wales, Bishops, aristocrats, and artists such Conrad Martens (Gregory, 2010).

Figure 5. Wikham House plans.

Source: Ballard & Roessler 1993. p.128.

Figure 6. Newstead House after extended by Capt. Wickham.

Source: Stewart, B. (2005) p.12.

As such Newstead House was enlarged to accommodate these large gatherings and balls that Capt. Wickham and his wife Anna had to entertain on a regular basis. These included (Fig. 5); removing the end walls on the northern side and replacing them by 6 inch (15cm) stud walls; adding a children's and parents bedroom; adding verandas to the remaining three sides to enclose the house; installing folding doors to open up the two main rooms in order create a large ballroom when needed; plastering and painting the walls red. The earth work on the walls made the eastern façade of the house, overlooking the river, look like a single storied Georgian cottage (Fig.6). (Royle & Glasscock, 1996; Stewart, 2005).

Wickham's wife Anna, died in 1853, in Sydney where she was taking treatment after the birth of her 3rd child. The lavish entertaining at Newstead House continued with Wickham's sister-in-law, Emma Jane acting as hostess. In addition, Newstead House also hosted numerous house guests on a regular basis. Seven years after the death of his first wife Anna, Wickham married his second wife, Ellen Deering on 1st October 1857 (Royle & Glasscock 1996; Ballard & Roessler 1993).

According to Stewart (2005: 12) "Newstead House became the centre of hospitality in Brisbane. Guests on their way to social assemblies at the house arrived under armed guards." Many of these guests entertained and hosted at Newstead left glowing comments on their hosts (Ballard & Roessler 1993). One such guest, Margaret Ann Ogg wrote, "....many of the gatherings were graced by the urbanity and beauty of descendants of the English aristocracy." (Gregory 2010: 7)

In 1859, with the separation of Moreton Bay settlement from New South Wales and the proclamation of the colony of Queensland, Wickham was offered the position of Colonial Treasurer, but, he declined and left Queensland (Gregory, 2010; Hogan, 1979; Royle & Glasscock 1996; Luttrell, 1974). Wickham's household effects were auctioned on 20th January 1860. The list of items for the auction clearly showed the lifestyle of the upper class of Brisbane society in the 19th century. The list included: rosewood furniture, piano forte, a 188 piece dinner service, and cut glass. Newstead House was rented soon after their departure (Royle, & Glasscock 1996).

5   NEWSTEADHOUSE: FROM 1863-1890

After the departure of Wickham family in 1859, Newstead House was leased by the first Attorney General of Queensland for two years, from 1860 until 1862. The house was put on sale at teh end of that lease. In 1863, George Harris, a Brisbane merchant, became the first businessman to own and live in Newstead House. He bought the house for £4,000 (Austin 1947). George Harris was married to Jane Thorn, daughter of George Thorn who was responsible for administering the convict outstation at Ipswich from 1827 (Gregory 2010). They lived in Newstead House for 27 years, first as tenants, then as owners and then again as tenants. They celebrated the birth of three children at Newstead House. The Harris era at Newstead is also noted for lavish entertaining (Hogan 1979; Gregory 2010). Newstead House continued to be the focus of Brisbane's social life during their 27 years of residence(Royle & Glasscock 1996).

George Harris, was born in London in 1831, and arrived in Sydney with his parents and siblings in 1833. He came to Brisbane in 1848 to work for his brother John. In 1853 he and his brother formed the company J & G Harris. They were general merchants and commission agents (Ballard & Roessler 1993). It became a very successful business in the new colony of Queensland. In 1860 George Harris was appointed to the Queensland Parliament Legislative Council by Queensland's first Governor. He remained in that position until 1876 (Royle & Glasscock 1996).

The Harris family occupied the house the longest. They made extensions, along the north and south ends of the house, to suit their social standing and lifestyle. The plans, shown in the study by Ballard and Roesellar, shows that Newstead House during the occupancy of Harris family was three times the size of the original modest cottage built by Patrick Leslie (Figs. 6 & 7).

Figure 6. Harris House Plans.

Source: Ballard & Roessler 1993. p.130.

Figure 7. Newstead House after extended by Harris.

Source: Gregory, H (2009) – cover.

It is believed that these changes were made by Brisbane architect James Cowlishaw in early 1865. Newstead House as it stands today is very much the result of these changes made that reflect the social life of a very successful merchant in 19th century Brisbane. Cowlishaw's

Design emphasized the west entrance as the main entrance to the house accessed through a flight of sandstone steps to the veranda and then onto the entrance hall. Thus horse drawn carriages were able to be driven along the driveway to this new front entrance to the house. The verandas were enlarged by two feet, making them ten feet wide and enclosing the entire house. The original staircase to teh lower level, through the entrance hall, was removed. The access to the lower level was then changed to a ladder and trapdoor on the veranda. It is believed that Harris may have also added the two marble fireplaces in teh main rooms and teh new kitchen facilities (the present annex).

Newstead House became synonymous with lavish social gatherings such as wedding celebrations, 21st birthday parties, and sophisticated dinner parties (Gregory 2010). Queensland newspapers often reported on the grand entertaining of guests at Newstead House. It was the place to be seen amongst the social elite in 19th century Brisbane. John and Jane were regarded as very generous hosts (Royle & Glasscock 1996). Further, they were also keen contributors to the Brisbane community. For example in January 1877 they hosted 400 children and teachers to a Sunday School Festival on the grounds of Newstead House (Ballard & Roessler 1993).

The weddings of the Harris daughters were social events extensively reported in local newspapers and they depicted the lifestyle of the well-to-do families in the early years of the colony. The eldest daughter Edith Maud married George Condamine Taylor from a successful pastoral family in Toowoomba, Queensland. The lavish reception at the Harris-Taylor wedding, which took place at Newstead, was reported by the media as - "The festivities at hospitable Newstead in connection with marriage were so princely …the house itself is as well suited for guest purposes as any in the neighbourhood of Brisbane…." (*Week* , 1st September 1883). It was also reported that 300 guests could sit down to supper at a given time; the ballroom accommodated over 350 guests and dancing continued till early morning; and the Newstead grounds were lit by numerous Chinese lanterns (Ballard & Roessler 1993).

On the 23rd May 1888, the reception to celebrate the wedding of Evelyn Harris, the second daughter, to Richard Gardiner Casey, the son of a member of parliament, was also held at Newstead House. The following day the Brisbane Courier reported, "…between 200 and 250 guests sat down to wedding breakfast at Newstead ….the Defence Force Band played an excellent selection of music during breakfast …" (The Brisbane courier, 24th may 1888). Richard Gardiner Casey became a member of the Queensland Legislative Assembly on his wedding day. Evelyn and Richard eldest son, also named Richard, became Governor General of Australia in 1965.

George Harris also entertained guests on his yacht, *Hamlet's Ghost*. The Harris'were generous hosts, however, their hospitality was sometimes abused, by guests who came uninvited and stayed for extended periods of time. Newstead House became to some extent a free hotel. Lavish entertaining and hosting house guests is said to have cost them £20,000 per year (Royle & Glasscock 1996; Ballard & Roessler 1993). George Harris' business empire included ships, tannery, boot and harness factory, cotton processing plants etc. However, speculation in mining ventures that didn't bring him good returns ruined his business empire in the 1870's (Gregory 2010). In 1874, years before his daughter got married to George Taylor; Harris mortgaged Newstead House to George's father James Taylor for £10,000. The Harris family ly then rented Newstead from James Taylor, their daughter's father-in-law. Thus, Wickham was a tenant at Newstead House when the wedding reception was held there (Ballard & Roessler 1993). On the 27th August 1876, J&G Harris, the commercial firm Harris owned with his brother John, went into receivership (Gregory 2010). By the end of 1876 he had to apply to the courts for bankruptcy (Royle & Glasscock 1996). At the same time he lost Newstead House to James Taylor as payment for money borrowed from him in 1876 (Luttrell 1974).

6 NEWSTEAD HOUSE AS AN EDUCATIONAL TOOL

According to the International Council of museums (ICOM) , "A museum is a non-profit, permanent institution in the service of society and its development, open to the public, which acquires, conserves, researches, communicates and exhibits the tangible and intangible heritage of humanity and its environment for the purposes of education, study and enjoyment." (ICOM 2007). Museum education is very broad in its scope. For example Museum education could include, the exhibits; the building that houses these artefacts; the important people connected with the house; guided tours by museum staff; organised special events such as public lectures, educational activities for school children, etc (Iguchi 2005). Museums provide students an opportunity to learn things different to that of formal classroom education. The learning experiences that students gain at museums are an alternative way of learning that facilitates students understanding of the past by the objects exhibited in the museum (Hooper-Greenhill 1991). During the past couple of centuries, the role of these educational activities has increased in museums and galleries (Moffated 1999). In the case of house museums, an understanding of individuals, their cultural and social values can be gained through the objects exhibited at house museums. According to Pavoni (2001: 19) " …with the help of the house and its rich array of objects, symbols and conventions it is possible to convey to the visitor a simplified approach to history, art and architecture, because houses, however resplendent, are part of everyone's common experience". The educational value of Newstead house is derived from the history that is entrenched in the house. The various extensions and improvements to the house are an indication of the social position of the individual who owned or lived at Newstead at any particular time. The educators, students and the general public that continue to visit Newstead House attests to its contribution to educating Queenslanders about their social and cultural history. Therefore, the future potentials for using the Newstead House as an educational tool is extraordinary.

As previously mentioned, the Board of Trustees, refurbished the Newstead House to the elegant residence it was in the 19th century with the aim of educating the community on the society and culture of that by gone era (Hogan, 1979). One of the significant roles played by Newstead House is educational activities involving visits by primary and secondary school children. These visits supplement the school curriculum by providing the students a personal, unique experience through the visual communication of the exhibits. A new programme will be trialled by Newstead House this year for primary school students, in Preparatory, Year One and Year Two, starting in July, in the third term of the school year. This programme is in keeping with Australian Government initiative to introduce Australian history in the earliest years of primary school. The new programme is designed with the focus on curriculum and the demography of students. Three staff members from Newstead House Museum will be conducting these classes on a weekly basis. This is in addition to visits by secondary school students who utilize Newstead House in their special projects as well as their curriculum in Modern History, Art and Film and Television studies (McKavanagh, 2013).

The Moreton Bay Environmental Education Centre, Department of Education, Queensland, conducts a whole day programme at Newstead House for primary school students in grades four to six. This programme requires a minimum of two teachers and covers the Australian Curriculum on history of Australian Colonies and Studies of Society and Environment. It is aimed at experiencing and understanding the

life during the period of the early settlement of Brisbane. The process involves problem solving and role playing with the students taking on the roles of the wealthy owners/tenants and their servants. Their activities for the day includes; exploring the house in silence; handling objects from the museum collection; listening to stories from the period of early settlement; learning about the past through documentary evidence and physical objects. In addition, the students get the opportunity to share their ideas with each other. (http://moretoneec.eq.edu.au/wcms/index.php). Furthermore, virtual tours, guided tours by museum staff; educational activities that include lectures and public talks; publication of research papers and books; and printed materials such as brochures and pamphlets are some of the most important features of the contribution to education offered by Newstead House. Thus the Newstead House provides the ideal setting for students to comprehend the social and cultural life of early Brisbane.

7 CONCLUSION

Newstead house, rich in its history and its development, exemplifies the lifestyle of a certain class of people who migrated to Brisbane in the mid-19th century. Today, it stands as a testimony to the individuals who played a significant role in the history of early Brisbane and Queensland. Newstead captures the development of Brisbane from its early years through the cottage built by Patrick Leslie, a pioneering pastoralist, to the extensions constructed by subsequent owners. The house, through its architecture, furnishings, artefacts and other collections illustrates the lifestyle and culture of the upper classe of Queensland in the 19th to early 20th centuries. Newstead House epitomised their strong links with Victorian England. In the 21st century this house museums additionally meets educational needs of the present generation, especially pertaining to the history of Australia and Queensland in general and Brisbane in particular.

REFERENCES

Austin, C.G. (1947). Newstead House & Capt. Wickham, R.N. *Journal of the Royal Historical Society of Queensland* (Centenary Number), III(6): 459-465. Brisbane: The Historical Society of Queensland.

Ballard & Roessler (1993). *Newstead House: Conservation Study.* A report submitted to the Board of Trustees, Newstead House.

Butcher-Younghans, S. (1993). *Historic House Museums: a practical handbook for their care, preservation and management.* New York; Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Cabral, Magaly (2001). 'Exhibiting and communicating history and society in historic house museums' In *Museum International* (UNESCO) Paris. No.210 (Vol. 53, No.2). Oxford, MA: Blackwell Publishers.

Gregory, H. (2010). *Patrick Leslie started something Great.* The Patrick Leslie address, 25th August 2009. Brisbane: Friends of Newstead Inc.

Hogan, J. (1979). *Historic Homes of Brisbane: A Selection.* Brisbane. Australia: Boolarong Publications.

Hooper-Greenhill, E. (1991). *Museum and Gallery Education.* Leicester, London and New York: Leicester University Press.

Iguchi, J. H. (2005). *Museum Education: part 2 – Role of Museum education. Colloquium # 59; Global Communications Platform, Japanese Institute of Global Communication. Feb.21, 2005.* Available at http://glocom.org/special_topics/colloquim [Accessed 20 December 2012].

International Council of Museums (n.d.). [Webpage] http://icom.museum/the-vision/museum-definition/.

Johnston, R. W. (1982). *The Call of the Land: A History of Queensland to the present day.* Milton, Queensland: The Jacaranda Press.

Luttrell, G.G. (1974). *Historic Homes and Buildings of Brisbane.* (Read at a meeting of the Royal Historical society of Queensland, 24 October 1974). pp. 23-33.

McKavanagh, M. (2013). *Manager, The Newstead House. From Interview at the Newstead House, Newstead, Brisbane.24th April 2013.*

Moffat, H. & Woollard V., ed. (1999). *Museum & Gallery Education: a manual of good practice.* Great Britain: The Stationery Office.

Mckinon, F. (1947). Significance of Newstead House. *Journal of the Historical Society of Queensland*, 111(6): 495-465.

Pavoni, R. (2001). Towards a definition and typology of historic house museum. In *Museum International* (UNESCO, Paris), No.210 (Vol.53, No.2). Oxford, UK; Malden, MA, USA: Blackwell Publishers LTD.

Petrie, W.R. (1937) *Centenary of Arrival at Moreton bay of Andrew Petrie and Family. (Paper read to Historical Society of Queensland, August 31, 1937).*

Royle, M. & Glasscock J. (1996). *Newstead House: The History*. Brisbane, Australia: Friends of Newstead House.

Stewart, B. (2005). *Looking for Wickham*. Brisbane, QLD. Friends of Newstead.

The W. (1883). *Saturday, Sept 1, 1883, from the files of Royal Historical Society of Queensland.*

The Brisbane Courier (1888). *24th May 1888, from the files of Royal Historical Society of Queensland.*

Waller, K.G.T (1957). *The letters of the Leslie brothers in Australia 1834-1854.* Unpublished BA (Hons.History.),thesis, University of Queensland.

Worthing, D. & Bond, S. (2008). *Managing Built Heritage: The role of Cultural Significance.* Oxford, UK; Malden, MA , USA; Victoria, Australia: Blackwell Publishers LTD.

[Webpage] http://moretoneec.eq.edu.au/wcms/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=153&Itemid=83.

[Webpage] http://www.newsteadhouse.com.au/friends/friends.htm.

Matera: from capital of paesant civilization to European Capital of Culture

Antonio Conte
Basilicata University, DiCEM, Matera, Italy

Maria Onorina Panza
Basilicata University, DiCEM, Matera, Italy

ABSTRACT: In this paper we will describe the objectives and results of the feasibility study required for the creation of a Park-Museum Demoethnoanthropological (DEA) in the Sassi of Matera along with other experiences of research conducted by the authors and still in progress, aimed at a more complex project cultural Strategy for the city. Matera is included since 1993 in the World Heritage List of UNESCO and its history is that of a civilization that slowly, with the help of time and effort of men, has determined the shape of the landscape and the city. Its forms are the result of the collective and individual memory, of the subjective culture and culture of the Community, tangible and intangible heritage: elements from which the city is no match for planning his candidacy for European Capital of Culture for 2019.

1 INTRODUCTION

The contribution fits in the topics of discussion proposed by the conference by presenting briefly the experience and research of the authors starting from the study of technical feasibility aimed at to verify economic, financial and legal requirements for the creation of a Museum-Park-Demoetnoantropologico (DEA) in the Sassi of Matera. The paper also show the results of other ongoing research, experiences born under a more wide and strategic project where the reading of the urban complexity, develops through a multidisciplinary approach and uses drawing and representation as a favored tool for analysis and communication.

Matera is one of many elements that define the mosaic of the landscape-cultural image, the result of conditions and requirements that have led to the origin, identity and the transformation of the sites over time.

The complexity of the old core of Matera is in particular the result of the relationship between the geomorphological features of the site, the climate and the cultures of the people who crossed him. The city is an ancient city, this palimpsest of signs of man present from Paleolithic period and its ability to find compromises with nature.

The experimentation has produced over thousands of years the technical experience and the sensitivity, one knowledge extended to the entire community. The measured and convenient use of materials and the space. The value of all the elements which have characterized the places of living as anthropological places, the relation-ship between the man and the territory, have favored in 1993 the site recognition as a UNESCO World heritage.

The history of Matera as of the other regions of the Mediterranean, is history of presence and of absence, struggle for survival and solidarity, is the story of a civilization that slowly, with the help of time and effort of men, has determined the shape of landscape and the city. For these reports every territory belongs to its inhabitants, conditions them and represents them. And yet the time may introduce sudden, large and profound changes fractures that transform the meaning and identity of places.

Figure 1. Matera, I Sassi and the Gravina river.
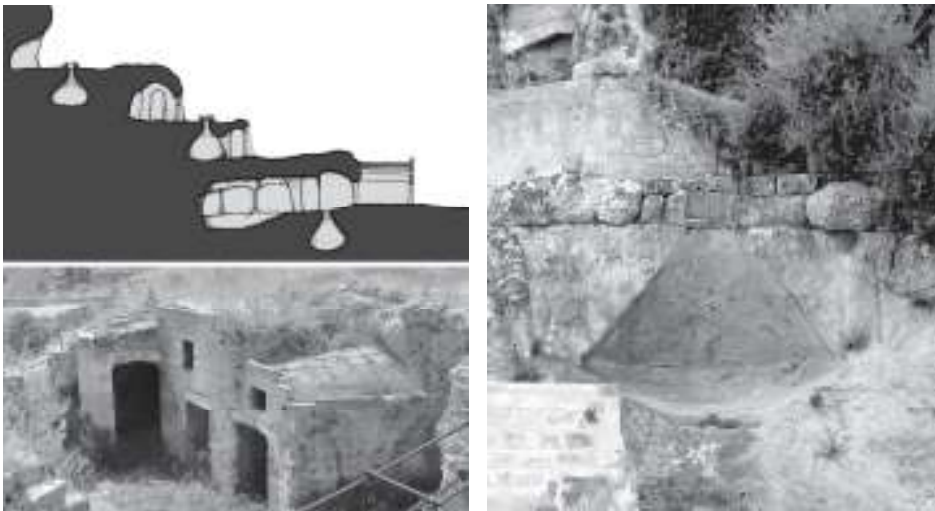
Figure 2. Matera, typological evolution (drawing and photo by Maria Onorina Panza).

2   FROM THE FORCED DISPLACEMENT TO THE RECOVERY

In the 50s with a law, it was decreed the displacement of the Sassi to facilitate its retrieval and

find immediate solution at the poor hygiene conditions produced by the overcrowding of the ancient districts and in which they were forced many families.

Fundamental in the process of knowledge the ancient settlement system, were the preliminary investigations necessary for the definition of the competition notice for the "International Competition for the recovery of the Sassi", banned in 1971. From this competition, at the the sociological concept of " neighbourhood " was associated the form physical of the free space condi face, by introducing the definition of "urban rooms" (Giuralongo, 1984).

After 1993, the recovery process has found new impetus which had in the return of the inhabitants of the Sassi, the primary objective . The younger generations, however, have no direct memory of those places and they must be communicated to them the value of those spaces and the ability artisan who led the older generations in the construction of the urban landscape of the Stones and the surrounding area.

3 A COMPLEX CITY

But if changes the man identity, the sites remain, such as crystallization of those who in the past has invested them with meaning, have lived there, turning them into anthropological places.
The Sassi are the core of the ancient city of Matera, capital of Basilicata, in southern Italy. They were formed on the plateau of the Apulian Murgia , along the western side of the incision karst where the "Gravina" stream flows.

Phenomena such as sinkholes, caves and natural blades, had represented in prehistory the right habitat for the settlement of humans and animals who have found in the system of natural caves a first shelter: a first ancestral form living which, in the evolution of process typological and constructive has retained its symbolic space and matrix of the form of the house, the so-called lamione (Giuffre, 1997).
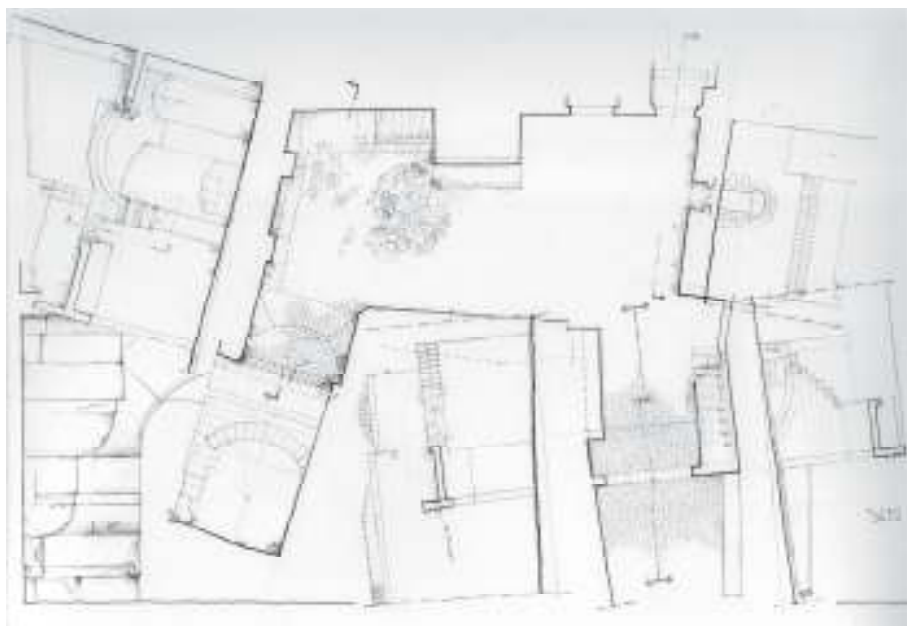
Figure 3. Matera, Vico Mannese, urban room eidotipo (made by Maria Onorina Panza).

This city hides another city , a city underground, an invisible city, gene-rated from the fundamental relationship between man and water, its research, its conservation it in a karst envi-

ronment and free of sources. Once again, a necessity become technical ability, which has passed the shortcomings of the environment, defining ingenious and simple devices as a dense network of canals and capacious warehouses for the collection of rainwater.

On this site, it was founded and grew the city, its physical part but also the social relations. The difficult environment, the lack of resources, were the limit which has transformed the population as a community, the need for solidarity that made possible the rationalization of natural resources and human relations.

In a variation of shapes due to the geomorphological context, different from time to time, small artifacts have become constituent elements and characterizing an original urban structure made of space in the open air, which for centuries has welcomed and created the conditions idonne for the life private and public of the community Matera.

These spaces had significant an role for the society of Matera. Along the boundary, natural or constructed, opens a catalog of traces and testimonies of the technical capacity of the makers . For the functional character of these open spaces, we can speak of a crossing from one interior to another interior: space was represen-tative of the small communities which lived and shared services as the well, the oven , Along with the sense of belonging and security.

The increase of the population and the arrival of new housing needs has seen a continuous change and a continuous architectural adaptation of the type. In the evolution of the history of this place, quarries, tanks, basements, places of worship, have been adequate at new function. All this has Contributed to making this city more complex as well as His understanding, to accentuate the its three-dimensional nature from forced displacement to the recovery

Is in this memory which is rooted a sense of belonging, what gives value to living in a place and that generates the loving "care", beyond the facile nostalgia, as well as in the recovery operation .

And this is the spirit in which it is intended understand, to return to care for a part of the ancient city of Matera, that one destined since the seventies from the logic of recovery, Museum Demoethnoanthropological.

Figure 4. Matera, La Civita and the Sasso Barisano.

4 THE MUSEUM DEMOETNOANTROPOLOGIC

The theme is that complex reading and recovery to new functions of a place-you strongly characterized by a morphological point of view, where it is difficult to distinguish between nature and man-what, so they are connected and interrelated, but where is equally characteristic was the strong human presence, before dell'imposto abandonment in the fifties of the last century.

This part of town, although difficult and inaccessible and this margin, has always welcomed the presence of man. In the past its marginality was in keeping with the size of the dead and if poltura-affected Benedictine monastic communities Byzantine and there they found the right balance between work and prayer, but it was also a place of "first asylum" for immigrants who came from 'Adriatic in the late fifteenth century.

A *iperluogo* therefore, whose history is also the history of other places and other peoples.

This character can be read in different ways of living that the difficulty of the site has kept still legible than the rest of the ancient city. In this complex urban design, relationships geometricospatial affected by the morphology of the places you are sommate to those of the social neighborhood, in a continuous mixture between the types of architectural "shapes of water" and "faith" with those of the homes. In a series of mutations regenerations from the results at unexpected times, the themes of emptiness, and the threshold limit, the transition between public space and domestic space of the enclosure, specialize in inputs and in the courts of the cellars and housing, finding specific expression in the invention, ever-changing, the rooms urban as places of transition from "un'interno-public / shared-another extension - private / intimate."

Read all means give meaning and identity to the spaces and their inhabitants, re-generate new uses for today but in a conscious way, seeking and recognizing shapes, and drawing the sources from which to design continuity.

The study was conducted by the DEA between 2010 and 2011 by the working group interdisciplinary characterized by the presence of architects, economists, fitters, anthropologists and historians (Client: Carical Foundation; Working Group: RTI CLES Srl / Studio Azzurro productions Srl / Structure Srl). The specific contribution of the authors was to document, analyze, understand and provide visibility through the Design and Performance, the work of the man who has lived for thousands of years the city of Matera.

The idea of a museum Demoethnoanthropological in Matera starts in the fifties of the last cen-tury, in a climate characterized on the one hand by the development of studies in cultural anthropology and the other from that of the political and cultural debates and redemption of the lower classes. In that context, one of the proponents of the" idea of a museum of the Stones and the one who first proposed the name of Demoantropologico Museum, Giovanni Battista Bronzini who was in charge a first contract for a feasibility study of the museum as a space explanatory and repre-sentative of the relations between the city, the inhabitants of the territory. Today the destination area to museale was added to the Programs Biennials Recovery Ward Sassi, such as as museum and develops in Casalnuovo district of the city of Matera.

The technical report of the feasibility study delivered to the municipal administration of Matera by the working group: "The DEA Museum is proposed as a central hub of a network of property and equipment and intangible cultural resources that will facilitate a multi-level reading of the city and its territory.

From an organizational perspective the DEA Museum will be configured as a cultural complex, modern, innovative, as a place of production and promotion of culture, able to generate and renew fronts and events, using extensive expertise in the cultural field, museological and staging, through extensive use of multimedia tools and nurturing an ongoing relationship with national and international institutions, on the side of ethnographic research. Furthermore, it will be open to the territory, both from the standpoint of exhibition (diffuse museum), both from the point of view of the involvement of the local social fabric. Finally, it is conceived as a living thing, that monster already starting from the construction phase, which will become es-sa same object of display and communication. (RTI, 2010).

The project operates on the area considering it part of the museum as a "fragment of the city-nature of the Sassi" (RTI, 2010) able to act as a source, the new centrality of a strategic system for the continuity of living in the city of Matera and boost the company's mission of cultural heritage city. In this idea, the device will be narrative, recommendations account for a crossing time physical but also the history of the city and its Community. "The narrative is shared by the

memory of the place and relates to the stratifications of its history, so the artifacts: physical objects that, wherever possible, should be woven into the flow of the story rather than isolated in a glass case." (RTI, 2010) The exhibits will be links to material culture, that of the ancient crafts of civilization, pagan and religious beliefs that are woven into the festival in honor of the patron saint of the city, which is renewed every year and was destroyed architecture of devotion car making papier-mâché, and also, the components, typical of the Mediterranean diet and its rites, once again at the report and transmission of knowledge.

According to this path and thinking of a living museum, continuous adaptation, a "great site" and immediately usable the site, you tell the "becoming heritage" of the city of Matera.

The project activity is therefore to create a framework in the preliminary phase in-training especially designed and relatively complete, the context that will serve all phases programmatic and in all disciplines of the study of a Park-Museum in Demoetnoan-tropological Sassi of Matera.

The cultural project was to start and it will be more and more as a meeting place and rebending of many technical differences, creative and design, and it will play a major role, in particular, a design shared with the representation of the human facts. It is a very delicate part because he sees the complementary action of more integrated and diverse skills.

The idea of the museum from the anthropological point of view will be developed in close connection with the aspects related to the mode of exhibition stands, multimedia, architecture and organization of internal and external spaces, identification and declination of a project to cultural extremely difficult and original.

Figure 5. Matera, Casalnuovo, area of the demoetnoantropologico museum.

5 CONCLUSIONS

In complex situations and layered like that of Matera, the dependence between cultural heri-tage intangible and material is obviously highly distinctive. The identity of this place passes through the materiality of its architecture and its built-up areas, but at the same time these are the outcome of a capacity for relationships between men, transmission of knowledge which still keeps alive the religious customs and languages , the artisan traditions.

The consideration of the Sassi as the palimpsest of which is celebrated on the picturesque character, it has now been upgraded, tested, integrated and updated. The concept of value of these places is being made of organism parts and elements, each functional and bearer of meaning and memory, result of a material and immaterial culture, that it has been for centuries the vehicle a sense of belonging and therefore of the care which has secured the continuity of existence of matter in its constant regeneration.

In this idea of continuity is perhaps contained the identity of this place, continuity in time and space, between the visible and the invisible, between public and private, local and global. A continuity that can be even, through the documentation of the past and the active exchange of knowledge between disciplines, following up on the ability to relate and solidarity that according to Antonino Giuffre was of the men and their families of this place (Giuffre, 1997).

The above considerations are the outcome of the search path of the authors and participating in a larger ongoing project that involves the multidisciplinary team working DiCEM of the University of Basilicata, coordinated by prof. Antonio Conte and hopes that among other activities that the implementation of a "Laboratory for training and practice of architecture and the research station and creativity" implanted in the Sassi of Matera, for teaching, research integrated across disciplines and to international trade .

The value of the identifying characteristics of the city is also the basis of the way that the entire community has undertaken the path recognition as European capital of culture in the spirit of a continuous renewal rooted in tradition.

Figure 6. Matera. Bruna's Celebration, edition 2011.

Figure 7. Matera. Bruna's Celebration, edition 2011. destruction of the chariot.

REFERENCES

Bronzini G.B., (1993).   Il museo demoetnoantropologico dei Sassi di Matera. *Lares,* LIX (gennaio-marzo):137.

Conte A. (2008). *Comunita' Disegno. Laboratorio a cielo aperto di disegno e rappresentazione nei Sassi di Matera*. Roma: Franco Angeli editore.

De Rita L. (n.d.). Controllo sociometrico di vicinati in una comunità lucana. *Bollettino di psicologia applicata*, 4-5: 149-186.

Fonseca C. D., Demetrio R. & Guadagno G. (1999). *Matera*. Bari: Editori Laterza.

Giuffrè A. & Carocci C. (1997). *Codice di pratica per la sicurezza e la conservazione dei Sassi di Matera*. Matera: edizione La Bautta.

Laureano P. (1993). *Giardini di pietra*. Torino: Ed. Bollati Boringhieri.

Levi C. (1945). *Cristo si è fermato a Eboli*. Torino: Einaudi.

Mirizzi F. & Venturoli P. (2003). Musei e collezioni Etnografiche in Basilicata. *Catalogo della mostra, Matera*. Soprintendenza per il Patrimonio Storico Artistico e Demoetnoantropologico della Basilicata.

Panza M. O., 2008, Potenza, L'architettura delle "camere urbane": Ed. Grafie.

Padula M. & Palumbo F. (1972). *2 luglio a Matera*. Matera: La scaletta.

RTI Cles S.r.l., Studio Azzurro produzioni S.r.l., Struttura S.r.l. (2010). *Studio di fattibilità del programma di realizzazione del Parco Museo Demoetnoantropologico da realizzarsi nel Sasso Caveoso di Matera*.

Don't repair, replace: Nova Scotia's true divided lights

Austin Parsons
School of Architecture, Dalhousie University, Halifax, Canada

ABSTRACT: True divided light wood sash windows and the associated sash making trade were once the norm in Nova Scotia. This is not the case today due to the introduction of vinyl windows. The market demand for true divided light solid wood windows has collapsed to the small, niche market of historic and heritage building conservation. Given this reality, the building-only and repair rather than replace building conservation standards prevalent in today's building conservation circles could further reduce market demand for Nova Scotia's sash makers. At issue here is recognizing the potential negative consequences these standards may have on efforts taken to safeguard the intangible cultural heritage associated with Nova Scotia's sash making trade. Decisions have become more holistic because cultural heritage now includes both conserving the tangible and safeguarding the intangible. With this added complexity comes a different mindset about what is, and is not, important.

1   A DISCONNECT BETWEEN PEOPLE AND BUILDINGS

October 2013 will mark the tenth anniversary of the introduction of The *Convention to Safeguard Intangible Cultural Heritage* (CSICH). The Convention's mandate is, simply put, to protect cultural entities that are in danger of disappearing. It divides intangible cultural heritage into five categories:

a) oral traditions and expressions, including language as a vehicle of the intangible cultural heritage;
b) performing arts;
c) social practices, rituals and festive events;
d) knowledge and practice concerning nature and the universe; and
traditional craftsmanship.

Category e) is the one relevant to the present conversation.

> *Traditional craftsmanship is perhaps the most tangible manifestation of intangible cultural heritage. However, the 2003 Convention is mainly concerned with the skills and knowledge involved in craftsmanship rather than the craft products themselves. Rather than focusing on preserving craft objects, safeguarding attempts should instead concentrate on encouraging artisans to continue to produce craft and to pass their skills and knowledge onto others, particularly within their own communities.* (UNESCO)

Examples of traditional craftsmanship include the creation of tools, clothing, toys, musical instruments and in this case, building components.

Canada is not a signatory to The CSICH; however, Canada does put value on its intangible cultural heritage. It takes the three-step approach advocated by Bouchenaki: putting tangible heritage in a wider context, translating intangible heritage into "materiality" and supporting practitioners and the transmission of skills and knowledge (Bouchenaki, 2003).

Yet with its acceptance and promotion of *The Standards and Guidelines for the Conservation of Historic Places in Canada* (Parks Canada, 2010) (Standards and Guidelines) along with other like-minded approaches to conservation followed by Canadian municipalities (e.g. Halifax Regional Municipality's use of the U.S. Department of the Interior's *Standards for the Treatment of Historic Properties* (Standards for Preservation*)*) there is the suggestion in Nova Scotia that intangible cultural heritage is not yet fully integrated with tangible cultural heritage when it comes to building conservation.

The Standards and Guidelines for the Conservation of Historic Places in Canada is a decision making tool designed to guide end users in the conservation of a historic place. The Standards and Guidelines are based on a hierarchy of definitions: historic place, heritage value and character defining elements. It attempts to establish a cascade of linked rationales that lead to a conservation decision to preserve, restore or rehabilitate a given building. Irrespective of the conservation intervention, the Standards and Guidelines philosophical approach is based on a building only direction, completing minimal amounts of work, in the least intrusive manner possible with a bias toward repair rather replace in-kind (Standards 1, 3, 7, 8, 10, 12 & 13). While the Standards and Guidelines do recognize that there are occasions when replacement in-kind is required, replacement is not the primary intervention, but a secondary option.

The contemporary approach to building conservation as represented by the Standards and Guidelines and the Standards for Preservation places a focus on conserving the building rather than celebrating the connection between the building and those who built and maintained it over time. This approach is a direct result of the *conserve as found* conservation ethos, an ethos that has created a subtle but real disconnect between the goal of conserving the built environment and the objective of safeguarding traditional building trade knowledge.

There are two reasons for this disconnect. The first, referenced above, is the emphasis on only conserving the building accompanied by a silence on safeguarding the trades that build and maintain a building. The second reason is a subtler one. Ruskin's doctrine of repair rather than replace has restricted the practice of specialist building trades.

To safeguard the intangible cultural heritage associated with building trades, one needs to provide and maintain an economic opportunity for each trade to practice its craft. This can be done as part of any official policy. On the other hand, any official statement, policy, or in this case, recommended guideline that limits demand is potentially detrimental to the trade, and on a go forward basis, could inhibit trans-generation knowledge transfer. Without work, there will be no trade.

The idea that these two fundamental tenants of the Western Heritage discourse may potentially be detrimental to safeguarding a building trade is examined in terms of Nova Scotia's sash making trade.

2   A BRIEF REVIEW OF NOVA SCOTIA'S WINDOW SASH MAKING TRADE AND TECHNOLOGY TRANSFER

Nova Scotia wood window sash makers make true divided light sashes together with the window boxes. They fabricate both the sashes and window boxes following a technology first developed in France in the mid-seventeenth century and brought to full development in England in the last thirty years of the seventeenth century (Louw, 1983).

This window technology was imported to the various English colonies beginning in the first part of the eighteenth century, finding its way to New England via southeast England (Montgomery, 1965). From New England, the sash making trade came to Nova Scotia following the migration routes of two large English cohorts, settlers from Connecticut who came in 1760 (the Planters) and in 1783 (the Loyalists) (Hurd, 2005).

Once in the region, trans-generational technology transfer occurred via several paths. The first pathway was through the availability of pattern books, printed in England and imported to the colonies. In this case, the tradesperson would have the required knowledge and skill to take what they read and translate that into the built form.

The second pathway was through the apprenticeship model. Craftsmen would take apprentices under their control with the understanding that after a certain period of time, each apprentice would learn the trade and become a craftsman in his own right.

Today, Canadian architecture, engineering and building trade education follow the apprenticeship model. The individual attends school, reads pattern and/or design texts, and completes an apprenticeship, a path that leads toward certification. The intention behind these education models is to teach students techniques, practices as well as the mindset required to be a competent professional. This is how Canada builds its intellectual capacity. This model is predicated on the assumption that there will be a market demand for these services.

With regards to heritage conservation training in Nova Scotia, Dalhousie University's School of Architecture is starting a Building Culture and Conservation concentration at the Masters level. The Nova Scotia Community College offers a heritage carpentry program, but interestingly enough, due to the *conserve as found* ethos, it emphasizes repairing rather than replacing a window sash.

The third pathway was via reverse engineering. In this case, an individual would obtain a component, disassemble it, study how it was made and copy the appropriate patterns, fabricate the required components and then rebuild it. Typically, the person doing this would have a woodworking background as well as shop experience.[1]

3   HOW A SASH MAKER THINKS

Irrespective of how a sash maker was trained, the client/maker interaction begins with the client, then goes to shop and finally, back to the client. Typically, a client engages a sash maker to make one or more windows for a given building or home. The sash maker goes out to site, takes measurements and returns to the shop. A price for the work is negotiated and if both parties agree with the contract (price, scope of work, delivery date) work starts on the window.

Sash makers starts a window's fabrication by first thinking about the individual sashes' glass size in terms of its respective width and height. They like to begin with an even size, whole number piece of glass (e.g. 24" x 24"). They then use this information to determine the window's overall width and height.

The actual process of making a window begins with its layout. Layout of a window involves transcribing field measurements onto a memory plank. A memory plank is typically a 1x6 pine board. (The term memory plank is the author's, sash makers refer to it as a board.) The sash maker first lays out the window's plan followed by its section on the memory plank. The window's plan is laid out out from left to right across the window box/sash/window box cut recognizing the glass width. This is done across a sash, and not at the meeting rail. The next step is to lay out the window's section recognizing the glass height (in this case it is for two sashes). This work begins with the sill and moves up the board ending with the upper back band.

Each of the window's components (e.g. stiles, sills, jambs, casings) is a standard width and breadth. The difference between individual windows is in the component's lengths, a sum of the various relevant components plus glass dimensions.

During the layout, the sash maker is mentally doing an incremental addition of the window design from left to right and then bottom to the top taking into account component dimensions and required tolerances. At the end of this effort, the sash maker has the sizes of each required component as well as the overall width and length of the window.

From the layout exercise, stock sizes are determined. Air-dried pine is the material of choice for Nova Scotia true divided light sashes. This is because of its availability, stability, machinability and paint-ability. Individual pine pieces are selected. Decisions are made about each piece based on knot sizes, knot conditions, knot locations, grain pattern and shake. Each selected piece is then cut to length, dressed and machined. The eventual treatment applied to each piece of pine depends on its end use. Once all the pieces are cut, the sashes and window box are

assembled. Typically, the window is then shellacked and primed and the glass pieces are puttied in place. The window is then ready for shipment to the client.

From the above explanation, one point has to be made, a sash maker thinks differently than other wood workers. What sets them apart is their window maker's mindset. One only has to realize that a window maker starts to conceptualize how to make a window by first asking for the window's glass size. With this information in hand, he or she then lays out the window. This is different than how a carpenter approaches the problem. A carpenter's first question is what is the window's rough opening size.

While sash making can be learned from a manual, it is critical the apprentice be exposed to this mindset. This mindset is the trade's intangible cultural heritage and is what separates a sash maker from a finish carpenter or competent woodworker. It is also what could be lost with the passing of the present generation of sash makers.

4 BUILDING-ONLY AND REPAIR RATHER THAN REPLACE

Wooden sash making in 2013 in Nova Scotia is best described as a custom-manufacturing venture. It is not a handcraft industry, nor is it at the scale of industrial, mass production. A typical sash operation includes one to four full or part time employees. This is a step down from the industry's zenith that occurred in the early to mid twentieth century. As proof, when all windows in the province were made of solid wood in the beginning of the twentieth century, Nova Scotia was home to at least sixty-seven sash making business as listed in the McAlpine's Halifax/Nova Scotia Business Directory (McAlpine, 1907). This compares to six sash companies presently in business in Nova Scotia (author's observation).

Beginning in the 1970s, vinyl windows were introduced into the Halifax window market. They quickly supplanted wood windows due to their first costs and marketing. Vinyl windows are now the pre-dominant window type in Nova Scotia. This introduction of vinyl windows in the market has marginalized the use of wood windows in new construction and reduced the market for true divided light solid wood window market to the heritage and/or historic building sector.[2] In this market, wood sash windows are used in conservation projects that can include a preservation, restoration, rehabilitation or a renovation type intervention.

To better understand the potential consequences the dual influences of a building-only perspective and a repair rather than replace ethos can have on the wood sash maker's trade under the market reality of 2013, the following set of numbers is presented. The author owns and operates one of Nova Scotia's wood sash companies. Parsons Lumber Company Limited (Parsons) is an architectural woodworking shop that specializes in the fabrication of solid pine true divided light sash windows and solid/panel pine doors. This window type accounted for 90% of Parsons' 2012 window sales.

The following numbers were used in the following manner. The time taken to fabricate a typical 6/6 24" x 24" true divided single light vertical sliding window (a pair of sashes and a window box with no weather strip)[3] is extrapolated via yearly sales into the number of windows that need to be made to keep both a sash maker and apprentice employed full time (fifty weeks @ 40 hours per week). This two person labour force is taken as the minimum number of employees required to safeguard the trade and ensure there is a trans-generational transfer of knowledge within a sash making company.

This company data is then extrapolated to the provincial industry, where it is assumed there are six sash making companies capable of fabricating a true divided light window. The second assumption is that the fabrication rate and sash maker/apprentice model apply to all other provincial sash making companies.

A 6/6 24" x 24" true divided light single light window takes 10 hours to fabricate. Last year, Parsons Lumber Company Limited fabricated 120 equivalent 6/6 24" x 24" windows. These 120 windows translate to 1200 man-hours of employment. Assuming that the average household order is for three windows, these 120 windows equate to 40 houses/year.

This is a half time employment commitment. If Parsons were to employ this sash maker full time, an additional 120 window or 40 household projects would need to be completed. Assuming the other five companies also require 240 windows per year to keep one person employed full time (five sash makers in total), the market would have to support 1440 windows or 480

household projects per year. If each of these companies were to employ an apprentice in addition to the sash maker, the labour force required to keep the provincial sash making trade viable and safeguard its intangible cultural heritage, then the provincial market would need to generate 960 equivalent household window projects.

Nova Scotia has 376,840 private dwellings, of which 12% or 44,650 dwellings are in the heritage and/or historic wood window market (built before 1920) (Statistics Canada, 2006). Assuming up to 1% of these households undergo a window renovation in a representative year, no more than 447 houses would undergo a conservation project that requires either restoring or fabricating three true divided light windows[4.]

The numbers show demand will not keep up with industry need. This is not a question of whether the industry, or the associated business model, is sustainable as much as the numbers represent the challenge in safeguarding the trade.

If the above numbers held true, some sash makers and/or apprentices would work part time. Given that the average age of a current Nova Scotia sash maker is 60+ (personal observation), part time work would not be an issue in the short term. However, for the medium to long term, safeguarding the Nova Scotia sash making trade demands as much work as possible be directed toward window replacement rather than window restoration.

5   SASH MAKERS CAN REPAIR

The above scenario assumes sash companies only make sashes, and do not restore windows. This observation isn't correct. Some sash shops do repair windows. However, the point is that a non-sash woodworking shop can also do this type of repair work.

This is not to suggest that the skill level is less to repair a window, however, that skill level is more generic and can be done by a competent woodworker or carpenter. In a window restoration, the sash would be prepared and restored with new putty and glass. If new parts are needed, they can be copied off the old parts. The person doing the repair doesn't have think like a sash maker or be one to complete the work.

The consequence of this act is that the limited pool of heritage/historic window work would be spread around to more shops, an action that would exacerbate the imbalance between supply and demand. While this could have positive results for the owner (more competition, reduced cost) it doesn't necessarily serve the need of safeguarding the sash making trade.

The point that is being made in this paper is that the window work associated with conservation projects in the province of Nova Scotia is small. Any non-market driven restriction to this pool of available work is not an incremental loss of work, but a significant loss of work.

As well, the restrictions presently being considered are ones based on a building conservation ethos of what is correct when the sash maker is not considered in the equation. This is the issue. The *conserve as found* ethos that translates to a building-only and repair over replace attitude gives a potential market advantage to window repair, and in turn, a market restriction to sash makers.

6   INTEGRATING THE TANGIBLE WITH THE INTANGIBLE

There is an obvious connection between people and buildings. Without people, there would be no buildings. Without buildings, there would be no need for building architecture or building trades. In terms of building conservation, building trades conserve buildings, and buildings safeguard the existence of the building trades.

The issues facing the sash makers of Nova Scotia were also faced by timber framers. Through the efforts of the North American Timber Framer's Guild, a traditional craft was brought back from the point of cultural extinction. The Guild accomplished this by recognizing that buildings need people, and people need buildings.

The *conserve as found* ethos goes back to the nineteenth century and John Ruskin. The building-only focus was promoted at a time when only the building was considered cultural heritage. The intellectual rational for repair rather than replace is based on the premise that if one replaces rather than repairs a building component, a part of the building's historic fabric has been lost

(Ferro, 1985). The *conserve as found* ethos does not explicitly factor the intangible cultural heritage associated with the people who work on and maintain buildings. Its interest in people only goes to the point that they will hopefully be there to complete work when needed.

In the present, standards such as the Standards and Guidelines, and the Standards in Preservation, or for that matter any standard that follows the doctrine of the *conserve as found* ethos has not come to terms with how to deal with intangible cultural heritage. These standards need to integrate intangible heritage objectives into their basic philosophical underpinnings.

The cultural heritage landscape has changed with the introduction of The CSICH. There is now an interest in safeguarding the intangible cultural heritage associated with building conservation. Nova Scotia's sash making industry is in need of safeguarding. The type of safeguarding being suggested here isn't funding, or legislative protection, but an open market not restricted by a set of attitudes that evolved in an era when only the building mattered. There is an immediate need to start a discussion about how the *conserve as found* ethos can be expanded to include the spirit of The Convention to Safeguard Intangible Cultural Heritage (CSICH). The challenge is to recognize and adapt the old with the new reality of intangible cultural heritage.

ENDNOTES

[1] As will be mentioned latter in the text, the author owns a sash making shop. The shop was bought from a local family and the founder's son still works with the company. I was told that his father learned sash making by reverse engineering a sash his father gave him. The rest, as they say, is history.

[2] While true divided light solid wood windows can be used in new construction if they are installed with an interior or exterior storm window (Nova Scotia Building Code Regulations, 2011) this new home market is not included in the present analysis.

[3] An explanation of window making terminology is in order. A 6/6 24" x 24" window refers to the sash style and size. 6/6 means that there are two six light sashes contained within the window. 24" x 24" refers to the overall width and height of the glass size in the lower sash. This assumes that the upper sash is the same size as the lower sash.

[4] The Statistics Canada 2006 data table also highlights regular maintenance, minor repairs and major repairs statistics for Nova Scotia. While window repairs or replacements are not defined explicitly in the table, from the definition of major repair one can infer that window work would be a subset of this category. In 2006, major repair to buildings built before 1920 represented 2% of the provincial private dwelling stock (Statistics Canada 2006). It is assumed that 30% of this total or up to 1% of the provincial private dwelling stock would require window work.

REFERENCES

Ameri, A.H. (1997). Housing Ideologies in the New England and Chesapeake Bay Colonies, c. 1650-1700. *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, 56(1): 6-15.

Bouchenaki, M. (2003). *The Interdependency of the Tangible and Intangible Cultural Heritage: ICOMOS 14th General Assembly and Scientific Symposium, Victoria Falls, Zimbabwe*. ICOMOS.

Connally, E.A. (1960). The Cape Code House: An Introductory Study. *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, 19(2): 47-56.

Ennals, P. & D. Holdsworth. (1981). Vernacular Architecture and the Cultural Landscape of the Maritime Provinces – A Reconnaisance. *Acadiensis*, 10(2): 86-106.

Ferro, M.L. (1985). Scrape vs. Antiscrape: A Modern American Perspective. *Bulletin of the Association for Preservation Technology*, 17(3/4): 21-25.

Isham, N.M. (1967). *Early American Houses and A Glossary of Colonial Architectural Terms*. New York: De Capo Press.

Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, B. (2004). Intangible Heritage as Metacultural Production. *Museum International*, 56(1-2): 52-65.

Laing, R. & J. Scott. (2011). Remnants of Scottish stone architecture in Nova Scotia. *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 17(5): 478-496.

Lenzerini, F. (2011). Intangible Cultural Heritage: The Living Culture of Peoples. *Eur J Int Law*, 22(1): 101-120.

Louw, H. J. (1983). The Origin of the Sash-Window. *Architectural History*, 26: 49-150.

Louw, H. J. & R. Crayford. (1998). A Constructional History of the Sash-Window c. 1670-c.1725 (Part 1). *Architectural History*, 41: 82-130.

Louw, H. J. & R. Crayford. (1999). A Constructional History of the Sash-Window c. 1670-c.1725 (Part 2). *Architectural History*, 42: 173-239.

Maudlin,D. (2007). Architecture and Identity on the Edge of Empire: The Early Domestic Architecture of Scottish Settlers in Nova Scotia, Canada, 1800-1850. *Architectural History*, 50: 95-123.

McAlpine. (1907). *McAlpine's Halifax/Nova Scotia Business Directory 1907-1908*. Halifax, Nova Scotia: McAlpine Publishing Company (Available at http://gov.ns.ca/nsarm/virtual/directory/).

Montgomery, C.F. (1965). Thomas Banister on the New Sash Windows, Boston, 1701. *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, 24(2): 169-170.

New York Landmarks Conservancy. (1992). *Repairing Old and Historic Windows: A Manual for Architects and Homeowners*. New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc.

Nova Scotia Building Code Regulations. (2011). R.S.N.S., 1989. C.46.

Pacey, A. (1981). A History of Window Glass Manufacture in Canada. *Bulletin of the Association for Preservation Technology*, 13(3): 33-47.

Parks Canada. (2010). *Standards and Guidelines for the Conservation of Historic Places in Canada*. Ottawa: Parks Canada.

Penny, A. (1989). *Houses of Nova Scotia: An Illustrated Guide to Architectural Style Recognition*. Halifax, Nova Scotia: Formac Publishing and The Nova Scotia Museum.

Smith, L. (2006). *Uses of Heritage*. New York: Routledge.

Statistics Canada (2006). *Occupied private dwellings by period of construction and condition of dwelling, by province and territory*. (2006 Census) (Newfoundland and Labrador, Prince Edward Island, Nova Scotia). Available at http://www.statcan.gc.ca/tables-tableaux/sum-som/l01/cst01/famil63a-eng.htm.

Swiatosz, S. (1985). A Technical History of Late Nineteenth Century Windows in the United States. *Bulletin of the Association for Preservation Technolog*y, 17(1): 31-37.

UNESCO (n.d.). Traditional craftsmanship [online]. Available at http://www.unesco.org/culture/ich/?pg=57.

Van den Hurk, J. (2005). The Architecture of New Netherlands Revisited. *Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture*, 10: 133-152.

Sustainable conservation of traditional living communities: the case of Taos Pueblo in the United States of America

Ayman Abdel Tawab
Faculty of Engineering, Tanta University, Tanta, Egypt

ABSTRACT: The main features of the conservation project taking place at Taos Pueblo seem to agree with the concept usually referred to as "sustainable conservation". Despite the recognition of traditional living communities, such as Taos Pueblo, as sustainable communities, some of the heritage values that Taos Pueblo enjoys might be argued to contradict with the general principles of sustainability. The main aim of this study was to investigate the potential conflicts that might occur as a result of adopting the concept of sustainable conservation as an approach to the conservation of Taos Pueblo. The previous objective was approached by evaluating the conformity of the heritage values that Taos Pueblo enjoys to the principles of sustainability. The analysis of the property's values was approached by means of a proposed methodology that incorporated sustainability principles as indicators of the relevant values. Subsequently, the findings of the analysis were examined against the justifications of the property's Outstanding Universal Value, which were officially adopted by section five of the property's nomination document that is entitled "Justification for Inclusion on the World Heritage List". The findings indicated that some aspects of the property's values; particularly those related to its traditional governance, religious and social systems; might be argued to contradict with the principles of sustainability that are concerned with social equity and empowering women. The findings suggest that such controversial aspects should be understood to reflect the local people's struggle to sustain their unique culture and identity, which are rooted in such aspects. These efforts might be regarded to reflect the conformity of the traditional community's qualities to another sustainability principle that is concerned with strengthening the local identity of indigenous peoples. The findings suggest that sustainable conservation projects of traditional living communities should respect these communities' unique identity and inherent qualities.

1 INTRODUCTION

The conservation of traditional living communities' heritage seems to confront many challenges. These challenges are associated with these communities' extremely significant intangible heritage, in comparison with their tangible heritage, and their reluctance to acknowledge that their built environment has turned into heritage since they are living communities. Taos Pueblo in the United States of America, which has been inscribed on the World Heritage List in 1992 (Taos Pueblo - UNESCO World Heritage Centre, 2012), is an example of such traditional living communities.

The main features of the conservation project at Taos Pueblo seem to agree with the concept referred to as sustainable conservation. The aim of sustainable conservation seems to be

adapting heritage resources to sustainability standards while preserving them, which might require the installation of modern equipment inside historic buildings that might detract from their historic character (Tyler, 2010). Sustainability standards might also contradict with the traditional living communities' socio-cultural and governance systems. The key features of the conservation project at Taos Pueblo seem to involve the community-based approach to conservation, the dependence on recyclable and local materials, the dependence on energy efficient construction technologies, training the local people on traditional construction and conservation skills, and the creation of jobs. All these features seem to agree with the principles of sustainable conservation. Many other conservation projects seem to represent the concept of sustainable conservation. Cornerstones' community-based approach to the historic preservation projects that they carried out in New Mexico (Cornerstones Community Partnerships, 2009) seems to agree with the principles of sustainable conservation.

Although the main features of the conservation project at Taos Pueblo agree with the concept of sustainable conservation; some of the inherent traditional qualities of the local community; particularly the traditional socio-cultural, governance, and religious systems; might be argued to contradict with the general principles of sustainability. These principles are largely concerned with social equity and democratic decision making processes. Nevertheless, other sustainability principles, particularly those concerned with strengthening the local identity of traditional living communities, might be adopted to refute these arguments.

2   THEORETICAL BACKGROUNDS

2.1.   *The historic origins and the key principles of sustainability*

The Brundtland report's definition of sustainable development states that "sustainable development is development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs" (Rodwell, 2007: 56), while the definition of the concept of sustainability per se states that "sustainability is about prolonging the useful life of a building in order to contribute to a saving of energy, money and materials" (Rodwell, 2007: 57). The publication of the novel entitled "Silent Spring" in 1962 can be considered one of the earliest stages in the historic development of the principles of sustainable development (Rodwell, 2007). The other significant historic stages might involve the Earth Day in 1970, the Club of Rome publication of the report entitled "Limits to Growth" in 1972 (Steele, 1997), the oil crisis in 1973 (Rodwell, 2007), the publications of the International Union for the Conservation of Nature in 1980, the Brandt Commission first meeting in Germany in 1978 and the publication of its report entitled "North-South: A Program for Survival" in 1980, and the publication of the Brundtland Commission report entitled "Our Common Future" in 1987 (Steele, 1997). One of the most recent and significant stages is the Rio de Janiero Earth Summit held in 1992 and its proceedings entitled Agenda 21. Agenda 21, which has involved 120 program outlines and 1000 proposals, has been concerned with six subject areas, which are (1) the quality of life on earth, (2) efficient use of the earth's materials, (3) the protection of our global commons, (4) the management of human settlements, (5) chemicals and the management of waste, and (6) sustainable economic growth. The document has been interested in supporting the most vulnerable social groups; particularly women, indigenous peoples and minorities (Steele, 1997).

Agenda 21's second subject area recommends the dependence on renewable sources of energy, granting further political powers to local authorities, and the participation of local communities in all decision-making processes. The fourth subject area recommends using local and traditional building materials, using traditional building techniques and self-help systems, adopting energy efficient designs, and the dependence on labor-intensive construction techniques (Steele, 1997). Agenda 21 recommends supporting democracy and the openness of any decision-making process. The programs adopted by Agenda 21 recommend eradicating poverty by generating employment opportunities; improving living conditions of women, minorities and indigenous peoples; and adopting community-based approaches that provide women a full participation to any decision-making process and respect the cultural integrity and rights of indigenous peoples (Sitarz, 1993). Agenda 21 also recommends adopting traditional

agricultural and irrigation techniques, supporting the involvement of local communities in the conservation of their historic buildings, and providing equal employment opportunities for women (Sitarz, 1993).

   Another relevant international joint framework has been developed to help developing countries in addressing urban environment challenges. This framework incorporates a number of international organizations, one of which is the United Nations Development Programme (Sitarz, 1993). The main concerns of the previous programme involve building democratic societies and empowering women (ORG/CONTENT/UNDP/EN/HOME/OURPERSPECTIVE, 2012). The United Nations Millennium Declaration is another relevant document, as indicated by Article 22 in the declaration. Article 20 in the declaration indicates the determination of the United Nations to promote the principles of gender equality and the empowerment of women in order to achieve a sustainable development. The declaration adopts a number of human values; which include equality between men and women, respect for nature, and freedom represented by the adoption of democratic and participatory governance systems (United Nations, 2000).

2.2.   *The concept of sustainable conservation*

The concept of sustainable conservation can be argued to have evolved as a response to the growing influences of the concept of sustainable development on all aspects of life. Adopting the concept of sustainable conservation seems to imply adopting the objectives of sustainable development along with the objectives of value-centered conservation. The objectives of the sustainable conservation project at the Pere Marquette Railroad Depot in Michigan have involved both the objectives of sustainability and those of conservation. The conservation strategy adopted in this project involved three different approaches to deal with the original fabrics. The first approach focused on matching the original elements regardless of their sustainable performance. The second approach focused on complementing the original elements using similar elements that were more sustainable. Finally, the third approach focused on selecting totally new materials that enjoy high sustainable qualities. The first approach was adopted for the conservation of the most iconic historic features. In the new internal spaces, the conservation strategy focused largely on using sustainable materials (Tyler, 2010).

   Adopting the concept of sustainable conservation might also imply the provision of income-generating new functions to disused heritage resources that guarantee their future and sustainable maintenance, the contribution of the preserved heritage resource to the regional growth, the contribution of the conservation project to the regional cohesion, the adoption of a multi-problem-oriented approach, the increase in the level of knowledge, the strengthening of the local identity, the strengthening of democracy, the creation of new jobs, the rehabilitation of existing heritage resources instead of the rebuilding of these resources, and the usage of environment-friendly materials and renewable sources of energy (Gustafsson & Rosvall, 2008). Sustainable conservation might also mean the conformity of the conservation works to sustainability principles. These principles seem to involve the community-based approach to conservation, the participation of the local community to the conservation works, the dependence on trained nongovernmental organizations, the flexibility of the conservation project and its ability in meeting the changing needs of the local community, and the recognition of the revitalization of the local community as the first priority against the other secondary priorities that should involve looking after visitors' needs (Haney, 2003).

   The conformity of conservation works to sustainability principles seems to indicate their representation of the concept of sustainable conservation. These sustainability principles involve the adoption of a minimalist socioeconomic approach to conservation, the connection of people with existing employment opportunities, the training of the local community in traditional arts and crafts, the adoption of low-cost and low-tech technical solutions, the dependence on traditional materials and methods, and the dependence on the revolving-funds economic concept that guarantees the sustainability of the conservation works on the long run (Siravo, 2003). The relevant sustainability principles involve the generation of material and nonmaterial benefits, the intergenerational equity that implies the long-term nurturing of resources rather than the short-term exploitation of resources for quick benefits, and the reversibility of any changes or what might be described as a precautionary principle (Throsby, 2003).

2.3.   *The preservation project in Taos Pueblo*

In 2009, the governor of Taos Pueblo applied for the Department of the Interior's financial support for the conservation of the property. The tribal government's efforts led to the achievement of a $500000 American Recovery and Reinvestment Act Grant from the U.S. Department of the Interior, which covered the costs of the first phase of the conservation project. The first phase involved the establishment of the training center, which is located next to the Red Willow Education Center (Fig. 1). The first phase was planned to involve the restoration of 120-150 houses in Taos Pueblo, the training of the local people in traditional construction and conservation techniques, the carrying out of a detailed assessment of the structures in the village, the development of architectural and working plans, and the establishment of a cultural center and tribal archives. The second phase was financed by the World Monuments Fund, who listed the property on their watch list of 2010 because of its endangered nature (Taos Pueblo to restore historic village - The Taos News: News, 2012). The previous fund has been used to restore 11 houses (Fig. 2). By the time when the project ends, 21 adobe houses should have been restored (Taos Pueblo Preservation Program). The previous fund has also covered the costs of a detailed laser scanning of the property, which has been carried out by CyArk consultancy in 2010 (TAOS PUEBLO | World Monuments Fund, 2012). Taos Pueblo has achieved another fund; which is the Rural Innovation Fund granted by the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, HUD; that is expected to cover the costs of the rehabilitation of 52 traditional multi-use spaces. The main aim of the HUD grants is to build sustainable communities (HUDNo.2011-08-23, 2012).

The main characteristics of the conservation project in Taos Pueblo seem to involve the community-based approach to conservation, the training of the local people in traditional construction and conservation techniques, and the establishment of partnerships with governmental and nongovernmental entities, such as the Native American Housing Consultants and New Mexico Tourism (Taos Pueblo to restore historic village - The Taos News: News, 2012). These characteristics also involve the creation of jobs; the usage of traditional building materials, such as earth; and the dependence on traditional construction techniques and renewable energy sources. The project has also aimed at preserving the traditional way of life of the local community and at sustaining their cultural traditions (TAOS PUEBLO | World Monuments Fund, 2012). The previous characteristics seem to indicate the agreement of the project with the principles of sustainability.

Figure 1. Taos Pueblo Preservation Program training center.

Figure 2. One of the buildings that are restored through the World Monuments Fund project.

3   THE AIM AND THE METHOD

The main aim of the study was to investigate the potential conflicts that might occur when adopting the concept of sustainable conservation in the case of traditional living communities. The study also aimed at analyzing the agreement and contradiction of the heritage values of

Taos Pueblo, as an example of traditional living communities, with the principles of sustainability. To achieve the previous aims, the values of Taos Pueblo were identified using a developed version of Feilden's typology of values (Feilden, 2003). Feilden's typology was developed to incorporate sustainability qualities as indicators of heritage values. The values whose indicators were developed in order to incorporate sustainability qualities were the architectural value, the townscape value, the landscape and ecological values, the functional value, the economic value, the social value, and the political value. For instance, the sustainability indicators of the architectural value involved the property's efficient use of energy, and the construction using local materials and traditional construction techniques (Steele, 1997). The sustainability indicators of the townscape value included the dependence on fuel efficient transportation means (Steele, 1997), the provision of walkable streets, and the reduction of transportation demands (U.S. Green Building Council, 2011). The sustainability indicators of the functional value included the flexibility of the building's design, while those of the economic value included the dependence on localized food production systems (U.S. Green Building Council, 2011).

In order to identify the values that enjoy an outstanding universal significance, the level of significance of each value was evaluated against four criteria. These four criteria are the exceptional testimony of the value to a civilization, which is living or which has disappeared, and its culture; the exceptional representation of the value of a traditional settlement, its culture and its interaction with the environment; the interchange of the value on a geographical level or over a span of time (UNESCO, 2008); and the level at which the value is experienced and appreciated (Mason, 2002).

4 THE FINDINGS

4.1. *The values and significance of the property according to the nomination document's analysis*

Criteria (iv) and (v) have been adopted to justify the property's Outstanding Universal Value (UNESCO, 1987). Criterion (iv) attributes the property's Outstanding Universal Value to its being an outstanding example of a type of building, architectural or technological ensembles or landscape that represents an important stage in history. Criterion (v) attributes the property's Outstanding Universal Value to its being an outstanding example of a traditional settlement, or a land use, which represents a culture or a human interaction with the environment, particularly when it has become vulnerable as a result of the influences of permanent change (UNESCO, 2008).

The property's nomination document has addressed some values, such as the architectural value, the social value, the cultural value, the religious value, and the economic value. The themes that have been adopted to justify the property's significance involved the adobe houses' traditional style and exceptional architectural qualities, the continuity of the property's architecture representing the evolving Pueblo's culture, the continuity of the property as a traditional living community, and the property's traditional cooperative agricultural system (UNESCO, 1987). The justifications of the property's Outstanding Universal Value do not seem to have addressed its sustainability qualities as heritage values explicitly, since the concept of sustainability has not been matured yet at that time. Nonetheless, the arguments on the continuity of the property's inherent qualities might be considered as indicators of its sustainability qualities. The nomination document has also addressed other aspects that are relevant to the concept of sustainability to justify the property's Outstanding Universal Value. These aspects involve the property's adaptation to its arid and semi-arid climate, and its efficient interaction with its environment (UNESCO, 1987).

4.2. *The analysis of the values that the property enjoys and their level of significance*

The analysis revealed that the property enjoys 13 values (Table 1), all of which are more likely to contribute to its outstanding universal significance (Table 2). Some of these values are the religious value, the historic value, the age value, the architectural value, the townscape value,

the landscape value, and the social value. The Outstanding Universal Value of the property seems to be attributed to the contribution of all the adopted criteria (Table 2). However, the most influential criteria were found to be the first two criteria; which are the exceptional testimony of the value to a civilization, which is living or which has disappeared, and its culture; and the exceptional representation of the value of a traditional settlement, its culture and its interaction with the environment. Each of the previous criteria seemed to justify the international level of significance of 12 values. The fourth criterion, which is the level at which the values are appreciated, seemed to have contributed to the significance of 11 values; while the third criterion, which is concerned with the interchange of the values, seemed to have contributed to the significance of 10 values.

Table 1. The indicators of the values that Taos Pueblo enjoys.

The values	The indicators of the values
Spiritual/religious value	Some religious buildings in the property; such as the kivas, St. Jerome Mission, and the ruins of St. Jerome Church; are capable of stimulating the local people's religious feelings.
Historic value	The technological qualities of the adobe houses in the property and their age, which is said to extend to 1000 years (Spouce, 2012), indicate its historic value. The property is historically associated with significant events in the past, such as the Pueblo revolt that was planned by Popé in 1847 in Taos Pueblo (Pueblo Revolt - Wikipedia, the free encyclopedia, 2012).
Age value	The property retains evidences of lack of integrity caused by weathering and time factors, such as the decaying areas in the adobe walls.
Aesthetic value	The exceptional visual qualities of the property, which are attributed to the beautiful forms of its adobe houses and its harmonious relationship with its beautiful surrounding natural environment, indicate its aesthetic value. The traditional dances and the kivas' ceremonial rituals also contribute to the value.
Artistic value	The property's retention of artworks produced inside it, which are mainly pottery products, and the children art centre indicate its artistic value. The property enjoys an artistic value because of its association with renowned native artists, such as Virginia Romero (Seth & Seth, 1988), and because of its being the subject of renowned artists, such as Ernest Leonard Blumenschein.
Architectural value	The delight of the buildings' design and their exceptional beauty and harmony with their surrounding indicate their architectural value. The firmness of the adobe buildings, as indicated by their survival for almost 1000 years, contributes to the architectural value. The architectural value is indicated by the adaptability of the adobe houses to different uses. The exceptional sustainability qualities of the property, represented by its recyclable building material that is earth, also indicate the value.
Townscape and urban values	The property's harmonious relationship and visual association with its surrounding natural environment indicate its townscape value. The material that contributes in establishing this harmonious relationship, which is earth, indicates this value. The townscape value is attributed to the property's exceptional inward and outward views into the surrounding mountains. The natural materials, out of which most of the landscape elements are made, such as the timber seats and drying racks, indicate the townscape value. The sustainability qualities of the townscape elements, indicated by the property's layout that supports pedestrians' movement, indicate its townscape value.
Landscape and ecological values	The natural qualities of the landscape elements in the property; such as the timber bridges, the river and the trees along it; indicate its landscape value. The property's traditional layout that maximizes the use of open spaces and its traditional water system, which represent the property's sustainability qualities, emphasize its exceptional landscape value.
Functional value	The functional value of the property is attributed to its being in use till present time. The adaptability of the property's buildings to alternative uses, which represents the sustainability qualities of the property, indicates its functional value.

Table 1. The indicators of the values that Taos Pueblo enjoys. (continued)

Economic value	The property is capable of encouraging tourism and thus supporting the economic development of the local community. The equitable access to resources in the property might indicate its sustainable qualities and its economic value.
Social value	The function of the property as a venue for social activities; such as the dances that take place in the main plaza, the race, and the activities taking place inside the mission and the kivas; indicates its social value. The social value is indicated by the property's retention of its traditional social characteristics. The property's traditional social system characterized by its equitable access to resources and land ownership indicates its sustainability qualities and emphasizes its social value.
Educational values	The property's retention of a number of educational institutions; such as the children's school, the art centre, and the kivas; indicates its educational value. The property's ability to provide the young generation with knowledge about their culture and history indicates its educational value.
Political value	The ability of the property's surviving traditional political system to re-establish its political identity indicates the political value. The political value is indicated by the property's positive effect on the people's political behavior, which can be represented by the struggle to return the Blue Lake. The property's autonomous and locally-based political system, which is a feature representing its sustainability qualities, indicates its political value.

The significance of the property might also be attributed to its intangible heritage, particularly its language. The language spoken at Taos Pueblo, which is known as the Taos language, has been listed on the UNESCO's list of endangered languages (UNESCO Atlas of the World's Languages in danger, 2012). The previous findings seem to indicate that the significance of the values that the property enjoys is largely attributed to its sustainability qualities, which are represented by its ability in interacting with its environment and by its survival while maintaining its unique socio-cultural and political characteristics.

Table 2. The level of significance of the heritage values that Taos Pueblo enjoys and the criteria that justify their level of significance.

The values	The level of significance	The relevant criteria *
Spiritual/religious value	International	(1), (2), (3)
Historic value	International	(1), (2), (3), (4)
Age value	International	(2), (4)
Aesthetic value	International	(1), (2), (3), (4)
Artistic value	International	(1), (2)
Architectural value	International	(1), (2), (3), (4)
Townscape and urban values	International	(1), (2), (4)
Landscape and ecological values	International	(1), (2), (3), (4)
Functional value	International	(1), (3), (4)
Economic value	International	(1), (2), (3), (4)
Social value	International	(1), (2), (3), (4)
Educational value	International	(1), (2), (3), (4)
Political value	International	(1), (2), (3), (4)

* (1) The exceptional testimony of the value to a civilization, which is living or which has disappeared, and its culture
(2) The exceptional representation of the value of a traditional settlement, its culture and its interaction with the environment
(3) The interchange of the value, on a geographical level or over a span of time
(4) The stakeholders or the level at which the value is experienced and appreciated

4.3.   *The values that conform to the principles of sustainability*

Traditional living communities, such as Taos Pueblo, have always been recognized as sustainable communities (Sitarz, 1993), and as sources for sustainable ideas (Steele, 1997). The traditional building materials, such as adobe, that are used in these communities have always been considered to enjoy sustainable qualities (Carroon, 2010; Woolley, 2000). The findings seemed to support the previous arguments. Many of the values that Taos Pueblo enjoys seemed to conform to the principles of sustainability. The sustainability qualities of seven values were found to contribute to their level of significance that is more likely to reach the outstanding universal level. These values are the architectural value, the townscape value, the landscape value, the functional value, the economic value, the social value and the political value.

Figure 3. The adaptability of the adobe houses in Taos Pueblo to new uses, such as gift shops, indicates one of the aspects of the property's inherent sustainability qualities.

The sustainability qualities of the architectural value might be attributed to the efficient use of energy and natural resources like water of the adobe buildings in Taos Pueblo (Duran, 2012). Inside Taos Pueblo, it is still prohibited to install electricity cables or water pipes (UNESCO, 1987). The local people use the river as their main source of water. The sustainability qualities of the architectural value are also attributed to the construction and conservation of the property using a traditional and a recyclable building material, which is earth, and to the construction of the adobe houses using a traditional and a clean technology. The flexibility of the design of the houses that tolerates the change of their uses also emphasizes such sustainability qualities (Fig. 3). The construction and the conservation of the buildings using a labor-intensive and a self-helping system, along with the traditional management system of the work that does not depend on contractors, emphasize these sustainable qualities.

The sustainability qualities of the townscape value might be attributed to the property's layout that supports pedestrians' movement; maximizes the use of open spaces, such as the main plaza; and incorporates a number of walkable urban spaces. The sustainability qualities of the landscape value are attributed to the property's traditional water system (Fig. 4). The adaptability of the property's houses to alternative functions seems to indicate the sustainability qualities of its functional value. The sustainability qualities of the economic value might be attributed to the property's traditional production system, represented by its agricultural and irrigation systems, and its traditional work system. The traditional work system that was adopted in Taos Pueblo, as an agricultural society, was characterized by its working time that extends from sun-rise to sun-set, which is a very energy efficient and a very sustainable system because it is a natural lighting oriented system. However, at present time, the local people seem to have adopted the modern work system (Spouce, 2012). The sustainability qualities of the social value might be attributed to the society's equal access to land ownership. Finally, the sustainability qualities of the political value might be attributed to the property's traditional political system that is locally-based and semi-autonomous political system.

4.4.   *Controversial aspects*

Some aspects of the values that Taos Pueblo enjoys might be argued to contradict with the general principles of sustainability. These aspects are associated with three values, which are the economic value, the political value and the religious value. Hunting, which has always been a common practice in many Native American tribes, seems to be the most controversial economic aspect. The most relevant example to the previous controversial aspect might be whale hunting practiced by the Makah tribe that is located in Washington State (Makah Home, 2012). When the Makah tribe resumed whale hunting in 1999 and hunted a large grey whale, many environmental groups, such as the Sea Shepherd Conservation Society, bitterly opposed such hunting as an unsustainable practice. Grey whales were listed on the list of the most endangered species, yet in 1994 they have been delisted. For Makah tribe, whale hunting is a tradition, the revival of which is very significant to emphasize their being a living culture. The International Whaling Commission has allowed Makah tribe to hunt a maximum of five whales annually (Gulliford, 2000). The controversy about whale hunting does not seem to be justified, since Native American tribes have always used traditional ways of hunting that are harmless to biodiversity. What should be considered an actual threat to biodiversity is the modern ways of hunting (Sitarz, 1993). Hunting in Taos Pueblo might be argued to represent an unsustainable practice. The main species that are hunted in Taos Pueblo are rabbits, deer and buffalo. Deer hunting in Taos Pueblo seems to have been considered a threat to biodiversity. It was argued that around 1880, deer hunting in Taos Pueblo caused the death of four thousand deer (Parsons, 1936 p. 19). The previous argument on the harmless effects of the traditional ways of hunting on biodiversity is relevant to Taos Pueblo where such traditional ways are adopted. The small size of traditional living communities, such as Taos Pueblo, in terms of the size of their population, should also be taken into consideration in such arguments.

Figure 4. The Red Willow Creek, which is the only source of water in the property since the installation of water pipes is totally banned.

The restrictions on women membership to the tribal council (Bodine, 1977) is another controversial aspect associated with the political value. Until present time, women are not allowed membership to the tribal council (Spouce, 2012). The theocratic government at Taos Pueblo and the limited opportunity for religious minorities to have a political representation in the government, which might be argued to constitute a discrimination against religious minorities, represent another controversial aspect associated with the political value. Bodine (1977) has indicated that in order for anyone to be elected to one of the four main governmental positions, he should have been initiated to the kivas religious system (Fig. 5). The initiation to the kivas is almost similar to baptism in churches in Christianity. Smith (1969) has cited a story that supports the previous argument about a young man in Taos Pueblo who has not been initiated to the kivas, consequently he has never been entitled to positions; such as the Governor, the Lieutenant Governor, the War Captain or the Lieutenant War Captain. The young man has never been entitled to the membership of the tribal council either.

The last controversial aspect is associated with the religious value. The controversy is associated with a historic instance that is referred to as the peyote controversy, which might be interpreted to represent religious intolerance. The peyote cult was introduced to Taos Pueblo in

1720. Those who joined the peyote cult were prejudiced since the cult was growing fast and was feared to threaten the kiva religion. Some of the peyote cult affiliates were prosecuted, while others were dismissed from their kiva membership (Smith, 1969). Although it was a historic instance, the conflict with the peyote people reflected the then traditional community's intolerance towards other growing religions that were feared to threaten its cultural and religious distinctiveness.

5   THE DISCUSSION

The previous controversial aspects might be argued to contradict with some principles of sustainability, particularly those concerned with social equity and empowering women and minorities. However, the previous controversial aspects should be interpreted in the context of another relevant sustainability principle, which is concerned with strengthening the local identity of traditional communities. Hunting, the theocracy of the tribal government, the limited-to-men tribal council, and the traditional religion that is associated with kivas have become the major intangible characteristics of Taos Pueblo. Therefore, when the local community restricted the peyote cult it was actually protecting its traditional culture and identity. The previous argument applies to the other controversial aspects. The World Monuments Fund's preservation project at Taos Pueblo seems to have supported the local community's efforts to preserve their intangible culture and identity. The objectives of this project will be to preserve the structures in the property and the traditional way of life that makes the local community unique (TAOS PUEBLO | World Monuments Fund, 2012). This traditional way of life should involve the local community's traditional governance, social and religious systems.

Figure 5. One of the kivas in Taos Pueblo, which are not accessible to visitors.

The ICOMOS Charter on the Built Vernacular Heritage seems to support the local community's efforts to safeguard their traditional culture and identity. The charter recommends that the local community's cultural identity should be respected (Charters and other doctrinal texts - International Council on Monuments and Sites, 2012). There are two other significant international documents that seem to support the local community's efforts to protect their identity, which are the "United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples" (United Nations, 2008) and the "Indigenous and Tribal Peoples Convention, 1989" (Convention C169 - Indigenous and Tribal Peoples Convention, 1989 (No. 169), 2012). Article 34 in the United Nations declaration, which states that "Indigenous peoples have the right to promote, develop and maintain their institutional structures and their distinctive customs, spirituality, traditions, procedures, practices and, in the cases where they exist, juridical systems or customs,

in accordance with international human rights standards" (United Nations, 2008 : 12), seems to support such local community's efforts.

6   CONCLUSIONS

The previous preview seems to indicate the significant contribution of Taos Pueblo's sustainability qualities and the criteria that are relevant to the concept of sustainability to the justification of its Outstanding Universal Value. These relevant criteria seem to involve the exceptional testimony of the property's values to a living civilization and the exceptional representation of these values of a traditional settlement and its interaction with the environment. The main features of the conservation project at Taos Pueblo seem to agree with the general principles of sustainable conservation. Nevertheless, some aspects of the property's values, such as hunting and the restrictions on women membership to the tribal council might be argued to contradict with the principles of sustainability.

Although some environmental groups accused tribal hunting as a threat to biodiversity, it seems that the real threat is the large scale hunting that uses modern technologies (Sitarz, 1993). The restrictions imposed on women's membership to the tribal council and the theocracy of the tribal government might be argued to contradict with the sustainability principles concerned with social equity and empowering women and minorities. However, these controversial aspects should be understood to represent the local community's struggle to protect their culture and identity. From this perspective, these controversial aspects should be regarded to agree with another sustainability principle concerned with strengthening the local identity of indigenous communities. Some international charters and conventions; such as the ICOMOS "Charter on the Built Vernacular Heritage", the "United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples", and the "Indigenous and Tribal Peoples Convention, 1989"; seem to support the local community's efforts to protect their traditional way of life.

The findings suggest that sustainable conservation projects of traditional living communities should respect these communities' unique culture and identity. Such projects should not focus on carrying out comprehensive changes to such communities to guarantee the conformity of all their inherent qualities to the principles of sustainability. Instead, these distinctive qualities should be considered to represent these communities' local identity that should be strengthened.

REFERENCES

Bodine, J. J. (1977). *Taos Pueblo, A Walk Through Time*. Santa Fe: Jene Lyon, Publisher.
Carroon, J. (2010). *Sustainable Preservation, Greening Existing Buildings*. New Jersey: John Wiley & Sons Inc.
Charters and other doctrinal texts (n.d.). International Council on Monuments and Sites [online]. Available at http://www.icomos.org/en/charters-and-texts [Accessed 25 April 2012].
Convention C169 (n.d.) Indigenous and Tribal Peoples Convention, 1989 (No. 169) [online]. Available at http://www.ilo.org/dyn/normlex/en/f?p=1000:12100:0::NO::P12100_INSTRUMENT_ID:312314 [Accessed 26 July 2012].
Cornerstones Community Partnerships (2009). *Annual Report 2009*. Santa Fe: Cornerstones Community Partnerships.
Duran, A. (2012). *Interview with A. G. Abdel Tawab, 23 May 2012, the director of the preservation project and the training centre at Taos Pueblo*. Taos Pueblo: the training centre at Taos Pueblo.
Feilden, B. M. (2003). *Conservation of Historic Buildings*. Oxford: Architectural Press.
Gulliford, A. (2000). *Sacred Objects and Sacred Places*. Boulder: the University Press of Colorado.
Gustafsson, C. & Rosvall, J. (2008). The Halland Model and the Gothenburg Model: a Quest Toward Integrated Sustainable Conservation. *City & Time*, 4(1): 15-30.
Haney, G. (2003). Castles and Community in Cape Coast, Ghana. In J. M. Teutonico & F. Matero, eds. Managing Change: Sustainable Approaches to the Conservation of the Built Environment. In *Proceedings of International Symposium, 5-8 April 2001, Philadelphia*. Los Angeles: Getty Publications.
HUDNo.   (2011-08-23).   Available   at http://portal.hud.gov/hudportal/HUD?src=/states/new_mexico/news/HUDNo.2011-08-23 [Accessed 24 July 2012].

Makah Home (n.d.). [Webpage] http://www.makah.com [Accessed 1 August 2012].

Mason, R. (2002). Assessing Values in Conservation Planning: Methodological Issues and Choices (Chapter 1). In M. de la Torre, ed. *Assessing the Values of Cultural Heritage.* Los Angeles: The Getty Conservation Institute. pp.5-30.

Parsons, E. C. (1936). *Taos Pueblo*. Menasha: George Banta Publishing Company Agent.

Pueblo Revolt. Wikipedia, the free encyclopedia, http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pueblo_Revolt (21.06.2012).

Rodwell, D. (2007). *Conservation and Sustainability in Historic Cities*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing Ltd.

Seth, S. & Seth, L. (1988). *Adobe! Homes and Interiors of Taos, Santa Fe and the Southwest*. Stamford: Architectural Book Publishing Company, Inc.

Siravo, F. (2003). Sustainability and the Planning of Historic Cities: The Experience of the Aga Khan Trust for Culture. In J. M. Teutonico & F. Matero, eds. *Managing Change: Sustainable Approaches to the Conservation of the Built Environment: Proceedings of International Symposium, 5-8 April 2001, Philadelphia*. Los Angeles: Getty Publications.

Sitarz, D. (1993). *AGENDA 21: The Earth Summit Strategy To Save Our Planet*. Boulder: EarthPress.

Smith, M. E. (1969). *Governing at Taos Pueblo*. Portales: Eastern New Mexico University.

Spouce, I. (2012). *Interview with A. G. Abdel Tawab, 23 May 2012, a tourist guide at Taos Pueblo tourism office.* Taos Pueblo: Taos Pueblo tourism office.

Steele, J. (1997). *Sustainable Architecture, Principles, Paradigms, and Case Studies*. New York: McGraw-Hill.

Taos Pueblo (n.d.). *UNESCO World Heritage Centre* [online]. Available at http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/492 [Accessed 27 July 2012].

Taos Pueblo | World Monuments Fund, http://www.wmf.org/project/taos-pueblo (24.07.2012).

Taos Pueblo Preservation Program (n.d.). *Taos Pueblo Preservation Program, Preserving our Past for our Future.* Taos Pueblo: Taos Pueblo Preservation Program.

Taos Pueblo to restore historic village (n.d.). The Taos News [online]. Available at http://www.taosnews.com/news/article_d26cb373-dbc4-51dd-9e34-c188577fac99.html?mode=story [Accessed 24 July 2012].

Throsby, D. (2003). Sustainability in the Conservation of the Built Environment: An Economist's Perspective. In J. M. Teutonico & F. Matero, eds. *Managing Change: Sustainable Approaches to the Conservation of the Built Environment, Proceedings International Symposium, 5-8 April 2001, Philadelphia,.* Los Angeles: Getty Publications.

Tyler, I. R. & Dilcher, A. K. (2010). Sustainable Heritage Conservation: Pere Marquette Railroad Depot in Michigan. *APT Bulletin*, 41(1): 21-26.

U.S. Green Building Council (2011). *LEED 2009 for Neigbhborhood Development*. Washington: U.S. Green Building Council.

UNESCO (1987). *Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage, World Heritage List, Nomination Submitted by the United States of America, Pueblo of Taos, New Mexico, 1987*. Paris: United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation.

UNESCO (2008). *Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention*. Paris: United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation.

UNESCO (n.d.). *Atlas of the World's Languages in danger* [online]. Available at http://www.unesco.org/culture/languages-atlas/ [Accessed 26 July 2012].

United Nations (2000). *Resolution adopted by the General Assembly, 55/2. United Nations Millennium Declaration*. New York: United Nations.

United Nations (2008). *United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples*. New York: United Nations.

[Webpage] http://www.undp.org/content/undp/en/home/ourperspective [Accessed 23 July 2012].

Woolley, T. (2005). Natural materials, 'zero emission' and sustainable construction. In N. Sterry, ed. *Terra 2000, 8th International Conference on the study and conservation of earthen architecture, Proceedings of International Conference, 11-13 May 2000, Devon*. London: James and James (Science Publishers) Ltd.

Sharing heritage?: the controversy over the multinational inscriptions on UNESCO's Intangible Heritage Lists

Bahar Aykan
Marmara University, Istanbul, Turkey

ABSTRACT: Unlike material cultural heritage that is fixed in a particular place, intangible heritage is not necessarily tied to a territory nor specifically located within the borders of a single country. The 2003 UNESCO Convention recognizes intangible heritage's transnational character and encourages States Parties to submit multinational nominations to its lists when intangible heritage is shared beyond national borders. Despite such encouragement, there have been very few multinational inscriptions on the Convention's lists so far. This article examines nationalistic approaches to intangible heritage as a major obstacle in this situation. States Parties often treat the Convention as a patent approval system and use its lists to claim ownership over shared cultural traditions. The listing of these traditions on behalf of a State Party generates international controversies over their origin and ownership. This article discusses Karagöz shadow theatre and traditional keşkek dish as cases in point.

1 INTRODUCTION

The concept of intangible heritage has received an increasing amount of international recognition in recent years. UNESCO's adoption of the 2003 *Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage* (ICH Convention) has no doubt played a major role in this recognition. The ICH Convention is the first, and so far the only, international instrument for the protection of intangible heritage.[1] It grew out of a widely shared concern within the international community that cultural diversity is on a significant decline throughout the world largely due to the processes of globalization and social transformation. Accordingly, the ICH Convention declared intangible heritage as the basis of the world's cultural diversity and called UNESCO member states to jointly take measures against the destruction and disappearance of this form of heritage.

　Rapidly and extensively ratified by 150 countries as of April 2013, the ICH Convention has made a very promising start. This Convention, however, is not without problems. While it aims to foster mutual respect between cultures and strengthen international cooperation for sustaining the world's intangible heritage, it has inadvertently caused disputes among some countries over the origin and ownership of intangible heritage. This article examines two such tensions that have recently occurred between Turkey and Greece and Turkey and Armenia.

Not long ago, UNESCO inscribed Karagöz shadow theatre (2009) and traditional keşkek dish (2011) on the Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity on behalf of Turkey.[2] Karagöz is also found in Greece and keşkek is likewise practiced in Armenia. In such situations where intangible heritage transcends national borders, the ICH Convention asks States Parties to collaborate for submitting multinational nominations. Turkey, however, chose to proceed alone with the nominations and contacted neither Greece nor Armenia for preparing a joint submission. The nomination forms prepared by the Turkish Ministry of Culture and Tourism (TMCT) disregarded the shared character of these traditions and identified them exclusively as Turkish heritage. Karagöz and keşkek's heritage listings were commonly welcomed in Turkey as a proof their Turkish origin. Claiming to be the authentic owner of these traditions, however, Greece and Armenia interpreted UNESCO's decisions as the "Turkification" of these traditions and accused Turkey of committing cultural theft.

In what follows, I first explore the transnational character of intangible heritage and then discuss the dominance of nationalistic approaches to intangible heritage as a major obstacle in viewingthis kind of heritage in transnational terms. Subsequently, I detail the discussions that occurred during theintangible heritage designation processes of Karagöz and keşkekthat caused tensions over theirorigin and ownership. I ultimately suggest that, while UNESCO aims to promote international cooperation for preserving the world's intangible heritage, contradicting these purposes, its intangible heritage program might cause nationalistic tensions and controversies among countries.

2 MULTINATIONAL INTANGIBLE HERITAGE

The historical underpinnings of the ICH Convention were laid down about three decades before it went into force in 2006. One of the foremost efforts for the global protection of cultural heritage was initiated by the *Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage*(WH Convention) in 1972. Although the WH Convention has played a pivotal role in structuring cultural heritage management mechanisms in the contemporary world, its limited definition of cultural heritage as monuments, group of buildings and sites was criticized for privileging Western perceptions and practices of material cultural heritage while ignoring its intangible aspects (Smith & Akagawa, 2009: 1).

Following the 1990s, UNESCO's approach to cultural heritage was broadened to cover intangible aspects of culture when the protection of cultural diversity, which was fueled by the widely shared fears that the process of globalization would erase the world's cultural differences and plurality, emerged as UNESCO's one of the key policy priorities (Logan, 2007a: 36). The organization addressed this issue directly following the appointment of Koiichiro Matsuura as UNESCO's Director-General in the late 1990's. Matsuura chose intangible heritage as one of the priority programs of UNESCO, causing the organization to conduct various expert meetings, conferences and regional gatherings to develop a new standard-setting instrument for safeguarding intangible heritage (Aikawa-Faure, 2009: 22). The ICH Convention was adopted subsequently in the 32nd session of the UNESCO General Conference in October 2003 without a dissenting vote (ibid: 13). Requiring thirty signatories to become operative, the Convention entered into force in April 2006 when Romania signed it as the 30th State Party (Logan, 2007a: 33).

At first glance, the ICH Convention resembles significantly the WH Convention in terms of its format. Just as the WH Convention, in the ICH Convention States Parties draw up inventories of heritage located on their territories, submit proposals for the inscription of itemized elements on UNESCO's Lists, and take necessary measures for their preservation. Nevertheless, the ICH Convention constitutes a unique instrument in the field of cultural heritage largely due to the specific character of its subject matter – that is the cultural elements to be safeguarded are "primarily without material form" and become existent only when performed (Blake, 2009: 45). In other words, intangible forms of heritage are "embodied in people rather than in inanimate objects and places" (Logan, 2007b: 215). Tim Curtis explains how people, as the bearers of cultural traditions, are fundamental to this form of heritage: "People speak, sing, dance, play, make music, perform rituals or engage in handicrafts using their bodies, and often specific impermanent objects. Required knowledge and skills are also lodged in humans" (2010: 1).

It is due to this lived aspect that intangible heritage often exceeds national borders. Location

and distribution of this form of heritage is contingent upon location and distribution of its bearers (Curtis, 2010: 1). National borders divide many cultural groups. These groups, however, continue to exist and so does their intangible heritage, by becoming heritage shared beyond national borders (UNESCO, 2010a: 2). Besides, intangible heritage spreads as people move and interact with each other. People migrate and bring their traditions with them not only to neighboring countries but also to geographically distant ones, or even if they do not move, cultural traditions may diffuse and be adopted by groups elsewhere (Curtis, 2010: 1).

The ICH Convention also recognizes this transnational character of intangible heritage. Authenticity, originality or uniqueness is not mentioned as a criterion when selecting cultural traditions for the Intangible Heritage Lists. The Convention instead adopts a community-based definition of intangible heritage, stating that any practice, knowledge or skill that is rooted in the cultural traditions of people and provide them a sense of belonging and shared identity can be considered as intangible heritage–on the condition that this tradition is in compliance with the international human rights instruments and the requirements of mutual respect among countries. The nominations to the Convention's lists are therefore evaluated regardless of their perceived origin or antiquity(UNESCO, 2010a: 10). In this logic, several States Parties could propose an inscription of the same element as long as the people that create, maintain and sustain itreside in their territories. To avoid the listing of same or similar elements on behalf of several countries, however, the Convention's Operational Directives requests States Parties to jointly submit multinational nominations. The Directives further indicates that a State Party could propose an extended inscription of an already listed element, provided that this element is also practiced within their territory.

In practice, however, the rate of multinational inscriptions has been quite low. As of April 2013, from 288 cultural elements that are registered in the Intangible Heritage Lists, only 16 of them are multinational. Nationalistic approaches to intangible heritage are a major factor in this situation. It is not uncommon that States Parties use these lists to claim ownership over shared cultural traditions. The ICH Convention is definitely not a patent approval system to portion out intangible heritage among countries. Nevertheless, when States Parties register cultural elements to the Intangible Heritage Lists, they assume to obtain their patent or to have them registered officially as their own traditions (Gürçayır, 2011:11). What's more, due to the prevalent belief that intangible heritage is the exclusive property of a single nation or a particular group of people, public acceptance that it could be shared beyond national borders remains an exception rather than the norm (Kyung-koo, 2012: 17).Due to this failure to view intangible heritage in transnational terms, single-nation inscriptions of shared intangible heritage often provokes international controversies regarding the origin and nationality of intangible heritage. The following sections discuss these nationalistic approaches to intangible heritage through the cases of Karagöz shadow theatre and traditional keşkek dish.

3 THE CASE OF KARAGÖZ

Karagöz and Karagiozis are related shadow theatre traditions of Turkey and Greece, respectively. This type of theatre is played out by two-dimensional figures that are usually made of camel skin rendered transparent with chemicals and then painted with natural dyes (Soganci, 2005: 35). Transmitted traditionally from the master puppeteer to his apprentices orally, it is an improvised performance. The figures are played out behind a white curtain that is illuminated by an oil lamp. A single puppeteer presents the whole show, performing all the figures, singing the songs and voicing each character with a specific accent (Halman, 2007: 141). The show is built around conversations between the two main characters of the play, Karagöz/Karagiozis, an uneducated, unemployed but smart ordinary man, and his friend and adversary Hacivat/Hadziavatis, a relatively better-off pseudo-intellectual man (Halman, 2007; Danforth, 1983).

Even though Karagöz was performed in the Ottoman Palace and in various elite circles, essentially it remained an entertainment of lower classes in both countries (Efe & Akşit, 2012: 79). This form of shadow theatre was traditionally performed in coffeehouses as a male-only event. The audience often identified themselves with the Karagöz/Karagiozis character, and his ambitions of gaining power and wealth (Smith, 2004: 190). Characterized by sexual humor and

political satire, the plays presented a bottom-up critique of those in positions of power (Öztürk, 2006: 292).

From the 20th century on, this type of shadow theatre has gradually lost its popularity both in Turkey and Greece largely due to the spread of modern forms of entertainment. Writing in the 1970 sin Turkey, a leading theatre historian Metin And remarked that: "… one can hardly see a Karagöz show since the art has sunk into oblivion, due to hard competition from the theatres and cinemas and later television. Even to buy good quality Karagöz figures today is almost impossible" (1975: 46). While Karagöz's current situation in Turkey is no different than that described by Metin And, the tradition is relatively more alive in Greece at the present (Efe & Akşit, 2012: 79). Following the 1960s, with the introduction of new plays with contemporary subjects, there has been a notable surge in interest in Karagiozis (Danforth, 1983: 281). When compared with Turkey, Greece has more Karagiozis artists and their plays attract more audience (Efe, 2012: 72).

Turkey, represented by the TMCT, successfully nominated Karagöz into the Representative List in 2009.[3] Whilethe country of origin and nationality of this shadow theatre has long been an issue of debate between Greece and Turkey, these debates have heated up during the UNESCO listing process of Karagöz.[4] In 2008, news reports about Greece's application to European Union to patent Karagiozis as its own tradition appeared in the mainstream Turkish media. Theissue has received considerable public attention in Turkey and sparked a national debate on the need to take measures for preventing Karagöz's appropriation by Greece. A widely held opinion was that, while Karagöz forms a part of Turkish heritage, it has been better embraced and sustained in Greece than in Turkey. Besides, Greece has been internationally promoting Karagöz as its own legacy. Hence, if Turkey does not take action to prove its Turkish origins, Karagöz will soon be internationally recognized as a Greek tradition. This view is expressed straightforwardly by the director of the Turkish National Commission for UNESCO, Öcal Oğuz: "If we don't take any precautions, Karagöz will migrate from us to Greece to settle down there. Greece even established a Karagöz museum. Karagöz and Hacivat are being used in tourist brochures that promote Greece. There are four hundred Karagöz puppeteers there" (Sabah, 2009).

It was in these circumstances that the TMCT began studies for the inscription of Karagöz on the Representative List. As discussed in the previous section, assigning ownership to intangible heritage is not in the spirit of the ICH Convention. Besides, the Convention encourages a multinational submission when an element is shared beyond national borders. Turkey, however, did not contact Greece for a joint nomination. On the contrary, thenominationwas seen as an opportunityto prove Karagöz's Turkish origins at the international level and to prevent Greece from asserting ownership claims over this tradition.

A lot of work was undertaken over quite a short period of time to submit a strong nomination. Having had a seat at the Intergovernmental Committee (the executive body of the ICH Convention)from 2006 to 2010, Turkey hosted the third session of the Committee Meeting in Istanbul in November 2008.[5] The TMCT saw this meeting as a chance to lobby for its Karagöz nomination and prepared a catalogue of Turkey's Karagöz figures titled "Colors of Shadow" to be distributed to the meeting participants. In the same year, the TMCT included Karagöz in the Turkish National Inventory for Intangible Heritage, to fulfill one of the five criteria outlined as necessary for inscribing cultural elements on the Representative List.[6] The TMCT also consulted with Karagöz artists, experts and representatives from relevant NGOs, research centers and universities while preparing the nomination file. Not unexpectedly, the file submitted to UNESCO did not mention that this form of shadow theatre exists in Greece as well. Identifying Karagöz as part of Turkish culture, the file instead claimed that this tradition is exclusively found within the borders of Turkey (UNESCO, 2009a: 3).

The media, state institutions and general public in Turkey widely welcomed the listing of Karagöz as a proof of its Turkish origins. Following the UNESCO listing, Turkish newspapers largely covered the news with headlines such as "UNESCO: Karagöz is Turkish", "UNESCO decided on the nationality of Karagöz" and "UNESCO ends debate, says Karagöz belongs to Turks". The government officials also interpreted UNESCO's decision as the certification of Karagöz's Turkishness. For instance, the then Culture and Tourism Minister, Ertuğrul Günay, claimed that with the decision of UNESCO it became evident that Karagöz is "a genuine motif, beauty and symbol of Anatolian Turkish tradition" (Hürriyet, 2009). The following, rather long,

excerpt from an article in Sunday's Zaman newspaper (2009) offers an excellent example of how, contrary to the spirit of the ICH Convention, the intangible heritage listing process of Karagöz is treated as a patent approval process: "UNESCO has ended the debate between Turkey and Greece over which country the shadow puppet traditions of Karagöz and Hacivat *belong to*, affirming that the figures are *part of the cultural heritage of Turkey and not Greece*…Turkey applied to UNESCO with the file, which was conferred over by a subcommittee... Debating over the issue, the *committee decided that the characters were indeed Turkish*. Following this initial stage, UNESCO's upper committee opened an application time window through Aug. 31, during which time Turkey prepared the necessary application materials to *patent the characters*" [Emph. added].

UNESCO's listing of Karagöz met with strong criticism in Greece, for it was interpreted as the Turkification of Karagiozis. Greek newspapers announced the news with headlines such as "UNESCO called Karagiozis as Turkish", "Karagiozis is Turkified", and "UNESCO gave Karagiozis a Turkish passport". UNESCO's decision also drew reaction from state authorities. The head of the Greek Culture and Tourism Ministry Modern Cultural Heritage Directorate, Teti Hatzinikolaou, criticized UNESCO's decision by claiming that Karagöz is actually a Greek cultural figure (Hürriyet Daily News, 2010). Foreign Ministry spokesman Grigoris Delavekouras also held a press conference regarding the issue where he argued that Karagiozis is an inseparable part of Greek culture (ibid). Explaining that according to the rules of the Convention a State Party could propose an extended inscription of an already listed element, Delavekouras announced that Greece will began studies for inscribing Karagiozis on the UNESCO list as well.

As of April 2013, Greece has not yet made any attempts to list Karagiozis. The matter was only brought before UNESCO during the 5th session of the Intergovernmental Committee held in Nairobi in 2010,when the Greek representative voiced reservations to the listing of Karagözon behalf of Turkey and made a statement about the significance of Karagiozis in Greek culture(UNESCO, 2010b: 48). Two years after the listing of Karagöz, a similar controversy arose, this time between Turkey and Armenia, when Turkey successfully nominated the traditional keşkek dish to the Representative List.

4 THE CASE OF KEŞKEK

Keşkek is the Turkish name given to a traditional dish made from meat and crushed wheat.[7] This dish is usually prepared in rural areas for special days such as weddings, funerals, circumcision ceremonies and religious festivals. The preparation of keşkek is very laborious and time consuming. Crushed wheat and minced meat are put in large cauldrons and left to cook for a long time (usually all night long) on a small fire, during which it is constantly stirred and pounded until the dish reaches a paste-like consistency. Keşkek is usually prepared as a ritual meal through collective work as many villagers contribute to the providing and the preparation of ingredients and partake in the cooking process (UNESCO, 2011: 3). While Turkey's keşkek tradition is mostly associated with the regions of Black Sea and Central Anatolia, it is practiced in the Aegean and Mediterranean regions as well (Sarı, 2011: 185).

This dish is also found in Armenia, where it is known by the name of harissa and considered as a national dish. The Armenian version is very similar to the Turkish one in terms of its preparation and cooking processes. Armenians, however, attribute quite different symbolic meanings to the dish. In their extensive study on Armenian cuisine, Petrosian and Underwood (2006: 63-67) explore the long history of harissa among Armenians and different symbolic meanings the dish conveyed over time. The authors point out that while harissa was traditionally offered as a charity meal especially by the Armenian Church, this tradition is now only preserved among Armenians that live in the Middle Eastern countries. Harissa was also prepared as part of the New Year festival that pagan Armenians celebrated in August and it was a popular dish in the regions around Mount Ararat where it was prepared for Christmas, Easter and for any other festive occasion. The dish, however, has taken a different meaning in modern Armenia as a "symbol of resistance", when it came to be prepared for the commemoration of Armenians died during the Ottoman siege of Musa Mountain in 1915. Most of the survivors of the event settled in Syria and Lebanon, and adopted there the Christian Community's tradition to prepare harissa as

a commemoration meal. When these survivors and their progeny resettled in Musaler village in Armenia, they brought this tradition with them and began to cook harissa to commemorate the 1915 events. Each September, the villagers prepare over one hundred cauldrons of harissa and share it with up to five thousand people coming from all over Armenia.

The cuisines of Armenia and Turkey have many dishes in common whose nationality is a long history of dispute between these countries. Keşkek, however, was not particularly a matter of such dispute before its heritage listing on behalf of Turkey. The studies to nominate keşkek for the Representative List was initiated by the TMCT in 2008 upon the request of various local intangible heritage boards across Turkey (UNESCO, 2011: 8). During the preparation of the nomination file, the TMCT consulted with the tradition-bearers and representatives of related voluntary associations and public institutions throughout Turkey (ibid). The TMCT chose to proceed alone with the nomination as in the case of Karagöz, and did not contact Armenia to prepare a joint submission. The nomination form the Ministry submitted to UNESCO presented keşkek as exclusively Turkish, without mentioning that this tradition is also alive and strong in Armenia (UNESCO, 2011: 2).

Perceived as the Turkification of harissa, UNESCO's listing of keşkek has elucidated strong public reaction and extensive media coverage in Armenia. A popular Internet news portal Armenia Now, for instance, announced the listing of keşkek with the headline "UNESCO puts Armenian harisa on the list of Turkish national dishes", stating that UNESCO's listing of Armenian harissa as a Turkish national dish has "outraged many in Armenia" (Mkrtchyan, 2011a). The article also featured the views of the president of an Armenian NGO calledthe Development and Preservation of Armenian Culinary Traditions (DPACT), Sedrak Mamulyan, who argued that "harisa can absolutely not be Turkish." Few days later, the DPACT held a press conference in Erivan to protest UNESCO's decision (Armenia News, 2011). Claiming Armenia as the authentic owner of the dish, the conference participants remarked that utensils, techniques and ingredients used in the preparation of harissa are entirely of Armenian origin. Subsequently, the DPACT formed a working group together with Armenian historians and ethnographers to collect historical facts and information on harissa with an aim of proving its Armenian origins, and then to make an appeal to UNESCO to have it annul the decision that declares harissa as a Turkish dish (Mkrtchyan, 2011b).The DPACT also called upon the Armenian Ministry of Culture to assist them in their efforts.

These Armenian protests to the listing of keşkek captured headlines in Turkish newspapers and television news reports. For instance, an article in the daily Milliyet (2011) titled "There is a Suitor for Keşkek", stated that Armenians have risen against UNESCO's decision that affirmed keşkek as a Turkish dish. The news report featured the views of Sedrak Mamulyan who argued that Armenia has two versions of this dish, harissa and kaşika, and the Turkish version is actually derived from the latter. The director of the Turkish National Commission for UNESCO, Öcal Oğuz, also issued a written statement in response to the Armenian protests to the listing of keşkek.[8] He remarked that if Armenia has a similar tradition and its bearers want to cherish and sustain it, the country can also conduct studies to protect this tradition and apply separately to UNESCO for its listing. What he did not mention, however, was that Turkey should have cooperated with Armenia at first place, as UNESCO asks States Parties with similar traditions to submit joint nominations, rather than to apply separately for their listing.

The working group formed by the initiative of the DPACT has not yet completed their studies, nor Armenia has applied to UNESCO for the listing of harissa so far. This controversy over the origin and ownership of the dish, however, has brought about new efforts to prevent neighboring countries from appropriating Armenian cultural traditions. The DPACT, together with an Armenian NGO called Generation for Armenian Identity Preservation Union and several experts, has recently formed another working group for the purpose of developing the profile of Armenian cultural heritage, pursuing research and raising public awareness to resist the claims of neighboring countries over the ownership of Armenian cultural traditions (Abrahamyan, 2012). There are also studies to get UNESCO to recognize tolma (a dish made of meat-stuffed grape leaves) as part of Armenia's intangible heritage, in response to the Azerbaijani claims over the ownership of the dish (EurasiaNet, 2011). There is no doubt that more disputes will arise in the region with regard to the nationality of intangible heritage.

5 CONCLUSION

These tensions that have occurred over the listing of Karagöz and keşkek exhibit the pervading influence of nationalistic understandings of intangible heritage in UNESCO's Intangible Heritage Program. The organization underlines the importance of multinational nominations for fostering international cooperation in preserving the world's living heritage. Its Intangible Heritage Program, however, is used by States Parties as a means to monopolize shared cultural traditions, i.e. to claim them as their own legacy and to prevent other countries to assert ownership over them. Cultural traditions can make the Convention's lists on behalf of a single State Party regardless of their shared character, because the designated criteria for inscription on these lists do not include any special requirement concerning multinational submissions. As cases of Karagöz and keşkek demonstrate, these inscriptions of shared heritage can create or heighten nationalistic tensions among countries.

UNESCO is not unaware of these tensions. In 2009, the organization held a regional meeting in Gangneung city in South Korea on East Asia's shared intangible heritage. The meeting gathered experts from the region, the USA and the United Arab Emirates to discuss possible measures for increasing the number of multinational nominations. The Gangneung Recommendation, which was adopted during the meeting, invited States Parties of the Convention as well as governmental and non-governmental organizations to encourage joint research for identifying shared heritage, create regional inventories, and cooperate for organizing education programs, cultural festivities and workshops on shared heritage (UNESCO, 2009b). The recommendation also called upon the Intergovernmental Committee to adopt criteria, guidelines and procedures for promoting multinational nominations. After the 2009 Meeting, UNESCO held another regional meeting on shared heritage in Bangkok in 2010. Thirty government representatives from Asia-Pacific region participated in that meeting, which consequently highlighted the significance of multinational inscriptions in strengthening international cooperation for safeguarding intangible heritage and in preventing conflicts among States Parties over the ownership of intangible heritage (Labadi, 2013: 140).

The Intergovernmental Committee also addressed problems surrounding the multinational nominations in its 7th session, and agreed to establish a voluntary information sharing mechanism to allow States Parties announce their plans for nominating an element and contact one another for preparing a joint nomination (UNESCO, 2012: 3).This mechanism is made public on the website of the Convention, andprovides a brief description of the element intended to be nominated as well as the contact information of the public institution responsible for preparing the nomination file.

These efforts are a step forward to move beyond the exclusive ownership claims of shared intangible heritage. Nonetheless, Sophia Labadi is right in suggesting that nationalistic understandings of intangible heritage cannot be overcome solely through meetings or some modifications in the ICH Convention's procedures (2013: 140).I think UNESCO should devote greater attention to this problem, and should work towards establishing policies, programs and practices in order to encourage the international community to consider intangible heritage in transnational terms and to reverse the prevailing tendency to treat the ICH Convention as a patent approval system.

ENDNOTES

[1] The ICH Convention identifies intangible heritage in a wide range of cultural domains, including "oral traditions and expressions, performing arts, social practices, rituals and festive events, knowledge and practices concerning nature, the universe, and traditional craftsmanship" (UNESCO, 2008: 11). It states that this type of heritage includes practices, skills, knowledge and expressions that are constantly recreated by people and transmitted from one generation to the next, providing them with a sense of shared identity and continuity (ibid). The purposes of the Convention are to safeguard and ensure respect for intangible heritage, to raise awareness at the local, national and international levels of the significance of this kind of heritage andto provide international cooperation and assistance for protecting it (ibid).

[2] The ICH Convention has two listings. The principal list is called the Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity. This list includescultural traditions that are representative of the

world's cultural diversity, whose viability is at no direct risk of disappearance. The second list is called the List of Intangible Cultural Heritage in Need of Urgent Safeguarding, which includescultural traditions that are under the risk of disappearance and arein need of immediate safeguarding measures. As of April 2013, 257 elements were inscribed on the Representative List and 31 elements were inscribed on the Urgent Safeguarding List.

[3] National intangible heritage protection schemes were largely absent in Turkey before it became a party to the ICH Convention on 27 March 2006. Turkey has been one of the most active members of the ICH Convention in its participation in the drafting stages and legislation of the Convention. In September 2002, Turkey hosted the Third Roundtable on Intangible Heritage and Cultural Diversitythat brought together Ministers of Culture from 72 countries (Deacon et al., 2004: 18). The roundtable adopted the Istanbul Declaration,which was pivotal for the early drafting of the ICH Convention (Aikawa-Faure 2009: 35). Moreover, Turkey had a seat at the Intergovernmental Committee for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritagefrom 2006 to 2010. Turkey also hosted the third session of Intergovernmental Committee meeting in Istanbul in November 2008. In addition to Karagöz and keşkek, Turkey has eight other cultural elements that are inscribed on the Representative List as of April 2013: Arts of the Meddah, public story-tellers (2008), Mevlevi Sema Ceremony (2008), Anatolian Aşıklık (minstrelsy) tradition(2009), Alevi-Bektaşi Semah ritual (2010), Kırkpınar Oil Wrestling Festival (2010), Traditional Sohbet (conversation) Meetings (2010), and MesirMacunu Festival (2012).Together with Azerbaijan, India, Iran, Kyrgyzstan, Pakistan, and Uzbekistan, Turkey also submitted a multinational nomination file for the Nevruz Festival, which was inscribed on the Representative List in 2009. For a discussion on the heritage designation process of Nevruz and political motives that influenced Turkey's participation in the submission of Nevruz multinational file, see Aykan, 2012: 323-326.

[4] Metin And suggests that shadow theatre has its roots in the Far Eastern cultures of Java, China and India, and came to Ottoman Empire from the Far East around the 16th century possibly through Egypt (1975: 29). There is no conclusive proof, however, as to where Karagöz actually originated (ibid: 34). Another theory as to the origins of the shadow theatre is advanced by Hermann Reich, who claims that this form of theatre was in fact originated in Ancient Greece and spread later to the East (Halman, 2007: 141). Metin And rejects this theory arguing that we can find no record of shadow theatre in Ancient Greece (1975: 21).

[5] The Intergovernmental Committee is responsible for the implementation of the ICH Convention, preparation of its Operational Directives, evaluation of the international assistance requests by States Parties, examination of the reports submitted by States Parties and decision of the elements to be inscribed on the Intangible Heritage Lists (UNESCO 2008: 13-14).

[6] See Operational Directives I.1 and I.2 for the designated criteria for inscription on the Intangible Heritage Lists.

[7] While it is difficult to trace the origins of keşkek, in a highly cited article, Françoise Aubaile-Sallenave suggests that keşkek is originally an Iranian dish, but it is no longer known in contemporary Iran (2000: 126).

[8]The statement can be accessed at: http://www.unesco.org.tr/dokumanlar/basın_aciklamasi/toren_k_d.pdf.

REFERENCES

Abrahamyan, G. (2012). National Heritage: Initiative group forms in Armenia to protect non-material cultural values [online]. Available at http://www.armenianow.com/news/37100/armenia_arts_culture_cultural_heritage_ngos [Accessed 25 April 2013].

Aikawa-Faure, N. (2009). From the Proclamation of Masterpieces to the Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage. In L. Smith & N. Akagawa, eds. *Intangible Heritage.* New York: Routledge. pp.13-44.

Armenia News (2011). Armenian youth to appeal decision recognizing Harissa as Turkish dish [online]. Available at http://news.am/eng/print/84844.html [Accessed 21 April 2013].

And, M. (1975). *Turkish Shadow Theatre.* Ankara: Dost.

Aubaile-Sallenave, F. (2000). Al-Kishk: the past and present of a complex culinary practice. In S. Zubaida& R. Tapper, eds. *A Taste of Thyme: Culinary Cultures of the Middle East.* London: Tauris Parke. pp.105-139.

Aykan, B. (2012). *UNESCO ve Kültürel Mirasın Milliyeti (UNESCO and the Nationality of Cultural Heritage).* In P. M. Yelsalı Parmaksız, ed. *Neye Yarar Hatıralar? Bellek ve Siyaset Çalışmaları.* Ankara: Phoenix. pp.303-337.

Blake, J. (2009). "UNESCO's 2003 Convention on Intangible Cultural Heritage: the implications of community involvement in 'safeguarding.' In L. Smith & N. Akagawa, eds. *Intangible Heritage.* New York: Routledge. pp.45-73.

Curtis, T. (2010). Intangible Heritage Beyond Borders: Safeguarding through International Cooperation [online]. ICH Courier 4: 1. Available at http://www.ichcap.org/en/publications/publicationView.jsp?.

Danforth, L. M. (1983). Tradition and Change in Greek Shadow Theater. *The Journal of American Folklore,* 96 (381): 281-309.

Deacon, H., L. Dondolo, M. Mrubata, S. Prosalendis, & Human Sciences Research Council (2004). *The Subtle Power of Intangible Heritage: legal and financial instruments for safeguarding intangible heritage.* Cape Town: HSRC Publishers.

Efe, P. (2012). Modernleşme Sürecinde Karagiozis (Karagiozis in theModernizationProcess). *Toplumsal Tarih,* 228: 72-78.

Efe, P. & Akşit A. (2012). Gölge Oyunu Açısından Türkiye-Yunanistan Mukayesesi (Turkey-Greece Comparison in terms of Shadow Play). *ToplumsalTarih*, 228: 79.

EurasiaNet. (2011). *Armenia: More Fallout from UNESCO's Culinary Heritage Decision* [online]. Available at http://www.eurasianet.org/node/64651 [Accessed 22 April 2013].

Gürçayır, S. (2011). A Critical Reading on the Convention for the Safeguarding Intangible Cultural Heritage. *MilliFolklor*, 23(92): 5-12.

Halman, T. S. (2007). *Rapture and revolution: essays on Turkish literature*. Syracuse: Syracuse University Press.

Hürriyet (2009). *Karagöz ile Hacivat Türklerinsanatı (Karagöz and Hacivat is the art of Turks)* [online]. http://arama.hurriyet.com.tr/arsivnews.aspx?id=12506264 [Accessed 15 April 2012].

Hürriyet Daily News (2010). *Karagöz not Turkish, Greek ministry says* [online]. Available at http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/default.aspx?pageid=438&n=turkish-karagoz-confuses-greek-minds [Accessed 16 April 2012].

Kyung-koo, H. (2012). Paradigm Shift: Advocacy for Safeguarding Cultural Diversity. *Koreana*. Autumn: 14-17.

Labadi, S. (2013). *UNESCO, Cultural Heritage, and Outstanding Universal Value: value-based analyses of the World Heritage and Intangible Cultural Heritage Conventions*. Maryland: AltaMira Press.

Logan, W. S. (2007a). Closing Pandora's Box: Human Rights Conundrums in Cultural Heritage Protection. In H. Silverman & D. F.Ruggles, eds. *Cultural Heritage and Human Rights.* New York: Springer. pp.33-52.

Logan, W. S. (2007b). Reshaping the 'Sunburnt Country': Heritage and Cultural Politics in Contemporary Australia. In R. Jones & B. J. Shaw, eds. *Geographies of Australian Heritages: loving a sunburnt country?*. Hampshire: Ashgate. pp.207-223.

Milliyet (2011). Keşkegetalipcikti (There is a Suitor for Keşkek), 07 Aralık 2011. Available at http://gundem.milliyet.com.tr/-keskek-e-talip-cikti-/gundem/gundemdetay/07.12.2011/1472033/default.htm [Accessed 30 April 2013].

Mkrtchyan,G. (2011a). Cuisine and Culture: UNESCO puts Armenian harisa on the list of Turkish national dishes [online]. Available at http://armenianow.com/news/33816/unesco_world_heritage_harisa [Accessed 17 April 2013].

Mkrtchyan,G. (2011b). Stir this UNESCO!: Food fight underway to annul slight over harisa [online]. Available at http://www.armenianow.com/arts_and_culture/33967/armenia_turkey_harisa_unesco_food_dish [Accessed 17 April 2013].

Öztürk, S. (2006). Karagöz Co-Opted: Turkish Shadow Theatre of the Early Republic (1923-1945). *Asian Theatre Journal*, 23(2): 292-313.

Petrosian I. & D. Underwood (2006). *Armenian Food: Fact, Fiction & Folklore*. Bloomington: Yerkir Publishing.

Sabah (2009). "Karagöz" gerginliği (Karagöz tension) [online]. Available at http://arsiv.sabah.com.tr/2009/03/06/haber,F35161C1DBFA4A9681ABA736C167C960.html [Accessed 14 April 2013].

Sarı, E. (2011). Keşkek in the Culinary Culture of Kurşunlu: Its Past, Present, and Future. *MilliFolklor*, 23(90): 185-194.

Smith, J. (2004). Karagöz and Hacivat: Projections of Subversion and Conformance. *Asian Theatre Journal*, 21(2): 187-193.

Smith, L. & N. Akagawa. (2009). Introduction.In L. Smith & N. Akagawa, eds. *Intangible Heritage.* New York: Routledge. *pp.*1-9.

Soganci, I. O. (2005). Re-attaching the Detached: In-class Critical Analysis of Popular Media Images of "Karagoz". *Art Education*, 58(3): 33-39.

Sunday's Zaman (2009). UNESCO ends debate, says Karagöz belongs to Turks [online]. Available at http://www.todayszaman.com/newsDetail_getNewsById.action?load=detay&link=185981 [Accessed 13 April 2013].

UNESCO (2008). *Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage: Basic Texts*. Paris: UNESCO.

UNESCO   (2009a).   *Karagöz   Nomination   Form*   [online].   Available   at http://www.unesco.org/culture/ich/RL/00180 [Accessed 14 April 2013].

UNESCO (2009b). Gangneung Recommendation on the Common Intangible Cultural Heritage [online]. Available at http://www.unesco.or.kr/upload/data_center/20091125_Recommendation_Gangneung.pdf [Accessed 26 April 2013].

UNESCO (2010a). *Background Paper for UNESCO Meeting Intangible Heritage Beyond Borders: Safeguarding Through International Cooperation, 20 and 21 July 2010, Bangkok* [online]. Available at http://www.unesco.org/culture/ich/doc/src/07384-EN.pdf [Accessed 23 April 2013].

UNESCO (2010b). *Intergovernmental Committee for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage: 5th   Session*   [online].   ITH/10/5.COM/CONF.202/4.   Available   at http://www.unesco.org/culture/ich/index.php?pg=00272 [Accessed 14 April 2013].

UNESCO (2011). Ceremonial Keşkek Tradition Nomination Form [online]. Available at http://www.unesco.org/culture/ich/RL/00388 [Accessed 18 April 2013].

UNESCO (2012). *Mechanism for sharing information to encourage multinational nominations* [online]. TH/12/7.COM/14. Available at http://www.unesco.org/culture/ich/index.php?lg=en&pg=00430 [Accessed 22 April 2013].

The rented bride: *Madama Butterfly* and the commoditization of women in opera

Brett Cooke
Texas A&M University, College Station, Texas, USA

ABSTRACT: Opera's core repertory includes a number of female characters who are regarded as if they, or at least sexual access to them, were items of commerce. Some are given in marriages as prizes at contests. Others offer their bodies in trade. The most prominent of these is the title character of Puccini's *Madama Butterfly*, a Japanese geisha rented by a visiting American sailor in a temporary marriage. The depiction of these "bartered brides" conformsto Bateman's Principle, whereby the gender with greater reproductive potential will become the object of competition by the other. This especially applies to women perceived to be of high reproductive potential, such as Butterfly. Combined with the problem of paternal uncertainty, however, this higher valuation leads not to improved status but rather to greater subjugation of women. In many popular operas women characters are subjected to exposure, constraint and mistreatment, often resulting in their undeserved demise.

1   BUTTERFLY'S VIGIL

The aesthetic success of Giacomo Puccini's *Madama Butterfly* is all the more remarkable when we consider the paucity of incident in this extremely popular opera. The plot can be summarized in only a few sentences.

> Pinkerton, a naval officer temporarily stationed in Nagasaki, brokers from Goro a lease for a house and a marriage contract to the 15-year-old Cio-Cio-San, both of which he can easily annul. He tells the American consul Sharpless he later intends to find an American wife. Their wedding is interrupted by her uncle the Bonze, a Buddhist priest irate at her conversion to Pinkerton's Christianity. Pinkerton insults her family and ushers them away. He then escorts her into their bridal chamber.
>
> Act II takes place three years later. Cio-Cio-San and her servant Suzuki continue to wait for the long absent Pinkerton. When Sharpless tells her Pinkerton will not return, she presents their young son. A cannonshot in the harbor announces the return of the *USS Lincoln.* Cio-Cio-San decorates the house for his arrival. They watch all night long. Pinkerton, however, escorts his American wife, Kate; they have come to claim the boy. Cio-Cio-San sends word that he must come alone; when he does so, she commits ritual suicide.

This slim plot derives from David Belasco's one act play of the same title, yet it suffices to motivatealmost two and a half hours of music. Whether there are one or two intermissions—this depends on the division of the second act into two scenes—*Butterfly* easily constitutes a full evening's entertainment. And it does so everywhere operas are staged, including in Japan—an

issue we shall return to. From 2007 to 2011 *Butterfly* was the seventh most produced opera in the world(www.operabase.com). Obviouslya wide range of people like to watch it, again and again.

Our problem only waxes when we take note of the lack of incident and variety in the opera. There is only one set, Cio-Cio-San and Pinkerton's house, albeit some productions will revolve the stage in order to give different perspectives. Termed "a very simple story" by Jan van Rij, there are no complicating subplots (van Rij, 2001: 17).Like the Japanese art Puccini and his librettists, Giuseppe Giacosa and Luigi Illica, tried to imitate, *Butterfly* is confident in its simple theme and the means of presenting it. Their several revisions generally pared it down to its core. Puccini wrote at the time that the opera is "a little drama which, once begun, must proceed without interruption to the end" (Puccini, 1974: 158).

A particular case in point is one of the most unusual passages in all of opera, the twelve minute orchestral intermezzo between the two scenes of Act II. Accompanied by a wordless and unique humming chorus, Cio-Cio-San, Suzuki, and the boy watch in the distance for Pinkerton's approach. Their nightlong vigil is often staged with their sitting tatami-style facing *the back* of the stage. If there is a second intermission, it interrupts this passage, which in effect adds to the perceived length of Butterfly's night-long vigil.

Some of the opera's remarkable prominence can be attributed to its beautiful music—*Butterfly* is Puccini's most acclaimed score and there are manyrecordings. Nevertheless excerpts from the opera, especially its instrumental intermezzo, are rarely performed at concerts or separately recorded. Its attraction relies on its carefully selected dramatic situation. Our question is how this single incident elicits such nearly universal attention. Puccini was especially careful in his selection of material for his work: "I shall never be able to work on a subject, if I am not fully convinced about it first" (Puccini, 1974: 177). Once selected, he and his librettists strived to maintain the dramatic continuity of the developing work. In the case of *Butterfly*, there were three stages of revision after the Milan premiere in 1904. The fourth version, first staged in Paris in 1906, is the basis of most productions today.

Apparently the opera is ultimately based on an actual case, where a Western man contracted a temporary marriage to a Japanese woman in Nagasaki sometime during the last third of the nineteenth century. In 1897 Jennie Conrad related this to her brother, John Luther Long, who used it as the basis for a popular novella the following year.[1] Also drawing on the writings of Pierre Loti, including his novel *Madame Chrysanthème*(1887),David Belasco adapted the storyin 1900 for the London stage—where Puccini encountered it.[2] Although the composer's English, by all accounts, was rudimentary, he immediately requested the right to set the play to music. And his favorite moment was that same silent vigil.

How can it be that a motionless, indeed, wordless, scene can hold our attention for so long? Nothing in its course changes the dramatic situation. Indeed, the same could be said for the preceding fifty minutes of Act II's first scene. Her faith in his affection, in the protection of women per American divorce law, and all her demonstrates of her commitment to him, will all be betrayed: Pinkerton never intends to return to Butterfly. Despite the attempts of all who surround her, especially the humane Sharpless, to get her to face this likelihood, she continues to believe in Pinkerton's fidelity—until she sees his American wife.

So the situation barely, if at all, changes. Indeed, the much-watched *Butterfly* repeats a common theme that had fascinated readers of Loti and Long, and Belasco's audiences: only a few steps above a prostitute, Butterfly is a rented bride—and that seems to account for much of her enormous fascination.

2 INTEREST AND ADAPTIVENESS

Attention is somatically expensive, if only due to the costs of evolving and growing the necessary nervous tissue to maintain it. Notably, in one fashion or another, it shared by an enormous range of species; given that this may take many forms—it is difficult to conceive of an exception. The rationale is obvious: if a threat or an opportunity is likely to exert a strong influence on one's inclusive fitness—the prospects for transmitting one's genetic patterns into the next generation—then it would seem wise to at least turn one's mind or at least nervous system to it. However, because there is such a multitude of phenomena present or pending in most environ-

ments, the mind has to choose amongst sensory inputs, focusing on likely threats/opportunities, at the expense of others which are "tuned out." Static input usually leads to habituation.

Whether or not the arts provide adaptive benefit for their consumers, their primary "intent" is to attract and hold attention, even if at some cost to the consumer. Operas provide a convenient test for such positions, inasmuch as the same thirty or so works, including *Butterfly*, are repeatedly staged throughout Europe and the European settled world, while making inroads into Asia. Consequently, in the course of a normal lifespan an operagoer is likely to watch *Butterfly* more than just several times. And happily so. One of the marks of a great classic is that, instead of engendering tedium, it will elicit ever deepened appreciation. This is even the case when the outcome is known in advance—opera programs typically include synopses and the denouement is often forecast in the thematic and harmonic structure.

Few will be surprised that *Butterfly* does not have a happy ending. In her infamous *Opera or the Undoing of Women* Catherine Clément noted all the "signs of death" in the opera;with her eye fixed on *Butterfly*, she complained, with slight exaggeration, "all the women in opera die a death prepared for them by a slow plot, woven by furtive, fleeting heroes, up to their glorious moment: a sung death" (Clément, 1988: 45). Perhaps it should concern us that this formula works so well. John Bell Young is hardly alone in calling *Butterfly* "one of the most moving, communicative, and emotionally cathartic inventions in the history of music and, I dare say, theater, as well" (Young, 2008: 100) Indeed, Young terms it "the most innovative of grand operas," citing the humming chorus as unique in the art form (Young, 2008: 96, 119).

Opera directors typically count on Puccini's operas to attract audiences and benefactors; it is a rare season that does not include one of his masterpieces. They expect that *Butterfly, La Boheme, Tosca,* and *Turandot* will assure them the packed houses and ticket sales that will enable them to stage other works. Furthermore, opera is an expensive medium—whether to attend or to produce—but it is also one that enjoys superior cultural prestige. Thus widely recognized successes like *Butterfly* beg for close scrutiny.

As a means of attracting widespread attention, opera narratives typically focus on major threats and opportunities, especially including death and marriage—both of occur in *Butterfly*. In other words, the stakes have to be substantial. It is a rare crime in opera that does not rise to the level of homicide. Admittedly, mere robbery is depicted in Puccini's next opera, *Girl of the Golden West*, while the title character of his earlier *Manon Lescaut* is exiled for being a card shark. Closer to the norm for the repertory as a whole, two of the three central characters in *Tosca* are murdered and the third leaps to her death.

The premiere of *Butterfly* at Milan's La Scala was a nearly complete failure. Much of this can be attributed to local opera politics inasmuch as the composer's enemies apparently engineered a hostile reaction. Puccini and his librettists withdrew the work after that disastrous first night and subjected it to substantial revisions before relaunching *Butterfly* in Brescia and, after yet more revisions, in London and then Paris. It was a triumph and has stayed so ever since. It is interesting to think that in this process he reduced references to West-Asia relations, themselves an emotionally fraught frame, so as to focus on the more stereotypical issue of male-female relations. Arthur Groos observes, "the early conception of the opera [was] as a tragedy of East-West relations, in which the principal characters are agents of impersonal cultural forces that determine their actions" (Groos, 1994: 185). He says the Paris version omitted much of the Japanese local color and Pinkerton's cultural slurs (Groos, 1994: 171). Now generally viewed as the canonical version, it reflects the "revised emphasis of the opera on individual differences rather than on national stereotypes" (Groos, 1994: 189).

We do better to examine Butterfly and Pinkerton as representatives not of their cultures, but of their genders, especially the tactics men and women pursue in all patriarchal societies to assure themselves reproductive success (Buss, 1995). Consider the reason for Butterfly's long vigil, whether we have in mind just the final night or all three years of Pinkerton's absence. If he returns to her, Butterfly will be, as she often says, "the happiest woman in Japan." If like all the other foreign "husbands" who never returned—so we are informed by Suzuki—he fails to continue their marriage, she will be in a situation she regards as worse than death.

An additional means of increasing dramatic interest is to counterpoise conflicting adaptation strategies. Butterfly and Pinkerton constitute a representative clash of typical male and female sexual ambitions. She seeks a dependable source of emotional and material support in her American husband. As the gender with the more limited reproductive potential, it follows that

she would seek a safe investment. Men, who enjoy virtually unlimited potential, have the option of "spreading their seed." Pinkerton, like the prototypical sailor, dreams of having "a girl in every port." Indeed, Pinkerton openly sings of this aim in the first act, adding to this his ambition to then marry a fellow American. Clearly these trajectories are incompatible, as is the stuff of so many narratives that concern "the battle of the sexes."

Opera, however, like most narratives does not focus on the typical and normal, but rather on extremes of behavior. One vehicle for attracting and holding attention is to depict lifestyles at or just beyond the fringe of viability. Certainly we have a morbid interest in marginal, even counterintuitive, tactics, if only as a check on our own actions. According to Joseph Carroll, "the life history of every species forms a reproductive cycle" end (Carroll, 2008: 242). As a result we carry an internal model of expectations per species typical behavior, especially with regard to behaviors which pertain to mortality and reproductive success. We use this as a benchmark for evaluating other people, including fictional characters; this is, of course, a model that is conditioned by cultural context and individual experience. We construct expectations as to how people typically pursue inclusive fitness and we quickly calculate, often in a subconscious manner, the degree by which they deviate from those standards. We thus immediately notice, indeed are fascinated by, any deviations to species typical behavior. As Brian Boyd recently deduced, this standard is what makes stories possible (Boyd, 2009: 28). For example, Butterfly sells her reproductive potential to Pinkerton for a mere 100 Yen. She is cheap in the literal sense. Notably her cousin refused the same deal from Goro. GivenPinkerton's inclination for philandering, it is obvious to all that their "marriage" is misbegotten and provides a poor basis for raising children. Butterfly thus foolishly sacrifices her inclusive fitness, a goal believed by evolutionary psychologists to be the prime motive for everyone's action. As with prostitutes, one asks: why would she willingly do this?

3 BARTERED BRIDES

One part of that model for all species-typical behavior is expressed by Bateman's Principle. In1948 the British geneticist A. J. Bateman observed much greater variance in reproduction in fruit flies amongst males than females. Since, as he theorized, females have much less than males to gain from having multiple sexual partners, he deduced that the gender with the more limited reproductive potential will more likely be the object of competition by the other sex. Thus in most species, including our own, males will contend, even fight, over reproductively promising females, while the reverse relationship is relatively rare.[3] This pattern so underlies our expectations that we take it for granted. Male sexual competition appears in innumerable narratives, including most operas.

There is no such competition represented in *Butterfly*, but Batemen's Principle helps explain the special attention paid to the title character's reproductive potential, as compared to Pinkerton's. That a sailor may attempt to "spread his seed" generates little anxiety, given that his potential is virtually infinite. But Butterfly, like any woman, has only a very limited possible number of offspring; she is constrained by her supply of gametes and, moreover, yet more by her capacity to care for and raise them to maturity. Thus it matters to us that she squanders it on so unworthy a man. Audiences thus typically tolerate such great asymmetries in the depiction of gender.

Since potential female reproductivity is very limited, compared to the vast potential of men, it bears inherent value. This is not necessarily correlated with social status: on the contrary, this increased valuation may motivate their subjugation. Women are often treated as property to be won and held, as we often see in the operas of Richard Wagner, much admired by Puccini. In *Der fliegende Holländer* Daland trades his daughter Senta for the Dutchman's treasure. In *Götterdämmerung* Siegfried wins Brünnhilde for Gunther in exchange for the latter's sister, Gutrüne. Wotan pays for the building of Valhalla with Freia; because she grows the "golden apples" of eternal youth—a convenient expression of Batemen's Principle—helater buys her back with *DasRhinegold*.Some are given out as prizes. Viet Pogner offers his daughter Eva in marriage to the winner of a singing contest in Wagner's *Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg*. There is a similar outcome in his *Tannhauser,* where the title character wins Elisabeth's hand in a singing contest at the Wärtberg. We see similar patterns with to other composers, Baba the Turk is auc-

tioned with the rest of Tom Rakewell's possessions in Igor Stravinsky's *The Rake's Progress*. Puccini used the prize device in *Turandot* where Princess Turandot offers herself to any man of noble rank who can answer her three riddles, all undertaken at the possible price of their heads. That opera begins with the beheading of a failed suitor. We should also mention Carl Maria von Weber's *Der Freischütz*, wherein Max wins Agathe at a shooting contest.

Similar, albeit less direct, transactions are presented in other operas. The heroine of Puccini's *Tosca* offers her body to Scarpia in a vain attempt to save her lover Cavaradossi; of course, she never intends to go through with this obscene agreement; rather she uses it as a means to kill the evil baron. A similar deal fails in Umberto Giordano's *Andrea Chenier*. Puccini played the same hand in his next opera, where Minnie, his *Fanciulla del West* (*Girl of the Golden West*), makes a similar gamble with Sherriff Jack Rance for the life of Dick Johnson; fortunately, she holds the winning cards. The title character in Mozart's *Le nozze di Figaro* (*The Marriage of Figaro*) puts himself up as collateral for a loan from Marcellina. Figaro is one of the few exceptions where a male is equated with capital. Another is Smetana's *The Bartered Bride*, where Jenik barters himself as a means of having his cake (getting the money) and eating it (marrying his beloved). Meanwhile, the central theme of *Figaro* is yet more obscene: the Count Almaviva demands his *right of the first night* from his servant Suzanna, Figaro's bride. Of course, we are relieved to see that all of these are unholy alliances which do not come to pass.

Butterfly is an extreme case of this pattern of commoditization for at least two reasons. First of all, she literally is a rented wife. In the opening scene we note that Goro brokers both the lease on Pinkerton's house and the arrangement of his marriage to Butterfly. Per the laws of Japan extant at the time, as represented in the opera, both contracts are easily annulled. As a result, Butterfly has no assurance of material aid should she bear a child, an eventuality which comes to pass in the second act where she is running out of money. Had she not gotten pregnant by Pinkerton, his desertion would not be so costly, but now she is burdened with a son. Notably she names him "Dolore" ("Sorrow"), planning to rename him "Goia" ("Joy") when his father returns.

Secondly, Butterfly willingly enters into the bond. Most of the bartered unions mentioned above are viewed as an evil which threatens the positive heroes but usually do not come to pass. In *Das Rheingold* Freia is reclaimed by her family, but not before provoking fatal violence between her captors: the giant Fasolt kills his brother Fafner to claim the gold for himself. Unable to pay off his loan, Figaro is obligated to marry Marcellina, but at the last minute he is discovered to be her long lost son, a most fortuitous and unlikely turn of events. In the case of the contests for women, there is the prospect that someone other than the prize's beloved will prevail and that she will be forced into an unhappy marriage. Fortunately, Walter von Stoltzing wins the singing competition and Eva in *Die Meistersinger* and Elisabeth is gratified to see her beloved Tannhäuser prevail at the Wartburg. Princess Turandot is vexed to see Prince Calaf correctly answer her riddles, but he soon solves her heart and the ending of Puccini's last opera is a happy one, as it is in *Fanciulla* where Minnie holds the winning cards. Suzanna and Figaro outwit Count Almaviva, thus ending *Figaro* with their marriage. The major exception is Brünnhilde, who plots the murder of her erstwhile lover Siegfried, bringing about the "Twilight of the Gods."

4   FEMALE MATE VALUE

Butterfly is also a willing, even enthusiastic participant in her union. She repeatedly insists on being addressed as "Mrs. B. F. Pinkerton."[4] We are told that the day prior to her wedding, Cio-Cio-San visited an American mission to convert to Christianity and thereby share Pinkerton's religion—at the cost of her family disowning her, thus further isolating her. She tries to learn American ways, albeit in a faulty manner. During the ceremony she bows down to kiss Pinkerton's hand, thinking this to be a common Western form of showing respect. When Sharpless visits her in the second act, she appears to mix American and Japanese customs with her polite but strange question, "Are your forefathers and ancestors all well?" (Puccini et al., 1987: 175) However, despite her shrinking savings, she offers him American cigarettes. More seriously, she plights her troth to American culture. She debates the consul's assertion that she, due to desertion, is effectively divorced from Pinkerton. Butterfly maintains that in the United States it

ismore difficult for a man to dispose of his wife. Whereas in Japan, as she puts it, a man merely has to order her to leave, she claims that in America he may be jailed for filing for divorce.

At fifteen andby most accounts beautiful, Butterfly represents a nearly ideal image of female reproductive value. Her alienated relatives claim that her beauty already is failing, but this seems more a case of sour grapes. Nevertheless, now past puberty, her biological clock already is ticking. Nevertheless she is healthy and has all of her childbearing years ahead of her. Pinkerton repeatedly expresses his passion for her. On the other hand, their union borders on pedophilia. Sharpless first guesses that she is ten, then twenty. When he hears the correct answer, fifteen, he remarks, "the age for games," in other words, she is still a child (Puccini et al.: 1987, 99). Moreover, she has the diminutive stature of a child. Pinkerton sings to her as "child" and "little plaything" (Puccini et al., 1987; 97, 151).

Many of her qualities are conveyed by her strong, clear, and, as we shall see, tireless soprano singing. Generally speaking, higher voices are associated with youth. Most romantic leads are sopranos, with mezzo-sopranos and altos usually representing older, often postmenopausalwomen. Furthermore, Cio-Cio-San's beauty attracts offers of marriage from Japanese men. Like Penelope, the archetypal faithful wife in Homer's *The Odyssey*, she steadfastly refuses all suitors. Rather than contract a wealthy marriage with a rich suitor like Prince Yamadori, who presses his suit in Act II, she prefers to suffer poverty.

Another factor, less evident to modern and non-Japanese viewers, is Butterfly's social status. Although her family has fallen into poverty to the point that she briefly worked as a geisha—source of her considerable grace—she has a servant, the ever-faithful Suzuki. It is with some pride that she cherishes the memory that her samurai father committed suicide upon command of the Mikado. Notably, the ritual sword is the one thing she denies Pinkerton when she displays her meager assets at their wedding. Later, faced with the likelihood of her desertion, she briefly considers returning to being a geisha, singing and dancing for men—what else is unspecified—but immediately prefers death to such a prospect. She knows her own value and respects herself, especially after their wedding.

Butterfly soon proves her reproductive capability by bearing Pinkerton a son. Indeed, it beggars genetic credulity that a blonde-hair, blue-eyed boy is born to a Japanese woman.[5] We should wonder why Puccini's team cheated probability in this respect; evidently they required stronger indicators that Dolore has a Western father. Butterfly thinks these features will endear Pinkerton to his son, obviously because they will increase his confidence in the lad's paternity. Trying to broker her in marriage again, Goro spreads doubt that Pinkerton is the father and points out the social disadvantages of being a bastard son. Nevertheless, Pinkerton comes to their house in the final scene to collect their son to raise him in America. Inasmuch as other characters function as foils to Butterfly's qualities, it is interesting to see how eager Kate Pinkerton is to adopt Butterfly's son; she promises the former geisha, "I shall care for him like a son." (Puccini et al., 1987: 241) This suggests that the American woman so far has been unable to bear children of her own.

Much of the mismatch of Butterfly and Pinkerton derives from the asymmetry of their commitment to their marriage. She makes every effort to show her devotion to him, sitting in wait for him each day of the three years he has been gone. As we have already seen, she gives up her family and her faith for him. When his ship is sighted in Nagasaki harbor, she spends the last of her dwindling resources on decorating their house, then putting on her wedding dress for his arrival. John DiGaetani cites her "complete commitment" to the man she thinks is her husband for life (DiGaetani, 2001: 123). He, meanwhile, sings "I can free myself every month" (Puccini et al., 1987: 79). Although it is possible that Pinkerton pays the rent on their house—the sympathetic Sharpless is a more likely source—he otherwise entirely neglects to see to her welfare. He makes no effort to contact or hear from her. Three years after his departure he only writes to her to inform her that he now has an American wife. Although he asks Sharpless to break the news gently, Pinkerton is afraid to face her himself. He only does so to meet her conditions for giving Dolore up for adoption.

It is interesting to note how *Butterfly*'s many creators fine-tuned a careful balance somewhere between true marriage (the lasting union of two people) and prostitution. For her part, Butterfly feels no shame at having been a geisha, although that role and inevitably, to some extent, her marriage to Pinkerton were forced on her by her family falling into poverty. Notably, Puccini and his librettists quashed Belasco's notion that she expressly accepted Goro's offer for money

(Belasco, 1935: 16). Besides Pinkerton's remarks regarding how such contracts can readily be annulled, there is no religious ceremony such as might strengthen the moral force on both parties to stay together.Rather, as in virtually every other opera where a marriage is depicted, a civil procedure takes place.[6] Nevertheless, the official registrar wishes them many descendants, as does the usually sanguine Goro. And her family is present; so, although such marriages with foreigners had often contracted in Nagasaki since 1630, the family is nevertheless emotionally invested (van Rij,2001: 18). Butterfly asks them to bow to her groom. However, when they learn that Butterfly's secretly converted to Christianity and renounced the cult of her ancestors, they disown her. It does not help that Pinkerton, who clearly wants to hurry on to later stages of their wedding night, insults them and ushers them on their way. The very indefiniteness of the situation in *Butterfly* helps to maintain narrative indecision and therefore tension.

While Cio-Cio-San's every thought is for her husband, he selfishly thinks only of himself. DiGaetani notes that his first question in the opera concerns the location of the marital bed.(DiGaetani, 2001: 118) During the love duet he sings of "the fever of a sudden desire" (Puccini et al.,1987: 153).Arthur Groos reacts to the "crassness" of the sailor's initial ambition to enjoy a multitude of women (Groos, 1994: 189). John Bell Young says he rendered "unmistakably as a sociopath" (Young, 2008: 104). Iris J. Arnesen notes that he never tells Butterfly that he loves her, and this in a fifteen minute long love duet. (Arnesen, 2009: 139) On the other hand, the opera prospers partly because it fosters some hope for Pinkerton. He genuinely seems smitten with Butterfly during their duet. While the opera is replete with dramatic irony, nothing else but some affection on his part could motivate such an outpouring of sentiment. Since that is the last we see of him for more than an hour, the audience remains almost as much in the dark as she is. Questioned about his fidelity, Butterfly cites the fact that, contrary to Japanese practice, he had locks placed on their house; evidently he thought there was something there worth protecting. Although we hear his intentions when Sharpless reads the letter to her, hope is only abandoned when he brings Kate onto the stage after the Act II intermezzo. He concludes, "I am contemptible" (Puccini et al., 1987: 239). His cry of despair, "Butterfly, Butterfly!" at the final curtain is as much for him as it is for her.

5 BUTTERFLY'S EXPOSURE

Could it be that mistreatment of women contributes to the continuing popularity of the most commonly performed operas? Susan McClary denounces opera as "an art form that demands the submission or death of the woman for the sake of narrative closure" (McClary 1988: xi). Little happens, for example, in *Butterfly* other than the heroine's marriage, desertion, and suicide, but its thin plot nevertheless suffices to pack opera houses. Love matches, female infidelity, and female suicide are the most common themes, greatly outnumbering motifs unrelated to gender. The death of an attractive young woman, usually a soprano, is the subject of many operas. Their prominence poses a reverse image to the patriarchal societies that produce them. In one seventh of these works, the heroine kills herself at the final curtain (Cooke, 2010, 79). Why do audiences prefer these operas?

Opera is designed in order to access the highly emotional reactions of the victims and this may require mistreatment in some cases. Catherine Clément complains, "on the stage women perpetually sing their eternal undoing. The emotion is never more poignant than at the moment when the voice is lifted to die" (Clément, 1988: 5). Opera provides a uniquely intimate perspective on how people feel, especially in extreme psychological states. Vocal music can transcend words in gesturing, indeed, imparting hard to describe subjective experiences. Women, like the title character of Donizetti's *Lucia de Lammermoor*, dominate most "mad scenes." Indeed, Butterfly is only one of numerous operas during the "long nineteenth century" (from the French Revolution to World War I) that prominently featured an attractive and highly emotional woman singing on the edge of disaster. We need only cite the titles that bear their names and/or their gender: besides *Lucia* and *Butterfly*, there are *Carmen, Elektra, Norma, Salome, La traviata, Aida, Rusalka, Ariadne auf Naxos, Manon, Manon Lescaut, Die Walkürie, Fanciulla del West—* all repertory favorites. In the twentieth century they were followed by yet more lurid sisters in *Lady Macbeth of the Mtsensk District, The Makropulous Case*, and *Lulu*.

The century from *Lucia*(1835) to *Lady Macbeth* (1934) was the era of the prima donna, a period which gave unprecedented prominence to independent women—both the fictional characters and the real life women who were their singers Daniel Snowman says that opera "provided perhaps the most spectacular route of all to any [women] who wished to fly out of the traditional gilded cage of domesticated womanhood" (Snowman, 2009: 233). Clèment boasts that they became the "jewels… the ornament indispensable for every festival. No prima donna, no opera" (Clèment: 1988, 5). On the other hand, they do this largely by exploiting egregious gender and, indeed, sexist stereotypes. Snowman notes that in "many well-loved operas, the principal woman is killed off at the end in a kind of expatiation of sexual guilt" (Snowman, 2009: 235).

Butterfly certainly meets all of the qualifications for such a prima donna during her vigil. On stage for the entire first scene of the second act, more than fifty minutes long, she is exposed to an unprecedented extent. Whereas in earlier operas opportunities to sing were shared amongst the major performers more or less equally, here the female soloist risks exhaustion. Puccini was pressed to provide more music for his lead tenor, whereupon he added Pinkerton's aria, "Addio fiorito asil," to the last scene. Her vigil bears comparison with that of Tristan during the long last act of *Tristan und Isolde.* There is no doubt that Puccini had Wagner in mind. The premiere of *Madama Butterfly* kept Milan's La Scala Theatre from staging *Tristan*--and this contributed to the scandalous reception for his new opera. Like Tristan, who waits for Isolde to come and heal his wound, Butterfly constantly peruses the harbor for sight of Pinkerton's ship. Often cited as the most moving passage in the opera, she imagines the joy of his return: "Un bel di" ("One beautiful day"), which bears comparison with Tristan's delusion that Isolde has finally come to him.However, her vigil eptitomizes her nearly consistent passivity. She neither seeks out Pinkerton nor tries to get in touch with him. Instead she meekly waits, when prior to her wedding she actively researched American culture. Only her final action is truly assertive, but also reflexive: she stabs herself to death.

Besides the extreme length and exposure of her role, Butterfly expresses a wide variety of emotions. Despite the sheer lyric beauty of her actions and singing, and the devotion she shows to her husband, Butterfly, on separate occasions, threatens to kill both Goro and Suzuki. These moments, no doubt, give air to the tension she vainly strives to repress, worried whether Pinkerton will ever return. A further example is her abrupt expulsion of Sharpless from her house when he presses his suggestion that she take another husband. She cries in despair at the prospect of losing her son, "They want to take everything from me!" (Puccini et al., 1987: 245) Nevertheless, when Kate approaches in contrition, Butterfly is magnanimous: "May you always be happy" (Puccini et al., 1987: 247). Finally there is the utter devastation that prompts her to take her life in a bloody, but honorable fashion.[7]

Joseph Budden observes how Puccini took Belasco's "pathetic but ridiculous puppet" and developed her into "the apotheosis of the frail suffering heroine" (Budden, 2000: 50). The soprano who performs the role has to possess an enormous dramatic range. As DiGaetani argues, "the development of her character from the naïve girl to the trusting wife to the bitter woman becomes the core of the opera's dramatic development" (DiGaetani, 2001: 122). She is the most developed characterization in Puccini's operas.

Furthermore, it is a vulnerable creature who has to undergo all this trajectory.We have already noted her youth and puny stature. At the height of their love duet, Pinkerton sings, "To think that little plaything is my wife" (Puccini et al., 1987: 151). While there is some dispute amongst scholars regarding her independence and assertion, her evident naïveté plays a large role in her demise. Although her given name is Cio-Cio-San, Pinkerton calls her Butterfly, no doubt paying tribute her beauty and grace, but also alluding to her fragility and impermanence. At first she objects to this appellation, having heard that in the United States butterflies are caught and pinned. Similar thinking goes for her association with flowers: both are short-lived.

According to Jan van Rij, Japanese audiences receive her with some embarrassment; notably the first performances of the opera in Japan were abridged; especially those passages that conveyed racist stereotypes were but. But the core of the opera nevertheless was unsettling top them. As van Rij puts it, "To believe that a woman's love can become a force that will save her from her fate is a totally alien notion in Japan, and to think that this can be done on the basis of a prostitution contract with a foreigner is foolhardy" (van Rij, 2001: 149). The point of all this is clear: despite the efforts by the composer and the librettists to imbue the opera with local color, Butterfly is only superficially Japanese, much as Carmen is hardly a true Gypsy (Clèment: 1988,

49).[8] *Madame Butterfly* is more anexpression of Western illusions, indeed fantasies, than it is valid ethnography.

6 CONCLUSIONS

McClary and Clèment have a point: opera provides a venue for morally suspect fantasies we would normally repress, all at the expense of the women depicted, possibly of women in general. McClary surmises that music causes listeners to suspend their proper moral judgment (McClary, 1988: xiv). Snowman chimes in, saying that the "opera stage was one of the few public locations when normally repressed feelings could be extravagantly and legitimately displayed" (Snowman, 2009: 237).

What is demanded of Butterfly and many of her sisters is rarely, if ever, asked of men. Accepting McClary and Snowman's argument regarding the nullification of repression, we wonder what are the forces driving the sexist structures expressed in classic works such as *Butterfly*. For example, "paternal uncertainty" readily could be argued to be one of the sources for the constraint of women in patriarchal societies. Unable to trace the fatherhood of a woman's offspring with confidence, one option for male domination was to control their behavior with varying degrees of severity, especially with regard to relationships with other men. Notably, many of the prominent roles for prima donna involve some element of sexual licentiousness, or at least disobedience of male authority. One manifestation this took was the *femme fatale*, a prominent figure especially during the era of the prima donna, including many of the operas we listed above. Threatening male control with the independent behavior of the women they depict, as Snowman observes, these works required "a cathartic sense of moral rectitude to prevail as the frail, pale sinner reaches her deeply romanticized end"(Snowman, 2009: 236). However, this does not explain why the female characters we have described are (mis)treated as items of trade. Here Bateman's Principle helps us to account for the peculiar objectivization, valuation, and consequently commoditization of women in opera.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

ENDNOTES

[1] Long envisaged an American sailor, but van Rij has narrowed down the search for Pinkerton's prototype to one of the English merchant Thomas Glover's two brothers (Long, 1972; van Rij, 2001).

[2] Loti's Madame Chrysanthème was also set as an operetta by the same title by André Messager (1893).

[3] There are some exceptions where males constitute a reproductive bottleneck, usually in those species where they provide most parental care, mostly birds and seahorses.

[4] There is, of course, a particularly American ring to Pinkerton's given names, Benjamin Franklin, much as he sails on the USS Abraham Lincoln.

[5] It also stretches credulity that Kate Pinkerton is able to sail to Japan with her husband on an American warship.

[6] Local censorship and church sanctions may well have constrained most composers from depicting religious ceremonies.

[7] Significantly Butterfly's suicide begins with Belasco's play. She is about to kill herself in Long's story, but Pinkerton's American wife finds her house empty; apparently Cio-Cio-San fled with her child (Long, 1972, 86). According to van Rij, the actual prototype, one Ko-Ko-San, survived her suicide attempt (van Rij, 2001, 118).

[8] Cf. Young, 2008, who details the many traditional Japanese melodies weaved into Puccini's score.

REFERENCES

Arnesen, I. J. (2009). *The Romantic World of Puccini: A New Critical Appraisal of the Operas*. Jefferson NC, McFarland & Co.

Belasco, D, (1935) [1900]. Madame *Butterfly: A Tragedy of Japan in One Act*. London & New York: Samuel French.

Boyd, B. (2009). The Purpose-Driven Life. *The American Scholar*, 78(2): 24-34.

Budden, J. (2000). Madama Butterfly. In S. Sadie, ed. *Puccini's and His Operas*.London: St. Martin's Press. pp.44-51.

Buss, D. M. (1995). The Evolution of Desire: Strategies of Human Mating. New York: Basic Books.

Carroll, J. 2008. The Cuckoo's History: *Human Nature in Wuthering Heights.Philosophy and Literature*. 32: 241-57.

Clèment, C. (1988) [1979]. *Opera: The Undoing of Women. Betsy Wing (trans.)*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Cooke, B. (2010). Clichés Worth Singing: Narrative Commonplaces in Opera. *The Evolutionary Review*, 1:76-81

DiGaetani,J. L. (2001). *Puccini the Thinker: The Composer's Intellectual and Dramatic Development. 2nd ed*. New York: Peter Lang.

Groos, A. (1994). Lieutenant F. B. Pinkerton: Problems in the Genesis and Performance of Madama Butterfly. In W. Weaver & S. Puccini, eds. *The Puccini Companion*. New York & London: W. W. Norton. pp.169-227.

Long, J. L. (1972) [1898]. *Madame Butterfly, Purple Eyes, etc. (The American Short Story Series, 25): 1-86*. New York: MSS Information Corp.

McClary, S. (1988). Forward. The Undoing of Opera: Toward a Feminist Criticism of Music. In C. Clèment. (1988) [1979]. *Opera: The Undoing of Women:ix-xviii.Minneapolis*. University of Minnesota Press.

Puccini, G. (1974). *Letters of Giacomo Puccini: Mainly Connected with the Composition and Production of his Operas. Giuseppe Adami & Mosco Carner (eds.), Ena Martin (trans.)*. London: Harrap.

Puccini, G.Giacosa, G. & Illica, L. (1987) [1905].*Madama Butterfly*. London: Decca Records.

Snowman, D. (2009). *The Gilded Stage: A Social History of Opera*. London: Atlantic.

Van Rij, J. (2001). *Madame Butterfly: Japonisme, Puccini & the Search for the Real Cho-Cho-San*. Berkeley: Stone Bridge.

[Webpage] www.operabase.com

Young, J. B. (2008). *Puccini: A Listener's Guide*. New York: Amadeus Press.

Framing analysis and contemporary tourism discourse: Brazil as a tourism destination

Carla Santos
Department of Recreation, Sport, and Tourism, University of Illinois

Erin McKenna
Department of Recreation, Sport, and Tourism, University of Illinois

ABSTRACT: while researchers continue to call for the examination and understanding of the reasoning that fuels discourse, we still lack adequate arguments that can be used to explain contemporary tourism discourse; a discourse that is increasingly developing and incorporating concepts of heritage in different ways and milieus. Framing analysis, we propose, provides much neededinsight. Frames are cognitive structures that organize people's thoughts and experiences, shaping their perceptions of reality (goffmann 1974). Recent advances in framing analysis however suggest the importance of identifying different levels of frames as well as overarching frame categories (rogan 2010). With the above in mind, and approaching media as a social practice, we identifyand place into conversation representations of Brazil within selectedmedia so as toaddress the potential for framing analysis to advance an understanding of the reasoning embedded in contemporary tourism discourse, and its development and incorporation of concepts of heritage.

1 INTRODUCTION

Brazil is Next. Brazilians and foreigners alike have made this proclamation since the mid twentieth century (Ainsa, 1999: 228, Caldeira and Holston, 2005: 395). Yet, it never seemed to become much of a reality, giving everyone reason to proceed with trepidation when discussing Brazil's potential at the site of any increased growth. Yet, now we have reached a period of time in which Brazil's growth has been steady for almost a decade, and this has occurred despite pessimistic views about what the election of a former labor leader as president in 2002 would mean for the Brazilian economy and a major global economic crisis emerging in 2008. In fact, the international sporting community has given Brazil its vote of confidence as evidenced by its selection to host the 2014 World Cup and 2016 Olympics. What does this growth and talk about Brazil mean for tourism in that country?

Brazil's tourism industry has always been able to rely on its natural landscapes and climate to attract visitors. Modern architecture in cities such as Sao Paulo and Brasilia have been garnering attention since their construction in the middle of the 20th Century. Rio de Janeiro's

annual*Carnaval* celebrations have been linked to the city's tourism department since the 1930s because of its ability to draw tourists (Taylor, 1982: 303). Despite the fact that Brazil's natural and cultural attractions have brought in tourists throughout the last century, it is within the last fifteen years that Brazil has seen a dramatic increase in tourism. This parallels Brazil's economic growth. It is within this context of Brazil's growth and increase in foreign tourism that it is important to investigate the way Brazil is depicted in U.S. media sources and what those depictions suggest about Brazil as a destination. How does economic growth in a country in a perpetual state of intrigue and potential affect representations of the country; and, in turn, how might these representations affect tourism?

To explore these questions in a systematic way, we turn to print media in the form of newspapers as our source of analysis. While admittedly not the only source of information for anybody, print media is one source that many people rely on for information that shapes their perceptions of places and ultimately may influence travel decisions. In order to analyze this information and the perceptions that people glean from exposure to the news, we adopt a framing analysis technique to explore the production, rather than the reception of the information.

2 FRAMING ANALYSIS

Framing analysis is a technique attributed to sociologist, Erving Goffmann who suggested that frames are cognitive structures that organize people's thoughts and experiences, subsequently shaping their perceptions of reality (1974). Moving away from the individual and addressing media production, Gamson presented framing as the organizing theme in news media. Individuals rely on those frames presented to them by mainstream media to construct their understandings and personal organizing frames of social issues (1992). Further to the point of framing production, Entman put forth that there is selection involved in framing that takes a perceived reality and enhances certain parts of it in such a way that it works to define problems, make moral evaluations, or interpret causes to issues (1993). He emphasizes the importance of what the frame includes and leaves out as the both the inclusion and exclusion are significant to how audiences make meaning of an issue. When a person's exposure to an issue, a place (like Brazil), cultural traditions or traits, etc. is limited, the frames presented to them in the media become the main reference for creating the individual frames. In tourism, understanding the way a destination is framed provides insights into tourists' decisions, expectations and behaviors when traveling. For that reason framing analysis is a useful tool in tourism studies.

3 DISCUSSION

Eternal characteristics are communicated as either positive or negative traits depending on the type of engagement with Brazil(ians). Moreover, Brazil's portrayal as a destination in these articles also reveals a profound undervaluing of the Brazilian people. The roles identified are problematic and promote neo-colonial relationships for a non-Brazilian readership with Brazil. All representations that rely on broad-sweeping, static characterizations, however complimentary they may seem and whether articulated on behalf of oneself or on behalf of others, objectify people and position them as an afterthought in any intercultural tourism or business encounter.

REFERENCES

Ainsa, F. (1999). *La Reconstrucción de la Utopia.* Buenos Aires: Ediciones del Sol.
Caldeira, T. & Holston, J. (2005). State and Urban Space in Brazil: From Modernist Planning to Democratic Interventions. In A. Ong & S. Collier, eds. *Global Assemblages: technology, politics and ethics as anthropological problems.* Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing Ltd.
Caldeira, T. (2002). The Paradox of police violence in democratic Brazil. *Ethnography* 3(3): 225-263.
Entman, R. M. (1993). Framing: Toward clarification of a fractured paradigm. *Journal of Communication,* 43(4): 51-58.
Gamson, W. (1992) *Talking Politics.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Goffman, E. (1974). *Frame Analysis: An Essay on the Organization of Experience.* New York: Harper & Row.
Taylor, J.M. (1982). The Politics of Aesthetic Debate: The Case of Brazilian Carnival. *Ethnology*, 21(4): 301-311.

Safeguarding ICH in Scotland: a case study in bagpipe traditions

Carley Williams
Elphinstone Institute, University of Aberdeen, United Kingdom

ABSTRACT: Safeguarding of intangible cultural heritage 'is seen as a comprehensive notion that not only includes the standard "protective" actions of identification and inventorying but also provides the conditions within which ICH can continue to be created, maintained and transmitted' (Blake, 2007: 3). My PhD research examines how guidelines for safeguarding ICH could be implemented in Scotland, in a way which acknowledges the changing social and cultural contexts of traditional practices, and fosters an environment that enables ICH to continue to flourish. This paper presents a discussion and analysis of the 'revival' tradition of bellows-blown Lowland bagpipes, a branch of the Scottish bagpipe family which was all but forgotten before the late 20th Century. Utilising examples from fieldwork conducted within this community of musicians and makers, the study addresses issues of importance to the discussion of safeguarding ICH: inclusivity and exclusivity in cultural communities, innovation and individual expression within tradition, the concepts of 'authenticity' and 'revival' in tradition, and what the successes of this revival might teach us for other ICH safeguarding contexts.

1 INTRODUCTION

In my PhD research, I am examining how UNESCO's guidelines on safeguarding intangible cultural heritage (ICH) could be put into practice in Scotland in a way that acknowledges the changing social and cultural contexts of traditions. In order for any policy on safeguarding ICH to be effective, it must address the second key element of Janet Blake's concept of safeguarding, and 'provide the conditions within which ICH can continue to be created, maintained and transmitted' (Blake, 2007: 3). My research aims to develop recommendations which empower and support the practitioner communities to ensure viability and sustainability of their ICH as a *living* tradition.

I believe that advocacy by and for the communities, groups and individuals who practise ICH must be at the heart of the process of safeguarding, a requirement which is emphasised by UNESCO in the Convention. As such, my PhD research will acknowledge the achievements, needs and circumstances of Scottish cultural practitioners and cultural communities, and employ international examples of best-practice to create new and original contributions to the understanding of ICH safeguarding processes in Scotland and the UK. My research methodologies reflect Carl Lindahl's definition of folklore as a 'work of advocacy', with an ultimate goal 'to discover, understand and represent people on their own terms' (Lindahl, 2004: 175).

   While there is not yet a formal infrastructure for safeguarding ICH in Scotland, for several decades, grassroots community-led organisations have been performing many of the functions of safeguarding the traditional arts through advocacy, education, promotion and performance. I am conducting case studies of ICH practices in Scotland, grounded in ethnographic fieldwork, which will provide the opportunity to examine community-led models for safeguarding, allowing for a practical evaluation of the UNESCO Convention's ideals and guidelines. I am identifying and consulting with communities and individuals who are already performing the functions of safeguarding their traditions, drawing on their knowledge and successes to develop models for other contexts, as well as empowering these communities to self-advocate for support and an infrastructure that nurtures ICH.

   This paper presents fieldwork conducted with practitioners in the bellows bagpipe revival in Scotland, specifically the Border pipes and Scottish smallpipes. Being essentially a descriptive and exploratory discourse, I will draw on examples from fieldwork to illustrate elements of the revival which highlight some concepts that are integral to ICH discourse: the significance of *authenticity*, *innovation* and *creativity* in tradition and '*revival*' traditions, and *inclusivity* and *exclusivity* in cultural communities. These discussions will be placed within a broader examination of the *revival* in, and as, tradition, highlighting some of the successes of this revival which could be used as a model for other safeguarding contexts.

2   THE BELLOWS PIPES OF SCOTLAND

2.1   *A Brief Historical Background of the Bagpipes in Scotland*

The image of a tartan-clad, kilt-wearing, piper is familiar in the iconography of Scotland, and the Great Highland Bagpipe is considered to be the 'national instrument', which established its prominent status 'back in the mists of time'; however the historic evidence provides a very different story. There is no mention of the instrument's existence in the Scottish Highlands until the 16th century (Cheape, 2010: 26), and the vast majority of historic collections reveal 'a bewildering variety of types of bagpipe'. (Cheape, 2010: 3) Until the late 19th-century, bagpipe makers advertised a range of instruments from the Highland Pipes to Pastoral Pipes, Chamber Pipes, Union Pipes, Reel Pipes and Smallpipes, (Cheape 2010; Cannon 2002) most of which are easily distinguished from the Highland Pipe by two key elements–they are bellows-blown, and the drones are set into a common stock.

   From historic sources, it is apparent that these bellows pipes were ubiquitous across much of Scotland, including the Highlands. (Cheape, 2010: 32-33) For more than 350 years, bellows piping styles developed alongside those of the Highland pipes, but in the 19th century there was a social and cultural shift, and the Highland pipes began to increase in status and popularity. In 1821, a piper from Caithness in the north was not allowed to 'compete at the Highland Society's competitions in Edinburgh as he played the "bellows pipes",' (Cannon, 2002: 21) foreshadowing the decline that what was to come. The last of the bellows pipers was recorded in the early 1900s, after which, these pipes disappeared even from folk memory–with occasional references to individuals playing 'Irish pipes', or suggesting the bellows were adaptations for elderly pipers who no longer had the breath to power the Highland pipes. (G West, *interview*, February 2013) Beyond the early 20th century, there were no existing players, no methods of transmission, and all connections to the related music were lost. The bellows piping traditions would have been rejected from inclusion on even UNESCO's 'Urgent Safeguarding' list.

2.2   *The Bellows Pipes Revival*

Fast forward nearly a century to 1981, when a small group of Highland pipers met in Edinburgh, with an aim to reinstate the extinct Lowland pipes and their music. Mike Rowan, the founding member of this group, wrote–'*At that time there were two working sets of Lowland pipes [...] and no makers and no information on the history of the instrument, though there were a few dead sets in museums. Effectively the lowland pipes were dead.*' (Mike Rowan, 'About the LBPS', lbps.net) After a couple years of informal gatherings, the Lowland and Bor-

der Pipers Society was formally instituted in 1983. The organisation has been key to the success of the revival, hosting concerts, workshops, competitions and courses, disseminating resources, and publishing its own journal, *Common Stock*, for the promotion of the instrument and its music, as well as establishing a network of communication for a cohesive community. The LBPS now boasts a membership that reaches around the world, and in 2013 is celebrating its 30th Anniversary with a year-long programme of special events and a tune-writing competition.

Speaking about a trip to Ireland in 1981, a contributor, Hamish Moore said '*I loved the way the music was really integrated and part of the social life of the people.*' Obtaining his first set of bellows pipes '*altered the social context of piping [...] from competition playing to playing in a social context that was completely natural*' (H Moore, *interview*, April 2013)

Re-establishing the social and informal side of piping was central to the revivalists' values, something which was missing from Highland piping, due to the culture of regulation and isolation from other musical forms that are deep-rooted in the practice. One of the driving factors, it seems, in the revival, was the opportunity to place pipes and pipe music into the 'instrumental explosion' of the time (Munro, 1996: 162)–to play with other instruments, in sessions, bands and social settings, and share in the excitement of the wider folk revival that was taking place. In essence, they were all searching for a similar experience, a more liberated approach to piping that celebrates the *music*, an approach which had been lost in Scotland along with the pipes it was played on.

Before any inroads could be made in the revival, two key issues had to be addressed–there were very few playable instruments, and nobody really knew what to play on them. Although physical specimens of the instruments were in existence, and there were historical references to bellows pipers, there were no hard and fast examples of the music that was played. In some ways, the 'revivalists' had a completely blank slate to work with–free from the confines of established piping practices. Early exponents of the revival looked to existing piping and pipe-making traditions, such as those in Northumbria and Ireland, to provide inspiration and established themselves as authorities in these areas.

2.3 *Instruments of Innovation*

> '*Right through the 70s they'd been experimenting… Rab Wallace was the first to record with a set of bellows-blown pipes… He'd shaved down a Highland chanter reed to get this Border chanter going. And Jimmy Anderson was… scraping bassoon reeds in a different way to get a small D chanter going. And Dougie Pincock… was playing a set of D smallpipes, mouth-blown, it didn't really make any difference.*' (H Moore 2013)

In the 1970s, individuals started experimenting with sets of bellows pipes found in historic collections, as well as cannibalised sets of pipes and bellows fitted together to suit purpose, but there were no makers of *Scottish* bellows pipes. Some of the early core members of the LBPS took it upon themselves to begin making instruments to fulfil demand.

Hamish Moore and Julian Goodacre, two of my contributors, as well as Gordon Mooney, were involved from the early days of the revival as pipe-makers. They sources existing sets of Border pipes and smallpipes from historic collections, which they measured and scrutinised. These served as templates for the makers, and guidance for construction were provided by established Northumbrian smallpipe makers; but each maker went on to refine their own designs independently, to suit modern musical tastes, performance contexts and their personal ideals.

The Border pipes, in general, are too loud to suit the purposes of a pub session or gathering, which consistent with their original use. Hamish, however, has addressed this issue by adopting a Baroque flute-making technique to create a reverse conical bore at the bottom of the chanter. He said '*this revolutionised the sound of my Border pipes because the demand, from the players was for an instrument that was quiet and sweet. As quiet and sweet as possible, because the social context of the instrument had changed.*' (H Moore 2013)

Although the initial aim of the revival was to reinstate the Border pipes, the smallpipes quickly became more popular, and continue to be the more common of the two instruments. They are available in a variety of keys, the tone is quieter and an octave lower than the Border pipes, well suited to the indoor, multi-instrumental forums of the traditional music scene in

Scotland today. The chanter holes are placed in a similar fashion to the Highland pipes, making them easily accessible to the most obvious market to feed into the revival community–Highland pipers.

> *'The makers were smart... they're not going to sell lots of sets to people who walk in off the street and never played bagpipes before. The market's going to be Highland pipers, and if they don't make them compatible for a Highland piper, they're never going to get off the ground.'* (West 2013)

This instrument revival is probably quite unique–the redevelopment of, and adaptations to, the instruments have been driven by the musicians, with the requirements of the revival in mind. The revival pipe makers themselves are all pipers, and they have developed their instrument designs to suit their needs, their ear, and their performance contexts.

This element of the revival could be considered a continuous tradition, in the sense that there were other pipe-making traditions in existence to impart the required knowledge, the Scottish makers just needed to apply the techniques to create slightly different products. However, the fact that there was a break in the making of these specific pipes left a lot of room for the Scottish makers to engineer their own adaptations and innovations, which were essential to the success of the instrument in a modern market. The demand for new instruments is steadily increasing, and the trade is now progressing to the second generation of makers since the revival.

3   FINDING AN AUTHENTIC TRADITION

When I asked my contributors why they had taken up the Smallpipes or Border pipes, their responses resonated with feelings of frustration, disillusionment, detachment and a sense that something was missing from the music they had been playing. Hamish Moore said: *'I really was becoming **very disillusioned** with competition [piping] [...] I couldn't actually find any musical sense to it.'* He went on to say, about the modern Highland piping world, *'it's all about being technically correct [...]this music has been turned into an intellectual-technical exercise [...]And I suppose I've spent my whole **life trying to get back to what it once was**.'* (H Moore 2013)

Hamish's son Fin grew up learning the Highland pipes while his father was at the centre of the bellows pipes revival. Fin's main draw to continuing with the bellows pipes, rather than playing in the pipe band competition circuit, was the informal music-making element of the music, playing with others, in sessions, in the house, at parties, or on stage. He said *'that side of it seemed to resonate more.'* (F Moore, *interview*, Dunkeld, March 2013)

Another contributor, Matt Seattle came from a background in Northumbrian fiddle music, but *'was always looking for a piper that would be the piper that I could play with as a fiddle player [...] And I never found someone that was playing the kind of pipe music that I wanted to play with. In the end, I had to become the piper that I wanted to play with.'* (Seattle 2013)

Throughout the revival, the majority of the members have been highland pipers, playing highland tunes, on smallpipes; they play what they like and they play what they know. As Fin put it in our interview, *'A good tune is a good tune is a good tune…'* (F Moore 2013). And one might question whether a musician needs any other reason to validate their choice of music. But, from very early on in the revival, there was an accepted need to establish a common repertoire that was identifiably linked to the Lowland pipes. Alan Dundes' definition defines a folk group as 'any group of people whatsoever who share at least one common factor', and it is these common factors which are essential to establishing a collective identity. (Dundes, 1965: 2). The more a group has in common, the more cohesive it will be.

Even with the shared values of revitalising the music through these 'alternative' pipes, from the beginning, repertoire has been one area that has caused an element of friction–it becomes apparent that very distinct trends have evolved as individuals searched for the missing key to their personal musical experience. Gordon Mooney published two collections of tunes with Border associations, sourced from historic manuscripts and tunes found in the modern Highland pipe and fiddle repertoires. But two of my contributors, Hamish Moore and Matt Seattle, felt there was something more to be uncovered. Their individual discoveries in relation to the repertoire have have also significantly influenced the Borders and smallpipes canon.

Hamish deduced from historical references, the non-piping areas of folk music, and the tunes themselves, that the Highland pipe repertoire was essentially dance music, which had become detached from its 'original' context through the rules and standardisation imposed by nearly two hundred years of competition and military influence. He was seeking answers and examples to bring the music back to life, '*trying to get back to what it once was*', and found some of those answers upon first hearing the 'Scottish' music of Cape Breton, Nova Scotia, Canada, played live. Hamish said he was 'drawn to it', that it was something familiar and '*rang so true*'.

Hamish elaborated on this sense of affirmation when he described the playing of Alec Currie, one of the last ear-trained pipers of Cape Breton:

> '*To witness Alec playing, [...] and to know his history, that he was taught by his brother who had been taught by someone who was born on South Uist, so there was a* **direct line back to Uist**. *And to know the fact that Alec wouldn't play unless he was sitting down. And he had hard shoes on. [...] And the demon that came out of him, when he was playing strathspeys, especially, and his timing and his rhythm, and you just couldn't help but dance. [...] It had no resemblance whatsoever to competition piping*.' (H Moore 2013)

Hearing the familiar Highland tunes played in this manner, he said: '*I think it* **validated what I'd always thought**. *Cape Breton validated it, made it possible for me to say [...] this is* **honest** *and this is* **true**.' (H Moore, 2013)

The smallpipes, detached from the confines of the Highland piping world, provided the opportunity for Hamish to explore these missing connections in the music. This rhythmic, lively style of playing is what Hamish has come to call the 'Old Gaelic Style', reinforcing the close connection of the music to the Gaelic language. He has gone on to advocate this style in his performance and teaching, as well as making steps to reintroduce this philosophy back into the world of the Highland Pipes.

Matt Seattle, came to the Scottish smallpipes and Border pipes about ten years into the revival, from a background in Northumbrian music. He was aware of the work that Gordon Mooney had done researching the repertoire, but still '*thought that there was something missing*'. Referring to the unbroken smallpipes tradition on the other side of the border in Northumberland, Matt said 'what appealed to me mostly was the *older* music that they played, […] the older tunes, which they developed into variation sets.' (Seattle 2013)

> '**The intuition that I had was confirmed** when I was led to the discovery of the William Dixon manuscript in 1995. And, that turned my life upside down when I found that because it not only **confirmed everything that I'd thought**, but it also had musical information in it that I hadn't imagined. So it was not only like what I was doing, but it was actually much better, much more interesting, **and it was the horse's mouth**.' (Seattle 2013)

The manuscript Matt refers to consists of tunes that are theme and variation arrangements, written in 1733 by William Dixon, who was presumably a piper due to his comprehensive notation of the music. Of the Dixon manuscript, Matt said it '*informed* and *confirmed* me in the particular path that I had embarked on. […] I came to see that I had a task, which was to *re-establish and revitalise* the Border piping tradition.' (Seattle 2013) Matt published an edition of the Dixon manuscript later that same year, with his own commentary on the music, and he continues to be one of the most well-known promoters of this repertoire. In addition to sourcing tunes from archive and historic manuscripts, Matt has also done significant research into individual pipers who are written about from the 'Golden era' of Border piping, and is one of the few contemporary practitioners who has attempted to reintroduce some more specific Border piping techniques, such as 'shivering the back lill' to take the pipes into a higher register beyond the accepted nine-note scale.

Elements of these approaches to building this repertoire reflect the Early Music movement–looking to historic manuscripts and treatises to rediscover and rebuild a body of music, what Burt Feintuch might label 'musical archaeology'. (Feintuch 2006: 5) However, Matt is quick to

emphasise that what he is doing is different–he has turned to this music not to contribute to a revival, but for his own reasons, in the here and now, because he wants to '*find good pipe music and play it*', echoing the general sentiments of my other contributors.

Each of these interpretations of the Lowland piping styles have been very influential in the revival. The tunes in Gordon's collections have formed the basic repertoire for new individuals coming to the smallpipes and Borders pipes. Hamish's inspiration from the Cape Breton style has also taken hold in other areas of the traditional music scene, including fiddle and dance. Matt's publication of the Dixon manuscript has been referred to as 'the Golden Chalice' of Borders piping repertoire by some of my contributors. What I find most poignant in these descriptions of the search for a meaningful repertoire and playing style, is the emphasis on the links to history. Although the revival is taking place in a 20th/21st century folk music scene, which in itself is a revival or 'invented tradition', Gordon, Matt and Hamish all sought connections to historic sources to *inform* and *validate* their repertoire choices. Hobsbawm notes this use of history in 'invented traditions' as key for legitimating action and choices, as well as establishing group cohesion (1983: 12). When trying to establish the tradition in the immense shadow of the Highland piping world, this connection to tangible, historic references not only helped justify choices to the bellows piping community, but also legitimised the 'tradition' itself to wider piping circles.

These tunes and styles represent only three individual's musical ideals. Even while accepting these repertoires based in historic evidence, many of the pipers continue to play the tunes from their Highland piping repertoire, in a modified style adapted to their second instrument. Although differing in their sources of inspiration, each of these interpretations of the music have coexisted side by side, with individuals playing a few 'Border' tunes, a few 'Highland' tunes, and other 'good tunes' from general circulation in the folk music sessions, depending on their individual tastes and the context of performance. And that is one element of tradition which can be overlooked–each individual can take what they like and make it their own, and leave the rest for another person, another performance, another time. What has resonated the most throughout the discussions on repertoire with my contributors is that they are all aiming to play and share music they enjoy, that is authentic to their personal experience and individual expression. Really, they're just looking to play a good tune.

Some individuals have expressed frustration that the Lowland and Border Pipers Society and its members do not promote the Borders repertoire more. Although this is identified as one of the key aims of the Society, the context of the music has changed from the heyday of the 17th and 18th centuries. For a community that is establishing its place and is still growing, the outlook must be inclusive. Highland pipers who take up these 'alternative' instruments, who still make up the majority of the bellows piping community, come with a common repertoire, and are seeking a relaxed atmosphere to appreciate this music. The LBPS cannot afford to dictate which types of tunes are sanctioned or not. Border tunes are encouraged, and Gordon Mooney's publications as well as Matt Seattle's publcation of the Dixon manuscript are available for purchase through the LBPS, but it is up to the individuals to choose whether they incorporate those tunes into their personal repertoire.

The pipers themselves are not fluent in the Border tunes, and very few of the tunes have moved beyond the piping repertoire into the wider folk music scene, especially the Dixon manuscript. As previously mentioned, one of the most common reasons presented for taking up the smallpipes or the Border pipes, is that the individuals want to play with other people, and other instruments; in order to be a part of the folk scene today, the repertoire must reflect what others are playing.

This open and inclusive mindset is not just out of necessity. Although it may seem that the revival has been rooted in re-establishing a historic practice, the evidence suggests that the reintroduction of the bellows pipes has served more as a cultural catalyst for the development of new ideas, new contexts, and new interpretations of 'traditional' music. Even within the historically-grounded repertoires, it could be argued that Hamish, Matt, Gordon Mooney and others were pushing beyond the boundaries of what was accepted as piping tradition at the time. In addition, individuals in the 'revival', including Hamish and Matt, have taken their music to other extremes–Matt composes new material, with a wide range of cultural influences and styles, from tunes in the Arabic scale to chamber music orchestrations; Hamish toured for several years playing Border pipes as a duet with a jazz saxophonist.

These innovations, or reinterpretations, of the music have been readily accepted as important components of the evolving tradition. Innovation is encouraged and celebrated–in 2013 the LBPS are running a new tune competition to celebrate the 30th anniversary; and at the annual competition, one young competitor, won several prizes playing a wild tune of his own composition, on a set of smallpipes of his own innovation–with a double chanter and drones which can change pitch allowing numerous harmonic combinations.

If the wider bellows-piping community don't like the tunes or styles that are being promoted as 'Border' or 'Lowland' piping styles, then those tunes or styles will not be played, or transmitted. As some of my contributors explained, the tunes that aren't as good won't get played and will fall out of use, while the really good tunes will be played over and over and become accepted as part of the tradition; the community as a whole determines the collective repertoire. This is the same process by which all tradition adapts and changes over time, and is what ensures the practice will continue as a living tradition. When cultural expressions do not allow for change and cease to be variable, that is when they die out, become fossilised, and become 'heritage' in the sense of a museum piece in a glass cabinet. (Kockel 2001)

When discussing ICH, the topic of authenticity will inevitably come into play, particularly around debates on which ICH elements are 'authentic' and who has the authority to decide what is and what isn't ICH. UNESCO ultimately places the responsibility for identifying ICH on the communities themselves. (UNESCO 2003: Article 13 & 14) 'To invent a folk tradition certainly involves decision-making processes around a sense of community, but there are substantial historical-cum-ideological tools at work amongst the folk fraternity involving ideas about community as arbiter of musical performance and taste.' (Brocken 2003: 119) Although Brocken was writing about Folk Clubs in the broader British Folk Music Revival, this statement could just as easily be applied to any folk/ICH group or community. The musical ideals expressed by my contributors may seem contradictory for establishing a cohesive Lowland and Border piping canon, but they have all co-existed within the revival community, *because* they are respected as integral contributions to the revival. The sources may be very different, but what these disparate approaches do share is a common aspiration towards an 'authentic' bellows piping experience and repertoire.

4 DEFINING A COMMUNITY

Although there was never outright animosity between Highland and Lowland piping, the pipers I spoke with who came to the bellows pipes from Highland piping indicated there has been a shift in attitude towards the bellows pipes amongst their Highland piping colleagues. In the earlier days of the revival, the smallpipes and Border pipes were not taken seriously by the mainstream piping world. Some Highland pipers might have obtained sets as an alternative to the practice chanter, but they were mainly viewed as a practice instrument or 'a bit of fun'. (West 2013) Over the revival, the community has made certain decisions, conscious or otherwise, to assert the distinctiveness of the group.

These acts of definition reflect Alan Dundes' previously mentioned definition of a 'folk' group:

> *'any group of people whatsoever who share at least one common factor. It does not mater what the linking factor is… but what is important is that a group formed for whatever reason will have some traditions which it calls its own… traditions which help the group to have a sense of group identity.'* (Dundes, 1978: 7, citing Dundes 1965)

Ullrich Kockel adds a further element–that these shared defining factors are recognisable both by group members and non-members. (Kockel, 2008: 7) There are three key defining elements of the bellows piping revival that perform the role of differentiation.

The tangible instruments, as the tools of the musicians, are the most obvious identifiers of the Borders pipes and smallpipes community, as they are easily recognisable, even to the non-musical 'outsider', as different instruments from the familiar Highland pipe. However, accord-

ing to my contributors, it is only in the last few years that individuals from outwith piping communities have begun to correctly identify the instruments.

The second identifier is the use of the term *Lowland* piping as a descriptor for the revival movement, which is most evident in the name of the representative Society. The label of *Lowland* is not commonly used in Scotland; as it incorporates a wide area of the country, individuals are more likely to say they're from a specific region or town. Likewise, most members of the group would consider themselves 'a piper', rather than a Borders piper or a Lowland piper. Matt Seattle highlighted this method of differentiation in our interview, maintaining that the choice of 'Lowland and Border pipers' as a label for the groups was really the group's way of stating 'we are not Highland pipers'.

But I think the most significant element of group definition was the search for, and development of, their own, identifiable Lowland and Borders piping repertoire. This was not only a way to instil group cohesion (ensuring individuals could share music together), but I would suggest that the drive to find a Borders repertoire was also another step to differentiate this group from the overpowering Highland piping establishment.

As Jansen (1965) asserts, a group will reflect its image of itself in its folklore, and the smaller the group, the stronger the self-defining elements in its folklore. These examples are not subtle, and demonstrate the assertion with which the community sought to defend and strengthen the importance of the bellows piping traditions to 'outsiders'.

5 CONCLUSION: SAFEGUARDING AND REVIVAL

In 1975, Frances Collinson stated '*The Scottish small pipe, though they seem to have been more plentiful in past times, are now extreme rarities.*' (Collinson, 1975: 124) In contrast, in 1992, John purser wrote, *'There has also been a genuine revival of broken traditions [...] The small pipes have been resuscitated by Robert Wallace and the border pipes by Gordon Mooney and Hamish Moore [...] The overall picture is one of vigour and variety and is immensely encouraging.* (Purser, 1992: 265) Today, bellows pipes are a common sight in folk music sessions and bands, and the instruments are showcased in workshops, courses and concerts all over Scotland and around the world. The younger pipers coming out of Scottish traditional music courses at School and University, the 3rd generation of pipers since the start of the revival, 'take it for granted that this is part of the tradition' (H Moore 2013). They are no longer an 'alternative', but have been accepted by these younger generations as part of the 'tool box' of any well-respected piper. In three decades, the deterioration from over a century of neglect has been nearly reversed.

Since the 1980s, the reintroduction of these instruments, and the development of the repertoire, has been labelled as a revival. Tamara Livinston's model of music revival includes a list of what she refers to as 'basic ingredients', all of which are apparent in this example: core revivalists, original sources, a revivalist ideology and discourse, a community of followers, revivalist activities (organisations, festivals, competitions), and enterprises catering to the revivalist market. (Livingston, 1999: 69) But at what point do we decide this revival has revived? And considering there were no continuous links to historic practice, is it still a revival, or is it the creation of a new tradition shaped by the past? What Hobsbawm might label an 'invented tradition'. (1983: 8)

Whether revival or invented, after 30 years of sharing, teaching and expanding the appreciation and understanding of the bellows pipes in Scotland, we could argue that it has now been (re)established as tradition. In the context of discussions on safeguarding ICH, I would say that the successful reinstatement of the bellows pipes into the Scottish folk music scene is a prime example of community safeguarding. Although the item of ICH in question was not living at the beginning of the revival, the initiative serves to demonstrate just how much can be accomplished with the dedication of a very few individuals. A great deal of credit should go to the LBPS for the work it has done to promote the pipes and the music, as well as serving as a focal point for bringing together the community and fostering transmission of the traditions through its activities.

With the success of this revival in mind, I would like to consider a recent episode in the UNESCO ICH story. In December 2012, several items were declined for inclusion on the Ur-

gent Safeguarding List at the UNESCO General Assembly, including *Ongota oral tradition* from Ethiopia. Essentially, the ICH was considered too far gone to be saved, only a handful of very old people practice it, and the Committee could not see how this ICH 'provided a sense of identity and continuity to the community'. (UNESCO 2012: Decision 7.COM 8.2)

The bellows piping revival has demonstrated that even a handful of interested people can have a profound effect in resuscitating tradition, even from death, given the right environment and support–even if this mean taking some elements from the tradition and re-interpreting or re-inventing the other parts to fit the current cultural context. We have already established that all *living* tradition changes and is continually reinterpreting the past into what is relevant to the present. It is acknowledged elsewhere that the official endorsement through inclusion in a national or international inventory could have a positive impact on ICH, through awareness raising and re-invigoration of interest. Could not the converse be true as well? By UNESCO declining the proposal for the Urgent Safeguarding List, it could be interpreted as an official statement that there is no merit in that tradition. In effect, that one decision could be the death knell for these items. To conclude, I would like to ask: As long as there is *someone* interested in a tradition, do we really have the right to decide that it is beyond safeguarding?

REFERENCES

Blake, J., ed. (2007). *Safeguarding Intangible Heritage: Challenges and Approaches*. Builth Wells, Wales: Institute of Art and Law.
Brocken, M. (2003). *The British Folk Revival: 1944-2002*. Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Ltd.
Cannon, R. (2002). *The Highland Bagpipe and its Music (2ⁿᵈ ed)*. Edinburgh: John Donald.
Cheape, H. (2010). *Bagpipes: A National Collection of a National Instrument*. Edinburgh: NMS Enterprises Limited.
Collinson, F. (1975). *The Bagpipe: The history of a musical instrument*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd.
Dundes, A. (1965). What is Folklore?. In A. Dundes, ed. *The Study of Folklore*. Eaglewood: NJ.
Feintuch, B. (2006). Revivals on the Edge: Northumberland and Cape Breton: A Keynote. *Yearbook for Traditional Music*. pp. 38: 1-17.
Hobsbawm, E. (1983). Introduction: Inventing Traditions. In E. Hobsbawm, & T. Ranger, eds. *The Invention of Tradition*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. pp.1-14.
Jansen, W H. (1965). The Esoteric-Exoteric Factor in Folklore. In A. Dundes, ed. *The Study of Folklore*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall. pp.43-51.
Jones, M. O., ed. (1994). *Putting Folklore to Use*. Lexington, KY: University Press of Kentucky.
Kockel, U. (2008). Putting the Folk in Their Place: Tradition, Ecology, and the Public Role of Ethnology. *Anthropological Journal of European Cultures*, 17: 5-23.
Lindahl, C. (2004). Afterword. *Journal of Folklore Research*, 41 (2/3): 173–180.
Livingston, T. (1999). Music Revivals: Towards a General Theory. *Ethnomusicology*, 43 (1): 66-85.
Mooney, G., ed. (2007). *Gordon Mooney's Collections of Music for Lowland and Border Bagpipes*. Scotland: The Lowland and Border Pipers Society.
Munro, A. (1996). *The Democratic Muse: Folk Music Revival in Scotland (2ⁿᵈ ed.)*. Aberdeen: Scottish Cultural Press.
Purser, J. (1992). *Scotland's Music*. Edinburgh: Mainstream.
UNESCO (2003). *Convention on the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage*. Paris: UNESCO
——— (2013). *Intergovernmental Committee for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage: Seventh session, 3-7 December, 2012*. Paris: UNESCO.
West, G. (2012). *Voicing Scotland: Folk, Culture, Nation*. Edinburgh: Luath.

Insularity and intangible heritage in the Balearic Islands (Spain). Current status of the issue

Catalina Cantarellas Camps

University of the Balearic Islands, Balearic Islands, Spain

Francesca Tugores Truyol

University of the Balearic Islands, Balearic Islands, Spain

ABSTRACT: Insularity and the Mediterranean condition are phenomena represented in the intangible heritage of the Balearic Islands. The arrival of cultural influences throughout history and the particular modes in which these are assimilated, become permanent, transform or disappear imply a specific casuistic which will be analysed through the case of Mallorca, Menorca, Eivissa and Formentera. Firstly, this article will account for the features of this inheritance, its transformations throughout the twentieth century, its relationship with that of other territories, and its interaction with other cultural heritages, such as the ethnological heritage or the cultural landscape. The focus will be placed on the current state of the protection and management policies regarding the intangible heritage of the Balearic Islands, as there are four different administrations implicated in the management of these intangible assets –one for each island. Even though the legislative framework is shared, the specific instruments are not and, consequently, four different stages of organization coexist, Eivissa being in the lead. Finally, the general guidelines for a future plan of intangible heritage management will be proposed, reinforcing the need for inventories and specific entities of tutelage, as well as the creation of scientific lines of interdisciplinary work.

1 INTRODUCTION

The interest in the intangible heritage has increased in recent years in Spain, to the extent that it has grown out of the academic field to become the object of interest of different social spheres and tutelage initiatives. However, there are still important discrepancies between the initiatives and policies developed by the different Autonomous Communities, a fact that was brought to light in the Teruel Meeting (Timón & Domingo, 2010).

The concept of intangible heritage has been forged throughout the twentieth century simultaneously in different parts of the world. This is evidenced by precedents such as the declaration of National Monument of the Mystery play of Elche (Alicante) by the government of the Spanish Second Republic in 1931, the protection of several intangible assets in Japan in 1950 or its inclusion in the concept of heritage as stated by the Mexico City Declaration on Cultural Policies in 1982. This project is culminated by the UNESCO during the 1990s, with the first acknowledgements of specific manifestations in 2001, and, essentially, with the Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage in 2003.

In recent years, a theoretical reflection on the concept of intangible heritage has been developed, resulting in an integrating concept. This is echoed in the National Plan for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage (October, 2011) issued by the Spanish Ministry of Culture. According to this text, the values of intangible heritage are based on the following parameters:

- To be interiorised by individuals and communities as part of their identity
- To be shared by the members of a community

- To be alive and dynamic
- To be transmitted and reproduced
- To be generally transmitted from childhood
- To be preserved by the community
- To belong to the collective memory, as a reality socially constructed
- To be understood as life experience
- To be connected with the material dimension of culture
- To be usually contextualised in a framework of space and time
- To be developed and experienced in the present time
- To refer to the individual and collective biography
- To becomes an intricate part of the ways of life
- Not to admit replicas
- To be ritualised
- To constitute an experience from the sensorial perspective
- To have a regenerating effect in the social order
- To be vulnerable

These premises allow, on the one hand, to narrow the definition of this complex type of heritage; on the other, to establish the principles which must be taken into account in its cataloguing and preservation, as well as its research and transmission.

In the case of the Balearic Islands, our intangible heritage has experienced a gradual increase in its value in recent years. Even though there had been several initiatives for the study and the preservation of these types of assets, the inclusion of the Chant of the Sybil in the UNESCO's Representative List (16/11/2010) has promoted the interest on this manifestation and the intangible assets of the Balearic Islands in general.

In fact, this medieval European tradition, only preserved in Mallorca and Alghero, represents an excellent example of the role that insularity has had in the preservation of certain expressions of our intangible heritage. Through this case, and others, it is possible to determine that these singular circumstances condition the means of transmission, transformation or loss of intangible manifestations; the creation of these 'micro-spaces' allows for a reduction of interferences in their transmission, as compared with the continent.

In fact, the isolation that insularity implies in each of the Balearic Islands has conferred on them enough cultural particularities for the Balearic cultural identity to feel somehow imposed. Thus, this isolation allows for a certain cohesion of identity among the inhabitants of each island: Mallorca, Menorca and the Pitiüses. However, even in the latter, the recent institutional division between the Consell d'Eivissa and the newly created Consell de Formentera, represents the extent to which insularity plays an important role.

2 INTANGIBLE HERITAGE IN THE FOUR ISLANDS. CONTEXT AND DEFINITION

The history of each of the Balearic Islands features specific episodes which have conferred different particularities to their individual cultural baggage, even though these episodes are weaved into their common history. In the protohistory Eivissa and Formentera remained Punic, while Mallorca and Menorca were Talayotic, but all of them were eventually Romanised; during the Modern Period, Menorca underwent important stages of English domination which have left an important material and intangible legacy, although this topic has been more often the object of speculation than scientific research.

The episode that somehow marks the beginning of the current cultural sequence in the four Balearic Islands has been the Catalan conquest in the 13th century, with different dates for each island. This conquest implies the intentional elimination of all inheritance from the Islamic culture -even though many vestiges, both material and intangible remain- as well as a resettlement which implies the implantation of a new language, customs and traditions from the conquerors. The result of this conquest on the islands, regarding the material dimension, is an important program of construction and territorial transformation which still influences the basis of territorial organisation and architectonical tradition nowadays. In the field of

intangible heritage, most of the customs which are nowadays being recognised in the actions for the tute-lage of intangible heritage were implanted as a result of this conquest.

This common baggage, as mentioned above, has been developed in each of the islands with specific particularities, or it has been combined with other cultural influences. Examples of this are the remnants of the English language in the Catalan spoken in Menorca, or the similarities that the traditional architecture in Eivissa presents with the African culture. The result of this amalgam of influences is that of an intangible heritage with a common foundation rooted on the Catalan cultural patterns: a common language and a shared cultural base. From this foundation, particularities of each of the islands have been introduced in the cultural paradigm, as a result of the nuances in their landscape, agricultural customs and different influences.

In the last centuries, the incorporation to the Spanish territory has implied the superposition of new influences, which have more to do with the administration of the territory rather than traditional cultural roots. The final result is that of a singular legacy, with a direct connection to the Catalan speaking community, with which many common patterns are shared, but also with important ties with other territories in the Mediterranean regarding architecture, gastronomy and conduct, among others.

In any case, drawing a map of the intangible heritage of the islands is a very complex task due to its richness and diversity, and it should be undertaken from the institutions as a long-term project. Moreover, this task implies facing a wide variety of problems, as in most territories. For example, the difficulty of classifying each manifestation, since they present a mixture of components such as religion, music, dance and rituals, or those related to productive activities. From this premise, a succinct description of the intangible heritage of the Balearic Islands will be developed below. Even though the risk of oversimplification and centralism is present, since, inevitably, the Majorcan context is better-known, it has been addressed whenever possible.

Instead of the five categories established by the UNESCO in the 2003 Convention, here the classification adopted is the one contemplated in the 2011 Spanish National Plan for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage. Some of the examples of the intangible heritage of the Balearic Islands have been included, in accordance with this Plan.

a) **Traditional knowledge about productive activity, processes and techniques.** This category includes all traditional trades linked to the ethnological material heritage, both movable and immovable and also to the configuration of the landscape. The most relevant example here is the Serra de Tramuntana, awarded World Heritage Status by UNESCO, where the values of landscape   transformed by traditional activities converge with ethnological, artistic, archaeological and intangible elements. In Eivissa, the exploitation of Ses Salines and Ses Feixes remain the most relevant examples.

This category includes a subgroup for craftsmanship, which incorporates knowledge from the different trades, historical influences and consuetudinary aspects.

The challenge to preserve this heritage in the face of current changes seems obvious: changes derived from the territorial development and those coming from the transformations in the productive system which has reduced to anecdotic cases those spaces of preservation of heritage, as is the case of local craftsmanship. As opposed to these changes, there have been recent movements for the restoration and appraisal of this heritage, and, in most cases, they are achieving the preservation and recovery of these manifestations, although most of them are only documented and inactive.

b) **Beliefs, festive rituals and other ceremonial practices.** Those beliefs related to nature and the environment, as well as social conducts, count with many examples in all four islands. In this category, the practices related to the social classes have tended to disappear, while those best preserved are the ones dealing with celebrations of harvest and religious avocations. However, the latter have been ritualised and emptied of votive content, and most of the participants are unaware of the origin of the celebration they observe.

c) **Oral tradition and linguistic particularities.** The Catalan language spoken in the Balearic Islands presents particularities in the different spaces of its geography, down to the local level,

as is the case with any non-extinct language. These variations bring into this language a unique richness resulting from the history of each territory –as, for example, those words derived from English in Menorca or the particularities of the language in Sóller and Pollença: a result of their geographic isolation, and, in the case of the former, also due to the direct trade with France.

Moreover, this category must also take into account the legacy of the islands' toponyms, which constitutes a primary source for researchers from various disciplines working on the pre-Christian history.
This category must also include the oral folktale tradition: the 'rondalles', which participate in the common European tradition, and the legends that have been transmitted for generations and have been partially lost, partially complied in order to avoid this process of disappearance.

d) **Representations, staging, games and traditional sports.** Folk dance is firmly rooted in the islands, and it presents such a prolific profile that a comprehensive explanation in the context of this article would be impossible. The most relevant cases –the denomination of Eivissa's folk dance as Asset of Cultural Interest by the Spanish administration- will be dealt with below.

e) **Musical manifestations.** This field includes a very fertile reality that must be documented and systematised. The most relevant case here is the Chant of the Sybil, recognised by the UNESCO, although there exist many musical compositions linked to most celebrations and rituals described above. This interrelated documental heritage should be taken into account when administering these elements.

f) **Gastronomic patterns.** The gastronomy of the islands is closely related to the landscape and traditional trades, as well as to social, religious and historical aspects. The gastronomic baggage of the islands has been undergoing a process of cultural revival for a few decades through the recuperation of traditional harvest fairs and specific local products, which are combined with contemporary elements.

g) **Collective social forms and organisations.** There exist many entities which organise and transmit specific cultural expressions: Easter brotherhoods, organising committees in charge of traditional celebrations, communities of irrigators, etc. One of the best-known celebrations of the islands, the festival of Sant Joan in Ciutadella, Menorca, is organised yearly by the Junta de Caixers, a brotherhood conformed by representatives of different social groups.

The heritage described above cannot be understood without taking into account the geographical framework which has defined it throughout the centuries. This heritage remains closely linked to the different cultural landscapes where it has flourished, as well as to the other elements of the material heritage: the historical cities, the religious moveable and immoveable heritage or the ethnological heritage, among others. Thus, in order to research the complexity of the intangible heritage of the Balearic Isalnds, this must be understood as an integral legacy, intertwined with the landscape and society, and in close relation with other territories.

This reality is encumbered with a whole new complexity that has to do with the islands' fate in the 20th century. The islands' transformation into a mass touristic destination has imposed some consequences in the different cultural expressions and manifestations: some of them have been diluted, others 'folklorised' and de-contextualised and others have been relegated to minority circles. In this last case we find, especially, those expressions connected with activities in regression such as agriculture –the country songs and chants- and those related to the religious sphere -as is the case of the celebration of the Assumption of Mary (Marededéu d'Agost). On the other hand, there are still many cultural manifestations which are strongly preserved and transmitted, as happens with the Chant of the Sybil in Mallorca or Ses Carmelles in Eivissa. Their persistence and the fact that they remain an object of attention for our society despite the adverse cultural circumstances bestow upon them a singular value; they have become a kind of intangible 'archaeological vestige' which has survived until today.

To round up this contextualisation, it is worth mentioning the current state of scientific knowledge on this matter. The interest in intangible heritage is not recent; since the 19th century

it has been an object of study and publications by local academics and distinguished visitors. In this note, it is worth focusing on the works of Louis of Habsburg-Lorraine, where he rendered the first comprehensive documentation of the ethnological and intangible heritage of the Balearic Islands in the framework of his anthropological studies, *Die Balearen*. Nowadays, this work remains crucial to understand the Balearic trades and traditions and the moveable and immoveable assets related to them.

Since then, this interest has been maintained. However, even though there have been many studies done on the different aspects of the intangible heritage of the Balearic Islands, most of them focus on specific elements, or are undertaken from single-discipline approaches: studies of the language and its variations, studies of ethnological heritage, projects for the recovery of photographic archives, religious heritage, customs and traditions, compilations of oral heritage, etc. In this line, it is important to highlight the differences between the anthropological focus – dealing with ethnology and ethnography, where the object of study can be any manifestation of the perspectives- and those studies that correspond to the intangible heritage, which imply a reflection on and selection of the object of study in the face of the impossibility of including all the cultural expressions involved.

Even though this is not the space where to reference the most important works, it is worth mentioning that the common idea underlying all of them is that of the study of the individual manifestations. The integrating vision that is required in the management of the intangible heritage is almost never considered. Thus, one of the most important challenges ahead is the creation of interdisciplinary teams, and stable forums from where to share the results of the different research projects.

3   LEGAL FRAMEWORK

Since the Spanish Historical Heritage Law (SHHL) was passed in 1985, there began a development of independent administrative instruments in each Autonomous Community. Thus, in 1988 the Balearic Islands Historical Heritage Law 12/1998 (BIHHL) was passed. Even though the BIHHL did not include tacitly the intangible heritage, it opposed to the SHHL in defining as heritage all cultural assets, without specifying their moveable or immoveable status (BIHHL, art. 1.2), and it reinforced the notion of heritage from the ethnological perspective (Title IV), declaring that "any movable or immovable property and knowledge and activities that are or have been a relevant expression of the traditional culture of the Balearic Islands in its material, social or spiritual aspects form part of the ethnological heritage of the Balearic Islands" (art. 65), specifically breaking down the ethnological intangible assets (art 67.1 and 67.2). In 2004 this law was to be modified to allow for these assets to be recognised as Intangible Assets of Cultural Interest.

In order to foster the development of the intangible heritage in the Balearic Islands, the Law on Popular and Traditional Culture of the Balearic Islands 1/2002 (LPTCBI) was passed. This law defines the concepts and specifies the coverage of intangible heritage:

1   To the effects of this law, popular and traditional culture is understood as the group of manifestations of the collective life and memory of the people of the Balearic Islands, including those which are still in vigour and those which have disappeared due to historical and social changes.

2   Popular and traditional culture includes everything that makes reference to the group of cultural manifestations, both material and intangible, such as music and musical instruments, dances, costumes, festivals, customs, crafts and trades, gastronomy and games, sports, ritual or religious dances, representations, literary creations as well as all those activities which present a traditional character and which have been or are popular.

Both in the title of the law and in the articles quoted, it is clear that the focus of attention is set on both the traditional and the non-traditional, or popular culture, admitting thus the most recent cultural expressions. This law also considers the protection of "the essential elements, without prejudice to the natural evolution and historical adaptation" (LPTCBI art. 5.2). The similarities between this and other aspects of

the LPTCBI with the Law 2/1993 on the Promotion and Protection of Popular and Traditional Culture and Cultural Associations of Catalonia has been pointed out (Martínez, 2011: 134 – 135), while, at the same time, its place has been established in the general organisation of the Spanish legislation on Cultural and Historical Heritage in general, and on intangible heritage in particular (Pérez Galán, 2011: 21-25).

The LPTCBI also establishes the management tools which, from this perspective, are considered somehow limited. These tools are specified in the concepts of Festivity of Cultural Interest and Association of Cultural Interest. The first one, although designed for the recognition of intangible manifestations, is considered limited because many intangible assets susceptible of being recognised as such are not precisely festivities. The second one is designed to encourage associations which are significant in the development and transmission of various traditional celebrations; however, this distinction has not been awarded yet. This Law also creates the Advisory Board of Popular and Traditional Culture, an advisory body formed by technicians and specialists in the field.

In order to understand the particularities of the application of these two laws in each of the islands, it is necessary to explain that the administrative competences in culture and heritage are delegated to the Consells Insulars in each of the islands: Mallorca, Menorca and Eivissa, and, since 2007, also Formentera. It is also worth mentioning that, even though there exists a common legislation, since the Statute of Autonomy was passed, every Consell Insular holds legislative power, so that each can develop the legal instruments they may consider necessary in each case.

4 MANAGEMENT

The division of competences between the four Consells Insulars, as has been mentioned, has derived into important differences in the standards on cultural heritage management. Even so, the common premise is that the lack of inventories and specific institutions for the tutelage of the intangible heritage limits this tutelage to sporadic actions: there have been public declarations and coverage in specific moments, but in no case it is possible to talk about a continued management, or a follow-up system. In this common framework there exist differences that range from the inexistent policies in Menorca, where cultural heritage management is devoted merely to archaeology, and the pioneering actions taking place in Eivissa, where, even with limited budgets, there is a growing interest in protecting and sponsoring their intangible heritage.

Eivissa was the first Balearic island to pass a Regulation which modified the Law on Popular and Traditional Culture in 2006, and thus it had at its disposal the necessary legal instruments to declare Festivities of Cultural Interest (BOIB 10/08/2006). The festivities declared of Cultural Interest in Eivissa are:

2005. Ses Caramelles de Nadal (festivity) Eivissa. Asset of Intangible and Ethnographic Cultural Interest (BOIB 01/04/2006)

2007. Festes de la Terra. Festivity of Cultural Interest (BOIB 11/08/2007)

2011. Les Caramelles de Pàsqua Asset of Intangible Cultural Interest (BOE 20/12/2011)

2012. The four most important rural dances: "ball pagès (la curta, la llarga, sa filera i les nou (o dotze) rodades)". Asset of Intangible Cultural Interest (BOE 05/07/2012).

The Consell Insular of Formentera is a very young institution and shares legacy and declarations with Eivissa. Both the dances and the songs ('cantades') are an important part of their intangible heritage, as well as "Ses Carmelles de Nadal".

In Mallorca there have been declared two Assets of Intangible Cultural Interest.

2005.The chant of the Sybil, Mallorca. Assets of Cultural Interest (BOIB 15/02/2005)

2008. La festa de l'Estendard, Palma (festivity) (BOE 04/01/2008)

Moreover, there is a special interest in the tradition of the Assumption of Mary, also known as Marededéu d'Agost or Marededéu Morta, which is currently undergoing a process of recession in the transmission of its values. This tradition has not been legally recognised, yet.

In the case of Menorca, there are no instances of actions taken towards the legal tutelage of assets in their intangible heritage. There have been no declarations of cultural assets, nor have any legal texts been passed. This official disinterest probably responds to the fact that the management of cultural heritage is centred, above all, in their extremely rich archaeological heritage. Another reason for this disinterest might be precisely the fact that their traditions are among the most popular in the islands, since they have been able to incorporate the territorial and touristic developments with the continuity of local culture, thus achieving a desirable balance which is absent in the other islands.

In any case, it is worth it to distinguish one initiative: the toponym Nomenclator of Menorca, a project undertaken by several institutions. Its purpose is the updating of the toponimic legacy in Menorca, developing a methodology which considers both historical and oral sources, analysed by a network of contributors. There are also particular associations which, independently, are centred in the compilation of maritime intangible heritage. It is also relevant the failed attempt to include the festival of Sant Joan in Ciutadella in the lists of the UNESCO.

This summary of specific actions surrounding the intangible heritage of the Balearic Islands portrays a striking reality: in the Balearic Islands there does not exist a stable system of tutelage in this matter, yet. However, these data also confirm another fact: there has been a lot done in very little time. In ten years legal instruments have been developed, and specific manifestations have been protected through the declarations of Assets of Cultural Interest and the Festivities of Cultural Interest, one of them even making it into the UNESCO Representative List.

Moreover, we can ascertain that, since 2010, when the Chant of the Sybil of Mallorca was included in the UNESCO Intangible Cultural Heritage List, there have been sensible changes in the perception, not only of this specific manifestation, but of the general intangible heritage of the islands. Somehow, in a short period of time, one of the criteria for the inscription in the List was fulfilled: "the inscription of the chant of the Sybil on the Representative List could contribute to the visibility and awareness of the intangible cultural heritage worldwide" (R.2, 5.COM 6.38 United Nations. Nomination File No. 00360: November 2010). It is thus undeniable that this is a positive moment for the appreciation of the intangible heritage in the Balearic Islands. The next step is to foster more rigorous, stable and durable policies of tutelage.

5 CONCLUSIONS AND FUTURE PROSPECTS

The lines for a future plan for the management of cultural intangible heritage in the Balearic Islands must necessarily include:

- Inventories and catalogues. The elaboration of the Catalogue of Intangible Heritage of the
  Balearic Islands is one of the most important challenges in its management. Given the administrative division of the islands, common criteria and methodological guidelines should be established in order to allow for the unity in their results. For this, there exist models proposed by different Autonomous Communities, among which there is Andalusia (Carrera Díaz, 2009). The final guidelines to take into account in this process of cataloguing should arise from interdisciplinary reflection and they should include parameters related to the age of the manifestations, their material refinements, the identification of their contributors, etc.

In this respect, the National Plan of October 2011 mentioned above refers specifically to the need of establishing common theoretical basis, both in its conceptual definition and in the systems of registering, documentation and distribution. Moreover, and related to the creation of registers, inventories and catalogues, it is indicated that in these atlas and catalogues there must be defined the complete documentation concerning the asset's current state, and analyse its original configuration. The processes that this asset has experienced will be researched, and the risks it faces will be identified, as well as the processes and strategies that fundament, organise and regulate the proposals of safeguarding actions.

In the research work, the following fields must be included:

- Identification of the cultural intangible manifestation and the main subject or collective related to it
- Characterisation of all the elements
- Perception of the main subject or collective
- Interpretation, risks and diagnoses
- Objectives, strategies and proposed actions

Moreover, there should be an impulse to specific studies in order to obtain the scientific and technical knowledge about certain aspects. Special plans and master plans should be designed, based on:

- A participative methodology, with the participation of its contributors
- Indentifying the means of intergenerational transmission, in order to adopt measures for its continuity
- A periodical update of inventories
- The application of a territorial perspective. A link with nature, history and the environment
- The application of a holistic methodology. A relationship with other cultural assets where a relation between the intangible (uses, expressions, knowledge, wisdom...) and the material (instruments, objects, artefacts and cultural spaces inherent to them, as are the moveable and immoveable assets, or extensive parts of the territory)

In close relation to the catalogue, there are two elements which should not be forgotten. First, the objects found in the museums, often found on display without a relevant context. Secondly, the need to propose the cataloguing of significant spaces in order, not only to protect the specific cultural intangible manifestation, but its space as well. This can be done either with declarations of Assets of Cultural Interest which integrate both parameters, or else transposing the responsibility of the protection of the space to the local immoveable heritage catalogues.

- It is also necessary to perform a diagnose of the state of conservation of the most impotant
- manifestations, and the elaboration of a document of priorities regarding their tutelage in order to establish which manifestations require legal protection and/or a technical appraisal.
- To carry out these projects with stability, unity and continuity, it is indispensible to create
- specific institutions for the reporting, documentation and tutelage of the intangible heritage manifestations of each island. Otherwise, when the management of cultural intangible heritage is inscribed in wider busier departments, such as historical heritage (in the case of Mallorca and Menorca) or institutions devoted to archives and libraries (Eivissa), it is inevitably relegated to isolated actions, and the stability and specificity that this matter requires is never achieved.
- **Promotion of interdisciplinary studies.** In order to catalogue, first we need to know. As has been stated above, even though there are currently some lines of work focused on these assets, they are often undertaken from individual perspectives: musicology, history of art, philology or ethnology. However, there are no groups working on this matter based on the dialogue between the different disciplines. It is of fundamental importance that the integral studies on intangible manifestations are further promoted, by highlighting their values and implications, and where the common mistake of taking an exclusively erudite perspective is avoided, so that the vision of the contributors and the transmitters of the celebrations is also included.

- **Creation of forums and spaces of debate.** Closely related to the previous item, it is very important that, apart from the research teams, these can find moments to gather, like seminars and periodical conferences, with the publishing of the proceedings, in which they can deal with the challenges and solutions related to the knowledge, cataloguing and tutelage of the intangible heritage. These forums should count with the participation of the contributors.

- Understanding the intangible heritage must also include the study of those manifestations which have disappeared

- It is also important not to forget the territorial perspective in relation to other neighbouring spaces where they celebrate, or used to, the same manifestation, so as not to isolate meanings and interpret the manifestations properly.

- **Creation of Educational tools for all ages.** Socialisation is a recurrent topic in discussions about heritage. An effective socialisation of heritage implies that this heritage is known and enjoyed by society. In the case of intangible heritage, socialisation becomes a fundamental aspect, because society is precisely its transmitter, and, therefore, it makes no real sense to document and learn about it if it is not spontaneously transmitted through generations. In these actions, the transmission of intangible heritage in its natural context should be prioritised. This transmission often takes place in local spheres and between different generations. It is also important that the manifestations increase their autonomy in the face of foreign audiences, instead of introducing elements out of context in order to attract them.

REFERENCES

Bouchenaki, M. 2004. "Editorial", in Museum International. Intangible Heritage, 221 - 222: 7-12.

Carrera, G. 2009. "Proyectos. Atlas del Patrimonio Inmaterial de Andalucía. Puntos de partida, objetivos y criterios técnicos y metodológicos", Revista PH. Instituto Andaluz del Patrimonio Histórico, 71: 18-41.

Castillo, J. (2007). El futuro del Patrimonio histórico: la patrimonialización del hombre. e-rph. *Revista Electrónica de Patrimonio Histórico*, 1: 1-35.

Choay, F. (2007). *Alegoría del Patrimonio*. Barcelona: Ed. Gustavo Gili.

Garrote Fernández, I. (2009). El patrimonio inmaterial y los derechos de propiedad intelectual. *Patrimonio Cultural de España*, 0: 111-132.

López, C. (2004). El patrimonio cultural inmaterial en la legislación española. Una reflexión desde la Convención de la UNESCO de 2003. *Patrimonio Cultural y Derecho*, 8: 203-216.

López, J. D. (2011). Tradición, conflicto y valores en la fiesta: el patrimonio inmaterial desde un enfoque intercultural. In F.J. García, N. Kressnova, coord. *Actas del I Congreso Internacional sobre Migraciones en Andalucía*, Granada: 1893-1901.

Martínez, L.P. (2007). Autenticidad e integridad en el patrimonio (inmaterial). In F.J. López Morales, *Nuevas miradas sobre la autenticidad e integridad en el Patrimonio Mundial de las Américas: San Miguel de Allende, Guanajuato, México, Agosto 24-26, 2005, ICOMOS, INAH*. París, México D.F. pp.167-173.

Martínez, L.P. (2011). La tutela legal del patrimonio inmaterial en España: valoración y perspectivas. *Revista de la Facultad de Ciencias Sociales y Jurídicas de Elche*, I(7): 123-150.

Model Provisions for National Laws protection of Expressions of Folklore Against Illicit exploitation and other prejudicial actions [online]. Available at www.wipo.int/.../1982-folklore-model-provisions.pdf [Accessed 12 May2013].

Pérez B. (2011). Los usos de la cultura en el discurso legislativo de patrimonio cultural en España. Una lectura antropológica sobre las figuras legales de protección. *Revista de Antropología Experimental, Universidad de Jaén* [online]. Available at http. www.ujaen.es/huesped/rae/articulos2011/02perez11.pdf [Accessed 6 May 2013]. pp.11-30.

Prats, L. (1997). *Antropología y patrimonio*. Barcelona: Ariel.

Protecting Intangible Cultural Heritage: From Ethical Dilemmas to Best Practice. (2006) ICOM News, 2.

Rioja, C. (1996). Reflexiones en torno a la cultura inmaterial y su gestión patrimonial en la Comunidad Autónoma Andaluza. *PH: Boletín del Instituto Andaluz del Patrimonio Histórico*. pp.16: 79-84.

Román, R. (2007). Las expresiones culturales tradicionales en las normas sobre derecho de autor [online]. Available at www.biblio.juridicas.unam.mx/libros/6/2634/10.pdf [Accessed 11 May 2013].

Seitel, P., ed. (2001). *Safeguarding Traditional Cultures: A Global Assessment*. Washington D.C.: Smithsonian Institution

Skrydstrup, M.C., Krydstrup, M. C. & Wendkand, W. (2006). *Protecting Intangible Cultural Heritage: From Ethical Dilemmas to Best Practice.* ICOM News, 59, 2.

Timón, M. P. & Domingo, M., coord. (2010). *La Salvaguardia del Patrimonio Inmaterial. Conclusiones de las Jornadas sobre Protección del Patrimonio Inmaterial (Teruel 2009) / Safeguarding Intangible Cultural Heritage. Conclusions of the Teruel 2009 Workshop on the Protection of the Intangible Heritage, Ministerio de Cultura, Madrid.*

Vézina, B. (2012). Are they in or are they out? Traditional cultural expressions and the public domain: implications for trade. In C. Graber, K. Kuprecht & J. Lai, ed. *International trade in Indigenous Cultural Heritage (Legal and Policy Issues).* Massachusetss: EE. pp.196 - 220.

Caring for country: art as a platform for Indigenous and Western; land stewardship - Australian perspectives

Catriona Moore
University of Sydney, Sydney, Australia

ABSTRACT: Art that draws upon environmental sciences and/or western conventions of the sublime and the picturesque landscape remains an effective vehicle for environmental health and education. At the same time, many artists are trying to understand the sophisticated complexity of Indigenous land-derived knowledge. In Australia, as elsewhere, Indigenous art has been a major communication tool for achieving environmental justice. For instance, the Yolngu-speaking peoples have long demonstrated environmental knowledge and ownership over their landed estates of North East Arnhem Land. The 1963 Bark Petition hanging in Canberra's Parliament House is testimony to this activism, and more recently the 2003 Saltwater exhibition of bark paintings was used as legal evidence in the successful High Court Native Title ruling over Blue Mud Bay, brought down in August 2008. All of the artworks communicate the Yolngu cosmos, land management practices, and relationships of ownership, custodianship and obligation. Western landscape traditions have also been a platform for environmental communication. Nearly a decade after the 1963 Bark Petition, picturesque views of Lake Pedder in Tasmania's South West were reproduced as campaign materials to save the lake from being flooded for hydro-electricity and unwanted state development. Western conventions of the sublime and the picturesque landscape have remained forceful visual persuaders, and hardly an election goes by without visual comparisons between lush, dripping rainforest and blackened clear-fell. My paper acknowledges that historical tensions between Indigenous stewardship and Western ideas of a pristine (uninhabited) sublime wilderness remain, as articulated in the High Court decision to rescind the founding colonial doctrine of 'terra nullius'. The paper assesses how Indigenous art and customary land care practices have helped to challenge the Western philosophical divide between our cultural and natural heritage. This has resulted in a more inclusive idea of landscape as 'country' acknowledging the layering of Indigenous and migrant histories and diverse religious, customary and secular land care practices. We now appreciate art that integrates instrumental and affective realms (burning-off and dancing, for instance; or art projects incorporating scientific tabulation, weeding, painting and singing). This mutually interactive knowledge network has significantly broken down the compartmentalised aesthetic, administrative and scientific approaches of the Western mindset.

1 INTRODUCTION

In Australia, as elsewhere, Indigenous art has been a major communication tool for achieving environmental justice. For instance, the Yolngu-speaking peoples have long demonstrated environmental knowledge and ownership over their landed estates of North East Arnhem Land. The 1963 Bark Petition hanging in Canberra's Parliament House is testimony to this

activism. Yolngu elders protested to the Federal Government about the alienation of traditional lands for bauxite mining at the remote coastal community of Yirrkala in the Northern Territory with a bi-lingual petition bordered by a painted summation of indigenous law: landscape features and mala designs specifying ownership and responsibilities for country. The images are structured according to Yirritja and Dhuwa moieties on two pieces of flattened stringy-bark. (Attwood, 2003, Mundine, 1999) This now famous 'bark petition' had followed the re-alignment movement on Elcho Island, in which Yolgnu elders unveiled some of their most sacred items alongside the Yirrkala church. The 1962 'church panels', which are a deep revelation of Yolngu law and culture, are now on permanent display at Yirrkala. This activism continued with the Barunga Statement during Australia's Bicentennial (1988) and most recently, the 2003 Saltwater exhibition of bark paintings was used as legal evidence in the successful High Court Decision on Blue Mud Bay, brought down in August 2008. All of these artworks communicate the Yolngu cosmos, land management practices, and relationships of ownership, custodianship and obligation.

Western landscape traditions have also been a platform for ecological communication. Nearly a decade after the 1963 Bark Petition, picturesque views of Lake Pedder in Tasmania's South West were reproduced as campaign materials to save the lake from being flooded for hydro-electricity. Romantic landscape imagery was an essential component of these early conservation battles, which were fought over the meaning of wild places. Olegas Trucheras' popular 1972 slide shows at the Hobart Town Hall showed photographs of an uninhabited, pristine wilderness in danger of being irretrievably lost through unwanted state development. These have been reproduced on calendars and postcards ever since, as have similarly iconic images taken by Peter Dombrovskis during the 1983 Save the Franklin River campaign. Their iconic power, MacLean has commented, partly rests on the fact that "The sublime is an aesthetic of both catastrophe and hope." (McLean, 2002, 6) Western landscape conventions have remained forceful persuaders, and hardly an election goes by without visual comparisons between lush, dripping rainforest and blackened clear-fell. (Wade, 2006)

Indigenous art and the western landscape tradition offer divergent understandings of ownership and habitation. Moreover the historical tensions between indigenous stewardship and western ideas of a culturally abject, sublime 'wildness' still sporadically reappear in the economic and political arenas, as in ongoing tussles between Cape York greenies and Indigenous traditional owners that helped to bring down the Queensland State Labour Government in 2012. On the whole, however, these two powerful visions of the landscape have jogged along together for over forty years of environmental struggle.

2   THE WESTERN LANDSCAPE TRADITION

From the late 1960s, artists challenged the modernist belief in the dominance of man as rational being, along with its correlate, the environmental and social degradation of industrial capital. As they watched capitalism lurch towards an unsustainable First World post-industrialism, Second World implosion, Third World de-colonisation and industrialisation, and continued Fourth World protest, the avant-garde once again sought to reconcile radical aesthetics and radical politics. It is not surprising that the land looms larger when the order of the world changes. Writers observe how art's renewed environmental focus echoes the late-18th century investment in the landscape as a privileged locus for thinking about universal human values such as individual freedom, equality, fraternity – the moral bedrock of modern subjectivity[1] The Romantic reaction against corrupt absolutist or theocratic regimes sought an Edenic, primordial space in which to reinvent humanity. Theirs was an image of nature as an active, divine force. The idea of *natura naturans*, nature as wild and majestic, was fuelled by the remote, New World landscapes of the Imperial adventure. Australian colonial landscapes followed those of the outlying regions of the British Isles, the Americas, Africa and other Pacific regions in hosting aesthetic and spiritual renewal, the reconciliation between man and nature, subject and object. (Smith, 1985; Bonyhardy, 1985, 2000; National Gallery of Australia, Canberra and Wadsworth Atheneum, Hartford, Connecticut, 1998)

Despite its popularity during the Save Lake Pedder and the Franklin River campaigns, the western style of 'fine print and singular image' landscape photography came under criticism for an essentialist rendition of 'mother nature', the evasion of ongoing indigenous habitation

and its easy co-option by the advertising and tourism industries. Indigenous sculptor Julie Gough (Trawlwoolway) reminded audiences that the Tasmanian wilderness has never been terra incognita or terra nullius. Her installations suggest stories in the landscape which predate the old-growth forests. (Grant, 2001; Langton, 1996). *The Whispering Sands (Ebb Tide)* (1998) located colonial conflict as a part of the evolving Tasmanian landscape. Cut-out figures of named individuals associated with the scientific colonial project stand revealed then submerged by water as the tide ebbs and flows along the desolate shores of Eaglehawk Neck, an old convict penal settlement in Southern Tasmania. From an Indigenous point of view, humans are fully imbricated in the natural world. The idea of an abject space of utter wildness or 'wilderness' makes no sense in settler colonies like Australia.

To make audiences think actively about their environment, artists have sought to distance or confound the codes of expressive realism and the picturesque landscape. David Stephenson, arriving in Tasmania from the U.S. in 1982, exploited the virtuosity of 19th century landscape photography in haunting, art-historical visions of paradise lost. He works with and against the bravura of the photographic landscape tradition as a visual match for the hubris of Tasmanian hydro-electricity schemes. Catherine Rogers' photographs similarly prompt the aesthetic contemplation of scientific (ecological, physical, chemical) phenomena related to flooding and clear-felling, packaging nature as an object of language and desire. The Western landscape is now considered as a site where environmental phenomena are registered, rather than as a window on the world.

Equally traditional western images of the country garden, orchard and bush clearing offer the sensual experience of belonging within a known place in a comforting image of humanised nature. The local popularity of this sub-genre grew in the early 20thc, with the promotion of native flora in suburban gardens, the emergence of bushwalking and conservation movements and the professionalization of botany and ecology. The popular image of rural life and harmonious human settlement has its mythic base in peasant culture, and promotes a continuum between past and present. It also claims ancestry in the English landscape garden tradition, expressing that dynamic and productive relation between art and nature, where nature aids art, and the artist/gardener aids the creation of future nature: a "shared good", as David Cooper describes. (Cooper, 2006). Instances of art-nature co-productivity range widely, from projects associated with Waterworks, SA Country Arts Trust, Adelaide, (curator Catherine Murphy) to the native grasses garden planting at the Casula Powerhouse in Liverpool, South-west Sydney, regularly harvested for community grass-weaving workshops.

The image of the homestead at ease in the landscape is animated through loving attention to the intimate routines of everyday life. Such enduring images of productive stewardship transformed earlier Australian heroic figures of the explorer, bush larrikin and pioneer into the 20thc image of the modern farmer. Today this intimate space also hosts the permaculturalist, community gardener and relational art project, and western landscape projects happily jog alongside Indigenous accounting for country. In the coastal town of Gerringong, south of Sydney, as in many metropolitan and rural communities, local native grasses are grown for Indigenous community weaving/basketry workshops. The Boolarng Nangamai garden helps to filter a coastal stream in Gerringong's industrial hub, and forms part of a native reforestation seed-savers-and-propagation nursery. Indigenous community art-gardens such as this are valued for their raw and value-added products. They extend knowledge of country across the generations, strengthening family and community and maintaining unbroken or endangered cultural practices such as shelling, grass weaving and medicinal uses of local native flora.

Non-Indigenous artists have also renovated the intimate landscape tradition, and physical immersion in nature is valued as a basis for self-consciousness. Many contemporary open-form sculptures resemble small-scaled, ecological systems, or enact some change (installation, mark-making, environmental reparation), as a means heightening our perception of place. The human body performs in the bush environment as just one element among others, and the natural materials used in these projects refer obdurately to themselves. The earth is no inert material awaiting the artist's transformation, and instead becomes both subject and object of the creative process. Rocks, trees, soil, wind, water, fire and other environmental forces take creative centre-stage to illustrate the rationality of natural systems.

This recognition has brought humans down to scale as one of many generative elements in a dynamic ecology.

This extends the potential of the mimetic tradition through a sympathetic openness to nature, experienced as something which affects and engages us. The artist joins the conversation through ritual gestures that mime natural forces. For instance John Wolseley's drawings extends the desire "to copy, imitate, make models, explore difference, yield into and become other". (Taussig, 1993) Wolseley lays down his paper and canvas to allow the landscape to itself leave traces of scratching, rubbings, and the brushing of burnt foliage across the page, recording the passage of the artist through the bush. He sees himself as a "facilitator for the landscape to depict itself," as Sasha Grishin observes, rather than as someone who depicts the landscape. (Grishin, 2005- 2006)

Gallery-based art such as this remains politically relevant today as a platform for ecological communication largely due to the force of the Aboriginal art revolution. Indigenous curators like Djon Mundine, Hetti Perkins and Brenda Croft maintain an inter-connection between gallery art and the political realm of environmental decision-making. Since the later 1980s, the aesthetic power of formal gallery installations and the cultural power of the museum sector has been used to publicise, educate and authorise connections between indigenous art, land and sea claims and customary law. To emphasise this point, Yolgnu senior artist Djambawa Marawilli warned audiences at the 2006 Biennale of Sydney that Yirrkala bark paintings on show in the Biennale had a broader purpose than international gallery artifact. He re-stated the claims made by his countrymen's iconic 1963 bark petition, arguing that contemporary bark paintings are native title documents in ongoing battles with the Northern Territory tourist and fishing industries. (Marawili, 2006) Indigenous artworks thus brought post-colonial frameworks to bear on European regional landscape traditions, which had located aboriginality in the realm of the natural, as their mythic precondition. The European understanding of culture and nature as mutually exclusive was challenged by Indigenous art and philosophy, and the Romantic legacy of 'harmony between people and nature' was re-cast in the activist framework of social and environmental justice.

3   CARING AND WORKING FOR COUNTRY

Today Australia's Indigenous estate covers over twenty per cent of the continent and includes areas of globally significant biodiversity and cultural value, many now declared as Indigenous Protected Areas in the National Reserve System. None of the Indigenous estate exists in its pre-colonial condition, however, and it faces a myriad of environmental threats. Nonetheless, Australia boasts the world's longest-standing traditions of cultural work for land care, and today our eco-art is emphatically cross-cultural and inter-disciplinary.

Much of the art from the more remote Indigenous communities of the north and the Pacific islands employ local materials, are community based, activist-oriented and relate to long-held beliefs that everything is inter-related. (Ewington, 1996) This work has helped link ecology and art to identity and cultural survival. Conversely, loss of identity is seen to go hand in hand with environmental degradation. (Searle, 1996) This identity remains extremely diverse, for indigenous artworks express the viewpoints of six hundred or so language groups in Australia, and therefore cannot be reduced to an essentialist art historical concept.

By acknowledging these counter-traditions, the European idea of 'landscape' has broadened to concepts of 'country'. Country is a handy European term respectful of indigenous land ownership and custodianship, whilst recognising the potential of non-indigenous stewardship. Barkindji photographer Nici Cumpston thus employs the sophisticated complexity of Indigenous accounting for land, which often flows from one aspect to the next, across the land and across registers of meaning, so that a reading of a place might convey social, ancestral, ecological, topographical, colonial and economic information. Her panoramic photographs of massacre sites and culturally modified landscapes (eg. *Scar Tree, Nookamka Lake, (detail)*, 2008) employs the western formally prodigious nature of Western landscape photography, whilst registering indigenous, colonial and anti-colonial myths and images, as South Australian arts writer and novelist Stephanie Radok muses, "layered on top of each other to make a richer, deeper place." (Radok, 2002)

Australian art historian Mary Eagle has also observed that the Indigenous concept of country does not hold any "divide between representations of land and of people, hence no 'landscape' in the western sense of an abstract scene waiting to be filled.... The Aborigines envisioned journeys and represented them in songs and images according to the waterholes, food resources, people, land rights, rites and permissions involved." (Eagle, 1999-2000) In most remote communities, Indigenous law maintains distinctions between visual representations, dance, ritual, poetry, song and a ritualised use of language, and dictates their use in declaring the central theme of possession, identity and custodianship. Indigenous art has helped others understand how the law codifies and maps obligations to the land.

This has helped raise the standard of Australian "land literacy", as artist Ray Norman terms the ability to read and appreciate the signs of health (and ill-health) in the landscape. (Norman, 2001) A good example is the way Cape York (Far North Queensland) painter Samantha Hobson reads the land in environmental as well as cultural, economic and community terms in her large painting *Burn Grass Season* (2002). Her countryman Barry Hunter explains traditional agricultural practices that have helped the Top End's potential carbon trade economy: "Firestick farming (burning off), is a well-documented technique Aboriginal people used to renew and manage the land.... In the north of Australia it is carried out at the beginning of the cool dry season. Firestick farming serves two main purposes. One is to decrease the chance of a wildfire by reducing the vegetation; this vegetation could be fuel for a major fire. Secondly, fire is used to clear the country and encourage new growth. This new growth attracts wildlife, such as kangaroos and other species, which are drawn to nibble on the soft new shoots sprouting after the fire."(Hunter, 2003; Frew, 2007; Bowman, 2001 - 2002) Peter Debnam additionally notes that Hobson's *Burn Grass Season*, along with her paintings *Stressed* (2001) and *Bust 'im up* (2000) can also be read, "as a metaphor for the volatile social conditions that often undermine the community. There is, however, an underlying optimism that 'burning off' also involves purging and cleansing – the growth of fresh grass and new hope."(Debnam, 2003)

In the field of public art, land literacy has facilitated the use of art as ecological restoration. This shift has dovetailed with the emerging eco disciplines that are also concerned with the study of relationships, supplanting outmoded ideas about humans being dominant and separate from the places in which they live. Artists now share knowledge within collaborative, inter-disciplinary teams for ecological restoration. Such projects are evaluated for the strength of their inter-related environmental and aesthetic dimensions. Eco-aesthetics introduces additional values like sustainability, bio-diversity, environmental activism and indigenous community protocols to art criticism and art history. This has proven difficult, for these seemingly instrumental outcomes have yet to be developed by art critics, beyond their use as simple descriptors. Undoubtedly our critical language will broaden as authors, subjects, objects and processes change. Bush tucker, salinity, tidal patterns and rainfall are now common artistic motifs. Artistic processes have expanded to include direct seeding; hand-planting, feral pest control and water sampling. (Radok & Malone2005) Adelaide artist Gavin Malone proposes a common view:

> "It is easy to consider a sculptural form to be a river valley, paint strokes to be the planting of trees, shrubs and grasses, the grubbing of fennel and poisoning of blackberry to be the editing of superfluous content. But bring in others – collaboration with engineers, architects, urban planners, landscape planners – those who influence the form of our public space and infrastructure. Then another layer – ecologists, botanists, cultural planners, and importantly, artists. … To manipulate an urban, rural, or remote landscape, to change its aesthetic from degraded to sustainable, to mediate and act on the way people understand and live in the bio-physical world, can be and is art." (Malone, 1998)

Ecology focuses on inter-relationships - not only physical and biological pathways but also the cultural, political and historical aspects of ecological systems. Indigenous curator Djon Mundine similarly describes the Yolngu concept of overlaid creative environments, where two different entities meet to create a new phenomenon. He uses the idea of water as a critical paradigm, noting how Yolgnu artists "use water as a tool, a model for philosophising. The estuarine area of a river has different plant species along its bank. The constant renewal where

fresh and salt mix and return is known as ganma. This is used as a metaphor to describe a different kind of mixing: mixing Balanda (European) thought from overseas (saltwater) and indigenous wisdom from the land (fresh water) to create new life and ways of thinking." (Mundine, 1999) This integrative way of reading the country challenges the compartmentalised Western aesthetic/administrative/scientific understandings of the landscape.

Contemporary environmental art in Australia thus claims ancestry in both Indigenous land custodianship, including food gathering (bush tucker) and associated ceremonies, the sublime and picturesque western landscape and the English landscape garden tradition. All resonate with the important indigenous lesson that ecological communication is both cognate and sensate. Mary Eagle, writing on Emily Kngwarreye's *Big Yam Dreaming* (1995) describes how the canvas is worked from the outside in, rendering the yam tubers' journey as they spread underground. Kngwarreye painted to arm's reach, demonstrating her knowledge, power and connections with the yam's life force: "Unlike her western counterparts she neither had nor required an encompassing view through looking. She looked at her work from the point of view of a woman digging for yam tubers." (Eagle, 1999-2000) Painting as tracing with fingers, Eagle continues, "Her hands understood her subject through a lifetime." The 'practical philosophy' embedded in this artwork educates Australians about tacit, sensate knowledge of country.

In Australia, water is a productive, scarce, sacred and contested element. (Langton, 2006) Indigenous artists from coastal regions and Northern Australia for instance, relate the poetics of water to specific actions on land and sea rights. A case in point is the 1999-2001 travelling exhibition *Saltwater: Yirrkala Bark Paintings of Sea and Country*, which was prompted by Garranali custodian Wäka Munungurr's discovery of an illegal barramundi fishing camp hidden amongst the mangroves near the homeland community of Bäniyala. As Andrew Blake, art coordinator at Yirrkala's Buku-Larrngay Mulka Centre explains, "This apparently small incident began the monumental story of the production of 80 bark paintings – set against the backdrop of a national legal and political maelstrom. While these barks were being painted, we saw the historic recognition of Native Title in the sea by the Federal Court one day… and its extinguishment by the Parliament literally two days later. Through all this, the events set in train by Wäka's discovery continued as inexorably as an incoming tide. These works and this catalogue have been brought in by that tide." (Blake, 1999)

Floating an exhibition of bark paintings about Sea Rights on an incoming political tide is a powerful ecological aesthetic platform. The image of estuarine ebb and flow provides a poetic, cross-cultural metaphor for reconciliation and extended the concept of Native Title to the sea. As evidenced by the successful political outcomes of the aesthetically beautiful *Saltwater* exhibition, politicians and the business community are starting to acknowledge the environmental authority of Indigenous art. (Rose, 2013) The scientific community is still a little slow in according due authority to art and to indigenous knowledge when it comes to ecological sustainability, however; a residue of scientific dominance in the history of modernism. (Cranswick, 2001) There remains a minority scientist or wildlife ranger perception of 'surely the natural world can speak for itself', a legacy of the old nature/culture opposition, and a reluctance to understand how art adds another side to the conservation story. Initiatives such as the North Australian Indigenous Land and Sea Management Alliance (NAILSMA) are shifting this imbalance between western scientific and Indigenous land knowledges, establishing guiding principles for governments that articulate the interests of Indigenous peoples across the north, developing partnerships that promote understanding, recognition and a common goal in water use and management. (NAILSMA, 2013)

Contemporary artists and cultural theorists have been preoccupied in recent decades with socially engaged or relational aesthetics. Indigenous eco-art extends these socially engaged practices through ideas of social entrepreneurship and environmental activism. Jacky Green is a Garawa traditional owner from the Southwest Gulf of Carpentaria, which is cut in two by the Northern Territory/Queensland border. Green also heads up the Waanyi-Garawa Rangers, centred around the remote community of Borrooloola. Green states: "I started painting so I can get my voice out. I want to show people what is happening to our country and to us as Aboriginal people. … I want government to listen to Aboriginal people. I want you people in the cities to know what's happening to us and our country. You can see from my paintings things aren't good." (Green, 2012) Green was born in a creek bed near a place called Soudan

Station in the Northern Territory. He grew up on the pastoral stations where his father worked as a stockman, learning to handle horses and cattle, but with no whitefella (Balanda) education. He was, however, taught traditional law from the southwest Gulf peoples; the Mara, Gudanji, Yanyuwa and Garawa. This is land where "We sing the country", as he explains.

Green's paintings tell a little-known story about the failure of safeguards and consultation. Green, a traditional land owner, is particularly concerned with heavy metal pollution caused by the mining giant Xstrata's decision to change from underground to open pit mining, and the disruption of the McArthur river itself. The main body of ore lies directly beneath the McArthur River, so the conversion to open pit necessitated the diversion of the river along a canal that runs around the facility to the east, destroying sacred/secret sites on Garawa country. Furthermore, dredging at the Bing Bong Loading Facility has destroyed a section of sea grass, which provides food for the native dugong population. Potential for bioaccumulation of heavy metals in dugongs, a significant concern for Aboriginals from Borroloola who eat the meat has been identified as a result from potential ore spillage at the facility. As Green observes: "There's a lot of mining going on in our country. Seems to be more and more of them each week. The mining companies are coming into our country and they aren't talking with us properly. They seem to just want us to agree to things their way. They might talk to one or two people but not to the 'Minggirringi' (owners) and 'Junggayi' (managers) for the places they want to explore or mine. Things are always rushed. It's always about someone else's plan for our country and not our own plans. In the last year I've counted maybe six mining companies operating in our region. They are looking around our country for all kinds of stuff—gas, uranium, gold, diamonds and zinc. Some of them are destroying our country. You just have to look at the McArthur River Mine that features in one of my paintings. They are destroying an important sacred site that sits in that area. We are worried about the damage to the site and of leaks and pollution from run-off that might come down the river and go into the sea. These are places where we get food. There's lots of people dying and getting sick. We aren't saying that the mine is the cause of all this but it worries us that the sacred sites aren't being protected. We can't do what we are supposed to do and we feel there are consequences for this. It plays with our people's minds. It's not good for them. This is serious business." (Green, 2013; Mason, 2012)

Green's paintings also inform viewers about the 'two law' structures of power in the region – Balanda and Indigenous law. As such, they develop perspectives first aired in the pioneering film *Two Laws- Kanymarda Yuwa* made by the Borroloola communities in 1984 (with Carolyn Strachan and Alessandro Cavallini) which documented attempts to claim and care for the land and its people from the 1930s to the communities' mid-1980s Land Claim. Green's representational *River Country / Mining Country* series work in tandem as 'before and after' documents on the impact of mining ventures. The series was first exhibited in *Flow of Voices: River Country / Mining Country* (Sydney June 2013, curator Jo Holder). Flow of Voices focused on the river systems of the Northern Territory. Other artists in the show included Kimberley painter Agnes Armstrong, with photographs and video work by Bessie Boylan (Borroloola) and soundscape by Phillip Samartsis (Kununurra).

Green is also the Waanyi/Garawa fire coordinator, and has been active in developing numerous partnerships to assist with fire management in the vast southern Gulf region. His Rangers work to manage fire hazards and reduce Greenhouse Gas Emissions to the atmosphere over a specified period of time and to augment Aboriginal traditional owner engagement and reconnection with country. Green's paintings dovetail with his work on fauna surveys, fire fuel monitoring sites, and controlled burn-offs. The Rangers also provide traditional owners and Bushfires NT with scientific data to measure fuel loads, maintain roads and tracks and improve access for traditional owners to visit country. This has resulted in more people visiting country and residing on traditional lands for longer periods of time. Green's paintings also form part of a broader data collection that is used to develop a management plan for the area of conservation significance to determine how it will be managed in the future. (Altman & Kiering, 2012)

Inventive curatorial strategies are particularly important to ensure that artworks are linked to environmental campaigns and help promote practical as well as aesthetic outcomes. This happens when art, community and economic development combine with land care and employment programs, as in the 'best practice' projects described here, and others hosted by

Indigenous community-based arts centres like Yirrkala in the Northern Territory, Papunya Tula, Ernabella and Hermannsberg in the Western Desert lands of South Australia. In regional and metropolitan areas, gallery-based art can also be a platform for ecological activism, and community and campaign materials may claim a discursive power usually granted to 'disinterested' images and objects. This paper has charted some of the ways that Australian artists, curators and art institutions have shifted their aesthetic focus from topographical views of the landscape to phenomenological perceptions of the country's environmental forces. Both the western landscape tradition and indigenous art have helped us develop all our senses, overturning the old divisions between mind and body, subject and object, self and nature. 'Perception through the senses', the original meaning of the term aesthetics, can be understood as a precondition and correlate of ecological activism. In Australia, the landscape tradition has been thoroughly modified by the forces of Indigenous knowledge, scientific research and environmental activism. In turn, art continues to make us grasp the fact that we are ourselves part of a threatened nature. (Roberts, 1993).

ENDNOTES

[1] See for instance Ian McLean's quote from Slavoj Zizek in 'Sublime Futures: eco-art and the return of the real in Peter Dombrovskis, John Wolseley and Andy Goldsworthy', Transformations, No 5, December 2002, p. 6.

REFERENCES

Altman, J. & Kiering, S., eds (2012). *People on Country*. Federation Press, ANU.

Attwood, B. (2003). *Rights for Aborigines*. Allen & Unwin. pp.215-236.

Blake, A. (1999). *'Preface', Saltwater: Yirrkala Bark Paintings of Sea Country.* Yirrkala: Buku-Larrngay Mulka   Centre and Jennifer Isaacs Publishing. p.6.

Bonyhardy, T. (1985). Images in Opposition: Australian Painting 1801-1890. Melbourne: Oxford University Press.

Bonyhardy, T. (2000). *The Colonial Earth*. The Miegunyah Press, University of Melbourne.

Bowman, D. (2001-2002). '*Living with fire' Nature Australia.* 27(3).

Collis, B. (2001). Dreamtime science. *Ecos*. 107: 27-30.

Cooper, D. (2006). A Philosophy of Gardens. *OUP*, p.28-39 [cited Periz, I. (2010). ''What Makes a garden?', exhibition catalogue, 'What can a garden be?, Breenspace].

Cranswick, D. (2001). Bridging Art and Ecology, *Artlink* 21(1): 47.

Debnam, P. (2003). *Story Place*. p.101.

Eagle, M. (1999-2000). Traditions of Representing the Land in Aboriginal Art. *Art & Australia*, 37(2): 236.

Ewington, J. (1996). Installation and Environment in South East Asia. *Topographies Conference, Centre for Environmental and Ecological Art, Townsville, 5-7 August, 1996*. [cited Downie, C. 1995. 'Topographies', Periphery, Issue No 25, November 1995, p.10.]

Frew, W. (2007). Use Top End to trade in carbon, say scientists. *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 23-24: 6.

Grant, P. (2001). Wild Art at the World's End. *Artlink*, 21(1): 17.

Green, J. (2012) *Statement 2012, Flow of Voices, exhibition catalogue, June 20-13, Cross Arts Projects, Sydney Australia.* [See also Independant Monitor's Audit of the McArthur River Mine for the 2010 Operational Period, Environmental Earth Sciences, NT Government October 2011 Version 1].

Grishin, S. (2006). Sacred Ecology. *Australian Art Review*, November 2005-Feb 2006, p.55.

Hunter, B. (2001). *Story Place: Indigenous Art of Cape York and the Rainforest, exhibition catalogue.* Cairns Regional Gallery. p.28.

Langton, M. 1996. What do we mean by wilderness? Wilderness and terra nullius in Australian Art. *The Sydney Papers* 8(1): 11-31.

Langton, M. (2006). Waterscapes: The social and spiritual construction of water in Aboriginal societies. In B. David, B. Barker, & IJ. McNiven, eds. *The social archaeology of indigenous societies*, Canberra: Aboriginal Studies Press.

Malone, G. (1998). The Ecology of Art or Art as Ecology. Broadsheet, 27(7): 5.

Marawili, D. (2006). Artist's statement. *Biennale Visitor's Handbook*, p. 21.

Mason, A. (2002). The international concept of equality of interest in the sea as it affects the conservation of the environment and Indigenous interests, *Land, Rights, Laws: Issues of Native Title*. 2(16): 1-8.

McLean, I. (2006). Sublime Futures: eco-art and the return of the real in Peter Dombrovskis, John Wolseley and Andy Goldsworthy. *Transformations*, 5: 6.

Mundine, D. (1999). *Saltwater. Saltwater: Yirrkala Bark Paintings of Sea Country - exhibition catalogue*. Buku-Larrngay Mulka Centre & Jennifer Isaacs Publishing, pp.20-27.

NAILSMA (2013). *Forum Executive Summary*. Available at http://www.nailsma.org.au/forum/northern_water_futures_forum.html [Accessed May 2013].

National Gallery of Australia (1998). *New Worlds From Old: 19th Century Australian & American Landscapes - exhibition catalogue*. National Gallery of Australia, Canberra and Wadsworth Atheneum, Hartford, Connecticut.

Norman, R. (2001). Reading the water. Artlink, 21(1): 10-13.

Radok, S. (2002). Pip Stokes: Unfolding the night. *Art and Australia*, 39(4): 544.

Radok, S. & Malone, G. (2005). Remediation as Art. *Artlink*, 25(4), 47.

Roberts, D. (2993). *Aura and Aesthetics of Nature*. Thesis Eleven, Number 36, 1993, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, p.128.

Rose, S. (2013). Black Capital. *Capital Magazine*, 5: 28-31.

Searle, R. (1995). *The Art of Survival. Topographies Conference*. [cited Downie, C. 'Topographies', Periphery, Issue No 25, November 1995, p.10.]

Smith, B. (1985). *European Vision in the South Pacific*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press (second edition).

Taussig, M. (1993). *Mimesis and Alterity: A particular History of the Senses*. New York: Routledge. p.xiii.

Wade, F. (2006). Who's going to save me?. *Photofile*, 76: 62.

Assessing stories before sites: identifying the tangible from the intangible

Celmara Pocock
University of Southern Queensland, Australia

Daniel Collett
University of Southern Queensland, Australia

Linda Baulch
Gulidjan community, Victoria, Australia

ABSTRACT: Despite a growing recognition that intangible heritage forms an important part of the significance of heritage sites, and that intangible values are intertwined with material resources and spaces, many procedures for the identification and management of heritage sites remain unchanged and fail to integrate these two sets of values. The conservation of heritage sites continues to be dominated by a process that first identifies a material site and then identifies the associated values that comprise its significance. This paper suggests that rather than identifying the physical expression of heritage as the initial point of heritage assessment, the stories (or intangible values) of a region or national history can form the primary mechanism for identifying physical heritage sites. Using the example of Australian government policies of Aboriginal segregation and assimilation, we show how national stories – or intangible values – can be used to identify representative sites.

1 INTRODUCTION

The recognition of intangible heritage is an important development in a field of practice that has heavily emphasized materiality. Efforts to redress this imbalance, have led to a marked division between intangible and material or 'tangible' aspects of heritage. However, the intersection between the tangible and intangible is, critical to effective management. While it is increasingly recognized that conservation of material heritage must consider intangible values, it is equally true that the continuity of 'intangible' heritage frequently depends on access to material resources and spaces. Despite this, many practices and procedures in the identification and management of heritage remain unchanged, and fail to effectively integrate these two sets of values.

The conservation of heritage sites continues to be dominated by a process that first identifies a physical site and then identifies the associated values that comprise its significance. In this paper we suggest that a reversal of this process might offer a more effective means to identify and manage heritage. We suggest that the identification of stories as a form of intangible heritage, might form an alternative mechanism for identifying significant heritage sites. Using the example of Australian government policies related to Aboriginal segregation and assimilation, this paper demonstrates how national stories can be used to identify representative sites. We argue that sites identified in this way foreground intangible values and facilitate the conservation, interpretation and celebration of shared experiences and cultural identities.

2   SITES BEFORE STORIES: MATERIAL AND THE INTANGIBLE

The process of significance assessment almost inevitably commences with a known heritage site. The identification of significant sites is thus determined ahead of formal assessment. This partly reflects the way in which heritage listing is a consequence of immediate or impending threat. While an important mechanism for the protection of significant places in the face of expanding development and impacts on heritage, this approach does not necessarily bring about a representative or comprehensive list of heritage sites. Rather, it produces heritage lists that are somewhat ad hoc. Heritage assessments that commence with known physical sites can thus produces lists with little coherence, duplication and gaps.

Many heritage registers in Australia are the product of such ad hoc listing. These inventories provide a useful resource for day-to-day planning and decision making where it is useful to know a full range of heritage sites in a given area, regardless of their particular level of significance. However, these ad hoc lists are more problematic where heritage listing seeks to represent an exemplary suite of sites or to illustrate a particular theme, such as the World Heritage List, and those seeking to represent a particular culture or nation.

One such example is the Australian National Heritage List which explicitly seeks to develop a list of "exceptional natural and cultural places that contribute to Australia's national identity." In deciding what will be included on this list, sites are assessed against established criteria and must meet the National Heritage List threshold of holding "'outstanding' heritage value to the nation" (Australian Government, 2010). To determine whether a site meets this threshold "it is compared to other, similar types of places. … to determine if one place is 'more' or 'less' significant compared to other similar places, or if it is unique." In other words, the possible sites of significance are the starting point for the assessment. Even though these might be compared to other similar sites, the comparison is made between known physical heritage sites.

The Burra Charter – a well-respected cornerstone of Australian heritage management that has been translated and exported to heritage management elsewhere in the world – demonstrates this clearly. The diagrammatic representation indicates that the first step in conservation is to "Identify Place and Associations – Secure the place and make it safe" (Australia ICOMOS, 1999). There is little to guide how such places might be identified. Rather it is the place itself that is being defined as the starting point and all subsequent sections of the document assume that a known place – or physical entity – is to be assessed and managed.

The process whereby sites are first identified and then assessed for significance inevitably favours the more obvious and apparent forms of built or physical heritage sites. There is a growing recognition that the focus on material heritage can neglect some types of sites and values. This further diminishes balance and representativeness in heritage registers. In the Australian context, Aboriginal heritage has historically been poorly represented in heritage registers as a consequence of bias towards built or material heritage. Byrne et al. (2001) advocate consideration of social values to ensure that significant Aboriginal places, regardless of their apparent manifestation, are more adequately represented. The attempt to be more inclusive of in heritage listing has parallels in other disciplines that seek to recognize histories beyond those of the dominant, powerful and wealthy (Lyons, 2010). In this regard the move to recognize social value can be read as another aspect of 'history from below' in that it seeks to identify heritage places beyond those most readily acknowledged and celebrated as 'heritage sites. In parallel with work on social significance is an international interest and recognition of intangible heritage. Going beyond than the inclusion of social values in the assessment material heritage, intangible heritage is now recognized and listed in its own right. While addressing an important gap, this creates a somewhat artificial division between intangible and material or 'tangible' aspects of heritage.

Heritage listing by its nature is either a response to, or brings about, responsibilities for the management and protection of cultural resources. The intersections between the tangible and intangible are therefore critical. Without recognition of social or intangible values, sites can be misrepresented, misunderstood and therefore inadequately managed and protected. Similarly, the effective continuity of practices and knowledge that constitute 'intangible' heritage is dependent on the availability of material resources and spaces. Despite these developments, many procedures for the identification and management of heritage remain unchanged and do not effectively (re)integrate these two sets of values. Unless an assessment is explicitly focused

on intangible heritage, assessments inevitably commence with a physical site rather than with values.

The fact that most heritage significance assessments commence with a prescribed site, is so ingrained that it largely goes unrecognized. To suggest the opposite; that significance should be assessed before sites are identified, may therefore appear impossible or even ludicrous. However, this paper argues that such a shift is necessary if heritage registers are to be more representative and inclusive.

3 STORIES BEFORE SITES

The Australian Commonwealth Government initiated a National Heritage List as part of a realignment of Commonwealth powers relating to the environment under the *Environment Protection and Biodiversity Conservation Act 1999* (EPBC Act). From 1975 the Commonwealth had maintained the Register of the National Estate, an inventory of sites of national, state and local significance. The responsible agency, the Australian Heritage Commission, also played a strong leadership and advocacy role in encouraging Australian States and Territories to develop and adopt heritage legislation and registers in their own jurisdictions. This had led to significant duplication between the Commonwealth and States. As part of an Council of Australian Governments (COAG) review of State and Commonwealth roles and responsibilities for the environment in 1997, the role of the Commonwealth in heritage matters was redefined to focus on 'places of national heritage significance'(Australian Heritage Council, 2005: 4-5).

The aim of the new list is to distinguish sites of significance greater than local or state value, and to recognize highly significant sites that may or may not be of world heritage status. The development of criteria to support the new National List were based on those used for the Register of the National Estate. The significant difference in meeting the requirements for the new list is found in the threshold of significance which requires sites to be "'outstanding' heritage value to the nation" (Australian Government, 2010). In other words, the National List was established with the explicit aim of representing sites that were significant to the Australian nation.

While many of the places initially nominated to this list were proposed in cooperation with States and Territories, many more have been nominated through the somewhat ad hoc processes outlined above. This paper outlines one example of how the Commonwealth has sought to be more systematic in identifying Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander heritage of national significance.

3.1 *Indigenous heritage and the Australian National List*

Indigenous heritage is arguably the most challenging aspect of the National List, and other similar grand lists such as World Heritage. National stories typically portray sanitized histories of the powerful. In the case of Australia, this includes myths of peaceful settlement based on a fiction of *Terra Nullius*, or the absence of Indigenous landowners, and a continuing denial of Indigenous conflict and suffering. Furthermore, many highly significant Aboriginal cultural sites and practices have little meaning beyond specific Aboriginal groups. Thus including these stories in a national list is ideologically, intellectually and practically challenging.

The Commonwealth therefore commenced its work by identifying a number of broad stories, narratives and themes relating to Australian Indigenous culture and history important to the overall story and representation of the Australian nation. Three broad storylines were identified with a number of subthemes as outlined in Table 1:

Table 1: Storylines and themes for Australian Indigenous Heritage

Storyline	Theme
In the Beginning (Indigenous beliefs)	Creation Beings: places, stories and travels
	Rock Art
	Ceremonies (past and present)
Peopling of Australia by Aboriginals	Filling the Land (very old Aboriginal sites)
	Coping with Climate Change (adaptation to last Ice Age)
	Intensification (new ways of doing things and specific life ways)
	Wealth of the Land (Indigenous resource use and exchange networks)
Contact, Change and Continuity	Early Contacts
	Dispossession
	Segregation and Assimilation (struggle for civil rights)
	Recognition and Empowerment (Struggle for Indigenous rights)

A number of sites previously listed on the National Heritage List and several others under assessment could be related to these themes. However, a number of themes were underrepresented while others could be linked to an overwhelming number of potential sites. The Commonwealth Government therefore commissioned a study to trial a new approach for the identification of sites that could assist in understanding the theme, 'From Segregation to Assimilation' (Pocock, 2008).

4 ABORIGINAL SEGREGATION AND ASSIMILATION

4.1 *A new approach*

The approach suggested by the brief and implemented for this study, marks a subtle but important distinction from many heritage assessments. The approach first identifies the narratives that make up the theme 'From Segregation to Assimilation'. By first focusing on stories rather than sites, it is possible for less obvious or less apparent qualities to be recognized as significant. Rather than pre-selecting a number of known heritage sites, the project explores the stories associated with the theme.

The project was undertaken through a Literature Review of published sources documenting the histories of government policies of segregation and assimilation. These policies incorporate a range of legislation and practices that characterized race relations in the nineteenth and twentieth century Australia. The research was facilitated by a substantial scholarly literature relevant to the theme, including a number of comprehensive histories for Victoria, Queensland, New South Wales, Tasmania and Western Australia (Broome, 2005; Doukakis, 2006; Haebich, 2000, 2008; Reid, 2006; Reynolds, 1995, 2005; Ryan, 1996). Despite some limitations in quality and coverage of published sources it was possible to chronicle key events, legislation, and policies of each jurisdiction, and to begin to develop a national picture. This was initially developed and presented as a summary and timeline, before identifying a number of key narratives.

4.2 *Identification of Narratives*

Traditional narrative structures are most commonly dictated by chronologies. This traditional structure is appealing because it is familiar and relatively simple. However, they seldom draw new insights and can even be boring (Stell, Pocock, & Ballantyne, 2006). Chronologies tend to privilege recorded histories and marginalize undocumented and more personal Aboriginal

experiences. Treating Segregation and Assimilation sequentially would mask the inter-related nature of the two policies and fail to demonstrate the shared stories central to the overall theme.

The study deliberately focused on stories in an effort to focus on values that might be described as intangible. It was nevertheless important to ensure that key elements of the histories were not overlooked. The complexity of the histories and the particularities of regional variation, made it necessary to work through first organizing structure developed through the timeline, and summary histories and to cross-reference these with the shared experiences and stories of Aboriginal people to produce a narrative framework (Pocock, 2008).

The literature was therefore analyzed to identify stories that could illustrate the theme in engaging and thought provoking ways. A significant addition to the scholarly literature is a number of first personal accounts by Aboriginal people. These include commercial publications, but also testimony obtained through government inquiries (e.g. Wilson & HREOC, 1997). These provide essential life stories that enrich knowledge and narratives.

4.2.1 *Narratives of intent, effect and experience*

The first reading of the literature produced a suite of narratives that illustrated the theme. Three types of narratives were identified; those of intent, effect and experience. Narratives of intent largely represent official views used to justify and implement the policies and practices. The study further recognized themes of effect – the intended and unintended consequences of the policies. And lastly, and arguably most significantly, the study revealed a number of narratives related to Aboriginal experiences of those policies (Table 2).

Table 2: Sample narratives of intent, effect and experience

Intent	Effect	Experience
Protection	Adaptation	Administration and Control
Conversion	Disadvantage	Hardship
Labour	Gender	Loss
'A Dying Race'	Institutionalisation	Rejection
Assimilation Practices	Home	Reunion
Assimilation Policy	Protest	Inequality
Disruption		
Colour		
Coercion		
Deception		
Failure		

4.3 *Narrative Framework*

The stories were teased out to produce a list of evocative and emotionally engaging themes (Pocock, 2008). At the same time they needed to provide a framework for the systematic identification of significant sites. A simple framework was therefore developed to facilitate this comparison of sites. The core narratives were identified as control, race, religion, education and economics.

4.3.1 *Control*

> *The Native Welfare controlled every aspect of your life in those days.*
> Joan Winch (2007: 84)

> *we know the name, family history and living conditions of every Aboriginal in the State.*
> Director of Native Affairs, Queensland 1959
> (Cited in Haebich, 2000: 528)

The narrative of control is the most pervasive element of both segregation and assimilation in terms of intent, experience and effect. It is arguably the single strongest narrative, crossing all policies, eras and jurisdictions. It also intersects with the other themes. It is anticipated that any site identified as significant in the theme 'From Segregation to Assimilation' will reflect this narrative. When Aboriginal people speak about their experiences it becomes very clear how every facet of their lives was monitored and controlled under both policies.

The policies and practices of segregation were strongly oriented to the restricting contact between settler society and Aborigines. Control of Aboriginal people in this era framed in terms of protecting Aborigines from influences of European society. The aim was to 'civilise' Aboriginal people. Segregation practices were oriented towards people of full descent, while assimilation was targeted almost entirely towards people of mixed descent. The forcible assimilation of Aboriginal people into white society was orchestrated through an extraordinary range of interventionist powers.

Central to the control of Aboriginal people throughout both eras was restrictions and controls on people's movements.

> *... I ended up joining the army in 1951. ...but there was a problem because as a state ward I wasn't allowed to go beyond the borders of Western Australia. They never let Aboriginal people move anywhere in those days without someone in authority being involved.*
>
> Ken Colbung (2007: 71)

Authorities intervened extensively in the relationship between parents and children. From the earliest colonial period to the present, Aboriginal children have been removed from their families at an alarming rate. This was a deliberate and orchestrated measure under both segregation and assimilation policies. In the first instance, the removal of children was aimed at the project of 'civilising' Aboriginal people, and under assimilation the practice was intended to sever Aboriginal children from their family and culture to integrate them into white society. Both were implemented through a combination of coercion, persuasion, threat, deception, promise and force (Haebich, 2000: 504).

> *the manager from Burnt Bridge Mission came to our home with a policeman. I could hear him saying to Mum, 'I am taking the two girls and placing them in Cootamundra Home.' My father was saying, 'what right have you?' The manager said he can do what he likes.*
>
> (Wilson & HREOC, 1997: 53)

> *My family never stayed in the south-west because it wasn't safe for us Nyungars. ... The police had the right in those days to go and pick the kids up, so you always had to be on the move if you wanted to keep your family together. It was a hard life and you were looking over your shoulder all the time.*
>
> (Hume, 2007: 42-43)

Control extended to individual identity, with a widespread use of nicknames as a principle means of identifying Aboriginal people. This not only reflected settlers' inability to grasp complex naming systems, but served to caricature and dehumanise Aboriginal people (Wood, 1998: 40-41). The practice of changing people's first and family names was continued through the period of assimilation to further sever connections with family.

> *They changed a lot of our traditional names in those days. Let me tell you there's an awful lot in those files and it's really terrible the way they tried to control our lives.*
>
> Cuimara Ben Taylor (2007: 97)

> *The government liked to give Aboriginal people number.... They counted us like they counted horses and sheep and they put our numbers in a record*

> *book. I remember ... the police sergeant coming around on horseback,*
> *checking on us... and writing our numbers down in his book.*
>
> <div align="right">Ken Colbung (2007: 72-73)</div>

Certain privileges or exclusions were granted to Aboriginal people depending on whether they were considered to be Aboriginal or not. Aboriginality was itself defined and redefined by authorities. Citizenship status was generally denied to Aboriginal people but could be granted if Aboriginal people renounced their families and cultural ways.

> *By then Dad had his citizenship rights, which meant that even though he was a*
> *Nyungar he could be classed as a white man...., but there were a lot of problems*
> *with citizenship rights. Because Dad was now classed as a whitefella, we had to*
> *live a certain distance away from the reserve ....*
>
> *If you had your rights, then one of the conditions was that you weren't supposed*
> *to share liquor with someone who didn't have their rights, ... but the thing is, we*
> *are a sharing people. ... That's our way.*
>
> <div align="right">Cuimara Ben Taylor (2007: 100-101)</div>

4.3.2 *Race*

Nineteenth century ideas of race underpinned the policies and practices of segregation and assimilation.[1] It was the widely held belief in these principles that allowed European settlers to ignore or justify the inhumane and prejudicial treatment of Aborigines. An early and long-lasting definition of Aboriginality separated and excluded people of mixed descent from those of full-descent. As a consequence there developed separate administrative regimes for people of full and mixed descent.

Under segregationist policies Aboriginal people were thought to be evolutionarily disadvantaged and a 'doomed race'. The intention of segregation policies was to separate Aboriginal people from European society in order to sooth their demise. The idea that Aboriginal people were a 'dying race' allowed many violent acts and atrocities to go unreported and unpunished. It also underpinned a number of national myths. By casting the extinction of Aboriginal people as inevitable and natural, the idea that Australia was settled without violence, and was a new country without an indigenous or black 'problem' were able to be perpetuated. However, a growing population of Aboriginal people of mixed descent undermined the White Australia policy. Authorities were determined to control the miscegenation, and thus they intervened in the most personal relationships.

> *They even had their say over who you could marry. That happened twice in my*
> *family.*
>
> <div align="right">(Taylor, 2007: 97)</div>

> *My maternal grandfather had granted my parents' permission to marry. But*
> *permission had to be obtained from the Catholic Bishop of the Kimberley because*
> *being an Aborigine my mother was a ward of the state... Permission was denied*
> *because my father was a Muslim.*
>
> <div align="right">(Bin-Sallik, 2007: 118)</div>

Colonial ideas of race were highly skewed towards skin colour, and under assimilation policies skin colour came to be the defining element of Aboriginality. The control of marriage was seen as crucial to the eradication of Aboriginal people.

> *The Chief Protector of Aborigines, A.O. Neville, had been very angry when Mum*
> *married Dad, because at that time a woman was supposed to marry someone*
> *lighter in colour than she was. The Aborigines Department was trying to breed out*
> *our colour so we wouldn't exist anymore.*
>
> <div align="right">(Winch, 2007: 83)</div>

Skin colour, more than family kinship, education or skill determined where and how Aboriginal people would be treated in the system.

> *Even though I was born at the Moore River Native Settlement, I never stayed there permanently – because I was the wrong colour. ... as it turned out I was too light for Moore River, so they shoved me off to Sister Kate's Home in Queens Park. Mr Neville liked the lighter coloured kids to go there hoping that they'd turn out white in their ways so they would fit right in to white society.*
>
> (Colbung, 2007: 68-69)

Concepts of race were redefined and Aboriginal people of mixed descent were sometimes classified as non-Aboriginal to exclude them from government responsibility. This has had long-term consequences for Aboriginal people, including confusion about identity, loss of family and cultural connections, inequality in education and employment, and significant poverty. Skin colour continues to be misused to judge whether or not Aboriginal people are 'authentic' and hence eligible for support.

4.3.3 *Religion*

Where skin colour was used to ameliorate the physical presence of Aboriginal people, religion was a marker of cultural and moral integration.

> *"When I was ten years old and my sister Patsy was eight, we were placed in Nazareth House, a home run by Roman Catholic nuns. ... Religion was strongly taught and mass was said every day,".*
>
> (Bacon, 2007: 157)

Religion is a powerful mechanism of social control, and applied through both segregation and assimilation eras. Christianity was regarded as a cornerstone of 'civilization', and conversion. Some reserves and missions were government owned and managed, but these too were established with Christian principles. Despite significant efforts of the church and state conversion rates remained quite poor and in some instances missions inadvertently enabled continuity of Aboriginal cultural practices. In general, however, religious instruction and daily prayers and attendance at church permeated the existence of people living on missions and reserves.

4.3.4 *Education*

Religion and education were inextricably linked in the system of reserves and missions. Aboriginal people's ability to read and write was often used to demonstrate the success of the church in civilizing Aboriginal people.

The literacy skills that Aboriginal people acquired through religious instruction had some unintended consequences. Literacy proved invaluable and often enabled Aborigines to lobby governments and present protests on behalf of their people. Many Aboriginal children were taken from their families and institutionalized on the pretext of being offered an education, but the education they received was grossly inadequate and most Aboriginal children remained illiterate. A true education was frequently denied Aboriginal people, with many settlers not wishing to see Aboriginal people as equals. Perhaps as a consequence education rarely went beyond religious instruction. Some authorities suggested that Aboriginal people were incapable of learning.

Attention was instead turned to training Aborigines as domestic servants and farm labourers. The training provided produced a cheap labour force for colonial society. The settlements and reserves thus established an underclass of workers.

By denying access to education, governments and authorities ensured that Aboriginal people would remain dependent. They would have few skills to give them independence and little opportunity to voice their concerns through official channels.

4.3.5 *Economics*

Segregation is often referred to as protectionism as its official intention was to protect Aboriginal people by separating them from the violence of the frontier. However, the practice of removing Aboriginal people from their traditional lands and placing them on discrete reserves effectively protected colonisers from attack by Aborigines. This enabled Aboriginal land to be freely claimed. The usurpation of Aboriginal land lay the foundation of all colonial economies.

The policies of segregation and assimilation are strongly linked with economic control and dependency. In the frontier regions, particularly in the northern regions, pastoral economies relied heavily on Aboriginal labour. In contexts where traditional lands were being significantly diminished, Aboriginal people had little choice but to work on pastoral stations (McGrath, 1987). Out of reach and sight of government authorities, pastoralists were often extremely brutal in their dealings with Aboriginal people. Kidnapping of women and children for sexual and labour exploitation was widespread. Aboriginal men and women worked for little pay or meagre rations – directly profiting pastoralists and landowners.

> *We have heard there is going to be very strict rules on the station and those rules will be too much for us, it seems we are going to be treated like slaves, far as we heard of it – We wish to ask those Manager of the station Did we steal anything out of the colony or murdered anyone or are we prisoners or convict. We should think we are all free as any white man of the colony.*
> Coranderrk Aborigines, *Argus* 1882 (cited in Haebich, 2000: 166)

Most wages were paid to the state rather than directly to Aboriginal workers, and thus the state benefitted directly from large amounts of capital that was rarely paid to Aboriginal workers (Kidd, 2007). Agricultural crops produced by Aboriginal people were sold to raise funds to run the institutions that incarcerated them, while Aboriginal residents continued to suffer hunger and malnutrition. The practice of withholding wages, further reduced the life-skills available to Aboriginal people. They had little knowledge of how to earn and manage their own affairs.

> … they couldn't cope. I mean they weren't taught how to manage money or even to live in white society, because all they only knew was how to live the way they had lived at Lake Tyers.
> (Wilson & HREOC, 1997: 63)

Despite the profitability of the mission and reserve system for governments and industries, public expenditure on Aboriginal people was begrudging and inadequate. Governments made inadequate provision for housing, education and health care. Conditions on missions and reserves directly contributed to long-term poverty and ill health among Aboriginal populations.

The constant pressure to reduce expenditure on Aboriginal people saw the emergence of some of the most controversial and divisive practices and policies. Aboriginal people of mixed descent were reclassified as non-Aboriginal. This was done explicitly to limit the number of people on government reserves and to reduce government responsibility for Aboriginal rations.

4.4 *Identification of sites and locations*

After identifying the core narratives, the project set about identifying locations where the stories were centred. A collation of known sites was cross-referenced to the narrative framework to identify those most capable of illustrating the broader narratives. It identified places that might best demonstrate core narratives and critical aspects of the story. Particular emphasis was given to sites that could demonstrate multiple aspects of the story, unique aspect(s) of the story, stories shared across space and time, regional and cultural diversity, the distinct administrative and policy frameworks, and chronological change and continuity.

It addition, there were a number of narratives from Aboriginal people that related to times and spaces that were unknown in the list of heritage sites or known sites. This was particularly the case for those histories where Aboriginal people had resisted the system and developed networks invisible to the state. For instance there are powerful stories about homes where Aboriginal children were well treated and networks of houses in neighbourhoods where children

who escaped from state institutions could seek assistance. These types of sites may no longer have a physical presence or be immediately apparent in suburban landscapes, but their stories suggest they have a powerful place in a national history.

5 DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

Current best practice suggests that heritage assessments should follow a procedure of identifying a full range of values for heritage sites. This recognises that each site or space can have multiple associations and meanings for different groups of people and even within groups. However, the process rests on an underlying assumption that is invisible to heritage practitioners; namely that heritage management inevitably first identifies which sites or places may be significant before identifying a number of values or associations. This paper outlines a new approach to identifying significant heritage places.

Thinking about national history at a broad scale is an important part of being able to identify themes and narratives that are significant to the nation. These may include dominant tropes, but can also include histories and narratives that are deliberately obscured from official records. These stories comprise an intangible heritage that may be unrecognized in dominant histories and conventional lists of heritage sites which are often based on the physically obvious and visually spectacular (Pocock, 2012).

The method proposed through this study focuses first on stories, then on significance and lastly focuses on places. Through association with the key stories particular localities and sites emerge as significant. The focus on narratives offers an alternative approach to decisions about significance, by shifting the focus of assessment to the dynamic story. Heritage managers can thus refocus their decisions about significance to values rather than sites.

By commencing with stories that are meaningful to people they are associated with emotion, and meaning becomes central to every stage of the process. This enables stories to be drawn together across time and space to allow an assessment of the collective, rather than dissociated individual meanings. These hermeneutic circles of stories and value laden places, ensure that values rather than materiality is always at the forefront of decisions about significance.

ENDNOTES

[1] Despite recent critiques of the concept of 'race' and its limited value in a biological context, race evolved to become a means of social organization, and this has had long term social implications for people defined by racial stereotypes, resulting in unequal treatment and access (Jablonski, 2012; Smedley & Smedley, 2005; Wade, 2002).

REFERENCES

Australian Government. (2010). *National Heritage List Criteria* [online]. Available at from http://www.environment.gov.au/heritage/about/national/criteria.html [Accessed 8 May 2013].

Australian Heritage Council. (2005). *Productivity Commission Inquiry Into The Policy Framework And Incentives For The Conservation Of Australia's Historic Built Heritage Places: Initial Submission by the Australian Heritage Council.* Canberra: Australian Heritage Council. pp. 33.

Australia ICOMOS. (1999). The Burra Charter [online]. Available at http://www.icomos.org/australia/ [Accessed 8 May 2013].

Bacon, V. (2007). Joining My Identity Pieces Together. In S. Morgan, T. Mia & B. Kwaymullina, eds. *Speaking from the Heart: Stories of Life, Family and Country.* North Fremantle, W.A.: Fremantle Arts Centre Press. pp. 149-162.

Bin-Sallik, M. (2007). Her Spirit Could Not Be Broken. In S. Morgan, T. Mia & B. Kwaymullina, eds. *Speaking from the Heart: Stories of Life, Family and Country.* North Fremantle, W.A.: Fremantle Arts Centre Press. pp. 109-134.

Broome, R. (2005). *Aboriginal Victorians: a history since 1800.* Crows Nest, N.S.W.: Allen & Unwin.

Byrne, D., Brayshaw, H., & Ireland, T. (2001). *Social significance: a discussion paper.* Sydney: Research Unit, Cultural Heritage Division, NSW National Parks and Wildlife Service.

Colbung, K. (2007). The Spirit Has More Strength. In S. Morgan, T. Mia & B. Kwaymullina, eds. *Speaking from the Heart: Stories of Life, Family and Country.* North Fremantle, W.A.: Fremantle Arts Centre Press. pp. 65-80.

Doukakis, A. (2006). *The Aboriginal people, parliament and "protection" in New South Wales, 1856-1916.* Annandale, N.S.W.: The Federation Press.

Haebich, A. (2000). *Broken circles: fragmenting indigenous families 1800-2000.* Fremantle, W.A.: Fremantle Arts Centre Press.

Haebich, A. (2008). *Spinning the dream : assimilation in Australia 1950-1970.* North Fremantle, W.A.: Fremantle Press.

Hume, P. S. (2007). Under a Blue Gum Tree. In S. Morgan, T. Mia & B. Kwaymullina, eds. *Speaking from the Heart: Stories of Life, Family and Country.* North Fremantle, W.A.: Fremantle Arts Centre Press. pp. 39-50.

Jablonski, N. G. (2012). *Living Color: The Biological and Social Meaning of Skin Color.* University of California Press.

Kidd, R. (2007). *Hard labour, stolen wages : national report on stolen wages.* Rozelle, N.S.W.: Australians for Native Title and Reconciliation.

Lyons, M. (2010). *A new history from below?: The writing culture of ordinary people in Europe (Vol. 7).*

Pocock, C. (2008). *Thematic Study 'From Segregation to Assimilation'.* Canberra: The Department of Environment, Water, Heritage and the Arts.

Pocock, C. (2012). Sense matters: aesthetic values of the Great Barrier Reef. In S. Dudley, ed. *Museum Objects: Experiencing the Properties of Things.* Routledge. pp. 241-253.

Reid, G. (2006). *'That unhappy race': Queensland and the Aboriginal problem 1838-1901.* Kew, Vic.: Australian Scholarly Publishing.

Reynolds, H. (1995). *Fate of a free people.* Ringwood, Vic.: Penguin Books Australia.

Reynolds, H. (2005). *Nowhere people.* Camberwell, Vic.: Penguin.

Ryan, L. (1996). *The Aboriginal Tasmanians (2nd ed.).* St Leonards, N.S.W.: Allen & Unwin.

Smedley, A., & Smedley, B. D. (2005). Race as biology is fiction, racism as a social problem is real. *American Psychologist*, 60(1): 16-26.

Stell, M. K., Pocock, C., & Ballantyne, R. (2006). *'Essential Australia': Towards a Thematic Framework for the Interpretation of Cultural Heritage in Tourism.* STCRC. p. 48.

Taylor, C. B. (2007). A Nyungar is Battling. In S. Morgan, T. Mia & B. Kwaymullina, eds. *Speaking from the Heart: Stories of Life, Family and Country.* North Fremantle, W.A.: Fremantle Arts Centre Press. (pp. 95-108).

Wade, P. (2002). *Race, nature and culture : an anthropological perspective.* London ; Sterling, Va.: Pluto Press.

Wilson, R. D., & HREOC. (1997). *Bringing them home : report of the National Inquiry into the Separation of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Children from their Families.* Sydney: Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission.

Winch, J. (2007). My Mother, My Daughter. In S. Morgan, T. Mia & B. Kwaymullina, eds. *Speaking from the Heart: Stories of Life, Family and Country.* North Fremantle, W.A.: Fremantle Arts Centre Press. pp. 81-94.

Wood, M. (1998). Nineteenth Century Bureaucratic Constructions of Indigenous Identities in New South Wales. In N. Peterson & W. Sanders, eds. *Citizenship and indigenous Australians: changing conceptions and possibilities Cambridge.* Melbourne: Cambridge University Press. p. 35.

Integrating Intangible Cultural Heritage elements and learning strategy: a case study

Charles Ruyembe
Queensland University of Technology, Brisbane, Australia

ABSTRACT: Tanzania has a rich and diverse cultural history based in community cultural life. However, at present, young people have limited opportunity to exploit this richness of creative expressions and engage in creative jobs as their future career. Hence, the significant challenge remains: how to integrate Intangible Cultural Heritage elements and learning strategy as a means of promoting creative jobs for youth. This paper presents a case study on '*Strategies for youth employment in Tanzania: A creative industries approach'*. The case study employed mixed methods incorporating questionnaires, interviews and focus groups and was held in Dar-Es-Salaam, Mwanza, Dodoma, Lindi and Morogoro from July to October, 2012.This paper discusses some of the issues and argues that there is no virtual utilization of the intangible cultural heritage knowledge and skills in 'putting education to work' (UNESCO, 2012) for the better prospects of youth. Although the discussion is specific to Tanzania, the case may also apply to other developing countries.

1 INTRODUCTION

Recent developments in the global economy have heightened the need for recognition and to harness culture and creative assets as distinctive tools for community development (Dewhurst 2008, 1; Florida 2002; United Nations 2008: 3). In the same way WIPO (2003) contends, the above mentioned development paradigm has also embraced intangible cultural assets as creative products consisting of characteristic elements of tradition- based innovations and creations; which therefore, appear as vital parts of a community's past and cultural heritage. Furthermore, they can serve as inputs into other markets, such as performance, art, tourism, architecture, and fashion (WIPO 2003, 29).

Extending that idea, a considerable amount of existing literature has given a variety of definitions of the term Intangible Cultural Heritage (ICH). This paper will use the definition suggested by UNESCO (UNESCO 2003b) that means creative out-puts including practices, representations, expressions, knowledge, skills, as well as instruments and objects. Others are artifacts; cultural spaces associated with those communities, groups, and in some cases, individuals are recognized as part of their cultural heritage (such as folktales, folk poetry, riddles, signs, words, symbols and identifications). Oral traditions and expressions, including language, are also an instrument of intangible cultural heritage, as are the performing arts (e.g. music expressions, folksongs, instrumental music, and folk dances), social practices, rituals and festive events, knowledge and practices concerning nature, the universe and traditional craftsmanship (UNESCO 2003b: 2).

So far, however, there have been few initiatives relating to the integration of the outlined intangible cultural heritage elements in the education process so as to articulate identity, values,

nurturing the creative capital, and thus, promoting creative jobs for young people in Tanzania. History reveals that, Tanzania has a rich and diverse ICH background based in community cultural life. Evidently, that could have inspired young people to develop their creative potential and skills through education and ultimately reach their dreams of a better life. In accordance with article 24 of the 2003 convention on ICH, Tanzania entered into force and deposited it'-s respective instrument of ratification on the 18th of October, 2011(UNESCO 2003a).

However, since then, the government, policy makers, economists and politicians have never taken deliberate action to create opportunities for young people to exploit intangible cultural heritage elements, and utilize them easily in creative industries and as their future career. Hence, this paper argues that there is no actual utilization of the intangible cultural heritage elements, and the artistic expressions, knowledge and skills found within the 126 ethnic tribes in Tanzania. In that regard, this paper seeks critically to discuss the existing gap between the education systems, its aims and goals on one side, and the growing awareness of the creative economy and ICH. In short, this paper attempts to show how the integration of ICH and learning strategies could add value and benefit in "Putting education to work" (UNESCO 2012).

In meeting the underlined purpose, this paper begins by positioning the industry through the identification of related literature and opportunities in the body of knowledge, debate on existing gaps and ways of adding value to the integration of ICH and learning strategies. In the following section, the paper lays out the theoretical dimension of the recently conducted case study, and hence, reports on experiences and the data collection field work results related to ICH and educational aims and goals in Tanzania. Finally, this paper assesses and gives some recommendations on how the integration of ICH elements could add value to educational opportunities and promote creative jobs in Tanzania.

2   BACKGROUND TO CULTURE AND EDUCATION DEVELOPMENT IN TANZANIA

A considerable amount of literature published on culture and development in Tanzania, as in many African countries, reveals that colonization had hidden effects that fragmented identities, indigenous knowledge, informal education, and thus, produced a strong sense of loss, devaluation of Africa and its cultural heritage. Hence, the notion about education and cultural heritage in most African countries appears now to be largely influenced by external theories and leadership experiences in various circles (Boswell 2008: 11-23; Ministry of National Culture and Youth 1962: 1-6; Nyerere 1962: 1).

Clearly then, in regard to education, the Tanzanian government defines it as follows: "a process by which the individual acquires knowledge and skills necessary for appreciating and adapting to the environment and ever-changing social, political and economic conditions of society and as a means by which one can realize one's full potential" - Ministry of Education and Culture (MOEC 1995: i). Furthermore, the Ministry of Education and Vocational Training clarifies the education system components that formulate the entire structure as firstly *in-formal education* as the "traditional education", that is, -the training that deals with everyday experiences interpreted by elders or peers and not planned (Kleis 1993: 72-74; MOEC 1995: 1). Second is the *formal education*: this system is the "predominantly academic, ranging from primary to university level" (MOEC 1995: 12). The third system is the *non-formal education*: which implies to a planned and structured activity "out –of-school education as distinguished from formal education, which is in-school education"(MOEC 1995: 16).

In Tanzania, pre-colonial education or "traditional education" emphasized principles of ethical citizenship, acquisition of life-skills and perpetuation of valued customs and traditions (MOEC 1995: 1). The transmission of indigenous knowledge and technology has always been through oral traditions and oral practice. In that way, members of a clan or tribe came to know their individual history, which had an unbroken continuity to the present. Therefore, traditional knowledge was a tool for promoting creative talent and served as a way of communication, development, and entertainment, and to pass on oral skills, values, ethics and creativity to young people from one generation to the next (Ministry of National Culture and Youth 1962: 5). Pursuing this further, Tanzania inherited its current educational system from the British, and the system was nurtured through western education methods. Following the western tradition, Tanzania has separated work from the lives and values of its young people. Most of the educated

population in Tanzania do not consider self employment as an option, and thus, continue to embrace the British influence which introduced "white collar jobs or knowledge work" (Pink 2005: 3). In that regard, this paper argues that, Tanzania is distancing itself from its creative workforce actions and the fact that, creativity as part of traditional knowledge and "the driver of social and economic change" (Hartley 2005: 1) will keep on facing challenges. Relatively, Hearn and Rooney (2008) point out that:

> Throughout history of all societies and economies have been -profoundly dependent on knowledge, As the 21ˢᵗ century gathers pace, the dependence on knowledge is becoming more complex and presents new challenges …In short, knowledge is a thoroughly social phenomenon((Hearn and Rooney 2008: 1).

Reflecting knowledge as a social phenomenon as argued by Hearn and Rooney (2008), immediately after independence in 1961, the Tanzania government passed the education act of 1962 aiming at regulating the provisions of education, and thus, repealed and replaced the 1927 Education Ordinance. Since then, the Tanzanian government has taken various steps in changing the education policy and laws all based on two main levels:

- On a *quantitative level*: to ensure access to education and equity in the distribution and allocation of resources to different segments of the society,
- On a *qualitative level*: to ensure that the country produces the skills needed for rapid social and economic development (MOEC 1995: i-2).

Difficulties arise, however, when an attempt is made to practically implement well- structured public policies and laws. For this purpose, this paper is going to discuss educational opportunities for ICH elements as a means of paving the way for the promotion of a creative workforce for young people in Tanzania.

3 THEORETICAL DIMENSIONS: ICH ELEMENTS AND LEARNING STRATEGY

It is becoming difficult to ignore the reality of integrating ICH elements within the learning environment due to the increasing scientific evidence revealed by researchers. To illustrate, Bamford, UNESCO, Australia Council for the Arts and IFACCA (2009)-have commented, 'arts education aims to pass on cultural heritage to young people, to enable them to create their own artistic language and to contribute to their global development (emotional and cognitive)' (Bamford et al. 2009: 21). In addition, Bamford et al (2009) clarify by saying that arts education is far from being a means of communication of cultural knowledge, it also plays a highly significant role on both the learners' academic and personal level. Finally, Bamford et al (2009) elaborate the two different approaches to arts education as:

> (1) *Education in Art*: implies teaching pupils or students the practices and principles of the different art disciplines, with a focus on stimulating their learning, critical thinking and problem solving, thereby, enabling learners to construct their cultural identities.
> (2) *Education through Art*: means that art emerges as a vehicle for learning other subject content and a way for teaching other general educational outcomes (Bamford et al. 2009: 21).

Evidently, in the drastic changing technology and global competition for talent and creative economy, what young people want to know, is certainly, how to learn the latest knowledge and skills related for them to lead the best life (Bentley and Kimberly 1999: 9-18; Florida 2002; McWilliam 2008: 16; Segal, Chipman and Robert 1985: 1; UNESCO 2012: i-ii). However, there are limits to how far the ideas of the two basic approaches to arts education as mentioned above. The key argument is how far have educators put that into operation within the learning environment in Tanzania? In the pages that follow, this paper will discuss this point and provide evidence from the case study data findings.

As already noted above, how to learn new information and skills remains a challenge and the integration of ICH elements focuses at the implementation level; hence, looking for ways of

adding significant value to education. Previous studies related to learning experience relied heavily on Bloom's Taxonomy (1956) built on three types of learning. First, the *cognitive domain* based on mental skills (knowledge); second, the *affective* related to growth in feelings or emotional area (based on attitude), and the third, the *psychomotor* related to manual works or physical skills (Bloom 1956: 6-10). Nevertheless, the learning domains have, on the other hand, not escaped criticism from various cognitive researchers, program developers and teachers of cognitive skills. Similarly, Dansereau (1985) offered a definition on an effective 'learning strategy' as 'a set of processes or steps that can facilitate the acquisition, storage, and /or utilization of information' In addition, Dansereau (1985) pre-cautioned that the learning strategy may vary along with a number of fundamental dimensions (Dansereau 1985: 210). Likewise, - Harmon and Jones (2005) labeled this as 'learning styles' and put them into two key folds namely *'Sensory learning'* and '*Hemispheric learning'*. These categories reflected different ways in which persons prefer to learn or acquire new information and skills for their future lives (Harmon and Jones 2005: 96-97).

A recent study by Tomlinson (2009) found, 'learning profile' to be an umbrella term, containing several categories that have a positive influence in student learning. Hence, four categories among the many could intersect, and play a vital role in the whole learning process. These include gender, culture, learning style and intelligence preference (Tomlinson 2009: 28-34). One question that needs to be asked, however, is whether many parents of today due to globalization and social threats, do acquire or practice (e.g. folk-tales, folk-songs, riddles, music expressions, folk-poetry, folk-dances or traditional craftsmanship) within their cultural and social environment, and, are they in a better position of transmitting the knowledge and skills to their children and young people in Tanzania or within the developing world?

4   ICH AS A MEANS OF PROMOTING CREATIVE JOBS FOR YOUTH

Development in the field of cultural and creative industries has led to a renewed interest in 'creativity'. Hence, creativity is found in all societies and denotes 'the formulation of new ideas and the application of these ideas to produce new works of art and cultural products, functional creations, scientific inventions and technological inventions' (United Nations 2008: 3). Similarly, ICH as part and parcel of creative industries has the potential to articulate people's identity, values, create employment, economic growth and alleviate poverty (Barrowclough and Kozul-Wright 2008: 3-5; United Nations 2008: 3-4; World Bank 1998).

However, the prevailing rapid development has a serious effect on most local communities within Tanzania as a developing country. The key point is that many young people are confused about their identity, values and norms because of not having adequate exposure to elders as their society's repository of ICH capital. Thus, deliberate and extra effort is essential in transmitting traditional knowledge and skills as tools and as the basis for their 'intellectual capital' and sustainable creative jobs promotion (United Nations 2008: 3-7).

The very idea of lack of exposure of the young people to ICH elements has also raised a number of questions, such as, knowing the essence and value chain embedded within the folkloric artifacts. Furthermore, experts have missed knowing what and how the contribution of ICH to economic development is and *determine employment opportunities* within the cultural and creative industries. In that regard, the preservation, promotion and financial support of ICH productions, services and activities in Tanzania like in many developing countries, remain a challenge in their broad range (United Nations 2008: 177-178; World Bank 1998).

On the other hand, a large and growing body of literature shows, in the new creative economy, many elements of traditional culture have contributed to the creation of employment opportunities and development of modern creative industries in various fields. These include but are not limited to video gaming, design and cinema. Similarly, this extends to businesses such as in choreography, dancing, drawing, weaving and doll-making. In the same way, cultural aspects of tourism through festivals, dance and performances, and visits to museums, monuments, archaeological and other local historical sites make a contribution (Cunningham et al. 2008: 67; Ministry of National Resources and Tourism 1999: 11; United Nations 2008: 177-178).

To illustrate this, Table 4.1 provides a comprehensive approach to measuring the impact of *creative activity* and determining employment based impact within the *creative workforce* in re-

gard to the Centre of Excellence for Creative Industries & Innovation (CCI) definition of creative workforce (Higgs, Cunningham and Pagan 2007: 5).

Table 4.1 The axes of Creative Trident methodology for determining employment within the Creative Workforce

	Creative Industries	Employed in Other Industries	
Creative Occupations	Specialists Creatives	Embedded Creatives	Total employed in specific Creative Occupations
Other Occupations Employed	Management and Support Staff		
	Total employment within businesses In the specific Creative Industries		The total employment In the creative Workforce

Source: ARC Centre of Excellence for Creative Industries & Innovation: Australia

As Higgs, Cunningham and Pagan (2007) elaborate, this *Creative Trident* approach is the sum of:

> *Creative occupations* within the core *creative industries (Specialists)*, plus those in *creative occupations* in employment in other industries_(*Embedded*), plus the non-creative management and support occupations that are employed within the specific *creative industries (Support)* (Higgs, Cunningham and Pagan 2007: 5).

To this end, the idea of integrating ICH elements and learning strategy as a means of promoting creative jobs for young people seem to be valid in considering the employment problem. However, this paper argues that it (and Tanzanian education and cultural policy objectives related to ICH) will turn out to be more beneficial to young people and the nation than persisting with an unrealistic trend.

5 METHOD

This paper presents the preliminary results of a research project which investigated how the two Ministries of Culture and Education might work together to better support Tanzania's young people to secure, and engage successfully in creative jobs. This being a social research, as Denscombe (2007) states, 'the social researcher is faced with a variety of options and alternatives and has to make decisions about which to choose' (Denscombe 2007: 3). In that regard, the researcher chose interview, focus groups and questionnaires because using mixed methods aids in verifying the validity of the data, and in the exploration of the relevant literature and practice in relation to the case as a whole (Yin 1994: 33). The researcher conducted the study in Dar-Es-Salaam, Bagamoyo, Dodoma, Lindi and Morogoro during the period July to October, 2012.

5.1 *Interviews*

The study carefully selected 19 participants from government officials, policy makers, law enforcers, planners, and decision-makers within government ministries, institutions, departments, and related agencies within the arts and cultural sector. In their capacity, these participants were likely to be able to contribute well to a discussion on the issues concerned with this research. Each interview lasted for one and a half hours, and the entire exercise ran from 7th August to 17th September, 2012.

5.2 *Focus groups*

The project invited people who had (i) firsthand experience within the arts and cultural sector, and (ii) knowledge, understanding as activists, and experts within the cultural and education sectors. Thus, in their capacity, they were likely to be able to contribute valuable insights on the issues related to the betterment of young people's future in Tanzania. The whole exercise involved five groups, each comprised between 6 to 9 participants. Each session took one and a half hours to two hours duration, and each involved an audio and video recording.

5.3 *Questionnaires*

The researcher distributed questionnaires to creative industries stakeholders aged between 15 to 35 years. The project invited these cultural actors as people who are closely familiar with challenges, and opportunities within the arts and cultural sector. They could confidently comment on how best to promote the creative works to young people in Tanzania.

6 RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

6.1 *Understanding the value of art education and ICH*

In giving views on the need for the inclusion of arts education so as to add value to the educational opportunities, respondents reflected on traditional and creative expressions. Hence, many related this to the informal/traditional education strategy, - where-by elders transmitted the values, knowledge and skills, and methods of obtaining daily needs of Tanzanian society from one generation to the next through oral tradition and practice. This included arts and craft work, folk-tales, folk music, and art of the theatre as part of the cultural heritage. The following quotes from interviewees who took part in the face- to-face interviews, illustrate this:

> After my graduation at Butimba Teachers College as a teacher with specialization in performing arts, I started teaching at Kigogo Primary School in Dar-Es-Salaam. There, unfortunately, I could not teach the subjects of my specialty. In compensation, I decided to introduce a traditional arts group as an extracurricular activity for interested pupils. Amazingly, most pupils joined the group, and after six months, there were no truancy cases, and most of the group members performed well in classes too. Hence, their thinking and learning ability of new information was higher in academics – Michael (Field Notes: 7/08/2012)

> A change in our education system is a crucial agenda. It has to include arts education. I suggest a rural body to be established. The body has to create awareness, and help in preserving and coordinating the use of ICH elements that could add value to the formal education. In so doing, the focus should be that of nurturing creativity and preserving knowledge and skills embodied in elders. Having that in mind, VETA Mtwara centre, has introduced fundamental creative courses in wood curving/sculpture, decorating, tailoring and fashion designing- Enock (Field Notes 12/9/2012).

6.2 *On the integration of art education and ICH elements*

The majority of participants felt that the integration of traditional artistic elements, knowledge and skills found within the 126 ethnic communities in Tanzania and the learning strategy could be of immense help in promoting creative jobs, and thus, enabling young people to become self-employed or to find jobs in both public and private sectors. As illustrated in Table 6.1 below, most respondents of the questionnaire schedule were the ones who earn their living through ar-

tistic jobs as full time or part time workers. In addition, the following comments describe the re-al situation:

> A change of mindset to the entire society is compulsory so as to rescue the young generation; thus, be exposed to and value the traditional artistic expressions and skills (Respondent 39: a 48 year old man/traditional dancer/ performing artist).

> The government through Ministry of Education must give priority to traditional art education in schools. This has to start from primary school up to secondary school level so as to nurture creativity within young people; thus, make them get self-employed after their studies. Hopefully, this will reduce the employment problem and the influx of young people into town and cities in search of jobs (R 57: a 20 year old male/ working in the film industry).

Table 6.1: Frequency table for wage range (Interval) data

Wage	class	Frequency		
		Full time	**Part time**	**Total**
Below Tshs.100,000	A	25	7	32
100,001 to 300,000	B	8	2	10
300,001 to 600,000	C	3	2	5
600,001 to 1,000,000	D	1	1	2
Above 1,000,000	E	8	-	8

The Table above presents the monthly income results of the 57 respondents working within the creative industries. The results show that 45 persons earn their living as full time workers. This is 78.9 percent of all respondents working within the cultural and creative sector.

Table 6.2 ICH and learning

Category	Respondent's quotation from the data
Heredity or trans-mission of ICH ele-ments	1. 'I mean, teaching and learning should adopt traditional education ap-proach of oral and practice, and art education should be in schools, social centers, and in local villages for all sundry. As done in olden days! people played drums , danced celebrated some village events or after harvest'
	2. 'I say, let researchers and cultural experts rescue our traditional herit-age through writing books, publications, and use of electronic and digital media to educate and stimulate young people'
ICH and technology	1. 'I think through competitions that integrate ICH elements among young people and award the best will stimulate creativity and innovation'
	2. 'In fact, vocational training incorporating traditional elements e.g. in architecture, fashion designing or making indigenous musical instruments will help'
ICH repository establishment	1. 'I don't know(about) if local villages or local governments could man-age establishing libraries, museums, documentation, archives or resource centers, without any support and mobilization ?!'
	2. 'Equally important, networking within Tanzania, Africa or developing countries will help'

6.3 *Usefulness of the integration of ICH and learning strategy*

Table 6.2 illustrates some categories with   respondents' quotations from the data on ICH and learning strategy. The majority of the participants were within the five focus group sessions held

in Dar-Es-Salaam, Mwanza, Dodoma, Lindi and Mwanza sample areas when giving their opinions on the question, 'What are your feelings, ratings and comments on the current education system in relation to the growing number of primary and secondary school leavers drifting from rural to urban areas in search of jobs in Tanzania?'. Most participants expressed the key challenges as being poor teaching and learning styles in schools. Participants often said that they do not allow learners to apply what they have learnt in the real world. The following comments illustrate participants' views well:

> TUSEME PROJECT (by the University of Dar-Es-salaam) based on the promotion of 'theatre for children' is a good example of facilitating learning to young people. Hence, almost 85 percent of the children involved in this had joined university studies – Agnes (Focus group: 2nd August, 2012).

> I think the value of arts and culture is not well known to policy makers, and that's why arts education is not a priority aspect in our education system-Mwinshehe (Field notes: 1st October, 2012).

> In our artistic works, we do educate people in both rural and urban areas through theatre for development method. We employ a Participatory Theatre Approach and Radio Soap Opera. These styles have proved highly effective means of making people learn new information easily while being entertained- Zainabu (Focus group: 17th October, 2012).

In general, the results, as shown in Table 6.3 (from focus groups within a 'social constructionist framework' employing content analysis), indicate that 'respondents are advanced, elaborated and negotiated in this social' phenomenon (Wilkinson 2008: 197-199).

Table 6.3: Theory construct: ICH and employment

Category	Example: representatives quotations from the data
ICH and work identity	1. 'I wonder how most young people playing 'Bongo Flava music', even within the film industry, have ignored our identity in their works!' 2. 'I say Tanzania must deliberately take initiatives in acknowledging and establishing mechanisms of preserving Tingatinga Paintings' (established by the late Edward Saidi Tingatinga in 1968). This is a national brand/treasure and identity! I suggest young artists in schools should be taught the skills of Tingatinga style of painting' 3. 'Special songs composed in the olden good days and taught in schools, National Service camps and the public (for patriotism/national values/ identity/motivating workers) are never heard nowadays!'
Employment opportunities	1. 'Here in Mwanza, we have Bujora village museums that attracts tourists and has contributed to creation of employment, I mean this is one of the opportunities' 2. 'sometimes, I think Festival like the one we have here in Mtwara (Makuya Traditional Festival) can create employment, the government must support such initiatives' 3. 'Cultural heritage sites most are neglected, they can help in employment creation, or as educational resources and tourism!'
Embedded creativity	1.'Thanks, we earn our living as artists through tradition dance performances, and sometimes as educators on HIV/AIDs and environmental conservation issues in our local areas when sponsored' 2. 'I mean far from doing art works, I also work as a fashion designer serving women in small scale industries doing art work on their 'Batik' fabrics' 3. 'I am a musician but also a Music teacher at 'Music Empowerment Trust' organization based in Dar-Es-salaam at National Arts Council premises. I also have skills in making various indigenous musical instruments'

7 CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This paper has discussed how the integration of ICH and learning strategy could assist in pro-
moting creative jobs for young people in Tanzania. However, the analysis has revealed that the
biggest challenge is how to integrate new information or knowledge and skills relevant to their
artistic practice, creative jobs in the context of global development (Bamford et al. 2009: 21;
Hearn and Rooney 2008: 1; Segal, Chipman and Robert 1985: 1). Learning style recognitions,
infrastructure, investing in work-based learning, curriculum change and teaching methods in-
cluding refresher courses for teachers are needed. Returning to the thematic area of this paper, it
is now possible to state that there is a need to create various ethnic and national data-bases for
works of folklore and ICH in Tanzania, as these could benefit learners, teachers and researchers
to access the repository, and thus, stimulate human, social and artistic creations, innovation and
learning styles. In short, this will ensure the protection of cultural expressions, provide access to
learners and create real value in educational opportunities for inclusion of ICH elements. Con-
sequently, this would promote creative jobs to youth and provide a new understanding of cultur-
al policy and educational aims and goals in Tanzania.

REFERENCES

Bamford, A., UNESCO, Australia Council for the Arts & IFACCA. (2009). *The Wow Factor: Global re-
search compendium on the impact of the arts in education (second edition)*. Berlin: Waxmann.
Barrowclough, D. & Kozul-Wright, Z. (2008). *Creative Industries and developing countries: Voice,
choice and economic growth (ed) by D. Barrowclough & Z. Kozul-Wright*. London: Routledge Taylor
& Francis Group.
Bentley, T. & Kimberly, S. (1999). *The creative age: Knowledge and skills for the new economy*. Lon-
don: Demos.
Bloom, B. S. (1956). *Taxonomy of Education Objectives Handbook 1: The Cognitive Domain*. New York:
Longman.
Boswell, R. (2008). *Challenges to identifying and managing intangible cultural heritage in Mauritius*,
Zanzibar and Sychelles. Dakar Senegal: CODESRIA Monograph Series.
Cunningham, S.D., Ryan, M.D., Keane, M. & Diego, O. (2008). *Creative Industries and Developing
Countries: Voice, choice and economic growth (ed) by D. Barrowclough & Z. Kozul-Wright*. London:
Routledge Taylor & Francis Group.
Dansereau, D. F. (1985). *In Thinking and Learning Skills Volume 1: Relating Instruction to Research (ed)
by J.W.Segal, S. S. Chipman & G. Robert*. New Jersy, USA: Lawrence Eribaum Associates, Inc.
Denscombe, M. (2007). *The good research guide:for small-scale social research projects. third edition*.
Meidenhead: Open University Press.
Dewhurst, C. (2008). *Arts and culture entrepreneurship. In the engaged scholar magazine volume 3
summer 2008*. USA: Michigan State University.
Florida, R. L. (2002). *The rise of the creative class:And how it's transforming work, leisure community
and everyday life 1st edition*. New York: Basic Books.
Harmon, D. A. & Jones,T.S. (2005). *Contemporary education issues, Elementary Education: A Reference
Handbook*. St Barbara California USA: Library Congress Cataloging -in Publication Dala. Available
at. http://www.abc-clio.com [Accessed 5 January 2013].
Hartley, J. (2005). *Creative industries*. Malden, MA: Blackwell.
Hearn, G. & Rooney,D. (2008). Knowledge Policy:Challenges for the 21st Century. *Reference and Re-
search Book News*, 23(3).
Higgs, P. L., Cunningham,S.D. & Pagan, J.D. (2007). *Australia's creative economy: Definitions of the
segments and sectors (report)*. ARC Centre of Excellence for Creative Industries & Innovation, Bris-
bane, edited: CCI. Available at http://eprints.qut.edu.au/archive/0008242/> [Accessed 7 February
2013].
Kleis, J et al. (1993). "What is non-formal education?" Philosophical article, The Pennsylvania State Uni-
versity [online]. *Journal of Agricultural Education*, 72-75. Available at https://ronna-af-
ghan.harmonieweb.org/education/Shared%20Documents/Formal%20vs%20Nonformal%20Ed_Article
_%28Penn%20State%20University,%20date%20unknown%29.pdf [Accessed 2 February 2013].
McWilliam, E. (2008). *The creative workforce: How to launch Young People into High-Flying Futures*.
NSW Australia: UNSW Press.

Ministry of National Culture and Youth (1962). *Culture revolution in Tanzania, edited by Ministry of National Culture and Youth*. Dar-Es-Salaam: Print-Pak Tanzania.

Ministry of National Resources and Tourism (1999). *"National tourism policy", edited by Ministry of National Tourism*. Dar-Es-Salaam: Tanzania: Government Printer.

MOEC. (1995). *Education and training policy*. Dar-Es-Salaam: Ministry of Education and Culture Press.

Nyerere, J.K. (1962). President Nyerere's speech on the work of the created new Ministry of National Culture and Youth on 10th December, 1962: In Ministry of National Culture and Youth, ed. (2005) *Cultural revolution in Tanzania*. Dar-Es-Salaam: Print-Pak Tanzania.

Pink, D. H. (2005). *Awhole new mind: Moving from the information age to the conceptual age*. Australia: Allen & Unwin.

Segal, J. W. Chipman,S.F. & Robert, G. (1985). *Thinking and Learning Skills volume 1: Relating Instruction to Research (edited). Vol. 1*. New Jersey, USA: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Inc. Accessed 5/1/2013.

Tomlinson, C. A. (2009). Learning Profiles & Achievement. *School Administrator*, 66 (2): 28-34.

UNESCO (2003a). C*onvention for the safeguarding of the intangible cultural heritage: Ratification list* [online]. Available at http://www.unesco.org/eri/la/convention.asp?KO=17116&language=E&order=alpha [Accessed 1 February 2013].

UNESCO (2003b). Text of the convention for the safeguarding of intangible cultural heritage [online]. Available at http://www.unesco.org/culture/ich/index.php?lg=en&pg=00006 [Accessed 1 February 2013].

UNESCO, ed. (2012). *Education for All Global Monitoring Report: Youth and Skills Putting Education to Work (second edition)*. Paris: UNESCO.

United Nations (2008). *Creative economy report:the challenge of assessing the creative economy towards informed-policy making*. New York: United Nations.

Wilkinson, A. (2008). *In qualitative psychology: A practical guide to research methods (ed) by Jonathan A Smith*. London: Sage Publications Ltd.

WIPO (2003). *Consolidated analysis of the legal protection of traditional cultural expressions/expressions of folklore. Publication no 785 (E)*. Geneva: WIPO.

World Bank (1998). Cultural Heritage and Development Action Network. In *Working group meeting 26-27 Washington D.C., edited*. Available at http://icom.museum/bank.html [Accessed 17 August 2009].

Yin, R. K. (1994). *Case study research:design and methods. Vol.5*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

The evolution of Irish folk theatre

Daithí Kearney
Dundalk Institute of Technology, Dundalk, Co. Louth, Ireland

ABSTRACT: Siamsa Tíre, The National Folk Theatre of Ireland, was founded in 1964 and is based in Tralee, Co. Kerry. It is, in many ways, a unique cultural experience, presenting Irish folklore and folk culture through the medium of theatre involving music, song, dance and mime but invariably no dialogue. I began training with the company at the age of nine and have been involved in many roles since, including as a performer and director. In this paper I seek to outline the evolution of Irish folk theatre as exemplified by Siamsa Tíre. As well as engaging with the material presented on stage, I consider the impact of tourism on Irish culture, changing concepts of folk culture in an increasingly urbanized state and the potential of folk theatre to create as well as reflect a community and society. This paper draws selectively on the repertoire of performances devised by Siamsa Tíre over the past half century, highlighting themes and developments that inform an understanding of the art form and changes in Irish society more generally.

1 INTRODUCTION

I was perhaps eight or nine when the teacher at school announced that auditions would be held for Siamsa Tíre on one of the evenings that week. I was intrigued but unaware of the impact this information was to have on my life in the coming years. Like many others who attended the auditions I was brought by my parents and knew little of the company and its history at the time. I, like many of my school friends, had grown up in town though my parents had experienced growing up with a closer connection to rural life and agriculture. I had not witnessed a cow being milked, a sheep being sheared, butter being made or the hay saved. I was a child of modern Ireland where technology and other industries signposted a path that reshaped the fabric of Irish life, for so long dependent on a large agricultural sector.

Irish traditional music, song and dance were imagined as being an integral part of rural life, though many of these pastimes were now developing in urban contexts (Kearney, 2007), not least in Tralee. I had been attending Irish dancing lessons near my home – not necessarily the coolest thing for a young boy to be doing in a pre-Flatley/*Riverdance* era (Ó Cinnéide, 2002). I received basic music tuition in school, supplemented by private piano lessons, learning mostly popular standards and basic repertoire from the Western Art Music canon. I was not part of a choir, nor did I attend the theatre very often but the auditions were an opportunity to further my education in the arts and eventually become part of a unique theatre company. Upon acceptance, I trained at a rural facility in North Kerry, designed like a farm house from a previous era,

attending classes one night a week for three years. Each night we learned music, song, dance and mime – the four elements that were understood to make up Irish folk theatre. An element that was not explicitly emphasized but present in the singing class was the Irish language. Despite the perceived importance, Seán Ahern told me"It has always struggled from the beginning. But the songs were in Irish" (interview, 31 August 2012). Very quickly I felt part of a community involving people across a number of generations who shared a desire to perform.

Over the past twenty years I have been involved in or witnessed a number of shows that demonstrate a sense of evolution in the folk theatre idiom.Folk theatre, as understood in this paper, is the presentation of folk culture and a way of life through music, song, dance and mime. Though drama is an element, it is generally without dialogue and the story is told through other devices. There is a strong history of theatre in Ireland. As Pilkington notes: "For many centuries Ireland and things Irish have been viewed as essentially performative: as possessing a core of being that is inherently theatrical" (2010: 2). In the Irish theatrical tradition, Siamsa Tíre remains a largely unique example of Irish folk theatre.

2 THE ROOTS OF SIAMSA TÍRE

The idea for the group that became Siamsa Tíre evolved from the formation of a Gregorian choir at St Johns Church, Tralee in 1957 following the appointment of a young curate Fr Pat Ahern to the parish. Following the production of the Passion play, *Golgotha* in 1963, which received unprecedented national attention and acclaim, members of the group embarked on producing a small scale production for a local cabaret style competition. The group was called *Siamsa*, meaning merriment, and though they did not win the initial competition, they continued to develop their production and were to be later joined by members of the other groups from that competition.They then became known as *SiamsóirínaRíochta*, entertainers of the kingdom, borrowing the nickname of the county of Kerry and reinforcing their links with that place.

It is widely considered that Irish traditional music went through a period of revival from the 1950s to the 1970s (Ó hAlmhuráin, 1998). The perceived revival was based on a number of factors including the growth of Comhaltas Ceoltóirí Éireann (CCÉ), an organization founded in 1951 to encourage participation in Irish traditional music, song and dance and which established a network of competitions and branches that facilitated teaching. Another factor was the emergence of commercially successful ensembles such as The Chieftains, The Bothy Band and Planxty, all of which arguably followed on from the innovation of Seán Ó Riada. In all of these instances, new and often urban contexts for the performance of and participation in Irish traditional music were created that were removed from the rural homesteads of the early twentieth century. Additionally, new contexts for Irish traditional music were also developed amongst diasporic communities, particularly in England and America (Gedutis, 2004; Hall, 1994; Moloney, 1998).

In the 1960s, another context for the presentation of Irish traditional music, loosely based on the cabaret form, was popular throughout the country. Under the auspices of CCÉ a competition for a form of stage show involving the presentation of Irish music entitled *Scoraíocht* was established. Ahern suggests that CCÉ desire a new dimension to the presentation of Irish traditional music and that dimension should be visual (1969: 10). One of the founding members of *Siamsóirí na Ríochta*, dancer Liam Tarrant, stated: "We believe if we could present Irish music through the presentation of occupations such as flailing, the scythe and a number of others it would be much more interesting" (4 December 1964).An emphasis was thus placed on the potential for a visual presentation involving Irish traditional music and song, further enhanced through the use of characterization.

In 1964, many of the people who would become central to the development of Siamsa Tíre were involved in a variety of groups that competed. The following year, many of the group directed by Ahern travelled to Dublin at the request of broadcaster Liam Ó Murchú, to record a series of programs entitled *Aililiú*. A fifth program, a Christmas special entitled *CoinnlenanAingeal* or Christmas Angels was also recorded. For that show, director Pat Ahern set Máire Mac an tSaoi's poem 'Coinnle na Nollaig' to music and based the thirty minute show around the traditional Christmas beliefs and customs in rural Ireland. The combination of religious themes and rural customs is a recurring element of the work of Ahern. Following an

overwhelmingly positive response and encouraged by local tourism executives, the group developed an entire stage production in 1968.

The early performances of Siamsa Tíre developed from short pieces based on aspects of rural life in Ireland including the milking of the cow and making of butter with the songs 'Aililiú na Gamhna' and 'Amhrán na Cuiginne'. The performances were shaped by the talents and memories of the group and in particular the artistic director, Pat Ahern. Born in 1932, Ahern grew up on a farm near the village of Moyvane, Co. Kerry. A fiddle player, he also learned to dance in the North Kerry tradition from the dancing master Jeremiah Molyneaux (1883–1967), also known as Jerry Munnix. Later he studied for a BMus at University College, Cork, wherehe was influenced by ProfessorAloys Fleischmann (1910–1992), having previously studied music at Maynooth (Fleischmann, 2000).Ahernwas also influenced by pioneering Russian dancer and artistic director Igor Moiseyev (1906–2007) who came up with the idea of establishing a theatre of folk art in the 1930s. With a voluntary group of enthusiastic musicians, singers and dancers, Ahern devised the performances based on the rural folk culture of North Kerry. He drew from the rich repertoire of folk songs and dramatized the everyday tasks. These pieces would later come together to form the show *FadóFadó* (Long, long ago), a show that ran for over forty years, revised on occasion and rebranded as *San Am Fadó* (In the long ago) in the 1990s.

An integral aspect of *FadóFadó*was the 'fun in the village' motif, a common denominator for many European folk dance ensembles and an often simplistic and romantic depiction of village life (Shay, 2002: 9). However, Siamsa Tíre went beyond the modes of performance typical of many folk dance companies.Amongst the important aspects of the early productions were the use of a regional dance tradition, the arrangement of traditional songs for SATB choir and the visual presentation of everyday life. Each aspect may be traced to Ahern's own experiences as a dancer, choral conductor and composer, and farmer.

The North Kerry style of step dance, adapted and stylized for presentation in a folk theatre context, owes much to the tradition of the dancing masters that travelled through the region in the nineteenth and early twentieth century. An early example is Múirín or Mooreen (1822–1878), "the earliest known dancing master in the oral history of North Kerry" (Foley, 2012: 31). Cullinane states: "In all his travels, Mooreen preserved and restored and indeed imposed on this area, what has come to be known as 'the Kerry style of dancing', a distinct and separate style unknown in the Dublin of that period" (1994: 30). NedínBatt Walsh (b. *c*.1835) succeeded Múirín and in turn taught Molyneaux, whose style was the predominant form until the increased institutionalization of dance through competitions organized by various groups in the latter half of the twentieth century. A number of exponents of this style of dance were recorded in the 1970s and 1980s by both Siamsa Tíre and Catherine Foley (Foley, 2012). This form of dance, though adapted, stylized and developed through collaboration with dancers from other styles, became one of the cornerstones of presentation by the Siamsa Tíre Company. Significantly the dance style did not conform to the "traditional canons of correctness"(the rigid upper body, the dress code, the hair styles) identified by Moloney (2009) in institutionalized competitive dance. Indeed, Brennan (1999: 155) notes Siamsa Tíre as the exception to the rule that "Irish dancing on stage had largely come to mean a stiff-backed performance by a troupe of young dancers wearing the regulation dance dresses rigid with embroidery". In many ways, the style of dance in North Kerry provided flexibility for choreographers to explore and develop movement further (Wulff, 2007).

An important element of the Siamsa Tíre performances is the use of choral singing and the role of the St John's Church Choir in facilitating the education of young men in the town must be noted. At a time of very high church attendance, the sense of community was reinforced through religious practice. Under Ahern's tutelage, very high standards were achieved, initially with an all-male choir.Indeed for his final examination for his BMus, Ahern conducted the Tralee choir in the Aula Maxima at UCC. Like his contemporary Seán Ó Riada who achieved fame for his arrangement of traditional song airs for the soundtrack to the 1959 film *Mise Éire*, Ahern was trained in the European school under Fleischmann.Although Ahern's treatment of the music is quite different to Ó Riada, they share an awareness of milieu and an appreciation for the importance of the language and the role of words.

The early performances of *SiamsóirínaRíochta*involved music, song and dance that was part of a living tradition and were initially presented in the style of a cabaret, as was popular at the time. Gradually, the performances developed with the expressed desire to tell a story.In contrast

with many folk dance troupes, who may also incorporate song and characterization into their performances, Siamsa Tíre developed a powerful dramatic element. According to current Artistic Director Jonathon Kelliher, "We use our music, songs and dance to really tell a story. For us, showing off the dance, or the song, is secondary to getting into the story" (in Mulrooney, 2003: 252). After nearly half a century, the development of Siamsa Tíre is itself a story worth telling.

3 FADÓ FADÓ

I remember, aged about twelve, standing by the life-size façade of the old thatched cottage about an hour before the curtain would be raised. I did not have a full rehearsal with the rest of the cast. I had learned the various scenes, songs and dances in my classes but now I had 'graduated' to the stage alongside cast members I knew only from photographs and stories. The experience lay between a participatory folk dance experience and a fully professional theatrical experience. I was guided by some of the older, more experienced members such as Jimmy Smith and Seanie Mahoney – they had been there since the start in 1968. In later years I would assume their role, though much younger than they had been when encouraging me. In fifteen years I performed almost every variant of every male role in *FadóFadó / San Am Fadó* and always felt comfortable. My character was 'myself', a young man in his community.

The show included various scenes that represented the activities of Irish rural life in the early twentieth century. I remember pretending to milk a cow, make butter in a churn, mend shoes, and cut turf in the bog. We would dance with daisy trains and in imitation of chickens. The traditions of Christmas such as the lighting of the candle and the wren boys featured, as did somber reenactments of emigration scenes. I mastered the use of the flail (used for threshing to separate grains from their husks) and the making of the súgán or straw rope – skills few of my peers even knew existed. The show was escapism, as much for me as for the audience.

The cottage was a central symbol in *FadóFadó* and for Siamsa Tíre more generally. The window had been salvaged from the old Ahern home, adding to both the sense of authenticity and connection with the past that was being represented. The presence of the thatched cottage also complimented the popular tourist images of Ireland used for much of the twentieth century. When former child performer and later Artistic Director Oliver Hurley compared seeing the cottage on stage to experiencing Disneyland (interview, 7 August 2012), he was betraying a sense of separation that he, like I, experienced. For the original cast, the depth of meaning inherent in the show was greater, a point that was emphasized to me when speaking with founder members following the decision to drop *San Am Fadó* from the Summer Season repertoire in 2010.

A review in the *Theatre Journal* by Edward Pixley (1980) provides an informed insight into these early productions. Though the cast was amateur, they were perceived to perform at a professional standard. Pixley states:

"Although songs and dances were the most distinguishable units of the production, it was neither concert nor dance theatre. The performance impact came through the theatrical presentation. The dramatic vignettes were of necessity simple, since most of the audience has difficulty with the Irish language. But the presentation drew the audience into a friendly conflict between husband and wife or a teasing courtship no less than into the work songs themselves, where the performance of a task became infectiously appealing as the actual work which had inspired the song was done on the stage (sharpening the scythe, flailing the grain, cobbling the shoe). Commonplace activity inspired the imagination of the folk artist, whose art, in turn, transformed the commonplace into something inspiring" (1980: 121-122).

In his review, Pixley implicitly refers to three important aspects of the Siamsa Tíre company and the production*FadóFadó*. The first concerns education in two contexts: the role of theatre as education for an audience and the role of the company in training members in the cultural traditions of their homeplace. The second relates to the role of tourists and tourism in the production of cultural heritage. The third considers the recognition for creative, aesthetic and artistic qualities in the productions. Each is central to understanding the evolution of Irish folk theatre.

4   A HOME FOR DEVELOPMENT

The first show in which I performed withSiasma Tíre in Tralee was *Ding Dong Dederó: Forging the Dance*. As part of the opening scene I stood atop the set, an impressive and very large structure representing an old forge complete with working bellows. The show depicted the life of Jerry Munnix, the dancing master, reflecting how the young boy may have taken inspiration from the sounds and shapes around him, through to the fair scene where he demonstrated his skills, to the dancing class where he taught local school children, to the evolution of the dance as taken on by the next generation – a reflection on the company themselves. The show impressed on me the history of the dance, the potential for the theatrical representation of folk history, and the possibilities to explore the development of choreography using existing traditions as a starting point.

Ding Dong Dederó provides a belated foundation myth for the cultural heritage of North Kerry and the Siamsa Tíre Company itself. The production was the climax of the Ahern era for the company – signaling the beginning of the end of his involvement. Significantly the premiere of *Ding Dong Dederó* marked the opening of a new, purpose built theatre. Ó Cinnéide notes: "There was a cast of 90 between the ages of 10 and 70. Twelve were from the original production of 1968. Many came out of retirement to be part of this historic event" (2002: 50). Speaking of the excitement and energy at the time, Seán Ahern reflected: "It was all go. My brother was a hard taskmaster; he kept us on our toes" (31 July 2012).

The building of the new theatre in Tralee and production of *Ding Dong Dederó* was the climax of a twenty year process. Ahern had returned to Kerry in 1972 at the request of Bishop Casey and was released from diocesan duties to dedicate time to developing Siamsa Tíre. Bishop Casey was also president of the Kerry County Board of Comhaltas Ceoltóirí Éireann and was very supportive of groups involved in music and heritage. A report was published in 1972 that laid out plans for the development of Irish culture, informed by the experiences with and practices of *SiamsóirínaRíochta*. The report also proposed a purpose built theatre for Tralee, subsequently designed by Ahern and architect Paddy O'Sullivan. 1974 saw the formal founding of Siamsa Tíre Teoranta with a board of directors installed to supervise the implementation of the 1972 report. Ahern was appointed the first Artistic Director, a position he held until his retirement in 1998.

The theatre buildings used by Siamsa Tíre reflect the evolution of the company. Starting out in a convent hall, Siamsa Tíre performed on a number of stages in the town before realizing their own 'home'. Modeled on Staigue Fort, an Iron Age ringfort in South Kerry, it was planned that the exterior of the building would reflect the nature of what was performed on stage. Thus Siamsa Tíre were linking the tangible and intangible heritage of Co. Kerry. The development of a state-of-the-art facility also impacted on the identity of the company. As Bohlman notes, the stage not only becomes a construct of separation between the audience and a folk culture, it is "a signifier of the complexity of folk music in the modern world" (1988: 126). However, though the Siamsa Tíre productions achieve standards akin to professional companies, it is worth noting that many of the cast continue to be involved in participatory folk culture such as pub sessions and céilithe.

Prior to the development of the theatre, two training centers had been constructed and established – one in Finuge, a small village in rural North Kerry where I myself received my initial training; and one in Carraig, a small village in the West Kerry Gaeltacht where the Irish language is still the spoken language of the local people. Both centerswere modeled on the type of Irish farmhouse common in rural Ireland in the early twentieth century complete with thatched roof, flagged stone floors and large open fire. For reasons of maintenance costs, the thatch has been replaced in recent years by slate and for reasons of health and safety the old stone flagged floors have been covered with timber and vinyl sheets reflecting the need to survive in a modern world. While these centers acted as the principal spaces for training new members, who typically auditioned to join as I did between the ages of seven and twelve, recent developments have led to the centralization of all classes to the main theatre in Tralee.

In contrast with the theatre in Tralee, Ahern envisaged thetithe Siamsa as spaces in which people who entered "should in some way have the feeling of the traditions which they were portraying and enjoying and exchanging" (30 March 1975). In recent years the centers are used less frequently but their importance is underlined by the reaction to proposals to sell the

building in Finuge (Nolan, 2008). The buildings have become an important site of memory, imbued with layers of meaning. The flagstones that surround the fire in Finuge were donated by the founding members, the center one by Ahern himself, and beneath each was placed a piece of paper, symbolic of the sense of tradition that they were attempting to impart.

With the building of the theatre in 1991, many local people did not differentiate between the groups that used it – be they Siamsa Tíre or other local dramatic groups or indeed visiting companies. While traditionally Siamsa Tíre drew membership from rural communities in North and West Kerry, as well as West Limerick, a significant proportion of the membership has always been drawn from the town of Tralee, the administrative capital and largest town in the county. The company has always been dependent on its community cast, who earn some financial reward but whose effort is recognized as largely voluntary. Since the 1990s, membership of the company has extended beyond its traditional training network and they have actively sought out the involvement of 'outsiders'. In the minds of some, including former Artistic Director Oliver Hurley who initiated the process of inviting performers to join the community cast, this has impacted on the sense of community and tradition (interview, 7 August 2012). It has also diluted the sense of a unique identity created by Siamsa Tíre and blurred the boundaries between it and other amateur dramatic and musical groups in the town.

While many local people went to see performances by Siamsa Tíre in the early years, gradually over time it became more of a tourist attraction. Some went to see family members perform. As Seán Ahern states: "In the beginning everybody in Tralee came to see us but not anymore. We're not valued even though we contribute to the tourist season" (interview, 31 July 2012).The recurrence of the shows over the years may have led to a feeling of apathy amongst both cast and people in the town and the attitude that Siamsa Tíre did the same thing all of the time. However, Siamsa Tíre regularly develops new material and the show remained popular amongst audiences. Older cast members, most of whom no longer perform in the shows, feel strongly that *San Am Fadó* should not have been dropped from the summer season program. Officially it remains part of the repertoire and may return to the stage at various times.

5 DEVELOPMENT AND INNOVATION

SiamsaóirínaRíochta was slow to develop their repertoire, due in part to the considerable time pressures the process entailed and the mainly voluntary contribution of those involved.The productions performed by Siamsa Tíre are devised theatre, a process that requires much time and engagement. As Oddey notes: "Devising is a process of making theatre that enables a group of performers to be physically and practically creative in the sharing and shaping of an original product that directly emanates from assembling, editing, and re-shaping individuals' contradictory experiences of the world […] The process of devising is about the fragmentary experience of understanding ourselves, our culture, and the world we inhabit" (1994: 1). The use of this process has implications for the nature of what is presented and the sense of ownership experienced by the cast. As a number of members of Siamsa Tíre pointed out, it is difficult to work full-time in employment outside of the theatre, get a very short break, and then attempt to engage with the work of the company. Nonetheless, involvement in the creative process reinforces a sense of ownership, pride and belonging, strengthening the community aspect of the company.

Former Artistic Directorand original 'core group' member Oliver Hurley identified the establishment of a professional company in 1985 as a milestone for Siamsa Tíre, bringing it to another level in terms of artistic endeavor (interview, 7 August 2012). He believes that the establishment of the core group provided those involved with scope to experiment at a time when there was no other company like it in Ireland. Until that time the activities were largely limited to the summer season performances, largely geared at tourists, and occasional tours, all of which were dependent on volunteerism. The core group has traditionally been small in number and, as well as developing new repertoire for the wider company, has engaged in research, teaching and touring.

Ó Cinnéide notes that the formation of the core company allowed for "stretching the performance capacity of the company in new directions" (2002: 49). Though some people critique the capacity for change in traditions, Moloney notes: "The capacity to innovate and re-

create, to experiment and collaborate is seen by general audiences, cultural custodians, and participants alike as an index of the strength of the traditional culture" (2009: 8). Reflecting on her own work fusing Irish and modern dance, Carr (2009) notes the cyclical nature of the process, returning to the tradition for inspiration.In this context, it is worth noting the concerns of former manager Martin Whelan (1949-2002) to place the development of Irish dance in "responsible" hands (Vallely, 1995), which suggests a role for Siamsa Tíre as caretakers of or gatekeepers to the tradition.

Increasingly since the formation of the professionalcompany, Siamsa Tíre has engaged in collaboration with a wide variety of groups and artists from an eclectic range of genres. An early experiment involved Jonathon Burnett, a former soloist with Irish National Ballet for a Christmas Show in 1986. Mulrooney states: "Since then, Siamsa Tíre has continued to collaborate with contemporary choreographers like John Scott and Cindy Cummings, stretching the limits of the dance form" (2006: 227). The professional company regularly collaborate and perform with other artists and other artforms. Dance critic Diane Theodores noted:

"For years Siamsa Tire, under the artistic direction of Father Patrick Ahern, have gathered, preserved and performed dance and song from the environs of North Kerry [...] The Arts Council funded project "Between Two Worlds" (IdirEatarthu) with choreography by Anne Courtney and music by Michael O'Suilleabhain[...] examines the relationship between the traditional and the contemporary [...] The dance exposes some scintillating possibilities for a new ethnically relevant theatre dance" (9 September 1990 cited in Theodores, 1996).

Jonathon Kelliher, current Artistic Director of the company, noted the development of a dance style through collaboration with contemporary dance choreographers over a long period of time. Writing about *Ding Dong Dederó*, choreographed by Anne Courtenay in 1991, Kelliher states:

"That didn't just come out of nowhere. For ten years prior to that we were bringing contemporary choreographers in – stuff that would have never been in the public because it was just our own development – to see where we could go with it. We might get ten contemporary choreographers in, but only one might work. From the other nine, though, you are going to learn something. It's not just the Anne Courtneys, or the Cindy Cummings, or the Mary Nunans, it is ten or fifteen years of work we have been doing before them, getting there" (in Mulrooney, 2003: 251).

One of the most influential impacts of experimentation in Siamsa Tíre on the performance and perception of Irish traditional music and dance was the development of the Seville Suite for EXPO '92. With music written by Bill Whelan and incorporating choreography by flamenco dancer Maria Pages, the Seville Suite is identifiable as the precursor of *Riverdance* (Ó Cinnéide, 2002). Ó Cinnéide states: "Siamsa Tíre can be said to have played an important indirect role in the genesis of "Riverdance" and it is interesting to discover that the commercial success of the latter has, in turn, contributed to growth in the activities of cultural organizations like Siamsa" (2002: 51). This echoes Bohlman's comments on folk music, suggesting commodification "has secured new audiences and new social contexts for folk music in the modern world" (1988: 132).The modern world is conventionally represented as urban and Michael Seavor suggests that if Riverdance represents urban Ireland, Siamsa Tíre represents rural Ireland (in Wulff, 2007: 115). Though Siamsa Tíre exists in a global marketplace, needing to 'sell to survive', it is the custodian of a rich cultural heritage, not only of the local region but now of the company itself.

6 A WORLD STAGE

For years the posters read "Absolutely superb…it made me want to catch the next plane to Dublin". The statement was taken from a review of Siamsa Tíre on Broadway by the renowned and feared critic Clive Barnes during their 1976 tour. Each night we performed to tourists from all over the world, a significant proportion from America and Germany but increasingly diverse through the 1990s. The 1976 tour was legendary in the company and I was thrilled when presented with the opportunity to travel to Washington D.C. with the company in 1999.

Standing at the door of the Oval Office in The White House we knew we were important. Only a few nights previously we had opened in Forde's Theatre where President Abraham

Lincoln had been assassinated. The following night many of us would play in an informal pub session in Nanny O'Brien's, an Irish pub in D.C. run by an emigrant from Tralee who had once auditioned for Siamsa Tíre. It highlighted the duality of the company; the performers engaged in both professional demonstrative and voluntary participatory contexts. The following year many of us would perform at EXPO 2000 in Hannover, Germany. The importance of not only being Irish but of representing and presenting our countries cultural heritage to audiences around the world, many of whom had little or no connection to Ireland yet enjoyed what they saw and heard, reinforced our sense of pride and value in what we did.

Siamsa Tíre have performed all over the world and participated in the World Expos at Brisbane, Australia '88, Seville, Spain '92 and Hannover, Germany 2000. These spaces of consumption replicate the tourist experience at home. As O'Connor and Cronin notes: "the site of tourism consumption may not always coincide with the site of tourism production" (2003: 10).As well as reaching out to new audiences and promoting Ireland and Irish cultural heritage abroad, touring serves another function. Many of the cast note the importance of touring, both in Ireland and abroad. In the words of Seán Ahern: "There was a great sense of knitting the company together" (interview 31 July 2012). Many interviews referred to short Irish tours during which they would spend significant amounts of time together as nurturing a sense of belonging and friendship that subsequently contributed to their willingness to be involved and contribute to the company. That the company does not tour regularly now owes much to economic pressures on a small, regional and largely voluntary company.

The performances in Washington D.C. and Hannover abandoned the full length narrative and reverted to the cabaret style series of vignettes, songs and dances from various productions in the Siamsa Tíre repertoire. Entitled *Sean agusNua* (The old and the new), the performances mixed myth with folk customs. Tales of mythical battles between Gods were juxtaposed with pagan rituals around the bonfire. Innovative dance routines such as the Bodhrán Dance and the Seville Suite and choral arrangements by Ahern of traditional songs such as RóisínDubh highlighted the evolution of the company.

Although Siamsa Tíre combines the performance of stories using music, song and dance, it is often the dance that receives most attention. O'Connor (2003: 122) notes that dance has been central to both tourist imagery and practice, regarded as "a traditional and unique expression of the host culture". Cronin and O'Connor notes: "The spectacular success of shows like *Riverdance* and *Lord of the Dance* have made dance into a critical component not just of the selling of Ireland to tourist markets but of the tourism experience itself. Indeed, in the energy, vitality and inventiveness of the dancing presented in these shows, there is seen to be an image of a new Ireland which has effected an attractive synthesis between tradition and innovation" (2003: 9).Cronin and O'Connor contrast the representation of Ireland "as a progressive, modern economy"with "the image of a lackadaisical pre-modern culture, inhabited mainly by old men and (rusting) bicycles" (2003: 3), noting how images of the pre-modern world attracted the post-modern audience.

While elements of *FadóFadó* may be critiqued as overly romanticized, it presented an opportunity for escapism, often a quest often central to the tourist experience. The popularity of the show amongst tourists raises questions regarding the influence of the tourist gaze. Writing about performances by Maasai tribes, Bruner states:

"Cultural tourism recreates in performance idealized colonial images and other representations of the past, the pastoral, the original, and the unpolluted […] The performances manipulate the past to serve the expectations of the tourists and to perform their master narratives about their destinations, stories already in place before they begin their sojourns" (2005: 76).

*FadóFadó*reflected typical, idealized tourism imagery used in the official promotion of Ireland for much of the twentieth century. The potential negative impact of tourism on artistic endeavor is noted in Irish newspapers as far back as 1963 (Quinn 2003: 68) but the importance of tourists in sustaining something a local market cannot or do not is noteworthy (Kneafsey 2003; Quinn, 2003). Returning to O'Connor and Cronin: "Either tourism is seen as a 'Good Thing' which brings in money, creates jobs and facilitates regional development or it is seen as intrusive, exploitative and uniquely destructive in its commodification of peoples and their cultures" (2003: 3).

While in the past North Americans were the biggest audience, increasingly Europeans are more significant in terms of numbers. According to General Manager Catríona Fallon, "Germans are and have been the largest audience. They are followed by the French and the North Americans. Irish audiences fluctuate depending on whether we have produced a new show or not" (personal communication, 14 May 2012). The role of *The Gathering*, an initiative by the Irish government celebrating Irish culture, history and genealogy aiming to mobilise the Irish diaspora to return to Ireland during 2013 may affect the balance once again.

7 RETURNING

For the production *Oileán*, first performed in 2003, I returned from university to perform as a musician, experiencing the completed show with limited involvement in its development. The music was a mix of old tunes and new compositions composed by Musical Director Tom Hanafin. The show was devised inspired by stories from the Blasket writers including Peig Sayers (1873–1958) and Tomás Ó Criomhthain (1856–1937), whose books are celebrated for their depiction of Irish life at the most westerly point in Europe. The production represented a return to attempts at capturing a particular milieu. The location was once again Kerry. The dancing was wild involving full body movements using choreography by Cindy Cummings that fused the Munnix tradition with contemporary dance. Many of the songs were sourced from West Kerry singer MáireNíBheaglaíoch but to this tradition was added a number of new compositions by Hanafin and lyricist Muiris Ó Laoire.

It was not the evocation of island life that was most striking but rather the opening and closing sequences during which cast members dressed in modern black clothing walked hurriedly in angular paths, narrowly avoiding each other and refusing to acknowledge each other's presence. It is a commentary on contemporary life and in stark contrast to the idealized and romanticized setting of the island. Like many of the early performances by the company, *Oileán*centered on the activities of Irish rural life but the importance of representing this life was now put in perspective, framed by the audiences' experiences of a modernized, urbanized twenty-first century world. Kelliher states: "As the National Folk Theatre of Ireland our remit is to portray our traditions. We are trying to keep our traditions, but still move them forward into the twenty-first century – without stagnating. We don't want to be like most folk groups in other European countries. We keep our traditional dance as it is. We haven't strayed and gone with the modernization of the Irish dance. We've kept it, and developed it in its own way. Being the National Folk Theatre – folk being the people – we try to tell the stories of the people" (in Mulrooney, 2003: 53).

In many ways, Kelliher's sentiments echo those of his predecessor, Ahern. In introducing Catherine Foley's study on dance in North Kerry, Ahern states: "Our cultural heritage is about more than ancient objects in museums, dusty manuscripts in libraries, thatched cottages or súgán chairs. Symbols these, landmarks of our culture, but they are not the culture itself. It is *people* that give rise to culture; culture cannot exist without people." (2012: ix). The question of folk remains central. As Hurley states: "It's a constant evolving thing […] There is a context search for what is folk, ok? It's one of those things that is and was a constant challenge for us […] To try and identify that is important; to try and portray that is important" (interview, 7 August 2012). Two new productions have been developed for the 2013 Summer Season, reaching in different directions to create two contrasting experiences of Ireland's intangible cultural heritage.

8 CONCLUSIONS

The Siamsa Tíre mission is to reflect Ireland's great wealth of music, dance and folklore on stage, through vibrant, colorful theatrical entertainment and to continue creating new folk theatre presentations, drawing on Irish traditions and a rich cultural reservoir. Very many of the company members that I interviewed compared Siamsa Tíre to a family. Siamsa Tíre is a tight-knit community though over time a divide between the generations has become evident, caused in part by the limited participation of older members in performances and events. However, the

craic or sense of fun remains an integral aspect of the activities and performances. From the beginning the company has been dependent on largely voluntary participation, though there has been some remuneration, many recognize that the cast operate on a rewards system that is not dominated by financial reward.

From its inception, the company has been artistically innovative, though some periods may be viewed as generating greater output. Despite this, the company is sometimes viewed negatively by critics, in part due to the role of Siamsa Tíre as a tourist attraction. However,Siamsa Tíre represents a unique and innovative intervention in Irish theatre. As Hurley states: "We pioneered it in Ireland and continue to do so" (interview, 7 August 2012).The development of the company – both in terms of community and performances – is challenged by a continually changing sense of connection, ownership and relevance to the folk culture being presented. Constantly evolving and mindful of its existence as a business as well as a cultural institution, the company is affected by economic pressures.

Siamsa Tíre is aware of its constant evolution, constantly returning to the traditions from which it first drew inspiration and reaching out to the local community to provide talent, resources and material. The Irish language songs and dance steps of the Munnix tradition are interspersed with new tunes and exotic movements with the principal aim of telling a story. The stories of ways of life in Ireland.

REFERENCES

Ahern, P. (1969). Where is the Scoraíocht movement getting to?. *Treoir,* 8: 10.
Ahern, P. (1975). *Interview onRadharc – Bímís Ag Rince* [Television]. RTÉ, 30 March 1975.
Bohlman, P.(1988). *The study of folk music in the modern world*. Bloomington: Indiana U.P.
Brennan, H. (1999).*The story of Irish dance. Dingle, Co. Kerry*. Ireland: Brandon.
Bruner, E. (2005). *Culture on tour: ethnographies of travel*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
Carr, D. (2009). ModERIN. In M. Moloney, J. Morrison & C. Quigley, eds. *Close to the Floor: Irish Dance from the Boreen to Broadway*. Wisconsin: Macater. pp. 69-80.
Cronin, M. & O'Connor, B., eds. (2003). *Irish tourism: image, culture, and identity*. UK: Channel View Publications.
Cullinane, J. (1994). *Aspects of the history of Irish dancing*. Cork: Cullinane.
Fleischmann, R. ed. (2000). *Aloys Fleischmann (1910–92): A Life for music in Ireland remembered by contemporaries*. Cork: Mercier Press.
Foley, C. (2012). I*rish traditional step dancing in North Kerry: A contextual and structural analysis*. Ireland: North Kerry Literary Trust.
Gedutis, S. (2004). *See you at the hall: Boston's golden era of Irish music and dance*. Boston: Northeastern University Press.
Hall, R. (1994). *Irish music and dance in London, 1890-1970: A socio-cultural history*. Unpublished thesis (PhD), University of Sussex.
Kearney, D. (2007). (Re)locating Irish traditional music: urbanising rural traditions. *Chimera*, 22: 181-196.
Kneafsey, M. (2003). 'If it wasn't for the tourists we wouldn't have an audience': The case of tourism and traditional music in North Mayo. In M. Cronin & B. O'Connor, eds*. Irish tourism: image, culture, and identity*. UK: Channel View Publications. pp. 21-41.
Moloney, M. (1998). CeolTraidisiúnta: Traditional music: Irish dance bands in America. *New Hibernia Review*, 26(3): 127-137.
Moloney, M. (2009). Introduction: Riverdance mania. In M. Moloney, J. Morrison & C. Quigley, eds. *Close to the Floor: Irish Dance from the Boreen to Broadway*. Wisconsin: Macater. pp. 69-80.
Mulrooney, D. (2006). *Irish moves: an illustrated history of dance and physical theatre in Ireland*. Dublin: Liffey Press.
Nolan, D. (2008). Local anger forces a reversal in proposal to sell Teach Siamsa. *The Kerryman* (27 February 2008).
Ó Cinnéide, B.(2002). *Riverdance: the phenomenon*. Dublin: Blackhall.
O'Connor, B. (2003). 'Come and daunce with me in Irlande': tourism, dance and globalisation. In M. Cronin & B. O'Connor, eds. *Irish tourism: image, culture, and identity*. UK: Channel View Publications. pp. 122-138.
Oddey, A. (1994). *Devising theatre: a practical and theoretical handbook. London*. New York: Routledge.
Ó hAlmhuráin, G. (1998). *A pocket history of Irish traditional music*. Dublin: The O'Brien Press.

Pilkington, L. (2010). *Theatre and Ireland*. Hampshire: Palgrave MacMillan.

Pixley, E. (1980). Review: Siamsa Tire. *Theatre Journal*, 32(1): 121-122.

Quinn, B. (2003).Shaping tourism places: Agency and interconnection in festival settings. In M. Cronin & B. O'Connor, eds. *Irish tourism: image, culture, and identity*. UK: Channel View Publications. pp.61-80.

Shay, A. (2002). *Choreographing politics: state folk dance companies, representation and power*. Connecticut: Wesleyan University Press.

Tarrant, L. (1964). *Interview on Newsbeat: Kerry music and dance* [Television], RTÉ, 4 December 1964.

Theodores, D. (1996). *A dance critic in Ireland.Dance Chronicle*, 19(2): 191-211.

Vallely, F. (1995). A nation on its Feet. *Sunday Tribune Magazine*, 5 February 1995.

Wulff, H. (2007). *Dancing at the crossroads: memory and mobility in Ireland*. Oxford: Berghahn Books.

São Gonçalinho: A winter festivity in the city of Aveiro

Daniel Tércio
FMH-UTL, Lisboa, Portugal
INET-MD, Lisboa, Portugal

ABSTRACT: This presentation will be focused on a Portuguese traditional festivity that includes music and dance performances: the festivity to Saint Gonzalo (local nickname: São Gonçalinho) in the city of Aveiro. The feast could be seen as an example of a winter celebration that have unclear date of appearance, but that have been part throughout the years of the religious calendar. The festivity introduces five days of partying including socialization rituals around the chapel and its surroundings, donations, fireworks, dances, concerts, and processions throughout the narrow streets. During the celebration period, in January, there is a wealthy display – that can be noticed by the food items that fill up the plentiful tables of the neighborhood and also in the contagious joy that sometimes leads to a provocative and transgressor behaviour. The believers can ask the Saint's intervention to the match making of weddings and love affairs, or to the solving of arguments and amorous breakups, or even to the healing of bone maladies and other physical injuries. The celebration ends with the passage of the symbol of brotherhood to the next year, which may include the so-called Dança dos Mancos (the limps' dance). This dance, performed by some of the brotherhood members of the Saint, happens inside the chapel, just admitting the neighbours audience but not allowing it to be photographed or recorded. Actually one may recognize there the reverse of a body rational organization, stressing the burlesque on organic movements. The limps' dance introduces the experience of "disjecta membra" and could be analyzed according the Backtin's theory on carnival. Therefore, this presentation combines the author's personal experience with the theoretical discussion of dance practices in the context of local identity, carnival atmosphere and intangible heritage.

1   THE CELEBRATION

The Feast of Saint Gonzalo is a religious celebration held in Aveiro, where the saint is affectionately treated by the diminutive Gonçalinho. In this city located on the northern coast of Portugal, nowadays the celebration takes place over five days, with reference to the 10th of January, the day the blessed Gonzalo died. The feast, held in the neighbourhood of Beira-Mar (which is the seaside district), includes rituals of socialization in the chapel and in the adjacent square, amongst them are the offerings and promises - including the throwing of crusty breads in a palmette shape, covered with white sugar syrup, named "cavacas" - fireworks over the canals of the estuary, popular dances and concerts, pilgrimage through the narrow streets of the neighbourhood and other unusual manifestations, such as a "limp's dance".

All these events occur within the neighbourhood of Beira-Mar, where the Chapel of São Gonçalinho is located. The chapel was built in a hexagonal shape, dating back to the early 18th century. Like other traditional Portuguese festivities, this feast takes place not only in the chapel but also in adjoining areas, namely, first and foremost, the square with the same name and, in a second stage of celebration, the Antonia Rodrigues street, the Fish market and the quay of botirões.

The Chapel of São Gonçalinho is inscribed in the Vera-Cruz parish and managed under the responsibility of Saint's brotherhood.

The brotherhood holds the organizing Committee, which includes a minimum of 15 members. Each year the Priest of the Vera-Cruz parish nominates members during the Catholic Mass. These members are known as St. Gonzalo's masculine butlers or stewards. During the celebration days, they are easily recognized because they wear a traditional overcoat, in brown, well suited to the wintry weather. They are considered to be at the service of the saint. They are in charge of the programme of activities, raising funds for the celebration and ensuring that the responsibilities are passed on to the next committee. Every year, the butlers elect among themselves the "judge", who has the greatest responsibility in the organizing committee. The service schedule is intense since the end of February until the Feast dates, and the judge has to coordinate the tasks and maintain the members as a cohesive group. Negotiation skills are also very useful particularly on what concerns the relationship with the catholic priest that runs the parish.

Alongside with the organizing committee of the male butlers there is the female branch. The female butlers are indeterminate in number, since they do not have to be officially nominated. Once considered a butler of Saint Gonçalinho, each of these women will remain a female butler for the rest of her life with the main duty of keeping the chapel properly clean. Because of this, one may say that the female branch is a guarantee of the permanence of tradition and essential for the transmission of the practices of singing and praying.

The hagiology of Gonzalo is referred to a Dominican priest from the 13th century that lived in the north of Portugal, did peregrination to the Holy land and returned preaching with miraculous results. After his death, the devotion to the saint spread specially to villages on the shores of Vouga, Douro, and Minho rivers. Amarante, in the north of Portugal, is normally considered the hometown of the cult. The hagiographic texts appeared in the 16th century, mostly written by Dominican friars. The devotion spread to Spain and to the Northeast Brazil, possibly carried by emigrants from the north of Portugal. There are documents dated from the 18th century reporting the Gonçalo's cult in the Brazilian provinces of Maranhão and Pernambuco. The set of miracles attributed to Gonçalo include extraordinary fisheries, unexpected cures, curing disabilities and broken hearts. Nevertheless, the Pope did not recognised Gonçalo as a catholic Saint but just as a blessed member of Christianity. Despite this status, the devotees attribute him the condition o sanctity, which I will follow in the present essay.

Nowadays, the believers sometimes ask for the Saint's intervention in match making, fixing weddings and love affairs, as well as help in solving of arguments and amorous breakups, or even in the healing of bone maladies and other physical injuries. These promises may be paid in candles and body sections made with wax or in the throwing of cavacas.

2   THE FESTIVE ROUTINE

As it was noted above, the feast is a winter celebration included in the cycle of festivities that start with Christmas, continue with the Epiphany and has its end with the Mardi gras. São Gonçalinho's feast coincides partially with the feast of the Magi Kings.

But the event, like other local celebrations, keeps the organizing Committee busy throughout the year. The mission is hard: it is necessary to contact sponsors, to organize public sales of the donations, to conceive a merchandizing product for each year (such as an engraving, or a statuette among other examples), to manage the relationship with the catholic priest, to hire pop artists, etc., etc. The butlers normally have weekly meetings, where decisions are approved by the majority.

The event lasts five days, from Thursday to Monday. The public apotheosis of the feast is on Sunday, with the musical performance of a well-known band or artist and the fireworks over the estuary's canals. This is the time for a huge number of cavaca throwings, while brass bands and

artists of pop music perform on stage (usually located near the chapel). Intense displays of fireworks over the canals take place on the Sunday evening.

Monday is the occasion for a second apotheosis, more intimate, exclusive to the neighbours. The delivery of the bouquets to the new butlers symbolise the brotherhood. Actually, this -- and the "Limp's dance" -- can either be seen as a kind of denouement of the highlights of the celebration, as moments of another dramatic point, lived, not in the wider circle of visitors, but in the inner circle of the brotherhood.

The daily routine is organized as follows: the morning and early afternoon are busy with the school visit, particularly children and teenagers visiting the chapel. From roughly the mid-afternoon until midnight, it is time for the throwing of cavacas from the top of the chapel. In the evening, happy encounters between neighbours are very common inside the chapel as well as songs performed by the female butlers. One may note that during those days chapel life is a balancing act between the sacred prayer and the histrionic conversation and laughs.

Actually, in all the surroundings one may listen to popular songs that are constantly broadcasted by the audio system. Spontaneous dances can also erupt next to the chapel.

The main streets that lead to the chapel and the canal of botirões are decorated with festive bows. The set of streets and alleyways of the district of Vera Cruz is also subjectively transformed according to the combination of the sacred topography of that year. Let me explain: during the procession of delivering the bouquets, which takes place Monday in the handover ceremony to the new butlers, the core group of the festivity temporarily abandons the chapel area and moves to a random route, designed in order to pass through the houses where the new butlers live. The delivery of the bouquets is accompanied by a brass band that plays marches, headed by the leaders of the feast's Committee and by the holders of bouquets, followed by jolly people dancing and singing on the streets. The doors of the houses where the new butlers live are normally open to allow the bouquets holders to enter.

This is the horizontal axis of the feast: the spread of the celebration on the narrow streets of the neighbourhood, the porosity of the private architecture, and the joy of sharing.

But there is yet to need to return to the centrality of the chapel, to resume another axis of spatial analysis, the vertical axis.

I referred above the throwing of cavacas. How is this played? Each devotee that has to pay his or her promise to the Saint must climb to the summit of the chapel, carrying a bag weighing between 5 and 10 kilos of cavacas. Keeping this promise, the devotee is experiencing the vertical plane, which can be translated into a new relationship between high and low. When one climbs the spiral staircase of the chapel, after reaching the narrow balcony that runs all the way around, one metaphorically leaves the earthly world to the heavenly world. Adopting and adapting the words of Michel de Certeau: "to be lifted to the summit of the" chapel "is to be lifted out of the city's grasp. One's body is no longer clasped by the streets that turn and return it according to an anonymous law; nor is it possessed, whether as player or played, by the rumble of so many differences and by the nervousness of the traffic". Nevertheless, every time a devotee reaches the summit, the bell rings and the "humble crowd" on the ground buzz and move. Therefore there are two sights: the sight from the high and the sight from the low. What is going to happen afterwards?

3   GESTURES AND BODY MOVEMENTS

The devotees paying promises – throwing cavacas -- and the "humble crowd" – receiving cavacas – are not necessarily different. Someone on the ground may become later a devotee on the summit, and this one shall return to the ground as a humble person. One may detect here two orders of gesture: throwing and harvesting, which actually are complementary.

At the summit the devotee has finally to move around the balcony. To pay his/her promise -- paid in cavacas – the devotee must throw, not the whole bag of cavacas, but release one by one, underlining the gesture with movements to the crowd. These throws, announced by the peal of the bells, are therefore the promises themselves. From the top, the "payer" is delivering cavacas, paradoxically casting them down, symbolically choosing the "humble person" to receive them.

At the square, some people manipulate fishing nets, or inverted umbrellas to better catch cavacas, others simply use their hands to catch the flying cavacas dropped from the heavens. Some people consider that the Saint is blessing the cavacas that break down on the ground. For

everyone involved, this ritual represents a peek of adrenaline and an amplification of the performing body.

On Monday early evening, inside the chapel, one can witness the greetings to the Saint, performed by the butlers. These gestures, made with both arms and accompanying the São Gonçalinho's song, are performed by the butlers facing the image of the Saint with the neighbours on their back. The gestures are very simple: the arms are slightly bent and their hands slightly above their heads, with the palms facing inwards, towards the Saint. The arms move in a synchronized way giving an impression rather emotive, because they stress a genuine devotion. It is common that people cry on that occasion. To sum up, those gestures are inviting and welcoming the saint, but also anticipating the end of the celebration. The powerful hymn rises when the butlers join their bass voices to the high-pitched females, gesturing towards the statue of the saint. The chorus of this song reads as follows: In this day bash / to you will go our love / You shall come with us in the dance / Oh my sweet S. Gonçalinho / You shall jump the fires / At night in the camp / Dancing with crones / A divine dance.

Desacralization is intertwined with the sacred -- a very interesting operation that transgresses the conventions. This is the catalyst of a much mysterious performance known as the limp's dance. Imagine the crowded space of the chapel, and the appearing from the sacristy of men's figures, their faces bringing rites of derision, writhing their mouths, tongues pop out, stumbling and walking through people, twisting their legs as they go.

4   DISJECTA MEMBRA

The passage of the symbol of brotherhood to the next year may thus include the so-called the "limps' dance". Let me stress the uncertainty of this performance, which only some selected friends might attend. Actually it is very revealing the fact that the few writen essays about the celebration, even when referring to this dance, do not repport the live experience. On the other hand, nowadays there is a certain attraction to bring this dance out of its natural place, the chapel. My point is that this dance, performed by some of the brotherhood members of the Saint, shall happen only inside the chapel, allowing only some of the neighbourhood's audience but not allowing it to be photographed or recorded. Actually one may recognize there the reverse of a rational body organization, stressing the grotesque on organic movements. The "limps' dance" introduces then the experience of *disjecta membra* and could be analysed according to the theory on the grotesque.

Therefore, let me stress the grotesque as an essential concept in this analysis. There are two main attitudes towards the grotesque: one is backed by Wolfgang Kaiser and the other by Mikhail Bakhtin. Kaiser pretends that the grotesque introduces a world in which the inanimate is no longer separated from the animate. Such a world is - and is not - our own world. Bakhtin's perspective introduces by its turn a world full of carnivalesque laughter and devoid of fear. Such use of the grotesque is frequently disarming and transgressive. Sally Banes cited this author to stress the conflict between the classical body as the political and moral ideal, and the grotesque body, often angular and asymmetrical.

One of the recurring questions that arise from the "limp's dance" is the relationship established with the authority, particularly with the power of the Catholic Church. This relationship is also part of a mythical construction that highlights the hassle of the Catholic Church towards an alleged pagan persistence of this and other similar celebrations. On the one hand it seems to me that the pagan label is rather a catholic construction rather than the outcome of a serious analysis. On the other hand, reading the book *Fêtes des Fous et Carnavals* by Jacques Heers, one may found several examples from the late Medieval and Renaissance times in France and Pays Bas very much similar to Aveiro's feast at present days.

Nowadays, the "limp's dance" is certainly not an educated form of body movements but it is exactly thanks to this inaccuracy, that it becomes an event that unearths the sense of complicity between people. The "limp's dance" is a happening at first level performed by the butlers of the Saint. The sense of identity is also forged with this complicity, even if some people may disapprove of the happening. Living the "limp's dance" is an invitation for sharing and for freethinking.

The grotesque body allows for a great parody, since the episode allows for those present to laugh. And the "limp" may continue laughing, provocatively showing a simulated handicap.

Laughter is a kind of crossroads. A crossroads centred on the body. And what do I mean by saying the body is the centre of laughter? Firstly, it means the body – or the variety of bodies – is the target of laughter. For example, Pantagruel's body, or Quixote's. The stumbling body or the body standing too stiff; the blocked or wasteful body, they all make people laugh.

At the same time, laughter is an organic reaction. Laughing manifests itself as a morphological change in the body, a change that might start in the lips, eyes or somewhere else, but quickly spreads like a contagious tremor to the whole body, and goes to infect other bodies close by.

We can say that laughter has its place, as well as its target, in the body – in its own and in the bodies of others.

In other words, if the body is a crossroads, laughter is understood as a body-crossing flow. This means that laughter sets up not a place, but a system of flows and that, therefore, laughter is an organic system in transit. The "limp's dance" is above all the triumph of laughter.

REFERENCES

Albino, G. (2006). *São Gonçalo Cagaréu* [online]. Available at http://www. prof2000.pt/users/avcultur/gasparalbino/Pg001200.htm.
Bakhtin, M. (1984). *Rabelais and his world*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
Banes, S. (2007). *Before, between and beyond. Three decades of dance writing*. Wisconsin: the University of Wisconsin Press.
Certeau, M. (2005). Walking in the City. In *The Cultural Studies Reader*. London & New York: Routledge. pp.126-133.
Cunha, A. (1996). *São Gonçalo de Amarante. Um vulto e um culto*. Vila Nova de Gaia: Câmara Municipal de Vila Nova de Gaia.
Gonçalves, N. (1959). *Inventário Artístico de Portugal*. Distrito de Aveiro.
Heers, J. (1987). *Festas de loucos e carnavais*. Lisboa: Publicações Don Quixote.
Kaiser, W. J. (1966). *The grotesque in art and literature*. McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc.
Mackendrick, K. (2004). Embodying Transgression. *Of the presence of the body. Essays on Dance and Performance Theory*. Middletown: Wesleyan University Press. pp.140-156.
Nunes, P. (1988). *S. Gonçalo de Amarante*. Porto: Paróquia de S. Gonçalo (4.ª edição).
Raposo, P. P. (2002). *O Papel das Expressões Performativas na Contempor*aneidade. Unpublished thesis (PhD), Instituto Superior de Ciências do Trabalho e da Empresa.
Santos Júnior, J. R. (1984). A Dança dos Mancos na festa de S. Gonçalinho em Aveiro. *Sociedade Portuguesa Antropologia e Etnologia,* 4(24): 619 - 644.
Separata da *Revista Gil Vicente*. Barcelos: Comp. Editora do Minho.
Tavares, J. (1935). A Festa de S. Gonçalinho. *Arquivo do Distrito de Aveiro,* I: 127 - 133.
Tércio, D. (2006). [Press release] *Celebrar o Inverno. Jornal Expresso de 4/02/2006.*
------------ (2008). Devoção, Fartura e Transgressão na Festa de São Gonçalinho em Aveiro. *Etno-Folk – Revista Galega de Etnomusicoloxía*, ano IV, Vol. I, n.º12, cord. INET, Pontevedra, Dos Acordes.
ZING, J. (2010). [Press release] *Cavacas vão voar no S. Gonçalinho. Jornal de Notícias de 7/01/2010.* [online version] Available at http://jn.sapo.pt/paginainicial/pais/concelho.aspx?Distrito=Aveiro&Concelho=Aveiro&Option=Interior &content_id=1463434.

Living heritages: protecting and managing the change. Lessons learnt from Totonac communities, Mexico

Elena Ianni
Department of civil, environmental and mechanical engineering, University of Trento, Italy

José Luis Perea
Centre for Indigenous arts, Papantla, Veracruz, Mexico

ABSTRACT: This study suggests that interventions for protecting the cultural heritage of indigenous and local communities may create conditions suitable for supporting the communities' self-determination and their ability to adapt and survive in the face of on-going cultural, economic and social change. We showed that grassroots cultural revitalization processes are emerging in the Totonac society in the Veracruz State (Mexico). We documented the work of the Centre for Indigenous arts, which was recognized by UNESCO as "Best safeguarding practice of the intangible cultural heritage" in 2012, as well as the collective processes and actions the Totonac have undertaken to preserve a prehispanic ritual, the ceremony of the Voladores, recognized by UNESCO as "Intangible cultural heritage" in 2009.

1   INTRODUCTION

Globalization and change are defining features of present times. Looking to globalization as an ensemble of interacting changes in socio-ecological systems, Young et al. (2006) observe four major generic features — changes in connectedness, increased speed, spatial stretching and declining diversity. In fact, globalization is characterized by a time-space compression and an acceleration of worldwide social relations, which are transforming the structure and the scale of human relationships (Wilson, 2012). Communities are connected to national and global processes more than ever (Berkes, 2006), and this makes them vulnerable to pressures and incentives that originate at other levels of the social, political and economic organization. Indicators of increasing global environmental, economic and cultural fragility have been largely described (Millennium Ecosystem Assessment, 2005). There is a large body of evidence that the UN's Millennium Development Goals of stemming the loss of biodiversity by 2010 failed and of lifting half of the world's poorest people out of poverty by 2015 is unlikely to be achieved. Global language diversity, often taken as a proxy of cultural diversity, has declined by 20% over the period 1970–2005 (Harmon & Loh, 2010). 78% (207 out of 266) of the languages of North

America are either already extinct or not being learned by children, as are 85% (329 of 388) in Australia and New Zealand. The statistics also reveal that 32% of the world's languages are in some stage of loss or shift and that 5% of the languages in use in 1950 are now completely extinct (Simons & Lewis, 2011; Lewis et al., 2013). As slow and long-term processes of evolution or cultural change are compressed into a few decades, the significant problem on the biological and on the cultural front is the pace of extinction. Both cultural and biological diversity are today being reduced through a set of diverse processes that fall under the rubric of homogenization, which are particularly evident and rapid in the rural areas of many tropical countries. However, the picture is much more complex than a simple "Westernization". At present, rural conditions are changing quickly, livelihood strategies are getting diversified and a large proportion of the rural population is becoming reliant on cash income from adjacent urban areas and state welfare payments rather than on subsistence economies. In many cases, these conditions have not only increased the economic vulnerability of the people but also adversely affected their psychological disposition, as they find themselves embroiled in a situation over which they have no control.

Interventions of cultural revitalization cannot overlook the fact that pressures and losses of cultural and biological diversity originate to a global scale and often constrain indigenous and local communities in undesirable states. Processes of social change and cultural revitalization deal with dying traditions and overpowering modernity, but most importantly they have much to do with issues of identity construction and sovereignty retrieval. In fact, these processes require the rights and policies necessary to ensure that communities can make decisions about their territories, education, health and development (Alivizatou, 2011, Apgar et al., 2011). In order to allow communities the transition to more desirable systems, fostering 'creativity and innovation' is a recurrent concept in conservation rhetoric. It is repeatedly mentioned by the Universal declaration on cultural diversity (2001), and article 1 explicitly states: "As a source of exchange, innovation and creativity, cultural diversity is as necessary for humankind as biodiversity is for nature" (p.1). Also, the Convention for the safeguarding of intangible cultural heritage (2003) considers the intangible cultural heritage as a mainspring of cultural diversity and a guarantee of sustainable development since it promotes respect for human creativity.

In this paper we claim that actions and processes meant to supporting communities in processes of cultural revitalization and "intercultural hybridization" should aim at making operative the wishes of innovative and creative processes. We suggest that the concrete challenge for indigenous and local communities to engage in promising processes is twofold: (1) doing it on their own terms, i.e. supporting actions should be based on an endogenous approach, rooted in the values and creativity of local communities and (2) doing it with the power to achieve desired outcomes, i.e. supporting actions should sustain self-determination of local communities. In this view, interventions to protect the cultural heritage can create the conditions to support indigenous and local communities in the search for sustainable livelihoods and alternative development opportunities.

We base our reflections on the analysis of two processes occurring within the Totonac indigenous communities from eastern Veracruz State, Mexico. The first process is the establishment of the Centre for Indigenous arts "Xtaxkgakget Makgkaxtlawana". In 2012 the Centre was recognized by UNESCO as one of the "Best safeguarding practices of the intangible cultural heritage" with the motivation that the project reflects the principles and objectives of the 2003 Convention. The second process we documented is the preservation of the ceremony of the *Voladores*, a prehispanic ritual that is performed until today by several indigenous groups in Mesoamerica. In 2009, the ritual ceremony of the Voladores was recognized by UNESCO as "Intangible cultural heritage". These awards were based on the fact that in the region processes and ceremonies survive the homogenizing process of modernity and adapt to the demands of the tourism and trade markets, without losing the elements that are meaningful for the communities. Even though the interventions are far from having solved the overall problems that affect the communities, in our work we found some promising clues to support the argument that interventions for protecting cultural heritage can (and should) create the conditions to support the self determination of communities as well as their ability to adapt and survive in the face of cultural, economic and social change.

2 THE TOTONAC COMMUNITIES AND THEIR HISTORICAL FORMS OF RESISTANCE

At the time of the Spanish invasion in 1519, the Totonac population occupied a large area, spanning from the coasts of the Gulf of Mexico to the mountainous regions of the Sierra Norte de Puebla of Eastern Mexico. The Totonac culture flourished in the area thanks to the presence of water and a favourable environment: the weather is warm and humid, the soil is fertile. The inhabitants had an easy access to different ecological layers both in lowlands and highlands for growing their crops. In this way, a complex and very productive agricultural subsistence system emerged; agricultural production included maize, cassava, pumpkins, beans, cotton and chilli peppers, among others.

With the colonization, the Totonac lost almost half of the territory they possessed; due to the development of extensive cattle grazing practices by the Spanish, they were progressively expropriated of their properties and marginalized in the mountain areas that the colonizers did not occupy due to their rugged geography. However, the alliance of Totonac society with the colonizers against Tenochtitlan preserved them since they were not considered dangerous in military terms by the Spanish Crown. Those relatively calm periods facilitated a process of re-organization and strengthening of Totonac ethnic features. In the second half of the eighteenth century Totonac relations with the Spanish deteriorated and the *mestizos* began the invasion of lands. However, the Totonac felt strong enough to initiate a process of political and military resistance. In the period between 1750 and 1820, the Totonac rose up in revolts in the regions of Papantla and Orizaba. The pressure on the land intensified in Veracruz and the nineteenth century saw the rising of new rebellions against communal land distribution implemented by the government. The greatest insurrection demanding more equitable social and economic policies took place between 1836 and 1838 and was brutally repressed. One apparently minor aspect may help us to envisage the historical obstinacy of the Totonac people to preserve their natural and cultural heritage. One of the detestable facts that stoked the 1836 revolt was the dogged ban of the bishop of Puebla to celebrate the Holy Week according to Totonac tradition. The rituals of Easter have always been very important in the reproduction of ethnicity because they relate to the triumph the Sun, called Chichiní in the Totonac language. Sun is very important in this culture: the dead, starting from the veiling ceremony to the burial, always have their head pointed to the west so that they can see the sun rising.

Today, Totonac societies conserve traditional features in their daily life organization, rituals and celebrations. However, they live in an undesirable state, not dissimilar from what characterizes other indigenous communities in Mexico: widespread poverty, lack of land, unsustainable tourists flow, changing lifestyles, acculturation and generation gaps. Totonac communities face the challenge of sustaining a growing population in the context of limited agricultural land. In the whole Totonac region (Totonacapan) land is covered by extensive estates of coffee, banana, citrus fruit. Moreover, extensive cattle grazing, mostly practiced by the non-indigenous people, have led to a drastic reduction of the native forests as they were progressively converted into pasture. In Veracruz, the loss of native forest still occurs at a rate of 2.0% yr^{-1} (Newton et al., 2009). Over time, Totonac descendants have shifted from their highly agrodiverse self-subsistence livelihoods to/towards one main productive activity or working as service providers. The number of families that do not own/have land has increased over the years. This fact has increased their dependency degree on government aid and their vulnerability to economic, political and environmental change/changes. An alternative way of subsistence for many families consisted of seasonal migration to seek job opportunities elsewhere, in particular towards the northern Mexican states and the United States of America.

3 TWO CASE STUDIES

In the following, we document the work and the principles that animate the Centre for Indigenous arts, the collective processes and actions that the Totonac have taken to preserve a prehispanic ritual, as well as the ceremony of the Voladores, which can be considered for Totonac communities as a cultural keystone practice, as defined by Brosi et al. (2007) (Fig. 1).
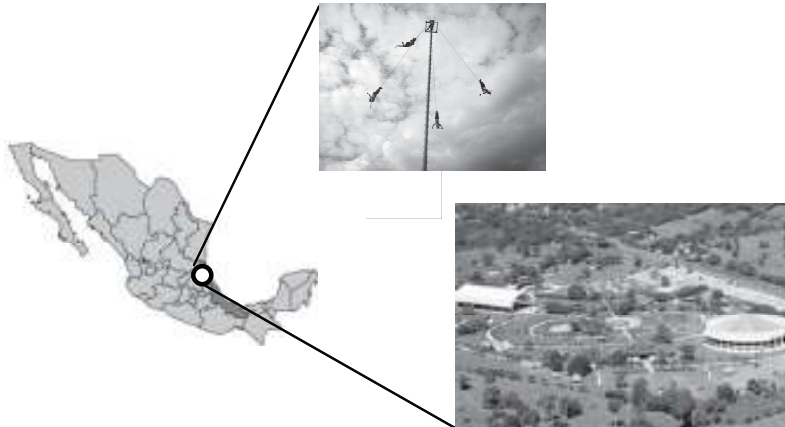
Figure 1. Veracruz State, the ritual ceremony of the Voladores and the Centre for Indigenous art.

3.1. *The Centre for Indigenous Arts (CAI), declared as UNESCO best safeguarding practice*

Around 2004, the state of Veracruz created and supported in the town of Papantla a social project, the artistic theme-park Takilhsukut, launched with the purpose of both acknowledging indigenous art and increasing tourism in the area. The school of indigenous art, part of the original project, has become increasingly more independent from it. The school developed its own pedagogic method based on the notion of indigenous arts education, encouraging the younger people (young adults, teenagers and children, from both sexes) to learn from the wisdom and the experience of older people who act as teachers, for. The establishment of the school was not free from complications; for instance, it proved difficult to decide who would teach and how.

Today, the Centre is guided by a Council of Elders. The structure of the Center represents a *Kachiquín* (settlement, in Totonac language), that includes 'House-Schools' dedicated to the diverse fields of artistic specialization. The first House-School to be created was the Kantiyán, the house of Elders that constitutes the heart of the centre. The other spaces are used for the workshops to be held during the week about local gastronomy, dance, language, and traditional pottery, among others.

The CAI educational model is shaped on the Totonac cosmovision, which considers the creative practice as something intrinsically linked to the spiritual world. Education in Totonac arts is a process of learning on the way of creation. In the House-School called "the world of cotton", women and men transmit the knowledge about cotton and weaving during a continuous learning and reflection process about the cotton as a therapy for body and soul. A participant of the house-school summarized his experience with the sentence "the importance of searching". The houses-schools are spaces for specialized learning, for art development and identity (re)construction. During the morning prayers, before starting the work, participants ask the ancestors to receive their knowledge: "We implore our grandmothers to give us knowledge, discipline, respect, harmony and dialogue for developing our relation with cotton". In this vision, culture, behaviour and spiritual beliefs are inseparable from the care for the land and the natural resources.

The CAI project was awarded the UNESCO recognition for its efforts in strengthen indigenous identity, in providing favourable conditions for indigenous creators to develop their art, in promoting the Center as a space for intercultural dialogue.

3.2. *The ritual ceremony of the Voladores, declared as UNESCO intangible heritage*

The ritual ceremony of the *Voladores* ('flying men') is a fertility dance performed by several ethnic groups in Mexico and Central America to express respect and harmony with the natural and spiritual worlds (UNESCO, 2009). The key element of the ceremony is the "flying pole", a straight tree (*Zeulania guidonia*) reaching a height of 20 to 30m. The tree is selected in the

forest during a long ceremony that includes chants, dances and prayers performed by community members and leaders, then cut, dragged away and stuck into the ground in the community. The ceremony of the flight is held during the patron saint festivities and in ceremonies associated with the sowing and harvesting of crops. During the ceremony, five young men climb the pole on the tune of songs dedicated to the sun and the cardinal directions. After this invocation, four of them fling themselves off the platform gradually lowering to the ground. The ceremony has not remained unchanged over time, as the Totonac have adapted themselves and their beliefs to changing contexts. In colonial times, the ritual incorporated elements from Catholicism, brought about by Spanish missionaries (Barlow & Graulich, 1995) and the Voladores, messengers between the earth and the sky, were represented as angels. Nowadays, the ceremony synthesizes the cosmogony, the values, and the identity of present-day communities.

An urgent pressure to the authentic values of ceremony survival comes from mass tourism. Tourism made the economic activities in the region switch from subsistence agriculture to service provision. Community members are hired to perform in festivals and tourist places all over the country and internal conflicts have inevitably grown among flyers. The elders claim a progressive erosion of knowledge since only those parts of the ceremony that the entrepreneurs consider most spectacular and appealing, remain and are transmitted. Along with the ceremony, the dancers' associated ascetic principles and traditional codes of ethic and conduct are being gradually lost. A second pressure derives from the accelerated deforestation processes in the area; the tree species specifically used as a pole that supports flyers while they perform this ritual, has become scarce. For this reason, many communities replaced it with metal poles that last several years as opposed to the two or three year's life span of the wood pole. This represents a major shift, as a fundamental part of the ritual disappears.

Voladores recognized that the pressures to the ceremony survival were neither local nor easy to address since they derived from changes brought along by changing life styles, acculturation and land transformation among others. They first decided to retrieve the community organization. A Council composed by representatives of different groups of Voladores of different regions and including youth representatives was established to reduce fragmentation and conflicts. The Council has gained increasing recognition both by the communities, thanks to the strong spiritual basis that inspires it and a growing emphasis given to the proud of being Voladores, and by external agents. It has become less reliant on the external guidance for decision making and political negotiations and it is now very active in promoting meetings with Voladores in the whole Mexico and Mesoamerica. Through the Council, a school of flyers was established with the purpose of safeguarding the full traditional ritual and its meaning, given that the ceremony embodies the essential elements of being Totonac. Finally, the Council promoted the establishment of a nursery of *Zeulania guidonia* and of other species used in the ritual; these include palm and vine species used to adorn the altars and to tangle up the flying pole. The responsibility of collecting the seeds, establishing and maintaining the nursery was assigned to the young Voladores; the Council has negotiated with the municipality a plot of land for implementing a reforestation project.

4   GUIDELINES FOR THE PRESERVATION OF CULTURAL HERITAGE

We think that the processes initiated by the Totonac communities may well represent a relevant and effective effort to renew and restore cultural practices, being consistent with the framework described in the introduction. We assisted to the process of creating innovation and resisting assimilation to dominant cultures, both in the centre for Indigenous arts and in the Voladores Council. As a major finding of this paper we identify some clues for stating that cultural heritage is on the way of preservation on the basis of the two criteria listed above.

4.1.   *"Doing it on their own terms"*

The Centre did not aim at studying indigenous knowledge from a western perspective or at building external knowledge on indigenous knowledge; instead, they took the indigenous perspective as the starting point and the end for endogenous development. Its initiatives are the expression of the culturally embedded worldviews, ways of learning and theoretical frameworks of people participating at the Centre's activities. Actions are determinedly undertaken in

Totonac language, following the idea that the loss of a language may be accompanied (or somehow, generate) the loss of other features or moral and spiritual values such as knowledge and beliefs that the language encodes, as suggested by Maffi (2002). Those values are particularly important because they shape the community's worldview by framing its collective understanding of the world and the meaning of human life in relation to other beings.

The daily work of the Centre proved to consist of key practices which appear to be relevant for fostering endogenous development – leadership development, personhood development and networking.

In the Centre, the Council of Elders and the Council of Voladores have acquired increasingly more strength, become more active and taking more responsibility. According to Apgar et al. (2011), a fundamental aspect of leadership for endogenous development is being able to harness the tension between conservation and creativity to generate novel solutions; keeping what works from the past while also constantly innovating, and nourishing creative processes for the future. The Council of Elders and the Council of Voladores are gaining this status, and they appear to be able to constitute the leadership for addressing these seemingly contradictory collective needs. This is also because and thanks to the fact that they maintain a central role for ritual practice. The realm of ritual and spirituality may at times seem far removed from the highly political decision making of a community, but thinking of them as two separate entities would be a mistake. Rituals such as the flying are used to reconcile the sky with the earth, thus to avoid social imbalance. Also, in the Centre the rhythm of action is dictated by the participants and by the Council of Elders. According to Davidson-Hunt et al. (2012) the cultural revitalization processes should include the time to remember - and memorialize - the loss experienced through processes of colonization and globalization. Researchers and practitioners are many times constrained by research objectives and deliverables at short term while changes at community level occur at a different pace (Ianni et al., 2011). Attempts to establish small and large scale reforestation interventions had been previously endeavoured by several agencies and research institutions, but they have not gained much interest. Voladores are now collaborating with the local University for the establishing and managing the nursery. Finally, a major strength of the Centre relies in the fact that it is structured and established so as to share Totonac creative art with other communities. In this view, for example, an international annual meeting of Voladores is organized.

4.2. *"Doing it with the power to achieve desired outcomes"*

The UNESCO candidatures were written trough a really inclusive process of the participants in the Centre and the Voladores; this induced a desirable chain of events, and the concrete actions undertaken fostered dialogue, empowerment and negotiation within and outside the communities.

For example, the Council of Voladores changed its attitude towards local and State agencies, which considered any help to Voladores as a handout, by negotiating their presence and performance in festivals. This is particularly relevant, considering the welfare dependency culture of national policies towards indigenous communities.

The quantitative and qualitative evaluations of the results obtained by the CAI are undoubtedly positive, i.e. the number of educational and creative processes, as well as the number of processes related with the transmission of knowledge, cosmogony and with the artistic construction has constantly increased during the last years. About three hundred people from different communities are involved in CAI activities. However, dissemination and knowledge of the Centre's activities and function in the Totonacapan region is still limited. Participants were not able to transfer their effort in recovering intangible cultural heritage to their communities of origin. Moreover, the experiences have failed so far to unhinge the current market of handicraft in the region, as it still is of very low quality, targeting mainly mass tourism. So far, the development of projects following the principles of creative economy so as to see indigenous art become a part of an alternative development has not been successful.

Achieving sovereignty also implies achieving economic autonomy. For the realization of its projects and training activities, the Centre receives a financial subsidy from the Veracruz Government. As a consequence, the survival of the Centre strongly depends on the political shifts of the State policies. Moreover, the subsidies are mainly directed to those projects that create visibility and cultural tourism, but they are not directed towards the strengthening of the social network and the intercultural relations. What it is lacking is the political

acknowledgement of the sovereignty and autonomy of these processes, which transfer (or share) power to traditional organizations for the realization of their own projects, and the political will for scaling the initiatives up to a regional level. The Centre promotes the conservation of natural heritage through various projects and actions that are inspired by a vision of harmony between man and nature typical of the Totonac culture. In the Centre there is a botanical garden featuring medicinal species, a nursery for tsakátkiwi trees (the "flying tree") for the ritual ceremony and a garden of Coyuchi cotton. The Center is a convincing contribution to educational models, especially in the field of art, and other indigenous groups in the region and in the country begin to see at it as a model. In Mexico there are seven elements inscribed into the representative list and one element declared as best safeguarding practice. Nevertheless, none of them receive public support. If we do not want the concept of Intangible cultural heritage to be an academic abstraction, it is urgent that public policy concretely supports the heritages.

5 CONCLUSIONS

In the face of the ongoing reductionist and homogenizing transformations occurring worldwide, many cultures are developing vital and novel strategies to survive and many commentators have recognized the critical need to document these strategies. Our study provided evidence on how in the Totonac society in the Veracruz State (Mexico), grassroots cultural revitalization processes are emerging for the protection of the cultural heritage and how these processes have the potential to contribute to the well-being of communities. Ongoing initiatives may be seen as appropriate processes for addressing some of the root causes of the communities' fragility and for tailoring practice to the challenge of supporting self-determination in a globalised world.

The Totonac reality resembles other indigenous communities that continue to preserve their cultural diversity in particular indigenous communities that continue to preserve their cultural diversity. The processes we described are currently facing two difficulties: the fragmentation of the community knowledge and the weakening of the processes of intergenerational transmission. We learnt that the process of revaluation of the intangible cultural heritage takes places on a medium to long time horizon. Moreover, we strongly advocate that public policies should have a permanent commitment to support the community's initiatives. This cannot be separated from the recognition and respect for the communities' autonomy in decision making and management. The public support should be concrete for the conservation of the cultural heritage in its visible elements. It should be driven by the vision of cultural heritage as a substantial contribution for a bio-cultural diverse society.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

REFERENCES

Alivizatou, M. (2011). Intangible heritage and erasure: rethinking cultural preservation and contemporary museum practice. *International Journal of Cultural Property*, 18(1): 37–60.

Apgar, J.M., Ataria, J.M. & Allen, W.J. (2011). Managing beyond designations: supporting endogenous processes for nurturing biocultural development. *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 17(6): 555-570.

Barlow, R.H. & Graulich, M. (1995). *Codex Azcatitlan*. (Bibliotheque nationale de France). Paris: Société des Américanistes.

Brosi, B.J., Balick M.J., R. Wolkow, R. Lee, M. Kostka, W. Raynor, R. Gallen, et al. (2007). Cultural erosion and biodiversity: canoe-making knowledge in Pohnpei. *Micronesia. Conservation Biology*, 21(3): 875–879.

Davidson-Hunt, I.J., Turner, K.L., Pareake Mead, A.T., Cabrera-Lopez, J., Bolton, R., Idrobo C.J., Miretski I., Morrison, A. & Robson, J.P. (2012). Biocultural design: a new conceptual framework for sustainable development in rural indigenous and local communities. *S.A.P.I.EN.S - Surveys and Perspectives Integrating Environment and Society*, 5(2). [online]. Available at http://sapiens.revues.org/1382.

Harmon, D. & Loh, J. (2010). The index of linguistic diversity: a new quantitative measure of trends in the status of the world's languages. *Language documentation & conservation*, 4: 97-151.

Ianni, E., Malizia, L. & Geneletti D. (2011). A nature conservation initiative in a Yungas community of North-Western Argentina: lessons on the importance of engagement and participation in the design and development of forest plans. In E.B. Figueroa, ed. *Biodiversity conservation in the Americas: lessons and policy recommendation*s. Santiago: Editorial FEN-Universidad de Chile. pp.393-412.

Lewis, M. P. (2009). *Ethnologue: languages of the world*. Dallas: SIL International.

Lewis, M. P., Simons, G.F. & Fennig C.D., eds. (2013). *Ethnologue: Languages of the World* (seventeenth edition). Dallas, Texas: SIL International. [online version available at http://www.ethnologue.com].

Nettle, D. & Romaine S. (2000). *Vanishing voices*. New York: Oxford Univity Press.

Newton, A. C., L. Cayuela, C. Echeverría, J. J. Armesto, R. F. Del Castillo, D. Golicher, D. Geneletti, M. Gonzalez-Espinosa, A.H., López-Barrera, F., Malizia, L., Manson, R., Premoli, A., Ramírez-Marcial, N., Rey Benayas J., Rüger, Smith-Ramírez, C. & Williams-Linera, G. (2009). Toward integrated analysis of human impacts on forest biodiversity: lessons from Latin America [online]. *Ecology and Society,* 14(2): 2. Available at http://www.ecologyandsociety.org/vol14/iss2/art2/.

Simons G.F. & Lewis M. P. (2011). *The world's languages in crisis: a 20-year update*. Paper presented at the 26th linguistics symposium: language death, endangerment, documentation, and revitalization. University of Wisconsin, 20–22 October 2011, Milwaukee.

UNESCO (2009). *Ritual ceremony of the Voladores* [online]. Available at http://www.unesco.org/culture/ich/RL/00175.

UNESCO (2011). *UNESCO Atlas of the World's Languages in Danger*. Available at http://www.unesco.org/culture/languages-atlas/index.php?hl=en&page=atlasmap.

Wilson, G.A. (2012). Community resilience, globalization, and transitional pathways of decision-making. *Geoforum*, 43(6): 1218–1231.

Young, O. R., Berkhout, F., Gallopin, G. C., Janssen, M. a., Ostrom, E., & Van der Leeuw, S. (2006). The globalization of socio-ecological systems: An agenda for scientific research. Global Environmental Change 16(3): 304–316.

Seafarers' struggle for survival, between natural and social injustices. A lesser known maritime intangible heritage

Eliseu Carbonell
Catalan Institute for Cultural Heritage Research, Spain

ABSTRACT: The life of fishermen in traditional societies is represented in popular culture in Europe, -for example in tales, poetry, songs, and even in painting and sculpture-, as long-suffering human beings, people that suffer with resignation the cruel forces of nature: strong winds, giant waves, sea storms, shipwrecks, etc. But various anthropological studies have shown that we cannot merely interpret natural disasters as accidents that come to upset social stability. In some ways, natural disasters are also the culmination of a system of social inequalities that is expressed in the levels of vulnerability to natural catastrophes. Ethnographic and historical evidence show the inadequacy of this paradox. In this paper I intend to claim a part of the history and culture of seafarers, which is also part of its intangible heritage: their struggle against social injustice. I will take as a case study the struggle of the fishermen of the northern coast of Barcelona, in the 1890's, against the Railway Company due to the effects of sea storms on their beaches.

1 INTRODUCTION

The main aim of this paper is to provide a slightly different view of intangible maritime heritage than that which is commonly held. In the academic field of social and cultural anthropology, intangible heritage is readily associated with ethnological knowledge (Prats, 1997; Giguère 2006; Smith & Akagawa, 2009; Arrieta, et al., 2011). If we take Spain as a specific example, Montcusí (2008) reported that the 1985 Historical Heritage Act clearly defines all areas covered by the UNESCO 2003 Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage (including beliefs, customs, values, knowledge, traditional craftsmanship, and practices related to oral expression) under the labels of ethnological and ethnographic heritage. Thus, intangible heritage should embrace a wide range of social and cultural experiences that identify or enable the identification of a cultural and historic community – in other words, a people. These experiences include struggles for survival, associated not only with means of subsistence, which are covered when we deal with fishing gear and techniques, shipbuilding, nautical knowledge and traditional ecological knowledge (TEK), but also with all strategies aimed at withstanding the external forces that threaten a people's continuity as a group. It has been some time since various important voices in anthropology, particularly Pierre Clastres, James Scott and Brian Morris, spoke of the struggle and resistance of kin-based societies, such as hunter-gatherers, in response to the state's threat to their continuity – in other words, the threat to their existence posed by forms of state organization – and their efforts to combat state interference and the impact of capitalism on their environments and ways of life. Here we should also include elements of cultural production that can be defined as intangible heritage and that are considered to be in keeping with a strategy to oppose state hierarchies and oppression. James Scott (1990) specifically addressed such elements of popular culture or intangible heritage, which he termed "the hidden tran-

scripts" practiced in marginal social spaces. This hidden discourse can help us to understand the moral economy of cultural heritage, as I will try to do in this paper in relation to intangible maritime heritage, using as a case study the intangible heritage of the small-scale fishermen of Catalonia.

First, I will discuss the way that the popular and traditional culture of Catalonia – though this can be extended to many other European cultural contexts – has presented the social life of fishermen. As we will see, fishermen are portrayed as people who selflessly accept a fate determined by nature, which is seen as the only factor responsible for the terrible social conditions in which they live. This traditional image appears in tales, folk poetry and iconography, particularly that of ex-votos. The tales and poetry survived mainly as a result of the literary movement of romanticism and folklorism in the nineteenth century and the start of the twentieth century. However, the image still prevails today, and can frequently be seen in ethnological museums or in the groups of sculptures that adorn many promenades of coastal towns and evoke the world of fishing and the sea. As we are in Portugal, I could for example mention the magnificent group of sculptures unveiled in 2005 on Matosinhos beach, not far from where this congress is held. The group is called *Tragedia do Mar* (Tragedy of the Sea) and commemorates the victims of a shipwreck in 1947. However, in this paper I will focus on examples from Catalonia.

Then, we will compare this popular, idealized image of seafaring people with some notes on social and historical realism. First, I will refer to the natural conditions, specifically the storms that affect people who work at sea and in related activities. I will focus for a moment on the most serious case recorded on the Catalan coast in the contemporary period: a storm in 1911. Then, I will discuss the specific conditions that influence mortality caused by storms. Finally, I will describe a confrontation between fishermen and the powerful private company that owned the first railway line on the Iberian Peninsula, the *Companyia de Camins de Ferro de Barcelona a Mataró*, which was founded in 1845 and ran the first train on the Peninsula in 1848. Since trains first began to operate on this line that runs parallel to the coast, just on the boundary between beach and solid ground, fishermen have been affected by non-compliance with the agreements made through the town councils between them and the *Companyia*. In addition, haughty engineers disregarded the fishermen's knowledge of the climate and the effects of storms on the coast where they had always sheltered their vessels. The conflict between the fishermen and the interests of the *Companyia*, which was backed by state power as the railway was considered of strategic interest to the nation, was particularly bitter in the towns that were most dependent on fishing. I will focus on this important, but not particularly vociferous, struggle of the fishermen to defend their interests. The struggle has not been captured in any epic poems, songs or legends. However, it is reflected in small acts and elements of cultural production; part of an intangible heritage that should be studied and preserved and, if so desired, laid claim to.

2   THE IMAGE OF SEAFARERS IN POPULAR CULTURE

I will begin with the image of seafarers that popular culture has transmitted. This image coincides with a negative conception of coastal towns that the historian Alain Corbin (1993, 2005) analysed in his studies. Nadel-Klein (2003) explained that Scottish fishermen had to endure a public image in which they were portrayed as backwards people, even though their way of earning a living was based on the enlightened values.

This image can be complemented by the view of the fisherman's world described in classical ethnography. One example can be found in the classic functionalist ethnographic study *Malay Fishermen* by Raymond Firth (1946). In this work, the social life of fishermen on Malaysia's Kelatan coast is described as marked by permanent insecurity, difficulty in obtaining sufficient food for the family, and an almost complete lack of material goods in fishermen's houses, among other factors. In the available literature, many works portray the social world of fishing as a life depressed by natural misfortunes and financial instability. One of the most famous examples we can quote is the poem by Victor Hugo entitled "Les pauvres gens" (How good are the poor), which describes a stormy night in a fishing town in which the wife of a fisherman finds her widowed neighbour dead: *Elle frappe à la porte, elle écoute ; personne / Ne répond.*

Et Jeannie au vent de mer frissonne. / "Malade! Et ses enfants! comme c'est mal nourri! / Elle n'en a que deux, mais elle est sans mari.

Catalan literature has also left us with beautiful literary descriptions of the tragic life of fishermen, particularly in plays about local customs such as *La barca nova* (The new boat) by Iglésias, *La filla del mar* (The daughter of the sea) by Guimerà, and *All i salobre* (Garlic and sea salt) by Segarra. Let us look at an example from oral literature: a popular Catalan tale written down by one of the most important poets of Catalan romanticism, Jacint Verdaguer, in 1905. According to folklorist Bienve Moya (2009), the legend is based on a passage about the Greek hero Odysseus' adventures on his way back to Ithaca. The legend was recorded by Verdaguer on his folklore expeditions to the Pyrenees and is part of a collective memory that has been handed down in oral form (Bosch, 1992). The story takes place in Roses, a fishing town on the Costa Brava, and Sant Pau de Segúries, a small town in the Pyrenees, at an altitude of 900 m, surrounded by meadows and woods. A manor house called "El Mariner" still stands in the Pyrenean town. Engraved on the lintel of its main door is a schooner and an inscription with the year 1756. The legend describes a very poor fisherman from Roses, who gradually prospered. As he amassed his fortune, he regularly upgraded his boat to a bigger vessel. Eventually, he had a sailing boat large enough to work in coastal trade. On one of his voyages between the Catalan and Provençal coasts, bound for Marseille, he got caught up in a terrible storm in which he lost the boat and all the goods, but saved his life. However, as the legend states, *la fortuna duu els ulls tapats* (fortune wears a blindfold), and when the fisherman could finally return to Roses, on foot and begging along the way, he found that the storm that had shipwrecked him had also destroyed his house, killing his wife and his two children. He cursed the sea and, slinging an oar over his shoulder, he set off inland swearing that he would not stop until he got to a place where people did not recognize the object. Only when the fisherman reached the Pyrenees mountains and asked what he was carrying did an old man reply that it was a *cullé*, a large spoon or spade for mixing maize. He decided to settle in that place and become a peasant farmer, and he built the El Mariner house that we can still visit today, as it now provides accommodation for rural tourism.

Tragedy in the life of fishermen can be found in many other stories, legends, tales and folk songs, as well as in plays and novels about local customs. All of these stories tell of the tragic undercurrent in the life of seafarers, a people who faced a fatal destiny with no opportunity to change their luck. In the case of the legend of *El Mariner de Sant Pau*, the more fortune shone on him, the crueller the revenge of fate. Some of these stories can be found in different versions in other, sometimes distant, countries. One example is the Catalan folk song titled *El mariner*, which was recorded by a baroque Catalan writer known as *El Rector de Vallfogona*. However, this song can be found in many places in Europe, from Múrcia to Scotland. It tells of the misfortune of a young woman who was embroidering a headscarf near the sea when a foreign galleon appeared and the sailors tricked her and kidnapped her.

This popular song, like so many others, describes seafarers' resignation to their fate. A passive, resigned attitude to history and destiny is found above all in the popular image of women and the sea. Let us look at this in more detail. Men and the sea are often evoked in popular culture in the actions of fishing, sailing and struggling against the waves. It is as if fishing were a man's task exclusively – a very different picture from that given by ethnographic studies, which clearly demonstrate the active role that women played in fishing in traditional societies (Thompson, 1985; Nadel-Klein & Lee Davis, 1988; Cole, 1991; Overa, 1993; Marugan, 2008). In contrast, in the popular image of women and the sea it is common to see a solemn figure standing on the shore, silently gazing at the horizon with a serious expression. This image reflects a stereotype of the resigned culture of seafarers: a woman who waits for her husband's, father's or son's boat to return. She is an anxious woman who waits alone or surrounded by small children. This image is not specific to Catalan culture. In fact, the more or less dramatic image of a woman waiting for a man to return from sea can be found in Western paintings, sculptures, poems, songs and novels.

In Catalan coastal towns, we can find many sculptures that commemorate the community's fishing past and depict a woman in this stance. Let us look at some examples. One is a monument to "The Seafaring Woman". This is a bronze sculpture that was unveiled in 1966 and is situated at the end of the beach in Lloret de Mar. In it, the woman is seafaring not because she is sailing a ship, but because she is waiting for the arrival of a sailor. She seems to be using her

arm to shade her eyes from the glare of the sun, so that she can see the sea more clearly. Another example is a sculpture at Tossa de Mar, in honour of Ava Gardner. This piece was unveiled in 1998 and shows the actor in the same calm, contemplative pose, looking out to sea. It was created to commemorate the filming of *Pandora and the Flying Dutchman* on the Costa Brava in 1951. According to the inscription, the film "made Tossa and the Costa Brava known around the world". Like the figure of Pandora in the film, the statue seems to contemplate the sea, where the character that Ava Gardner played ends up dying. A final example can be found in L'Escala: the *Monument a la dona del pescador* (Monument to the fisherman's wife) (Fig. 1). This monument was commissioned in 1991 by the *Confraria de Pescadors* (the local association of fishermen). It consists of a bronze figure that represents a woman with two children, one clinging to her legs and the other smaller child in her arms. The woman's head is covered by a headscarf that flutters in the wind as she scans the horizon with a serious expression.

The composition of this image is very similar to that of a card to commemorate the 1911 storm, which was made to collect donations for the victims' families (Fig. 2). The card shows a woman on a beach, standing before a wild sea with high waves. She has a headscarf on and holds an infant in her right arm, whilst a child holds her other hand. Like her mother, the child looks out to sea with a worried, anxious expression. In perspective behind them and further away, other people walk on the beach. Another mother can be seen holding a child's hand and in the background is a smoking chimney. This is one of the few iconographic pieces that we can find in which fishing is associated with the industrial sector. At the bottom of the card is the title *The terrible night (31 Januaury 1911)* and the following verses: *Dels fills de les nostres platges / ¡oh mar, bé te n'has dragat!/ En les lluytes de la pàtria / tu també hi vols prendre part* (The sons of our beaches / oh sea, you have swallowed them up! / In the struggle for the mother country / you also want to play a part). Sol and Jiménez (2005:107) discuss this card, and consider that the verse "expresses the fatalism with which the disaster was regarded, in a period of upheaval and great social conflict such as that which affected the working class at the beginning of the twentieth century". In fact, the suffering of seafarers has frequently been put down to caprices of the natural environment in which they had to work, as if it had nothing to do with the social sphere. In this simplification, accidents suffered by fishermen would not be seen for what they really are: work accidents, related to doing a job, just like those involving miners for example. In other words, shipwrecks are often considered accidents caused by the capricious will of nature, like a kind of natural death. The reality is that fishermen are workers like any others and as such they may be involved in accidents due to the risks of their work activity. We will look at this issue in more depth later on.

The image of a sad, anxious, waiting woman that we have described above and that is found in both literature and iconography can and should be contrasted with another image: that of a more relaxed woman busy with her task, whether it is fishing or bringing up her children. This is not a woman who passively gazes out to sea, but a woman who works. We have very few iconographic representations of this more active stance. However, we do have some graphic documents, such as this photograph (Fig. 3) by the ethnographer Tomàs Carreras i Artau, taken in 1922 on Badalona beach, which is very close to Barcelona. The photograph depicts a woman who worked hauling beach seine nets. Beach seine is a fishing system in which women traditionally participated alongside men (Kraan, 2009). We can compare the constructions of popular imagery represented in sculpture and drawings with ethnographic photography – in short, with ethnographic realism.

It is interesting to look at the following three images together. All of them, the sculpture, the drawing and the photograph, show the same scene: a woman from a fishing community wearing a headscarf and standing by the sea with two small children. However, the image and message transmitted by the first two images is considerably different from that of the third.

These women who look anxiously out to sea (Figs. 1 and 2) with their offspring around them are suffering not only for love, but also for their children's survival. Unfortunately, it is clear that poverty and mortality rose considerably in fishing families left without a father. Paul Thompson (1985) found that in the east of England, child mortality was twice as high in the families of seafarers as in families that worked on land. This situation was worsened when the father died in a shipwreck and the mother was left as the only person responsible for the survival of her children, as described brilliantly by Victor Hugo in the poem quoted above.

Figure 1. Monument a la dona del pescador. L'Escala (Girona), 1991.

Figure 2. Card to commemorate the 1911 storm on the Maresme coast (Barcelona).

Figure 3. Woman hauler of seine nets, Badalona (Barcelona), 1922.

3 STORMS, LIFE AND DEATH AMONG SEAFARERS

The best-known popular iconography of seafarers, at least in Catalonia, is certainly that represented in religious ex-votos. The word ex-voto means the fulfilment of a vow made with a deity in the past. The vow is kept once prayers have been answered. Therefore, as an object, an ex-voto is a gift or more precisely a counter-gift in return for an immaterial present from above. As described by Enric García (2003), it is the materialization of a pact between the human and supernatural worlds. The giving of ex-votos by seafarers is a very old practice. In the mountain sanctuaries of Minoan Crete, models of vessels have been found that had been left as offerings. The best-known maritime ex-votos are those offered in gratitude for the intervention of a supernatural being in a moment of great danger at sea. This is the purpose of most of the polychrome votive tablets, in dark tones, that almost always contain the same three elements: in the centre is the scene of danger experienced by the seafarers, for example a storm or a collision; at one end is a bright aureole around the divine image, who appears at the most critical moment to save the unfortunate seafarers; and, normally at the bottom, is a text that describes the events in more or less detail and gives the name of the person making the offering. An ex-voto can also be a model or part of a boat, for example an oar. In all cases, these popular iconographs of seafaring that are found in the Mediterranean Catholic church depict this life as if it were fully in the hands of divine intervention, natural forces governed by the Virgin and the Saints that control the fate of men.

Figure 4. Ex-voto dedicated to Saint Victoria, to whom the fishermen attributed their salvation during a storm on 6 December 1913 off the coast of Sant Pol de Mar (Barcelona).

Storms are probably seafarers' worst enemy. Unexpected changes in atmospheric conditions rapidly put the lives of fishermen at risk. Until motors were used in fishing boats, which happened at the beginning of the twentieth century in Catalonia, vessels were practically defenceless against the force of the wind and were at the mercy of the waves. However, storms also had very negative effects on the coast, as described in the legend of *El Mariner de Sant Pau* that we referred to earlier, in which the fisherman's house beside the sea in Roses was destroyed, and his wife and children died. Vessels used to be moored on the beach, but the sand was, and still is, literally swallowed up by the waves when storms came in from the sea (see Fig. 5). During these storms, the boats had to be dragged further up the beaches towards the houses, and the dwellings built closest to the sea were often flooded or damaged by storm surges. There is a lot of photographic evidence of such storms from the beginning of the twentieth century. Later on, I will explain the problems caused by building a railway line between the houses and the sea along the entire Maresme coast north of Barcelona.

If we review the local press from the period just before motors were fitted to fishing boats, that is, the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century, we can find constant references to storms from the sea and to their terrible effects on fishing populations. Practically every year, the coastal damage caused by storms was lamented, as were occasional accidents in the fishing community. Of all of the storms, the most serious occurred in 1911.

On 31 January 1911, a storm broke along much of the coast of Catalonia. Its size and consequences were devastating, as it was a sudden storm with no warning signs. On this coast, such violent storms do not tend to come in so fast. They are usually preceded by gradual worsening of the weather and atmospheric signs that the fishermen in the area know how to interpret (Carbonell, 2012). At the time of the storm, almost all of the Catalan fishing fleets operated from the beaches, as there were very few ports at the beginning of the twentieth century. When there was a large swell, the operation of pulling the boats up on to the beach was difficult and risky. On the night of the storm, the waves reached ten metres high, which made the manoeuvre required to beach the boats impossible. It is estimated that 140 sailors died, leaving numerous orphans, many of whom also died in subsequent years.

The fishermen's deaths cannot only be attributed to the climatic phenomena. Various anthropological studies (Torry, 1972; Oliver-Smith, 1996; Oliver-Smith and Hoffman, 2002; Wisner et al., 2004; Hastrup, 2011) have shown that we cannot merely interpret natural disasters as accidents that come to upset social stability. In some ways, they are also the culmination of a system of social inequalities that is expressed in the levels of vulnerability to natural catastrophes (Hastrup, 2011: 5).

The 1911 catastrophe was due to natural climatic phenomena that had an impact on what William Torry (1972) called "hazardous environments", one of which is clearly the marine environment. However, according to the above argument, the disaster of 1911 was also caused by other factors: the working conditions, as a shipwreck is also a work accident; the negligence of the State and the public authorities, who did not have the planned rescue systems in working order and who had not invested in the infrastructure needed for sea rescue or for boats to shelter; the economic system in general, which forced some people to do highly risky jobs; and the economic system for fishing in particular, in which the division of the catch into shares put high work pressure on the fishermen.

Various authors such as Braudel (1949), Pi i Sunyer (1977) and Barbaza (1988) have stated that the scarcity of food on land – in other words, famine – is what pushed Mediterranean people to the sea (Braudel, 1949: 111). The sea is a medium that is subjected to the vicissitudes of the climate, changeable, dangerous and risky. In line with Braudel's argument, in an article on the anthropology of hazardous environments, William Torry (1972) described specific historical conditions (including the following, which could be applied to Catalonia: the increase in capital in agriculture, unequal access to loans and subsidies, and the appropriation or degradation of land) that explain why some groups were forced to live and work in certain hazardous environments, for which they had insufficient technology. History seems to indicate that this was the case in maritime Catalonia. In his doctoral thesis, Alfons Garrido (2012) explained how in the Modern period in Empordà, which is the north-eastern district of Catalonia, worsening of the socio-economic context due to the wars in the second half of the seventeenth century led to an increase in the number of people working as fishermen. Similarly, as demonstrated by Yvette Barbaza with respect to the Empordà district in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, fishing

was an activity that diminished when wine exportation and the cork industry were strong, and increased when phylloxera reached the Empordà and destroyed the vines in the 1880s or when the cork industry was in crisis due to the Great War. Fishing is therefore an activity that people risk when, put simply, there is no other option.

The fishermen of 1911 took to the sea with poor technology; small fishing boats with lateen sails. They had no safety systems on board, and there were no effective sea rescue systems on the coast, as shown by Garcia (1998). They carried out their activity on a coast that had no infrastructure to deal with storms, without even a small port or harbour in which to shelter when the height of the waves made it highly risky or impossible to beach the boats. The technology and the infrastructure were not on a par with the risks the fishermen took, and this made them more vulnerable to the hazardous environments. This leads me to conclude, like William Torry (1972: 529), that "the suffering and the losses are not only a question of physical damage, but have their roots in cultural and social factors". Among the 140 fishermen and sailors who drowned in the 1911 storm, were some children of just ten years old. In a system of considerable social inequality, natural disasters affect the most vulnerable groups.

4 THE STRUGGLE OF SEAFARERS

The struggle of seafarers is not just against adversities caused by natural phenomena. It is also against social adversities. Historically, coastal populations have fought against the social conditions that were imposed by the economic and political system and threatened their ways of life. As an example, the Galician historian Dionisio Pereira (2010, 2013), who widely studied class conflict in fishing communities, maintains that:

> "…we should raise questions about certain 'essentialist' descriptions of small-scale family fishing, which in Galicia firmly associated the behaviour of fishermen with localism, individualism, rivalry, untruthfulness and envy, and in which antagonism was limited to confrontations with other social strata such as agricultural workers and fishermen from neighbouring ports (…). Throughout our research, we realized that, after almost 70 years of both constructive and conflictive experience, members of pre-war maritime associations promoted very different attitudes along the Galician coast, related to solidarity at supralocal level, mutual aid, cooperativism, resources management and democratic citizenship" (Pereira, 2013: 127).

In Catalonia, small-scale fishing and more capitalized, industrial fishing were not clearly differentiated until the 1970s, in a time of general industrialization of Spain and under a dictatorial political regime (Breton Renard, 1987). Thus, at the beginning of the twentieth century social antagonism was not as marked in Catalonia as in Galicia where, as explained by Pereira himself, much of Spain's industrial fishing fleet was already based by the 1930s. However, this does not mean that the fishing world in Catalonia was totally isolated from social conflicts, as some authors (see Roig, 1927) implied.

A clear example of social struggle can be seen in the conflict that erupted at the end of the nineteenth century between the fishermen of the north coast of Barcelona and the *Companyia de Camins de Ferro*. As mentioned in the Introduction, the route of the first train to operate on the Iberian Peninsula ran parallel to the coast, between the towns and the sea. The first stretch, between Barcelona and Mataró, was opened in 1848. To build the railway, the *Companyia*, which was owned by private shareholders, had to negotiate town-by-town the route of the tracks, the expropriations and the agreements with affected individuals. At this time, the coast was used almost exclusively for fishing, shipbuilding and coastal trade. The agreements that were made may seem unprecedented today. For example, in the town of Arenys de Mar, where large shipyards were to be separated from the sea by the train tracks, it was decided in an agreement made with the *Companyia* (Valdés, Ferrater & Garcia, 1893) that, depending on the state of the beach, when new boats needed to be launched "the company shall provisionally remove the affected part of the tracks to allow the boat to pass, and put everything back at its own expense. In this case, the master builder will notify the aforementioned company two days in advance …" Other agreements stated that the company would allow fishing vessels to cross the train tracks in a

storm and prevented it from impeding operations associated with maritime traffic, such as the loading and unloading of goods transported by sea to the beaches.

The development of transport networks on land as a result of the railway led to the gradual disappearance of coastal trade. Consequently, the traditional shipyards on the beaches also began to go out of business. In contrast, small-scale fishing maintained and even increased its capacity to sell the product, which could reach Barcelona's markets faster and easier by train. However, a conflict arose between all the fishermen in the area and the rail company, due to storms from the sea.

Obviously, the decision about the train route would have involved both financial and technical considerations. In many cases, rural landowners objected to tracks crossing their land. The boundary between the beaches and the towns, parallel to the old highway, was considered an ideal place to lay the tracks despite the evident risks of being so close to the sea. In fact, the beaches along this part of the coast frequently shift when there are storms from the sea, which are common in the autumn and winter. They can lose several metres of sand until the sea reaches the houses, but when a storm occurs in the opposite direction, the lost metres of beach return.

Figure 5   Figure 6

Sant Pol de Mar beach in winter (5) and spring (6) 2013. The first image was taken during a storm from the NE; the second when a current from the SW had replaced the sand swept away by the first storm. Note the difference in the size of the beach. This variation occurs every year in almost all the beaches in this area. A train can be seen passing in Figure 6.

Due to this situation, when there was a storm the fishermen had to line their boats up at the top of the beach, and even on some occasions cross the train tracks to leave their vessels in the courtyards of houses on the other side of the rails, and thus protect them from the waves. However, storms also had a negative impact on the operation of the trains. Waves caused erosion under the rails. In other places, tracks were covered in sand. Furthermore, train transport was dangerous when the waves reached the trains. This situation occurred in the mid-nineteenth century, and continues to occur today. Train delays and cancellations are still common when there are storms. One of the weakest points is between the towns of Canet and Sant Pol where, in just the decade of the 1880s, fourteen long-lasting disruptions to the train service were recorded (Pomés 1992). In 1891, a doctor in Canet called Marià Serra noted in his diary (published in 2006) that the train service had been suspended for half a year "as the *Companyia*, expressly to annoy the fishermen of Sant Pol who are opposed to them placing rocks on the beach, is stretching out the repairs as much as possible" (Serra, 2006:145). At that time, Sant Pol beach had the largest fishing fleet in the area (Alegret and Nadal, 1987), which is why it was also the most belligerent community, although conflicts between fishermen and the *Companyia* also arose in other towns such as Canet, Arenys or Vilassar.

To reduce the impact of storms on the railway, the *Companyia* wanted to build longitudinal seawalls parallel to the tracks. This constituted a serious hazard for boats and meant that they could not be taken to the other side of the tracks when necessary. In addition, in the agreements with the Company, the construction of seawalls was clearly forbidden if it interfered with fishing activities. The fishermen proposed that barriers should be built perpendicular to the coast instead of longitudinally. They considered that perpendicular breakwaters would enable sand to accumulate, and beaches would form either side of them, providing space to moor the boats and

at the same time protecting the tracks. However, the Company's engineers dismissed these suggestions as: "...an extremely vulgar and misguided belief, which is nevertheless deeply rooted in the minds of the fishermen and other seafarers, who are accustomed with their real simplicity and natural incompetence to judge the reality of situations by their apparent effects". (Valdés, Ferrater & Garcia, 1893: 191). It is difficult to determine why the engineers took this position against the fishermen's proposals, which they dismissed as ridiculous. However, it has been shown over more than a hundred years that the construction of seawalls or longitudinal breakwaters requires constant reinforcement work and dumping of rocks onto the beaches, only to be damaged by the next storm surge.

The reaction of the fishermen was to organize themselves to challenge the *Companyia*. The marine authorities understood the fishermen's arguments, but the state prioritized the interests of the Company. The newspapers of the time are full of letters from well-known people supporting the fishermen's protest. Even the Mayor of Sant Pol was exiled for almost two years between 1890 and 1892 for supporting the fishermen's protests. As the fishermen realized that neither the state nor the Company would listen to their demands, they moved on to direct action that involved sabotaging the rail infrastructure. Proof of this is found in the fact that the *Guardia Civil* police force had to intervene on six occasions between 1890 and 1892 in response to sabotage and disturbances to the railway and its bosses, carried out by fishermen. The fishermen, at least temporarily, forced the Company to desist from its efforts to transform the beach into the base of a wall. The conflict gradually diminished and its memory also faded, as the witnesses died. What was left was the image of a fishing society that was not involved in the conflicts of the time, which lived resigned to the adversities of the natural world and to fate.

These conflicts were barely recorded in popular culture, or perhaps we should consider that the literary and artistic movements inspired by popular culture paid little attention to these experiences that, nevertheless, are part of the ethnological or intangible culture of fishing communities. I would like to conclude with a quote by the historian E.P Thompson on the factors that triggered rural uprisings in eighteenth century England. His arguments were based on popular consensus on what was legitimate and what was not: "...a consistent traditional view of social norms and obligations, of the proper economic functions of several parties within the community, which, taken together, can be said to constitute the moral economy of the poor" (Thompson, 1971:79). The moral economy of the poor, I believe, also forms part of their, and our, intangible heritage.

In this paper, my aim was to indicate some potential lines of research to explore the intangible heritage of fishing communities from the perspective of their struggle for survival. In my view, this research should start from the premise that the effects of natural disasters, particularly storms at sea as discussed here, are not merely the result of caprices of nature turned against men and women; misfortunes that only divine intervention can prevent, as appears to be illustrated in ex-votos. Instead, explanations should be sought in specific social factors in seafarers' lives. This view is supported by several of the anthropologists cited above.

In this preliminary exploration of the subject, in which the traditional Catalan fishing society is taken as a case study, I first analysed the image of seafarers transmitted by popular culture through poetry, tales and iconography. This image tends to show men and above all women who are resigned and passive in the face of the fate of their destiny. I then wished to contrast this image with ethnohistorical data that give a very different picture: that of people who worked, organized themselves socially and struggled not only against the adversity of nature, but also to defend their interests as a class. The case of the conflict sparked in 1890s between fishermen from the coast north of Barcelona and rail company shareholders, as described above, seems to me a good example of how fishermen in traditional societies have differentiated between natural and social aspects of the adversity they have suffered, and how they have responded to this adversity with various strategies and struggles for survival. These strategies and struggles should be included in the compendium of intangible heritage of traditional seafaring communities.

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

REFERENCES

Alegret, J.L. & Nadal, B. (1987). *Les confraries de pescadors. La dimensió social de la pesca a Catalunya*. Barcelona: Direcció General de Pesca Marítima.

Arrieta, I. et alt. (2011). Desbrozando el patrimonio inmaterial. In D. Viana, O. Fernández & P. Tomé (coord.) *Lugares, tiempos y memorias. La antropología ibérica en el siglo XXI*. León: FAAEE.

Barbaza, Y. (1988). *El paisatge humà de la Costa Brava*. Barcelona: Edicions 62.

Bosch, A. (1992). *Estudi introductori. In Jacint Verdaguer Rondalles*. Barcelona: Barcino.

Braudel, F. (1949). *La Méditerranée et le monde méditerranéen à l'èpoque de Philippe II*. Paris: Armand Colin.

Breton Renard, F. (1987). Características de la flota a Catalunya: Crítica de las categorías de flota industrial y flota artesanal a la Luz de un ejemplo catalán. In *Jornadas sobre Economía y Sociología de las Comunidades Pesqueras. 20, 21 y 22 de mayo de 1987*. Universidad de Santiago de Compostela. Madrid: Ministerio de Agricultura, Pesca y Alimentación.

Carbonell, E. (2012). The Catalan Fishermen's Traditional Knowledge of Climate and the Weather: a Distinctive Way of Relating to Nature. *International Journal of Intangible Heritage*, 7: 61-75.

Cole, S. (1991). *Women of the praia: work and lives in a Portuguese coastal community*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Corbin, A. (1993). *El territorio vacio. Occidente y la invención de la playa (1750-1840)*. Madrid: Mondadori.

Corbin, A. (2005). *Le ciel et la mer*. Paris: Bayard.

Firth, R. (1946). *Malay Fishermen: Their Peasant Economy*. London: Kegan Paul.

García, E. (1998). *Viure o morir al mar. El salvament marítim al Maresme*. Vilassar de Mar: Okios-Tau.

García, E. & Sella, A. (2003). *Creences de la mar*. Barcelona: Museu Marítim de Barcelona.

Garrido, A. (2012). *La pesca al Cap de Creus a l'època moderna (segles XVI-XVIII): organització, gestió i conflictes per l'accés als recursos pesquers*. Unpublished thesis (PhD), Universitat de Girona.

Giguère, H. (2006). Vues anthropologiques sur le patrimoine culturel immatériel: Un ancrage en basse Andalousie. *Anthropologie et Sociétés*, 30(2): 107-127.

Hastrup, F. (2011). *Weathering the World. Recovery in the Wake of the Tsunami in a Tamil Fishing Village*. Oxford: Berghan Books.

Kraan, M. (2009). *Creating space for fishermen's livelihoods*. Amsterdam: African Studies Centre.

Marugán, B. (2008). Explorando algunas posibilidades de transformación. Recorrido de las mariscadoras gallegas hacia el reconocimiento social. In P. Rodríguez, ed. *Mujeres, trabajos y empleos en tiempos de globalización*. Barcelona: Icària.

Moncusí, A. (2008). La definició i l'activació del patrimoni immaterial. Algunes propostes des de l'etnologia, *Revista Valenciana d'Etnologia*, 3: 73-86.

Moya, B. (2009). Llegenda del mariner de Sant Pau. Available at http://bienve.wordpress.com/2009/03/11/llegenda-del-mariner-de-sant-pau/ [Accessed 13 May 2013].

Nadel-Klein, J. & Lee Davis, D., eds. (1988). *To Work and To Weep: Women in Fishing Economies*. St. John's, Nfld.: Institute of Social and Economic Research.

Nadel-Klein, J. (2003). *Fishing for Heritage. Modernity and Loss Along the Scottish Coast*. Oxford: Berg.

Oliver-Smith, A. & Hoffman, S.M., eds. (1999). *The Angry Earth: Disaster in Anthropological Perspective*. London: Routledge.

Oliver-Smith, A. (1996). Anthropological Research on Hazards and Disasters. *Annual Review of Anthroplogy,* 25: 303-328.

Overa, R. (1993). Wives and Traders. Women's Careers in Ghanaian Canoe Fisheries. *Maritime Studies*, 6(1&2): 110-135.

Pereira, D. (2010). *Loita de clases e represión franquista no mar (1864-1939)*. Vigo: Xerais.

Pereira, D. (2013). Capitalismo pesquero y sindicalismo en la España de anteguerra: la Federación Nacional de Industria Pesquera. *Revista Andaluza de Antropología*, 4: 122-146.

Pi i Sunyer, O. (1977). Two Stages of Technological Change in a Catalan Fishing Community. In E. M. Smith, ed. *Those who live from the sea: A Study in matirime anthropology*. St. Paul: West.

Pomés, J. (1992). *Orígens del catalanisme en un entorn rural. In Actes del Congrés Internacional d'Història de Catalunya i la Restauració 1875-1923*. Manresa: Centre d'Estudis del Bages.

Prats, Ll. (1997). *Antropología y patrimonio*. Barcelona: Ariel.

Roig, E. (1927). *La pesca a Catalunya*. Barcelona: Barcino.

Scott, J. (1990). *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts*. Yale: Yale University Press.

Serra, M. (2006). *Dietari del Dr. Marià Serra i Font. Canet de Mar 1880-1926*. Canet de Mar: Ajuntament de Canet de Mar.

Smith, L. & Akagawa, N. (2009). *Intagible Heritage*. London: Routledge.

Sol, J. & Jiménez, X. (2005). *Els premianencs i el mar*. Premià de Mar: Ajuntament de Premià de Mar.

Thompson, E.P. (1971). The Moral Economy of the English Crowd in the Eighteenth Century. *Past and Present*, 50: 76-136.

Thompson, P. (1985). Women in the Fishing: The Roots of Power between the Sexes. *Comparative Study in Society and History*, 27(1): 3-32.

Torry, W. (1972). Anthropology Studies in Hazardous Environment: Past Trends and New Horizons. *Current Anthropology*, 20(3): 517-540.

Valdés, J., Ferrater, L. & García, P. (1893). *Dictamen pericial emitido por los ingenieros de Caminos, Canales y Puertos, Julio Valdés, Luis de Ferrater i Pedro García Faria en el juicio promovido por el Ayuntamiento de Arenys de Mar contra la Compañía de Ferrocarriles*. Arenys de Mar: Arxiu Fidel Fita [unpublished].

Wisner, B. et al. (2004). *At Risk: Natural Hazards, People's Vulnerability and Disasters*. London: Routledge.

The emerging of Daoism in China

Fang Wang
Newcastle University

ABSTRACT: Since the reform and opening-up policy has been adopted in China, the Chinese economy took off in recent years. Although China has reached the moderately prosperous society, there is an imbalance between the economic development and well-being. As the Chinese Communist Party has relaxed its control on religion since Deng Xiaoping era, Daoism is re- emerging as a form of traditional Chinese culture. As an intangible cultural heritage, a new form of Daoist has developed quickly; this paper is going to introduce a new public Daoist figure named Han Jinying as both Daoism practitioner and 'master' who is trying to promote the greatness of Chinese Daoism by paintings and teaching. I would like to introduce her personal Daoist experiences and the fast development of Daodejing gallery in five provinces in China to show how this traditional intangible heritage has been re-recognized by the Chinese people. There is also an inseparable support from the Chinese government, and this paper will explore what kind of Daoism heritage they support and why they promote.

1   INTRODUCTION

Since the 1980s, with the implementation of the opening-up and reform policy, China has witnessed a traditional culture revival after the ten-year catastrophe of Cultural Revolution (1966-1976). As a society's value system is significantlyshaped by the level of economic development and the historical cultural heritage(Inglehart and Baker, 2000: 127), Chinese society has experienced a more than 30 years fast development, their cultural traditions also has been resurgent since the reform and open-up.

   As an indigenous Chinese religion, Daoism has been experienced a renaissance analysed by Lai (2003). He has observed from three aspects of the Daoism revival. As he suggests that the Daoism religion revival can be summarised as: the more activities carried out by the Daoist Association compared to the previous years; 'the restoration of the Daoist ordination ceremonies for Quanzhendaoshi and Zhengyidaoshi; and popular Daoism'(Lai, 2003: 415) and the increasing demands of the ritual services from the Huojudaoshi (who are the professional ritual specialists living at home).

   As one of the three-teaching (including Confucianism, Buddhist and Daoist), Daoism, declined since the Qing period, is also experiencing a resurgence in contemporary China. This article will introduce one of the prominent Daoist figures, Madam Han Jinying (who is a painter and writer).Her

commercialized promotion of Daoist tradition can be seen as a form of theDaoist revival in recent years. But before the introduction of the Daoist figure, this article will first paint a picture of the tradition renaissance as the social context for the Daoist revival in contemporary China.

2   THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF THE CULTURAL TRADITION REVIVAL IN CONTEMPORARY CHINA

'Chinese traditional culture', in general, indicates the culture that prevailed in China from the pre-Qin Shi Huang days until the Opium War, a culture with Confucianism at its core, mixed first with Daoism and later with Buddhism' (Zhongyun, 1987). The study of 'Chinese traditional culture' has been categorised as 'guoxue' (National study).

Confucianism is always the controversial issue as some scholars think it is a religion while others claim it is not. Aside from the religious discussion, Confucianism is a core cultural value in China. It also has experienced a resurgence in schools and education sectors(Yu, 2008). The movements of 'back to the tradition' and 'Hanfu (traditional Han ethic clothes)' have also reflected the strong trend of Chinese tradition has been increasingly treasured; the Chinese government plays a vital role during the process of tradition revival.

3   TRADITIONAL CULTURE RENAISSANCEIN POST-DENG ERA

Since the 'back to tradition' movement emerged in the 1980s at a grass root level, the value and virtue of Confucianism began to influence the populace during this social and economic transitional time in China. In 1990s, the 'national learning' fever brought about the revival of Confucianism again in social and educational sphere with the support of the CCP and government, as a means of strengthening the social stability and order(Yu, 2008). This movement of 'return to tradition' reflects the demand of the 'reclaiming the power of enduring Confucian tradition' and also 'representing current and urgent popular demands for stability and continuity'(Yu, 2008: 127).

In the social and political context of 1990s, the promotion of national learning (guoxue) in China according to Liu (1996) was served the purpose of the CCP (Chinese Communist Party) to promote the 'traditional and national culture' and the advocating of the 'peaceful evolution' as the ally with the overseas Chinese studies of the nonpartisan 'liberal evolution'.

From the 1990s, to respond the 'moral decline' and the 'cultural nihilism' in Chinese society, starting from the scholars in contemporary China, a trend of 'education in traditional virtue'(which has some similarity with the movement of 'back to tradition') has been increasingly popular with the endorsement of the authority(Yu, 2008). As the Harvard historian TuWeiming argues that 'if economic develop serves as the 'engine of change', the transforming culture may determine the 'direction of change' (cited in Li, 2001).

Since the government has tried to promote the policy 'Chinese national Renaissance' as China has achieved great success of the economic development under the pervasive influence of the west. In this background, the mushroomed Confucianism revival has overwhelmingly appeared in the Chinese society particularly in the 2000s. There are two kinds of the movements led by different groups of people: one is the academic Confucianism movement in which the academic staff and universities get involved and the other is the social movement with the aims to strengthen the confidence of the national culture and embrace the spiritual pursuit as a means of balance with the material success(Yu, 2008).

The new emerging Confucianism, some people tried to use the fame of Confucian tradition as a brand to promote the western value for the political and social reform but on the other hand, the left Confucianism tried to combine with the socialism together (Bell, 2010). According to Bell (2008) the Chinese authority did not show preference to support the revival of tradition in China as the 'left Confucianism' aiming to advocate the political reform apart from the Marxism socialist. In recent years China, Confucianism and traditional culture are new cultural and ideological capital as compared to the silent socialism and Marxism ideology(Liu, 1996).

According to Bell (2008), the government is trying to encourage the Confucianism revival instead of the Christian, Falun Gong or extreme nationalism to stabilize the peace and economic success. In February 2005, the chairman Hu Jintao said 'china should promote such values (Harmonious society) as honesty and unity, as well as forge a closer relationship between the people and the government. In

March 2007, the prime minister Wen Jiabao—regarded as relative liberal—made even more explicit reference to tradition: 'from Confucius to Sun Yat-sen, the traditional culture of the Chinese nation has numerous precious elements, many positive aspects regarding the nature of the people and democracy(Bell, 2008: 9)'. Domestically, Henan province began to promote the filial and family values while aboard, while internationally,more than 400 Confucius Institutes (first built in 2004) have launched in 108 countries in order to teach Chinese but rather not to support the spread of Chinese culture. The promotion of Confucius value has achieved benefits from both at home and abroad. Bell (2008) argues, domestically, the advocating of harmony society can relieve pressure from the income gap within different social groups; internationally, the value of Confucius is as a means to demonstrate the peaceful arise of Chinese power to respond the 'China Threat Theory'.

As Dirlik (1997: 92) thinks that the recent revival of Confucianism is a result of ' its articulation of native cultures into a capitalist narrative'. Others like Lin and Galikowski (1999) argues that the Confucianism can be constructed as a national identity by the authority.Zhao (2004) suggests that the Confucianism has won the support fromthe government with its counterparts neo-conservatism and nationalism. Makeham (2008) believes that the revival of Confucianism in contemporary China is 'the intellectual cross-fertilization and rivalry' rather than the state-party orchestrated, but he criticises the 'ruxue'(儒学) fever has little academic creativity in the re-interpretation of the philosophy of Confucianism. On the other hand, Bell (2008) argues that the CCP has encouraged the resurgence of the Confucianism as the Marxism is dying in China. He also advocates that there will be 'an agenda for the future of Chinese politics'(Ai, 2009: 698). In contrast to the these two different opinions, Ai (2009) argues that the CCP has been interested in the revival of Confucianism and tried to bring some values of Confucianism into the Marxism and socialist ideology but with an attitude of suspicion . However, I would say that the CCP has supported a wider context of a mixture of the Chinese traditions like Confucianism, Daoism or Buddhism and other thinking as long as to underpin its control over the country.

Under the background of the Confucianism resurgence in contemporary China, religion beliefs and practice, as an important part of culture is also reviving compared to Maoist time. The next section will explore the religious development since the Deng period.

4   RELIGIOUS REVIVAL AND STATE

In china, five religions (Buddhism, Daoism, Christianity, Islam and Catholicism) have been identified as the legal religion by the government. From 1980s, many temples and monasteries have been restored and re-built as most of the religious places have been destroyed or shut down in the Cultural Revolution. During the process of religion resurgence, there is unavoidable contradiction between the state's religious policy and the revival since there is still religious restriction in China in contrast to other countries.

As the cultural differences between the west and China, being an important part of culture, religion also has different understandings in Chinese context compared to the west. So it is improper to completely apply the western social science in Chinese religious context as there are many nuances between the west and China(Madsen, 2011). 'Chinese religious revivals thus pose a unique mix of dangers and opportunities for the development of peaceful and productive civil societies'(Madsen, 2011: 36). Vermander (2009) suggests that the religious revival in China is a form of 'exit from religion' from a perspective of Chinese religious sphere.And I also argue that the revival is also a historical transition to a civil society and alter the social relationship.

5   REVIVAL OF BUDDHISM IN SOUTHEAST OF CHINA

Increasing numbers of Buddhist temples have been built in a southeast of China since 1970s(Ashiwa and Wank, 2006).There are several reasons for the Buddhist revival in the southeast of China like Fujian and Guangdong provinces. One of the major reasons is the transnational movement from the overseas Chinese(Ong and Nonini, 1996; Dean, 2011). The overseas Chinese brought economic resources to support the building of Buddhist temples as well as the investment to the local construction since the 1970s. Chinese government is desire to obtain the global capital to develop the economy by the tolerance of religion since the strategy shifted from class struggle to economic development. However, during the revival of religion, Dean (2011) argues that the religious tolerance

is from circumventing the regulation of the local state instead of bribery or disregarding the law, while Ashiwa (2000) claims that city government played an important role by implementation of the state religious policy. Although both their arguments are right, the people's demand on religion has been ignored as the economic condition has been improved in recent years.

6   POPULAR RELIGION REVIVAL IN CHINA

An obvious and rapid folk religion revival in the southern part of China has been observed by Chau (2005a) and Law (2005). According to Chau (2005b: 266), in the context of contemporary China, any form of religious resurgence is the tendency of moving away from the earlier communist ritualism (which was purely political) but 'towards a more complex amalgam of expressions and assertions of socio-political power and authority that draw on different sources within an increasingly pluralizing society'. As the local authority is tend to weigh the economic development more than the political performance since the shifting policy of reform and opening-up launched by Deng Xiaoping. Chau (2005b)argues that the retreat of the socialist power in the reform-era has made the room for the revival of 'traditional cultural nexus of power'. According to Gates (1991) and Chau (2005b), the temple association also played an vital role in the negotiation with local state authority to obtain the legal status and legitimacy(for the popular religious temples) protection from the state and associations. Usually gifts and money (from the local community and the masses)plays a prominent role in making connections with the local state agency or association.

Buddhism and popular religion, as both tangible and intangible heritage, have been drawn attention by government and populace. And a close relationship between the cultural heritage and statewill be analysed below to better understand the revival of the traditional Chinese culture.

7   CULTURAL HERITAGE AND STATE POWER

Yan and Bramwell (2008) argues that the CCP's changing attitudes to cultural heritage and traditions reflects the social tensions and instabilities in society which resulted a decentralization of the government. Recent study on tourism, state and cultural identity indicates that there is a strong state influence on the tourism sites as a propaganda channel in the communist context(Henderson, 2007). After the collapse of the previous communist countries in the east Europe, in the 1980s, tourism has been one of the ways to rebuild their cultural and national identity(Light, 2000; Light, 2007). In this identity remaking process in tourism, with the denying the socialist past and attempts to fit into the capitalist and democratic ideology (Light, 2001).As Yan and Bramwell (2008) interviewed an official from the Shandong province's heritage administration suggested the national government has re-estimated cultural heritage and re-interpretation of traditions for different proposes in the post-Deng era. Consequently, the relaxed control on traditional values resulted in the revival of religion and cultural heritage.

Yan and Bramwell (2008) has pointed out that the ceremony in Qufu indicated that the central government has shifted the attitudes towards traditional culture in the changing social-economic and cultural context since the 1980s. This altering attitude from the central government is aimed at maintaining the social stability and keeping the ruling authority of the CCP, while the local government considers the economic effect from the tourism and cultural heritage. In this process, the local authority also obtains 'concession' from the central government to promote the 'cult ceremony'. Confucius has been facilitated as the China's soft power in the 21st century (Louie, 2011). Although the Confucius Institution is after the name of Confucius, this institution is not aim to promote the Confucius value. Therefore, Chinese language or culture has been brand as the name of 'Confucius' and 'Confucius and Confucianism have become China's 'brand' in a world where national identity is marked for political spin(Louie, 2011: 78). I agree with Louie (2011) that the advocacy of Confucianismin contemporary China has been used by the CCP to serve the ideological need for harmonious society.

In the context of traditional cultural renaissance, both the central and local government play a significant role in the reconstruction of temples and the promotion of the cultural value in terms of both money and ideology making. On the other hand, the 'grassroots' concern about the tradition also make contributions to the revival. In terms of Daoist revival, this article will introduce Madam Han

Jinying (a painter and writer), who supports the construction of Daoist Art Gallery and teaches Daoist lessons in China.

8   THE INTRODUCTION OF MADAME HAN JINYING

Born in 1961, Han graduated from Peking University in 1983. As a senior editor, she has edited many books on 'guoxue' and published three books on Fengshui ,Daodejing and Yijing. She began to paint in 2006 without any painting training. In her book NeizaixiaohaijieDaodejing 《内在小孩解道德经》 (which means the inner child interprets Daodejing) she mentioned that when she did not have the inspiration for painting, she would do Zen meditation and the ' emptiness' can inspired her to continue to paint. At the same time, she opened her Sina blog to record the process of painting and personal growth. After finishing a series of Bodhisattva painting, she began to shift her painting theme to'Dao'. Chen Quanlin, the general editor of magazine YishengWenhua(a traditional cultural promotion magazine) wrote an article to introduce Han's paintings and praised her paintings reflect the Daoist cultivation practice and acted in respond the ancient Daoist scriptures. Since then, Han started to read Daoist inner alchemy classics like *Zhou Yi Can Tong Qi*and *Wu Zhen Pian, ects.* She realized her paintings are very consistent with alchemy classics. In 2010, she finished and published her book 'NeizaiXiaohaiJieDaodejing' which she thinks her book is the contemporary interpretation of the Daoist Immortal LvDongbin's explanation of Daodejing. During the year 2010, she has also done many free public speeches about Daodejing and Fengshui. She launched the Daodejing Art Gallery on 31st, January, 2011 to exhibit her spiritual paintings and give lessons on Daodejing. At the same time, her books and paintings have achieved many compliments from famous artists and Daoist academics, which can be found on her blog and websites. The founder of the most influential spiritual website 'Inner Space' in mainland China, Zhang Defen, interviewed Han in 2011 to explore her experience of 'how to find one's true self'. Han has successfully promoted a trend of Daodejing learning and traditional Daoist cultural revival in society.

   After her successfully launched the Daodejing Art Gallery in Beijing in 2011, she is devoted to found 81 similar Daodejing Art Gallery branches in whole China. On her blog, she announced that the money she made from her teachings and paintings will be invested into theDaodejing Art Foundation and as the financial support to the function of the 81 Daodejing Art Galleries in future. But this no further explanation on how the money has been spent and the Daodejing Art Foundation.

9   HAN'S PAINTINGS

The four paintings of Han below would like to show the readers her paintings, and the interpretation below briefly explore the relationship between the painting and the Daoist practices or Daoist figures.
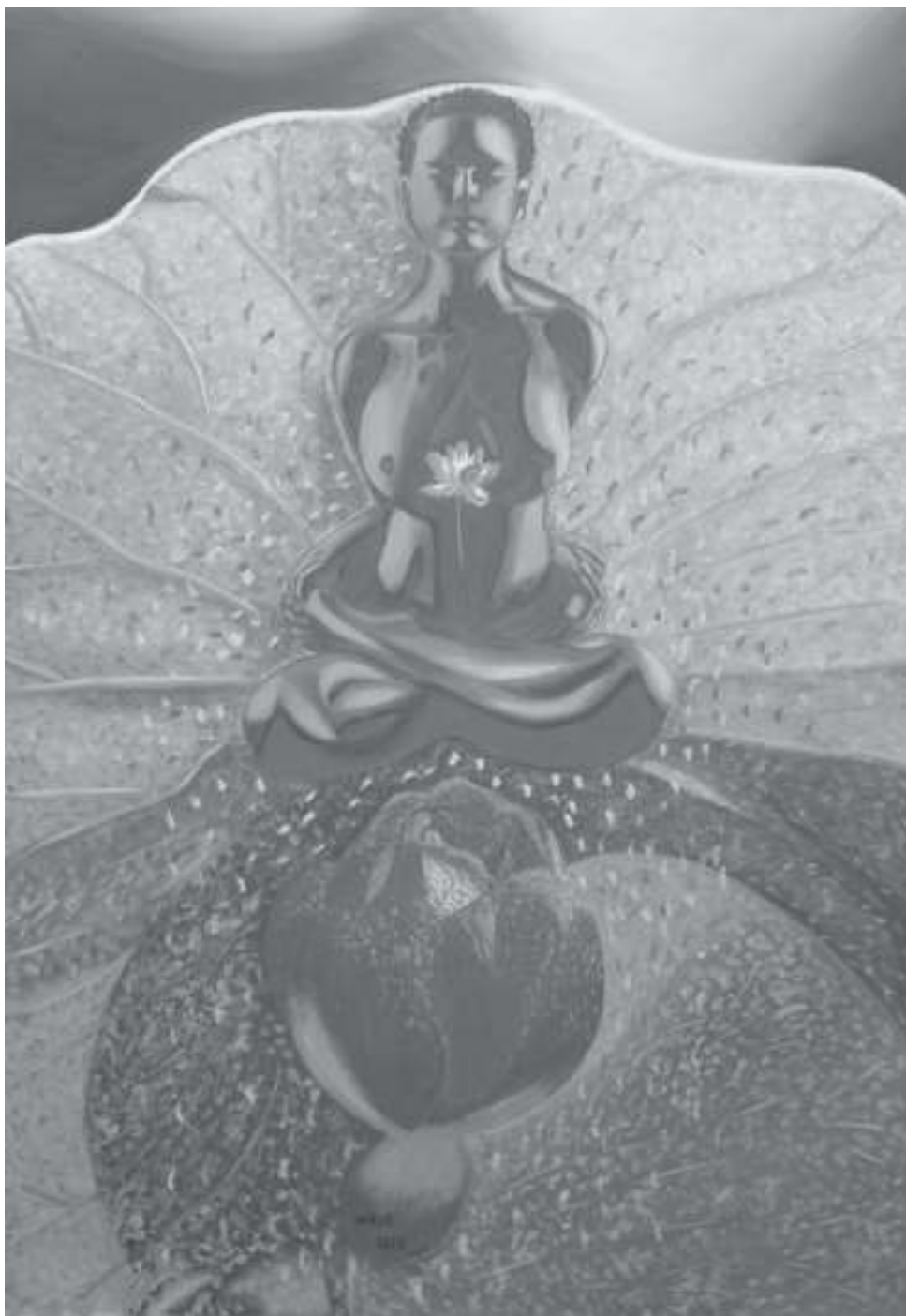
Figure1.《坤腹生莲》（140×200cm，2007年，布面油画）。无念进入先天昆屯状态，身心一体，神气内聚之后，丹土腹中会自然出现莲花 'Female Belly Lotus' (140×200cm, 2007, Oil on canvas), the unity of body and heart, which can get into a condition ofinnocent as a child, therefore, the lotus will appear naturally.

Figure2.《 胎息》（ 150×120cm， 2007年，布面油画） 。胎息是人生最根本的保险，它能自己启动'开关'，进行'充电'。不用你想胎息，是胎息在烧你 'Breathing like a baby' (150×120cm， 2007, Oil on canvas).Breathing like a baby is the ultimate insurance of life; it just likes a 'switch' and brings body energy.

Figure 3.《 老子》（ 120×100cm， 2011年，布面油画） 。老子是一把最伟大的钥匙，他可以打开所有生命中的锁 'Lao- zi' (120×100cm， 2011,Oil on canvas). Lao-ziis the greatest key to open the lock of life.

Figure 4.《 西王母》（ 120×100cm，2011年，布面油画）。西王母是元神的根祖。元神归位 就可以破译多劫的信息 'Queen Mother of the West', (120×100cm, 2011, Oil on canvas).She is the root of primordial spirit. When find the primordial spirit, people can know their Samsara information.

10   HAN'S TEACHING

Han's teaching is based on her book *NeizaiXiaohaiJieDaodejing*andher own experiences about the Golden Elixir[1]. According to her record of blog, many people who attend her teaching have different feelings about the energy of 'Dao', for instance, breathing like a baby or third eye opened.

   In the interview with Han in February, 2013, she told me that there is no teaching fee as long as people buy her one of her paintings with 8100 RNB (£810) and the student can repeat the course with no further charge. But according to the information I got in her recent teaching on April in Wuhan, Hubei province, the leaners have to pay an extra fee around 6000 RNB (£600) for the courses. The teaching is normally one or two days on the base of the different Daodejing Art Gallery around China.

   She also advocates that her teaching can help people to be rejuvenation and obtain the Golden Elixir without meditation or Daoist practices. Some women went for the course with the desire to look younger than their age while some are eager to obtain the 'Golden Elixir'' from listening her teaching without self-practice.

11   DAODEJING ART GALLERIES ALL OVER CHINA

The first Daodejing Art Gallery launched in Beijing in 2011. In 2012, there were three profit Daodejing Art Galleries were founded in China, in where Mt. Mao (Jiangsu province), Shijiazhuang (Hebei province) and Shandong province. Another three have been founded in Beijing'sShenyu Museum, Changchun Daoist Temple in Wuhan and DehuiTang inHuanggan, Wuhanin 2013, which are non-profit making organizations. Another two Guande Tang in Hangu guan, Shan'anxi province and LvgongCi in Yongle Gong, Shanxi province will be opened soon as mentioned in her blog.As Han claims that these art galleries are for public welfare with her donation of the copy of Daoist

paintings in each gallery. The galleries are free open to the public and used as the place for her Daoist teaching. Her goals for launching the art gallery around the country are to promote the essence of 'Dao' and benefit the individuals who go to see the exhibition.Han advocates her paintings have 'energy' and are beneficial to people for their practices. As she said on her blog that under she and her partner Zhang's guidance, the people who purchased her expensive original paintings got into 'emptiness' and feel the 'essence' of body very fast.

Her paintings have been used as calendars, postcards before and in the end of the year 2012, she has been invited by the Post Office of China to use her paintings as stamps in the 'Hundred YearMasters' Painting and Calligraphy Stamps Album of China'. It has been published on the 2013 New Year and the price is 180 RNB (£18). To memorize Chairman Mao Zedong's 120 birthdays (as Mao was born in 26th, December, 1893) in 2013, Han's work and the other nine cultural masters' art work were approved to publish as stamps album which costs 410 RNB (41 pounds).

12   CRITIQUES OF HER TEACHINGS

Many people doubt that it is expensive to participant her course. Only people who buy at least one of her print of paintings (8100 RNB/each) can go for the lessons and with an extra fee 6000RNB (600 pounds) but can take the course repeatedly without limits. When some average people who cannot afford the picture and the course asked how to take her lessons, Han replied that they can take the non-profit speeches.

In another famous traditional culture promoter Chen Quanlin's[2] blog, he revealed that a rich businessman has purchased Han's original painting with the price more than 700,000 RNB (70,000 pounds). When the person regretted to buy the painting, he/she was afraidof returning because when he/she bought it, Han and her partner Zhang have very likely threatened the person according to Chen.

In the launch of the Hangu Guan Daodejing Art Gallery in Henan province, Han wrote that the Mayor of city Lingbao (which is the administration of Hangu Guan) went to her teaching. She was very delighted that this official has agreed to corporate with her to build the Daodejing Art Gallery. At the same time, a rich business man contributed to 100,000 RNB (£10,000) to financially support the gallery.

13   A DISCUSSION OF HAN'S PHENOMENON

As many scholars argue that in this traditional Chinese cultural revival the government has played a prominent role. In Han's case, her partings have been selected as one of the ten cultural master's art work to make the stamps album to memorise the 120 birth day of Mao Zedong. Han's painting, combining art with Daoist culture, reflects a trend of Daoist promotion in contemporary China. This example is consistent with Bell (2008)'s argument that the CCP is trying to blend the traditional Chinese culture with the socialist ideology. Also this tendency shows they government tries to embrace the tradition and create the Chinese identity (Billioud, 2007; Ai, 2009; Bell, 2010). Different from the Confucianism, Daoism, as a main both religion and philosophy existing in China for more than 2000 years, although not claimed by the ruling class as the major philosophical basis, Daoism has deep influence on the literati's value and as one of the major Chinese religion with a large number of believers in China. Since Han has won the trust and appraised by the CCP, it reflects the CCP has also paid attention on the Daosit revival to serve the aims of political and ideological making for the Chinese state(Smith, 1991; Dirlik, 1997; Vermander, 2009). Han's paintings have been printed as the stamps to memorise Mao Zedong 120 Birthday and to represent the cultural achievement of the contemporary artists.

On the other hand, the local city Lingbao supported the launch of Daodejing Art gallery is again show the function of the local government in this revival; however, the motivation should be taken into consideration carefully. As Han mentioned that the reason why the local state likes to help building the gallery is a huge 'Daoist theme cultural exhibition area' will be built in the near future to attract tourists. So this gallery may help to bring more people to see the visitHangu Guan and motivate the local economic growth. A close relation between the money-making and the tradition revival shall be taken into further analysis.

From the introduction of Han's teaching and painting, 'money' has drawn people's attention. If one is desire to take the Daoist teaching from Han, purchasing a copy of her original painting (£810) is

compulsory and a fee (£600) is also necessary. In addition, according to Han's explanation, her original paintings have high 'energy' as well as with the price of more than £70,000. And people who afford the original painting will receive her and her partner Zhang's special guidance, which means wealth, can purchase the 'Daoist teaching and special services from the master Han'. As a result, a question appears that this Daoism revival is a 'real' form of tradition revival or a new form of consumerism in contemporary China.

Current argumentation on the Chinese cultural revival has pointed on the Chinese state tries to reconcile the Marxism ideology with the traditional culture to make the new state ideology. In the process of the cultural heritage making, heritage tourism has both promote the Chinese identity (the traditional culture) and money making. In the example of Han, her paintings with both the value of tangible and intangible heritage have brought the financial profits for her and also benefited to the future and local economic development with the support from the local state.

ENDNOTES

[1] 'Modern studies usually refer to the Chinese arts of the elixirs as *waidan* (external alchemy) or *neidan* (internal alchemy), but the authors of alchemical texts often call their tradition the Way of the Golden Elixir (*jindanzhidao*). Gold (*jin*) represents the state of constancy and immutability beyond the change and transiency that characterize the manifested world. As for *dan*, or "elixir," lexical analysis shows that the semantic field of this term — which commonly denotes a variety of red — evolves from a root-meaning of "essence," and that its connotations include the reality, principle, or true nature of an entity, or its most basic and significant element, quality, or property'(http://www.goldenelixir.com/publications/eot_jindan.html).

[2] Chen Quanlin, the editor of Magazine' YishengWenhua', he started the magazine since 2001 independently, which means his magazine is completely independent from the government. Chen's goal is to promote traditional Chinese culture in populace or in a grassroots level.

REFERENCES

Ai, J. (2009). *Two sides of one coin: the party's attitude toward Confucianism in contemporary China.*

Ashiwa, Y. (2000). Dynamics of the Buddhist Revival Movement in South China: State, Society, and Transnationalism. *Hitotsubashi journal of social studies*, 32(1): 15-31.

Ashiwa, Y. & Wank, D.L. (2006). The Politics of a Reviving Buddhist Temple: State, Association, and Religion in Southeast China. *The Journal of Asian Studies*, 65(2); 337-359.

Bell, D. (2008). *China's new Confucianism: politics and everyday life in a changing society.* Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.

Bell, D.A. (2010). Reconciling Socialism and Confucianism?: Reviving Tradition in China. *Project MUSE*, 57(1).

Billioud, S. (2007). Confucianism," cultural tradition" and official discourses in China at the start of the new century. *China perpectives*, (2007/3).

Chau, A.Y. (2005a). *Miraculous response: doing popular religion in contemporary China.* Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press.

Chau, A.Y. (2005b). The politics of legitimation and the revival of popular religion in Shaanbei, North-Central China. *Modern China*, 31(2): 236-278.

Dean, K. (2011). Local Ritual Traditions of Southeast China: a Challenge to Definitions of Religion and Theories of Ritual. In F. Yang & G. Lang, eds. *Social Scientific Studies of Religion in China: Methodology, Theories, and Findings*. Leiden, The Netherland: Brill Academic Pub.

Dirlik, A. (1997). *The postcolonial aura: Third World criticism in the age of global capitalism.* Westview Press Boulder, CO.

Gates, H. (1991). Eating for revenge: Consumption and corruption under economic de-reform. *Dialectical Anthropology*, 16(3-4): 233-249.

Henderson, J.C. (2007). Communism, Heritage and Tourism in East Asia. *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 13(3): 240-254.

Inglehart, R. & Baker, W.E. (2000). Modernization, Cultural Change, and the Persistence of Traditional Values. *American Sociological Review*, 65(1): 19-51.

Lai, C.-T. (2003). Daoism in China Today, 1980-2002. *The China Quarterly*, (174): 413-427.

Law, P.-L. (2005). The revival of folk religion and gender relationships in rural China: A preliminary observation. *Asian folklore studies*, pp. 89-109.

Li, C. (2001). Diversification of Chinese entrepreneurs and cultural pluralism in the reform era. *Chinese Political Culture: 1989-2000*, p. 219.

Light, D. (2000). Gazing on communism: Heritage tourism and post-communist identities in Germany, Hungary and Romania. *Tourism Geographies*, 2(2): 157-176.

Light, D. (2001). Facing the future': Tourism and identity-building in post-socialist Romania. *Political Geography*, 20(8): 1053-1074.

Light, D. (2007). Dracula tourism in Romania Cultural identity and the state. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 34(3): 746-765.

Lin, M. & Galikowski, M. (1999). *The search for modernity: Chinese intellectuals and cultural discourse in the post-Mao era*. Palgrave MacMillan.

Liu, K. (1996). Is There an Alternative to (Capitalist) Globalization? The Debate about Modernity in China. *boundary 2*, 23(3): 193-218.

Louie, K. (2011). Confucius the Chameleon: Dubious Envoy for "Brand China". *boundary 2*, 38(1): 77-100.

Madsen, R. (2011). Religious renaissance in China today. *Journal of Current Chinese Affairs*, 2: 17-42.

Makeham, J. (2008). *Lost soul:" Confucianism" in contemporary Chinese academic discourse*. Harvard Univ Council on East Asian.

Ong, A. & Nonini, D. (1996). *Ungrounded empires: The cultural politics of modern Chinese transnationalism*. London and New York: Routledge.

Smith, A.D. (1991). *National identity*. USA: University of Nevada Press.

Vermander, B. (2009). Religious revival and exit from religion in contemporary China. *China Perspectives*, 2009(4): 4-15.

Yan, H. & Bramwell, B. (2008). Cultural tourism, ceremony and the state in China. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 35(4): 969-989.

Yu, T. (2008). The revival of Confucianism in Chinese schools: a historical-political review. *Asia Pacific Journal of Education*, 28(2): 113-129.

Zhao, S. (2004). *A nation-state by construction: Dynamics of modern Chinese nationalism*. California: Stanford University Press.

Zhongyun, Z. (1987). The Relationship of Chinese Traditional Culture to the Modernization of China: An Introduction to the Current Discussion. *Asian Survey*, 27(4): 442-458.

(sina collection http://collection.sina.com.cn/famous/hanjingying/index.shtml)

Audio Guide V2.0 – a new technology and culture

Ferenc Kiss
Budapest College of Communication and Business; Foundation for Information Society, Budapest, Hungary

ABSTRACT: As touristic development projects result in attraction changes affecting the layers of tourists, the information system for them also requires amendments to stay up-to-date. Museum presentations are also changing, as it could be seen in Professor Sergio Lira's audio guide article in 2011. Providing visitors with equipment can be costly for an institution: it has to be procured, maintained, can be lost, damaged or broken down. In the system we have elaborated, information reaches the visitor through a QR code in several languages. The area of application is very wide: walking trails in nature or in a city, museums and exhibitions. In the proximity of the object to be presented, the QR code is to be displayed. It directs the browser of an everyday cell phone to the data sheet of the attraction. It is appropriate for providing GPS coordinates, readable or narrated guiding. The condition of its application is a cell phone having a camera, internet/wifi, Bluetooth service or a downloading point at a kiosk or visitors' centre. Data traffic prices are getting lower, the code reading software is free and their usage is rapidly increasing. It provides a big quantity of systematically arranged information for the visitor without the work of a multilingual tour guide while the pace and depth of descriptions can be regulated according to the interest of the visitor. Any information (text, picture, sound, video, task) can be presented. It gains the youth for culture. It is not a service bound to a site whereas knowledge can be taken home and preserved.

1 INTRODUCTION

As touristic development projects result in attraction changes affecting the layers of tourists, the information system for them also needs amendments to stay up-to-date. Among other solutions, audio guides have become a standard service in museums, in-door and out-door exhibitions, heritage sites, other touristic sites and attractions, being implemented as infrastructure-like facilities.

The general use case of common audio guide systems for the visitor is followings. The visitor
1. rents a device at the entrance;
2. follows the directing signs or boards and the guidance of the maps of the oral instructions to the next stop;
3. activates the device with the number or identifier of the stops;
4. listen to the audio presentation;
5. starts wandering or follows the path to the next stop or to the exit.
6. returns the device at the exit.

The usage paradigm – as I call it Paradigm Audio Guide 1.0 – is to use a rented device – handheld or hanged on the neck –, the visitor activates the chapters with typing numbers, the device provides mono or stereo audio content – narrative oral presentations, interviews, music, etc. or their combinations – and the local administration/technical staff supports the service.

The use of audio guides requires settled technical, human and information environment:
- set of device for rent by the visitors,
- support staff,
- rental administration,
- cleaning process for health safety reasons,
- reparation service background,
- battery charger system for the device or regular battery replacement,
- a reserve stock of devices for back-up the damaged, lost, stolen ones,
- professional, structured audio guide content,
- direction boards, maps,
- plates with site identifiers or the number of chapters,
- etc.

All of these involve significant investment and service maintenance costs. If a museum or site would like to reduce these costs, it has to examine all the elements of the list above: whether it can be done more effectively or a different paradigm should be used?

2 THE AUDIO GUIDE 2.0 PARADIGM

The development of the handheld mobile devices, especially the mobile phones, navigation systems and computers (palm tops, PDAs, tablets, etc.) – keeping pace with the digital convergence – delivers new platforms and devices in almost every day. The result is that most of the people have at least one mobile phone (see Table 1), and many of them have mobile broadband data access.

Table 1: Mobile service penetration by continents in 2013 (estimated by the end of the year)

	Global	Developed nations	Developing nations	Africa	Arab States	Asia & Pacific	CIS	Europe	The Americas
Mobile cellular subscriptions (millions)	6,835m	1,600m	5,235m	545m	396m	3,547m	476m	790m	1,048m
Per 100 people	96.2%	128.2%	89.4%	63.5%	105.1%	89.7%	169.8%	126.5%	109.4%
Active mobile broadband subscriptions (millions)	2,096m	934m	1,162m	93m	71m	895m	129m	422m	460m
Per 100 people	29.5%	74.8%	19.8%	10.9%	18.9%	22.4%	46.0%	67.5%	48.0%

(Source: ITU2013)

The average life cycle of a mobile phone is 2.5 years and most of the new devices are 'smart phones' having integrated audio, video and data communication tools, many of them with touch screens instead of keyboards. The usage of these devices is very personal and not limited to talks but used as a note pad, texting and emailing system, internet browser, community access point, camera, voice recorder, calendar, data storage, mobile payment device, banking terminal, navigation system, toy, etc. Consequently, there is an establishing new culture of using mobile devices in various innovative ways.

There is a new paradigm built on this base: visitors have an intelligent device and a developing usage culture, that is why the mobiles can serve as audio guide devices delivering multimedia content and almost no staff is needed for the maintenance of this service. Applying this solution, the device rental process, the investment of them, maintenance and support infrastructure as well employment of staff can be avoided. There are two questions evolving: how can the service be implemented and how can the content be developed and maintained?

3 TECHNICAL IMPLEMENTATION ISSUES

In the new audio guide systems information reaches the visitor through a QR code (Quick Response code, see Fig. 1) optionally in various languages. The area of application is very wide: in case we would like to provide information about buildings, plants, natural formations, other touristic sights or any points of interest, the related QR code is to be displayed either on them or at their proximity. It directs the browser of an everyday cell phone to the data sheet of the attraction, it is appropriate for providing GPS coordinates, for readable or narrated guiding as well as for presenting a user's guideline. The QR code is a two dimensional barcode that is capable for coding nearly all types of textual information on printed surfaces. It is made possible by the fact that the QR code is containing a web address closely related to the contents or the image and it directs the user there, bridging the online contents to the offline one. Because of the characteristic squares to be found in the corners of the code –which are also information carriers in a way, too – it is easy to be read and can be captured nearly from all angles (even upside down), making the tool receive a sign to be processed without any problem.

Figure 1: QR code

Condition of the QR code application are a cell phone having a camera, a data network service (internet, wifi or bluetooth) and software on the phone that can interpret the code. Today, even the simple phones have got a camera (at least one (!)), whereas data traffic prices are getting lower and the code reading software can also be downloaded free of charge on nearly all equipment. Consequently, it projects a rapid spreading of QR code usage.
   The condition of operation (any of the following items)
- High speed mobile internet coverage
- A local server (simple PC) + a router situated locally or on a bigger area by the establishment of a wireless internet connection
- Centrally located point for downloading (suggested where there is high speed mobile internet coverage)
- Intelligent kiosk (suggested where there is high speed mobile internet coverage) with wifi or bluetooth service

From the above description, it is easy to see that the tool – primarily developed for touristic purposes – can also be applied in other industrial branches (factories, settlements, traffic), as the contents to be uploaded can be freely selected, the information received is appropriate for preservation and in case of necessity, it can be read or listened at multiple occasions.

4 THE CONTENT BECOMES MULTIMEDIA

Contrasting to the common audio guide devices, the modern mobile appliances can provide full multimedia content, such as pictures, stereo music, animations, video clips and films – the most recent ones even in HD quality. As it is underlined by Professor Sérgio Lira, the value and credibility of the audio guide content can be improved if the original voice of the eyewitnesses, actors, participants or other role players can be integrated into the presentation (Lira, 2011). The new technology can involve good quality photos, pictures and original films as well as innovative navigation among the content: a web browser based service can provide the freedom to go

deep into an interesting topic or find related exhibits, places to see, connected literature, etc. Furthermore, commercial functions can also be integrated, like e.g. ordering a copy of the given painting the visitor is just standing in front of, or buying a concert ticket to the just visited venue for the next evening, etc.

Although the service is originally developed to support a museum, exhibition or a site– as the content can be saved on the mobile devices – it can be shown to friends or can be replayed for remembering. This can increase the number of spectators of the venue or program in a larger audience and can induce further motivation to visit it.

There is another important possibility: the new technology can support people having hearing impairments. The mobile screens can deliver the textual content of the presentation as it appears in the narration, films, etc., so these people can equally be involved into the experience more than ever earlier.

It is easy to update or extend the content of the presentations even with a daily frequency without the exhausting process of uploading the new content to hundreds of devices because every visitor can download the content from the server to their own device during the visit.

5 FURTHER DIRECTIONS

If we want to decrease the required user activity for identifying the place for reaching the next relevant audio guide chapter, the near field communication (NFC) promises a possible solution. This can work with radio waves like the contactless entry cards in the office buildings but nowadays only few mobile devices contain this function y et and it is a problem that the devices should be put really close to the communication point for good performance. If this selectivity/sensitivity question could be solved, this 'touch' can function as the related content downloading process at the same time, so the necessary background infrastructure can become evenmore simple.

Some new phones can already follow the eye track of the user, so the navigation can be more effective and achievable for disabled people.

For the content, there are some good experiments with augmented reality when the mobile screen adds interactive functions to the live camera picture, so the mobile device can be used as special eye glasses with vision dependent information delivery functions. This is a method towards the mobile virtual reality implementations into the physical environment.

6 CONCLUSIONS

The new audio guide systems developed based on paradigm 2.0 have many advantages as compared to the previous generations, such as
- No tool purchase is needed (audio guide tools), everyone can use their own phone, no mending prices, loss or damage of equipment will occur.
- No more multilingual tour guides or extra staffs for information provision are required any more.
- No more device maintenance, rental administration and cleaning staff activity is required any more.
- It gives a great amount of well-arranged information to the user who can listen/read it corresponding to his/her own place and depth of interest.
- Any type of information (text, picture, voice, video, task, quiz etc.) can be made available.
- People having hearing impairment can be serviced.
- Gains the interest of the young generation.
- The service is not fixed to a given site.
- It can be watched/listened to at home again.

Services and solutions based on this paradigm can help us to keep our heritage – as Sérgio Lira said – "not only preserved but vivid". (Lira, 2011)

REFERENCES

International Telecommunication Union (2013). The Facts and Figures of 2013, via Mobithinking. Available at http://mobithinking.com/mobile-marketing-tools/latest-mobile-stats/a#subscribers.

Lira, S. (2011). Voices without faces? The use of human voice in audioguides. In S. Lira, R. Amoêda and C. Pinheiro, eds. *Proceedings of Sharing Cultures 2011 – 2nd International Conference on Intangible Heritage*. Barcelos: Green Lines Institute.

Cooking pot as melting pot. Gastronomy in late classical Athens

Fernando Notario

Universidad Complutense de Madrid, Madrid, Spain

ABSTRACT: Athens was one of the most cosmopolitan places in the fourth century BC, a period marked by the development of a highly refined gastronomy in places such as the tyrannical courts of Sicily or the eastern Persian Empire. The relations Athens shared with these foreign places and the establishment of professional cooks in Athens conveyed a complex process of culinary encounters that crystallised in a gastronomic milieu where food preferences are an integral part in the construction of social and cultural identities. This process of culinary redefinition promoted a strong debate in Athens about the social, political, economic and cultural discourses attached to gastronomy and the culinary practices.

1 INTRODUCTION

One of the most interesting features of food and culinary traditions is the way in which they are integrated in the cultural and social identity of the eaters. Nevertheless, the relationship between food and cultural identities is never a simple one. Taste construction through a process of food preference and rejection can be defined as an individual process where the influence of different contextual circumstances, such as the social structure of power, has a distinct weight (Bourdieu, 2006: 169-198; *cfr.* Mennell, 1985; Fischler, 2001: 91-115).

At the same time, the strong link that bonds food with individual and collective memory conforms a complex mixture of nostalgic or abhorrent remembrances that are deeply integrated in the cultural narratives of the "Self" and the "Other" (Blake, 2001; Kritilakis; Kritilakis, 2001; Sutton, 2001; Contreras Hernández; Gracia Arnáiz, 2005: 215-221). The construction of conscious cultural identities through regional cuisines is a common feature of merging political communities where previous geopolitical identities may be displaced on behalf of a newer one. The acceptance of the culinary diversity on behalf of a wide human group is an important step towards the development of a shared identity, as it can be seen in the deep interplay established between the rising of regional cuisines and national identities in nineteenth century Europe (Csergo, 1999; Montanari, 2004: 75-81). In addition to this, one of the mechanisms through a distinctive social identity can be established in front of the wider community is the social ability of recognising and appreciating foreign foods or foodstuffs that are not a usual part of the culinary grammar (Goody, 1995: 140-141; Fernández-Armesto, 2001: 179-186; Bourdieu, 2006: 185; Montanari, 2004: 19).

On the other hand, the role of local cuisines in the construction of ethnical images of Otherness is hardly overlooked. The way people cook and eat, and their own manners towards food, shapes in a deep fashion how do other individuals with a different gastronomic culture perceive their most apparent traits as if they were extensions of their inner features. The ambiguities that surround the food of the "Other" are usually expressed through commonly widespread urban legends or, as Andrew F. Smith pointed out, some sort of "culinary fakelore" that helps to convey negative stereotypes towards specific nations, cultures, races, religions or social groups (Smith, 2001: 256). In more specific contexts, the culinary disencounters may represent a direct cultural confrontation between different human populations and can recreate the unequal relationships that are maintained between a dominant social group and the dominated one (Matthey, 1989; Montanari, 2004: 23-26; Rowley, 2008: 298-303).

These opposite extremes of acceptance and rejection leave, however, a wide space in between that can be conveniently analysed when we examine the culinary interactions between the different cuisine traditions that can be found in a multicultural society. Maybe the most relevant of the reactions towards these culinary encounters is the establishment of a "middle-grounded" cuisine, where traditional culinary processes with different origins are juxtaposed and melted together in a new gastronomic grammar. This new culinary grammar is full of cultural significances that aren´t exclusive of any of the gastronomic traditions with whom the "middle-grounded" cuisine is constructed. Indeed, as many other "middle-grounded" constructs, these new recipes and forms of cooking and consuming food develop a new and specific symbolical meaning on behalf of the social agents that make use of them (White: 1991). As several studies have pointed out, one of the major features of nowadays-western culinary culture is the emergence of a wide "middle-grounded" cuisine where the individual traits of the previous gastronomic traditions are blend together, even when there are undeniable subjacent patterns related with inhered forms of food preparation and consumption (Fischler, 1999; 2001: 172-180; Scholliers, 2009). The new gastronomic trends can be seen in the emergence of ethnic and fast food restaurants that offer a wide range of "unfamiliar" foods and recipes to their customers. The consolidation of these new "middle-grounded" cuisine and filo-ethnic tastes reflect the articulation of a multicultural society prone to embrace the gastronomic variety its cosmopolite nature can offer, but it also arises some short of deep anxiety related with the alleged threat these modes of consumption may impose over the excluding culinary identities of the potential eaters.

In spite of the importance of these culinary processes in the current globalized world, the construction of middle-grounded cuisines is far from being an exclusive contemporary event. A historical analysis of this phenomenon may allow us to understand under a new and deeper light the role of the gastronomic heritage and his ever-going transformation in the construction of shared identities in a multicultural milieu. In this paper, I will focus my attention in the way different culinary traditions found their own way in late classical Athenian gastronomic culture. This process of integration of specific elements of foreign culinary traditions is deeply related with the ideology of culinary practices in Athens as the intangible gastronomic heritage can be manipulated in order to create an exclusive and excluding identity in times of sociopolitical upheaval and distress.

2   ATHENS IN LATE CLASSICAL ERA (FOURTH CENTURY B-C.)

The importance of food as a medium for cultural interaction between different human communities is well attested in many ancient historical contexts, such as in ancient Greek and Phoenician colonization (Sánchez Romero, 2008; Dietler, 2010: 183-256). It is truth, however, that the special conditions for nowadays-cosmopolitan western gastronomic culture aren´t easily found in most preindustrial contexts. Late classical Athens is, nevertheless, a striking exception to this general rule, and its rather complex gastronomic culture allow us to study the way these culinary encounters were developed in this city. In addition to this, the extremely deep political culture of democratic Athens, that permeates almost all the facets of the Athenian way of living, enables us to analyze the profound ideological and identity meanings of these melting culinary traditions.

Although this is not the place for writing about the capital place of Athens in late classical Greek context (for which, in general: Lewis *et al.*, 1994; Tritle, 1997; Buckler, 2003; Buckler; Beck, 2008), some aspects must be bore in mind for the correct understanding of the Athenian situation in this period. First of all, it should be underlined the political importance of Athens in Greek politics. Even if Athens lost a great part of her political weight in the immediate aftermath of the Peloponnesian War, in the last years of

the fifth century B.C., she was able to rebuild some short of direct authority over several Greek communities in the first half of the fourth century B.C. (Cargill, 1981; 1995). This hegemonic position secured Athenian position until the rising of Macedonia under the government of Philip II and his son Alexander III (also known as "Alexander the Great"). Athenian political system in late classical period, until its ultimate exhaustion due to inner and foreign pressure, is defined as a democracy. Although there are many institutional resemblances and continuations between the radical and imperialistic democracy of fifth century and the later one, there are some peculiar traits that tried to ensure the political equilibrium between the inner socio-political groups and prevent the emergence of sharp conflicts within the community (Hansen, 1991; Loraux, 2008; Sancho Rocher, 2009).One of the most interesting features of Athenian democracy is the way in which its ideology permeates a wide range of social practices, customs and habits, providing them with an undeniable political background (Ober, 1989; Cartledge, 1998; Herman, 2006; Schmitt-Pantel, 2006). This ideological background needs to be bore in mind in any analysis of the interplay between food and identity in late classical Athens.

Athens´ position in the politics the eastern Mediterranean is reflected in its exceptional role in the economic fluxes and commercial dynamics of late classical era. Even when the precise number of habitants of Athens in the fourth century BC is far from being clear, several studies argue for high figures that are well beyond the carrying capacity of Athenian territories (Hansen, 1985; 2006; Garnsey, 1988: 86-106; Akrigg, 2011). This seems to be a rather exceptional situation in relation to the general demographic structures of the ancient world, where the rural, self-sufficient communities with few long-term changes are the general rule (Scheidel, 2008). The high dependence Athens had for almost every kind of consumption goods such as grain or timber shaped not only the international trade routes, but also the inner commercial mechanisms and regulations that could favor these economic activities, particularly fragile in pre-capitalist economies (Bissa, 2009; Engen, 2010).

The economic potential of Athens had a direct impact in her population. As Ctesicles, a rather obscure ancient historian, points out, Demetrius of Phalerum, the governor of early Hellenistic Athens, divided a census of inhabitants of Athens in three main categories: Athenian citizens, "slaves" (*oiketai*) and metics (*metoikoi*) (*FGrH* 245 F 1). Although one of the main problems of this census is the precise meaning (if any) of the *oiketai* (O´Sullivan, 2009: 110-111), it is the figure of the metics the one that presents a higher interest for this paper. These were foreign individuals, Greeks and barbarians alike, which were residents of Athens and that, usually, were related with trade and other crafting activities. Even when the existence of particular social practices and ideological traits on behalf of the metics as a defined social group is still a controversial subject in classical studies (Whitehead, 1977; Meyer, 2010), it is undeniable that individuals with specific cultural backgrounds were prone to maintain some peculiar features that reinforced their own distinguished identities. Although religion is the most noticeable area in which these middle grounded identities are performed and reenacted, as it can be seen in the religious celebrations honoring Bendis, Isis and other barbarian deities in the Athenian official religious system (Garland, 1992: 111-114; Mikalson, 1998: 30-31), the daily use of a differenced cuisine is one of the main elements in the support of these identities. As we will see in this paper, maybe it is not by chance that a large part of cooks and professionals of cooking were metics whose exotic cuisine and cooking techniques were perceived as somewhat opposed to the traditional Athenian food.

In short, Athens is in late classical period a cosmopolitan area where individuals of many different origins and with many differentiated social and cultural identities could be found. Nevertheless, even if these cultural encounters could ease the construction of shared identities, it also reveals many anxieties and contradictions in relation with the official democratic ideology and the already established Athenian identity that is constructed through a wide range of discursive and performative mechanisms. The social and individual acceptance or rejection of the new gastronomic trends and foreign cuisines is deeply related with the assumption of an alleged vinculum between Athenian gastronomical heritage and the support of Athenian political system and cultural identity.

3   GASTRONOMIC CULTURE IN LATE CLASSICAL GREECE

The fourth century BC is widely accepted as one of the most relevant periods in the development of a culinary and gastronomic culture in Antiquity. This is due not only to the emergence of new culinary techniques, but also to a substantial change in the social sensibility towards the phenomenon of food and

cookery and its integration in the mechanisms of social identity and distinction (Dalby, 1996a: 113-129; Bober, 1999: 123-143).

One of the most interesting aspects of this valorization of gastronomy is the emergence of specific literary genres related with the consumption and preparation of food. Even when the circumstances of wine and food consumption were a major theme in Greek literature since the Homeric poems (Sherrat, 2004; García Soler, 2010), it is not until late classical period when we can find a real gastronomic literature. Maybe the work of the poet Archestratos of Gela, whose poem entitled *Hedipatheia* or "The art of good-living" had a great success in late classical Greek world, is the one that defines in a more precise way the character and nature of this newtype of literature (*Shell* F 132-192; Dalby, 1996b; Olson; Sens, 2000). Nevertheless, the first great "best-seller" of the gastronomic literary genre was, apparently, the *Dinner Party* of Philoxenus, where it was made a lengthy description of the aristocratic banquets that were prepared in the court of the tyrant of Syracuse, Dionysius I, in the first decades of the fourth century BC (*PMG* F 836a-e; Dalby, 1987). The quick spread of this literary genre is at the same time a cause and a symptom of the new sensibility towards food and cuisine and of the progressive introduction of the refined social practices related with food in the mechanisms of social distinction in a period where there isn´t a unique reference for defining social hierarchies (Azoulay, 2007).

Besides from this gastronomic poetry, the entanglement between food and literature is also present in the emergence of the first Greek cookbooks at the beginnings of the fourth century BC. Cookbooks are hardly perceived as relevant elements of the history of literature, although they present a deep interest for the study of past mentalities regarding the social and cultural background of food preparation and consumption (Goody, 1995: 249-250; Montanari, 2004: 35-41). In the concrete case of early Greek cookbooks, there are some features that should be bore in mind to fully understand their significance. First of all, it must be noted that these cookbooks have a pure gastronomic nature, and unlike other collections of recipes and ritual manipulation of food, they don´t have any peculiar medicinal or religious background. In second place, as Andrew Dalby have argued (1996a: 110), the language of the few preserved fragments of Greek cookbooks is highly technical, and it is very likely that it reflex a conscious development of a precise culinary language unrelated with the everyday one. Finally, it is interesting to remember that, even if the recipes collected in cookbooks usually don´t enter in confrontation with the traditional gastronomic heritage, they present a distinguished and luxurious cuisine that is somewhat foreign to the everyday way of living of the greater part of the population (Van der Veen, 2003).

The development of this gastronomic literature helps also to affirm the concept of regional food and cuisine as it objectifies the main features of local culinary traditions around the Mediterranean basin. In general terms, the concept of regional cuisine is defined not only in terms of the use of peculiar foodstuffs and cooking techniques, but also because of the way foreign observers perceive the way local communities maintain a peculiar attitude towards food and the discourses they construct around it. Although it is not possible to deal in detail with the regional cuisines somewhat identified by late classical writers, we could point out at least four regional Greek cuisines that had an especial influence in Attic gastronomic culture (Wilkins, 2000: 275-290; Notario, 2012: 362-365). Maybe the most important of the regional cuisines that are perceptible in fourth century BC is the Sicilian one. The development of solid personal governments in the city of Syracuse accelerated the role of food as a mechanism for the materialization of the rather abstract socio-political hierarchies in the tyrannical courts of the two Dionysius, a process whose origins can be carried back to the previous Deinomenid tyranny. The deep relationship that existed in Syracuse between the enjoyment of a distinguished food and the exhibition of a high socio-political status is one of the reasons of the rising of cultural productions related with food and cuisine. It is not, then, by mere chance that gastronomic poetry, professional cookbooks and other fine arts somewhat related with delicious foodstuffs, such as the well-known fish-plates, find a peculiar development in Sicily and, in a more specific way, in the city of Syracuse (Wilkins, 2000: 312-368). This way, western Greeks were perceived as exquisite gourmets whose main interest in life was to achieve culinary perfection, a cultural trait that, in Greek collective imagination, connected them with other slavish people, such as the Persians (Collin-Bouffier, 2000; Gorman; Gorman, 2007; Notario, 2011). Although it is not possible to reconstruct in a complete way the peculiar characteristics of Sicilian cuisine, there are some references to specific flavors and scents that allow us to retain some features of it, such as the common use of strong condiments of foreign origin, such as silphium, when roasting fish (*SHell* F 176).

The insularity of Sicily and Magna Graecia could have potentiated the distinguished feeling of its local cuisine, although also in mainland Greece there could be found other peculiar regional cuisines that were

seen as playing an important role in the gastronomic dynamics of late classical Athens. The Peloponnese was almost never seen as a place whose traditional cuisine could be appreciated in any especial way, except for the area of Elis, where the proximity of the great sanctuary of Olympia had a direct impact in the development of culinary techniques more or less related with the cuisine of sacrifice (Detienne; Vernant, 1979). It is widely accepted that animal sacrifice constitutes one of the most relevant aspects of ancient Greek religion. Even when the sacrifice of cattle is the preferred way of honoring the gods on behalf of a political community, the sacrifice of smaller animals, such as pigs, have a much more relevant role in the individual religious rites (Clinton, 2005). According with some Athenian sources, the culinary skill of the Elean cooks regarding pig recipes was unmatched, a feat that is usually linked with the importance of the nearby sanctuary(Antiph. *PCG* F 233; Epicr. *PCG* F 6).Sparta, also in the Peloponnese, was mostly renown because of her highly nourishing meat recipes, suitable for the famous Spartan way of live, although they were almost never seen as particularly good or appreciated beyond the narrow horizons of the Laconian city. The only Spartan recipe that it seems that became somewhat renowned was the *mattye* or *epaikla*, a game-meat dish that was served at the end of the banquets and that could have influenced in some degree Athenian late classical gastronomic culture (*FGrH* 590 F 2c; Menipp. fr. II: 245 Riese).

In the northern regions of the mainland Greece there were other regional cuisines that had a direct impact in late classical Athens, especially after the Macedonian authority was imposed in the final decades of fourth century BC. The cuisine of Thessaly was perceived as especially delicious, and as in the case of the western populations, the allegedly joy for food shaped the way other Greeks perceived the Thessalians (Ath. X, 418c-e; *FGrH* 115 F 49; Critias 88 B 31 D-K). Meat recipes seemed to be predominant in Thessalian cuisine, and Thessalians even had a specific way of cutting meat in greater pieces than with the usual cuts in other parts of the Greek world (Philetaer. *PCG* F 10; Hermipp. *PCG* F 42).Besides the Laconian *mattye*, there was also a Thessalian one, and it hada great success in Athens. If the recipe of this dish wrote by the grammarian Artemidorus is representative of Thessalian cuisine, it is possible that the combination of meat, cooked vegetables and other acid seasonings, such as vinegar or green grapes juice, formed the basis of this culinary tradition (Ath. XIV, 663d-e).

Finally, the last one of the regional cuisines that had a direct influence in Attic gastronomic culture was the Ionian one, related with the coastal areas of Asia Minor and the Aegean islands. The relationship between the Ionians and the eastern civilizations, such as the Lydians, was a complex one, and the mutual influences can be seen in several areas, such as in the clothing style or in other social practices. Cuisine is, precisely, one of the most interesting examples of cultural interaction between these populations, and Ionian cuisine is usually perceived as a variation of the much more refined and luxurious Lydian one (Dalby, 1996a: 162-167; Harvey, 1996). It seems that the basis of this local cuisine is the elaboration of spicy meat sauces that were considered delicious and somewhat exotic in Athens. Two dishes were particularly appreciated, the *kandaulos*, a meat and cheese sauce seasoned with aniseed (Ath. XII, 516d; Wilkins; Hill, 2006: 278; Lugo, 2010, 78-79), and the *karyke*, another sauce that was typical of this regional cuisine, but that was soon enjoyed in other places of mainland Greece, such as in Delphi (*TrGF* 20 F 12; García Soler, 2001: 371). According to Athenaeus of Naucratis, *karyke* was so popular that no less than 18 cookbooks contained recipes for cooking it (Ath. XII, 516c).

4   ATHENIAN CUISINE IN LATE CLASSICAL PERIOD

Athens was, as I have briefly exposed in the second section of this paper, one of the main economic and cultural centers of classical Greek history. Already at the end of fifth century BC an anonymous pamphleteer commonly known as "The Old Oligarch" complained about the way Athenians adopted foreign delicacies due to their naval hegemony, something he perceived as a danger to the purity of traditional Athenian identity ([X.] II, 7-8).This process of culinary interaction is strengthened in the next century, mainly due to the developed Athenian market economy and the new trends in gastronomic culture that were previously commented, although, as in the case of the Old Oligarch, there are many individuals and social groups that maintain some caution towards this phenomenon.

The introduction of gastronomic literature in Athens seems to be quite early, as some comic writers whose plays are mainly placed in the first half of fourth century BC speak of gastronomic books as if they were something like a "best-seller" phenomenon. In one of the preserved fragments of the comic poet Plato, the *Dinner Party* of Philoxenus was brought in the stage on behalf of one of the characters (*PCG* F

189) while in other theater play Antiphanes mocked the peculiarity of its language (*PCG* F 207). The popularity of this kind of poetry did not fall in the whole late classical period. The work of Archestratos is also seen in later comic stage on behalf of Dionysus the comic (*PCG* F 2) and, at the same end of this period, the philosopher Aristotle wrote that he couldn´t stand those who tried to address the people but had never read anything besides the *Dinner Party*, and not even the whole of it (Ath. I, 6d).At the same time, the spread of professional cookbooks is notable in the book markets of Athens. Apparently the first famous recipe book was the one wrote by Mithaikos of Syracuse, a celebrated cook that traveled around Greek mainland Greece in the first decades of fourth century BC (Wilkins; Hill, 1996). The philosopher Plato, who, generally speaking, had a great distrust towards refined gastronomy, argued that the recipes compiled in this cookbook were pleasant to the body, but not good for it (*Grg.* 518b-c). In some sources it is clearly stated that the greater part of the cookbooks writers and readers were professional cooks that compiled old recipes while researched new dishes, flavors and textures (Antiph. *PCG* F 221; Bato *PCG* F 4), although in some occasions it seems that there was a wider public formed by connoisseurs and gastronomic aesthetes (Alex. *PCG* F 140). The importance of these cookbooks and gastronomic literature in the transformation of Athenian attitudes towards food cannot be easily denied. On the one hand, they conveyed the introduction of foreign recipes, such as the *kandaulos* described by Hegessippus of Tarentum (Ath. XII, 516d), in Athenian gastronomic horizons, while, on the other, they helped the introduction of gastronomic connoisseurship among the symbolic capital of Athenian elites with whom distinguished social identities are enacted and recreated (Duplouy, 2007; Schmitt Pantel, 2006).

The increasing presence of metic professional cooks in late classic Athens is another main factor in the construction of the new culinary encounters (Berthiaume, 1982: 71-78; Wilkins, 2000: 384-410; García Soler, 2008; 2011). Even when there are some references to Ionian and Elian cooks specialized in cooking spicy sauces and roasted pigs (Epicr. PCG F 6; Timocl. *PCG* F 39), the Sicilian cooks are those who receive a major attention as the perfect example of the professionals of an exotic, delicious and luxurious cuisine (Alex. *PCG* F 24; Antiph. *PCG* F 90; Cratin.Iun. *PCG* F 1). The influx of foreign cuisine is apparent not only in the hiring of native cooks, but also in the development of a middle-grounded cuisine where different culinary styles are reinvented while maintaining some short of symbolic vinculum with their original culinary tradition. The objectification of culinary styles is an accomplished fact in some classical sources, such as one fragment of one comedy of Ephippus where a professional cook asks his employer if he should prepare a dish "Sicilian-style" (*PCG* F 22). In other occasions, nevertheless, these culinary encounters aren´t recognized as such, although the influence of foreign cuisines in the Athenian one is patent in some dishes. This is the case, for example, of one mackerel recipe presented by Alexis that shares many similarities with the typical preparation of fishes of Sicilian cuisine (*PCG* F 138; *cfr.SHell* F 176).

These gastronomic innovations present a sharp contrast with the traditional Athenian cuisine, or at least in with the type of cuisine that is self-perceived as symbolically most important in the identity discourses of the democratic city. Among the discursive mechanisms that strengthen the democratic identity, one of the most persistent is the one that underlines gastronomicausterity as a sign of acceptance of the democratic socio-political order (Davidson, 1997: 3-35; Wilkins, 1997). Athenian cuisine was allegedly very simple, a feature that was determined by the lack of appetite of the Athenians, an identity feature that was emphasized when there was a comparison between them and other Greeks (Notario, 2011: 366-368). The traditional foodstuffs of Athens are usually seen with some short of "country innocence" that reinforces the ideology attached to them. Simple foods such as figs, honey or different types of bread are the particular "totem-food" of Athens, as Barthes would put it (1957: 74-79), and they conform the staple elements of Athenian diet and the foundations of the gastronomic identity of the city (Alex. *PCG* F 122; Antiph. *PCG* F 174; 177; Eub.*PCG* F 74). The culinary simplicity of Athens is seen as particularly appropriate for the free citizens that compound the*demos*, who, more in theory than in practice, were the masters of the *polis*, while the exquisite delicacies are suitable for the depraved philo-oligarchs (Antiph. *PCG* F 181).

Nevertheless, it is interesting to point put that even when Athenian identity discourse emphasizes this culinary simplicity, there is a great division between those who are seen as ill-mannered countrymen, who maintain a somewhat coarse taste, and the austere but refined habitants of Athens. The greater differences lye in the realm of the social practices of consumption, as the rustics are usually comically missing the point of the polite Athenian manners (Anaxandr. *PCG* F 1; Anaxil. *PCG* F18; Antiph. *PCG* F 27; Strato.Com. *PCG* F 1; Philaeter. *PCG* F 18; Thphr. *Char.* IV, 1; Gallo, 1989). Athenian modes of con-

sumption maintained some specific characteristics linked with this theoretical gastronomic austerity when compared with other serving habits that were more common in the Greek world. Instead of serving individual rations, in Athens it was far more common to serve several little plates with different foods in them, something that intensified the commensal facet of Athenian banquets and the equality of the eaters, although other Greeks commonly saw it as a mean-spirited way of serving food (Eub. *PCG* F 9; 11; Lync.*PCG* F 1).The gradual introduction of foreign table manners is parallel to the acceptance of the new gastronomic styles (Alex. *PCG* F 216; 263), and they reflect a change in the symbolic hierarchy that exist between the assistants to a feast as the theoretical symmetry of the participants is replaced by the authority the host has over the commensals through the administration of the banquet. At the same time, the codification of the increasingly complex table manners in specific treaties on the topic is symptomatic ofits use in the construction of distinguished identities on behalf of some social groups in front of the rest of the political community (Nadeau, 2010: 123-136).

The familiarity with both these exotic foods and the appropriate table manners become one of the core practices that definedthe social identity of some particular groups within Athenian democracy, while other individuals kept their respect for the traditional Athenian gastronomy with a strange mixture of proud and anxiety. The philosopher Plato, for example, was one of the most passionate detractors of the new gastronomic style (Romeri, 2002: 89-103; Wilkins; Hill, 2006: 195-197), while a great part of the best-known politicians of late classical Athens were perceived as delicate gourmets that could spend huge amounts of money in feasts and banquets (Davidson, 1997: 213-277). The acceptance or rejection of the new gastronomic attitudes wasn´t immediately defined by the socio-economic status of the eaters, as members of the same elitist groups maintainedopposite attitudes towards food, although it is clear that the pleasure of exotic dishes was restricted to some exclusive social groups. At the same time, there wasn´t any significant link between individual political choices and distinguished attitudes towards food and gastronomy. In spite of the integration of food and cuisine in the democratic *kosmos*, democratic and pro-Macedonian politicians alike were prone to gastronomic excesses that alienated them from the everyday experiences of the *demos*. This is something that is clearly expressed in many comic fragments that pointed out the food extravagance of these elitist eaters, something that was seen as a clear symptom of their corruption. The opposing figures of the democratic orator Hyperides and the pro-Macedonian politician Callimedon are, maybe, the most interesting examples of the community of eating practices and gastronomic sensibilities within the Athenian ruling elite, as well as of the unsympathetic regards they receive for this unpopular behavior (Ath. III, 100c-104d; *DSA Suppl*. I, F 68a 2; Plu. *Moralia*, 848e-f; Timocl.*PCG* F 4; 17; 57).

5 CONCLUSIONS

The interaction between gastronomy, social and cultural identities is, then, a complex one, especially in cosmopolitan contexts, such as late classical Athens. First of all, regional and ethnic cuisines convey and embody distinguished identities, as they recreate the particular features of social groups that share only a moderate cultural background with the community in which they live. In late classical Athens that can be seen in specific metic groups that are perceived as having particular shocking attitudes towards food, such as the Egyptians. For example, on occasion of the building of a temple for the goddess Isis circulated some jokes around Egyptian culture, and many of them dealt with their food taboos and the contrast between Athenian and Egyptian cuisine (Anaxandr. *PCG* F 40; Antiph. *PCG* F 145; Timocl. *PCG* F 1). The contrast between the different ways of eating is present also in the case of foreign Greek populations, such as the Boeotians, which are usually seen as terrible gluttons (Alex. *PCG* F 239; Demonic. *PCG* F 1; Eub. *PCG* F 11; 38; Mnesim.*PCG* F 2; 8).The cultural attitudes towards foreign cuisines and its eaters are the other side of the coin of the symbolic meanings with which gastronomic self-perception is constructed. Food is, then, a basic element in the elaboration of centripetal cultural identities within complex communities, not only through the common distribution of food on occasion of feasts and public banquets (Schmitt Pantel, 1992), but also in the shaping of "ethnical" or, more precisely, ideologically shared tastes that become the unmarked place from where further cultural discriminations are established. Thirdly, being not only a sharing experience, but also a highly discriminating one, food is a preferred tool in the management of exclusive social identities within an otherwise homogeneous cultural community. The distinction between a higher (*haute*) and a lower cuisine is a common feature of complex societies, and in this differentiation there is a major role in the way the distinguished cuisine assimilates foreign foods and

recipes as a way of establishing her symbolical superiority. As Massimo Montanari points out (2004: 35-41), *haute cuisine* is characterized by the merging of luxurious ingredients and exotic cooking techniques with traditional foodstuffs and food preparation processes that are relegated in the peculiar grammar that encodes this type of cuisine.

Food, then, is a powerful tool in the acceptance of cultural diversity within complex societies, although it should be noted that it is also an outstanding vehicle for the construction of exclusive identities that can provide further social tension and cultural clashes. The intangibility of the gastronomic heritage marks it as a favored area for ideological and identity manipulation on behalf of specific social groups within a human community. Historical and cultural analysis on the symbolic discourses of food not only allow us to understand the role of food in past societies, but it also can help us to study the way it is used in present times and how can we make it a mechanism for cultural integration, dialogue and acceptance rather than conflict, tension and negative differentiation for the future.

REFERENCES

Akrigg, B. (2011). Demography and classical Athens. In C. Holleran & A. Pudsey, eds. *Demography and the Graeco-Roman world*. pp. 37-59.

Azoulay, V. (2007). Champ intellectuel et stratégies de distinction dans la première moitié du IVe siècle: de Socrate à Isocrate. In J.-C. Couvenhes & S. Milanezi, eds. *Individus, groupes et politique*. pp. 171-199.

Barthes, R. (1957). *Mythologies*, Paris.

Berthiaume, G. (1982) *Les rôles du mágeiros. Étude sur la boucherie, la cuisine et le sacrifice dans la Grèce ancienne*, Leiden.

Bissa, E. M. A. (2009). *Governmental intervention in foreign trade in archaic and classical Greece*. Leiden.

Blake, A. (2001). The language of flavour: learning and memory. In H. Walker, ed. *Food and the memory, Totne*s, pp. 39-48.

Bober, P. R. (1999) *Art, Culture and Cuisine. Ancient and Medieval Gastronomy*. Chicago.

Bourdieu, P. (2006). *La distinción. Criterio y bases sociales del gusto*. Madrid [original edition: 1979].

Buckler, J. (2003). *Aegean Greece in the fourth century BC*. Leiden.

Buckler, J. & Beck, H. (2008). *Central Greece and the politics of power in the fourth century BC*. Cambridge.

Cartledge, P. (1998). Introduction: defining a kosmos. In P. Cartledge, P. Millet & S. von Reden, eds. Kosmos. pp. 1-12.

Clinton, K. (2005). Pigs in Greek rituals. In R. Hägg & B. Alroth eds. *Greek Sacrificial Ritual*. pp. 167-179.

Collin-Bouffier, S. (2000): "La cuisine des grecs d´Occident, symbole d´une vie de tryphè?", Pallas, 52, pp. 195-208.

Contreras Hernández, J. & Gracia Arnáis, M. (2005). *Alimentación y cultura. Perspectivas antropológicas*. Barcelona.

Csergo, J. (1999). The emergence of regional cuisines. In J.-L. Flandrin, M. Montanari, eds. *Food. A culinary history*. pp. 500-515.

Dalby, A. (1987). The banquet of Philoxenus. *Petits propos culinaires*, 26: 28-36.

Dalby, A. (1996a). *Siren Feasts: a history of food and gastronomy in Greece*. New York.

Dalby, A. (1996b). Archestratos, where and when?. In J. Wilkins, D. Harvey & M. Dobson, eds. *Food in antiquity*. pp. 400-412.

Davidson, J. (1997). *Courtesans and Fishcakes: The Consumming Passions of Classical Athens*. London.

Detienne, M.; Vernant, J.-P., eds. (1979) *La cuisine du sacrifice dans le pays grec*. Paris.

Dietler, M. (2010). *Archaeologies of colonialism. Consumption, entanglement and violence in ancient Mediterranean France*. London.

Duplouy, A. (2007). "La cité et ses elites: modes de reconnaissance sociale et mentalité agonistique en Grèce archaïque et classique. In H.-L. Fernoux & C. Stein, eds. *Aristocratie antique*. pp. 57-77.

Engen, D. T. (2010) *Honor and profit. Athenian trade policy and the economy and society of Greece, 415-307 B.C.E.*. Michigan.

Fernández-Arnesto, F. (2004). *Historia de la comida. Alimentos, cocina y civilización, Barcelona* [original edition: 2001].

Fischler, C. (1999). The "McDonaldization" of culture. In J.-L. Flandrin & M. Montanari, eds. *Food. A culinary history*. pp. 530-547.

Fischler, C. (2001). *L'Homnivore*. Paris.

Flandrin, J.-L. & Montanari, M., eds. (1999). *Food. A culinary history from antiquity to the present*. New York [original edition: 1996].

Freedman, P., ed. (2009). *Gastronomía. Historia del paladar*. Valencia [original edition: 2006].

Gallo, L. (1989). Alimentazione urbana e alimentazione contadina nell´ Atene clássica. In O. Longo & P. Scarpi. *Homo edens*. pp. 213-230.

García Soler, M. J. (2001). *El arte de comer en la antigua Grecia*. Madrid.

García Soler, M. J. (2008). El cocinero cómico: maestro de los fogones y de la palabra, *CFC (G)*, 18: 145-158.

García Soler, M. J. (2010). El vino de los héroes homéricos. *ETF(arqueol)*, 1, 3: 107-114.

García Soler, M. J. (2011). Entre lo sagrado y lo profano: la figura del μάγειρος en la antigua Grecia, *ARYS*, 9: 85-98.

Garland, R. (1992). *Introducing new gods. The politics of Athenian religion*. London.

Garnsey, P. (1988). *Famine and food supply in the Graeco-Roman World. Responses to risk and crisis*. Cambridge.

Goody, J. (1995). *Cocina, cuisine y clase social. Estudio de sociología comparada*. Barcelona [original edition: 1982].

Gorman, R. J. & Gorman, V. B. (2007). The Tryphê of the Sybarites: a historiographical problem in Atheaneus. *JHS*, 127: 38-60.

Hansen, M. H. (1985). *Demography and democracy. The number of Athenian citizens in the fourth century B.C*. Herning.

Hansen, M. H. (1991). *The Athenian democracy in the age of Demosthenes*. Oxford.

Hansen, M. H. (2006). *The shotgun method: the demography of the ancient Greek city-state culture*. Columbia.

Harvey, D. (1996). Lydian specialities, Croesus´ golden baking-woman and dog´s dinners. In J. Wilkins, D. Harvet & M. Dobson, eds. *Food in antiquity*. pp. 273-285.

Herman, G. (2006) *Morality and behaviour in democratic Athens. A social history*. Cambridge.

Kritilakis, S. & Kritilakis, L. (2001). The diet of the Greeks: "Genetic" and recent memories. In H. Walker, ed. *Food and the memory, Totnes*, pp. 131-135.

Lewis, D. M., Boardman, J., Hornblower, S. & Ostwald, M., eds. (1994). *The Cambridge ancient history*, VI, 2ª edición. Cambridge.

Longo, O. & Scarpi, P., eds. (1989). *Homo edens. Regimi, miti e pratiche dell´alimentazione nella civiltà del Mediterraneo*. Verona.

Loraux, N. (2008). *La ciudad dividida: el olvido en la memoria de Atenas*. Madrid [original edition: 1997].

Lugo, I. (2010). E*n la mesa del César. Los sabores de la antigüedad mediterránea para gastrónomos de hoy*. Barcelona.

Matthey, P. (1989). Il "milk complex" fra i bantu orientali. In O. Longo & P. Scarpi, eds. *Homo edens*. pp. 49-55.

Mennell, S (1985). *All manners of food. Eating and taste in England and France from the Middle Ages to the Present*. Oxford.

Meyer, E. A. (2010). *Metics and the Athenian phialai-inscriptions. A study in Athenian epigraphy and law*. Stuttgart.

Mikalson, J. D. (1998). *Religion in Hellenistic Athens*. Berkeley.

Montanari, M (2004). *Food is culture*. New York, 2006 [original edition: 2006].

Nadeau, R. (2010). *Les manières de table dans le monde gréco-romain*. Tours.

Notario F. (n.d.). Placeres externos, disgustos internos: percepciones de la alteridad, interacciones gastronómicas y conflictos ideológicos e identitarios en la Atenas del siglo IV a.C.. In C. Del Cerro Linares, G. Mora Rodríguez, J. Pascual González & E. Sánchez Moreno, coords. *Ideología, identidades e interacción*. pp. 357-376.

Notario, F. (2011). Comer como un rey: percepción e ideología del lujo gastronómico entre Grecia y Persai. In J. M. Cortés Copete, E. Muñiz Grijalbo & R. Gordillo Hervás, eds. *Grecia ante los imperios*. pp. 93-106.

O´Sullivan, L. (2009) *The regime of Demetrius of Phalerum in Athens, 317-307 B.C.E. A philosopher in politics*. Leiden.

Ober, J. (1989). *Mass and elite in democratic Athens. Rhetoric, ideology and the power of the people*. Princeton.

Olson, D. S. & Sens, A. (2000). *Archestratos of Gela. Greek culture and cuisine in the fourth century BCE. Text, translation and commentary*. Oxford.

Romeri, L. (2002). *Philosophes entre mets et mots. Plutarque, Lucien et Athénée autour de la table de Platon*. Grenoble.

Rowley, A. (2008). *Una historia mundial de la mesa. Estrategias de paladar*. Gijón [original edition: 2006].

Sánchez Romero, M. (2008). El consumo de alimento como estrategia social: recetas para la construcción de la memoria y la creación de identidades. *CPAG*, 18: 17-39.

Sancho Rocher, L. (2009). *¿Una democracia "perfecta"? Consenso, justicia y demokratía en el discurso político de Atenas (411-322 a.C.)*. Zaragoza.

Scheidel, W. (2008). Demography In W. Scheidel, I. Morris & R. Saller, eds. *The Cambridge economic history of the Greco-Roman world*. Cambridge, pp. 38-86.

Schmitt Pantel, P (1992). *La cité au banquet: histoire des repas publics dans les cités grecques*. Rome.

Schmitt Pantel, P. (2006). Moeurs et identité politique à Athènes au Ve siècle: L´exemple des gouvernants d´après Plutarque. *REA*, 108(1), 79-99.

Scholliers, P. (2009). Novedad y tradición. El nuevo panorama de la gastronomia In P. Freedman, ed. *Gastronomía*. pp. 333-357.

Smith, A. F. (2001). False memories: the invention of culinary fakelore and food fallacies. In H. Walker, ed. *Food and the memory*. Totnes, pp. 254-260.

Sutton, D. E. (2001). *Remembrance of repasts: an anthropology of food and memory*. Oxford.

Tritle, L. A., ed. (1997). *The Greek world in the fourth century. From the fall of the Athenian Empire to the successors of Alexander*. London.

Van der Veen, M. (2003). When is food a luxury?. *World Archaeology*, 34(3): 405-427.

White, R. (n.d.). *The middle ground: indians, empires and republics in the Great Lakes region, 1650-1815*. Cambridge.

Whitehead, D. (1977). *The ideology of the Athenian metic*. Cambridge.

Wilkins, J. (1997). Comic cuisine. Food and eating in the comic polis. In G. W. Dobrov, ed. *The city as comedy*. pp. 250-268.

Wilkins, J. (2000). *The Boastful Chef. The Discourse of Food in Ancient Greek Comedy*. Oxford.

Wilkins, J., Harvey, D. & Brothwell, P., eds. (1996). *Food in Antiquity*. Exeter.

Wilkins, J. & Hill, S. (1996). Mithaikos and other Greek cooks. In H. Walker, ed. *Cooks and other people*. pp. 144-148.

Intangible Cultural Heritage for the promotion of local space development. The case of a Mediterranean Italian region, Puglia

Franca Miani
Department of Economics, University of Parma, Italy

Valentina Albanese
Department of Economics, University of Parma, Italy

ABSTRACT: The goal of our contribution is to analyze a specific region in southern Italy, Puglia, which has for some years been at the center of an intense process of enhancement and recently appears to have found a successful recipe for combining a balance of cultural heritage, tourism and sustainability. The main economic activity has traditionally been agriculture and farming, which exploits the countryside using traditional and non-invasive methods. For many years Puglia was considered somewhat under-developed, but today is taking advantage of its cultural heritage and landscape for promotion purposes. Since the late 1990s, a growing slice proportion of élite tourism has opted for Puglia for exploring places with ancient traditions, where cultural and food heritage are closely linked, as well as for seaside holidays. Conversion of old farm buildings, such as *masserie* and *trulli*, have turned many sites into luxury resorts for international guests. Today Puglia appeals to international tourists thanks to its "heritage sites" rich in history and culture. Away from more traditional destinations, the landscape is still intact, the villages retain authenticity. Mediterranean food is a specific quality promoting social interaction, and festivals and events have become famous all over the world. At the same time, accommodation units satisfy the different requirements of tourism. The paper presents a case history, *Masseria San Domenico*, which illustrates how it is possible to convert an agricultural area with a unique local cultural heritage into an international tourist destination.

1 INTRODUCTION

The concept of "cultural heritage" has altered in new UNESCO definitions. Heritage today is not only a collection of objects or monuments, but also includes landscapes and rural areas, with their inherited traditions and expressions. Cultural heritage has been defined by some authors as "the contemporary purposes of the past" or "that part of the past which we select in the present for contemporary purposes, be they economic, cultural, political or social" (Miani and Albanese, 2012). The concept is not everywhere the same, but is evolving in line with changing attitudes, needs and demands. Overall, focus is shifting towards a complex functional approach, away from preservation and towards sustainable use and development.

The maintenance and the enhancement of local tangible and intangible cultural heritage is particularly important in today's globalized world, where traditions and history are gradually being lost in a general process of cultural standardization. It is therefore important to consider the possibility of adapting cultural heritage resources for a wide range of modern purposes, including tourism.

The search for a new relationship with nature, the need for identity of place, the desire to find and taste quality foodstuffs in safety, is leading an increasing number of people to visit rural areas as places where values, resources, culture and products can be rediscovered and enjoyed. In order to protect and exploit its historical heritage as a link between local products, countryside, traditions, and cultural values, farming and agriculture has today taken on a multifunctional role. It is now necessarily linked with tourism in order to emphasize the local nature of a place and transmit its values (Privitera, 2010). But development of tourism is subject to continuous variation in cultural and social backgrounds of tourists. The sector needs to be aware of these changes so that development strategy can match supply to demand and especially offer structures responding to market requirements.

In an increasingly interconnected world, where virtual visiting is possible nearly everywhere, tourism needs to stimulate potential travelers with the prospect of new emotions. It needs to be able to offer travel experience tailored to cultural background and previous experience, with particular regard to the quality/price ratio of the product. There is increasing demand for travel off the beaten track and away from the seaside, with a new focus on various types of activity holidays. Increased levels of knowledge about different parts of the world, and especially increased efficiency on the part of tour operators, is making new resorts and destinations more popular. These destinations are often helped by precise local economic strategies to attract different targets.

The local area with its characteristics and typical aspects is a basic dimension of innovative tourism. Specific cultural values and the identity of the place can be a fundamental endogenous resource for local development as long as local knowledge and valorization of resources and the heritage of socio-economic dynamics are correctly managed (Trono, 2010).

As noted in previous work, the enhancement of cultural heritage through the promotion and development of cultural tourism, whereby local landscapes and specialty products are emphasized, can make a significant contribution to the national economy. This is particularly true today, given the current global recession, the geo-political crisis and the requirements for environmental sustainability. All these factors bring to the fore new paradigms for development less tied to international events and more closely connected to internal vocations of regions (Miani and Albanese, 2012).

Italy is a particularly varied and stimulating country to discuss from this point of view. The tangible and intangible cultural heritage spans everything from art cities, small historic villages, natural phenomena and the seabed. It ranges from mountains to the countryside where crop growing methods and rural dwellings comprise a heritage combining continuous tradition and the rediscovery of ancient values.

The European Landscape Convention (2000) and subsequent EU schemes marked a new way of looking at public and private local interventions. It made landscape central to institutional planning. But in Italy the *Codice Urbani* (2004) did not provide sufficient guidelines and the regulation of landscape and political accountability has remained to this day inadequately defined (Rombai, 2008). Although Italy possesses one of the highest concentrations of cultural and landscape treasures in the world, it has been unable to become one of the top destinations for international tourism; it largely clings to an outdated view of tourism and has not succeeded in adapting to emerging demands. Even today, tourism boards, politician and investors do not understand that continuous innovation in the product and appropriate marketing would boost the development of many regions and the various areas and landscapes within them. Planning to solve environmental problems and promote sustainable development is badly needed.

The picture however varies in different parts of Italy. Some of the regions have already taken on board these principles and inverted negative trends. They have become more attractive through innovation and above all by acting on the awareness that possessing word class attractions is not in itself a guarantee of success in the global tourist market.

One of these regions is Puglia, the region on the south-eastern heel of Italy. In recent years Puglia has overcome the international economic crisis and strong competition from other parts of the Mediterranean to make its cultural and landscape characteristics the key to economic survival. The region includes a variety of landscapes as well as economic activities reflecting historical stratification and more recent industrial intervention and urban development. It has a unique coastline as well as inland scenery ranging from upland plateaus to woodland, and is

characterized by unusual rural dwellings and farming practices which have left their mark on the land in terms of building and property division as well as access.

   The goal of our contribution is to analyze this region. We focus on its recent evolution from a mass tourist destination to a luxury one, combining cultural heritage, tourism and sustainability, with the spread of special types of accommodation and amenities derived from ancient *masserie* farmhouses.

2   THE AREA OF PUGLIA, CHARACTERISTICS OF A CULTURAL HERITAGE

Puglia presents extremely differentiated landscape reflecting geological factors as well as the centuries old agricultural labor of the rural population who worked the land to meet their needs. In the north, in the Gargano Promontory, rocks have been carved out for farming. Stones and rocks have been removed from the land over many years, and dry stone walls line the roads. Terraces have been built up for fields for crop and vegetable growing and to support rural dwellings. This labor is the main aspect of the heritage of identity which underpins a lasting and sustainable socio-economic future. One of the most distinctive types of building is the *masseria*, a sort of manor house, which was typical of large estate owning. With slight variations, the same type of building is found all over southern Italy. It was often fortified and took hold in the 14-18 Centuries when the economy was largely based on migratory sheep farming. Within Puglia, the area of Alta Murgia (Fig. 1) saw close integration between crop growing and sheep farming through the migration of shepherds moving up and down the valleys, and a close network of *masserie* and paths grew up. This is the network which, with continuous modifications, has survived to this day (Albanese, 2003).

Figure 1. The area of Puglia.

Masserie were typically painted white and built of stones and limestone removed from the surrounding earth. They were usually strategically located, and in the Mediterranean tradition they were built around a farmyard. They were always at the centre of the large estates although they differed in size and precise functions. The biggest ones consisted of several sections often including the owners' living quarters as well as dwellings for farmworkers and farm buildings such as cowsheds, haylofts and toolsheds. There was usually a chapel where workers could attend mass without leaving the estate. Two types of smaller *masseria* existed, one type was exclusively for farming and was inhabited by workers and estate owners, and the other type was a summer residence for aristocrats or middle class families.

The *massaro*, who either rented the *masseria* or ran it for the landowner, was the most important person in the countryside and life in the *masseria* revolved around him. It was his role to assign tasks, give orders and distribute what the *masseria* produced to the households. The 16 and 17 Centuries saw social disorder resulting from attacks by the Saracens and pirates, and many *masserie* were fortified for defense purposes. Others were built from the start with the detailed defense features of the period.

Masserie were an early example of the combination of home and farm. For centuries men, things and animals constituted a single community which was run for material and spiritual wellbeing for its inhabitants as well as day to day utility. In the sense that landscape includes the impress of mankind on land, *masserie* were a fundamental feature of the landscape in Puglia. Their intrinsic value in natural beauty is based on an organic production structure which is valid to this day.

The links between mankind and area and local society and countryside still exist, although the balance has been upset. Until the 1960s, there was migration from the small rural villages into towns. Farming and agriculture was not entirely abandoned, but it became less intense and the land tended to be used more heavily only in the summer months. An unusually complementary relationship between living and production which for centuries had been ensured by the functional role of buildings and land was altered (Barbieri, Gambi, 1970).

Like other regions which shifted from a farming based economy to industry, Puglia gradually disintegrated from the 1970s onward. Environmental decay took the form of fires, coastal erosion, and desertification but even more damaging were social behavior, economic development and urban lifestyles. The beauty and integrity of the region was damaged and its architectural and landscape heritage harmed, so that the activities which had kept it alive decreased.

Paradoxically, however, this abandonment was instrumental in protecting the area. Unlike the countryside in northern Italy, the countryside in Puglia never saw dramatic conflict between environmental beauty and economic development. In Puglia rural buildings never stopped being an important element in identity so that recently, in reaction to the myth of modernity, people have been able to rediscover their past and their heritage in local history, traditions and local characteristics. This new outlook involves a new interest in rural architecture as part of cultural and architectural heritage, just like urban architecture.

Over time, modernisation of crop and animal farming has completely altered the original role of the *masserie*. The fact that they are rural has however protected the traditional role of bridge between architecture and countryside, building and landscape, work and nature and built and unbuilt land, even during the last seventy years. The old countryside 'factories' based on simple inexpensive materials and construction methods serving the basic needs of labor today retain unaltered the features of local tradition. And they are flexible enough to adapt to the requirements of today (Mongiello, 1995).

Often this flexibility is confined to the aesthetic dimension, as many *masserie* are now used for purposes completely different from the original. But there are many examples where farms have refurbished buildings and enhanced land use with re-introduction of traditional farming using innovative methods. Others have become holiday homes or tourist accommodation. But usually there has been rational use compatible with local conditions so that cultural value of tradition is reconciled with the environmental dimension and today's economic requirements.

3   RECOVERING IDENTITY AND TOURISM ENHANCEMENT STRATEGIES

Recovering historical values mainly implies recognizing past architectural styles consolidated by generations of labor handing down experience and techniques for building in stone. The main challenge is to identify a critical approach to the past which enables a recovery of local architectural styles. In planning refurbishment and local development, the view of the landscape and complex relationships between mankind and nature is fundamental. It is fundamental too to evaluate possible future scenarios, especially in a region like Puglia which has long paid the price of unscrupulous planning schemes and unregulated building. In the context of these important issues, numerous and concrete interventions are being made to strengthen the tourism sector in order to boost local economic development.

Regional tourism policy has for some years now aimed at enhancing local resources and obtaining side effects on landscape quality and social behavior. Puglia has in fact become a point of reference for tourism in the whole of Italy, not just the south. Policy appears to be bearing fruit in terms of numbers as well as in terms of brand recognition. Puglia is an increasingly well-known holiday destination and attracts international investment. The big efforts made to publicize the brand have overcome the problem of Puglia's low profile within Italy and especially overseas. Today it can boast of being on of the top five destinations in Italy for seaside, attractions, including characteristic events and shows, as well as beauty of landscape. And as shown by the increasing parts of the region attracting international investments and international press coverage, the region has become well known and attractive overseas.

This outcome is the result of intervention at different levels by public authorities but especially the result of individual entrepreneur small scale initiatives which have proved to be of great economic importance and international attraction. These private initiatives are often not linked to regional policy and involve spontaneous recovery of old buildings. Many *masserie* have been transformed from ruins into desirable destinations for élite tourism. They are often places where peace and quiet, contact with nature and physical wellbeing are the main attraction. Some exploit the expanding circuit of golf courses in the region, and can include a golf course on the land belonging to the *masseria* itself. Some focus more on food and wine, and others emphasize the contact with nature provided through everything from furnishings, food and link with farmland and nature areas. Every *masseria* tries to diversify and aim at a particular target of consumer. All of them have succeeded in lifting themselves out of abandonment and decay. This renewal is also having a positive effect on the landscape. Where once *masserie* were blots of decay, they now appear in all their traditional splendor, and although they have a new function and meet new needs, they are once again productive and alive as an integral part of the area.

Regional policies for systematic development of tourism as a driver of economic growth for the whole of southern Italy are based on this type of historic, cultural and landscape heritage. In 2011 a Puglia Plan of Action (*Piano di attuazione*) was drawn up to increase numbers of Italian and overseas tourists. The Plan aimed at constructing and promoting a system of integrated products able to meet the needs of actual and potential tourists. As a response to competition on the domestic and international markets it provided for specific intervention through tried and trusted methods as well as promotion to raise the profile of Puglia as a brand and push sales. Puglia is aiming to become an increasingly important member of the opportunity sets of possible destinations for a rising number of markets and tourists (Stabler; Goodall, 1990).

The Plans of Action are set to be annual and marketing oriented. They convert annual objectives, which are determined over several years, into promotion to give information and a positive appeal to Puglia and its resources. They focus on identifying and reaching competitive position, and strengthening 'loyalty' to the destination on the part of tourists as well as local residents and stakeholders. All these objectives, strategic and operational, are pursued differently according to the communication targets. External targets are tourists, intermediaries, opinion leaders and opinion makers, while local residents and stakeholders are internal.

Regional tourism policy is based on strengthening and enhancing cultural identity as expressed in traditions, food and wine as well as manufactured and craft products. So the plan reflects very recent development policy enhancing Puglia as a product through its regional specialties. Marketing is increasingly targeted, both to residents and tour operators internally within the region, and is carried out online and with traditional methods.

These initiatives have been successful in that, as we saw above, numbers have increased, and moreover visitors are nowadays less concentrated in one season. This is because the range of attractions has been widened both at the seaside and in the countryside, and mainly thanks to the international attraction of *masserie*. Note that the refurbished *masserie* is an attraction mainly for élite travelers; the biggest increases have been seen in four and five star accommodation.

Figures from the Regional Tourism Observatory "pugliapromozione.it" and national offices ENIT e ISTAT show that there was a slight fall due to the world economic crisis in 2012, following a period of growth. There were 3.2 million tourist arrivals and overall there were 13.5 nights in accommodation. Compared to 2011, there was no change in the number of arrivals and a slight fall in the number of nights. The number of Italian visitors fell slightly but overseas visitor arrivals rose by 7% and nights by 5%, which almost compensated for the fall in domestic tourism. Tourism in Puglia was thus largely unaffected by the world economic crisis. And Puglia suffered the effects of the crisis to a lesser extent than other regions. Figures for Italy overall from the National Tourism Observatory show an average fall in -5,5% of arrivals and in -6,6% of nights compared to 2011.

It is difficult to estimate the strength of cultural tourism from these figures. There are numerous and varied reasons for travel to Puglia (Fig. 2) and all are in some way cultural given that the image of the region is closely linked to its food and wine, landscape, art and folklore. Marketing and tourism development is not however specifically aimed at cultural tourism; it tends to promote events with little connection to local identity. This perhaps that indicates promotion of tourism is often in the hands of local individual entrepreneurs.
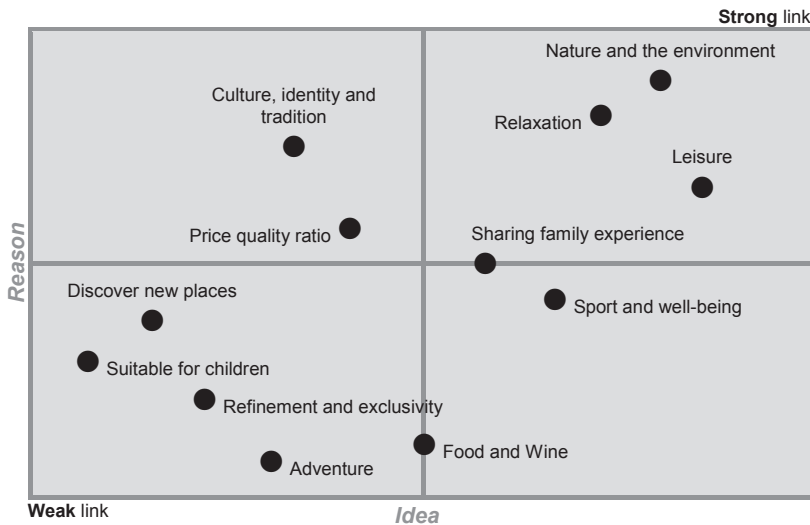
Figure 2. Holidays in Puglia: reason for holiday and the idea of the region.
Source: www.pugliapromozione.it

Note also that about 43% of arrivals (34% nights) opt for four or five star hotels, making these particularly successful.

There have also been in recent years initiatives for the improvement of other structures apart from accommodation. These are a response to the international trend towards higher levels of tourism which tends towards characteristic destinations rather than mass appeal of seaside resorts.

Numerous online and printed reviews today talk about the "Puglia experience" which is particularly significant in the context of the new media and particular social media. Blogs, social networks and tourism sites are an opportunity for communicating and promoting tourism experience particularly to younger and more highly educated targets. An increasing number of tour-

ists choose their destination online and an increasing proportion alter their choice on the basis of online comments and reviews. The online profile of Puglia experience is therefore important (Albanese, 2012). It can be a further advantage in terms of promotion and increasing numbers.

The last type of regional scheme aimed at increasing numbers, raising quality and spreading visitors throughout the year are events and forums often integrated with sectors such as agri-food and culture. They have led to more attention being paid to amenities and characterization and diversification of what is on offer. These too have raised the profile and attracted overseas investment increasingly in the purchase of *masserie* and other traditional rural dwellings.

4   CONCLUSIONS: MASSERIA SAN DOMENICO AS EXPERIENCE-BASED TOURISM

Puglia has clearly adapted to the requirements of tourism in the 21 Century. Heritage tourism matches shorter holidays and trips spread throughout the year with new types of experience for tourist. Tourists today are anxious to experience slower lifestyles and the peace and quiet of the countryside, and to leave behind the chaos of their daily life in increasingly standard urban sur-roundings. So Puglia no longer offers solely seaside holidays involving intensive exploitation of the coast. It offers wellbeing and increasing desire for cultural fulfillment associated with the desire to taste traditional dishes or simply to enjoy a walk in an olive grove. It also offers a wide range of accommodation, from rooms to rent in farmstay to luxury resorts.

As noted above, the product for tourists needs to take account of the desire to experience travel through the perception and assimilation of characteristic features of the area; art, eno-gastronomy, fashion, music and local traditions present in architecture. It also needs to provide for requirements of consumers very different in terms of culture and origins that may be far away. Travel needs to be an unforgettable combination of personal experience. It needs to be flexible in order for the tourist to take an active part in constructing the experience. It needs to stimulate creativity and be authentic. This is usually referred to as experience-based tourism. The literature describes experience-based tourism as the need to go beyond a fleeting experi-ence, so that the experience itself and the memory of it are longer lasting because of intellectual and emotional involvement (Fusco Girard & Nijkamp, 2009).

As we have seen, Puglia enjoys advantages which allow it to run a wide range of tourism ac-tivities which are attractive overseas. There are however complex issues involved in managing the environment and landscape heritage in compliance with environmental and sustainability constraints seeking to conserve the already compromised environment. The environment needs to be adapted for new market requirements. Golf courses internationally have been a driver for profitable élite tourism.

Through careful promotion the region of Puglia could compete with other areas of the Medi-terranean having similar characteristics. International tour operators selling golf packages prefer to send tourists to resorts combining golf courses with cultural and food and wine resources, and Puglia has this type of resort in abundance. It appears however that public institutions are not yet exploiting this élite type of tourism. There is not enough promotion and communication of the variety of attractions, and what there is, is mainly by hotel and golf course owners. There are luckily however other channels, such as specialist press and amateur championships, which promote the discovery of new itineraries and suggest hotels and trips to potential clients.

The *masserie* in Puglia, renovated and modernised as quality accommodation could be a key element in promoting new locations rich in local history and culture.

Figures from the Regional Tourism Observatory (www.pugliapromozione.it) show that the flow of overseas tourists rose between 2000 and 2005 (+28% arrivals), but then between 2005 and 2011 there was a bigger rise (+43%) when international arrivals were consolidated. This in-ternationalization saw a wider range of countries of origin and increased low season travel, with most arrivals going to high level accommodation.

We now study a successful case which involves golf. Between the provinces of Bari and Lec-ce, and between the Adriatic coast and the hills, there has been a big growth in tourist accom-modation and restaurants, thanks to the conversion or refurbishment of different sized *masserie*. One of the biggest *masserie,* converted into a hotel, is the "*San Domenico*" near Fasano. It is a company made up of members of a local family. In a short time they have been able to convert family-owned buildings and land into internationally successful tourist accommodation. "*San*

Domenico" is today a 5 star resort which offers an 18-hole golf course and thalassotherapy. It lies only 500 metres from the Adriatic coast and its whitewashed buildings stand amongst centuries old olive groves. The building itself dates back to the 15th century, when it was used by the Knights of Malta as a watch-tower against Saracen attacks.

Figure 3. Masseria San Domenico before refurbishment (Source: Mongiello, 1996).

Until a few decades ago, the *masseria* lay abandoned in ruins. It was at first renewed as a summer holiday home for family and friends, then extended with a new building to offer farmstay accommodation. The spa was added only at the end of the 1990s, when the number of rooms reached the current level.

With the opening of a thalassotherapy spa, the masseria which already boasted a golf course and private beach became a luxury resort. The level of attractions and services make it an outstanding resort above regional level. Today "*Masseria San Domenico*" is a brand which includes various accommodation buildings rather than just one. The *"San Domenico"* golf club house is designed using architecture of a traditional *masseria*, and next to it the smaller "*Masseria Cimino*", nearer to the sea, has been refurbished to become an almost magical place. It is rich in elements of local tradition and offers quality accommodation in unique and diverse guest units. Opposite the entrance to the golf course, a small village named "*Borgo Egnazia*" has been built to host hotels. It is designed like a traditional small village. Streets, workshops, architecture and street furnishings make guests feel as though they are in a typical old-fashioned village, which also offers luxury hotel accommodation. There are also individual residential units built like *masserie* for discreet private accommodation. "*Borgo Egnazia*" is popular with tourists from Italy but particularly with tourists from the USA and Asia.

The *San Domenico* Foundation was set up to conserve and enhance the valuable rural and cave dwellings in the area. The chairman of the Foundation and owner of the San Domenico group play an active role in promoting Puglia and its cultural heritage. In a recent interview she revealed that the idea of converting her family owned *masserie* was based on the British custom of using traditional homes as tourist accommodation. There was also a desire to copy the type of rural tourism successful in Tuscany, until recently infrequent in other parts of Italy. The conver-

sion of the first *masseria* into a hotel yielded social advantages for the immediate environment; and the increase in number and diversification of the units offered job opportunities and positive benefits for the whole local economic system.

"*Masseria San Domenico*" today offers quality tourism. The owners have wisely conserved local traditions by careful restoration of buildings and surrounding areas using local materials and craftsmen and laborers. The direct personal supervision of the owners themselves was fundamental in the process. Olive oil from surrounding olive groves is used for cosmetic products for the spa and the hotels, as well as food served at the *masseria*. This and the use of other produce constitute an attraction for the increasingly discerning and cosmopolitan tourist market. For events to be held out of the public eye, part of or the whole of the premises are available for hire by high level international *clientèle*. The olive groves and vineyards surrounding the white buildings, the lanes lined by dry stone walls running from the sea to the countryside or from the golf course to the hotel, these are all of considerable appeal to high spending tourists who love the south of Italy and the Mediterranean.

Although it was not the first *masseria* to be converted to a luxury resort, *Masseria San Domenico* and the integrated golf course have become a considerable attraction, boosted by marketing along with product tasting, tours to nearby historic places and archeological sites and local festivals. All this has made *Masseria San Domenico* a success. It has naturally been of advantage to other local families who have been able to imitate it by refurbishing their own buildings, turning them into different categories of hotel with differentiated prices. There is now a wide range of accommodation on offer in the area.

This comprises a more sustainable tourism circuit than in the past. It includes of course the sea and the coast, but also inland areas which have a stronger links to local culture and are thus more attractive to tourists searching for a new kind of experience.

So it is essential for there to be an efficacious development policy to encourage initiatives for targeted intervention to preserve and enhance the heritage of buildings and architecture within the region; mansions, castles, masserie, and valuable buildings in historical towns and villages and rural areas. If these are properly renovated they could enhance quality accommodation for which there is overseas demand. They could be key drivers of economic development for the local system, which in this period of worsening downturn would be particularly important.

This successful model is also being developed in other areas of southern Italy. Clearly, in order to conserve the architecture and landscape as a cultural heritage, development needs to be based on enhancement of the heritage and conservation of local characteristics and identity. If the presence of numerous *masserie* scattered over Puglia encourages speculation, and renewal is carried out by outsiders, the risk is that the heritage of rural houses will fall into the hands of those interested in financial advantage and not in cultural heritage. Local goods like *masserie* must not become the object of real estate trading and speculation by individuals or groups extraneous to the local culture and mindset. This would be a real shame for local identity and for overall development in Puglia. To conclude it is believed that to gain competitive advantage in tourism, intervention needs to come from local society.

Figure 4. Masseria San Domenico today (Source: www.masseriasandomenico.com).

REFERENCES

Albanese, V. (2003). Il ruolo della masseria nelle strategie di valorizzazione turistica delle aree rurali pugliesi. In F. Adamo, ed. *Problemi e politiche del turismo*. Bologna: Patron Editore. pp. 290-301.

Albanese, V. (2012). Come (e se) coesistono social networks ed esperienze di turismo sensoriale. In C. Cerreti, I. Dumont & M. Tabusi, eds. *Geografia sociale e democrazia*. Roma: Aracne Editore. pp.241–254.

Barbieri, G. & Gambi, L., eds. (1970). *La casa rurale in Italia*. Firenze: Olschki Editore.

Fusco Girard, L. & Nijkamp, P., eds. (2009). *Cultural Tourism and Sustainable Local Development*. Aldershot: Ashgate.

Goodall, B. (1990). Opportunity Sets as Analytical Marketing Instruments: A Destination Area View. In G. Ahworth & B. Goodall, eds. *Marketing Tourism Places*. London: Routledge.

Miani, F. (2001). Per una valorizzazione turistica del patrimonio culturale e ambientale nel Mezzogiorno: la diffusione dei campi da golf. In V. Ruggiero & L. Scrofani, eds. *Centri storici minori e risorse culturali per lo sviluppo sostenibile del Mezzogiorno*. Catania: CUECM. pp. 66-85.

Miani, F. & Albanese, V. (2012). Food Heritage for Local Heritage: Italian Experiences. In R. Amoêda, S. Lira, C. Pinheiro, eds. *Proceedings of the 3rd International Conference on Heritage and Sustainable Development*. Barcelos: Green Lines Institute, 2: 947-954.

Mongiello, L. (1995). *Il disegno dei tamburi di pietra. In Umanesimo della pietra*. Martina Franca: Taranto.

Mongiello, L. (1996). *Masserie di Puglia*. Bari: Mario Adda Editore.

Pollice, F. & Zacheo, A. (2007). Patrimoni dell'Umanità. Opportunità e rischi di una valorizzazione turistica. In P. Persi, ed. *Recondita Armonia, Atti del III Convegno Internazionale sui Beni Culturali*. Urbino: Istituto Interfacoltà di Geografia – Università degli Studi di Urbino "Carlo Bo". pp.294-303.

Privitera, D. (2010). Heritage and wine as tourist attractions in rural areas. In F. Arfini & S. Cernicchiaro & M. Donati, eds. *International EAAE-SYAL Seminar, Spatial Dynamics in Agri-Food Systems: Implications for Sustainability and Consumer Welfare*. Parma: Monte Università Parma Editore. pp.1-10.

Rombai, L. (2008). Codice Urbani, Convenzione Europea del Paesaggio, vincoli di tutela e politiche paesistiche. I problemi aperti secondo alcune recenti pubblicazioni. In *Rivista Geografica Italiana*. 115:217-227.

Stabler, M. (1990). The Concept of Opportunity Set as a Methodological Framework for the Analysis of Selling Tourism Places: The Industry View. In G. Ahworth & B. Goodall, eds. M*arketing Tourism Places*. London: Routledge.

Trono, A. (2010). Paesaggio e innovazione territoriale. In A. Giordano & P. Micoli, eds. *Paesaggio culturale, sostenibilità e spazio euro-mediterraneo*. Ricerche e Studi SGI. 21: 203-224.

Viterbo, M. (1959). *Gente del sud*. Bari: Laterza.

[Webpage] www.enit.it.

[Webpage] www.istat.it.

[Webpage] www.masseriasandomenico.com.

[Webpage] www.pugliapromozione.it.

Interpreting the intangible at Angkor

Georgina Rivera
Siem Reap Project Officer, Angkor Heritage Management Framework and Honorary Research Associate, University of Sydney

ABSTRACT: Over the last decade there has been growing recognition of the significant intangible heritage values present at Angkor. These values stem from the local community beliefs and practices, continuing religious associations and connections with national identity. While these values have been increasingly explored and accepted on many levels –within the sites Retrospective Statement of Outstanding Universal Value, by the Cambodian management authority and within academic discourse– there is still almost no interpretation of these values for visitors. As a result there is limited understanding and appreciation of these values and a significant meaningful context of the site is not being fully understood. As a result many visitors are not respectful and often display inappropriate behaviour during their visit. The local community practices can also be impacted by a lack of awareness and respect by visitors. Site interpretation work being undertaken at Beng Mealea temple in Cambodia under the Angkor Heritage Management Framework Project seeks to present all the values of a site and increase understanding of the importance of a site. As with many Angkorian temples the significance of the site stems from a range of values including historic, architectural, aesthetic, artistic and local values. Associated intangible heritage is an important value that is currently not being presented within site interpretation. Capturing associative local and intangible values within site interpretation is being explored at Beng Mealea temple with the aim to showcase the range of values attributing to site significance, increase visitor understanding and appreciation of the site, improve communication of the meaning of the site, engage the local community within presentation of site significance and facilitate the safeguarding of intangible values.

1 INTRODUCTION

Intangible heritage forms a central component of the heritage significance of Angkor for Cambodian people. Local, social, religious and spiritual values are increasingly being recognised by the broader global community as the essence of the meaning and significance of Angkor. Intangible heritage values at Angkor stem from the local community beliefs and practices, continuing religious associations and connections with national identity (Lloyd and Im, 2013). While these values have been increasingly explored and accepted on many levels over the last decade – within the sites Retrospective Statement of Outstanding Universal Value (2011), by the Cambodian management authority (Khoun and Lloyd, 2013) and within academic discourse – there is

still almost no interpretation of these values for visitors. Living heritage is at risk from a lack of understanding and from a lack of respect (ICCROM, 2003). It is essential that visitors to Angkor gain a better understanding and appreciation of the intangible heritage both for management and conservation reasons but also to promote respect for the sites living heritage.

Affleck and Kvan (2005, 170) state that "interpretation is a key principle governing the management of cultural heritage and a field in its own right". Indeed, it is a field that has developed significantly over the past six decades from the work of Tilden (1977) with a flurry of significant works being published in the last two decades (Ham 1992, Carter 2001, Beck and Cable 2002, Jones and National Trust of Australia (W.A., 2007). Yet there are still few published works which explore the interpretation of intangible heritage or examples of such interpretation on-site. Akagawa (2013) argues that "to this day, the focus of the interpretation of World heritage sites has been predominantly on their 'tangible' aspects with less attention being given to how the intangible aspect is to be interpreted and presented to the visitors".

This paper explores key components of intangible heritage interpretation at Angkor examining links between visitor behaviour and the interpretation of heritage values, and the role of guides and local community in the development and delivery of interpretive content. It also provides suggestions for improved interpretation of intangible cultural heritage. Within this paper, interpretation covers "all means of communication, first person such as a guides, printed and spoken word and a variety of multimedia presentation techniques" (Affleck and Kvan, 2005).

2   AWARENESS OF HERITAGE VALUES

Few visitors at Angkor are aware of the contemporary religious significance of the site or the importance of local community traditions and livelihoods. Historically, the focus of heritage management was on physical preservation and not on the presentation of the site to visitors. This is not unusual as Grimwade and Carter (2000) state that "often heritage places are subjected to well-orchestrated conservation and restoration actions, but the crucial element of presentation and interpretation to visitors, both local residents and tourists is absent".

When interpretation is provided to visitors it is typically a very dry narrative of Angkor. Winter surmises that this entails a "seemingly endless amount of information about the kings of Angkor, their dates of rule, chronological shifts in architectural style, transitions between styles of sculpture and a bewildering list of gods, demons and their various avatars" (Winter, 2013). Very rarely are visitors given an introduction to the Buddhist Wats and shrines or multitude of local spirit shrines and localities of worship.Across the Angkor landscape the importance of the multifarious collection of spirits to the protection of the monuments and wellbeing of the local communities, the localised and highly significant ceremonies performed within the park or the traditional livelihood activities of resident communities are largely unknown to visitors.

However, the APSARA National Authority, the management authority responsible for the Protection and Management of Angkor and the Region of Siem Reap, is increasingly recognising that intangible values are important and that visitors should have a greater understanding of these values. They want visitors to engage with a broader more nuanced set of identified heritage values as outlined in the Retrospective Statement of Outstanding Universal Value (RSOUV), rather than the more restricted set of values that were the focus of the site's inscription dossier, and as such, are exploring ways to communicate these values. Certainly one of the Authority's primary goals for the communication of heritage values is to "heighten public awareness and enhance understanding of [the] cultural heritage site" (ICOMOS, 2008) in line with the ICOMOS Eames Charter. Article 6.1 of the draft policy for *Safeguarding Intangible Cultural Heritage within the Angkor World Heritage Site and other sites under the jurisdiction of the APSARA National Authority* (hereafter draft ICH policy) provides "Understanding and experiencing the intangible cultural heritage of Angkor in all its forms, including local ceremonies, traditional livelihoods etc, will enhance the experience of visitors… as such the APSARA National Authority shall work towards increasing tourism awareness".

Both the 2005 Charleston Declaration on Heritage Interpretation and the 2008 ICOMOS Charter for the Interpretation and Presentation of Cultural Heritage Sites (Ename Charter) provide foundational principles for interpretation to communicate heritage values. These soft law instruments strive to establish objectives relating to "authenticity, intellectual integrity, social

responsibility and respect for cultural significance and context" (US/ICOMOS, 2005). These documents, along with theoretical frameworks and comparative examination of other heritage sites can assist the management authority to approach the interpretation of intangible heritage. However, it is important to also understand the influence of other broader considerations when seeking to develop an interpretation strategy to raise awareness of heritage values, particularly intangible values. Political considerations, the existence of varied and conflicting interpretations and dominance of certain narratives can influence the delivery of interpretive content and how it is received by the audience, thereby limiting the awareness of the full extent of heritage values of the site.

Interpretation, like many areas of heritage conservation, can be influenced by political considerations. Interpretation is a human construction (Deacon, 2004) and can be used as a management tool but it can also be used as a public relations mechanism to put forward a particular notion of heritage. Certain values may be prioritised over others and a particular cultural identity may be favoured. Where there are diverse stories, the one that best fits the political agenda of the day will be highlighted. Howard (2003) establishes that "the issue of interpretation ... can be defined as deciding what to say about the heritage, and how, and to whom to say it". In relation to Robben Island in South Africa, Deacon (2004) states that "'owning' an interpretation of a site so deeply inscribed with the soul of South Africa is a play for power".

In Cambodia, generations of ruling governments have idolised the glory of the Khmer empire. This period of Cambodian history is often seen as the pinnacle in the development of the civilisation followed by the little understood middle period. The emphasis on the height of the Angkor Empire has contributed to a limited interpretation of the contemporary cultural meaning of Angkor. Ruling governments frequently draw on this period of history to build on a sense of national identity. It is important to acknowledge this cultural partiality when exploring alternative paradigms for interpretation and recognise what Baiewicz (2012) terms 'the risk of distorted perception' that may result.

A second consideration in the development of an interpretation strategy which seeks to include the interpretation of intangible heritage is that, while frequently one particular interpretive paradigm may be associated with a heritage site, it is common that heritage sites are subject to a diverse range of possible interpretations. The varied interpretations of meaning can cause conflict and confusion if not managed appropriately. Poria et al. (2009) argue that managers should provide different interpretations for different visitors instead of presenting a unified, one-sided interpretation. At contested heritage sites it may be imperative to recognise diverse interpretations of a heritage place. This is the case for Robben Island where different stakeholder groups sought diverse interpretations of the site (Deacon, 2004).

At Angkor there are a broad range of visitors each with different motivations and expectations. These visitors may not all seek the same experience of Angkor however, from a managerial perspective it is important to introduce to *all* visitors *all* the significant heritage values of the site. At present, several site issues, such as inappropriate behaviour, are caused by visitors failing to receive or understand interpretation on the sites contemporary cultural significance. Thus, while varied interpretations should be understood, for management purposes (reducing site impacts and encouraging appropriate behaviour) it may be necessary to provide all visitors with a certain range of essential interpretive content and then tailor additional information to the needs and expectations of the group.

A third consideration is the influence that a particular dominant interpretive narrative can have on the experience of a visitor, especially when that narrative fails to incorporate intangible or social values. Interpretation presented at a heritage site may differ from information that visitors have already gained prior to their visit (Bakiewicz, 2012). While this may not always be negative, it can bias visitors when engaging with interpretation delivered on-site. When dominant pre-existing narratives occur, it can be difficult to shift or substantially broaden a visitors understanding of the values of the site. Visitors will arrive with preconceived knowledge of the site and can be less receptive to alternative views (Ham, 2007). At Angkor a dominant narrative permeates the guide books and promotional material and, visitors are frequently exposed to this information before their visit. This narrative is the result of both the influence of political dynamics outlined above and the tourism industry portraying the glory of the Angkorian Empire including its architectural and artistic achievements leading to the eventual collapse and 'abandonment' of the site. There is often a strong focus on the decline and recent restoration of the

site based largely on the work of the Écolefrançaised'Extrême-Orient (EFEO) (Winter, 2013). This fascination with "rise and fall of classical civilizations" has meant that ongoing traditions and contemporary cultural meaning have not been interpreted. The dominant narrative does not have space for the exploration of Angkor as a modern religious site. Indeed, the "ancient citie's ruins are kept as separate entities of the past with no link to the present" (Son, 2011). As a result, visitors arrive at Angkor will little expectation that there will be local living engagement and worse they may not be open to understanding this significant component of the Angkor World Heritage Area.

It has been argued that within interpretation at heritage sites "there is an increasing trend to focus on the entertainment value offered to leisure-time users and tourists, rather than attempting to interact with the past in a meaningful way" (Affleck and Kvan, 2005). This may be true of how industry seeks to portray Angkor with often superficial explorations of heritage values and emphasis on the lost empire. As suggested, at Angkor, this is particularly seen with Asian regional visitorswho tend to be leisure tourists. These visitors compose the majority of all visitors to Angkor.

3   VISITOR BEHAVIOUR

In order to encourage visitors to engage with the intangible values of Angkor interpretation needs to provoke, relate and reveal (Tilden, 1977). Visitors should be convinced of the importance of their interpretive experience to be affected not only emotionally and intellectually but also on a behavioural level. This is an important goal for the interpretation of intangible heritage at Angkor as inappropriate visitor behaviour can be directly linked to a lack of awareness, respect or regard for the social significance of the site. Inappropriate visitor behaviour has both physical and cultural impacts at Angkor and is one of the priority challenges identified by site staff and senior managers.

Exposure of visitors to the dominant narrative of Angkor outlined above or inadequate information delivered through interpretation modes on site, results in many tourists believing that Angkor is a 'dead archaeological zone' of a lost empire. This leads directly to a misunderstanding of cultural norms and incomprehension of appropriate visitor behaviour. This is most frequently seen in the attire worn by visitors within temple precincts or even within Buddhist monasteries located next to Angkorian temples. Inappropriate behaviour may also impact the safeguarding of manifestations of intangible heritage. Examples of this can be seen where visitors enter the site of a residing spirit within or nearby a temple and fail to adhere to social customs such as removing shoes and hats and walking around ritual offerings (Fig. 1). Instead a large number of visitors entering the space and acting disrespectfully can lead to communities abandoning the site or perhaps suffering illness or misadventure due to spirit being angered by the inappropriate activities.

Figure 1. Visitors wearing shoes and hats and standing on the mat for placing offerings in front of the spirit shrine of Ta Reach (an important tutelary neak ta spirit) in Angkor Wat.

While some visitors may associate Buddhist shrines within the Angkor site with religious value, the role of animistic spirits within temple enclosures is hardly acknowledged. This lack of understanding of local spirit beliefs combined with the dominant narrative of the abandoned temples leads to visitors failing to comprehend appropriate and respectful behaviour, for example, that it is inappropriate to wear clothes that are revealing. This is even more apparent where the temples are not restored. A visitor's (particularly Western visitor's) concept of what a religious or spiritual site should look like can be far removed from local understanding.

In Cambodia, a site of significance (where a spirit may reside) can be a tree, termite mound, a wooden post or statue. A physical spirit shrine may or may not be present. Even unrestored temples, such as Beng Mealea, have local guardian spirits and Cambodians conduct ceremonies to pay their respects (Fig. 2). Indeed smaller lesser known Angkorian sites may have particularly powerful religious meaning for the community. Visitors at Beng Mealea have been recorded believing that there is no need to cover their shoulders or thighs because the temple is in a state of ruin (Lloyd, 2012) (Fig. 3).

Figure 2. (left) Offerings being made to a guardian spirit within Beng Mealea temple; Figure 3. (right) A visitor wearing inappropriate dress within Beng Mealea temple.

As such, a chief goal of interpretation at Angkor needs to be to broaden a visitors understanding of cultural value by revealing the range of contemporary religious beliefs, relating these events to visitor's cultural backgrounds and provoking visitors to explore the meaning of the site in a more sophisticated way which ultimately translates to acting appropriately and encouraging others to also act appropriately. There is some research that suggests that information provided through interpretative facilities can change visitor behaviour (Sarm, 2013; Mason, 2005; Ham, 2007). Ham (2007) emphasises that;

> "there is reason to believe that on-site interpretation can achieve an immediate impact on attitudes and related behaviours regardless of whether visitors were provoked to a lot, or just a little, thought. Although these impacts are stronger and longer-lasting when they result from effortful thought, an immediate and short-term impact is possible in either case".

A study of interpretive signage in the Cook Shire, Queensland showed that following the installation of signage most visitors (68%) found that the signs increased their enjoyment of the visit, 73% noted that the signs helped them to understand Cooktown's heritage and both residents (78%) and tourist service providers (80%) stated that the signs increased their own appreciation of Cooktown's heritage values leading to behavior change of visitors (Grimwade and Carter, 2000). While signage is an important component for the interpretation of intangible heritage, the role that guides and communities play is also key.

4 ROLE OF GUIDES

Tour guides are a key avenue for the delivery of interpretive material at Angkor. As at many other heritage sites globally, guides are often at the heart of interpretation. At Angkor, this is due to the limited amount and range of on-site interpretive content and the large number of organised tour groups who utilise certified tour guides. Sarm (2013) similarly argues that interpretation at Angkor is primarily a task of tour guides. Tour guides are perceived to act as custodians of Cambodian culture and ambassadors of Angkor however that does not necessarily mean that they are the best interpreters. It is essential to understand this dynamic when considering the interpretation of intangible heritage which is currently not broadly acknowledged. Guides have a primary need to satisfy their guests and in their attempts to meet this goal they can inadver-

tently or purposely misrepresent the site or counteract management goals. While for a site manager the purpose of interpretation may predominately be site preservation and conservation, a guides impetus may be more linked to a good review or financial gain. Guides have been known to deliver "alternative truths", conform to dominant narratives and/or present certain information because it meets a preconceived idea or informed notion of what guests want.

Howard (2003) states that "although guides will know their material, they may not always stick to it". Guides may manipulate the stories they tell because they want to please their customers or for financial gain (more tips). The information visitors receive about the site is therefore often at the discretion of a tour guide. The content delivered, whether motivated by a desire to please or financial gain, may or may not be in alignment with what site managers want presented to visitors. In the attempt to provide a good time, guides have a tendency to actively encourage visitors to behave inappropriately (e.g. climb on a monument for a better photo or give treats to begging children) contributing to physical and social impacts.

For some guides, the presentation of standard interpretive content may simply be because they are not concerned with management goals and are happy delivering a particular well-rehearsed narrative. For other guides, they may present information exclusively on say the architecture and history of the site because they have a preconceived idea that this is what visitors want from their visit. At Tsodilo World Heritage site, a site with significant identified intangible heritage values, research undertaken by Segadika (2006) showed that "guides were increasingly avoiding communicating on, and guiding tourists to, intangible components of the site, assuming that tourists are only interested in the rock art". But, what if visitors, being receptive to dominant narratives through travel and tourism information, do not ask for alternative interpretation material because they do not know it exists let alone realise its significance? It is possible that circumstances such as these may lead to scenario where information given to visitors become more and more restrictive and conforming to a single narrow dialogue thus further legitimising a dominant narrative at the expense of other significant stories.

While many guides may either present alternative truths, conform to dominant narratives or present only the dry interpretive content that they think guests want to hear, other guides are aware of the limitations and understand that improvements are needed. Sarm (2013) records a French speaking guide stating,

> "Most of the tour guides usually interpret the history of Angkor Wat temple, which is not completed information. Angkor Wat has more than what is being interpreted. Intangible heritage should be added in the interpretation of Angkor Wat as we know that without peoples' belief the temples could not be constructed. Furthermore, local residents still respect the temple as a holy place. This relationship between the people and the temple would be worthwhile to inform visitors."

To improve the content and delivery of interpretative material at Angkor it is fundamental that guides are actively engaged and become partners in the development and delivery of appropriate information. Article 6.3 of the draft ICH policy for Angkor recognises the important role of guides in the interpretation of intangible heritage noting 'the APSARA National Authority shall involve, and co-operate with, ministries institutions or any involved authority coordinating tourism guides to appropriately promote and manage intangible cultural heritage as guides are directly interacting with this heritage as part of the tourism sector'.

5 COMMUNITY CONNECTIONS

As indicated previously, another key interpretive link that is predominately missing at Angkor is the connection between the site and the local community. Often this engagement is manifested through intangible heritage. Son (2011) argues that the management of cultural resources, and therefore interpretation of these resources, must involve the local people because it pertains to their past and present lives. Likewise, Noronha and Chaplin (2012) discuss the importance of supporting community connections in relation to the preservation and interpretation of minority languages in ICH presentation. The limited presentation of these connections may be due to a lack of awareness of the depth and importance of the connections at Angkor by tourism opera-

tors, guides or perhaps even the management body. Minimal interpretation of community inter-
actions with the Angkor landscape may also be influenced by traditional approaches to heritage
management that have largely failed to give locally attributed heritage values equal standing
with globally recognised values.

There is a need to engage more fully with communities to appropriately highlight these con-
nections. Research by Grimwade and Carter (2000) establishes that community recognition and
acknowledgement of values is a key ingredient for the successful management of the cultural
landscape in the long term fostering a sense of pride in local heritage and explaining signifi-
cance and meaning. Bryne (2011) argues that this could be done through the mapping of social
values in the landscape to better spatially relate information and provide better interpretation.
This approach was piloted at Angkor under the Living with Heritage project which developed a
landscape map and inventory of significant cultural sites around Srah Srang village north of
Banteay Kdei temple. A broader application of this work in consultation with community
groups is needed and more importantly, appropriate dissemination of gathered cultural informa-
tion is vital to raise awareness of community connections among other stakeholder groups who
provide interpretive content.

6 TOWARDS IMPROVED INTERPRETATION

The interpretation of intangible cultural heritage at Angkor is necessary to recognise the signifi-
cance of these heritage values which contribute and enhance the outstanding universal value of
the World Heritage area and to facilitate appropriate site management. Pilot work is being un-
dertaken at Beng Mealea temple in Angkor under the Angkor Heritage Management Framework
project, to develop interpretation which presents aspects of intangible cultural heritage to visi-
tors. Visitors will be provided with information on the local guardian spirits of the temple
(Fig.4), local livelihoods and the history of the associated Buddhist Wat. Following consultation
with local villagers and religious community, information has been selected which introduces
visitors to a range of intangible values and engages their interest. There is a strong focus on ap-
propriate visitor behaviour and respect for local values. Work on this project is currently ongo-
ing and therefore it is too premature to discuss outcomes at this stage however, it is an important
endeavour. Workshops are planned to engage tour guides and operators in the delivery of new
interpretive content.

Figure 4. (left and right) Two spirit shrines at Beng Mealea temple.

On a broader level, the work at Beng Mealea highlights shifts that are needed to present and preserve intangible heritage both more generally at Angkor and across Cambodia. Many of these recommendations are not novel and have been outlined in relation to the interpretation of intangible heritage elsewhere,particularly in relation to principles of interpretation (Cho, 2013), however their application is not broadly observed within the South East Asian region.

On-going training and awareness raising among private and public sector organisations within Cambodia and more broadly is vital to ensure the appropriate interpretation of intangible heritage. At Angkor, the APSARA National Authorityhas indicated that it is cognisant of the importance of awareness raising and plans to "work with individuals, traditional education institutions including monasteries, tourism guides, tour agencies, tour operators, ministries, institutions and associations to organise training programmes to understand and respect the intangible cultural heritage" (Article 4.2, draft ICH policy).

Another important shift necessary for the interpretation of intangible heritage is to develop collaborations with community and industry bodies (guides/operators) to broaden the narrative provided to visitors before their arrival to include contemporary notions of heritage and intangible values and thereby manage the expectations of visitors. By introducing themes of intangible heritage before visitors arrive, they will be more inclined to understand and respect information provided on-site. This collaboration is essential to provide 'off site' material that will raise awareness of contemporary values.

Careful and meaningful collaborations between stakeholders will be necessary to deal with potential negative influences to intangible heritage that tourism can bring. The interaction between tourism and intangible heritage, if not well managed can be deleterious. Article 6 of the draft ICH policy acknowledges that ICH can be at risk of commercialisation and commodification and such processes can have a negative effect. There can be a fine line between appropriate presentation and promotion of intangible heritage and commercialisation of traditions. Management authorities should also continue to develop on-site interpretation around identified heritage values and present this to visitors through signage at ticket sale venues, visitor welcome centres and temple entrance facilities (*parvis*).

For improved interpretation at Angkor ultimately there is a need for improved information flow and communication with both guides and the broader tourism industry to ensure that intangible heritage is interpreted and broadly recognised as a significant component of Angkor's outstanding universal value. This dialogue should aim to develop interpretation for visitors that enriches their understanding and increases appreciation for the broad range of heritage values.

REFERENCES

Affleck, J. & Kvan, T. (2005). *Reinterpreting Virtual Heritage* [online]. Available at http://cumincad.scix.net/data/works/att/caadria2005_a_2b_a.content.pdf [Accessed 20 April 2013].

Akagawa N. (2013). *Seeing the Intangible: Interpreting Armenian Street, George Town, Penang.Presented at Visiting Pasts, Developing Futures – International Conference, Taipei, April 5 – 9 2013, Taiwan.*

Bakiewicz, J. (2012). *Heritage Management Implications of onsite interpretation at heritage sites featured in popular media products. Presented at Current Issues and (Im)possible Solutions: An interdisciplinary Dialogue in Tourism and Leisure, PhD Colloquium*. Surrey: University of Surrey.

Beck, L. & Cable, T. (2002). *Interpretation for the 21st Century: fifteen guiding principles for interpreting nature and culture*. California: Sagamore Publishers.

Bryne, D. (2011). Cultural Heritage and Its Context in Southeast Asian Local-Popular Culture. In J. Miksic, *Rethinking Cultural Resource Management in Southeast Asia: Preservation, Development, and Neglect*. Singapore: Anthem Press.

Carter, J. (2001). *A Sense of Place: An interpretive planning handbook. Scottish Interpretation Network, Inverness* [online]. Available at www.scotinterpnet.org.uk [Accessed 15 April 2013].

Cho, H. 2013. Fermentation of Intangible Cultural Heritage: interpretation of kim chi in museums. *Museum Management and Curatorship*, 28(2): 209-227.

Deacon, H. 2004. Intangible Heritage in Conservation Management Planning: The case of Robben Island. *International Journal of Heritage Studies*.

Grimwade, G. & Carter, B. (2000). Managing Small Heritage Sites with Interpretation and Community Involvement. *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 6(1): 33-48.

Ham, S. (1992). *Environmental Interpretation: A practical guide for people with big ideas and small budgets*. Colorado: Fulcrum Publishing.

Ham, S. (2007). *Can Interpretation Really Make a Difference? Answers to Four Questions from Cognitive and Behavioural Psychology.Proceedings of the Interpreting World Heritage Conference, Canada*. pp.42-52.

Howard, P. (2003). *Heritage: Management, Interpretation, Identity*. London: Continuum International Publishing.

ICCROM (2003). Conservation of Living Religious Heritage. In H. Stovel, N. Stanely-Price & R. Killik, eds. *Papers from the ICCROM 2003 Forum and Living Religious Heritage: conserving the sacred*. Rome, Italy.

ICOMOS (2008).*The ICOMOS Charter for the Interpretation and Presentation of Cultural Heritage Sites, ratified by the 16th General Assembly, Quebec, Canada*.

Jones, S. & National Trust of Australia (W.A.) (2007). *Sharing Our Stories: Guidelines for Interpretation*. Perth: National Trust of Australia (W.A) and Museums Australia (W.A.).

Lloyd, G. (2012) *Communication with visitors during surveysat Beng Mealea*. Unpublished raw data.

Lloyd, G., &Im, S. (2013) Cambodian experiences of the manifestation and management of intangible heritage and tourism at a World Heritage site.In R. Staiff, R. Bushell & S. Watson, eds. *Heritage and Tourism. Place, encounter, engagement*. NY: Routledge. pp. 228-250.

Lloyd G. & Khoun K.N. (2013 in press). Safeguarding Angkor's Intangible Heritage. In B. Baille, ed. *Angkor: Heritage Tourism and Development. Multidisciplinary perspectives in Archaeological Heritage Management*. Springer.

Mason, P. (2005). Visitor Management in Protected Areas: From 'Hard' to 'Soft' Approaches?. *Current issues in tourism*, 8(2): 181-194.

Noronha, M. & Chaplin, R. (2012). Preserving and Interpreting Intangible Cultural Heritage in an Ethnolinguistic Community: the case of Portuguese language, Patois and Creole in Macau. *US-China Foreign Language*, 10(9): 1538-1546.

Poria, Y., Biran, A. & Reichel, A. (2009).Visitors' Preferences for Interpretation at Heritage Sites. *Journal of Travel Researc,.* 48(1): 92-105.

Segadika, P. (2006). Managing Intangible Heritage at Tsodilo. *Museum International*. 58(1-2): 31-40.

Son, S. (2011). Rethinking Cultural Resource Management: The Cambodian Case. In J. MiksicRethinking *Cultural Resource Management in Southeast Asia: Preservation, Development, and* Neglect. Singapore: Anthem Press.

Tilden, F. (1977). *Interpreting our Heritage*. North Carolina: University of North Carolina Press.

US/ ICOMOS (2005). *Charleston Declaration on Heritage Interpretation*. Charleston, South Carolina.

Winter, T. 2013. Cultures of Interpretation.In R. Staiff, R. Bushell & S. Watson, eds. *Heritage and Tourism. Place, encounter, engagement*. NY: Routledge. pp. 172-186.

Traditional craftsmanship as heritage in the UK: an exploration of values in traditional basketry in East Anglia

Greta Bertram

Heritage Crafts Association / Museum of English Rural Life, University of Reading, United Kingdom

ABSTRACT: The UK has not ratified UNESCO's Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage, and the concept of intangible cultural heritage is not widely understood. Furthermore, there is a reluctance to recognize traditional craftsmanship as heritage, be it tangible or intangible. This paper argues for the recognition of craftsmanship as heritage, irrespective of the tangible/intangible divide. It shows how conventional values-based approaches to the management and preservation of tangible heritage can be applied to traditional craftsmanship. It uses an adapted version of Randall Mason's framework of 'heritage values' and 'contemporary values' to explore some of the values that basketmakers associate with their craft. It concludes by demonstrating how an understanding of values can inform the safeguarding of traditional craftsmanship by organizations such as the Heritage Crafts Association. This paper is based on research as part of an MA at the Institute of Archaeology, University College London, 2010.

1 INTRODUCTION

1.1. *Traditional craftsmanship as heritage*

In 2003 traditional craftsmanship was enshrined as one of the five domains of intangible cultural heritage in UNESCO's Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage. The Convention was the culmination of an 'alternative heritage discourse' which developed in the second half of the twentieth century, and which challenged the historical notion of the materiality of heritage and its seeming absence in non-western nations. In the UK, despite having a long history of traditional craftsmanship, and over 200,000 people currently employed in the heritage craft sector in England alone (Creative & Cultural Skills, 2012), traditional craftsmanship is not generally regarded as heritage, intangible or otherwise. The prevailing view of heritage remains that of the tangible, what Smith & Waterton (2009) term the 'authorized heritage discourse'. This, combined with a more general lack of understanding of intangible heritage on the part of heritage managers (Hassard, 2009), the government, and the general public, has meant that the UK has largely ignored not only the Convention, but the whole concept of intangible heritage.

There have, recently, been a few exceptions. Scotland supports applying the principles of the Convention to its own intangible heritage; ICOMOS-UK launched an ICH sub-committee in 2013; and the Heritage Crafts Association (HCA), a national charity formed in 2009, lobbies for recognition of traditional craftsmanship as part of the UK's living, intangible heritage.

The distinction made by UNESCO between tangible and intangible heritage has been widely criticized (Aikawa, 2004; Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 2004; Smith & Waterton, 2009). This paper takes a holistic and integrated approach to heritage based on values, and makes no distinction between the tangible and intangible. This is particularly appropriate in the case of traditional craftsmanship as heritage, where the tangible and intangible are inextricably linked: a craftsman uses his skills, knowledge and experience (intangible) to use tools (tangible) and implement techniques (intangible) to manipulate a material (tangible) to make a product (tangible) to perform a function (intangible).

This paper attempts to show that values-based approaches to the management and preservation of tangible heritage can be applied to more complex expressions of heritage that are more commonly associated with the intangible, such as craftsmanship. In doing so it demonstrates how an understanding of these values can inform the safeguarding of traditional craftsmanship by organizations such as the Heritage Crafts Association.

1.2. *Values-based approaches to heritage management*

Values-based approaches to heritage have moved away from the idea that heritage embodies intrinsic values. Instead, they are now based on the principle that it is only through the process of selection of things to which to accord meaning and values that certain remnants of the past, be they tangible or intangible, become recognized as heritage (Avrami et al., 2000; Cowell, 2008; Graham & Howard, 2008). They are conventionally used in the context of tangible heritage, generally place and site, and recognize that it is the values rather than the physical forms which need to be maintained (Avrami et al., 2000). They acknowledge that heritage symbolizes multiple values ascribed by multiple stakeholders – who view and value heritage through lenses of personal experience (Graham & Howard, 2008); and that these values change over time and may also conflict (Mason, 2006). Participation from stakeholders is essential. These approaches are readily compatible with more complex, 'intangible', expressions of heritage, and parallels can be drawn with the ICH Convention, which emphasizes the inherent dynamism of intangible heritage and stresses the role of the practicing community in identifying and safeguarding it.

Conventional values-based approaches to the management and preservation of tangible heritage seek to identify a list of all the values represented by an expression of heritage, which are then prioritized and weighed against one another in order to preserve what is most valued (Pearson & Sullivan, 1995; Mason, 2006). Different conceptualizations and categorizations of values have been used to do this. Australia ICOMOS's Burra Charter of 1999 (first issued 1979) laid the foundations for a systematic approach to value-identification, with the cultural significance or cultural heritage value – the reasons why a place is valued as heritage – being seen to lie in the "aesthetic, historic, scientific, social or spiritual value for past, present or future generations." The Charter also allows for more precise value categories to develop as the understanding of a particular site increases (Australia ICOMOS, 1999). Klamer (2004) categorizes values in terms of the economic – the exchange value of a cultural good; the social – values that operate in the context of peoples and their relationships with one another; and the cultural – values which are seen to be above and beyond the social and economic. While an understanding of the economic values of an expression of heritage is fundamental to its management, they are often regarded as incomparable with cultural values (Mason, 2006). Mason proposes another categorization: 'heritage values', which contribute to the sense of a place being endowed with some legacy from the past, and which may include aesthetic, historical, social, scientific and spiritual values; and 'contemporary values', the other reasons as to why a place is important. This conceptualization overcomes the incompatibility of cultural and economic values, and avoids the reductionist approach inherent in the Burra Charter's categorization of values (Avrami et al., 2000; Munjeri, 2004). It can be readily applied to more intangible expressions of heritage because of the unbounded scope of values it allows for.

This paper draws on Mason's categorization to undertake an exploration of some of the values ascribed to traditional craftsmanship in the context of basketry in East Anglia by one set of stakeholders – the practitioners. Traditional basketry can be very generally understood to mean making traditional styles of baskets with traditional functions from traditional materials, most commonly willow and rush in the UK, using traditional techniques. Basketry as heritage relates not only to the baskets, but also to the skills, knowledge and processes involved in making

them, and to the wider social, economic, political and other contexts in which this occurs (Kurin, 2007). This paper makes a distinction between 'heritage values' and 'non-heritage values' – the latter are consistent with Mason's 'contemporary values', but the term avoids confusion with 'contemporary' in the sense of a style of craftsmanship. The following case studies present *some* of the most striking values that each of three basketmakers, engaged in traditional work and chosen for their intrinsic interest, see operating in basketry, both in general and within their own work. The case studies are not intended to create an exhaustive or definitive list of values.

2   CASE STUDIES

2.1.   *Case study 1*

AC began making baskets in 1985. He previously worked in the oil industry and was looking for something with a lower environmental impact that he could do for himself. He is one of the few basketmakers working in the UK today who underwent an apprenticeship of some kind, taking thirty one-day lessons spread over a year (as opposed to the traditional full-time three year apprenticeship). He now runs a basketmaking company with his wife in Norfolk. They mostly make traditional willow baskets, and also run teaching courses.

   Age and continuity of practice, both heritage values, are very important to AC. *"It's the oldest craft there is, predates pottery, and there's very little that's new in it. People will say 'oh I've developed this new technique' and you can dig baskets out of peat bogs and you see they've been using exactly the same techniques we're using now."* Lowenthal (1985, 1998) refers to continuity as the sense of enduring succession running from past to present, and writes of the importance of age and precedence in giving something value as heritage. While AC takes great pride in the fact that basketry is such an ancient craft, he points out that it is not always valued in this way by those outside the craft, asserting that it is often seen as the *"poor relation in the craft world"*.

   AC also values opportunities for change, a non-heritage value, and the freedom that basketmakers have to make changes to how things have been done in the past – whether to materials, designs or uses of baskets. Dynamism is inherent in the intangible heritage envisioned by UNESCO, and change and adaptation are essential to the continuity of a craft. This is not always accepted by those outside of the practicing community because of its seeming conflict with continuity. AC is adamant that just because a craft has existed until now does not mean that it can, or should, exist in the future. He believes that while some crafts can evolve and adapt to meet the changing needs of society, others have *"had their time"* and cannot.

   Crafts in the UK have always existed in a commercial context, and economic and use values were an inherent part of basketry. Until the mid-twentieth century baskets were primarily valued for their function, with traditional basketry often referred to today as functional basketry (Hogan, 2010). Baskets were an important part of many industries and were required in great quantities, providing a steady source of income for the basketmaker. As the functional requirements of specialized baskets have disappeared, such as herring crans for the Great Yarmouth fishing industry, so have the markets for them, leaving little economic incentive for a basketmaker to make them. "*You can make as many of these traditional baskets as you like as far as I'm concerned, but you can only keep making them if you can keep selling them. And the bottom line is, for anyone that's making baskets professionally, is to make a living from it. If you can make a living from it you can continue passing on the skills… It's a business first... I love the craft, but you've got to sell the stuff."* AC adapts traditional baskets to make them more marketable, using different colored willows to make them more aesthetically pleasing, or changing the design to better suit modern functions – such as multi-colored herring crans for use as log baskets. While an appreciation of such baskets for their historic function places use as a heritage value, in such a context as this use also operates as a non-heritage value.

   AC places great value on quality in craftsmanship, fearing that basketry skills are not being passed on properly. *"People are going to continue making baskets but they're not necessarily going to be making them the way they should… what you're getting is people who do a couple*

of weekend courses, learn a few skills, and then go off and think they're a basketmaker, and then pass on those skills and then the whole thing gets watered down. So within the basket-making world this is the biggest problem that we face... it's the blind leading the blind in a lot of places." There is a Ruskinian tendency to view the pre-industrial past as the pinnacle of craftsmanship (Hassard, 2009), yet quality is important in all craftsmanship, both traditional and contemporary, positioning it as both a heritage and non-heritage value.

For AC, quality in a craft should not be sacrificed for the sake of its continued existence. *"Some of them [baskets] are very rudimentary, you know, rough and... 'rustic' is the word that you'll hear referred to baskets, and that's just a way of getting over, quite often, poor crafts-manship..."* He expresses concern that it is not only so-called basketmakers who do not value quality, but potential customers as well. The large numbers of cheap low-quality imports, as well as poorly-made British work, pose problems for craftsmen because they undermine those practitioners who work to a high standard and charge more for it.

2.2. *Case study 2*

NA has a background in the arts, having originally studied dance and costume design, and used to teach dance and performing arts. She initially took up basketry as a hobby, wanting to learn some techniques and work with different materials. She learnt through a mixture of weekend workshops and self-teaching, before doing a City and Guilds course in basketry. She works in Cambridgeshire making traditional willow and rush baskets, as well as doing contemporary work in a wide range of materials, and runs various basketmaking courses.

As many traditional crafts practitioners suggest, traditional and contemporary crafts can be seen as extremes of a continuum, with the latter expressing considerably greater levels of dynamism than the former or, conversely, with the former expressing greater continuity than the latter. NA values both continuity of practice and change, and the two operate side by side in her traditional and contemporary work. She is skeptical of anyone who insists that change in basketry is unacceptable. *"It can't be conserved in aspic, that just won't work because society's always changing, always developing... because that's what it's always done, it's just we haven't been around to record it... you can't just say... 'you've got to keep doing the same thing, you've got to keep living in the same way'..."* She is passionate about experimentation and innovation within the craft, saying *"...when I've got extra time or free time it's experimentation and exploring and seeing where... those techniques can go in a different way with different materials..."*

She also acknowledges that intangible heritage is always recreated in response to the changing environment, and that a craft develops with the materials available. *"I think that for a lot of contemporary makers it's finding new materials and then the form that you can achieve with those new materials so I guess if you don't end up with the materials that we've always had, especially with climate change... then people in the future will be working with different materials, and then trying to use the same techniques or developing others."*

NA has a strong awareness of materials, and places great value on their intrinsic qualities, or 'performance characteristics' (Keller, 2001), which influence the ways in which they are manipulated. Her appreciation of this, a non-heritage value, was most apparent when discussing rush, which she experiences with several senses – touch, sight and smell. *"It's really dark green when you cut it and it's still quite brittle, but this is about a week old and it's really really dry... That piece is really soft still and you can see the cell structure, so it's like paper. I love the smell... I think it smells quite saline even though it's fresh water."*

NA balances aesthetics as a heritage value in her traditional work and a non-heritage value in her contemporary work. One of the appeals of traditional baskets made today is that they combine use value with a traditional aesthetic – they reflect the shape, style and look of surviving baskets from the past. Yet this aesthetic is a contemporary creation based on a fixed idea created today of what a traditional basket should look like. NA very deliberately gives her traditional work this aesthetic – they are her own designs but are *"based on traditional techniques and look traditional."* In her contemporary work she deliberately moves away from the traditional aesthetic to produce something more creative and experimental that is valued primarily for its looks. *"I don't want to just be doing traditional functional work, I want to do contemporary work too, and I do think it's functional because if it's just something that gives you pleasure*

from looking at it then that's serving a purpose, that's serving a function…" NA is happy to equate aesthetic value with use value, making baskets which are designed to be decorative and valued for the way they look. She challenges the functionality debate surrounding divisions between traditional and contemporary basketry, insisting that beauty serves a function in its own right.

A final set of non-heritage values that came out particularly strongly in NA's case were those of education and therapy, which are likely to have been influenced by her experiences as a teacher. While the Burra Charter provides a category of scientific or research value in which a place can tell us about past human culture (Pearson & Sullivan, 1995), the educational value of basketry extends far beyond what we can learn from the craft about life in the past. She feels that basketry has particular educational value for children, *"[It is] extremely good for fine motor skills, for maths, for the knowledge of constructions and tensions… knowing your left from right, you could talk about form."* She also feels strongly that it has therapeutic value for both children and adults, expressing regret that basketry is no longer used as occupational therapy. NA values the escape that the craft brings from conventional 9:00–5:00 working patterns in her own life, and believes that an activity such as basketry can reconnect people with abilities and behaviors that they have become detached from through modern lifestyles.

2.3. *Case study 3*

PC is an eel catcher, working fenman and willow merchant. His family have been involved in eel catching for around five hundred years. He gives demonstrations and talks about life in the Fens at local schools and museums, as well as appearing on television. Basketmaking has never been the sole preserve of basketmakers; people engaged in other occupations also made specialist baskets to suit their needs. PC makes eel traps, as well as other fish traps, for his own use and to sell.

Any consideration of the values that PC associates with his work as a basketmaker cannot be separated from his wider practice as a working fenman. The traditional fenland way of life has virtually disappeared due to a reduction in fenland habitat, overfishing, the declining eel population, and stricter licensing on fishing and shooting. Heritage values associated with a sense of loss and vanishing ways of life were very apparent in the interview, as was the concept of 'heritage value' – that something is valued *because* it is heritage (Avrami et al., 2000). PC is widely believed to be the last eel catcher in the Fens. *"Most of the eel catchers are gone, there used to be two or three eel catchers in every village at one time… I knew all of them see, I got to know them all, but they're all gone now. It's quite sad."* With nobody catching eels, the skills and knowledge to make the traps are under threat.

PC finds a balance between engaging in a practice that is considered heritage, while at the same time engaging in it as if it were just like any other occupation – which to him it is. Recognizing that this heritage is in danger, he feels a sense of stewardship over it and a duty to pass it on to and share with others (Lowenthal, 1998). *"I never used to up to three years ago but I started because there's no one else doing it now so I started because I thought you've got to do something to let people know it's still going on, because it protects what I'm doing, because they're talking about bans and all sorts, and I don't want that to happen, so that's why I go out and do these talks, let people know."*

PC values continuity both in his basketmaking practice, and in his wider fenland lifestyle. As well as making eel traps to a family recipe, *"exactly the same family traps, haven't changed for four or five hundred years, because they were always passed on…"* he carries on a way of life which his family has been engaged in for centuries. The past is still very much a part of the present for PC, and his way of life represents what Nora (1985) terms a *milieu de mémoire*, an environment of memory.

While eel traps are of a similar design throughout the world, they express regional, local and even familial differences (Butcher, 1997). The eel traps PC makes are peculiar to the Fens and to his family, and embody much historical knowledge about fenland ways of life and social history, as well as working knowledge for a fenman. PC appreciates both the historical and practical value of this knowledge.

For PC, the use value of the traps he makes is of great importance, as he makes them primarily for his own use as an eel catcher. He has recently started making them to sell, recognizing the

commercial value they have as objects of beauty and heritage. *"They [customers] hang them up in their houses. They all end up in the houses, because they're quite a pretty thing and they're quite a rare old Fen tool aren't they."* Customers buy eel traps as both ethnographic objects, representing local heritage, and as sculptural objects, but certainly not as functional objects. Their display in local museums and tourist centers legitimizes their position in fenland heritage, which accords them heritage value, and they are thus bought as a souvenir of this local heritage. PC ascribes a very different aesthetic value to the traps from his customers, describing the traps as going *"a lovely lovely rich brown, almost black color, when they're used"*. This is an aesthetic which only he has the opportunity to appreciate, as the traps he sells are never used in this way. For PC part of the aesthetic value of the eel trap is associated with its use value.

PC also discussed the non-heritage lifestyle values of his practice and way of life, acknowledging the freedom it gives him in his daily routine, *"I never use a clock, never use a watch. I get up when I'm ready and I go to bed when I'm ready. That's how I've always done it."*

3   APPLYING VALUES-BASED APPROACHES

3.1.   *Applying values-based approaches to traditional craftsmanship in the UK*

The case studies revealed a wide range of heritage and non-heritage values, many of which overlap. Heritage values – those which contribute to the sense of basketry as being endowed with a legacy from the past, included age, continuity, historical knowledge and a sense of loss. Non-heritage values – other reasons for which basketry is important – included ideas surrounding economics, characteristics of materials, lifestyle, education and emotional involvement. Overlapping values centered on aesthetics and use. Understanding which values are heritage and which are non-heritage, and how the two interact, informs an understanding of why the values are important and why they should be maintained, and is necessary in applying values-based approaches.

Values-based approaches recognize the multiple and changing nature of the values ascribed to an expression of heritage, and acknowledge that these values come from a variety of stakeholders viewing through different lenses. Using a values-based approach to managing and safeguarding heritage necessitates the identification of stakeholders, including heritage managers. In the context of traditional craftsmanship in the UK, this includes not only the crafts practitioners, but also craft guilds and associations (e.g. Basketmakers' Association, Worshipful Company of Basketmakers); craft consumers; suppliers of raw materials for craft; local communities; local, regional and national governmental and non-governmental arts and crafts bodies (Arts Council England, Crafts Council, Creative and Cultural Skills); national heritage bodies (e.g. English Heritage and National Trust, which dominate the tangible heritage scene in the UK); national branches of international heritage bodies (e.g. UNESCO and ICOMOS); and local and national government. Once stakeholders have been identified and values listed, these can be used to inform the development of strategies for managing and safeguarding expressions of heritage.

3.2.   *Applying values-based approaches to the work of the HCA*

The Heritage Crafts Association (HCA) is a volunteer-run national charity which was formed in 2009 as an umbrella body for the traditional crafts in the UK, and in 2012 HRH The Prince of Wales became President of the HCA. Traditional craftsmanship is not currently recognized by the national government as part of the UK's heritage, nor is there any designated body for traditional crafts which has a link to government. Traditional craftsmanship does not sit within the remit of any arts or heritage support agencies. The HCA promotes and supports traditional craftsmanship as a fundamental part of living heritage in the UK. It works towards a sustainable framework for traditional craftsmanship in the future, and aims to ensure the continued transfer of traditional craft skills and knowledge from one generation to the next. Its key activities are *surveying* – researching the status of heritage crafts, identifying those in decline and addressing the issues to ensure their survival; *advocating* – communicating the vital importance of heritage crafts to government, key agencies and organizations; *celebrating* – raising awareness and rais-

ing the status of heritage craft skills with the wider public; *safeguarding* – working in partnership with key education and learning agencies to identify and support new and innovative ways to ensure that the highest standard of heritage skills are passed on; and *supporting* – supporting heritage crafts through such things as advice, networking and training (HCA, 2013).

The HCA is a membership organization, and is given its mandate by its members, the majority of whom are traditional crafts practitioners and crafts associations. The HCA undertakes consultative activities with its membership to ask such questions as 'Why is making important?' (*Manifesto for Making* held in March 2013) and 'What needs to be done to address issues in skills training?' (*Skills Forum* held in May 2011). Understanding the values that practitioners associate with traditional craftsmanship is vital to the HCA in accurately representing its membership and lobbying on its behalf, and in putting the case to government as to why traditional craftsmanship should be recognized as heritage, why it should be supported (both as heritage and as an occupation), and how this should be done.

The values identified in the case studies support the current work of the HCA and can be used to inform its future work. All three practitioners valued the sense of continuity in basketry, within their own practice and within the craft more generally, which relies on the passing on of skills and knowledge from one generation to the next. The issues of quality in craftsmanship and the dilution of skills were also raised. Training and the transfer of skills is a major challenge facing craftsmanship in the UK, with a recent piece of research showing that 77% of craft businesses in England do not undertake any activities to pass on craft skills and knowledge to people outside of the business (Creative & Cultural Skills, 2012). The HCA is working in partnership with other bodies to create an apprenticeship framework which can be applied to a range of crafts and which sits within the existing qualification framework in the UK – a prerequisite to drawing down the necessary funding from the government to enable practitioners to run apprenticeships and pass on their skills. Best practice in the transfer of craft skills and knowledge has been recognized in recent suites of awards. The HCA has a Best Trainer category in its own awards, and a new set of national awards, the Craft Skills Awards, supported by the HCA and other partners and given for the first time in May 2013, celebrate the passing on of skills in a range of settings, including in education, in the workplace and in informal settings.

The case studies revealed that economic values, particularly in reference to the need to earn a living, are very important to traditional crafts practitioners. Economics have always been at the forefront of traditional craft practice in the UK, from the medieval craft guilds to the role of crafts in industry until the end of the nineteenth century; it was only in the mid-twentieth century that crafts such as basketmaking developed as hobbies. Economics play a central role in the safeguarding of traditional craftsmanship in the UK – if a living cannot be made through practicing traditional crafts, the skills and knowledge will cease to be transferred.

Economic values are of particular relevance in the current economic climate, with the Secretary of State for Culture, Maria Miller, saying in a speech in April 2013 that the arts must make their case for funding by focusing on their economic value and not just their artistic value. In 2011 the HCA lobbied for research into the economic contribution of the traditional crafts sector. The report, *Mapping Heritage Craft* (Creative & Cultural Skills, 2012), shows that traditional crafts in England contribute £4.4billion GVA (gross value added) to the economy – equivalent to the UK petrochemicals industry. Having demonstrated the economic value of traditional craftsmanship, further research is now needed into the less easily quantifiable reasons as to why the government should value traditional craftsmanship and recognize it as heritage.

The HCA recognizes that traditional craftsmanship should not just be supported because it is part of the UK's cultural heritage. The case studies reveal many non-heritage values relating to lifestyle and emotional investment. When the membership was asked at the HCA's annual conference why making is important, responses such as 'good for the soul' and 'it makes you happy' came up time and again (HCA 2013, report not yet published). The impact that craft, both traditional and contemporary, can have on mental health, wellbeing and happiness can also be used to make the case to government as to why craftsmanship should be supported.

3.3.   *Conclusion*

This paper has demonstrated that it is possible to extend values-based approaches to heritage beyond place to more complex expressions of heritage, such as traditional craftsmanship. Such

approaches transcend divisions between tangible and intangible, physical and non-physical, allowing a holistic and integrated understanding of heritage in which heritage is the embodiment of the values ascribed to it. This paper has briefly explored some of the values that one set of stakeholders ascribes to one craft. It recommends a more wide-ranging and in-depth examination of values in the context of traditional craftsmanship in the UK – considering a range of stakeholders and a range of crafts. It also recommends that heritage managers apply the resultant understanding of values to strategies for supporting and safeguarding traditional craftsmanship. While organizations such as the HCA are beginning to do this, there will necessarily be an impasse until the UK government moves away from the authorized heritage discourse and embraces a broader definition of heritage that encompasses the intangible.

REFERENCES

Aikawa, N. (2004). An Historical Overview of the Preparation of the UNESCO International Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage. *Museum International*, 56(1–2): 137–149.

Australia ICOMOS (1999). *The Burra Charter: The Australia ICOMOS Charter for Places of Cultural Significance*. ICOMOS: Australia.

Avrami, E., Mason, R. & de la Torre, M. (2000). Report on Research. In E. Avrami, R. Mason & M. de la Torre, eds. *Values and Heritage Conservation: Research Report: 3–11*. Los Angeles: The Getty Conservation Institute.

Butcher, M. (1997). Eel-traps without Eels. *Journal of Design History*, 10(4): 417–429.

Cowell, B. (2008). *The Heritage Obsession: The Battle for England's Past*. Stroud, Gloucestershire: Tempus.

Creative & Cultural Skills. (2012). *Mapping Heritage Craft: The economic contribution of the Heritage Craft sector in England*. London: Creative & Cultural Skills.

Graham, B. & Howard, P. (2008). Introduction. In B. Graham & P. Howard, eds. *The Ashgate Research Companion to Heritage and Identity*. Aldershot, Hampshire; Burlington, Vermont: Ashgate.. pp.1–15.

Hassard, F. (2009). Intangible heritage in the United Kingdom: the dark side of enlightenment? In L. Smith & N. Akagawa, eds. *Intangible Heritage*. London; New York: Routledge. pp.270–288

Heritage Crafts Association. (2013). [Webpage] http://www.heritagecrafts.org.uk/crafts.html.

Hogan, J. (2010). Functional and Non Functional Baskets. *Basketmakers' Association Newsletter*, 132: 13–17.

Keller, C. M. (2001). Thought and Production: Insights of the Practitioner. In M. B. Schiffer, ed. *Anthropological Perspectives on Technology*. Albuquerque, New Mexico: University of New Mexico Press. pp.33–47.

Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, B. (2004). Intangible Heritage as Metacultural Production. *Museum International*, 56(1–2): 52–63.

Klamer, A. (2004). Cultural Goods Are Good for More than Their Economic Value. In V. Rao & M. Walton, eds. *Culture and Public Action*. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press. pp.138–162.

Kurin, R. (2007). Safeguarding Intangible Cultural Heritage: Key Factors in Implementing the 2003 Convention. *International Journal of Intangible Heritage*. 2: 10–20.

Lowenthal, D. (1985). *The Past is a Foreign Country*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Lowenthal, D. (1998). *The Heritage Crusade and the Spoils of History*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Mason, R. (2006). Theoretical and Practical Arguments for Values-Centred Preservation. *CRM Journal*, 3(2): 21–48.

Miller, M. (2013). *Testing times: Fighting culture's corner in an age of austerity* [online]. Available at https://www.gov.uk/government/speeches/testing-times-fighting-cultures-corner-in-an-age-of-austerity [Accessed 24 April 2013].

Munjeri, D. (2004). Tangible and Intangible Heritage: from difference to convergence. *Museum International*, 56(1–2): 12–20.

Nora, P. (1989). Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Mémoire. *Representations*, 26: 7–24.

Pearson, M. & Sullivan, S. (1995). *Looking after heritage places: the basics of heritage planning for managers, landowners and administrators*. Carlton: Melbourne University Press.

Smith, L. & Waterton, E. (2009). 'The envy of the world?': intangible heritage in England. In L. Smith & N. Akagawa, eds. *Intangible Heritage*. London; New York: Routledge. pp.289-302.

Folk tales about Kalevipoeg: traces in the landscape

Gurly Vedru
Tallinn University, Institute of History, Tallinn, Estonia

Krista Karro
Tallinn University, Institute of Humanities, Tallinn, Estonia

ABSTRACT: Folk tales are a part of intangible heritage. This article aims to discuss the connections between the tales about the Estonian hero Kalevipoeg (son of Kalev) and Estonian nature. Kalevipoeg has been described as a giant who has much strength and therefore has caused the creation of several natural features in Estonia. He unites features that are believed to be characteristic to Estonian people and he is also the main character of the Estonian epic poem. The epic was compiled in the 19th century on the basis of the folk tales known by the time. The author of the poem was Friedrich Reinhold Kreutzwald. In our article we will show the spread of the land forms connected to the activities of Kalevipoeg in northern and eastern Estonia. We will also discuss the reasons why these folk tales are more common in certain Estonian regions. Finally, brief attention will be paid to the archaeological monuments behind some of the land forms presented in the folk tales.

1 INTRODUCTION

1.1. *Myths, epic, and landscape*

People of different times and places interpret their surroundings and search explanations why it is like it is. These explanations often narrate about the deeds of their (mythical) ancestors (e.g Taçon 2000), gods and/or heroes that cause the emergence of some kind of land form or landscape feature. Denis Cosgrove has stated that myths may both shape the landscape as well be shaped by landscapes, such myths may be connected with concrete places or they can take place in archetypal landscapes (Cosgrove 1993: 281). In Estonia, the local folk stories about Kalevipoeg are directly connected with places, landscape features and objects. Still, similar stories can be told in several places.

In Estonia, oral tradition that has preserved in folk tales is numerous and well documented. Stories about Kalevipoeg are one part of that lore, such stories are numerous and known from different places all over Estonia. People have explained the origin and appearance of several natural features as resulting from the activities of Kalevipoeg, carried out in the landscape.

Kalevipoeg was described as a giant with much strength; he walked around, ploughed fields, brought planks from neighbouring areas and fought the Old Nick (The Devil in Estonian folklore) and wolves. Like most mythical beings, he lived once upon a time.

The oldest written note considering Kalevipoeg is dated to 1817, and it comes from Adolf Friedrich Johan Knüppfer, who was a minister in Kadrina, North-Estonia. He writes that no grass grew in some of the places that Kalevipoeg had ploughed. According to him, Kalevipoeg was a giant with bad temper who also persecuted women; the latter happened until Christ caught him and threw him into a bog. Still, Kalevipoeg managed to get out of it. After that Christ threw him into a river where he was turned into an otter (Oinas 2004).

Systematic collecting of folk songs started in the 1830s and it culminated with the publication of the epic "Kalevipoeg". It was compiled and published in 1857–1861 by Friedrich Reinhold Kreutzwald; literary adaptations from the epic were soon published in journals, newspapers (Lukas 2011: 28). Thus these stories went back to wider audience and had their effect on them. Majority of the folk stories of Kalevipoeg have been recorded in the second half of the 19th century and the beginning of 20th century, thus reflecting the mythological aspects of landscape of that time. One part of later collections contains authentic folk stories; others are reflections from the epic. So at present the stories of Kalevipoeg, connected with objects in Estonian landscape can be considered as a mixture of layers and dates. It is difficult to detect whether the sites connected with the myths of Kalevipoeg were understood as sacred in previous periods, in the 19th century these were just remarkable places/objects in local landscape.

Folklorist Felix Oinas has assumed that the oldest layer of the stories about Kalevipoeg describe him as titanic giant of nature. Thus his figure is connected with the development of Estonian nature (Oinas 2004). Oinas also suggests, that the tradition of giants in the area of present Estonia originates from the first centuries AD, but it has developed also in later centuries (same). Folklorist Ülo Valk says that Kreutzwalds epic Kalevipoeg is a representation of pre-Christian heritage (Valk 2011, 39), and archaeologist Jüri Peets speaks about the ancient origin of the Kalevipoeg myths (Peets 2003: 21, 312). Several other researchers also refer to the great age of Kalevipoeg myths (Lang 2012 and references).

The authors of this article agree that a part of the Kalevipoeg lore is probably old, but as it was gathered mostly on the second half of the 19th and the beginning of 20th centuries it reflects (also) the understandings and perception of the people of these centuries. The epic was compiled partially on the basis of folk stories, but Kreutzwald added some aspects to it that were not so concrete in folklore. It is assumed that one type of folk story can be valid in several places if it fits the local landscape and its special features; these stories are authentic and characterize the pre-industrial understandings of landscape. In the epic Kreutzwald has localized places where something was done by Kalevipoeg or something happened to him. He mentions place names that according to him were the only places of activities, but as mentioned, in real folklore the same thing might have been happened also in several other suitable places. Because of that, researchers have stated that in his epic Kreutzwald viewed Estonia like it would have been seen through a window of a post carriage and his Kalevipoeg lived in the space characteristic to the 19th century Estonia (Krull 2012: 168–169 and references).

1.2. *Kalevipoeg in landscape*

Several activities, that have left traces in the landscape, are characteristic to Kalevipoeg. Many of these activities are productive or creative, but some of them are also destructive. His most favourite occupation was throwing stones – about half of the recorded stories are about it. He throws stones to hit wolves, ducks and drakes, and to cast lots; he also competes in it with Old Nick. Sometimes Kalevipoeg fights with the latter and tries to hit him with stones from a distance. He also throws stones on manors, castles and churches, and fights with stones against unnamed enemies (Laugaste & Rõõm 1958: 6). The popularity of those stories can be explained with the fact that a large number of erratic boulders, carried and left in Estonian areas by the ice during the last glacial, are known in different parts of Estonia. The size of those boulders emphasize the giant physique of Kalevipoeg, because he was able to cast them, but also the destructiveness of the nature, for such boulders would actually cause a lot of damage when thrown at houses or people.

In some cases Kalevipoeg's activities are very productive. He has supposedly created some islands into the sea, into Lake Peipsi, and the Gulf of Finland was also dug by him (Laugaste & Rõõm 1958: 50, 52; see also Fig. 1). Furthermore, he has, for example, left traces of ploughing

in the ground, that refer to traditional ways of economy. Kalevipoeg has built towns and mills, and ploughed fields (Ibid: 60–62, 67).

There are also several land forms in Estonia that are connected to daily activities of the giant. For example, the higher elongated drumlins in the landscape are believed to have been his beds (see more below).

All in all, many monumental but natural objects in Estonian landscape are connected to the activities of Kalevipoeg. As the stories were formed in pre-industrial times, they were probably an attempt to explain the forces of nature, but at the same time the narratives reflected the invincibility of the nature as it was perceived by the people of that time, whether it was the first centuries AD or the 19th century. Some of the myths are more complex and literary, yet majority of them are simple, often just stating that Kalevipoeg did something somewhere or something is the result of his deeds. Thus the following stories are different both in their content and style and give an expression of the lore told among the settlers of mostly rural villages in Estonia in the end of 19th and beginning of 20th century.
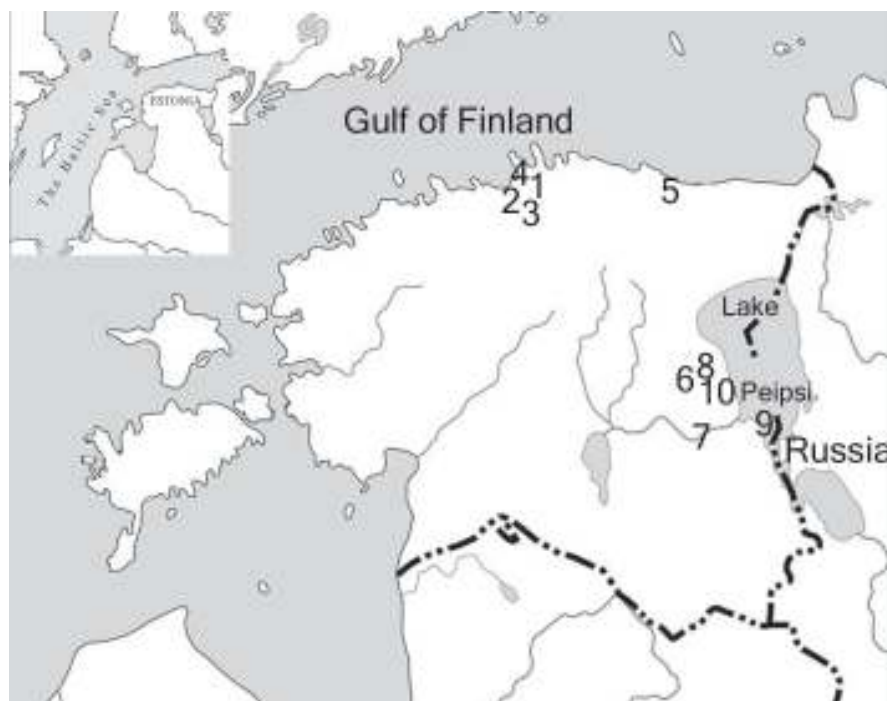

Figure 1. Places mentioned in text. 1 – Uuri; 2 – Kalevi-Liiva; 3 – Kodasoo, Lake Rummu; 4 – Turje Cellar; 5 – Aa Alulinn; 6 – Lake Kaiu; 7 – River Great Emajõgi; 8 – River Kääpa; 9 – Piirissaar; 10 – Alatskivi Kalevipoja säng hillfort, Lake Mõisajärv.

2 TRACES OF KALEVIPOEG IN NORTH-ESTONIA

In North-Estonia, traces of Kalevipoeg can be found in several places. As in other parts of Estonia, his acts called into being several natural features, and in few cases those sites are connected with archaeological objects. Mostly erratic boulders are connected with his deeds here. It is quite understandable since North-Estonia is predominantly flat and one of the most remarkable objects in its nature are large stones and erratic boulders. These can be found in the coastal sea, the coast, and also in inland areas. Although collected in different parts of the area, several myths tell a similar story how and why these boulders are where they are. Old Nick was mostly the target, sleeping or walking somewhere far away, and Kalevipoeg wanted to hit him

with the boulder. Yet the hero always missed him, but sometimes someone innocent was killed instead.

Still, different stories about Kalevipoeg also exist in Northern Estonia. These might be about stones, but the emergence of other natural objects can, too, be explained with the actions of Kalevipoeg.

One of the stories is about a field of boulders, located in the village of Uuri, Kuusalu parish (Fig. 1: 1). The story tells that it was formed when Kalevipoeg fell out with Old Nick and threw him with stones (Laugaste & Normann 1999: 23A). According to another story, Kalevipoeg is the reason why there is a large sandy area in Kuusalu parish. It says that there was once a lake that thirsty Kalevipoeg drank off, and instead of the water body there remained a quite large sandy area known as Kalevi-Liiva (Fig. 1: 2) at present. The giant was tired after drinking and went to have a rest on a large stone, situated some three versts from the previous lake. His marks are still visible on that stone (Laugaste & Normann 1999: 229E). Yet, other stories tell that it was not the hero to be blamed for that, it was an ox who emptied the lake and then went screaming and yelling towards Lake Rummu (Fig.1: 3), situated in a distance of 3–4 versts towards south-east. At the same time Kalevipoeg came to his lake to slake his thirst and found the lake missing. He followed the hoof prints of the animal and caught it after some distance. The hero cut its head off and both the head and the body turned into a stone that is still present in the landscape. Another version tells that in the vicinity of Kodasoo manor (Fig.1: 3), there is a stone named Härjakivi (Stone of Ox) where people made offerings. Once an ox drank off Kalevipoeg´s lake; Kalevipoeg chased after the animal and hit its head off. After that the remains of the animal turned into stone (Laugaste & Normann 1999, 229A–E). The latter story is important since it mentions offerings to that stone. Still, there is no other evidence to such activities.

Footprints of the hero are known in several places, as are also the hoof marks of his horses. Both of them are used to explain depressions, valleys and holes in terrain (Laugaste & Normann 1999: 240–242, 253). As he was tall and strong, so his horses had to be large animals and lakes have appeared in places where his horse wallowed (Ibid. 256).

A more complicated story tells, that Old Nick kept a tavern in Turje Cellar (Fig. 1: 4), a sandstone cave in the North-Estonian klint escarpment, and two beautiful maidens sold spirits there. Once Kalevipoeg came from Finland carrying twelve dozens of planks and when he reached Estonia, he was invited by the maidens to their tavern. He went and got drunk. After drinking he wanted to continue his trip towards the Lake Peipsi, but then Old Nick attacked him. Kalevipoeg repulsed his attacks using planks. He hit Old Nick flatways and gained no success. A hedgehog told him to hit edgewise, and doing that he made Old Nick to flee. Kalevipoeg was grateful for that good advice and gave a bit of his fur-coat to the animal. Since that the hedgehog has spines (Eisen, 1958: 38 –39). Similar stories are recorded from other parts of Estonia, including the area in the vicinity of Lake Peipsi, only the part of the tavern is known only from the specific locale of Turje Cellar.

One of the few stories that connect Kalevipoeg with archaeological object in North Estonia is about a site called Aa Alulinn (Fig. 1: 5). Alulinn is a name of a hillfort; its ruins are barely visible on the ground. There was no original lore about this object, but there is a description made by Kreutzwald himself and published in a weekly magazine called "Inland" in 1838, but in his article there is no reference to Kalevipoeg myths. He only mentions that according to the folklore, Alulinn was built by some great witch who wanted to keep a girl there who he had kidnapped (Laugaste & Normann 1999, 319). Around 1850 a sacrificial hoard was found near Alulinn. It consisted of iron weapons and big tools that were placed in a body of water or a bog. The items from the hoard are dated to a long period. First offerings were made in the end of the Pre-Roman Iron Age (1st century BC); the same place was continuously used for the same purpose also in the Roman Iron Age (50 – 450 AD) and in the Middle Iron Age (450 – 800 AD) (Lang, 2007: 247). It is most likely that Kreutzwald knew about the hoard, because the issue was actual among the intellectuals of the time, and it might have given him the idea to use the Alulinn site in his epics.

In the stories collected after the epic was published, Alulinn is sometimes mentioned as the work of Kalevipoeg. One of these explains that Kalevipoeg wanted to build a town; he took some oxen and made a cartload of planks. His aim was to built a town to the place where the

oxen stopped. Animals stopped in a bog near a fresh water spring, and town called Alulinn was built in the same place (Laugaste & Normann, 1999: 319C).

This was a very brief overview of the myths of Kalevipoeg, as they are recorded in North Estonia. Still, people here have wondered about the features of surrounding nature and tried to explain why it is as it is. Most of the stories are connected with erratic boulders, lying here and there. The stories about them might be the oldest layer, and some of them were used by Kreutzwald in his epic. But some stories were his creation, and after publishing the people overtook them and were adapted in old and new stories. Later these were recorded as true folklore created by the settlers of the region.

3   TRACES OF KALEVIPOEG IN EASTERN ESTONIA

The regressing ice cap has left many traces on the ground of Eastern and North-Eastern Estonia, which have later influenced the birth of many Kalevipoeg tales in this area. The depression of Lake Peipsi on the Eastern border of the modern Estonia and its ancient fluvial valleys, the boulders on the shore of the lake, and elongated moraine drumlins to the Northwest of the lake have played an important role in the perceptions of the people living in those landscapes, and thus people have tried to explain their physical appearance. This correlates well with the statement mentioned above, that the stories of Kalevipoeg can well take place wherever there are suitable natural conditions, and there probably are most in Eastern and North-Eastern Estonia, for the ground is "striped" with elongated drumlins. In the following few passages the different kinds of traces in the East Estonian landscape connected to Kalevipoeg's activities will be described and explained.

Probably the most outstanding natural feature in Eastern Estonia is Lake Peipsi (Fig. 1), which is one of the biggest lakes in Europe and has served a very significant function in the lives of the past people: it has been a communication and a trade route, but also a source of fresh water and food (see e. g. Karro 2012). The lake was formed by the ice during the last Glacial, but according to a folk tale it was created from a drop of water given to Kalevipoeg by a wise man when the giant was escaping from Old Nick. When he tossed the drop behind him, Lake Peipsi was formed and Old Nick could not catch Kalevipoeg (Laugaste & Normann, 1999: 380).

It is a shallow lake, because it only reached Kalevipoeg's belly (Ibid, 329A, 329B), or according to a folkloric song in eastern Estonian dialect, to his bottom (Ibid, 329E). The ancient fluvial valleys that form landscape around Lake Peipsi, are sometimes also described in the tales, for the depth of different small lakes and rivers in Lake Peipsi basin illustrate the size of the giant. For example, the folk song mentioned above also claims that when Lake Peipsi only reached Kalevipoeg's bottom, then Lake Kaiu (a small lake to the west from Lake Peipsi, Fig. 1: 6) was deeper, to the neck, River Emajõgi (Fig. 1: 7) reached the beads on his chest, and the sea reached his head (Ibid).

Another river, Kääpa (Fig. 1: 8), which passes the forested and boggy zone of Central-Eastern Estonia, is connected to the death of the giant. In fact, he lost his sword in the river while he was on his way to Russia, but when he came back, he had forgotten dropping the sword in the river and it cut his feet off (Ibid, 367). Actually, an interesting etymological connection can be drawn between the name of the river and the theme of this story. Kääpa (genitive of the word kääbas) means 'burial mound' in Estonian. The name of the river is probably connected to several Middle Iron Age burial mounds that are in the vicinity of it, and the development of the folk story may be related to that aspect.

Kalevipoeg very often went to Russia (Fig. 1), which is on the other side of Lake Peipsi. The 19th century, when most of the Kalevipoeg folk tales were gathered and probably some of them were also born, was the time of the revival of the Estonian language and culture connected to it. Estonian was started to be opposed to other two main languages in this area – Russian and German. The fact that Old Nick, the main enemy of Kalevipoeg, came over Lake Peipsi where Russia was, is probably influenced by the mentality of this time. The story of the formation of Piirissaar (Fig. 1: 9), an island between Estonia and Russia, tells that when Kalevipoeg went to Russia and lied down to rest in the lake, Old Nick came and put some sleeping herbs under his head; when Kalevipoeg woke up, he got angry because he had slept too long, and threw the herbs to the lake – Piirissaar was formed out of those (Ibid, 283).

A story that might refer to the opposition of the German manor owners (they have always had a negative image in Estonian folk stories) is the one about the formation of Lake Mõisajärv (manor lake, Fig. 1: 10). It goes as following: Old Nick wanted to drown sleeping Kalevipoeg in his urine and so the lake was formed (Ibid, 370). Actually, this lake is a result of the development of the Alatskivi manor park in the centre of the easternmost parish of Estonia - a river, River Alatskivi, which is flowing through it, was widened, and two lakes were formed out of it. So, the story might reflect a negative attitude to manor owners, who were of German origin, and had come to the Estonian lands to change the landscape and thus the life-ways of the Estonians.

Some stories have interesting references to Christianity. The opposition of Kalevipoeg as a hero and Old Nick as devil is, of course, also influence of Christianity, but direct mentioning of Biblical characters in Kalevipoeg tales is rather rare. Once Jesus wanted to cross Lake Peipsi and asked Kalevipoeg to carry him. When they were in the middle of the lake, a storm arose, and when they reached another shore, Kalevipoeg realized that Jesus was carrying him instead (Ibid, 371). This tale obviously wants to emphasize the miracles of Jesus, but it is also possible to find references to lake Peipsi as an unpredictable force of nature. It is also likely that this story can be dated back to the period when Christianity among people of Estonian origin was rather syncretistic and mixed with folk religion (for syncretistic Christianity in Estonia see Valk, in press).

Many of the stories of Kalevipoeg tell us about the dangers of lake Peipsi as it is rather like a small sea, especially when it comes to storms. For example, once Kalevipoeg wanted to build a bridge from Estonia to Russia, but it was crushed by a storm (Ibid, 117). The story about Kalevipoeg and Jesus crossing the lake in the previous passage also illustrates the severity of storms in Lake Peipsi.

When archaeological evidence connected to the places in Kalevipoeg tales are concerned, one place in particular can be emphasized – Kalevipoja säng hillfort (Fig. 1: 10) in the central area of the easternmost parish of Estonia. The toponym itself, which means 'Kalevipoeg's bed hillfort', already refers to it. The hillfort is a natural elongated drumlin, that has been strengthened with defence walls on both ends of the hillock. The hillock with higher ends definitely reminds a watcher of a bed in size suitable for a giant like Kalevipoeg. However, the hillfort is actually an ancient defended site, in use from 3rd century BC to 12th century AD with a settlement gap around 5th – 9th century (Karro 2010). The fact that people have connected the site with Kalevipoeg shows that the folk story is of much later origin than the hillfort itself.

In conclusion, stories of Kalevipoeg in eastern Estonia are very diverse and can be connected to different events and aspects of people's lives. Some of the stories were probably born during the revival time of the Estonian language and culture, when some of those folk stories were compiled into a national epic, but some of them may have older layers in it. All in all, they mainly describe the physical landscape and try to explain forces of nature.

4   CONCLUSIONS

The stories of Kalevipoeg in Northern and Eastern Estonia show that this layer of folk stories is very wide-spread in Estonia. The stories include references to certain historical and cultural events that have taken place in Estonia, thus they can in some cases date back to certain periods in Estonian history. It is very likely that most of the stories as they have been recorded were born in the 19th century, when Kreutzwald started to compile the Estonian epic story "Kalevipoeg".

The stories are closely connected to Estonian landscape – the physical and mental. As Kalevipoeg was a giant, he has been held responsible for formation but also for destruction of different places in the landscape. As Estonian landscape is quite flat, more dominant features, natural or human made, were noticed and tried to explain by the people who lived in the vicinity. Thus, several Kalevipoeg stories can be interpreted as birth myths of hillocks, rocks, lakes, islands, etc, and the pattern of the same story could take place anywhere with suitable natural conditions.

When it comes to archaeology, it seems that the stories of Kalevipoeg are sometimes connected with archaeological sites, but it is rather rare. One particular site both in Northern and

Eastern Estonia can be connected to such interpretation: Alulinn hillfort in Northern Estonia and Alatskivi Kalevipoja säng hillfort in Eastern Estonia. However, the inhabitation traces of the sites date back to much earlier times than the story of Kalevipoeg connected to them. In fact, it is quite likely that the mythological layer connected to the hero was created quite lately compared to the ancient usage period of the sites.

Kalevipoeg is considered to be Estonian national hero, although he is never a totally positive character. It is also a fact that the epic story was compiled of several older stories, and the stories chosen to for the epic were chosen very well to form a continuous narrative. However, Kalevipoeg really was a collective image of an Estonian, who lived in harmony with his/her landscape.

REFERENCES

Cosgrove, D. (1993). Landscapes and myths, gods and humans. In B. Bender, ed. *Landscape. Politics and Perspectives.* pp.281–305.

Eisen, M. J. (1958). *Esivanemate varandus*. Tallinn: Eesti Riiklik Kirjastus.

Karro, K. (2012). Lakeside and maritime landscapes: cases of Kodavere settlement district (eastern Estonia) and Pöide settlement district (Saaremaa). *Lietuvos, Archeologija*, 38: 253-270.

Karro, K. (2010). Kodavere – parish by Lake Peipus. The development of the cultural landscape during the Iron Age. *Archaeologia Baltica*, 14: 184-196.

Krull, H. (2012). Trikster ja mütoloogiline turist. Pärimuse ümberpööramine Kreutzwaldi Kalevipojas. *Keel ja Kirjandus*, 3: 161–173.

Lang, V. (2007). The Bronze and Early Iron Ages in Estonia. *Estonian Archaeology 3*.Tartu: Tartu University Press.

Lang, V. (2012). Kalevite kange rahvas. *Keel ja Kirjandus*, 12: 877-888.

Laugaste, E. & Normann, E. (1999). *Muistendeid ja uurimusi Kalevipojast* [online]. Available at http://www.folklore.ee/rl/folkte/myte/kalev/frame.html [Accessed January 2013].

Laugaste, E. & Rõõm, A. (1958). *Kalevipoja jälgedel*. Tallinn: Eesti Riiklik Kirjastus.

Lukas, L. (2011). *The Baltic-German Sagendichtung around the Kalevipoeg. International Symposium Traditional and Literary Epics of the World: Textuality, authorship, identity. The Kalevipoeg 150. November 29–30. Tartu*. pp.28.

Oinas, F. (2004). Kalevipoeg kütkeis [online]. Available in: http://www.folklore.ee/rl/folkte/myte/kalev2/ [Accessed 15 April 2013].

Peets, J. (2003). *The Power of Iron. Research into Ancient Times 12*. Tallinn: Institute of History.

Taçon, P. S. C. (2000). Identifying ancient sacred landscapes in Australia: from physical to social. *Archaeologies of Landscape. Contemporary Perspectives*. Oxford. pp.19–48.

Valk, H. (n.d.) [press release] The zhalnik graves: evidence of the Christianisation of the Novgorod and Pskov lands? In M. Woloszin, A. Musin, eds. *Rome, Constantinople and newly-converted Europe: archaeological and historical evidence*. Crakow: Polish academy of sciences. pp.xx-xx.

Valk, Ü. (2011). *The Kalevipoeg, mediumship and discursive authority of the other world. International Symposium Traditional and Literary Epics of the World: Textuality, authorship, identity. The Kalevipoeg 150. November 29–30, Tartu*. pp.39–40.

An integrated multidisciplinary approach to the documentation and conservation of the materiality and immateriality of scientific objects – the case of the Observatory of Neuchâtel

Isabel Tissot

Haute Ecole Arc Conservation-restoration, University of Applied Sciences and Arts Western Switzerland, Neuchâtel. Switzerland

Guillaume Rapp

Haute Ecole Arc Conservation-restoration, University of Applied Sciences and Arts Western Switzerland, Neuchâtel. Switzerland

Ludovic Rumo

Haute Ecole Arc Conservation-restoration, University of Applied Sciences and Arts Western Switzerland, Neuchâtel. Switzerland

Agnès Gelbert-Miermon

Haute Ecole Arc Conservation-restoration, University of Applied Sciences and Arts Western Switzerland, Neuchâtel. Switzerland

ABSTRACT: Scientific and technical (S&T) objects have a heritage value linked to their status as witnesses of technical, economic and cultural development. The astronomical heritage is composed by movable (instruments) and immovable (buildings) elements that function together in a network to obtain the astronomic data. The organic link between the different elements is essential to understand the function of each element and its contextualization. The conservation of this heritage should only be carried out integrating the tangible and intangible features of each object (know-how; practices and uses; etc). The paper presents, having as case study the Observatory of Neuchâtel, Switzerland (1858), the protocol which is being developed for the documentation and conservation of S&T collections. The method is based on an integrated multidisciplinary approach which combines the information of distinct sources, the objects, the archives and the living witnesses.

1 INTRODUCTION

Scientific and technical (S&T) heritage reflects the achievements in science and technology (Brenni, 2010). Initially, the elements that compose this heritage – objects, archives, buildings or sites – were used as science-based tools for research and more recently as educational tools for a wider public. The creation of an object or building with a precise function to obtain a scientific result is illustrative of the specific characteristics of S&T heritage (Le Guet-Tully & Davoigneau, 2012). In this domain, the astronomical heritage is a particular case where exists a close link between the instruments (moveable elements) and the buildings, observatory (immovable elements) that were constructed to obtain the astronomical data (Lamy & Motard, 2002). This networking creates a functional contextualization. The value of astronomical heritage is therefore based on this contextualisation and, on another perspective, on the impact of its activity on the scientific and industrial developments of the region, country or even internationally.

The conservation of S&T heritage, as for all other types of heritage, depends on compilation and exploitation of information gathered from different sources that can reconstruct the life of an object (Elvas et al, 2009). This increased information is essential to research and conservation purposes, for example for the conservation decision-making, and therefore to the protection of the heritage for future generations.

However, the documentation is a complicated process due to the large quantity and variety of information, its vulnerability and sometimes to the complex interpretation of the collected information; for example, the interpretation of a mark of usage on an object, or the interpretation of a construction manual of an instrument.

Due to its intrinsic characteristics, the management of the information related to astronomical heritage is even more complex because one must consider the functional contextualization issue which obliges to a characterization of the function in the usage context. It also increases the vulnerability of the information, since the objects of astronomical collections are normally scattered. Consequently, the definition of an adequate documentation protocol for astronomical objects is of utmost importance, as it is the way to characterize the object in its context. Nevertheless, the existing documentation protocols are scarce, especially if we consider the S&T objects (Lourenço & Gessner, 2012). Considering the above mentioned, the present paper aims to present the work that is being developed in the framework of the project OBS, in order to propose an integrated documentation protocol of astronomical objects. The documentation is based in the integration of the different information sources, namely the object, the archives and the oral witnesses and it aims to understand the essential characteristics of this heritage, namely the functional contextualization.

2 SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNICAL OBJECTS AND THE ASTRONOMICAL HERITAGE - THE CASE OF THE OBSERVATORY OF NEUCHÂTEL

As it is often assumed, scientific and technical (S&T) objects have a heritage value linked to their status as witnesses of technical, economic and cultural developments. By observing the reaction of visitors of S&T exhibition collections, one can see how these objects stimulate a desire to understand techniques and sciences. In particular, the astronomical heritage raises the important question of what is astronomy, how it is practised and what it represents for the humanity (Issenmann, 2011). Observatories, tangible elements in the landscape, with their special buildings in the middle of wooded parks or on mountaintops, are witnesses of these activities for the connoisseurs. But for the common visitors, they also evoke both the mystery and the unknown, which means they carry a special significance.

Astronomical heritage also involves movable objects such as instruments and archives and intangible features related, for example, to the knowledge of the technical performance of a particular object, the scientific development and adaptation of an instrument or technique, etc. (Granato & Le Guet-Tully, 2009). As for the artistic and archaeological heritage in general, the relationship between tangible and intangible features is a fundamental aspect of astronomical heritage. However, in this last case the aesthetics and antiquity are not always important. UNESCO refers 3 main aspects of this type of heritage which contributes to its value:

     i.   material evidence of the astronomical place in the form of fixed property and/or movable objects;

     ii.   the results of scientific activities (in the broadest sense), including, but not restricted to, astronomical observations; and

     iii.   socio-cultural applications and uses of astronomy at a given moment or over a given period for the site.

Another important characteristic of the astronomical heritage is the notion of "collective instrument". For example, in an Observatory every single instrument is an integrant part of a set that work together in a net. The assessment of an Observatory must involve a detailed study of the functionality, the construction of the site (buildings) and the use of each instrument, including, for instance, the electric lines connecting them to each other. The reconstitution of this strict relation between the objects, their operators and the goal for what they were constructed, which

was to produce an astronomical data, allow us to understand the full role of an object. A modified Gautier printing chronograph transcripting on a paper electrical tops activated by the hand of an observer looking through a meridian telescope, is a very good example of this situation, (Fig. 1). This unit, conserved at the Observatory of Besançon, (France), was driven by an electric motor of a very special type called "phonic wheel", totally obsolete and almost non-existent in published data, that was powered by a specific signal (1000 V at 1 kHz sidereal time) produced by separate amplification of the signal of a diapason clock located in another building. Of course, the huge diapason clock was removed from its place when more accurate quartz time-keepers became available. Nowadays, all the old time-keepers, chronographs and some other big devices have been disconnected and gathered in the basement of one of the historical buildings (Rapp, 2006).
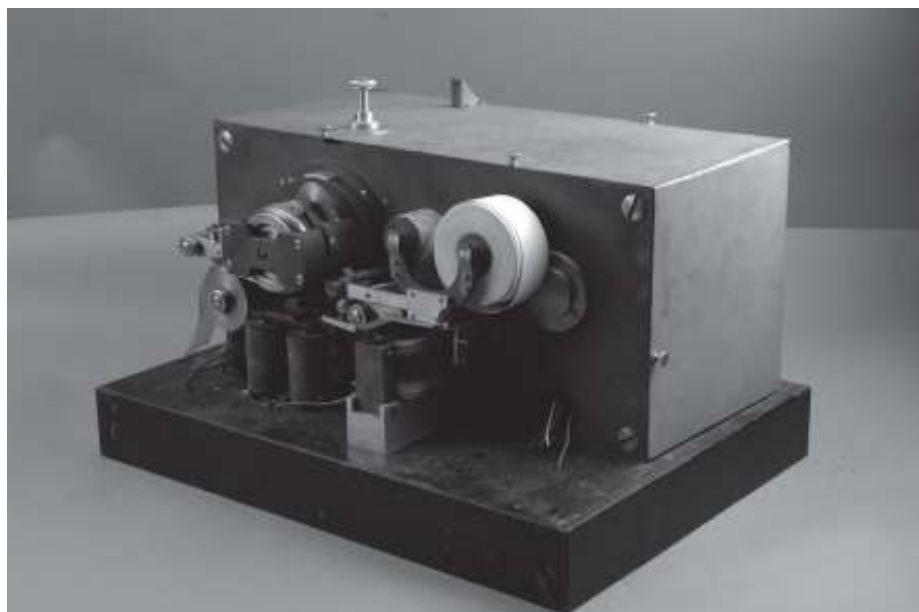

Figure 1. Chronograph Gautier.

There is another strong bond between the building, which has a specific architecture to ensure the function of the observation, with the objects which also have structural characteristics related to their position in the building as, for example, the telescopes accessories or their independent masonry foundations.

Thus, the preservation of the S&T objects from astronomical heritage has to consider their particular characteristics which comprises a physical and chemical system with a variable complexity; the straight link between the functional environment and the objects created by the natural relation of the moveable objects with the contexts of usage; and the vulnerability of the objects collections which are normally displaced or scattered, preserved at non-museological context.

It should be emphasised that normally at the end of an industrial activity, the buildings are reassigned, unlike the objects, which are decontextualized. The decontextualization and the loss of significance caused by the rupture with the functional environment underline the vulnerability of the S&T heritage and the risk of irreversible loss of contextual data. It also should be underlined that when an object enters in an abandon stage (elimination), the examples in which their

contextualization is maintained are rare. The loss of contextualization issue is a problem reported at international level and has been noted by authors elsewhere as well as in the case of the Observatory of Besançon (France) or the Astronomical Observatory of the Polytechnic School of Lisbon (Portugal). Inclusive in France in the early 1990s that was launched a research program to do a a thematic inventory of the heritage of astronomical observatories (Le Guet-Tully & Davoigneau, 2012).

In Switzerland, the collection of the Observatory of Neuchâtel (1858) is an excellent example of such a lack of contextualization. This Observatory is located in the region that is considered the cradle of the Swiss watchmaking industry and it is recognized for its heritage (La Chaux-de-fonds and Le Locle are on the UNESCO's World Heritage list, since 2009, as watchmaking towns). The ensemble is composed by a collection of scientific objects and 4 buildings – the original building of the Observatory (1958); the director's house; the Bamberg's telescope shelter and the new observatory building (1910) named Pavillon Hirsch, after the first director of the Observatory – Adolph Hirsch.

In 2003, the Pavillon Hirsch was officially classified as an example of a regional version of Modern Style called "Art sapin" (Fig. 2), but the collection of scientific instruments, from the 19th and 20th centuries, did not benefit from this measure.

Figure 2. Pavillon Hirsch – Observatoire de Neuchâtel.

Considering the objects collections, in 2003, a first inventory was carried out accounting 49 scientific objects divided in 3 main categories: watches, astronomy instruments and seismography instruments (Babey, 2003). The collection is currently dispersed by 4 different locations (Musée International d'Horlogerie MIH, external reserves of the MIH, Musée d'horlgerie du Locle Château des Monts MHL and the Observatory). Some of the objects, particularly ancient and prestigious, like the meridian telescope (in function between 1914 and 1959), were deposited in 1959 at the IWM once they have become obsolete through tive and with the introduction of new equipment. Others were moved, by the same reasons, to the MHL. However, most part of the collection was still, until very recently, in the Observatory.

The Observatory was official closed at 2007 and today the buildings are occupied by one unit of the Swiss Centre of Electronic and Microtechniques (CSEM) that continues to develop research linked with the watchmaking. An amateurs association organizes regular observations with the telescope Zeiss (1912) installed at Pavillion Hirsch, however there is no institutional entity responsible for the valorisation of the site.

Due to the reassigning of the building there was a risk for the conservation of the collection and the Office of Heritage and Archaeology of the Canton of Neuchâtel has decided, as a preservation measure, to move the objects to the IWM. Only certain instruments, physically associated with buildings, like the great seismograph of 18 tons (Fig. 3) located in the basement of the Pavillon Hirsch (Babey 2003) remained *in situ*.

Figure 3. Seismograph from Pavillon Hirsch – Observatoire de Neuchâtel. (Photo by Valentine Brodard).

The buildings and the collection are national and internationally recognized and have an important technical, industrial and scientific heritage value (Piguet, 2003; Babey & Piguet, 2008). At the technical level the objects reflect the processes used at different times to make astronomical observations. At the industrial level one should consider the astronomical data obtained by these instruments, which was directly applied in other areas of human activity leading to the production of material goods. Certain productions were very important for the development of the region like the horology. Finally, they are representative of scientific heritage as witnesses of the development of astronomical science at a given time.

Although the importance of the scientific and technical heritage is well established and recognized in some circles, its conservation is a relatively recent concept that is not always accepted. The first step to overcome this astronomical heritage vulnerability is to give a meaning to the objects for the new generations by documenting them. Then there is the problem of decontextualization, which demands the rebuilding of the links between objects that have been scattered (in 4 locations in the case of the Observatory of Neuchâtel), buildings and people who used them, like the ancient workers and collaborators of the Observatory and who are today, mostly, old people.

In the case of the Observatory of Neuchâtel, this decontextualization process is recent and the study of the collection of objects from the Observatory of Neuchâtel is a very good example to evaluate how the loss of information by a rupture with the functional context can be restored or maintained by the documentation. This recent rupture allows us to have still a direct link to the contexts of usage. Nevertheless, there are already different levels of decontextualization, i.e, different objects show fragmentary information due to rupture with the functional context. In order to illustrate this problematic, let's take the example of three different objects of the observatory – an astronomical clock, a chronograph and a mirror (Fig. 4). The astronomical clock from L. Leroy et Cie, Paris, worked at the watch room in the Pavillon Hirsch. In 2003, before it was moved, it was still in place and it was possible to clearly identify its functional and physical contexts. On the contrary, the chronograph made by Peyer Favarger and a tripod mirror were deposited at the Observatory but the local of function was not referenced, so the physical context was lost. Between the chronograph and the mirror the difference is that we can easily characterize the function of the chronograph but not of the tripod mirror. In order to characterize the object and to contextualize we have to resort to different sources of information.
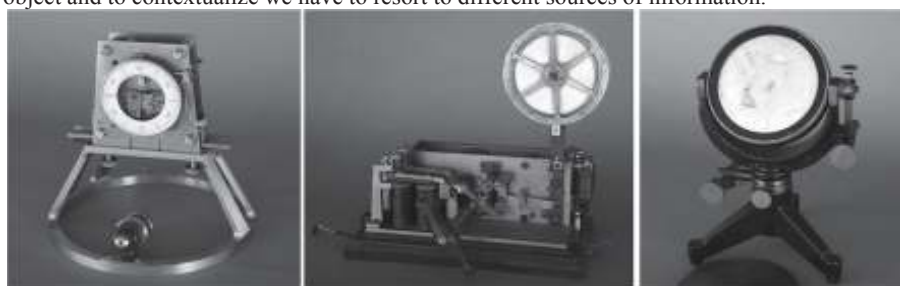

Figure 4. Astronomical clock L. Leroy; Chronograph Peyer Favarger; Mirror – Observatory of Neuchâtel. (Photo by MIH)

For instance in the case of the chronograph, an ancient photo (Fig. 5) allowed to identify the location of such object in the room of the observation of chronometers, at the ground floor of the Observatory building. But the chronography, in a "time measurement" oriented observatory like Neuchâtel, was probably used as well for assessing time accuracy of time-keepers like chronometers as for astronomical observation of stars passing at the meridian. This could explain de presence of two chronographs of the same typology in inventory made by Babey (Babey 2003). In this case, these two almost same devices were located at different places in the Observatory, and the second one should have been used next to or close to the meridian telescope. This hypothesis should be verified with the testimony of retired employees and historical sources.

Figure 5. Room of chronometers of the Observatory of Neuchâtel where it is possible to see the localization of the chronograph at the top left (Département de l'Instruction publique, 1912).

The case of the tripod mirror is even more complex and to identify the function we appealed to the aid of specialists of the study of astronomy, which gave different orientations about the possible dating and function of the mirror, which are being for the moment explore (Fig. 6). These specialists are members of another association – AMSTN (Association pour la création d'un Musée de La science et de la Technique) which was constituted with the aim to create a Science and Technical Museum in the Observatory of Neuchâtel to valorise the Observatory has a heritage.

The three examples of these objects raise an important issue. How can we proceed to the documentation of these objects and in particular what are the contributions of the different sources to answer the contextualization issue - historical, functional and physical?

Figure 6. Meeting with the members of AMSTN and the team of OBS about the objects of the collection of Observatory of Neuchâtel.

3 THE DOCUMENTATION OF S&T OBJECTS – THE ROLE OF THE CONSERVATOR-RESTORER AS A COLLECTOR OF INFORMATION

The documentation of S&T objects is currently largely based on written sources collected by historians. However, to a full understanding of these objects, their function and their values, the information should be based on three sources that are rarely deployed as a whole: i) archive documents, ii) oral witnesses of the activity and context and iii) the objects themselves.

   The first two points are normally explored by science historians and/or ethnologists and the third by conservator-restorers. Regarding the third source, it should be emphasised that the "materiality" of science is still largely underestimated as an historical source and only recently the object itself has been considered as a primary source of information (Lourenço, 2009; Anderson et al, 2011). The information sources can be multiple, widely dispersed and also vulnerable (for example, death of witnesses and lost or destroyed archives).

   On another hand, science historians who study these objects based on the available documentation are often confronted with the fact that their access is limited to what objects are supposed to be. This fact is illustrative of the difficulty to interpret the information. Some of them are aware of this issue and do not hesitate to ask the conservator-restorer for more information about the state and the use that can be read on surfaces and in the structure. In fact, the conservator-restorer, by the nature of his work - a direct link with the object -, has a fundamental role in the documentation of the object and its context. S&T objects have the particular characteristic of being the material basis of a phenomenon, an energy transformation to assume their function that can be interpreted by the conservator-restorer.

   At this stage, it is important to clearly distinguish function and operation in order to explain the complexity of the information that can be imprint on an object. Both can evolve with the object's life; however, operation can differ dramatically from the beginning to the end of the using

period. It may be influenced by wear, aging, incidents, changes in maintenance of the objects, repairs, modifications, "cannibalization", etc. Even a regular wear can be divided in technical wear, due to operation, and anthropological wear, due to the use and the controlling. All of these so called alterations could, in some extent, be interpreted. This must naturally not be confused with characteristics or construction flaws. Finally, all the various stages of the life of the object and the traces they leave must be viewed through its own prism: the manufacture, use, decommissioning (storage), abandonment, preservation, restoration, exhibition, re-operation, etc.

The conservator-restorer combines two visions of the object: one merely technical, which considers the constituent materials in order to limit their degradation, and a more cultural vision. This combined vision allows:

i.   to collect an appropriate historical documentation of the object in order to respect the sense of the work through any restoration process

ii.   to apply a method allowing to address the system complexity to be conserved without taking any damage risk for the object integrity

iii. to know the manufacturing techniques of the objects and to identify the marks present at the objects surface that evidences its usage and the degradation due to the ware or simply to the natural ageing systems and

iv.   to determine the degradations risks about an operation recurrent in the S&T objects, what we would call "re-operation".

The interest of this overall vision, centred on the object, requires the conservator to consider the object materiality but also the immaterial components (use, know-how, etc), and thus to propose a method to restore the object in all its authenticity and its integrity (Rapp, 2006).

The aim of this comprehensive approach, certainly centred on the object's conservation process, is to keep in mind the meaning of the actions of people in the past in order to pass them to future generations. It clearly involves, at the very top of the list, the work of a historian. The conservator-restorers who write this article have experienced that if the documentation work is based on the research of the historians, it can be possible to complement or confront their findings by the observations of the conservator-restorer, as well as the other way around. This reciprocity encouraged them to continue in this direction and develop further in the non-written historical sense. Considering that they are not qualified to properly perform this type of research (analytical purposes on a large scale), conservators turned to the discipline that could produce results in this perspective: ethnography. This fact lead to the identification of the need that exists in developing a documentation protocol (or tool) that comprises this integrated approach involving the three main sources of information based on the specializations of history, ethnography, and conservation and restoration.

4   THE INTEGRATED DOCUMENTATION FOR CONSERVATION OF S&T OBJECTS

Recently new integrated documentation methodologies have been reported, aiming to organize, prioritize and make choices about an object or collection of objects. Some are focused on objects and collections to increase the pre-musealization biography data (Lourenço & Gessner, 2012) and others devoted to the heritage conservation-restoration (Kioussi, 2013).

Lourenço & Gessner (2012) presented a "toolkit" to the documentation of S&T heritage as individual objects and as museum collections. The approach is based on issues divided in 3 levels i) object level with the information related to the diversity of materials, aesthetic and functional features, evidence of manufacture and craftsmanship, provenance, changing ownership, symbolic significance and actual usage ii) cabinet level, issues related to collection scope, purpose and boundaries, incorporation and dispersal, physical location and the definition of collection itself and iii) validating and integrating data from multiple archival, material, iconographic and bibliographical sources. The authors had developed a model to organise and analyse data according to the dimensions of time (chronological dichotomy) and similarity (classification dichotomy) for the object level. At collection level, the proposal comprises the identification of

parameters that characterise a collection at a given point (purpose, use and development, people and institutions, objects, physical location) and the association of critical points in the collection biography, including creation and dismantling.

Although the approach considers the historical, oral witness and the object as sources of information, the different sources are not explored by specialisations (historians, ethnologists, conservators-restorers), i.e., there is no cross-linking observation. Also, the method is not clear about the integration of the different sources in particular about the contextualisation of an object, namely the link between place of usage, function and users. This is maybe justified by the fact that this method is directed to S&T objects in museums, where the context of the object has been lost, in almost cases.

Considering the documentation methods for the heritage conservation-restoration, there are various examples, but the ones that propose an organization of information in order to a conservation decision-making are rare and even those are mainly related to immovable heritage, like historical buildings.
Kioussi et al (2013) proposed an integrated documentation based on the historical, geographical, architectural and conservation-restoration (state of conservation, risk indicators, etc) information, that was integrated to establish a three-level classification of data – basic, knowledge and decision making data. The first level delivers the basic data (primary information about the building), the second level data details the primary information and the third level correlates the different information in the two levels in order to decide upon the conservation procedures and management of the building. Although the proposed documentation methodology is a really good example of an integrated approach, that integration is limited to the conservation-restoration domain, mainly to the material component.

Consequently, it is possible to conclude that it's still missing an approach that integrates effectively the information of the different sources and specialisations and that considers the contextualization issue, i.e, the integration of the information from the place-object-activities.
Therefore, the project OBS, based on the study of the Observatory of Neuchâtel objects collection, aims to propose an integrated approach to the documentation of S&T objects allowing their functional and physical recontextualization.

In this scope, the work comprises the compilation and analysis of the written, iconographic and oral data collected by historians, ethnologists and conservators-restores. The aim is to collect, organize and choose the information that can clearly identify the functional, physical and historical contexts and that, by consequence certify the historical and cultural value of the objects in the collection of the Observatory, and also be a tool for decision-making conservation.

The functional context analysis will be carried from several complementary approaches, namely

i)   interpretation of archives information, schemas and plans and oral information from witnesses. Concerning the oral witness, the ones direct linked to immaterial heritage, it should be underlined that for the moment it were identified as direct living witnesses, two former directors, one vice-director of and one ancient collaborator (who has worked for 40 years) of the Observatory. As indirect witnesses it were identified different actors around the Observatory, like watchmakers, researchers and astronomy amateurs, like the members of the two referred associations. With the semi-direct interviews the team aims to: a) contribute to the identification of the function and the contextualization of the object by interviews around objects; b) identify and characterize the factual importance of the Observatory in the region and beyond (witness with links with industrial activities etc.) and c) the social importance of the observatory (the study of social representations associated with this place and its activities)

ii) spatial study: the collection of the iconographic documents will allow us to locate the facilities of the different equipments and objects of the Observatory. The images of the interior of the buildings showing the objects will allow us to virtually pinpoint the local where they were or to emplace them at the activity operation chain

iii) reading of marks of usage and degradation. The conservators-restores can complete, confirm or refute the historical interpretations of the functional context based on the observation of the objects and the traces resultant from their use and degradation.

The professionals of different specializations will carry out a joint work that highlights the merging point of different information sources, i.e., the function of a certain instrument explained by the object, by documents and by oral testimonies. It will also identify the diverging points, like:

i) the ubiquity of the information: Some information about the use of an instrument can be apprehended by different sources. For example, a witness remembers that a certain instrument was used during a very short period of time and that it was in storage in a side room. Is there any material evidence of this abandon? Is there any document that assigns the non-function of the object?

ii) conflicting sources: returning to be previous example, one witness remembers that a certain instrument was used during a very short period of time but in the archives the data of non-function doesn't correspond to the period indicated by the oral source.

iii) the gap between the official function of a object and its real function: the archive documents refer the existence of an important instrument bought due to a special scientific development. Does the object still exist in the collections? Does the oral witness remember seeing the object?

Being a work in progress for the moment we have chosen a corpus of study with 14 objects of the Observatory based on different parameters that represent the issues concerning the documentation of the context - functional, physical and historical - of the collections of astronomy, namely: i) the movable and immovable heritage ii) the readability of the object direct linked to the context iii) the description of the mechanism/function and functionality iv) the role in the local industrial history v) the representation of the historical and technical evolution of the timekeepers (table 1).

Table 1. Corpus of study.

Object	Choice Criteria*
Astronomical clock Leroy et Cie, Paris, N°1756	ii)
Astronomical telescope, Merz	ii)
Caesium atomic clock	v)
Chronograph recorder	v)
Chronograph, Peyer Favarger N°19'163 with wooden box	ii) iii)
Chronograph, Peyer Favarger N°20'657 with wooden box	ii) iii)
Electric board (2)	iii) iv)
Equatorial triple photographic refractor telescope, Zeiss	i) iii)
High precision clock, Winnerl	v)
High precision clock, Zenith, Le Locle	ii)
Meridian telescope	v)
Mirror	ii)
Quartz clock, Ebauches, SA	v)
Seismograph	i)

* i) the movable and immovable heritage ii) the readability of the object direct linked to the context iii) the description of the mechanism/function and functionality iv) the role in the local industrial history v) the representation of the historical and technical evolution of the timekeepers.

Each object will be analysed through 3 different specialisations (historians, ethnologists and conservators-restores). Then, for each object, it will be collected the data related to the contextualization. The data will be then evaluated from a qualitative point of view about its ability to contextualize the object.

To attain the final objective it will be identify and assessed the similarities and differences between the collected data in order to correlate them, to classify them and to extract the information directly linked to the contextualization. Only then it will be possible to establish a documentation methodology that clearly identifies what information of an object should be collected in order to perform a functional and physical contextualization.

5   CONCLUSION

The project OBS, financed by the University of Applied Sciences and Arts of western Switzerland and by the Binding Foundation, is a particularly interesting example of the application of new documentation protocols for the astronomical heritage. The study of the collection of objects from Observatory of Neuchâtel which was subjected, in 2003, to a process of decontextualization, allows us to promptly intervene in order to avoid the vulnerability of the collection and the loss of information of the function context.

The project is focused in the documentation of S&T collection based in the collection of information by different sources (object, archives and oral witnesses) and specialists (conservators-restores, historians and ethnologists). The link between the contributions will allow to increase the data collected to a broader field and to emphasize the relation between the material and immaterial features of each object.

The work is based in the development of a documentation protocol that identifies the information that is directly link to the functional, physical and historical contextualization classifying its ability to context each object and create the sense of collective instrument for the astronomical heritage. The tool can then be used to support decision making for conservation-restoration and to management of the collection and can be applied to other collections of astronomical heritage.

As indirect outputs, we expect with OBS to promote the interpretation of the site of the Observatory for a wider public and to enhance the importance of a site that had an important contribution to the industrial development of Neuchâtel, between 1958 and 2003.

REFERENCES

Anderson, K., Frappier, M., Neswald, E., & Trim, H. (2011). Reading instruments: Objects, texts and museums. *Science & Education*. doi:10.1007/s11191-011-9391-y.

Babey, V. & Piguet, C. (2008). La recherche de l'exactitude. In J. Bujard & L. Tissot, eds. *Le pays de Neuchâtel et son patrimoine horloger*. Chézard-St. Martin : Chatière. pp. 224-243.

Babey, V. (2004). *Espace muséal du Pavillon Hirsch. Final rapport of pos-graduated studies on Museology and Cultural Mediation*. Lausanne.

Babey, V. (2003). *Observatoire de Neuchâtel – Espace muséal du pavillon Hirsch. Edition universitaire de Neuchâtel*. Neuchâtel: Institut d'histoire de l'art et de muséologie.

Brenni, P. (2010). Considerações sobre o restauro de instrumentos científicos. *Museologia pt*, 4:198–206.

Département de l'Instruction publique (1912). *L'Observatoire Cantonal neuchâtelois. 1858-1912*. Neuchâtel: Souvenir de son Cinquantième et de l'Inauguration du Pavillon Hirsch.

Elvas, M. C., Peres, I. M., & Gessner, S. (2009). The Laboratorio Chimico of the Museum of Science, University of Lisbon: Reflections on documenting a collection. In M. C. Lourenço & A. Carneiro, eds. *Spaces and collections in the history of science*. Lisbon: Museum of Science of the University of Lisbon. pp.185–194.

Granato, M., Le Guet-Tully, F. (2009). Les principes de la restauration d'instruments scientifiques : Le cas du cercle méridien Gautier de l'Observatoire du Rio de Janeiro. *InSitu Revue des patrimoines*. 10.

Issenmann, D. (201). Collections Universitaires et patrimoine culturel – l'inventaire du patrimoine de l'Université de Strasbourg. *InSitu Revue des patrimoines*. 17 : 2-11.

Kioussi, A., Karoglou, M., Labropoulos, K., Bakolas, A. & Moropoulo, A. (2013). Integrated documenta-tion protocols enabling decision making in cultural heritage protection. *Journal of Cultural Heritage*. Available at http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.culher.201.01.007.

Lamy, J. & Motard, B. (2012). Le patrimoine astronomique français : de la curiosité à l'inventaire. *La let-tres de l'OCIM*, 84 : 5-32.

Le Guet-Tully, F.& Davoigneau, J. (n.d.). *L'inventaire et le patrimoine de l'astronomie. L'exemple des cercles méridiens et leurs* abris [online]. Available at http://www.insitu.culture.fr/pdf/davoigneau-467.pdf [Accessed the 11 May 2013].

Lourenço, M. C. Gessner, S. (2012). Documentating Collections: Cornerstones for Mores History of Sci-ence in Museums. *Science & Education*. DOI 10.1007/s11191-012-9568-z.

Lourenço, M.C. & Carneiro, A. (2009). *Spaces and collections in the history of science*. Lisbon: Museum of Science of the University of Lisbon.

Piguet, C. (2003). L'Observatoire cantonal de Neuchâtel : une architecture et un ensemble décoratif. *Re-vue historique neuchâtelois,* 3-4: 307-329.

Rapp, G. (2006). La conservation d'instruments scientifiques: le cas du chronographe Gautier (1905) de l'observatoire de Besançon. *CoRé*, 17:26-33.

Princes, paupers, or summer flies: touring the imagined Azorean Homeland

Janet Eldred

University of Kentucky Chellgren Professor, Lexington, Kentucky, USA

ABSTRACT: Literature is recognized as intangible heritage, that is, as a cultural artifact (potentially) worthy of preservation. However, the relationship between literature and intangible heritage need not end in definition. This paper advances two additional potential relationships. The first is easy: Literature can take as its subject the preservation of heritage. The second construct is more complex: Literature can enrich the theoretical frameworks used to study intangible heritage. To arrive at this second construct requires cross-disciplinary research, using imaginative literature's capacity to breathe life into the academic terms we use and the critical narratives we plot. It does so in a way that the Russian Formalists believed central to literature, through the act of "making strange," provoking discomfort with the traditional words and traditional narrative patterns we use to narrate and analyze. Here I will focus on poetic disruptions of terms and plots invoked in discussions of heritage and homeland tours, using one specific poem by Azorean-American writer José Manuel Vicente Jorge Raposo.

1   INTRODUCTION: HERITAGE, PERSPECTIVE, AND IDENTITY

In their 2010 paper, "Heritage? What do you mean by heritage?," Marmion, Calver, & Wilkes make a small, but important adjustment to the study of heritage, insisting on the centrality of *perspective*: "[I]n order to develop understanding of heritage, and to gain insights into its value and relevance for society, the focus ought . . . to be on *how individuals perceive heritage in their own terms"* (p. 33, emphasis added). As a rhetorician, narrative theorist, and creative writer, who often wrestles with the scripting of heritage, this proposition appeals to me, even as I realize that the construction of heritage is often not a simple composing matter, but rather a complex one. What is true of heritage is even truer of intangible heritage, which by its very nature is dynamic, shifting, alive and lived, and still truer for the closely related term "identity." For the immigrant or exiled, the living of a dynamic, shifting heritage identity cannot be avoided; it is a substantial part of everyday lived experience, whether chosen as an act of self-stabilization in unfolding situations, or whether imposed on the individual by others. At the Sharing Cultures conference in 2011, I looked at heritage preservation and identity for a younger generation, the 20-somethings. Their perspective is characterized by hope, by the security of an Azorean homeland even as they emigrate (Eldred, 2011). Here I focus on a generation who emigrated in the 20th century. Now in their sixties and beyond, they are the immigrants whose age, limited formal education, and love of the "old ways" is belittled by the phrase "summer flies." Although both generations represent Azorean immigrants, the perspective of "living Portuguese" could not be more different, unless these experiences are juxtaposed with

those of Azoreans who never immigrated. What is held together by the single adjective "Azorean" is easily fractured, dramatically so when older Azorean immigrants "tour" their homeland.

2   PLEDGING TWO NATIONS: TRANSNATIONAL IDENTITY

To talk about identity in academic terms is to be thrown into the postmodern briar patch, filled with thorny constructs that scholars cut away, only to have them spring up, thornier than ever. On one end of the spectrum, there is the problem that is generally characterized by the word "essentialism," the troubling notion that identity is fixed, unchanging, and unchangeable. For scholars this notion is untenable because it insists that neither culture, nor time, nor individual agency can change identity. In essential constructions, identity simply *is*, fixed by biology or by others. On the other end of this spectrum is the notion of identity as completely fluid, to the point of being fraudulent. In this picture, identity is *acting*, simply a series of postures with no substance, a kaleidoscope of poses, so myriad, so fleeting, as to be meaningless - or frighteningly psychotic, a phenomenon dramatized by the well-known novel and later film, *The Talented Mr. Ripley*. Somewhere in between these two extremes rests the exilic or immigrant condition, often described as being neither fish, nor fowl; as belonging neither here, nor there - a state of unnerving, psychic homelessness.

In his 1991 review essay, "Ethnicity in an Age of Diaspora," R. Radhakrishnan raises a series of questions still relevant to the connections between identity and intangible heritag, particularly as it applies to immigrants, for whom national identification and ethnicity appear heightened. What begins as a single question snowballs into several more, many of which I've elided here:

> How is ethnic identity related to national identity? Is this relationship hierarchically structured, such that the "national" is supposed to subsume and transcend ethnic identity, or does the relationship produce a hyphenated-identity…where the hyphen indicates a dialogic and nonhierarchic conjuncture? What if identity is merely ethnic and not national at all? Could such an identity survive and be legitimate, or would it be construed as a nonviable form of "difference," that is, **experientially authentic** but not historically legitimate? (Radhakrishnan: 105)

I am particularly taken by Radhakrishnan's phrase "experientially authentic" because it acknowledges that people live this linguistic conundrum. Rhetorically speaking, identity is a linguistic act, the act of naming and renaming, claiming and unclaiming. Individuals both name and are named. Identity is changing, to be sure, but at any given moment, in any situation, it is stable - naming makes it so - for good or for ill. Sometimes that naming is done in attempt to stabilize an identity against forces threatening mutation. Sometimes the naming is done precisely to mutate or change identity. Sometimes one is named in uncomfortable or cruel ways. However, in rhetorical terms, naming is only part of the equation: Identity is also constructed out of *doing* (Anderson, 2007), by consciously or unconsciously living in accordance with or against the selves projected by others. It is this combination of naming and doing that offers the possibility for healthy identity reformation.

Narrative theorists following Bakhtin and more recently narrative psychologists (McAdams, Josselson, & Lieblich, A., 2006) have accepted a postmodern self that is multi-perspectival and polyphonic. The old idea of a unified, healthy self has given way to the notion that individuals can and increasingly do sanely compose and recompose themselves out of competing discourses and ideologies. For example, in the context I study here, a transnational might construct an identity that simultaneously allows himself or herself to be entirely faithful - Ulrich Beck (2000) would say polygamously faithful - to two nation states and two divergent identities, even as the world demands a hyphenated, divided identity, or at the every least, some sort of subordinated or contextualized relationship between the parts, as in these examples:

> I am American, but of Portuguese descent (subordinated, assimilation context); or,
>
> I am Portuguese-American (hyphenated, quasi-equal parts, multicultural context); or,

I am American when in the U.S. and Portuguese when in the Azores (geographically contextualized).

Dual citizenship and transnational living make possible one other formulation: "I am a dual citizen of the Azores and the U.S.," or put differently, I have two homelands. This kaleidoscopic shifting of discrete bits of self allows one to speak back to and against the immigrant dis-ease; it makes possible an ideal sense of belonging. Rather than being nowhere at home - the condition academics refer to as "bipolarity," "hybridity," or prosaically "in-*betweenness"* - one can be, legally speaking, at home in either place; they can experience a "consciousness of ongoing transnational identification where variables are negotiated on equal terms, where a dual sense of belonging is standardized and where the transnational life is strengthened" (Sardinha, 2011: 159, 169-70). Rather than being neither American nor Azorean, one can be unabashedly, unashamedly and fully both. Rather than feeling an archaic part of history, the role often assigned to Azoreans who immigrated in the 20th century, one can feel progressive.

The problem with such scripting - it is the problem with all life scripts - is that it is fragile and, moreover, constantly threatened by outside discourses that forcefully articulate a different perspective, that insist on hybrid or subordinated identities. As Sardinha posits, it's not only essential for the transnational to adhere to this script, "it is also essential that the host society refrain from raising discriminatory, behavioral and/or institutional obstacles" (2011: 161). As studies of return migration suggest, such blanket acceptance is somewhat rare. In the cases I look at here, the Azorean immigrant returning home is likely to encounter a strong message of "You no longer belong here." The academy recognizes and studies immigration invoking the terms of "host" nations, and yet, I would suggest that the very word "host" does not obtain, for it insists that one is there by invitation rather than by birthright. It suggests that one is a guest in someone else's home. And sometimes, guests are made to feel unwanted.

3 UNWANTED HERITAGE: THE SOCIAL-HISTORICAL BREEDING GROUND FOR SUMMER FLIES

"The Portuguese diaspora is extensive. Estimates point to over 4.5 million Portuguese and Portuguese descendants outside of Portugal, the great majority of whom will return to their ancestral homeland.... For those who do, however, the remigration 'home' is seldom a smooth process." (Sardinha, 2011: 153).

For the transnational immigrant facing a less-than-welcome return, the options are perhaps cessation of return travel or dogged, silent persistence. As one couple returning from the U.S. to the Azores put it, "We learned to be quiet," not only because their Americanized views were unwelcomed, but also because the very sound of their accented speech was found offensive. Literature is the antithesis of silence. It literally imagines other options by composing or calling attention to the scripts that shape the life choices of the dual-citizen transnational. In this way, literature imagines a new discursive frame, a new way to live a life story. For some, such literature is considered "activist" because it enters not just an aesthetic and experiential discursive space, but a political one. For others, such literature might simply be seen as fighting words. As my discussion of the poem "Mosca de verão/Summer Flies" will demonstrate, the postmodern version of the Azorean-American transnational's healthy psyche requires maneuvering on a loud, rough field of play.

José Manuel Vicente Jorge Raposo is not afraid of a good fight. He was born and raised in Candelária, on the island of São Miguel, in the Azores. As a result of his mother's labor (and the help of a benefactor), he benefited from more education than was typical of other 20th century Azorean immigrants. His primary school education was supplemented by his time at the Industrial and Commercial School of Ponta Delgada, from which he graduated with a specialization in Commerce and Business Management. Raposo completed military service in Portugal as Furriel Miliciano in the then Infantry Battalion #18. In 1975, he immigrated to California, eventually becoming owner of a dry cleaning business in Marin County. Although the business was somewhat successful, that chapter of his life ended stressfully as a result of a protracted lawsuit. For a short time, he entered into partnership in a car repair shop but has since retired. Raposo is proudly an active citizen. While in business, Raposo engaged in civic commerce activity, serving as President of the Chamber of Commerce of the city of Fairfax and President of the Businessmen's

Association of the city of Petaluma, both in California. He was and is also active in California's Portuguese diaspora. He served as President of the Irmandade do Divino Espírito Santo e Santíssima Trindade, in the city of Sausalito. For several decades, he has been a featured writer for *The Portuguese Tribune,* where he is known for his fiery and sometimes contentious editorials.

As a poet, Raposo is entirely self-taught; he has self-published all of his own poetry, because, as he explains, he is unschooled to the mysteries by which poetry is published and is unsure of whether he has the credentials to be a poet. One of his poems, "I Am Not a Poet" speaks to his poetic identity:

I Am Not a Poet

[From *Tangled*, 3rd edition, 2011.]

I write verses.

I transmit to the paper what I think,

what I feel and what I see.

It can be an early morning song of the blue jay

or augury hoots of the night owl,

the opening of the morning glories at dawn

or the closing of the poppies at dusk.

It can be the crystalline water of a spring,

contouring the naked beauty of a queen

in the flourish of a palace,

or the running water of a creek

reflecting the innocence of a country girl.

Or the warmth of a ray of sun on a bright day,

Following a tenuous moon on a sinister night.

The reality of a dream

or the everyday lies. . .

The inebriating perfume of a rose

or the pestilent smell of society.

I am not a poet.

I write verses.

Speaking during an interview, Raposo explained to me that he writes poetry, not out of any delusions of genius, but out of compulsion. He is acutely aware that he hasn't the advanced schooling of a poet, although he has carefully read canonical Portuguese poetry. His poems, he explains, insist on being written; he has no choice but to write and is fortunate that his family has supported him in what seems to be a Quixotic - and expensive - endeavor. He has written and distributed more than five volumes of poetry. A collection of poems in English, *Tangled*, is in its third edition or print running. He frequently releases his poems at live events either in the larger Bay Area of California or in Brazil. His last volume of poems was released at an event, complete with *fadistas* (he also writes *fado* lyrics), at the Portuguese embassy in San Francisco.

   Raposo writes poetry across a range of subjects - love, religion, science, politics - but here I am most interested in a poem about the immigrant looking to re-experience the heritage of Azorean homeland. The poem exists in two versions, one Portuguese, one English, a pairing that is not unusual for Raposo, who explains that he isn't comfortable translating his poems. It's better, he insists, to create a new poem for each language. In "Mosca de verão/Summer Flies," Raposo invokes a specific heritage activity - Azorean immigrants returning to the islands for extended summer vacations:

Mosca de verão	Summer Flies
O imigrante não é pobre,	You call us summer flies
não é pobre com certeza	when we come back on vacation.
pois traz em sua alma nobre	We never forgot our ties,
toda a nação Portuguesa.	our island love and admiration.
Pode provar na verdade	We were born on this land.
com carradas de razão,	You don't know the feeling,
que tem na alma a saudade,	you will never understand
o que eles jamais terão.	the *saudade* and its meaning.
E se à terra não voltar,	American dollars were for so long a bliss,
dinheiro lá não gastar,	the happiness of so many cries.
é que todos saberão	Now, our money you do not miss.
E irão compreender,	You have the euro and its lies.
a falta que vai fazer	The day will come that you'll miss
a tal mosca de verão.	the annoying summer flies.

   Like many immigrants to the United States, Azoreans like Raposo came with the hope of improving their economic prospects. Those arriving in the U.S. before the advent of late 20th century multicultural-ism faced tremendous pressures to assimilate in the new country. While a great number of immigrants left with the understanding that they would build personal wealth in order to shore up families and com-munities back home - this powerful teaching is imprinted in Azorean-American literature (Eldred, 2010; Sousa, 2011) - many, perhaps even most, felt their traditions, language, and even their beliefs, erode in the quest to achieve economic success. Their children and grandchildren largely did assimilate, many re-taining surnames that they could no longer pronounce, a phenomenon Meredith Vieira discovers and ar-ticulates during her televised 2008 heritage trip to the Azores. Indeed, in a great deal of the television footage, Vieira is repeatedly trying to pronounce her own name so that it will be recognizable to Azoreans. These attempts become a sweetly, comic theme, the leitmotif for her journey, one to which many U.S. viewers with Azorean heritage responded. On one blog site a reader offers her this tip: "Dear Meredith, Try pronouncing your last name as two separate words. The first one Vie (v-AY) and the se-cond one ira (ee-RAH) and roll the "r". I've had that same problem with some words and this trick works for me." (MSNBC Today Show 2008).

   Vieira's Azorean "homecoming" was a happy one. She was warmly received in the Azores; likewise, her return home to the U.S. met with an enthusiastic response from Azorean-Americans. It was a sweet, feel-good news story. Yet Vieira would be the first to admit that she needn't have traveled all the way to Faial to find the Azores. In 2011, she was the keynote speaker for the Rhode Island College Portuguese and Lusophone World Studies Conference, where she was once again introduced with two different pro-

nunciations of her last name (Rhode Island College). In her comments, she offers the perfect postmodern cultural script, admitting that she was once "ashamed of her ancestry": "I was one of those kids who grew up sort of denying my heritage; all I wanted to do was assimilate. I was Meredith Vieira, American—not Meredith Vieira, Portuguese-American." She claims that two things happened after visiting the Azores, first with her parents and again with the *Today* show: "One, I became incredibly proud of this name, Vieira, and also ashamed that I had denied it for so long", Although her comments celebrated her return to Azorean identity, a reclaiming of her ethnic heritage, her remarks are permeated throughout with class and educational divides, whether she is telling about her doctor-father's Portuguese clientele who bartered services and goods for medical care, or about the Portuguese fisherman in New Bedford whom she was, early in her career, sent to interview for a story: "Of course they sent me immediately to Fall River/New Bedford because they thought I spoke Portuguese. They sent me to interview the fisherman. You know, I was their new Portuguese reporter….They said, 'What are those guys complaining about?' I said, 'I don't know; I don't speak Portuguese'", or in other words, Vieira resorted to the unstated I-am-not-one-of-those-guys; or, in the parlance of the Portuguese diaspora in the U.S., I am not a *Portagee.*

Vieira's assimilated experience erases that of "those guys", invisible to many, but highly visible in certain locations in the U.S.. "Those guys" represented an earlier wave of Azorean immigration, one sparked by poverty, lack of access to education, and limited economic opportunities. While a majority of that group assimilated, a sizable number of Azorean immigrants resisted the pressure to assimilate. Some never learned to read or write in English or Portuguese but prospered nonetheless; they were able to sign bank and court documents that made ownership of land possible. At one point in the late 20th century, 80% of California dairies were Portuguese-owned (Santos, 1995). Others did not prosper (De Sá & Borges, 2009; Holton & Klimt, 2009; Vieira 2013).

Many of these Azorean-Americans who immigrated early- to mid-century lived with the expectation or dream of returning, a way of being in the world that anthropologist Caroline Brettell (2003) calls *emigrar para voltar*. Again and again in Azorean-American literacy narratives, there are traces of *saudade*, a yearning to connect with ancestry, even the land, a speaking back to a world that has dispensed with old-world values. (For a beautiful evocation of Azorean-American *saudade*, see Ricardo Ribelo's labor-of-love documentary *Ilha De Meus Sonhos*/Island of My Dreams.) *Saudade* is the *sine qua non* of Portuguese literature because it functions, as Feldman-Bianco (2009) aptly explains, "as the collective memory of Portugal" and has been "reconstituted as the essence of Portuguese national character and as the basis of the imagined political community" (p. 51). Some Azorean-Americans—my great grandparents and my grandmother were among these—never realized this dream of returning, but returned their profits in other ways, sending home barrels full of U.S. goods—food, clothing, American cash. These contributions were an integral part of the Azorean economy. In their U.S. communities, they united by building Portuguese-American halls, fraternal organizations, bands, *festa* circuits, and sporting teams, as well Portuguese-language newspapers, radio and television stations and bakeries, grocery stores, and restaurants. They created in the U.S. the Azores they loved, but had been prompted, largely by economic circumstances, to leave. Although these "little Portugals" are still quite visible in places, in some locals they have dwindled to almost nothing and in others are struggling to survive, particularly those that did not see continued migration later in the 20th century. In some instances, early Azorean communities have "hosted" - the word is definitely a euphemism in this context - Brazilian immigrants. Older Azorean traditions are giving way to newer Brazilian ones (Vieira, 2010).

Still, a small but significant number of immigrants did hold to the earlier script of return, particularly as their bank accounts grew and travel became easier. They retained and still retain houses in the Azores and return when possible, often for entire summers, especially post-retirement. For a time, the returning was good. One man who earned a great deal indeed annually supplied meat for the *Festa Do Divino Espirito Santo* in his Azorean hometown. His portrait hung in the fraternal hall, a paternalistic presence smiling down on those who gathered to enjoy the free meal. He had fulfilled both the American Dream of economic prosperity and what Sousa (2011) terms the Portuguese Dream of successful exploration and return.

For years, the relationship between those who remained and struggled and those who immigrated and prospered seemed to work: Immigrants and their assets were welcomed home. The immigrants were perhaps even greeted with the heroes welcome about which they dreamed. Stateside, they still encountered the stigma and sting of ethnic slurs—they were "Portagees," immigrants with limited education and strange ways. As Robert Clottu (1992) remembers for an oral history project, "I remember the thick, broken English spoken by the fathers of my classmates. The mothers did not always learn English, leaving

the men to take care of business contacts. I remember the 'Portagee' celebration. It seemed that the townspeople in general used this terminology. I don't that very many thought much about the word—at least the kids in school didn't; but I'm sure that some used the term 'Portagee' in a derogatory manner." Charles Reis Felix's *Through a Portagee Gate* (2004) stands as compelling literary evidence that the slur did derogatory work, but I don't need such literary evidence. I lived it. I grew up in a time and a place where the slur became further racialized. Those more assimilated were fond of identifying themselves as "White Portagees," a way of distinguishing themselves from "Greenhorns" or the implied "Black Portagee." At festas, immigrants proudly embraced the term, singing and dancing to "I'm Proud to a Portagee from the Azores," to the tune of the popular, "I'm proud to be an Okie from Muskogee." The return to the islands was another corrective to the slur: Back on the islands, the immigrants were no longer "Portagees"; back on the islands, they were success stories, the navigators who found treasure and returned with it. There was a home that made the hardships of immigration worth it.

For years, descendants of Azorean immigrants heard, "They don't change over there in the old country." It was said as both praise and blame. This vision of the unchanging islands was the 19th and 20th century Azorean immigrant's *vada mecum.* It was passed down to their children and their children's children. Indeed, one can see this notion still reflected by some descendants in Ribelo's 2011 documentary. However, the unsurprising truth has been this: Times change. Governments change. Economies change. People change. And yes, particularly after the 1974 Revolution and the 1986 entry into the EU, the Azores changed. This truth can be complexly detailed, but the bottom line is quite simple: The 21st century Azores are quite different; the old ethnic Azorean communities in the U.S. - those fragments of tangible and intangible heritage that have endured under pressures of assimilation and time - do not resemble the EU Azores that one tours today. The heritage traditions enacted by early Azorean immigrants were survival measures (the fraternal organizations provided, for example, life insurance and support for widows and orphans) and as ways of preserving the homeland culture. (See Sardinha, 2009, for work on intangible heritage and voluntary community associations.) Their very function was to hold as closely as possible to the old ways; their very importance depended on lack of change. To the extent that they could preserve language and traditions, they were successful, or so the immigrants judged. That judgment looks quite different from the Azorean perspective, where these traditions are reminders of painful economic and political past, a past like an illness, from which the islands have recovered.

Given these fundamentally differing perspectives between those who immigrated and those who remained to weather the Salazar times and enjoy the relative prosperity of inclusion in the EU, it should come as no surprise that the immigrants' return now meets with conflict. Several years back, that same portrait I mentioned above was removed from the fraternal hall in the Azores, a clear signal that times and economic relationships between the Azores and its U.S. diasporic communities have changed. Such patronage is no longer needed, invited, or accepted. One suspects that long before 1974 or 1986, there were likely undercurrents of resentment in these transnational, familial relationships, but with the arrival of the European Union, Azorean identity changed significantly, and with that change came the chilly reception of Azorean-American immigrants. Azoreans now enjoy the opportunities of being a recognized part of a Europe. They are part and parcel of the European economy, part of a progressive future. The returning U.S. immigrants are like chipped, occluded mirrors, those whose glass might be prized by antique dealers, but most likely would be judged as badly in need of repair or replacement. The immigrants whose cash influx was once central to the Azorean economy and standard of living now represents a painful history rather than a promising, prosperous future. Azoreans no longer wish to be seen as charity cases, and indeed, are no longer so. Moreover, the immigrant's standard of living is perceived as impoverished by European standards; their level of education inadequate. The old benefactors, the old conquering heroes, became as summer flies—seasonal, returning pests. No amount of American dollars can seemingly refinance that vision.

4   TOURING THE HOMELAND

It is this moment in time and this moment in the transnational relationship that Raposo captures in "Mosca de verão/Summer Flies." The poem draws its aesthetics from the *desgarrada* tradition (impromptu, responsive song); its power it draws from resentment. It reacts to an ethnic slur—not *Portagee* in this case, but *mosca de verão.* It speaks angrily back to an imagined "you." It presumes an understanding of specific historical timeframe of immigration and return. It is deeply generational, pertaining as it does only to older immigrants, specifically those with limited education.

And yet in post EU times, Azorean-American immigrants - those so-called summer flies, many of whom are aging and ill - continue their summer travel to the islands in sizeable numbers. Somewhat ironically, while attitudes toward returning immigrants soured, travel became easier and remains so. Tourism is central to the economy of the Azores. The Azorean airlines Sata has elaborate tour packages for Americans who want to experience a "European vacation for less." Despite the websites and promotional packages geared for U.S. tourists, most of these flights are filled not with leisure travelers, but with older, immigrants returning for all or part of the summer. Indeed, the Sata flights are strategically located in Azorean-American communities, leaving from hubs such as Boston or Providence on the East Coast or Oakland on the West Coast. Even the transnational flow of money became easier. Portuguese banks operate within the Azorean-American communities to make financial transactions more seamless; immigrants keep part of their savings in Euros, in Portuguese banks with branches just blocks from where they live. And so the immigrants travel, arriving with suitcases and large, taped boxes, preparing for long, extended stays, eager to speak Portuguese and experience the taste of homemade *sopas*. "I wish," volunteered one hotel concierge as I was waiting my turn to check in, "they'd just speak English. They speak Portuguese terribly." Others wish they would sample any number of the new European restaurants in Ponta Delgada or Terceira. "Instead," one waiter shook his head, "they just want soup. They say they can afford better." As tourists, they are less than ideal. They often stay in homes they own or with friends and family. They rarely use taxis and don't contract with tour operators. If they do stay in hotels or use taxis, they negotiate, knowing quite well that fares are inflated for tourists. If one were to gauge the measure of what J. Sardinha (2009) describes as "the warmth of welcome" (p. 20), it would be a very low measure indeed. Perhaps the only group held with less regard than the summer flies are those who have been forcibly repatriated, the result of criminal records in the U.S..

Despite this chill, the returning immigrants are imagined as a part of the Azorean tourism and heritage travel industry. In some ways, their case represents just another wrinkle in heritage tourism management, another instance of conflict between stakeholders, development agencies, and host communities (Porter & Salazar, 2008). Yet, the immigrant might rightly ask, When is a tourist not a tourist? Does one in any sense *tour* the islands he or she called--perhaps still calls--home? Tellingly, one Azorean-American writer, Alfred Lewis, answered this question when he chose to title his quintessential immigration novel using the present tense: *Home Is An Island.* The very word "tour" here is tortured by perspective: Azorean-American immigrants do not perceive themselves as tourists. They imagine they are returning home. They may or may not have U.S. passports, but they do hold Portuguese passports; since 1981 citizenship has been extended to their children and grandchildren as well. Nationally speaking, Azorean-American immigrants are as welcome to the Azores as the proverbial flowers in May. Yet they are often perceived as tourists, the so-called "summer flies" who visit expecting to scratch their nostalgic itch for a homeland that no longer exists except as etched in memory, bone, and flesh. The smells might be familiar, geographic formations, *hortensias* (hydrangeas) in vibrant blue bloom, but the Azores, now part of the EU, have fundamentally changed.

Academics would say that their homeland no longer exists. In postcolonial times, novelist and essayist, the exiled Salmon Rushdie, as well as cultural theorist Edward Said, schooled us to recognize the homeland and its heritage as "imaginary," particularly for the exiled, but also for the immigrant whose exile is social and whose return is physically possible. One would be hard-pressed to sell the idea of an imaginary homeland to pragmatic Azorean-Americans who purchase real tickets, fly real commercial airlines, produce authentic Portuguese or American passports (again, many are dual citizens and operate in two currencies and two languages), all for the privilege of living for a time on solid ground that is at least partially (*only* partially?) familiar to them. For immigrants, such word choice is not merely theory; it is lived and it is crucial: What happens when those "returning home" are perceived to be - and treated to be - tourists, and unwanted tourists at that? What happens when they are told that their remembered homeland no longer exists? "Mosca de Verão/Summer Flies" is one answer to this question, an experiential response to this particular cultural-historical situation. It works not like a kaleidoscope shifting to yet another position, but like a telescope. It deepens the historical perspective, extending the filed of vision, and in doing so, insists on reclaiming a past that contemporary Azoreans might prefer to be preserved only in a museum photograph chronicling a fixed period of emigration, a Been-There-Done-That moment.

A poem like "Mosca de Verão/Summer Flies" insists that lived experience grants the Azorean immigrants both stakeholder and steward positions in the preservation of Azorean heritage. While descendants might continue to envision the unchanged old country, transnational Azorean immigrants certainly recognize a contemporary Azores. They listen to the nightly news from the Azores. They correspond with family and friends. They learn on their extended visits. They too have a script that accounts for the

change, and it goes something like this: Those who remained behind have benefited from those who left. When good times came to the Azores, when the EU pie grew large and appealing, there were fewer mouths at the table to feed and bigger portions for all who sat there. "Mosca de Verão/Summer Flies" was written at the point when the Euro began to decline and was perceived to be in crisis. Raposo was not the only transnational Azorean to see once again a role for their American dollars (however devalued) and to call again for a role as stakeholder in Portuguese life. The summer flies might feel anger, but they are true patriots. They begin their association meetings with the U.S. Pledge of a Allegiance and a salute to the Portuguese flag. Preservation of both their homelands is an enduring, deeply held value.

5   CONCLUSION: LEGACY TOURISM & HERITAGE TRAVEL

For the record, I am a fourth-generation Azorean-American, the product of (almost) complete assimila-tion. While I can read at a basic level in Portuguese and can follow a conversation so long as the speaker isn't from São Miguel, my pronunciation is atrocious, a combination of the dialect I remember from my childhood and the light attempts I have made to study Portuguese, European and Brazilian. A few years back, I traveled to the Azores for the first time as a fourth-generation Azorean-American. (So tenacious is the theme of the unchanging islands that upon my return, my wholly assimilated uncle was astonished to learn that the Azores had paved roads and ATMs.) Obviously, I am not a celebrity like Meredith Vieira, but I was invited by Azoreans to imagine myself returning home. This experience differs greatly from the experience of Azorean-Americans born on the islands, many of whom have much greater means than I have, all of whom have much greater stake to belonging (dual-citizenship for example), but most of whose formal education was limited. (It's difficult to say, however, because there are many stories of "educational passing" - claims for more education than was likely possible.) Although I am deeply suspi-cious of rags-to-riches stories (Eldred & Mortensen 1992), I now script 20th-century Azorean immigrant stories as American success stories: These Azoreans arrived in the U.S. with little to nothing in their pockets. Through sheer hard work and determination, as well as the discipline and frugality to save, many worked their way into property ownership and impressive bank account balances. They have transformed themselves from paupers into princes. I have learned to look past the faded plaid shirts and the broken accents to see these success stories. I know that in many cases they have proudly financed professional educations for their children. In raw terms, I know their savings vastly surpass mine.

These returning 20th century immigrants are Raposo's "summer flies," the term I borrowed for my title. It might seem odd in a presentation that originates out of and develops through poetry to compose a title of mixed metaphors. "Princes" and "Paupers" fit nicely together, suggesting the rags-to-riches trajectory so common to U.S. immigration, American-dream narratives, but "summer flies"? What seems like the literary sin of mixed metaphor is actually an accurate descriptor of lived experience for those Azorean-Americans who seek to do the impossible: to go home again, which is to say, to travel back in time to the imagined and still very real, growing, living nation-place they left. In doing so, they seek not so much to retrace or collect their pasts, but rather to reframe their present and construct a future, to make sense of their lives in a way that recognizes the fruits of their labor and validates their princely accomplishments in the U.S., accomplishments which depend on a humble Azorean past and on recognition in a national Azorean present to become fully realized. What they face is a jarring array of terms invoked to describe their personal cultural heritage—immigrant, illiterate, and yes, even the pejorative term "summer fly," which through poetry can be recast into a badge of honor. When it comes to preservation of living herit-age, everything, it seems, rests on the head of a word. It is not surprising, then, that poetry becomes a medium for working out what is essentially a political, social, and deeply personal issue: intangible herit-age.

REFERENCES

Anderson, D. (2007). *Identity's strategy: Rhetorical selves in conversion*. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press.

Auretta, C.D. (2011). *Myth, tradition, and the poetics of disaspora*. In F.C. Fagundes, I.M.F. Blayer, T. F.A. Alves, & T. Cid, eds. *Narrating the Portuguese diaspora: Piecing things together*. New York: Peter Lang. pp.3-18.

Beck, U. (2000). *What is globilization?*. Oxford: Polity.

Brettell, C. (2003). *Anthropology and migration: Essays on transnationalism, ethnicity, and identity.* Walnut Creek, CA: Altamira (Rowman & Littlefield).

Clottu, R.W. (1992). The touch of Portugal. *San Joaquin Historian,* 7(1): 1-6.

De Sá, M. G. & Borges, D. (2009). Context or culture: Portuguese-Americans and social mobility. In K.D. Holton, & A. Klimt, eds. *Community, culture and the makings of identity: Portuguese-Americans along the Eastern seaboard.* Dartmouth, MA: Center for Portuguese Studies and Culture, University of Massachusetts Dartmouth. pp.265-290.

Eldred, J.C. & Mortensen, P. (1992). Reading literacy narratives. *College English,* 54(5): 512-39.

Eldred, J.C.M. (2010). A new critical framework for Azorean-American stories. In S. Lira, R. Almoêda, & C. Pinheiro, eds. *Heritage 2010 - Proceedings of the 2ⁿᵈ International Conference on Heritage and Sustainable Devleopment, Évora, Portugal.* Barcelos, Portugal: Greenlines Institute.

Eldred, J.C.M. (2011). When Intangible Heritage Divides. In S. Lira, R. Almoêda, & C. Pinheiro, eds. *Sharing Cultures 2011 - Proceedings of the 2ⁿᵈ International Conference on Intangible Heritage.* Barcelos, Portugal: Green Lines Institute.

Feldman-Bianco, B. (2009). Multiple layers of time and space: The construction of class, ethnicity, and nationalism among Portuguese immigrants. *Holton & Klimt*, pp.51-94.

Felix, C. R. (2004). *Through a Portagee Gate*. North Dartmouth, MA: Center or Portuguese Studies and Culture, University of Massachusetts Dartmouth.

Holton, K.D. & A. Klimt, eds. (2009). *Community, culture and the makings of identity: Portuguese-Americans along the Eastern seaboard.* Dartmouth, MA: Center for Portuguese Studies and Culture, University of Massachusetts Dartmouth.

Marmion, M. Calver S. & Wilkes. K. (2010). Heritage? What do you mean by heritage?. In S. Lira & R. Almoêda, eds. *Constructing Intangible Heritage*. Barcelos, Portugal: Green Lines Institute. pp.33-44.

McAdams, D.P., Josselson, R. & Lieblich, A. (2006). *Identity and story: Creating self in narrative.* Washington, D.C.: American Psychological Association.

MSNBC Today Show (2008). Meredith Vieira heritage tour of the Azores [online]. Available at http://video.today.msnbc.msn.com/today/26389261#26389261.

Radhakrishnan, R. (1991). *Transition*. 54: 104-115.

Raposo, J.M. V. J. (2011). I am not a poet. *Tangled, 3ʳᵈ ed*. Rio de Janeiro.

Raposo, J.M. V. J. (2012). *Mosca de verão/Summer Flies*.[Unpublished].

Rhode Island College (n.d.). *Meredith Viera at Rhode Island College* [online]. Available at http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=28GEAKNOhYU.

Ribelo, R. (2011). Ilha De Meus Sonhos/Island of my Dreams. *Portuguese-American Review, June 27, 2011* [online]. Available at http://www.portugueseamericanreview.com/?p=251.

Porter, B.W. & Salazar, N.B. (2008). Heritage tourism, conflict, and the public interest: An introduction. *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 11(5): 361-370.

Santos, R. L. (1995). *Azoreans to California: A history of migration and settlement.* Denair. CA: Alley-Cass Publications. [version online] Available at www.library.csustan.edu/bsantos/azorean.html.

Sardinha, J. (2009). *Immigrant associations, integration, and identity: Angolan, Brazilian and Eastern European communities in Portugal.* Amsterdam: University Press, IMISCOE Dissertations.

Sardinha J. (2011). Neither Here Nor There?. Conceptions of "home," identity construction, and the transnational lives of second-generation Luso-Canadians and Luso-French in Portugal. In F.C. Fagundes, I.M.F. Blayer, T. F.A. Alves, & T. Cid, eds. *Narrating the Portuguese diaspora: Piecing things together.* New York: Peter Lang. pp.153-174.

Sousa, F. F. (2011). Alfred Lewis and the American Dream. In F.C. Fagundes, I.M.F. Blayer, T. F.A. Alves, & T. Cid, eds. *Narrating the Portuguese diaspora: Piecing things together*. New York: Peter Lang. pp.35-48.

Vieira, K. (2010). 'American by paper': Assimilation and documentation in a biliterate, bi-Ethnic Immi-grant community. *College English,*. 73(1): 50-72.

Vieira, K. (2013). On the social consequences of literacy. *Literacy in Composition Studies*. 1(1): 26-32.

Intangible cultural heritage as a medium for the establishment of sustainable development

Jasna Fakin Bajec

Research Centre of the Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts, Centre for Interdisciplinary Research, Ljubljana, Slovenia

ABSTRACT: Nowadays the concept of cultural heritage takes on different roles, meanings and appearances, which are the results of the newest postmodern paradigms and contemporary social, cultural and economic situations around the world. The main point of paper is to present the development category of cultural heritage in formulating various contemporary national and regional development strategies for improving the social, economic and cultural way of life of populations. The focus is on analyses of how activities in dealing with intangible heritage can help to establish sustainable development in a local place and the development of sustainable communities. The paper first reflects on methodological issues in education, awareness and uses of intangible heritage for development potential. It then presents some insights gained from a case study from Slovenia, where local residents are becoming aware of new heritage approaches for a better quality of life in future.

1 INTRODUCTION

In a postmodern global world, cultural heritage takes on different roles, meanings and appearances. Until recently the theoretical concept of heritage and its investigation have attracted many scientist and experts, who have had distinct understandings of its ontology, epistemology, meanings, process of constructions, roles of practitioners, etc. Although professionals take differing views, the "concept in its everyday commonplace has grown into a deeply, socially embedded attitude that sits at the heart of the culture of most regions of Europe" (Fairclough, 2009). There is no country without a list of national monuments, or region where old customs are not revived for tourist purposes.

A review of different definitions and criticisms, uses, abuses of heritage shows that nowadays the concept of heritage can be interpreted in many different ways (Sting Sørensen, Carman 2009), and used to cover just about everything that a human has made or changed. It refers not only to material remnants but also to intangible elements including "the character or feel of a place, its aura as well as customs, traditions, language, dialects, musical styles and religious or secular rituals. There is no need that the tangible or intangible things are architectural or aesthetic features, but it can be painful, ugly, unsafe and unprepossessing; old or new; something that can be valued by society, by a specific group within society and by individuals." (Schofield 2008: 19) Furthermore, heritage is not restricted only to actions from state officials or bodies, but can include the most basic and ordinary ways of life of people. As a result, in the context of

the newest postmodern paradigms and theory of practice (Bourdieu 2002), the main point of do-
ing research on heritage lies less in investigating the materiality or immateriality of heritage
elements, but more in understanding social practices and the constructions of meanings and val-
ues which particular tangible and intangible cultural elements embody (Fakin Bajec 2011). The
new heritage paradigms emphasize that heritage must be understood as a present social action or
process, where the focus is on context and not so much on the object itself. Fairclough empha-
sizes that "heritage is object and actions, product and process. It means not only the things
('goods', properties, immobilier – 'stuff' (and the perceptions or ideas) that we inherit, irrespec-
tive of whether we want to keep them, but it can also be taken to mean the processes by which
we understand, contextualize (physically and intellectually), perceive, manage, modify, destroy,
and transform the inherited world" (Fairclough 2009). Its theoretical concept is also understood
as dynamic and contested; as a construct of contemporary needs, concern, experiences, values
and desires of ordinary people, who should have an important role in its management. Special
attention is given to recognition of the validity and usefulness of a multiplicity of values and
ways of valuing. Heritage at its base is still linked with the work, thinking, actions, and experi-
ences of our predecessors; however, it is not only about the past but "draws on the power of the
past to procedure the present and shape the future" (Harrison et. alt. 2008).

Up until now, the criteria of what constitutes heritage and how its elements should be pro-
tected have not always been in harmony with the views and needs of local residents. Traditional
heritage methods poorly reflected local or personal concerns such as context or sense of place.
But today the question "why should we enhance its value and for whom" (Fairclough 2008) is
important. Researchers have begun to stress that "what 'ordinary' people value might be differ-
ent from what experts value, or they might value the same things but for quite different reasons,
such as for reasons of association, memory, or locality" (Fairclough 2008: 299). New ap-
proaches to the investigation of heritage focus on the perception of cultural landscape and sense
of place constructed by material and immaterial things, which we identify as cultural heritage.
As people's lifestyles change together with world situations, so do perceptions of landscapes
and heritage.

With the awareness that the concepts of heritage also continue to evolve in the light of con-
temporary social, cultural and economic situations around the world, the main point of this pa-
per is to present the importance of heritage in formulating various contemporary national and
regional development strategies for improving the social, economic and cultural way of life of
populations. It is necessary to go beyond the mentality that heritage can be used only to ensure
socio-political and economic capital for the construction of collective identities and the devel-
opment of tourist programmes: it can and should be incorporated into processes aimed at ad-
vancing sustainable development. Cultural heritage identifies an intermingling of past and pre-
sent practices and also represents a bridge between the different periods, cultures, localities and
the natural and the built environment, or between nature and humans. Material and immaterial
elements and their meaning and values are the result of specific human acts which preserve or
destroy the natural environment. If the known, already experienced and positively valued prac-
tices and meanings of heritage (for example, building with stone), which reflect sustainable
management also today, are preserved, protected, restored, upgraded and represented among the
local population in a particular local place, the local population will more easily recognize, try,
and begin to consider contemporary sustainable guidelines for development of the environment
and for building sustainable communities. For this reason, understanding and recognizing the
past, and determining its significance for the present and future, are of vital importance. Despite
the socio-political and economic role of heritage in the contemporary world, insufficient atten-
tion is given to the development category of heritage, even though we are becoming increas-
ingly aware that our predecessors lived in a way which did not destroy the environment, but
rather developed the environment they inhabited in a sustainable way.

The aim of this paper is to present the development category of cultural heritage, with special
attention to analyses of how activities focusing on intangible heritage can help to establish sus-
tainable development in a local place and the development of sustainable communities. In my
view, intangible heritage consists of not only immaterial things, but especially knowledge,
skills, ideas, experiences, and understanding of our ancestors, all of which have value and posi-
tive meanings in contemporary times. The paper first reflects on methodological issues in edu-
cation, awareness and uses of intangible heritage for development potential. It then presents

some insights gained from a case study from Slovenia, where local residents are becoming aware of new approaches in dealing with heritage concepts for a better quality of life in future.

2 HERITAGE AND SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT

Many discussions on the development and the conservation of the cultural landscape take place in the context of observing the principles of sustainable development, which ought to be a key regulator of economic progress and society. Although the concept of sustainable development has become a politically abused word, its definition, with the main emphasis placed on a careful balance between environmental, social, and economic development in order to meet the needs of current and future generations (The World Commission on Environment and Development 1987), assures welfare development policy. New development strategies also promise that the economic, cultural, and social development of local communities will be adapted to the constraints imposed by environmental capacities and the potential of the cultural wealth. We must develop these skills and knowledge in such a way that the environment is not threatened, and through the wise use of natural resources (for example, solar energy, wood, stone, herbs) and other elements ensure development. Sustainable development must anticipate the mutual and complementary connections of the past, the present, and the future.

In the application of sustainable guidelines we unfortunately encounter two discussions. One is to inform the wider public of the importance of valuing, preserving, and maintaining the balance between protecting nature and cultural heritage and introducing technological progress. On the other side, we run up against incomprehension, rejection, and displeasure from stakeholders in a given local place when we try to transfer and disseminate scientific and expert knowledge and solutions. On the one hand the local residents would like to live in a clean environment with a high cultural and natural value, but on the other hand under the influence of market processes they want to live in technologically modern conditions which may be environmentally unacceptable. In many local environments the local government is under the pressure of the influence of economic capital since it often happens that municipal councillors are not sufficiently informed regarding the importance of protecting the environment and its culture, and hence easily succumb to political and economic interests. At the same time, experts do not familiarize themselves sufficiently with the life of the local community (the experience, needs, and expectations of the local population), and hence meet with resistance on the part of the local population in planning development.

In this way crucial questions arise as to how to balance sustainable development, respect for the achievements of our ancestors, and the richness of the natural environment while at the same time adapting to a life in which the power of capital tends to forget about historical, cultural, and geographical features. How can experts, the state and/or local authorities achieve better awareness among the local population of the ideals of sustainable development, which among other things also incorporate the values and knowledge of our ancestors, who because of different ways of life and less technology than what we have today knew how to make use of natural resources and live in better coexistence with nature than is the case in the modern world? Economic development in the modern age (and in the case of Slovenia the age of a socialist economy) has undoubtedly contributed to an improvement in people's quality of life, but at the expense of threatening natural resources (air, water, landscape) which represent the basis for human existence. In addition it is necessary to address the following important questions: In what way can we encourage experts and politicians to take into consideration the meanings and needs of the local population in drawing up guidelines and legislation for development? How on the basis of past cultural practices can we garner important knowledge and experience of our ancestors and, using modern technology, build appropriately on them for the purpose of raising national competitiveness and establishing a healthy environment? Finally, in what way can we draw the local population into the discussion of sustainable development?

Answers to these questions can also be sought in the processes of heritage practices. Although the main constructor of heritage is the expert public (museum workers, conservators, archivists, organizers of tourism content, etc.), who through authorial discourse formulate measures and values of negotiated heritage products, in recent years actors in particular societies, village and local communities, civil initiatives, etc. are becoming increasingly active. By re-

searching the local history, organizing village and local celebrations, reviving old customs or restoring local architectural objects, they keep certain knowledge, memories, objects, etc. from being lost in the rapid changes of time. We are insufficiently aware that in researching the representations of the history of a way of life and encountering the changes between the past and the present we can seek new opportunities and challenges for establishing sustainable development in a given local community. Although heritage in international conventions and recommendations to date has not been regarded as an important regulator of sustainable development, UNESCO as well as many international scholars (Fairclough 2008, 2009; Bandarin, Hosagrahar 2011; Long, Smith 2010; Clark 2008; M. Low 2008, Nurse 2006, etc.) are making efforts to highlight the developmental significance of culture and heritage, since they represent the values and meanings of the practices of a certain way of life in a particular local place which are also crucial for the further development of a sustainable community.

The development role of heritage is seen in sustainable consumption and production; in energy use; in the economy and in the development of so-called sustainable communities (Clark 2008). If we highlight the important role of heritage in constructing sustainable communities, where members live a sustainable life, the creation of heritage and its representation can make an essential contribution to cohesiveness, reciprocity, and consequently a healthier population. Including people in activities such as research, preservation, restoration, and the presentation and re-use of elements from the local past brings a number of advantages, from personal benefits to individuals through wider community benefits, including social cohesion, community empowerment and self-determination, local image and identity, imagination and vision, and health benefits. People can meet needs for personal development, such as gaining new skills, experience, confidence and self-esteem, as well as needs for changed attitudes, cultural awareness, communication and memory. The inclusion of young people in heritage projects and other activities related to learning about ancestral ways of life leads to intergenerational ties and enhancement of the meanings and values associated with heritage elements. At the same time young people through their youthful creativity fundamentally improve the use of heritage and its representation, which gives heritage added value in the contemporary world with its high level of technological development. Through the reconstruction of the many skills and knowledge of our ancestors, who due to different values, needs, and a lower level of technology lived in better harmony with nature than we do today, we may discover new opportunities and economically competitive products with added value, which can be used to facilitate economic recovery. We should be aware that heritage, which represents the acts by specific people in a certain place, represents a bridge between culture and the environment. It is difficult to separate the cultural dimension from the natural environment, as it is difficult to isolate modern creations from their cultural historical roots. Thus the natural environment surrounding us as well as modern culture comes from the past. For this reason, understanding and recognizing the past, and determining its importance for the present and future, represent a springboard to a better tomorrow.

Besides the UNESCO and Council of Europe conventions (*Convention on World Cultural and Natural Heritage* adopted in 1972, the *Convention on the Protection of Non-material Cultural Heritage* adopted in 2003), *Agenda 21 for culture* and Aarhus Convention on Access to Information, Public Participation in Decision Making and Access to Justice in Environmental Matters also emphasize the importance of including the local population in development efforts and in the conservation of natural and cultural wealth, which calls for cooperation and participation by people in the management of natural resources. The connection between heritage and the environment is crucial for establishing a connection with sustainable development. In addition, another connecting element is culture, which is a decisive catalyst for development. Culture here is understood in a broader context, as a process of shaping values and meanings possessed by elements of culture. Values which are established in a given community are of critical importance in the management of heritage since they reflect past and present experience, needs, desires and expectations of the local population on the one hand and broader socio-political and economic flows on the other. To the extent that an expert or political (state) authority attempts to impose development practices which are valued negatively by a local community or have no tradition in a given environment, the local population will have more difficulty adapting and may even resist in some cases.

There is also the problem that although many development projects are based on sustainable development of the economy and environmental policy, insufficient attention is paid to ways of

applying this knowledge for specific users, i.e. the wider population, who represent the main actors of development policy. Moreover, oftentimes the local population is too little included in the development of sustainable development guidelines, since there is no successful cooperation between scientific experts, municipal and national authorities, and the local population. There is still a big gap between scientific research and the specific needs of the local population. Usually the European and national methodologies for formulating the development programme, as applied by the European Union, require that the local people are included in formulation processes through the organization of workshops on particular topics. But this so-called bottom-up approach is also called into question. In Slovenia it is very difficult to get local residents to attend lectures by experts on the preservation of nature and culture and take part in discussions of development problems, let alone get them involved in shaping development guidelines for their local environment. For the most part the participants in workshops are representatives of state agencies, who are simultaneously representatives of the expert public. There are very few local residents with secondary or vocational education among the participants. But these represent the majority of middle and older generation population and those local residents who are the main actors in expediting or hindering development of the landscape. It is also a problem to obtain views at expert workshops in the form of proposals from the local population: some local residents feel inhibited about expressing their opinions or do not dare to talk about current problems, while others need more time to formulate their views.

For this reason it is also important to deal with the question of how experts, the state and/or the local authorities in one region can involve the local population in the discussion of sustainable development of the place in which they live, and how to achieve a better awareness of contemporary development among the local population, which would be receptive towards the wealth of nature and the unique features of the culture. At the same time, the question must be addressed of how to formulate appropriate ways and opportunities for the local population to make efforts so that the experts and politicians will take their meanings, experiences, desires, needs and expectations into consideration in setting guidelines and development regulations.

3 METHODS AND TOOLS FOR BETTER IMPLEMENTATION OF SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT IN A LOCAL COMMUNITY

Heritage practices can contribute to wider sustainable development goals. On the one hand sustainable development policy has influenced a variety of heritage practices (for example, in seeking eco products) while on the other heritage can be a powerful driver for the establishment of sustainable communities. Members of such communities are socially connected, respect and help one another, communicate, learn and develop personally. They manage natural resources sustainably, develop a high-tech economy which is sustainably oriented, prevent social inequality and respect the past of their ancestors. At the same time the environment in which they live encourages creativity and the development of new and innovative products.

The awareness that heritage practices can facilitate sustainable approaches requires reflection on the possible methods of heritage management that can be used. Until recently, researchers studying heritage for the most part discussed three broad categories of methods dealing with heritage: textual/discourse analysis; methods for investigating people's attitudes and behaviour; and methods aimed at exploring the material qualities of heritage (Sting Sørensen, Carman 2009). Although there are a growing number of works on how heritage as a phenomenon can be investigated, very few reflect on how heritage investigation methods can foster sustainable development in a local community.

The methods and techniques for managing cultural heritage have improved greatly since the end of the 19th century, when the concept of cultural heritage began to be developed, up until today, when the meaning of cultural practices and processes of creating heritage is at the forefront. Scholars from many academic disciplines study the processes of creating heritage: archaeologists, geographers, architects, historians, ethnologists and cultural anthropologists, sociologists, and others, each formulating their methods from their own point of view. For this reason Graham Fairclough emphasizes the need for an interdisciplinary connection (Fairclough 2008). As part of this it is also essential that the voice of the local population, whose members actually shape the values and meanings of heritage elements in a given environment, be heard.

Since experts until recently did not take into consideration the meanings and values of cultural elements of the local population which arise from their way of life, past experiences, current needs and desires, many projects for the revitalization of heritage places met with resistance. As Fairclough notes, "heritage management, with many nationally or regionally distinctive approaches, is still very diverse. It will always be so, because heritage practice /…/ is deeply rooted historically and culturally. The idea that better or superior methods can be imported simply and un-problematically into one country from another is delusional."(Fairclough 2008) From this standpoint UNESCO's concept of world natural and cultural heritage is also problematic, since it applies universal criteria and values which may not be in keeping with national histories, culture and its development (see Stig Sørensen, Carman 2009).

In order for cultural heritage to contribute to better regional development policy it is necessary to take an interdisciplinary approach, in which local residents play a crucial role alongside experts and policy-makers, since it is on them that the future of heritage is dependent. Although the expert public at the theoretical level is aware of the importance of an interdisciplinary relationship between different expert points of views and criteria as well as the importance of including the local population, in Slovenia such approaches more often than not are missing. Experts in different projects are not prepared to compromise, and the will, energy, and in particular money to include the local population in a wide range of processes are often lacking. The inclusion of the local population in development projects for the preservation and marketing of heritage is most often reflected in the inclusion of experts drawn from the local environment who are familiar with local problems and also draw attention to them, but if they do not inform and educate the entire local population – including those with a lower level of education and those who may be passive or uninterested, who usually comprise the majority – then no development strategy will take root and will exist only on paper.

Experts must first become familiar with the meanings and values that are embodied in the community by the cultural elements that we wish to include in its development (for example, architectural buildings). This requires that experts who are collaborating in the revitalization of, for example, settlements of historical significance, in economic development (in the form of tourism development) or other forms of creating heritage come into contact with people and learn more about their past and also the environment in which they live, in order to become acquainted with their (human) experience, understanding, and feeling for the cultural landscape. Only in this way can the logic of the community be constructed from their history, experience, and current practices, and guidelines provided for the future based on valuing important elements of their life. It often happens that experts work in their cabinets, following European and national strategies, conventions, and agendas on formulating development guidelines for a particular environment, yet never even talk to anyone who actually lives there. For their part, local residents do not find the time, will, or interest to begin thinking about what kind of environment they would like to live in. For this reason the local population must be sufficiently informed and educated to recognize the values of cultural heritage as development components from which the economic, cultural, and social advancement of their place of residence is realized. As part of this, methods of raising awareness must be perfected not only through organizing expert workshops and consultations, but also through the active participation of the expert public with local associations and active local communities, where members enthusiastically research the past and directly construct local heritage.

Here is where ethnographic research can come in useful: the techniques of interviews, participant observation, and analysis of historical sources (see M. Low 2008; Palmer 2009) enable experts to better recognize the history and contemporary way of life of local residents. The role of the expert, in addition to offering expert assistance in the research, preservation, and presentation of heritage, is also to encourage the local population to value past practices for contemporary development needs. In so doing the expert on the one hand becomes familiar with the logic of the community, experiences and the desires of the population, while on the other the local population can become an active participant in shaping further development guidelines. The fact is that the active members of associations or village/local communities already have a positive attitude towards the local history and their environment. For this reason they will be more receptive to the acquisition of additional knowledge about and ways of using heritage for sustainable development. A presentation of their activities and products can then gain the attention of others, who for various reasons (age, education, health reasons, passivity etc.) had not been inter-

ested in the topic. By attending or taking part in public presentations (for example exhibitions and plays), educational events (expert lectures, courses, etc.) and discussions with active members of societies, they may be motivated to join a society or change their attitude towards cultural activities. Active participation and therefore education is reflected in part in individual interviews, which allow experts to inform and educate people/questioners about the problem which is being researched while also themselves learning about the specific features of their way of life and the main values for a given environment. As Marie Louise Sting Sørensen notes, interviewing is one of the most commonly used methods in social studies. But it is also "important to recognize that interviews can have different purposes: they can and should aim at different kinds of insights and discoveries, and in turn their form, how they are conducted and, even more significantly, how they are evaluated must respond to such differences." (Sting Sørensen 2009). Last but not least, experts must cooperate with municipal and national authorities so that the meanings and needs of the local population and the proposals put forth by experts will be taken into account in identifying spatial guidelines. Achieving these goals requires continuing education and training of municipal councillors through expert articles in local municipal newspapers and expert lectures in the framework of municipal meetings.

4 PRESENTATION OF THE CASE STUDY

The theoretical bases for the use of heritage research methodology for encouraging sustainable development of the local community were tested in a case study in the Upper Vipava Valley, which is located in western Slovenia. The Upper Vipava Valley and its major urban centre Ajdovščina have been strongly affected in recent years by the global economic and social crisis, hence many programmes are being developed by research and educational institutions aimed at helping the population find new sources of employment. The effects of the crisis are most visible in the urban centre, where many important industrial plants (wood, textile, and construction industries) which have offered a livelihood to local residents since the time of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy have been shut down. The surrounding rural areas have been less affected, since Vipava Valley residents have for many years been engaged in agriculture, in particular crop-growing, especially grains (at one time corn but today also wheat), fruit-growing, and wine-growing.

The Upper Vipava Valley is also known as a centre of interesting historical, ethnological, and art historical heritage, which is studied by local cultural societies as well as state institutions (the Goriška Museum and Archive). Research is aimed primarily at recording local history, reviving village cultural events, and developing local cultural tourism. The use of heritage as a development potential for creating new innovative and competitive products among the population of the Vipava Valley is not as much in evidence. But it should be noted that the People's University in Ajdovščina in collaboration with the Employment Service has this year offered a free educational programme called *PROVIDER of traditional products, crops, and services*, whose primary aim is to once again encourage the development of domestic crafts and other traditional products, and in particular to set up networking among different providers.

In the text to follow, the Society of Housewives from Planina pri Ajdovščini, which today is one of the most active societies in the Vipava Valley, will be presented in depth. The main purpose of the society, which joins together girls and women from the village and includes a drama group, is to enliven the cultural and social life of the village and present the tradition of their ancestors to younger generations. The society began its activities in 2005 with the collection and recording of old recipes. It published a book titled *Lest We Forget: Planina pri Ajdovščini: Customs and Recipes of our Ancestors* (2005), and in the course of presenting the publication also prepared an exhibition and amateur play depicting work on Vipava farms. In later years they launched several projects: *Grain by Grain*, in which they offered a bread-baking course as part of ethnological research on bread, and the production of two dramatic films *There will be a wedding, a wedding*, and *Welcome, friend, I planted a grapevine* and one documentary film *Hidden Treasure*, a reference to the underground world below the village. At the end of the year the society presents its annual research activities to the wider public, and stages a play which depicts the former way of life in the village in a humorous way.

Although members of the society are extremely active, enthusiastically researching their local history, the attitude of local residents towards their activities has changed greatly. According to the president of the society, in the beginning their research activities and staging of plays were better received by the population of the Vipava Valley than in the village itself. Since the village of Planina is known for its wine tradition, members strived to have their activities relating to wine-growing somewhat better received, but many vintners had a negative attitude toward to the wine-making traditions presented due to unpleasant memories of very hard work on the farm in the past. However, the president of the society stressed in an interview that over the years the attitude of the local population began to gradually change, something which was influenced in part also by new discourses of heritage in the Slovenian space.

The heritage activities of the society were carried out without the assistance of experts until 2012. In the first year a museum worker from the Goriška Museum did collaborate in the preparation of the book and exhibition, helping the president in publishing the book and setting up an ethnological exhibition, but there was no further collaboration. The reasons for this lie both on the side of the Goriška Regional Museum, which due to the size of the territory covered and numerous research projects cannot cooperate more intensively with local societies, and on the side of the society, who were reluctant to cooperate with experts. The responsibility for the rejection of expert assistance can be assigned to the experts themselves, since in the past we have often acted like all-knowing teachers who had to "cultivate" the rural population. The knowledge, wishes, suggestions, and expectations of the local population have often been dismissed in the work of experts. Expert assistance was also offered to the drama group, since the current scriptwriter and director comes from Planina. However, Planina residents also rejected this help since they felt that if someone with some sort of "high philosophy" came in, it would ruin the relaxed and lively atmosphere at rehearsals.

It is a fact that expert assistance would better place heritage practices in a historical time, improve the presentation and enhance the content of a presented custom and habit/practice, which the president also recognized in our interview, but for a long time she did not want to oppose the wishes of the other members, who regarded these activities as being amateur in nature. In 2012 the president nevertheless decided to invite an ethnologist to participate in a new research project, since she wanted to take a step forward and improve the functioning of the society. Other members also agreed with this principle, but nevertheless had some reservations about the expert assistance.

Collaborating with the society represented an important challenge to me, since I carried out my research work in a space which had been previously unknown to me. I was aware that an expert who is considered an outsider by the members of the society must be extremely circumspect in order to be accepted by the locals, proposing changes with care, and above all must assist in the realization of their ideas, desires, and expectations. Since the society determines topics of research for each year on an ongoing basis, the president proposed that the research work in 2012 be directed towards the area of learning about the importance of corn in the local history of Planina. We were interested in learning about methods of cultivation, uses of its parts (kernels, husks, stalks), the preparation of various dishes made from corn (polenta, bread), and the making of various items (doormats from corn leaves, mattresses from cornhusks). Based on ethnographic methodology, I proposed that we first conduct interviews with older local residents in order to learn the role that corn played in the history of the way of life in Planina, then based on this research collect the main valued products towards which the locals have a positive attitude and which can be built on in contemporary times using new knowledge, techniques, and needs.

I established a good rapport with the participants and during an informal interview they provided a lot of interesting information. After conducting field research and a survey of the ethnological and agricultural literature, I performed an analysis and synthesis of the data gathered, which I presented textually in a brochure titled *We ate polenta every day, sometimes even for breakfast: on the cultivation of corn, husking, and cooking of polenta in Planina in the past and challenges in the future (2012)*. The text was written in the spirit of a search for possibilities for using knowledge, experience, and old customs of ancestors for a better and higher quality life in the future, in which local tradition and heritage will represent elements for new innovations and a more competitive residential environment.

The research showed that a corn variety called *guštənca,* which was adapted to Vipava weather and geological conditions, was indispensible in Planina. Since the cultivation of older

local varieties is once again on the rise, since these are better adapted to the natural conditions of the environment, the brochure concluded with the idea that in the Vipava Valley, which has always been known as a good region for growing grains, we start discussing the renewed cultivation of different varieties from which products typical of the Vipava Valley would be produced (corn flour for making corn bread and meal for a better tasting yellow polenta). In the future we could also think about reconstructing the formerly widespread water mills, in which the old, domestic seeds of grain could be ground using old processes and ways. Since tradition is a process which changes with the times and is improved by modern trends and knowledge, the polenta and bread made from *guštənca* could be enriched with newer foods and dishes. It was known that polenta used to be eaten only with sour milk, fat from lard and cracklings, more rarely also with prosciutto and sausage, but today excellent Vipava chefs also serve it with new local delicacies. Local tradition could be cultivated and built on also in the area of other corn products and goods; using the leaves removed from the cobs, making brooms from cornstalks, and making stoppers for bottles from the corncob.

In the course of several conversations with some members of the society on the importance of heritage for sustainable development, members themselves came up with the idea of a new competitive product: pasta made from corn flour, which can also be suitable for people with celiac disease. Since there are many young people included in the society, the president and I tried to involve their creativity. I proposed that the young people take part in workshops building on the earlier tradition of making things from husks. In the past only doormats were made from husks, but at the workshops the young people displayed their creativity in making advent wreaths, wedding bouquets, dolls, and brooches in the shape of butterflies (Fig. 2). The drama group staged a play on the theme of learning about the features of sustainable development in which they emphasized that the entire policy is based on the idea that the knowledge of our ancestors, who in some way already followed the guidelines of today's organic agriculture, should be made use of and enhanced. The play titled *Here are some domestic seeds* depicted in a very humorous way the importance of cultivating old domestic varieties and intergenerational connections, in which older people teach young people about work on the farm in the past, and young people teach the elderly about the importance of using visual media, especially the internet, where one can likewise acquire new knowledge.

A special challenge, which has not yet been realized, was to present the knowledge obtained about corn heritage between tradition and innovation to municipal politicians and local businesses in a way that in the researched heritage they would identify possible ideas for alleviating the economic crisis. The local municipality did award the project with a municipal prize, and in explaining the award stressed the importance of the cooperation of the society with the expert public, but they did not recognize the project as an idea for improving the current economic situation. After the study the idea arose that with the help of municipal representatives, farmers would again begin cultivating the old corn variety, and the Ajdovščina food processing industry, which is still active in making pasta and bakery products, could begin to offer new products made from locally produced corn flour and semolina. Modern marketing genius could come up with attractive packaging from young designers, with an interesting story from the past attached to it. The realization of these development ideas, which originate from research on the past way of life, among the municipal politicians and business people requires more time and possibly new studies that would also be supported by economic analyses. Much has already been done for the municipality to give the project an award, thereby indicating to society members that it values their efforts. At the same time the award has increased the trust of the local population in expert assistance.

Figure 1. Members of Society of Housewives from Planina pri Ajdovščini in Alpe-Adria: Tourism und Leisure Show in Ljubljana. (Photo: Jasna Fakin Bajec, 2013).

Figure 2. The workshops of making traditional and new things from husks. (Photo: Ana Kete, Planina pri Ajdovščini 2012).

5 CONCLUSION

Cultural heritage in the modern, global world, which is facing drastic environmental, economic and cultural changes, should be understood in the context of new development components and content. Although the social, economic, and development roles of heritage practices are intertwined and operate in the direction of ensuring a better future, its role in local communities is still too modest and ineffective. The key to solving the problem presented can be seen in better cooperation among the main stakeholders of development, especially between experts and residents from particular local areas. The latter most feel the difficulties and burdens of the modern world such as social inequality, poverty, climate change, and political pressures, but they are frequently without a clear idea of how to deal with the resulting crises. Although the local population are becoming increasingly aware of the importance of the knowledge of their ancestors and realize that the past is not a symbol of poverty, technological backwardness, and a hard life but rather something of value which can in conjunction with modern innovative approaches be enriched for a better tomorrow, often they have no clear vision of the means of implementing past practices. Experts can contribute greatly to this effort, but they must not take on the role of

an all-knowing teacher "cultivating" the local population with their theoretical knowledge. The expert with his or her knowledge must take on the role of consultant, facilitator, and proposer of different ideas and thoughts which the local population are willing to accept and supplement and enhance with respect to their own expectations and needs.

There are many methods and techniques for including the public in development strategies of local communities. Among other things they can also be seen through the practices of creating local heritage in societies, but the cultural products must not be understood as just a symbol of defining collective identity, an element for the display of technological progress or content for cultural tourism, but also as a fundamental component for ensuring sustainable development and the formation of sustainable communities. Let me conclude with the thought that planning sustainable development without taking into consideration people, the characteristics of their natural and built environment and culture is like writing a book using an unfamiliar alphabet; the book may lie on a bookshelf, but it will remain untouched, unread, unused, and uninterpreted. Do the planners of development strategies realize this?

REFERENCES

Bandarin, F., Jyoti H. & Frances S. A. (2011). Why development needs culture. *Journal of Cultural Heritage Managment and Sustainable Development*, 1.(1): 15-25.

Bourdieu, P. (2002). *Praktični čut I*. Ljubljana: SH.

Byrne, D. (2008). Heritage as Social Action. In Graham Fairclough, Rodney Harrison, John H. Jameson JNR. John Schofield (ur.). *The Heritage Reader*. London, New York: Routledge. pp.149 - 173.

Clark, K. (2008). Only Connect – Sustainable Development and Cultural Heritage. In Graham Fairclough, Rodney Harrison, John H. Jameson JNR. John Schofield (ur.). *The Heritage Reader*. London, New York: Routledge. pp.82 – 98.

Colin L. (ur.). *Heritage and globalisation*. London, New York: Routledge. pp.173 – 191.

Fairclough, G. (2008). New Heritage, An Introductory Essay – People, Landscape and Change. In G. Fairclough, Rodney Harrison, John H. Jameson JNR. John Schofield (ur.). *The Heritage Reader*. London, New York: Routledge. pp.297 – 312.

Fairclough, G. (2009). New heritage frontiers. Heritage and Beyond. *Council of Europe Publishing*. pp.29-41.

Fakin Bajec, J. (2011). *Procesi ustvarjanja kulturne dediščine: Kraševci med tradicijo in izzivi Sodobne družbe*. Ljubljana: Založba ZRC.

Harrison, R. et. alt. (2008) Heritage, Memory and Modernity, In Graham Fairclough, Rodney Harrison, John H. Jameson JNR. John Schofield (ur.). *The Heritage Reader*. London, New York: Routledge. pp.1 – 12.

Long, C. & Smith A. (2010). Cultural heritage and the global environmental crisis. In Sophia Labadi,

M. Low, Setha. 2008. Social Sustainability: People, history and values. In Graham Fairclough, RodneyHarrison, John H. Jameson JNR. John Schofield (ur.). *The Heritage Reader*. London, New York: Routledge. pp.392 - 404.

Nurse, K. (2006). Culture as the Fourth Pillar of Sustainable Development [online]. Available at http://www.fao.org/SARD/common/ecg/2785/en/Cultureas4thPillarSD.pdf [Accessed 29 February 2012].

Smith, L. (2006). *Uses of heritage*. London, New York: Routledge.

Stig Sørensen, M. L. S. (2009). Between the lines and in the margins: interviewing people about attitudes to heritage and identity. In M. L. Stig Sørensen, John Carman (ur.). *Heritage studies: methods and approaches*. London, New York: Routledge. pp.164 - 177.

Stig Sørensen, M. L. & Carman J. (2009b). Heritage Studies: an outline. V: Marie Luise Stig Sørensen, John Carman (ur.). (2009a). *Heritage studies: methods and approaches*. London, New York: Routledge. pp.11 – 28.

Schofield, J. (2008). Heritage Management, Theory and Practice. In: Graham Fairclough, Rodney Harrison, John H. Jameson JNR. John Schofield (ur.). *The Heritage Reader*. London, New York: Routledge. pp.15 – 30.

The significance of the place-historical narratives in the context of spatial perspective: case study

John Skrzypaszek
Avondale College of Higher Education, Cooranbong, N.S.W., Australia

ABSTRACT: This paper explores the significance of the relationship between the historic heritage building named Sunnyside and the unique narrative of the land. The argument flows from a case study involving a proposal to relocate the named building to a different location. In contrast, this study argues that relocation to a new site would generate a different story. For this purpose, it provides supportive historical evidence to show the close relational tie between the historic building, its actual site and the place-historical narrative. The hub of the discussion centres on the concept of spatial perspective and its contribution to the sustainability of the historic building in its current location as part of the grand-historical narrative. Here, the arguments focus on the impact of the collective consciousness and the role of what this study refers to as a pathway of spiritual and reflective pilgrimage. Finally, it concludes with the recommendation that any plans and policies relating to the preservation and sustainability of the heritage buildings need to move beyond the scope of temporal needs. Rather, they need to retain in its visioning a complete inclusion of the grand-historical narrative of the place.

1 INTRODUCTION

This paper explores the significance of the integrated relationship between the historic heritage building and the place-historical narratives. It discusses the nature of this relationship in the context of how best to preserve the narrative of the place and the value it embodies for "the future realization of the potential past" (O'Neill, 2008: 155). This refers to the "transition from the past to future in such a way as to secure the transfer of…significance."

The named research focus arises out of proposed relocation of a heritage listed building named *Sunnyside*, built in 1895, to a new site. The *Preliminary Relocation & Redevelopment Feasibility Proposal* acknowledges the local government environmental heritage plan which aims to preserve the environmental heritage including the historic, scientific, cultural, social, archeological, architectural, natural and aesthetic heritage of the region. However, it argues that the policy does not apply to the land. The proposed subdivision of the land aims to generate funds for a new visitor's centre (Feasibility Report, 2012).[1]

This study aims to demonstrate the significance of the integrated link between the heritage building and the unique narrative of the land. It agrees that the narrative of the heritage building itself could be restated in a different location. On the other hand, O'Neill argues that places contribute to the significance. They bear "the imprint of the lives of a community that went before us that gives the place its significance in our lives today" (Ibid: 146). In that sense creation of a place that looks identical would have a different story. Further, it may be claimed that such option would inflict, what this research refers to, as an irreparable wound in a space endowed with a rich historical significance. Conversely, the relocation of the site would affect the place-historical narratives or what may be considered as a history lesson at a glance and a confirma-

tion of the actual life as documented and preserved for future generations. For this purpose, this study intends to demonstrate the close relational tie between the historic building named *Sunnyside*, its actual site and the place-historical narrative. Further, it explores the role the three elements play in the process of conservation and sustainability

2 SUNNYSIDE AND BRETTVILLE ESTATE – A BRIEF HISTORICAL SURVEY

The foundations of the *Sunnyside* historic building were laid in the early August of 1895. The work on the home was nearing completion by January 1, 1896. The original records show it was a simple but comfortable home containing eleven rooms. As shown in the figure, the main building was 32 x 32 feet with a front veranda and a hall running through the center. There were four rooms 12 x 12 feet with another four rooms in the upstairs section of the house. The back of the house contained a dining room and an additional 16x 22 feet were attached to it to accommodate the kitchen, bathroom and storeroom (White, 1983: 260). The prospective residents waited anxiously for the completion of the building "We expect the carpenters to complete their work this week then we shall get settled" (White, WC, 1896).

Figure 1. Sunnyside: Photo taken in 1898 showing the original resident of the house and her staff.

At this point, the narrative of the house connected directly with the narrative of residents who occupied it from 1896 to 1900. As such, its value moved beyond the state of a static entity, which, with the passing years transformed into a heritage icon. Osborne (2001: 42) argues. "There is no inherent identity in places" and it can be added, as well as in material objects. Rather, the simple transition, from a common entity, to a place where people lived, dreamed and experienced life, paved into its history a unique narrative. This research agrees with O'Neill's (2008: 163) view. He suggests that places matter to people "in virtue of embodying their history and cultural identities." Osborne (2001: 42) extends this argument further by pointing out that

people's actions and behaviour "turn objective space into subjective places". Arefi (1999: 179) adds saying that people's attachment to places contributes to a "sense of place" referred to by some as "structure of feeling" (Agnew, 1987). In this construct, which includes beliefs, attitudes, practices and dreams, one finds the birth of a narrative – the story of the place. In consequence, *Sunnyside* retained its significance not only as a listed heritage building dating back to the 1890s but its story (historical narrative) attracts each year over 2000 visitors both from Australia and different parts of the world.

The National Trust Heritage Festival (The Herald, 2010) promoted *Sunnyside* as a well-preserved home dating back to 1895 containing some of the original furnishings of that period. At the same time, it highlighted the hub of its historical significance by promoting it as the home of the famous Seventh-day Adventist American writer. She is known as one of the most translated American authors of either gender who lived in Sunnyside from 1896 until 1900. An uneducated and frail woman she managed to produce approximately 100,000 pages, including letters, periodicals, articles, pamphlets and books (Land, 2005: 319-22).[2] *Sunnyside* is linked with the last five years of her stay in Australia (1891-1900) and especially with her contribution to the establishment of Avondale College of Higher Education.[3] On the basis of the named connections, this research argues that the pivotal point relating to the conservation and the sustainability of this recognized heritage finds its locum in the totality of the place-historical narrative. This notion includes the fact that, in the past, places mattered to people; they still matter today and will continue to matter in the future.

Figure 2. Current of the Sunnyside Historic Building.

In contrast to the relocation proposal showing that only the house has local heritage significance, this paper argues that the historic value of the house cannot be dissociated from the historic value of the land. However, as argued by Palmer (2011: 347) "the historical narratives of place, can be narrow and selective both in terms of what they pick out to remember and in the ways in which they emphasize what has, and what does contribute to making the places what they are." In view of the named challenge, the historical value and significance of the place needs to move beyond the boundary of its immediate space for it developed in the crucible of a larger narrative, the story associated with the acquisition of the Brettville Estate for the school. Palmer argues correctly that, in the context of sustainability and preservation, the scope of the place-historical narrative needs to be extended. In the case of Sunnyside, the narrative of the

land preceded the narrative of the building. Although, the two narratives could be considered as distinctively different, a close examination of the data shows a bond or an integrated relationship that cannot be ignored.

The search to purchase a land to set up a Christian school commenced around April of 1894. The leaders of the Seventh-day Adventist Church examined one property fifty-five miles south of Sydney situated on Lake Illawarra. Then they moved on to another property seventy-six miles north of Sydney near Morisset. Times were difficult and financially challenging. "We are planning to buy a large tract of land, and can scarcely get enough money to go and see it" (White, 1983: 146). However, near Morisset, NSW, they examined the Brettville Estate of 1,500 acres selling for $4,500. A few days after the initial examination they reached the decision to purchase the land as a place for the school. Immediately after the initial decision the search party signed the contract and secured it by paying $125 with the proviso for further investigation. The progress was not without challenges. The committee received an unfavourable report about the quality of the land from an appointed government official. Firstly, the report suggested that the quality of the land was poor, and it required a lot of liming and draining (Benson, 1894). Secondly, finance was not available. When late in autumn the committee voted to purchase the Brettville estate for the named price of $4,500, they did so in good faith and trust in providential leading. William C. White, the son of Ellen G. White, who was directly involved with the acquisition of the land gave the following report. "On Thursday, June 28, I borrowed $150 from Mr Sherwin and $105 from the Australian Tract Society, and scrapped up all there was in our house, and made the payment of the $275 due on the first payment" (White, 1983: 153).

At this point, the two narratives find a common ground, namely the value instigated by human actions stemming from a visionary dream. These actions inject into the story of the land a new meaning and create an "ongoing reciprocal relationship between people and places they inhabit" (Osborne 2001: 42).

During the early developmental stages, Ellen G. White, the prime mover and promoter of the vision for the school, lived in Sydney. However, on July 7, 1895, she negotiated to purchase 40 acres of the Brettville Estate for the price of $1350. The purpose of this transaction was notable. She wrote (E.G. White. 1895), "The reason I purchase now is that I may furnish money which they [those connected the school] need so much now." Another reason for the relocation from Sydney to Cooranbong was her visionary motivational determination. She was planning to develop a portion of her land to provide an object lesson of what could be done in agricultural lines (White, 1982: 332). Against all the prevailing odds, she stood her ground convinced about the suitability of the place and the providential leading. "Everything in this place had impressed me favorably except the fact we were far from the great thoroughfares of travel…" (E.G. White, 1894). She saw the land as the most suitable spot for the school. With this she expressed her faith in the divine guidance "With God's blessings resting upon the school, the land with be blessed to produce good crops…" (E.G. White, 1894). Her confidence and firm determination was rewarded. A year after moving to her new home *Sunnyside* she wrote.

> We have been living off our garden this year. Last year we had but few potatoes, but this year we have enough for ourselves and a good supply for our neighbours also. So we testify that the school land will yield abundantly this coming year if the Lord's blessings will attend our labors. We are now eating sweet corn that this land has produced, and we enjoy it much. (E.G. White, Letter 92, 1897)

However, the impact of her contribution moved far beyond the mundane ordinary matters associated with daily life. Even though, she was instrumental in setting up institutions such as Avondale College of Higher Education, the Sanitarium Health Food Company and the Sydney Adventist Hospital, *Sunnyside* became a place where she penned two of her major literary works. In the first book, *The Desire of Ages* (1898), she explored the theme of God's involvement in human life. In 1898, she commenced to work on the book *Education* published in 1903. In this book, she explored the principles of the higher view of education in which she discussed the dynamics of God's purpose for life, namely the development of the spiritual, mental and physical faculties (Skrzypaszek & Ferret, 2010: 186). The principles imbedded in the named publications crafted the inspirational fabrics of the extended narrative. In consequence, the narrative associated with *Sunnyside* provided a relationally spiritual connection with the education-

al institution known today as Avondale College of Higher Education. It was officially opened on April 28, 1897 consisting of six staff and only ten students. Prior to the official opening of the school, White coupled her pioneering and visionary determination with pragmatism. "There must not be one day's postponement. . . . if there is but one student present, we will begin the school at the appointed time" (E.G. White, Letter, 149, 1897).

Even though, the residential developments in the area created a physical gap between Avondale College Campus and *Sunnyside* the brief historical survey demonstrates a close integrated relationship between the named entities. Firstly, from their inception, they were all part of the same land, the Brettville Estate. Secondly, one may observe a gradually progressive development of the place-historical narratives shaped by people's ideologically spiritual vision, dedication and commitment. More so, the historical data suggests that the narratives stemmed from the nerve centre, a simple house named Sunnyside, occupied by a person whose life in this community shaped the contours of narrative of the place. It is evident that the physical distance was always there, and it may be also argued that the named entities developed distinctive narratives. However, this research argues they were all united under the banner of one common denominator, the philosophically spiritual and socially relevant driving force - the vision to motivate and develop the spiritual, mental and physical faculties of human life. In other words, the accrued threads of the narratives help to shape an attachment and "facilitate the social construction of a place" (Burley, Jenkins, Laska, Davis, 2007). This paper suggests that the historic building *Sunnyside*, its land and the remaining entities of the Brettville Estate form a significant interrelated part of the grand place-historical narrative.

3 THE PLACE-HISTORICAL NARRATIVES IN THE CONTEXT OF SPATIAL PERSPECTIVE

The demands and pressures of the contemporary world exert financial constraints on the conservation of heritage. The question one needs to confront is how best to preserve the place-historical narrative and the value it embodies to secure into the future the transfer of significance.

At this point, it is important to engage in the discussion the concept of spatial perspective and its contribution to the sustainability of the historic building in its current location as part of the grand-historical narrative. Palmer argues that a 'temporal perspective' approach to the challenge of sustainability, based on decision and policies "for futures that continue, sustain and fulfill" is not sufficient (Palmer, 355). The fact is that these are often subject to power of politics, distortion and even betrayal of the past (Alivizatou, 2011: 43). As already demonstrated, places are spaces invested with meaning and the narrative of one-place impacts the narratives of people in other places. However, this paper agrees that a temporal, time-oriented perspective, where the only option to provide solutions is on the horizontal scale (the backwards and forward movement), does not provide a great scope for creative solutions. More so, the resulting tension between attachment to the past and a frantic drive to remain relevant and financially viable impacts the creative application of the past towards the future realization of its potential. To support this view Palmer quotes Cresswell (1996) who suggest another option. He argues. "Places need to be understood as sites that are connected to others around the world in constantly evolving networks which are social, cultural and natural/environmental. Places need to be understood through the path that lead in and out" (Ibid. 43). In other words, he provides an alternative option to view and analyze the value of the specific historical entities and the role they play in the formation of the place-historical narrative from an optically vertical perspective.

In addition to Cresswell's 'in and out scale' and the named elements such as social, cultural and natural/environmental, this research suggests the inclusion of another component, namely the ideologically/ philosophical and spiritual element of life. As previously demonstrated, the spiritually relational principles contributed to the formation of an extended narrative of place.

**The Formation of the Grand Place-Historical Narrative
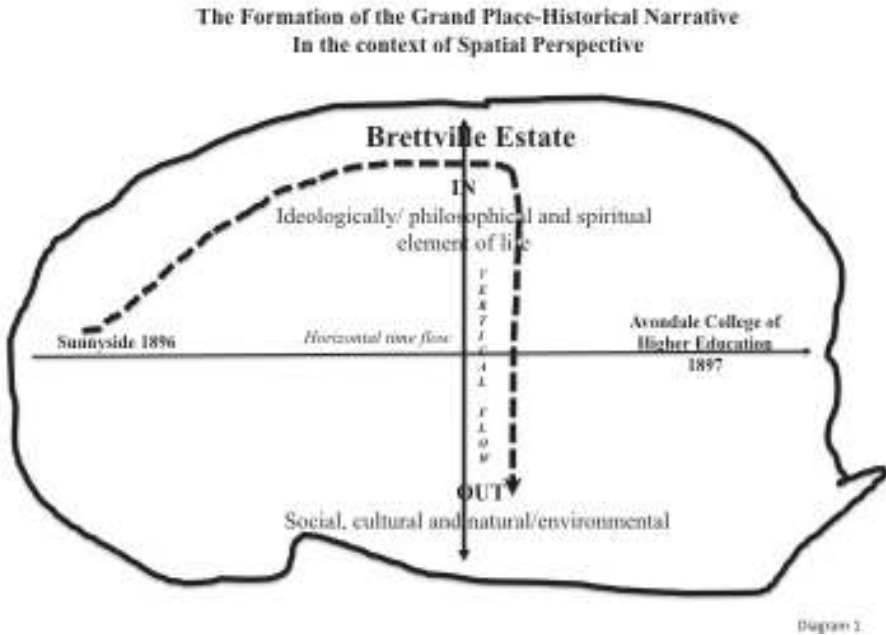In the context of Spatial Perspective**

Figure 3. The integrated relationship between the named elements on the vertical and horizontal scale.

The above Figure 3 provides a graphic illustration of the integrated relationship between the named elements on the vertical and horizontal scale. This study agrees with Palmer's view that the spatial factors are "just as important in terms of what makes a place as the interpretation of what has happened in the past in the places" (Ibid). Further, it proposes that in relation to the horizontal time continuum, where the value of certain historical entities may lose its original ideological value and significance, the elements involved in the 'in and out flow' generate in the flow of collective memory, inspirational coordinates, for, relevant to the time and place identity. The diagram shows that *Sunnyside* is significant not only as a historical building belonging to a distant past. The dotted line links it with the vertical 'in and out' flow, or the impact of the ideologically spiritual principles that found its application not only in the development of the school but, in its application to the local community. In that sense, both the house and the land embody the narrative of the people who lived, dreamed and experienced the challenges of life back in the 1890s. This point is so graphically encapsulated in the words of the local entrepreneurial businessman, Thomas Russell. On the departure note given to Ellen White before she left Australia in the 1900, he wrote. "Mrs White's presence in our little village [Cooranbong] will be greatly missed. The widow and the orphan found in her a helper. She sheltered, clothed and fed those in need and where gloom was cast her presence brought sunshine."[4]

Here, the heart of the place-narrative moves beyond architectural structures, designs and even beyond the significance based on historical heritage. Rather, it reaches the depth of what Arefi (1999: 182) refers to as "collective consciousness". In this context, the historical entities within a given space play a significant role in the formation of the narrative of the place, but they are simply to be seen as means to the end. Here, Arefi calls for a deeper understanding of the connections between places that reach beyond a test based on the external functional abilities such as architectural ability and talent for design. Rather, he touches the core of the matter arguing for an understanding based on "social norms and collective consciousness" (Ibid:182). In this hub, the physical, cultural, emotional and spiritual elements of human actions remain a significant part of the unbroken chain of one grand place-historical narrative.

4 PRACTICAL APPLICATION- THE QUESTION OF SUSTAINABILITY

It has already been stated that the narrative of the heritage building itself could be restated in a different location. As pointed by Azaryahu and Foote (2008: 180), "Stories can be told anywhere. Events may be told orally at the place where they occurred regardless of the existence of commemorative features in the local scene." It may be also observed that material objects have more affinity, with the temporal configuration than the spatial (Ibid, 182). In consequence, it is easy to disregard the role they play in the context of the special perspective.

This paper argues that the geographically spaced locations create what can be referred to as a pathway of spiritual and reflective pilgrimage (Kong, 2005: 496) – an object lesson in time and space. The visual affinity with the original place enhances the scope of human imagination to identify with the heartbeat of the narrative, the collective consciousness. In its proximity, both the objective and subjective elements of the narrative revive human responsiveness to evaluative one's self-understanding (Basso 1996: 34). Within this scope, the preservation of heritage entities such as land and others are not to be seen as an isolated collection of static resources. Nelson and Preston (2005) argue that they need to be considered as "dynamic, interconnected systems with abiotic, biotic, and cultural dimensions." According to Kong (2005: 497), they represent "the identity, interest and ideology of certain social groups" and thus become "ideological tools to serve a community or nations building agenda." This inclusive interconnectedness between land and the historical sites is the central fulcrum and a driving force for the preservation and sustainability of the grand narrative for future generations. In this context, the spatial dimension enmeshes the skeletons of the buildings and places with the framework of religious, social and cultural life. Such grand narrative highlights the stories of the dreams that once shaped the community's values and identity and as stated by Palmer such narratives inspire "what it means for humans to flourish" (Palmer: 358). In such an environment, preservation of specific place-narrative "makes explicit what which is implicit in the local landscape" (Azaharyahu and Foote: 179). Diagram 1 illustrates the contours of a storyline, a pathway for a self-reflective spiritual pilgrimage. Here, the narrative that gives coherence becomes part of what makes for a flourishing of human life (O'Neill, 2008: 197). The reflective and self-evaluative journey allows visitors to relive the story of the past in the framework of a new sense of place, a sense of passion, vision, determination and commitment engraved in the grand place-historical narrative (McCabe & Foster, 2008). Beranek (2010: 102) points out correctly "these founding narratives are often integral to the preservation of the site."

In contrast, the relocation of the site would impact the experiential component of the narrative or what may be considered as a history lesson at a glance or confirmation of the actual life documented and preserved for future generations. Further, it would also inflict what this research refers to as an irreparable wound in space endowed with a rich historical significance. On the basis of these finds, this paper recommends that any plans and strategies relating to the preservation and conservation of the heritage buildings should move beyond the scope of temporal needs. Failing to do so, leads to the prospect of betraying or distorting the meaningful impact of the place-historical narratives. Researchers Van Assche and Lo (2011: 123) conclude "a valuable place encourages local co-operation, long term strategies, sustainable use" but more so "it encourages comprehensive planning and respect for the landscape". This paper also suggests that the spatial focus assures that any such policies for the future need to retain an inclusion of the place-historical narratives. Lastly it argues that the pathway of the spiritual and reflective pilgrimage shaped by the relational integration of the narratives play a key role in the adaptation of passion, vision, determination and commitment engraved in the grand place-historical narrative.

5 CONCLUSION

Based on a case study, this paper aimed to show the closely knitted relationship between a historic house and the unique narrative of its land. Primarily it dealt with the place-historical narrative in the context of a special perspective and the role it plays in the process of conservation and sustainability.

The brief historical survey demonstrated how the value of the house links with the narrative of its immediate site and the extended narrative of the Brettville Estate. On the basis of the named connections, the pivotal point relating to the conservation and sustainability of this recognized heritage site, find its locum in the totality of the place-historical narrative. In this context, the historic value of the house cannot be dissociated from the historic value of the land. In addition, the value of the land connects with the progressive development of the place-historical narrative shaped by the ideologically spiritual vision, namely the development of the spiritual, mental and physical faculties of human life. Hence it concluded that the historic building, its land and the remaining entities of the Brettville Estate form a significant part of the grand-historical narrative.

The application of the spatial perspective enhanced the argument a step further. It demonstrated that the 'in and out flow' generate in the collective memory inspirational coordinates for collective consciousness. These in turn, with the physical, emotional and spiritual elements of human action unify the grand-narrative of the place and transform it into a pathway of a spiritual reflective pilgrimage. Here, the affinity with the original place/land enhanced the scope of human imaginations to identify with the hub of the narrative – collective consciousness, linking the past with the present. Finally, this paper recommended that any plans and policies relating to the preservation and sustainability of the heritage buildings should move beyond the scope of temporal needs. Rather, it should retain in this visioning a complete inclusion of the grant place-historical narrative.

ENDNOTES

[1] Preliminary Relocation & Redevelopment Feasibility Report "Sunnyside", Lot 2 DP 204207, Avondale Rd, Cooranbong. Submitted by JW Planning Pty Ltd, 11. The "Sunnyside" house has a local heritage significance pursuant to Schedule 4 of the Lake Macquarie Local Environmental Plan 2004 (Item CB-31). Therefore, any application for a new development outcome on the site needs to be considered with respect to the Heritage Provision Clauses 43-54 of the Lake Macquarie Local Environmental Plan 2004.

[2] Research at the Library of Congress Washington, D.C. revealed the following top ten most-translated modern authors: 1. Vladimir I. Lenin, Russian Communist Leader – 222 languages; 2. Georges Simenon, Franco-Belgian detective story writer – 143; 3. Leo Tolstoy, Russian Novelist – 122; 4. Ellen G. White, American cofounder of the Seventh-day Adventist Church [more than 140, as of 1996, possibly making Ellen White, the second most translated author of all time; 5. Carl Marx, German socialist philosopher -114; 6. William Shakespeare, English playwright – 111; 7. Agatha Christie, English mystery writer – 99; 8. Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm, German fairy-tale collaborators-97; 9. Ina Flemming, British creator of James Bond thrillers – 95; 10. Ernest Hemingway, American novelist – 91. A Gift of Light (Washington, D.C.; Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1983), 30, 31.

[3] For over 10 years, Avondale College of Higher Education has received five star ratings in the Good Universities Guide, ranking Avondale amongst some of Australia's top universities. In 2012, Avondale topped the Educational Experience rankings, receiving five star ratings in staff-student ratio, staff qualifications, teaching quality, generic skills and overall satisfaction. http://www.avondale.edu.au/information::About_Us/.

[4] Thomas Russell, Cooranbong, 13 May, 1900 Autograph Album given to E.G. White on her departure from Australia to America.

REFERENCES

Agnew, J. (1987). The geographical mediation of state and society. *Place and Politics*. Boston: Allen & Unwin.

Alivizatou, M. (2011). Intangible Heritage and Erasure: Rethinking Cultural Preservation and Contemporary Museum Practice. *International Journal of Cultural Property,* 18: 37-60.

Arefi, M. (1999). Non-place and Placelessness as Narratives of Loss: Rethinking the Notion of Place. *Journal of Urban Design*, 4(2).

Asaryahy, M. & Kenneth E. F. (2008). Historical space as narrative medium: on the configuration of spatial narrative of time at historical sites. *Geo Journal*, 73: 1790194.

Basso, Keith H (1996). *Wisdom Sits in Places: Landscape and Language Among the Western Apache*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.

Benson, A.H. (1894). *Report of the Campbell Tract Near Morisset, NSW, May 21*.

Beranek, C. M. (2010). Founding narratives: Revolutionary stories at historic houses. *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 17(2): 102-115.

Burley, D. P. J., Laska S. & Davis T. (n.d.). Place Attachment and Environment Change in Coastal Louisiana. *Organization & Environment*, 20(3): 347-366.

Cresswell, T. (1996). *In place/out of place*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.

Kong, L. (2005). *Re-presentar the religious: nation, community and identity in museums*. National University of Singapore, Department of Geography, 1 Arts Link, Singapore, 2006.

Land, G. (2005). *Historical Dictionary of the Seventh-day Adventists*. Lanham, Maryland: Scarecrow Press.

McCabe, S. & Foster C. (2006). The Role and Function of Narrative in Tourist Attraction. *Journal of Tourism and Cultural Change,* 4(3): 194-215.

Nelson, J.G & Preston, S.M. (2005). *Towards a Sense of Place: Preparing Heritage Landscape Guides – A Manual for Urban and Rural Communities in Ontario*. University of Waterloo: An Environments Publications.

O'Neill, J., Holland, A. & Light, A. (2008). *Environmental values*. London: Routledg).

Osborne, B. (2001). Landscapes, memory, monuments, and commemoration: putting identity in place. *Canadian Ethnic Studies*, 33(3): 39-77).

Skrzypaszek, J. & Ferret R. (2010). Heroes of Faith: Ellen White, A visionary Seventh-day Adventist. In A. Cadwallader ed. *The Land of Larks and Heroes: Australian Reflections on St Mary MacKillop*. Hindmarsh, SA: ATF Press.

The Herald (2010). [Press release] *A Herald advertising feature, Friday, April 9, 2010*.

Van Assche, K. & Ming Chien L. (2011). Planning, preservation and place branding: A tale of sharing assets and narrative. *Place Branding and Public Diplomacy*, 7(2):116-126.

White, A. (1983). *Ellen White: The Australian Years 1891-1900*. Hagerstown, MD: Review and Herald.

White, A. (1982 *Ellen White: Woman of Vision*. Hagerstown, MD: Review and Herald.

White, E. G, (1894). [Manuscript 77].

---------------------- (1895). [Manuscript 61].

---------------------- (1897). [Letter 92].

---------------------- (1897). [Letter 149].

The folk and oral roots of the Portuguese «Livro de São Cipriano»

José Leitão
TU Delft, Delft, Zuid-Holland, Netherlands

ABSTRACT: The Portuguese «Livro de São Cipriano», while fitting into the European grimoire tradition, seems to have only come into its current form in the late XIXth century. Still, careful analysis reveals that large sections of this book have their origin in pre-existing Iberian folk magic practices, a conclusion which may be arrived at by the occurrence of the same recipes and sorceries in the records of such scholars as J. Leite de Vasconcelos and Teófilo Braga. This observation makes this book a window into elusive aspects of culture and traditional belief and practice, adding up to a grimoire quite distinguishable from most others, but whose content does challenge these in terms of ancestry. In this paper a basic outline of the «Livro» is presented, highlighting those sections that find their root in oral traditions and also the mechanisms allowing for the dissemination of its various versions in Brazil.

1 INTRODUCTION – APPROACHING THE «LIVRO» AS A CULTURAL OBJECT

As a book inserted in the European grimoire tradition, the current form of the Portuguese «Livro de São Cipriano» is actually little more than one hundred years old. While it is a clear and a more than tangible physical object, today on sale in most bookstores, it is a highly complex cultural symbol whose full significance may completely elude an outsider to its natural cultural environment.

Being a grimoire, the foremost grimoire of Portugal, one must always remember that these are objects that extend well beyond themselves. The cultural significance of a traditional magic book is never restricted to the printed sheets of paper that make up its physical form. The «Livro» in this sense is an almighty ghost, a haunting shadow in the traditional Portuguese mind, a kind of black box concept where all magic, diabolism and mystery may fit and may spring from.

Given this fact, the most disparate attributes are found associated with this book: that reading it causes insanity, or may even summon the Devil; that a house where one resides will not fare well in any regard or that owning or even touching one a sin. A series of magical properties that can be summed up in the Portuguese saying: «To touch this book is a sin, but who reads it will rise to the clouds without wings».

These, it should be noted, are not just beliefs to be found in old ethnographic records, but rather, they are very much alive still today. This makes this book an invaluable window into the intangible Portuguese mental substrate from which all culture arises, both by its written and unwritten content and which has been unexplainably left unstudied and unattended by the academic community at large.

2   VARIATIONS AND EDITIONS – THE IBERIAN DUALITY

Before dwelling into this one single book, it should be understood that it actually inserts itself in a long and rich tradition of Iberian magical literature. Typically, the custom in both Portugal and Spain has been to frequently call any magical book a Book of St Cyprian (Davies, 2010), and as such many books have carried such a title throughout history, some of them original Iberian creations and other mere translation of other well reputed European specimens, such as the «Grand Grimoire» (Barreiro, 2010). Besides this, clear evidence of old and all but lost books can actually be found in particular ethnographic records (Coelho, 1889a) from the late XIXth and early XXth century, making the full chronology of Cyprian books in Iberia a challenge to grasp.

As for the titular St Cyprian, the repented black magician turned saint, his figure as Iberian magical hero cements itself in his "orthodox" tale as reported by the Flos Sanctorum (Anon, 2001), as well as in folk legends which transport him from his distant Antioch (modern day Turkey), directly into the Iberian world. The underlying reason behind the preeminence of this saint as the local magical hero however may be difficult to understand, but evidences of his magical predilection among the Iberian magic practitioners can be found at least as early as the XVIth century, as attested by the play «Exortação da Guerra» by Gil Vicente (Ferreira, 1992).

Approaching the modern times, we find that the many current (but not all) versions of St Cyprian books can mostly be grouped into two main versions, which can currently be divided by the linguistic and national borders of Portugal and Spain.

The Spanish version, most commonly called «El Libro de San Cipriano – Tesoro del Hechicero» is of the two the one which falls more in line with the typical European grimoire tradition. Although it does also possess sections consisting of several magical secrets and folk remedies taken from oral and traditional sources (some of which are common with the Portuguese version) it also displays other more ritually inclined sections, such as instructions on the production of several magical tools (on certain occasions similar to those presented in the grimoire «The Key of Solomon the King» (Mathers, 2006)) and several other aspects pertaining to the practices of ceremonial magic. Coupled with this, given that this version of the book is particularly prolific through the Spanish speaking world, sections from other grimoires, such as the «Grand et Petit Albert» or the «Grand Grimoire», may also be found in this version.

The Portuguese version, commonly called «O Livro de São Cipriano – O Tesouro do Feiticiero», removes itself quite substantially from this line of grimoires, as the Portuguese «Livro» seems to rather be a large collection of folk traditions, orison, remedies and sorceries.

As such, this book somehow presents itself at the crossroads between the oral and the written word, as oral knowledge congealed in book form. This particularity seems to generate an "open" book, with a beginning but no concrete end (Ferreira, 1992), as it does not present a set of idea contained within themselves. This aspect of it, when we expand our analysis beyond Portugal (where the book has been stable for well over one hundred years), gives rise to a different kind of plasticity, when compared with the Spanish «Libro», as it is still used as a deposit of practical oral material by its users, with new editions coming to light on a regular bases containing new sections clearly relating to such living cults as Umbanda and Quimbanda. This process has, remarkably, managed to preserve the «Livro» as flexible and living as the oral traditional frame it originally sprang from, making up a literary and magical continuum ranging from Iberia to South-America.

Beyond de Ibero-American scope, one should also note the existence of books associated with St Cyprian both in Italy and Scandinavia (mainly, other punctual examples may be found all through Europe (Skiner & Rankine, 2009)). Of these two, the Italian branch is the least remarkable, as these books present themselves as merely Italian translations of the Spanish «Libro», more precisely of a particular version of this named «El Libro Infernal – tratado Completo de las Ciencias Ocultas» (translated into Italian as «Il Libro Infernale – Tesouro delle

Scienze Oculte»). Even though northern Italy is home to several traditional practices related to St. Cyprian, such as orisons, remedies and sorceries, the occurrence of this version of the book in this area seems to have been a purely commercial move by publishers in order to capitalize on pre-existing native folk practices, and as such these do not represent an original product of the local culture.

The Scandinavian case on the other hand is a completely different and legitimate branch of the grimoire tradition. Commonly called the «Cyprianus» or the «Svarte Boken», Black Books, these once again present themselves as repositories of traditional and oral knowledge, with literally hundreds of variations. The explanation of this phenomenon is due to the traditional practice consisting that every new copy of a Black Book should be made by hand copying a previous version, adding together whatever new secrets the new owner wished to include (Stokker, 2007; Rustad, 2010). Such a circumstance meant that these never came to crystallize into a standard version by action of the printing press.

3 THE PORTUGUESE «LIVRO»

Focusing on the Portuguese «Livro», the oldest example of what has become its current standard version can today be found in the Portuguese National Library, of an uncertain date but most likely to have been printed in the late 1800s.

The structure of this book, although having suffering very minor alteration regarding the numeration of its various sections throughout the years, is in its essence the same as the most modern (Portuguese) editions. Its structure goes as follows:

The book opens with the «Vida de S. Cypriano – Extraida do Flos Sanctorum ou a Vida de Todos os Santos», which consists of the "orthodox" account of St Cyprian's life as the terrible dark sorcerer who repents his actions and joins the Christian faith. This section, although present in every book, seems to place itself outside of its standard three parts.

First Part:
This fist part is divided into two sections. The first of these, entitled, «Livro de S. Cypriano» is in the entire book what most resembles a classical grimoire. This is itself divided into nine chapters, being that the first seven present in fact a quite well structured system of healing, banishing and exorcism through prayers and orisons, having many interesting nuances and variations depending on the nature of the evil being treaded, be it a devilish sorcery, an evil spirit or a good spirit. This part in particular relates quite strongly to the Northern Portuguese concept and preoccupation of the «Almas Penadas» and the dead in Purgatory (Parafita, 2000, 2006), offering methods of identifying these spirits and aiding them in achieving Heaven.

One other remarkable particularity about this section is an extremely lengthy and elaborate banishment for the disenchantment of one hundred and forty eight buried treasures, as this is a book that has always been intrinsically linked with magical treasure hunting. This section bares strong and complex folkloric connections, which and are fully exposed bellow.

Finally, chapters VIII and IX of this section present a system of cartomancy and an interpretation of the Zodiac.

The second section of the first part is entitled «Poderes Ocultos – Cartomancia, Orações e Esconjuros» and is largely a list of sixteen sorceries and magical procedures, be them for divination, manipulation or protection.

This first part is finalized with an orison named the «Oração do Justo Juiz» and yet another system of cartomancy, both standing on their own and not as a part of any subsection.

Second Part:
The second part is divided into five sections. The «Verdadeiro Thesouro da Magia Preta e Branca ou Segredos da Feitiçaria» consisting of a list of twelve sorceries\magical secrets and an unnumbered description of a talisman referred to as the «A cruz de S. Bartholomeu e de S. Cyriano». Directly following is the «Mysterios da Feitiçaria Extraídos d'um Livro de Magia Que se Julga do Tempo dos Mouros» yet another list of thirty eight sorceries\magical secrets, amounting both these part to fifty procedures. In more recent edition (Anon, 2001) this list has

been divided further into more than thirty eight entries, as its numeration is on occasions illogi-cal, with a few distinct entries listed under the same number.

The third section, «Arte de Adivinhar as Paixões e Tendencias das Pessoas pelo Craneo e a Physionomia», consists of several methods of determining the character of any person by their physical attributes, from the use of phrenology to the shape of their various features.

The forth section is once again a cartomancy system, the «Cartomancia Cruzada», and finally this part closes with a dictionary-like list of elements for the interpretation of dreams.

Third Part:

This part is divided into seven section, and it is usually subtitled «Thesouros da Galiza», which should be a direct reference to its first part, a lengthy narrative entitled «Inguerimanços de S. Cypriano ou os Prodigios do Diabo – Historia Verdadeira Acontecida no Reino da Galiza». This narrative describes the tale of the Frenchman Victor Siderol, as he finds a copy of the Grimoire (Inguerimanço) of St Cyprian and is lead to Galicia by the Devil in search of bur-ied treasure and an easy life. The second section of this part is then directly related to this narra-tive, as it lists one hundred and seventy four buried treasures, some of which feature in the nar-rative presented in the first section.

Following this is an extremely erudite text regarding ghostly apparitions entitled «Espiritos Diabolicos que infestam as casas com estrondos e remedios para os evitar», which on some points does seem to contradict the banishment and spiritual succor instructions given in the first part of the «Livro». Such a text stands out in the book as it is clearly not from a folk or tradi-tional source, quoting authors such as Johannes Hymonides, Antonio Possevino, Gerolamo Cardano or Alessandro Alessandri.

The forth section is another list of thirty sorceries\magical secrets, entitled «Poderes Ocultos do Odio e do Amor Descobertos pelo Magico Jannes e praticados por S. Cypriano». This is fol-lowed by a short chiromancy section, which on some more recent editions has been included in the previous list of sorceries\magical secrets.

The sixth section is another remarkable, yet short, text on alchemy which is indicated as hav-ing been extracted from the book «Crimini falsi» by a certain Cecilio Rodigenio. And the book is finaly closed by the text «A Feiticeira de Évora ou Historia da Sempre Noiva – Tirada de um Manuscripto de Amador Patricio datado de Salvaterra aos 23 de Abril de 1614», which, as indi-cated, consists of two different excerpts from the book «Historia das Antiguidades de Évora» by Amador Patrício.

3.1 *Folk and oral roots*

The greatest evidence of the traditional and folk roots of the «Livro» can most easily be found in the various lists of sorceries/magical secrets spread out through the book, being that other punctual cases are also detectable in its other sections (Vasconcelos, 1996).

This may be solidly arrived at by the analysis of the works of J. Leite de Vasconcelos and Teófilo Braga (among others), as these same eminent scholars seem to have collected many of the exact same recipes and folk magic procedures by their own methods. Surprising however is the fact that the relation between these folk practices and the «Livro» has never before been made, neither by these researchers, as Vasconcelos himself had some knowledge of the «Livro» and its content (Vasconcelos, 1996), nor by others since. Among the many listed sorceries and magical secrets presented in the «Livro», the following can be presented as examples:

In the «Poderes Ocultos» section, we can cite Points X, XI and XII, which, among two inter-esting narratives of the life of St Gregory and St Cyprian, one can identify the popular «Oração do Anjo Custodio», the Orison of the Custodian Angel, also popularly known as the Twelve Words Said and Returned or as the Orison of St. Cyprian. This, in its oral and folk root, is an extremely wide spread and flexible orison, with examples literally from all around the world (Coelho, 1889b) and it is based on the numerical enumerations of religious concepts and ob-jects, such as the two tables of Moses, the three persons of the Trinity, the four evangelists and so on (Vasconcelos, 1882).

In the «Verdadeiro Thesouro da Magia Preta e Branca» section, point VIII, one finds the «Encantos e magica da semente do feto e suas propriedades», enchantment and magic of the fern seeds and its properties, which describes the process of collecting fern seeds on St John's

Eve and their magical properties (mostly related to love and the banishment of evil spirits). A similar procedure is mentioned by Braga (1994), which is referred in traditional sources as the seed of the «feito» or «feitelha». Vasconcelos (1882) also describes this same tradition, adding many details quite similar to the ones presented in the «Livro», quoting the following folk song from the Douro which refers directly to it:

> Meu amor não vás a Avintes,
> Nem p'ra lá tomes o jeito;
> Olha que as moças de lá
> Trazem a semente do feito.

In the «Mysterios da Feitiçaria» section, points XXXVI and XXXV one can find instructions for the creation of two magical needles, both meant for romantic incantation of any individual. These two points, while sharing most of their attributes and general instructions, differ in the aspect that one is prepared by passing a needle thought the skin of a dead man (point XXXVI) while the other through the eyes of a bat (point XLVI). Although remaining silent about the process by which one may activate the magical power of such needles, Braga (1994) refers quite directly to the practice of the dead man needle, while Vasconcelos (1882) mentions a similar tradition which consists on passing a needle through the eyes of a snake, indicating that these are most likely to be flexible and wide spread customs.

Also interesting in this section is point XXXVII, the instructions on how to acquire a miraculous herb that is said to restore life to the dead. This particular herb is introduced in the «Livro» in a narrative featuring Cyprian and the mountain shepherd Barnabé, who describes how one may obtain the herb.

This process consists in finding a swallows' nest, removing the eggs from it and boiling them, returning them to the nest before the swallows notice they're gone. Upon realizing that their eggs are dead the swallows are said to go fetch a herb which restores them to life, being that one merely needs to take this herb in order to operate similar miracles.

These same instructions can also be found in the book «Fysiognomia, e Varios Segredos da Naturesa» by Cortés (1699), an author which is actually directly cited in the «Livro» on one other occasion. Besides this, Braga (1994) also mentions similar instructions, hailing from Spain, for the acquisition of a stone used for the curing of every affliction of the eyes. The instructions are in all similar to the ones in the «Livro», but one should locate a swallows' nest and blind the already born hatchlings, which will entice the swallows to fetch this miraculous stone.

Finally, in this section it should also be mentioned a particular procedure for the dispelling of the evil influence casted by a hunchback, point L. Vasconcelos (1996) mentions this as a general superstition, brought into being by the XVIIth century physician Fonseca Henriques, which determined this particular physical deficiency, together with limping, blindness, possessing a cross-eye or only one hand, to be one that is able to cast fascinations and bad luck on all those who see them. Vasconcelos further mentions magical gestures (mainly the fig sign) and several incantations in order to counter act this evil influence, of which the one mentioned in the «Livro» is but one.

In the «Poderes Ocultos do Ódio e do Amor», point XXVI presents the instructions on the construction of a viper head talisman, an object which is mentioned on several other instances as an extremely powerful and effective magical tool (Pires, 1895; Ribeiro, 1917), being occasionally part of complex composite talismans in the form a bags or consecrated pouches containing several magical items (Aragão, 1994).

Taking the above examples into consideration, the particular characteristics of these various lists of secrets and sorceries make them, in the whole of the «Livro», particularly soft spots for the integration and alteration of content. Their organization and overall logic is challenging, with even the occurrence of repeated sorceries or various recipes for exactly the same purpose. This transmits the same clear notion of fluidity and plasticity as these various procedures also possess in their original folk roots, and which are merely collected and congealed here under the name of the Sorcerer Saint Hero of Iberia.

To the attentive reader this opens the grimoire into a whole underlying world of traditional practices, and the very chaotic and apparent random organization of these lists then seems to

suggest an "open" book, a mere circumstantial reflection of a particular aspect of traditional lore.

Yet, this situation is further complicated by the existence of a mythical corpus around the «Livro» itself as a magically charged cultural object. Its own mythical status has given it an "imaginary" ancientness, also reinforced by its connections to the old Iberian practice of magical treasure hunting (Missler, 2006a, 2006b, 2006c), placing the «Livro» in a complex crossroad of remoteness and proximity.

3.2 *Imaginary roots*

Not explicit in its text is the strong connection of the «Livro» with other mythical and folkloric aspects of traditional Iberian culture. These may reveal to be completely invisible and unperceivable to the outside observer, but they greatly enhance its magical glamour and add layers of interpretation to its text. Particular among these is the connection of the «Livro» with the mythical corpus of the «Mouras Encantadas», the Enchanted Moors.

The two lists of treasures presented in part one and three of the «Livro» are a direct descendent of the once popular «roteiros de tesouros», small booklets or pamphlets describing the locations of old Moorish buried treasures (Sarmento, 1888; Missler, 2006a, 2006b, 2006c). Analyzing these two lists, besides the several direct references to «Mouros» acting as treasure keepers, the most obvious connection can be picked out from the introduction to the second list of treasures: «Todos os thesouros e encantamentos do antigo reino da Galliza acham se depositados pelos mouros e romanos em esconderijos subterraneos», all treasures and enchantments of the ancient kingdom of Galicia were deposited by the Moors and the Romans in underground hiding places.

Besides these, one should also note the occurrence of the word «haver», a belonging, as part of the description of several of these treasures. This word, or its variation «aver», is reported by Braga (1994) as being the specific designation of a buried treasure guarded by a «Mouro», and it occurs thirty-six times in the list of treasures presented in part one and thirty-two in the one presented in part three.

The presence of these lists in the «Livro» transports it further away from the usual grimoire or folk magic realms and instead weaves it into the vast complex of mythical and legendary narratives surrounding the «Mouros Encantados». A complete explanation of the concept of the «Mouro Encantado» may be difficult to achieve, as these represent a multileveled folkloric figure, echoing the collective memory of the «Reconquista», ancient pagan cults or general folk fairy lore (Parafita, 2006). Although certain classification models for a structured study of «Mouras» and «Mouros» have been proposed by Vasconcelos, Consiglieri Pedroso and Francisco Manuel Alves, all seem to be lacking, being that Pedroso himself admitted the frailty of his (Parafita, 2006). This seems to be due to the vastness that the concept of the «Moura» has taken in Portuguese folklore, where it seems to almost fully occupy the folkloric "niche" of any remote notion of nymphs, gods or fey folk.

As a whole, the «Mouro» mythical corpus, independently of the identity or characteristics of this figure, always present it as the "Other". The «Mouro» is all which is strange, remote and ancient, but mainly, all which is not Christian (Parafita, 2006). In this sense, all strange and unnatural phenomenon is traditionally attributed to the «Mouros» as a whole, meaning that all pre-Christian structures such as standing stones or dolmens are frequented attributed to «Mouro» construction, a term which is used to designate all inhabitants of Iberia before the Christian «Reconquista» (Parafita, 2006). This places the «Mouro» as a being of a different order, inhabitant of a murky and diffuse notion of an ancient pre-Christian age, the current Cosmic order.

As such, the inclusion of these two lists of buried «Mouro» treasures and all they imply, as well as the significant presence of the «Livro» in several «Moura» legends (Parafita, 2006), claims for it an "imaginary" glamour of absolute ancientness, as its magic reaches all the way back to the pre-Christian age of Iberia and its remote Moorish rulers. Moreover, the «Livro», by assuming its power over these treasures and their guardians, takes up in the religious duality arising from the narratives of the «Reconquista» the position of the always victorious Christian.

In all of this one may contemplate the vast nexus of culture and folklore which makes up the «Livro» as a concept, both by its direct significance (the objective and purpose of its various magical proceedings) as well as by its indirect implications and ramifications.

4 CROSSING THE ATLANTIC

Further adding to this argument is the interesting evolution the «Livro» and its content has suffered in Brazil. Its aspect as an "open" book, together with the fact that the «Livro» on various occasions present itself as a reduced and adulterated version of a supposedly mythical "true" book of Saint Cyprian, assuming itself as an "unfinished" book, seems to set the field for the free and open possibility for constant additions and alterations to its content and organization. This seems to have been the attitude assumed by several Brazilian authors who have taken up the challenge of constantly reinventing, reorganizing and updating the «Livro» in order to fit it to new social, economical and religious backgrounds (Ferreira, 1992; Molina, 1993). As an offshoot of folk magic it has become truly a book of the people (Ferreira, 1992) and although its readers and environment changes, its function remains the same: a repository and collection of magical secrets under the great and dark cloak of St Cyprian, the supreme master of all magic.

Coming into the cult of Quimbanda, and its legions of spirits referred to as Exu and Pomba Gira, for example, both St Cyprian and his book have taken up a relevant and prestigious role in this genuinely Brazilian system (Frisvold, 2012). This can both be observed by the presence of many «despachos» or «trabalhos» echoing those presented in the «Livro», or the presence of the figure of the Saint himself as one of the many spirits worked in this cult (Frisvold, 2012).

Even though the presence of similar proceedings in this cult as those presented in the «Livro» are, logical, not to be taken as a surprise, these take on much more intense and novel connections when they are seen attributed to particular other spirits in the cult. According to its own narrative, it is said that it was from the spirit Exu Meia-Noite that St Cyprian acquired his occult knowledge (Alva, n.d.; Frisvold, 2012), which was later crystallized into the «Livro». As such, in this context, the «Livro»'s procedures may be separated from the figure of the mythical Sorcerer Saint and attributed to Exu Meia-Noite, gaining in this way a new and much more solid grounding in the core of this relatively new cult.

One other remarkable aspect which seems to have taken a life of its own is the narrative of the «Feiticeira» or «Bruxa» of Évora. As stated above, this is the last section of the «Livro» in its basic Portuguese version, and it is itself taken from a previous book by Amador Patricio (a pen name of Francisco José Freire, a quite relevant neo-classical Oratorian Friar from the XVIIIth century, one of the inspirers of the movement of the Arcádia Lusitana). As such, associated with the figure of this «Bruxa» one may today find grimoires attributed to her in the Brazilian market (Santander, n.d.). Further elaborating on this figure, new narratives seem to have emerged, in which the «Bruxa» is counted as one of Cyprian's masters (similarly to Exu Meia-Noite) and that the «Livro» came to be due to the scrolls he inherited form her (Ferreira, 1992). Furthermore, the figure of the «Bruxa» has come to occupy a relevant role in Afro-Brazilian cults, much like the Saint, either under her own name and attributes or as the Pomba Gira Bruxa de Évora (Farelli, 2006; Frisvold, 2011) worked in Quimbanda.

The figure of the Saint himself may also be brought into examination, as besides the character presented in the original «Flos Santorum» and general catholic narratives, various other variations and nuances of this figure may be observed in the workings of this cult. The examples of São Cipriano Quimbandeiro (Frisvold, 2012) or São Cipriano das Almas (Carqueja, n.d.) can be given, each with its own particular spiritual "line" and association, which add a further articulation to the variability of "Cyprianic" material which may find itself associated with the «Livro.

Given its "unfinished" nature, these three instances are perfect examples on how the «Livro» may find new content, as now, within the mechanics of this cult, it can be deconstructed and rearranged in a constant stream of new canonical information (according to this cult), producing theoretically infinite variations of the «Livro» depending on the influence of particular spirits cultivated by a potential new author.

Nonetheless, such instances further cement what was referred to previously as "imaginary" roots of the «Livro», this time in Brazil. By the addition of such characters to the overall narrative of the «Livro» a new authority and glamour of power and ancientness can be attributed to it in a new land where it previously had no roots, establishing itself once again as a repository or reflection of folk magic. Once again, this places the «Livro» in a most privileged position for the observation of such cults and the narratives they establish of themselves.

5 CONCLUSION

Multiple evidence that the current Portuguese version of the «Livro de São Cipriano» is akin to a collection of magical secrets and beliefs of an oral and folk nature has been presented. Such an instance, coupled with the «Livro»'s own acceptance of its incomplete nature, as well as its attribution to the folk magical hero of Iberia, places it in a complex position that allows for the constant addition and alteration of this book's content.

Still, a clear glamour of authenticity and ancientness seem to be claimed by the «Livro» as it has become intertwined with the rich and vast mythical corpus of the «Mouras Encantadas», representations and expressions of ancientness and otherness in the Northern Portuguese rural imaginary, claiming in this way what may be referred to as "imaginary" roots.

When traversing to Brazil and into its particular magical and religious environment, the «Livro» takes on a particularly relevant aspect, as through the mechanics of cults such as Quimbanda its content may be deconstructed and attributed to both novel and pre-existing characters of its own narrative. This allows for the generation of new "imaginary" roots for this grimoire, which then permit for the continuing evolution of its content in a new social, economical and religious environment.

All these aspects of the «Livro» make up a unique cultural phenomenon, both in Portugal and in Brazil, where it may be regarded as a rare window into several aspects of the intangible culture of the environments where it may be found, both due its written content as well as the reactions it triggers in its surroundings.

With all this, the «Livro» proves to be an invaluable tool and object of interest that has been largely disregarded by most researchers and which beckons a more attentive and multidisciplinary study.

REFERENCES

Alva, A. (n.d.) *O Livro dos Exus* (Kiumbas e Eguns). Rio de Janeiro: Editora Eco.
Anon. (2001). *O Livro de São Cipriano – O Tesouro do Feiticiero*. Lisboa: Moderna Editorial Lavores.
Aragão, T. (1994). *Diabruras Santidades e Profecias*. Lisboa: Vega.
Barreiro, B. (2010). *Brujos y astrólogos de la Inquisicion de Galicia y el libro de San Cipriano.* Sevilla: Extramuros Edición, S.L.
Braga, T. (1994). *O Povo Português nos seus Costumes, Crenças e Tradições, Vol. II.* Lisboa: Publicações Dom Quixote.
Carqueja, J. A. (n.d.) *O Livro de São Cipriano das Almas*. Rio de Janeiro: Editora Eco.
Coelho, F. A. (1889a). Notas e Parallelos Folkloricos – I Tradições relativas a S. Cypriano. *Revista Lusitana* I: 166.
Coelho, F. A. (1889b). Notas e Parallelos Folkloricos – II As doze palavras retornadas. *Revista Lusitana* I: 246.
Cortés, J. (1699). *Fysiognomia, e Varios Segredos da Naturesa*. Lisboa: Officina de Miguel Manescal.
Davies, O. (2010). *Grimoires – A History of Magic Books*. New York: Oxford University Press.
Farelli, M. H. (2006). *A Bruxa de Évora*. Rio de Janeiro: Pallas Editora.
Ferreira, J. P. (1992). *O Livro de São Cipriano: Uma Legenda de Massas*. São Paulo: Editora Perspectiva.
Frisvold, N. M. (2011). *Pomba Gira & the Quimbanda of Mbúmba Nzila*. Croydon: Scarlet Imprint.
Frisvold, N. M. (2012). *Exu & the Quimbanda of Night and Fire.* Croydon: Scarlet Imprint.
Mathers, S. L. M. (2006). *The Key of Solomon the King* (Clavicula Salomonis). San Francisco: Weiser Books.
Missler, P. (2006a). Tradicion y parodia em el Millionario de San Cipriano, primer recetario impreso para buscar tesoros en Galicia (Las hondas raíces del Ciprianillo: 1ª Parte). *Culturas Populares - Revista Electrónica,* 2: 8.
Missler, P. (2006b). Las hondas raíces del Ciprianillo - 2ª parte: los grimorios. *Culturas Populares - Revista Electrónica,* 3: 15.
Missler, P (2006c). Las Hondas Raíces del Ciprianillo. Tercera parte: las 'Gacetas'. *Culturas Populares - Revista Electrónica,* 4: 17.
Molina N. A. (1993). *Antigo Livro de São Cipriano – Gigante e Verdadeiro Capa de Aço*. Rio de Janeiro: Editora Espiritualista.
Parafita, A. (2000). *O Maravilhoso Popular – Lendas, Contos, Mitos*. Lisboa: Plátano Editora.

Parafita, A. (2006). *A Mitologia dos Mouros – Lendas, Mitos, Serpentes, Tesouros*. Canelas: Edições Gailivro.

Pires, A. T. (1895). Miscellanea III. *Revista Lusitana,* III: 366.

Skinner S. & Rankine D. (2009). *The Grimoire of St. Cyprian – Clavis Inferni*. Singapure: Golden Hoard Press.

Ribeiro, J. D. (1917). Turquel Folklórico. *Revista Lusitana,* XX: 54.

Rustad, M. S. (2010). *The Black Books of Elverum*. Lakeville: Galde Press.

Santander, A. (n.d.) *O Livro da Bruxa ou A Feiticeira de Évora*. Rio de Janeiro: Editora Eco.

Sarmento, F. M. (1888). A propósito dos "Roteiros de Tesouros". *Revista Guimarães*, V: 5.

Stokker, K. (2007). *Remedies and Rituals – Folk Medicine in Norway and the New Land*. St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society Press.

Vasconcelos, J. L. (1996). *Signum Salomonis; A Figa; A Barba em Portugal – Estudo de Etnografia Comparativa*. Lisboa: Publicações Dom Quixote.

Vasconcelos, J. L. (1882). *Tradições Populares de Portugal – Bibliotheca Ethnographica Portugueza*. Porto: Livraria Portuense de Clavel & C.ª.

Researching and teaching historical East Asian Musics as ICH and as expressions of humanist selves

Joseph Lam
University of Michigan, Michigan, USA

ABSTRACT: Teaching Asian Music with ICH Concerns and Theories: A Case Study of Kunqu, A Classical Opera of China, and An UNESCO Masterpiece of Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity Current ICH theories and practices have opened a new vista for ethnomusicological research and teaching of Asian music in the West. Currently, many US universities and colleges teach Asian musics, providing students a wealth of information on non-Western musical practices, and stimulating young minds with current issues like music and ethnicity, and music and globalization. As educationally meritorious and intellectually sophisticated as these ethnomusicological courses are, they often gloss over dynamics with which contemporary Asian musics rapidly transform, evoking complex and conflicting issues. For example, when a genre of Asian music gets hybridized, it not only evokes concerns about authenticity, but also evidences market forces, government directives, and other practical needs. How Asian musics can be realistically taught is a critical concern. Fortunately, current ICH theories and practices prove to be an effective tool. To demonstrate, this paper will present a case study of kunqu, a 600 years old and authentic tradition of Chinese performing arts, and a hybridized cultural product of China, one that it wants to share with the world. To survive, kunqu has to keep its roots and develop new branches, a reality that all students of Asian music and ICH need to confront.

1 INTRODUCTION

Historical East Asian musics have little presence in Western universities and colleges,[1] where survey courses on cultures and histories of China, Japan, and Korea are commonly taught, and where many detailed and sophisticated research on the nations/civilizations are being conducted.[2] Asian Studies in the West tend to focus on practical and well-established subjects, such as languages and literatures; intellectual, religious, political and social histories; ritual and visual arts of the courts and elites; and contemporary and modernizing developments in economics, diplomacy and East-West interactions.[3] Historical/traditional East Asian performing arts, such as opera, music, and dance, are marginalized in Western research and teaching of East Asia.

This marginalization indexes many conceptual and practical problems. For example, one asks how can the West understand East Asian emotions and subjectivities if the latter's performing arts are not adequately studied? As ICH theories and practices have now established, cultural heritages, many of which exist as performing arts, are creative, diverse, and revealing markers/expressions of people's creativities, identities and subjectivities.[4] The performing arts reveal people's humanist self, the nexus of their cultural, historical, political, and social worlds, and the core of their decision-making and action-taking existence.[5] And as contemporary and global conflicts index, many confrontations and misunderstandings are caused by not only practical needs but also by the ways humanist selves operate. For the West to better understand East Asia

and its desires, needs, realities and subjectivities, Western scholars need to more comprehensively research and teaching East Asian performing arts, historical and contemporary. The West needs to critically hear East Asian musics, the voices of their humanist selves. How?

To probe issues of such a hearing in our 21st century and globalized world where the East and West are complexly blended and separated, this essay presents a case study of kunqu, a 600 years-old genre of Chinese opera, which UNESCO declared a Masterpiece of Oral and Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity in 2001.[6] This essay postulates that current debates about ICH theories and practices have opened up a new platform to research and teach East Asian performing arts, and in particular historical genres that are being practiced in the present. Connecting the past and the present for native and non-native audiences, these genres involve and reveal many humanist selves negotiating with one and other. Ethnomusicology welcomes this platform because but it bridges historical and contemporary studies of music, generating new issues and meanings. ICH studies would welcome such ethnomusicological works because their analyses of emotive and ephemeral aspects of musics would nuance understanding of intangible dimensions of humanity, and thus contribute to global safeguarding and developing of precious and meaningful cultural and historical heritages.

To present this postulation, this essay will begin with brief overviews of ethnomusicology and ICH theories and practices, highlighting issues of historical performing arts as expressions/manifestations of East Asian cultures and humanist selves. Then, this essay will present a case study of kunqu, the classical opera of globalized China. The genre's current and populist revival not only showcases ICH theories and practices in contemporary China, but also points to the ways researching and teaching of historical East Asian musics the West can be centered in academic and cultural exchanges.

2   HISTORICAL EAST ASIAN MUSIC MARGINALIZED

Music is an indispensable element and manifestation of humanity; music is also an integral component of many UNESCO recognized examples of ICH, the aesthetic, biographical, cultural, economic, historical, political, and social values of which have been globally valorized and promulgated. In this context, the conventional marginalization of historical East Asian musics in Asian Studies can no longer be ignored. To bring the musics and the humanist selves they manifest closer to the center of intellectual and cultural debates, the forces generating the marginalization need to be reviewed.

Historical East Asian musics have been academically glossed over because the reasons and contexts for their research and teaching in the West have been general and illusive. Idealistic statements on the musics as artistic and historical expressions are vague, and thus can hardly convince university administrators and young music students to spend limited time, energies, and resources on the genres. Nowadays, historical East Asian musics are seldom performed in even their hometowns, and thus their cultural and historical meanings have become opaque and irrelevant. Unlike verbal narratives or visual illustrations, historical East Asian musics do not tell deep-rooted cultural and historical messages in semantically clear and objective terms; the messages they hold are hidden behind performed but ephemeral sounds, which can only be deciphered with detailed and informed analyses.

Many contemporary performances of historical East Asian musics are deemed either stylistically antiquated or inauthentic as they feature historical, reconstructed, modernized, and/or hybridized features.[7] The historical features are different from contemporary melodies and rhythms, and thus they can hardly charm contemporary ears. In contemporary East Asia, historical musics can hardly attract young Asians because their musical tastes are generally westernized and popularized. The sounds that include modern elements are considered inauthentic. As such, they are neither embraced as historically meaningful expressions, nor considered worthy of serious academic research. For example, Western scholars are not unaware of contemporary reconstructions of *JiKong yuewu* (Music and dance performed at sacrifices honoring Confucius) in Beijing, Qufu, and Taipei, but few researchers would find it necessary to learn about the "updated", if not "inauthentic and hybridized" performances. [8]

Native studies of historical Asian musics, which are conducted in Asian languages of Chinese, Japanese, and Korean, and involve primary documents written in those languages, are of-

ten too esoteric and technical for general music scholars/students in the West.[9] For example, a treatise on historical Chinese music and dance, such as the music chapters in Wang Qi's *Sancai tuhui* (Collected illustrations for heavenly, earthly, and human affairs) of 1609 is unintelligible and irrelevant to most students of contemporary Chinese culture and society in the West, who do not read classical Chinese, and are unfamiliar with Chinese biographies and histories.[10] Even if such Western students happen to find interesting historical data, such as centuries-old pictograms of *JiKong yuewu* in Wang Qi's encyclopedia, they are hardly equipped to decipher its messages and significances-- the pictograms are sketchily annotated and idiosyncratically presented. (Figs. 1 and 2). And even if Western students understand that *JiKong yuewu* was a central concern in historical and elite cultural and musical China, they know that the tradition has lost its raison d'e'te for operation/performance in contemporary time, and thus there is little urgency to examine the historical or contemporary significances of the ritual music and dance as they are known nowadays.

Figure 1. Traditional score for *JiKong yuewu* songs from Wang Qi's *Sancai tuhui*.

Figure 2. Tradition pictograms for *Jikong yuewu* dances from Wang Qi's *Sancai tuhui*.

The above factors are not the only forces that marginalize East Asian historical musics in Asian Studies. Some forces come from Western/westernized music scholarship, and in particular ethnomusicology, a broadly defined and practiced branch of music studies, into which examinations of historical and contemporary East Asian musics are subsumed.[11] For ideological and practical reasons, ethnomusicology focuses on studying contemporary music cultures and genres at the expense of historical ones. Aligning itself with social sciences, such as anthropology and sociology, ethnomusicology aims to study music in/as culture, emphasizing what is observable and verifiable *in situ*, and relying on fieldwork research to collect needed data. And to serve its academic and Western aims of projecting broad theories about contemporary human behaviors and ideologies, ethnomusicology tend to gloss over detailed, idiosyncratic, and historical theories and practices that East Asian practitioners and scholars have generated.

Characteristically, ethnomusicology purses themed studies, pairing music with specific and current academic theories and tropes, such as change and continuity, performance practices, ritual, politics, gender, violence, and other broad issues/theories. Any perusal of representative ethnomusicological documents, such as journals and program books of conferences issued by the Society for Ethnomusicology or the International Council for Traditional Music, would find numerous studies grouped according to "current issues," few of which directly address problems and realities of historical East Asian cultures and musics. This is quite an irony, because in the early stage of its development in the 1950s and 1960s, ethnomusicology included a good number of historical studies.[12]

Humanist selves have been marginalized in ethnomusicology for intellectual and historical reasons. As a discipline of social sciences, and as a branch of academic studies devoted to understanding the musical and cultural others, ethnomusicology tend to suppress the aesthetic, emotive, and subjective self of not only the natives but also the researchers, so that their academic observations and insights appear more objective and credible. Such a glossing over of humanistic selves also reflects the field's colonial heritages. Early ethnomusicology directly descends from western studies of the colonized others, who are often considered "exotic and primitive," if not "noble savages," and whose minds/souls are not academically "interesting" and "examinable" as their rituals, kinship structure, and other readily observable and knowable topics were.[13]

Aspiring to studying musics and cultures of the others objectively, non-native ethnomusicologists also suppress their own cultural and personal selves. In addition to their efforts to allow the others speak for themselves, ethnomusicologists realize that they do not have the right/freedom to assert what they have observed as "cultural truths," which are what the natives/cultural bearers feel/believe/remember/practice. Being modern scholars, ethnomusicologists have to focus on what is observable, analyzable, and theoretical in *situ*, highlighting the tangible over the intangible. This suppression of the humanist self can also be found among native scholars, meaning those who study the musics and cultures they grow up with. While they have the right to claim what they research and teach is "what the natives feel and do," they can hardly emphasize the emotional and subjective aspects; otherwise, they risk having their scholarship tagged as native, subjective, or activist. Thus handicapped, many native or non-native ethnomusicologists working in North America intentionally or unintentionally avoid describing humanistic selves behind the cultures and musics they study.

Without direct references to the humanist selves involved, which practically and subjectively shaped East Asian cultures and musics, ethnomusicologists have a hard time explaining the humanist dimensions of the East Asian musics that they study and teach. Unlike their colleagues teaching historical Western music as natives/insiders/cultural-bearers, ethnomusicologists can hardly convince their students why the musics they teach are aesthetically, culturally, historically important and meaningful. For example, ethnomusicologists can hardly assert that the musics they teach come from deeply religious and idealistic minds/hearts, and as such, the genres have been accepted as perfect/divine by their practitioners; as a contrast, musicologists of Western classical music would readily claim that J. S. Bach's music is compositionally perfect, if not culturally divine, and musically universal.

Because of the active and involuntary glossing over of humanist selves which control musical tastes and values, ethnomusicologists are restrained in what and how they can teach non-Western musics, and in particular historical genres, in Western classrooms. It is clear that when ethnomusicologists cannot freely and comprehensively discuss humanist selves and aesthetic

values/merits of the musics that they teach, they are deprived of essential explanations for their research and teaching. Their students are also deprived of needed incentives to study the musics. With little room to inject their humanist selves into the musics that their professors teach, the students find it hard to engage with the unknown musics.

Some ethnomusicologists compensate the aesthetic and void with active teaching and learning through performances, which allow students to directly and subjectively experience the sonic beauty and intangible expressions and values of the musics they learn. Western teaching of world musics through performance has been most successful, a fact that presence of Southeast Asian gamelans and African drum ensembles in US music institutions attests. Historical East Asian musics do not have such a presence in Western higher education, because they cannot be easily taught, learned, and performed in Western classrooms. Thus, it is no accident that the genres are relatively unknown in Western music scholarship. As a result, they are marginalized, being left behind in the partially explored East Asian past.

3 A NEW PLATFORM

This ethnomusicological impasse has recently been loosened by contemporary ICH theorists and practitioners, who have valorized some genres of historical East Asian music and dance as ICH, ushering them back onto global and contemporary stages of performing arts and scholarship, and expanding discursive spaces by foregrounding problems of human agency, aesthetic and economic values, authority, censorship, ownership, and contrasting efforts of preservation and development. By promoting ICH as manifestations of human creativity, diversity, identity, and memories which have emerged in chronologically different times and socially defined sites, and which have been transmitted from the past to the present by generations of human agents, ICH theorists and practitioners render the past and present of human heritages inseparable and interactive.[14] To effectively and legitimately preserve or develop cultural/performing heritages in the present, ICH theorists and practitioners have to establish not only what was meaningfully done in the past and by whom, but also how current roles and practices are derived from and legitimized by historical predecessors.[15] In their efforts to fix past and present interrelationships, ICH theorists and practitioners have to reveal not only their own humanist selves but also those of their predecessors as the value-defining, decision-making, and action-taking nexus of humanity. Otherwise, past and present interrelationships cannot be fixed--they hardly automatically and purposelessly interconnect to generate results desired by the parties involved. Cultural and historical heritages become ICH only when they are deemed meaningful and meritorious by contemporary patrons, owners, officials, performers, and audiences.

By valorizing ICH as globally and humanly meaningful and meritorious, and by inviting international support for their safeguarding and developments inside and outside their home cultures/societies, ICH theorists and practitioners empower non-natives, affording them distinctive voices and rights. In other words, as an ICH performing art acquires a global presence, its native practitioners are no longer their sole owners and/or bearers. As new owners/invited participants, non-native theorists and practitioners can formulate their own expertise and voices, formulating and asserting their understandings and concerns for the ICH being involved; such non-native interpretations might or might not coincide with native ones. This development which encourage different humanist selves to engage with one another creates a new discursive platform for understanding historical performing arts in the globalized present. On this platform, the past of the arts being debated cannot be compartmentalized from their present, and the contrasting selves behind different interpretations of the performing arts must be indentified and exposed before they can assert their agendas and convince others. Only with such integrated past and present where contrasting selves are exposed, features, meanings, and values of heritages being discussed become definable and practical.

This platform is also where ethnomusicologists can bring their academic and musical selves to the open, making their teaching and learning of historical East Asian music more convincing and relevant to themselves and to their students. When ethnomusicologists can freely and factually declare different humanist selves, they can more explicitly and effectively discuss aesthetics, agency, authenticity, ownership, hybridization, sustainability, values, and other intellectual and practical issues of ICH/historical performing arts. To anchor conflicting interpretations,

ethnomusicologists can contrast their selves with the native/historical selves, projecting not only original voices but also non-native and contemporary voices. By interconnecting past and present selves, times, sites, functions, and meanings of the historical music they teach, ethnomusicologists can render it contemporarily and personally meaningful and relevant. As a result, historical music transforms from relics of the past into value-added/generating heritages in the present.

4 TEACHING KUNQU, THE ETHNOMUSICOLOGICAL WAY

To demonstrate the ways ICH theories and practices directly and indirectly advance teaching and learning of historical East Asian musics in the West, a comparison of presenting *kunqu* with and without ICH input will be instrumental. As it will become clear, the differences in presentations with and without exposing humanist selves involved are revealing and thought-provoking.

Should an US scholar research and teach kunqu with conventional ethnomusicological perspectives and methodologies, he/she can readily develop a historical and musical overview of the genre as a culturally and historically esteemed genre of Chinese opera.[16] Kunqu is, in this view, a multi-media theatre of China that first emerged around the mid 14th century, and is distinguished by its theatrical and sophisticated blending of acting and dancing, literature/drama, music (singing and instrumental music), and visual arts of facial make-up and elaborate costumes. As conventionally told, the history of kunqu began when a group of local literati and musicians living in the Qiandeng/Kunshan area in contemporary Jiangsu Province, China, collectively developed a distinctive genre of vocal music, matching elegant melodic singing with literary lyrics, the words of which are enunciated in the Wu dialect. By around the 1530s, the genre had become a distinctive and widely known genre of vocal and theatrical music, one that was firmly identified with Kunshan--this is why and how the genre acquired its name of *kunqu,* which literally means arias/songs of Kunshan. As such, the genre favorably competed with three other traditions of vocal/theatrical music of the time. By the late 1500s, the genre overshadowed the other three traditions because Wei Liangfu (fl. around 1560s), a medical doctor and a master musician, refined the genre by making its melodies more flowing, and its singing of literary lyrics more intelligible and expressive. Melodic movements closely match/reflect contours of linguistic tones of the words in the lryics--each musical tone and semantic word of kunqu arias need to be accurately and exquisitely delivered. To enrich and to nuance the texture and timbre of the instrumental music accompanying kunqu singing, Wei Liangful devised a distinctive ensemble of string, wind, and percussion instruments, featuring the flute (*dizi*) as the main leading and accompanying instrument. The trigger that launched kunqu's rise as the preeminent genre of Chinese dramatic singing is, however, Liang Chenyu's (ca. 1521-1594) *Washing Silk* (*Huanshaji*), a historical romance of male intrigue and national restoration through a femme fatale. Liang specifically wrote the drama for performance as kunqu theatre, which he premiered in the 1580s.

By the mid 1600s, kunqu became a national opera of China, one that both the elite and commoners enjoyed. Then, in the course of the 18th and 19th centuries, kunqu further refined its artistry, developing an extensive repertory and codified traditions of dramatic expressions and performance practices, ranging from classified role types of male and female characters to the specific skills with which they perform with their torsos, limbs, fingers, and facial expressions and eye movements. Thanks to generations of dedicated performers , the traditional kunqu repertory and performance tradition have been evolutionarily transmitted to the present day. As kunqu became a most sophisticate genre of Chinese opera, it was widely emulated by all subsequent genres, including Peking Opera which gained national popularity by the late 1800s. To honor its cultural and historical significance, kunqu has been valorized as the "mother of hundreds of Chinese genres of operas; "traces of its repertory and performance practices are clearly identifiable in all genres of contemporary Chinese operas.

As kunqu became more and more sophisticated, pleasing elite connoisseurs, it became less and less appealing to the general opera-goers. By the turn of the 18th and 19th centuries, kunqu's popularity began to decline. By the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries, kunqu totally lost its appeal as a genre of public entertainment, and could barely survive in modernizing and Westernizing China. Fortunately, a group of dedicated kunqu patrons and connoisseurs gathered their re-

sources to launch in 1921, the Kunju chuanxisuo (Academy for the Transmission of Kunqu), a new-style academy where a group of young performers learned the art of kunqu from surviving masters of the time.[17] Operating in war-torn China, however, the well-trained graduates were not able to fully exercise their talents and get the rewards they deserved. Their careers were prematurely and tragically cut-short by military destructions. Nevertheless, beginning from the mid 1950s, they became mentors for a new generation of kunqu performers, who have become, since the late 1990s, contemporary masters and pedagogues guiding the genre's current revival.[18]

As a performing art developed by the combined efforts of professional and avocational writers and performers, informed and privileged patrons, and dedicated and generous connoisseurs/fans from the educated and elite class, *kunqu* constitutes a most classical and elegant statement on Chinese cultures and peoples. To experience its artistic and creative expressions, one only needs to attend some live performances. If that is not readily available, one can view audio-visual recordings, an abundance of which is now available on YouTube, Youku, and various websites dedicated to the promotion of the genre and its leading performers. [19]

Compared to the above account which is general and historical, more specialized studies can focus on contemporary kunqu as results of international, national, and/or local developments, such as China's recent rise as an economic and political superpower, global popularization and commercialization of traditional performing arts, and developments of regional cultures, tourism, and leisure industries in the Jiangnan area of central and coastal China, which include present-day Nanjiang, Shanghai, and Suzhou. Among these topics, those concerning Jiangnan readily attract ethnomusicological attentions. Historically and currently, the area is not only kunqu' home base, but also a hub for Chinese arts, industries, and trades. Currently, the three most active and influential kunqu troupes are respectively based in three cities mentioned above.

Many of Jiangnan's creative and talented sons and daughters have played leading roles in historical and modern China. For example, Tang Xianzu (1550-1616), the leading dramatist of kunqu plays, was a giant of Chinese dramatic literature, one who is now frequently discussed as a Chinese counterpart of William Shakespeare of 16th century and Elizabethan England.[20] And Feng Menglong (1574-1645), was not only a prolific writer/editor of Chinese vernacular stories and songs, but also a critical agent and historian of Chinese popular culture.[21] Mu Ouchu (1876-1943), an early 20th century Chinese industrialist and philanthropist, was also an influential kunqu sponsor.[22] Yu Zhenfei (1902-1993), an influential master performer and pedagogue of 20th century Chinese opera, was born in Shanghai: he sang both kunu and Peking opera.[23] Studying kunqu in/as Chinese or Jiangnan culture, ethnomusicologists can collect a lot of data about the genre and its contexts through archival and fieldwork studies, generating insightful and far-reaching interpretations.

5 ICH INFORMED RESEARCH AND TEACHING OF KUNQU

If these data and interpretations comprehensively describe kunqu, they inform on the genre and its Chinese significances; they do not explicitly reveal its global meanings. As such, they might not appeal to general audience or college students in the West, who would not find learning about China and its performing arts a relevant topic in their social-political thoughts and contemporary life styles.[24]

The situation changes dramatically if kunqu is presented to them with ICH informed perspectives and questions. Rather than presenting kunqu as a classical musical/theatrical genre from China's imperial or Confucian past, the genre will be introduced as an ICH of contemporary China and the globalized world, one that evidences humanity as it is culturally, historically, strategically, and even controversially negotiated and practiced all over the historical and contemporary worlds. Thus valorized and problematized, kunqu acquires a global and humanist significance, one that is particularly relevant to theoretical and practical negotiations of cultures and identities in the contemporary and globalized world. There the past and the present are pastiched together, originals and derivatives parade side by side, and contrasting humanist selves of natives and non-natives compete to be heard. As a genuine and living ICH operating in such a world, kunqu features and meanings are being creatively, diversely, and vigorously negotiated and practiced. Ethnomusicological and ICH informed examinations of the genre are in order.

Chinese practices for safeguarding and developing kunqu have much to tell global citizens what humanist selves would or would not do to promote their desired and valued heritages for local and global descendents/audiences. Such a contemporary and humanist relevance of kunqu becomes poignantly clear with the following heuristic report. Explaining kunqu in historical, contemporary, Chinese, and global contexts, it exposes all kinds of critical and practical issues about cultures, heritages, selves and values.

A 600 years old genre of classical Chinese opera, kunqu was designated in 2001 by UNESCO as a masterpiece of oral and intangible cultural heritage of humanity, acknowledging its intrinsic meanings and values. The designation has been most influential and productive. It is significant that the central Chinese government began to administratively and financially support the genre after the designation. Dynamically expressive, virtuosically performed, and continuously practiced and transmitted in China, kunqu not only demonstrates classical performances of Chinese literature, music, dancing, and visual arts, but also attests to traditional Chinese aesthetics, practices, selves and values as they are being challenged and transformed by contemporary and globalizing forces. Thus, by examining kunqu within and without its Chinese contexts, one learns not only Chinese cultures and peoples as they perform themselves, but also what and how global humanity is creatively, diversely, and expressively negotiated and practiced. Chinese people are no longer the only agents actively and effectively safeguarding and developing kunqu.

Sustaining kunqu as an ICH inside and outside China is, however, a daunting task, even if UNESCO, Chinese central and local governments, NGOS, and professional and amateur groups are working hard and providing needed resources to the promote genre. How, where, and with what kunqu can be sustained by and for whom become tricky questions. Involved participants have to negotiate their agendas and rights concerning the genre, while responding to contextual and practical constraints, and revealing their personal and communal desires, needs, selves and values. And such negotiations often traverse Chinese and non-Chinese boundaries.[25] Even if current kunqu definitions and decisions appear to be Chinese made, their non-Chinese/global references and arguments become undeniable with any critical review. For example, UNESCO and Western definitions of tangible and intangible heritages are often evoked in Chinese debates. That kunqu practitioners find the UNESCO designation of their beloved theatre so legitimizing and motivating is by itself a topic that needs critical examination. That some kunqu practitioners realistically safeguard kunqu as an ICH by developing its commercial markets/values also deserves scrutiny.[26]

Figure 3. Front page of the Imperial Granary Brochure.

Figure 4. Back page of the Imperial Granary Brochure.

Many factors converge to make kunqu a sphinx of an ICH of globlized China--which is, however, how and why it becomes so humanly discursive, expressive, and significant. It does teach many lessons on globalized performing arts of East Asia. As a centuries old, multi-media, and multi-valent performing art, kunqu involves a multitude of past and present agents working in different times and sites, advancing their individualized or collectivized agendas. Which agent is more authoritative and which agenda should be prioritized above others? Featuring a myriad of expressions and performance practices developed by competing artists from different regional communities, kunqu has a large repertory and a good number of regional and distinctive traditions/sub-traditions. Should all be safeguarded and promoted equally? Is there any reason why one or two should one be sustained more than the others? How? As a performing art of acting, singing, dancing, and visualizing, kunqu communications/negotiations depend on not only intellectual aesthetics and written scripts but also on designed and performed sounds and sights--which are emotively expressive, intelligibly meaningful, and stubbornly resistant to factual analyses and descriptions. How should ephemeral and intangible sounds and sights of kunqu be explained, preserved, and developed? As a form of sophisticated and elaborate theatre, kunqu productions are extremely labor-intensive and costly. Where and how does one find the needed material, financial, and human resources needed to mount kunqu shows? If monetary and non-monetary support can be solicited from dedicated and generous patrons, informed connoisseurs, and general audiences/fans, who and where are they? How can such persons/institutions be found/cultivated in the present and in the near future? And when they patronize kunqu, what rights and authorities would they command? These questions and many similar ones are not academic issues; they are every-day problems many kunqu practitioners confront in their daily promotion of the genre as an ICH.

The issues can only be solved case by case, and individual practitioners assert their personal and communal selves in their particularized times and sites. It is commonsense to theoretically or factually compare these answers, contrasting and assessing their pros and cons. It is, however, premature to make such comparisons and assessments, this author posits. The global revival/transformation of kunqu is only 20 or so years young, and Chinese and non-Chinese agents are taking the genre to known and unknown places in realistic and imagined past and present. Thus, for the time being, it is more practical to carefully studying those internationally, nationally, and locally produced hit shows, identifying what has been preserved, developed, negotiated by and for whom.

To illustrate the need and pragmatism of this approach, a brief description of the phenomenally successful the *Peony Pavilion: the Young Lovers' Edition* (*Qingchunban Mudanting*; hereafter *YLE*) by Kenneth Pai will suffice.[27] (Fig. 3) Since its premiere in 2004, the production has been performed more than 200 times in major theatres inside and outside China, garnering numerous accolades, generating a force for reviving kunqu as a classical and representative theatre of China, and winning a critical number of new and young fans, whose interest and support for the genre will sustain its preservation and development for many years to come. As internationally acclaimed as the *YLE* is, however, some kunqu critics/authorities have denounced it as inauthentic and misleading--nothing but a song and dance show derived from kunqu, that is nevertheless more American Broadway than Chinese kunqu.[28]

Figure 5. The Peony Pavilion, the Young Lovers' Edition

Such criticisms are not merely high-handed and irresponsible comments; they are not without grounds and substance if one traces how the *YLE* spawns imitations and trends of kunqu production, and if one compares the *YLE* with what is commonly known about historical kunqu from the 1930s or earlier times. By comparing historical and contemporary productions, the following facts become apparent. The *YLE* presents an abridged version of the complete drama by Tang Xianzu--29 out of the original 55 scenes.[29] This abridged version is actually much longer than conventional shows of the drama regularly presented in the last one hundred or more years--the complete drama of the *Peony Pavilion* was seldom performed after its premiere, because a full production of all the scenes would be too costly.[30] Since the mid 1800s, kunqu was usually performed as selected scenes (*zhezixi*) from complete dramas. Regarding its length, the *YLE* is both authentic and inauthentic--all depends on what and how one defines the authentic and the original!

The lyrics and speeches the *YLE* presents are authentic texts--textual adjustments are minor, involving more strategic cuts than anachronistic additions. The acting, dancing, and singing performed by the lead actor and actress of the production is stylistically expressive and representative. The young performers learned performance of the *YLE* from senior masters who achieved fame and stardom doing the *Peony Pavilion*; the young performers underwent intensive and tailor-made training sessions under the masters. Comparison of audio-visual recordings of performances by the mentors and their disciples, nevertheless, reveals detail and subtle differences, the significances of which can be contrastingly interpreted. Some conservative kunqu authorities/connoisseurs, who played no direct role in the *YLE*'s production, find the differences as evidences of the young performers' artistic immaturity and the *YLE*'s productional deficiencies.[31] Such an interpretation exposes not only issues of individualized performance excellence in assessing ICH as cultural heritage, but also pinpoint the roles contrasting humanist selves play in formulating critiques. Is there an objective and universal standard for performative excellence?

Does a poor performance disqualify a performance as an authentic ICH show? Answers cannot be made with only objective and verifiable facts; value-generating, decision-making, and action-taking humanist selves must come forward and formulate the interpretations.

Anyone familiar with traditional kunqu performance would know that the *YLE* atypically but creatively uses instrumental music. The production features a large orchestra playing instrumental music of frequently changing timbres and dramatically fluctuating dynamics, sounds that clearly emulate those of contemporary Chinese orchestras which echo, in turn, their Western and philharmonic exemplars. Judging from early 20th century recordings of kunqu music, traditional kunqu are accompanied by small ensembles of Chinese string and wind instruments playing music that "accompanies" and does not draw audience to itself.[32] Traditionally, kunqu highlights singing as its presentational focus. The music the *YLE* plays draws attention to itself as if it is an equal partner of the lead actors/singers. Judging from verbal documents and historical woodblock prints and photos, the *YLE*'s use of costume, lighting, sound design, and stage props is contemporary, creative, effective, and specialized. Traditional costumes, meaning those made before the 1950s, are more generic than specifically designed for particularized productions.[33] Traditional lighting is simple and fixed; there were no spot-lights. Traditional kunqu stages have no spectacular backdrops or tiered stage sets with moving parts. The traditional stage prop includes only one table and two chairs.

The forces and motives generating the grand and modern performance practices of the *YLE* are obvious. Contemporary kunqu are no longer performed in private halls of palaces and elite mansions or on small outdoor stages erected by village or town plazas. Contemporary kunqu are often performed on huge stages housed in cavernous auditoria built to hold thousands of audiences. To make its performances audible and visible to the large audience, contemporary kunqu must embrace large orchestras, effective miking, dramatic lighting, and other latest presentational technologies.

The *YLE* is not a slavish imitation/continuation of what was performed ten, twenty, thirty, or more years ago. It is an artistic and contemporary production that Kenneth Pai and his collaborators have strategically constructed or reconstructed. If the production authentically continues many historical practices, it also creatively introduces new and modern elements; by update the genre's expressions, the production renders them appealing and intelligible to young audiences, Chinese or non-Chinese. As a result, the *YLE* is not just a show of a historical genre of Chinese theatre, but a cultural and political performance of the classical, elitist, and idealistic Chinese self that Kenneth Pai and many globalized Chinese elite would claim and assert for themselves. Anchored by this self, Pai has a vision of what classical kunqu and Chinese culture is. And to realize it on stage for the world to see, he found the artistic, financial, political, and social resources needed. To ensure his production favorably compares with those of established world theatres, such as Russian ballet or Italian opera, Pai assembled a team of internationally renowned Chinese artists to produce his *YLE*, a strategy that launched the new tradition of producing kunqu shows with international collaborations and global perspectives.

Thus, it is no accident that as the *YLE* demonstrates and develops *kunqu* as an ICH of 21st century and globalized China, the production also attests to the Chinese and humanist self of Kenneth Pai and other Chinese cultural leaders/ambassadors who envision and promote China in similarly personalized ways. As Pai publicly announced, his decision to produce the *YLE* was triggered by his disgust at the 1999 Lincoln Center production of the drama, which he saw. In short, the *YLE* cannot be understood as an ICH manifestation without reference to Pai's humanist self and the contexts in which he operated. Pai reminds his audience of his personal stamp on the production by appearing on stage to thank his totally enchanted audience. They would not forget who Pai was and what kind of Chinese he represents. Given his personal presence and stamp which elicit strong personal reactions, no audience can meaningfully critique the *YLE* as an ICH performance or as an artistic presentation without activating his or her own decision-making and value-generating self. Reacting to the *YLE*, positively or negatively, is not only an aesthetic response, but also a personal and social-political discourse.

6 CONCLUDING REMARKS

As an ICH sphinx, the *YLE* demonstrates realities and issues of kunqu as a heritage and contemporary performing art. It also illustrates the daunting job of safeguarding and developing ICH or any traditional performing arts in societies like contemporary and globalized China. Theorizing and practicing kunqu, the genre's agents have to solve many abstract and practical issues by asserting their individual or communal selves and values. Such assertions which can be humanly emotional and subjective, can also be liberating and productive. By directly confronting these selves and values, and by allowing them to be voiced, ethnomusicological studies of kunqu can become more intelligible and relevant to Western students and audiences. When they can inject their humanist selves into kunqu performances and debates, they would find its historical and contemporary productions more engaging.

Figure 6. Shanghai Kunqu Troupe Performs in New York Celebrating 10 Years of the UNESCO Designation

By identifying the selves behind kunqu and/or ICH entries, and by allowing contrasting selves to voice their visions and concerns, one effectively implement the UNESCO ideal of sustaining cultural heritages as revealing manifestations of human creativity, diversity and memories. By paying attention to the intangible and ephemeral in historical performing arts, ICH theorists and practitioners can further advance their efforts in safeguarding and developing the world's meritorious but dwindling heritages. By injecting humanist selves and values into their

academic research and teaching, ethnomusicologists can make their studies of East Asian musics more significant and relevant to 21st century and globalized living. The next generations will find reasons and motivations to safeguard and develop historical musics and other cultural heritages when they find personalized meanings and voices in what they see and hear.

ENDNOTES

[1] This is my observation as a musicologist/ethnomusicologist and sinologist researching and teaching in the US since 1980.

[2] This becomes clear with any perusal of undergraduate and graduate courses offered by departments of East Asian Languages and Civilizations and Asian Studies in US and Canadian universities and colleges. Many professors of these courses put their syllabi on-line.

[3] This is attested by programs of annual conferences of the Association for Asian Studies, the largest and international academic society devoted to all kinds of studies of Asia. Each year conference participants give hundreds of papers over the four day meetings, but only a few would be on music. Papers on historical East Asian music would appear occasionally, a sharp contrast to the number of papers on other subjects of historical Asia. Visit the homepage of the society at: http://www.asian-studies.org/conference.

[4] There is now a substantive collection of official and academic writings on ICH theories and practices, available on-line and as electronic and conventional publications. See, for example, official UNESCO statements at its homepage: http://www.unesco.org/culture/ich. See also recently published anthologies, such as Toshiyuki Kono ed., Intangible Cultural Heritage and Intellectual Property: Communities, Cultural Diversity and Sustainable Development (Antwerp-Oxford-Portland: Intersentia, 2009); Laurajane Smith and Natsuko Akagawa eds., Intangible Heritage (London and New York: Routledge, 2009); and Keith Howard ed., Music as Intangible Cultural Heritage (Policy, Ideology, and Practice in the Preservation of East Asian Traditions (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2012).

[5] Among a wealth of academic studies on the subject of the human self, the following two publications are particularly pertinent for this discussion. Roger T. Ames, Wimal Dissanayake and Thomas P. Kasulis eds., Self as Person in Asian Theory and Practice (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1994); and Roger T. Ames, Thomas P. Kasulis and Wimal Dissanayake eds., Self as Image in Asian Theory and Practice (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1998).

[6] There is wealth of general and specialized publications on kunqu; most are written in Chinese, and a few are written in European languages. See Hong Weizhu's Hong Weizhu 洪惟助 ed., Kunqu yanjiu ziliao suoyin 昆曲研究资料索引／ A Bibliography of Kunqu Research Sources (Taipei: Guojia chubanshe,2002). For a brief introduction, see Joseph Lam, "Kunqu, the Classical Opera of Globalized China: A Long Story Briefly Told" (http://www.confucius.umich.edu/resources/publications, 2011).

[7] I learned this from personal and fieldwork conversations with East Asian music scholars and performers in the twenty or so years. See also Fang Kun, Keith Pratt, Robert C. Provine and Alan Thrasher, " A Discussion on Chinese National Musical Traditions," Asian Music, Vol. 12/12 (1981), pp. 1-16.

[8] For English studies on the subject, see Chen Fu-yen, " Confucian Ceremonial Music in Taiwan with Comparative References to Its Sources," Dissertation (Wesleyan University, 1976); Joseph S. C. Lam, "The Yin and Yang of Chinese Music Historiography: The Case of Confucian Ceremonial Music," Yearbook for Traditional Music, Vol. 27 (1995), pp. 34-51; and Joseph S. C. Lam, "Musical Confucianism: The Case of 'Jikong yuewu,'" in On Sacred Grounds: Culture, Society, Politics, and the Formation of the Cult of Confucius, edited by Thomas Wilson (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2002), pp. 134-172.

[9] Chinese, Japanese, and Korean historians and scholars have been studying their historical cultures and musics for centuries, and they left a wealth of documents written in their native languages. Introductions to these sources are available in Robert C. Provine, Yosihiko Tokumaru and J. Lawrence Witzleben eds., East Asia: China, Japan, and Korea (New York: Routledge, 2002); see, in particular, Joseph S. C. Lam, "Scholarship and Historical Source Materials: Antiquity through 1911", pp. 127-134; Steven G. Nelson, " Historical Source Materials, pp. 585-590; and Song Bang-song, " Historical Source Materials and Modern Scholarship in Korea," pp. 853-858.

[10] See the music and dance chapters of the encyclopedia excerpted in Zhongguo gudai yinyue shiliao jiyao中国古代音乐史料辑要/A Selected Collection of Essential Sources in Chinese Music history) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1962), pp. 827-900, see in particular, pp. 884-892.

[11] For a general introduction, see "Ethnomusicology" in the New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians on-line.

[12] An early and critically acclaimed example of such scholarship is Rulan Chao Pian, Song Dynasty Musical Sources and their Interpretation (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1967; and Reprint (Hong Kong: Chinese University Press, 2003).

[13] A renowed example of colonial studies on East Asian music is J.A Van Aalst, Chinese Music (Shanghai: The Inspector General of Customs, 1884); a pdf of the historical book is available on-line: http://ia700303.us.archive.org/18/items/chinesemusic00vana/chinesemusic00vana.pdf.

[14] For a seminal article, see Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, " Theorizing Heritage," Ethnomusicology, Vol. 39/3 (Autumn, 1995), pp. 367-380.

[15] For an informative anthology of studies on the issues, see Ivan Karp and Steven D. Lavine ed. Exhibiting Cultures: The Poetics and Politics of Museum Display (Washington and London: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1991).

[16] For a general introduction, see William Dolby, A History of Chinese Drama (London: P. Elek, 1976); for a photographically well illustrated introduction to kunqu translated into English, see Xiao Li, Chinese Kunqu Opera (San Francisco: Long River Press, 2005). For an informative TV documentary on the genre available on YouTube, see CCTV's 600 Years of Kunqu Opera: http://english.cntv.cn/english/special/kunqu/01/index.shtml.

[17] For a study on the academy and its legendary graduates, see Sang Yuxi 桑毓喜, Kunju chuanzibei pingchuan 昆剧传字辈评传[A Critical Biography of the Chuanzibei Master Performers](Shanghai: Guji chubanshe, 2010).

[18] Six most famous and influential members of these master performers are: Cai Zhengren 蔡正仁, Hua Wenyi 华文漪, Liu Yilong 刘异龙, Wang Shiyu 汪世瑜,   Yue Meiti 岳美缇, Zhang Jiqing 张继青, Zhang Jingxian 张静闲. Many current descriptions of these masters are on-line and can be located by googling their names.

[19] In addition to audio-visual clips of kunqu available on YouTube, many more are available in its Chinese counterpart, which is Youku. Many clips from historical and current performances can be assessed by inputting "昆曲"

[20] A current publication on the topic is Chen Mouqing, Dream in Drama: A Comparative Study of Tang Xianzu and William Shakespeare (Beijing: Waiwen chubanshe, 2008). A current and informative online TV documentary is " East Meets West: Tang Xianzu Meets William Shakespeare: "https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kFmvcV2pJWM".

[21] For a study on Feng Menglong, see Shuhui Yang, Appropriation and Representation: Feng Menglong and the Chinese Vernacular Story (Ann Arbor, MI: Center for Chinese Studies, University of Michigan, 1998).

[22] See Gao Jun 高俊, Mu Ouchu pingzhuan 穆藕初评传A Critical Biography of Mu Ouchu (Shanghai: Renmin chubanshe, 2007).

[23] See Tang Baoxiang 唐葆祥, Yu Zhenfei pingzhuan 俞振飞评传A Critical Biography of Yu Zhenfei (Shanghai: Guji chubanshe, 2010).

[24] This is what I have learned from teaching seminars and courses on Chinese music and kunqu at the University of Michigan.

[25] Since the mid 1990s, Mainland Chinese kunqu troupes have been performing regularly in Hong Kong, Taiwan, Japan, Korea, North America, and Europe. The Lincoln Center Production of the Peony Pavilion (1999) was artistically and diplomatically controversial. Performances of Kenneth Pai's the Young Lover's Edition of the Peony Pavilion in the US West Coast (2006) and in England and Greece (2008) were particularly sensational. See Catherine Swatek, Peony Pavilion Onstage: Four Centuries in the Career of a Chinese Opera (Ann Arbor, MI: Center for Chinese Studies, the University of Michigan, 2002).

[26] A well received and much discussed example is kunqu performances/dinner show package at the Imperial Granary in Beijing, which opened in 2007. See its website: http://www.imperialgranary.com.cn/#en.

[27] There is a wealth of general and specialized on-line and hard-copy publications on Pai's YLE. For a English review of its premiere in Taipei in 2004, see Ko Shu-ling, " The 'Peony Pavilion' Exceeds Expectations," originally published in the Taipei Times (May 6, 2004); currently available on-line: http://www.imperialgranary.com.cn/#en.

[28] Several critics have personally told their negative comments. Similar views are also expressed in many on-line articles published in Chinese websites and personal blogs.

[29] This description of the YLE is based on my viewing of its live performances in Beijing (2007 and 2011) and DVD: The Peony Pavilion: Young Lover's Edition.

[30] See Swatek, pp. 1-25, and 101-157.

[31] Repeatedly, senior kunqu masters and connoisseurs detailed the deficiencies to me during our conversations in the last five or more years.

[32] Historical recordings of Yu Sulu's kunqu singing (13 arias) recorded in the 1920s have been reissued as as Sulu yiyun 粟庐遗韵[Echoes of Yu Sulu's Singing], a CD attached to a new edition of Yu Zhenfei ed.,

Sulu qupu 粟庐曲谱 [Yu Sulu's Arias Notated] (Shanghai: Cishu chubanshe, 201). A number of kunqu audio recordings in the 50s and 60s have been reissued in Yinbeixiang VCD/DVD publications, which present historical sound recordings of operatic performances by master performers with contemporary visuals performed by original masters' disciples; many of these packaged presentations are available in Youku. See also Kunqu wangzhan, the website devoted to kunqu: http://www.kunquopera.net.

[33] Many revealing photographs of the distinctive costumes featured in the YLE are available on-line, and they can be readily compared with photographs of other productions. To access these photos, google the Peony Pavilion.

Ancestral memories in the beauty of a woman: reclaiming the self trough indigenous musical identities

Jostine Loubser
University of Salford, Manchester, United Kingdom

ABSTRACT: Over the last twenty years a group of mixed-race Cape Town jazz musicians, through the music they compose and perform, started making a claim to an identity more frequently associated with the indigenous peoples of South Africa. The identity in question, a Khoisan identity, refers to the two original peoples of the Western Cape [the Khoi and the San] and often concerns discussions that include terms such as "primitive", "first people", "iron age", and the recovery of land, language and culture. Thus their [the musician's] Khoisan claim is intriguing. In this paper I will discuss Khoisan identity and outline a short history of the initial people of the Cape from the start of colonialism until present day. I will illustrate various colonial views of the Khoisan, including notions of "primitivism" and "the wild men of Africa"; constructed according to ideas that originated during the Enlightenment when Europeans first encountered these groups (Hudson, 1999). The colonisation of the Cape almost completely destroyed these two societies, leaving the survivors with major obstacles in identity formation. Their composite difficulties of identity construction is thus the aggregate result of Dutch and British colonialism, apartheid, the cosmopolitan mix of peoples found in a harbour city such as the Cape of Good Hope and various nineteenth century sciences such as social Darwinism and physical anthropology. My ultimate aim is to draw attention to the newly constructed emergent Khoisan identity, as opposed to a Khoi identity or San identity, and demonstrate how, in the aftermath of apartheid, one of Cape Town's jazz musicians are reclaiming himself and his self – identity through the use and placement of real and imagined Khoisan compositional materials in his newly composed pieces.

1 INTRODUCTION

Over the last ten years or so a group of mixed-race Cape Town jazz musicians, through the music they compose and perform, started making claims to an identity more frequently associated with the indigenous peoples of South Africa. The identity in question, a Khoisan identity, refers to the two original peoples of the Western Cape [the Khoi and the San] and often concerns discussions that include terms such as "primitive", "first people", "iron age", and the recovery of land, language and culture. Thus their [the musician's] Khoisan claim is intriguing.

In this paper I will discuss Khoisan identity and outline a short history of the initial people of the Cape. I will illustrate various colonial views of the Khoisan, including notions of "primitivism" and "the wild men of Africa"; constructed according to ideas that originated during the Enlightenment (Hudson, 1999). The aggregate result of Dutch and British colonialism, creolisation, apartheid, the cosmopolitan mix of peoples found in a harbour city such as the Cape of Good Hope and various nineteenth century sciences, including social Darwinism and physical anthropology, led to major difficulties in identity construction for many people. My

aim is to draw attention to the newly emergent Khoisan identity, and demonstrate how, in the aftermath of apartheid, one of Cape Town's jazz musicians are reclaiming himself and his human dignity through the use and placement of real and imagined Khoisan compositional materials in his newly composed pieces.

Just a note on terminologies: In this paper I will refer to these groups as either 'Khoi' or 'San' or collectively, as 'Khoisan'; a word coined in the 1928. When speaking of the 'black' population, I refer to the Nguni, the Venda, Ndbele and Shangaan- Tsonga populations. And, finally, when I speak of the 'coloured' mixed-race population, I refer to the heterogeneous Southern African group whose ancestors were drawn from Europe, Africa, India and Malaysia (Adhikahri, 2005).

During the Age of Discovery, in the late-1400s, when Portuguese traders tried to find a route to the East via Africa, Bartholomew Dias accidentally "discovered" the Cape. Having been blown off course by a storm so impressive, that was immortalised by Camões amost 100 years later in the poem The Adamastor, he [Dias] baptised the Cape, *Cabo Tormentoso* (or Cape of Storms). King Jão II, however renamed it *Cabo de Boa Esperança* – or Cape or Good Hope; a name that it will carry until today (Worden, 2004).

From this moment on, many used the Cape as a stopover point on their way to Asia, prompting the Dutch to set up a permanent refreshment station in the 1600s, arriving with a governor, Jan van Riebeeck, three ships and a handful of men in 1652. On arrival the Dutch found two indigenous groups – the Khoi who were nomadic herders and the San, who were hunter gatherers. As can be imagined, the arrival of the colonists threw the lives of the San and the Khoi into chaos. Their farming methods, for instance, had a massive impact on the landscape as crop cultivation started in earnest, often destroying traditional hunting grounds, water holes and food sources (Ibid.).

Furthermore, these indigenous peoples, particularly the San, were treated with unprecedented cruelty by the settlers. Regarded by the Europeans as "wild savages", any resistance to the colonial invasion was dealt with severely and earned both the Khoi and the San the label of "murderers". Their nomadic lifestyle and lack of, what was perceived to be as "making a decent living", informed colonial views regarding racial classification (Hudson, in Skotness, 1996). Some of the oppression endured was bound up in "scientific experimentation" with the distinctive physical attributes of the Khoisan – particularly the women – attracting an unusual amount of interest. This focus, many authors have remarked, suggests that erotic voyeurism were presented under the guise of "scientific study" as the Khoisan form was regarded as "freakish" (Ibid.). The European form, such as that presented by in Michelangelo's *David* (1504) or Rubens's *Venus* (1615), was regarded as the norm. Anything beyond this was considered as outlandish or grotesque (Ferreira, 2010). (I will discuss this in more detail a little later)

Alan Morris wrote that the European fascination with the form of the Khoisan, was simply part of day-to-day colonial rule. The colonists were regarded as "civilized" people that were above nature, "...while the 'primitives' in the colony were members of the animal kingdom to be classified and listed amongst the weird and wonderful fauna of distant lands" (Morris, in Skotness, et. al., 1996: 67).

Anthropomorphic and cultural studies of San and other original Cape groups were carried out by methodologies developed by Thomas Huxley. For example, the philologist Wilhelm Bleek and his sister-in-law Lucy Lloyd, the two most notable early researchers of San culture, were at pains to have measurements and photographs taken of their informants "according to Professor Huxley's directions" (Bleek & Lloyd, 1911, quoted by Deacon, in Skotness, 1996: 96).

Certainly, the Bleek/Lloyd archive shows that the San have a phenomenal culture, however, since they were seen by the colonists as 'primitive', they were ascribed animals status and treated accordingly. Hunting parties ["commandos"] were sent out to "clear large areas of San", destroying ancient ways of living that have stood the test of time (Skotness, 1996).

During the 1700s, nomadic colonial farmers, known as the *trekboers*, encroached on San land, destroying the *veldkos* [wild plant foods]. At the same time commando hunting parties decimated the fauna such as eland and springbok, and in the process, destroyed access to ancient, inherited water holes. Thus the infrastructure of San culture was being destroyed; everyday things on which they were reliant for their day-to-day survival. Subsequently, a ferocious war ensued between the guns of the *trekboers* and the poisoned arrows of the San, with colonial commandos often returning from battle with "trophies"[1] such as severed heads (Ibid.).

By comparison, Khoi cattle herding skills were respected by the colonists, and they were thus treated quite differently from the San. Regarded by the European settlers as being higher on the "being human" scale, they were often used as farm workers (Ibid.). Even so, because of the financial implications of slavery, the Khoi were soon ascribed serfdom and a law was passed to prohibit their movement unless in possession of a travelling pass. Furthermore, they were paid in cattle, ensuring their poverty, and were tied to one slave owner for the rest of their lives (Ross, 1993 and 1999a).

Hence, both the Khoi and San were living precariously under the Dutch and British colonial administrations. After much war, and unable to sustain their livelihoods, many were absorbed into the farm-worker system[2.] Some moved northwards in to the Kalahari, joining groups or forming new groups. Others became nomadic occasional workers, such as the *Karrietjie mense* [Transl: Little Donkey Cart People] found in the Karoo[3]. Most Khoisan, however, were absorbed into the coloured community.

Towards the end of the 1800s, around the turn of the 20th century, the violence against both the San and Khoi finally subsided. By this time everything they had known previously had been thrown into question, languages and cultures were lost and two entire civilizations had been destroyed or changed permanently.

2 EMERGING IDENTITIES; RECLAIMING IDENTITIES

Despite academic reserve of using words, such as "mixed race" together with the word "miscegenation", Gavin Lewis, amongst others, describes the rainbow quality of the population of the Western Cape as being the result of just that (Lewis, 1987). For many the use of the word "miscegenation" suggests that something "pure" has been made "impure", something "authentic" has been made "inauthentic". Yet, this has been the basis of South African politics for many years.

Mohammed Adhikari notes that, after the end of slavery the mixing of peoples were more evident than during the time of slavery, as people naturally grouped together through similarities of experiences and poverty, especially after the manumission of 1838 (Adhikari, 2005). To add to this complexity, the Khoi and San, despite having less than ideal relations themselves, were "grouped" together and marginalized further as a result of the coining of the word "Khoisan" in 1928 (Hudson, 1993) .

After the formation of apartheid in 1949, the Khoisan was further disenfranchised through being classified as "colored". The result of this last classification caused many of the surviving languages and modes of living to be further negated, causing many of the surviving San and Khoi to live on the margins, of the margins, of society. There are today, for instance, only ten Griqua speakers remaining.

Even so, this classification, including the post-slavery mixing of peoples means that many South Africans (colored, white and black) have Khoi and San ancestors, some directly traceable through family trees. In view of these family connections and the 'colored' classification label, many South Africans are now claiming Khoisan identities, regarded by Adhikari as "Khoisan Revivalism" (Adhikari, 2005: 185).

Khoisan revivalism was noted shortly after the 1994 end-of-apartheid elections. A host of Khoisan lobbying groups, seeking restoration, aimed to attract public support and governmental attention through protest marches, art exhibitions and conferences, drawing sympathetic artists and academics into the process. Since many citizens understand the difficulties found in the political spectrum of South Africa, and the resultant complications in the concepts of identity found amongst the colored population, the "only movement that has struck a chord with the colored community...is Khoisan Revivalism" (Ibid.).

That said, it must be understood that claiming a Khoisan identity is not the same as being Khoi or San, leaving it open to critique, as
  1) it is only a movement in the broadest sense of the word;
  2) many in the colored community regard it as an affectation, rather than a true claim (Kolbe, 2005: Interview with author, Adhikari, 2005: 186) and
  3) there are many who claim direct San or Khoi heritage based on language, culture and modes of living (as opposed to Khoisan heritage). In this instance the Khoisan label

is rejected and the claims by those claiming Khoisan heritage are regarded as ficti-
tious (Paolo & Toma, 2011: conversations with author).

However, Adhikari explains that, because of the fragmentation of the colored identity under
the current government, those with true claims of San or Khoi heritage, and because of the
mixed-race results of apartheid, the movement became, at the same time, exclusionist and rejec-
tionist. It became "exclusionist", because those claiming Muslim or Malay origins are excluded
from this claim and "rejectionist" because, those claiming Khoisan heritage are directly reject-
ing the "colored" label (Adhikari, 2005:186).

This is important. The majority of black South Africans know that, even though they have
lost a great deal through colonialism and apartheid, they still retained the majority of their tradi-
tions and, very clearly, their languages[4]. By comparison, the colored population suffered, and
suffers, a confused state of identity, due to the mix of peoples, the history of slavery endured
and it's "deracinated heritage" (Lee, 2003; Adhikari, 2005; Schilder, H, 2011). Additionally, the
label "colored" is clouded by apartheids' legacy, and by being categorized thus, and "classified"
at all, is for many a humiliating experience. Consequently many South Africans find dignity in
claiming an identity that

    a)   is easily and clearly identifiable within the South African social structure
    b)   exists within the history of being colored,
    c)   Allows the barer of the label to "stand out" above the rest for the historical placement
         and for notions of "first people"; ideas that, apart from the revered Khoisan legacy of
         dancing, story-telling and musicianship – amongst many other specialist skills, are
         highly revered by the greater South African community.

Claiming a Khoisan identity thus enables the claimant to become "authentically African". As
current DNA or Human Genome studies point to the San as carrying the oldest known lineage
of the anatomically modern human [AMH], the weight of the argument increases (Hayes, 2010).
Thus the bearer side steps notions of being "mixed" and "inauthentic", rises above arguments of
"not being black enough", "not being white enough" or "not being African enough" and end
with a clearly defined, albeit slightly romanticized, identity. Claiming this label legitimizes the
barer to be "Authentically African", Afrocentric and "other" all at once.

3   THE RE-BIRTH OF HILTON SCHILDER

Hilton Schilder is a multi-instrumentalist and composer, who hail from one of the Cape Penin-
sula's most accomplished musical families. As a family they are some of the best jazz players in
South Africa, and include musicians such as Mervyn Africa, a well-known jazz pianist and vo-
calist on the UK jazz circuit. Schilder explained that, as his parental lineages were drawn from,
respectively, Belgian and Khoisan ancestry, he, like many others, has a legitimate claim to a
Khoisan identity (Schilder, H, 2005: interview with author).

He started his musical life as a percussionist and drummer, branching out to new and differ-
ent instruments and is now known as a multi-instrumentalist, with a pronounced accent on his
pianistic abilities. In the 1990s, influenced by South Africa's changing political spectrum, he
decided to, musically, pay heed to his Khoisan origins through an esoteric personal mapping;
drawing on the intellectual aspirations of African-American Jazz musicians, such as Ornette
Coleman.

Although there were many compositions in his opus that I could have chosen to work with,
for this paper I decided to use a piece that was commissioned by the South African Environment
Agency. It is called *A Khoisan Symphony,* written, as you shall see, to recount some of the trag-
edy found in the history described above. The piece was commissioned for the launch and bap-
tism of the marine environmental protection vessel, named *The Sarah Baartman.*

4   A KHOISAN SYMPHONY

Sarah Baartman was a Khoisan woman, possibly Griqua, born near the Fish River in the Eastern
Cape. She lived for a short time in Cape Town before being taken to England, some suggest
kidnapped, in 1810 (Hudson, in Skotness, et. al., 1996; Ferreira, 2010). The reason for her cap-

ture was twofold, the first was for "scientific" study, and secondly, as an extension of this, to form part of an ethnological exhibition, more commonly known as a "Human Zoo". Jonatas Ferreira suggests that her placement in a human zoo was not unusual during the 1800s when exhibits of human curiosities were common place in England. Bearded women, pygmies, black people, and rare fauna all formed part of these "freak shows" (Ferreira, 2010). One of the people who saw the exhibition of Sara Baardman was Étienne Geoffroy Saint-Hilaire whom, together with his colleague George Cuvier, decided to take her to Paris and complete a full "scientific study". She was therefore taken to Paris in 1815 and subjected to a multitude of examinations, "similarly exhibited" and died in December of that year (Ferreira, 2010; Morris, in Skotness, et. al., 1996).

Alan Morris explains that, at the time, European physical anthropology, which was partly based on anatomy studies, was viewed as being of extreme importance. This often involved physical examinations and dissection after death. Sara Baardman was no exception to this and became the first Khoisan person to be subjected to such in depth study. Indeed, Morris suggests that Khoisan women attracted an unusual amount of interest possibly for the two following reasons:

1.) steatypogia 2.) sinus poduris (Ibid.).

As can be seen from the illustration, steatypogia refers to an extended buttocks found amongst many "first peoples". Not that it is a physical trait that only affects women; some maintain that steatypogia is probably more common in men – but the displays thereof is much more visible in women.

Sinus poduris, on the other hand, is a term that references the elongated labia said to be found amongst Khoisan women. Of course, considering that the concept of "the scientific study" was linked to the concept of "the freak show", the idea of sinus poduris was racist from the outset. Today it is known that women of all ethnic groups display various forms of sinus poduris, yet the term is still only applied to Khoisan women.

After the publication of the findings of Saint-Hillaire and Cuvier, it became clear that much of their study focused on Baardmans' genitalia. Indeed, Cuvier wrote a sixteen page essay on her anatomy, nine pages of which were dedicated to her genitalia (Ferreira, 2010; Morris, in Skotness, et.al, 1996). Ferreira explains that these scientific studies were, even for the time, quite unusual. In this instance he suggests that "to see" something or somebody, is to be in control. To "be seen", "gazed at" or "viewed" is to be destroyed. Thus, in this instance, the "seeing of Baardman" was aimed at destroying her, her people, her race and her womanhood (Ferreira, 2010). Thus humiliated, she became the icon of racial inferiority and black female sexuality, so much so that even after her death in 1815, her brain and sexual organs were displayed in the Musee de l'Homme in Paris until as recently as 1985. Her remains were finally returned to South Africa in 2002 when she was laid to rest.

5 ANALYSIS OF THE MUSIC

The piece was thus written for the occasion of the launch of the marine vessel entitled the Sara Baardman. The work is 7 minutes long, in binary form; thus ABABABA as the larger compositional framework. Thematic materials are set out in the initial A and B as the head. The framework is then repeated a second and third time, developing the texture and materials, giving space for solos and embellishments before it finally returns to A.

The piece is in D and the chord progression, timbre and tempo of the A section echoes that of many hymns used in the 1950s and 60s in Cape Town. The harmonic progression, using extended chords and suspensions, underlines this. Furthermore, even though a piano is used as main harmonic instrument, an organ is used for textural effect, again trying to give the impression of a piece of sacred music. Schilder also uses a chordal tremelo on the piano; a remnant of a pianistic technique used in church – in the absence of an organ the tremolo piano sound filled the space and thus created the sense of 'Godliness' and religious reverence.

This section, the A section, Schilder explains

…uses this church-style piano and is putting the past to rest, demonstrating respect for Sara Baardman, for what she's gone through, demonstrating respect for

all the others and what they've gone through in the past. It's almost like a prayer.
Indeed it is a prayer (Schilder, 2005, interview).

Thus a prayer for Sara Baardman, for all the people left behind, for all the people whom have suffered and for those who are suffering.

The B section is a little faster in tempo and reflects Schilder's own harmonic explorations and rich texture. The feel of the section reflects *vastrap* [an older, rural dance music] in its rhythmic use, and *jive* [a township jazz dance style] from a melodic perspective. Schilder explains that emotively this section

> …means that even though we've been beaten down, even though we've gone through hell, we can still dance, we can still smile ,we can still do a lot of things (Schilder, interview with author: 2005).

CONCLUSION

Thus, the trauma of being so completely degraded through the colonial process and apartheid, has led many South Africans to question their past and relate their identities to the ideas of loss: The loss of a livelihood as a Khoi or San person, the loss of a musical legacy, the loss of a linguistic identity – only to be reclaimed through musicianship. In the case of Hilton Schilder, his re-birth in accounting his Khoisan heritage, led him to consolidate the brutalities against his ancestors.

ENDNOTES

[1] Proof of it's illegal procurance is that there is strong evidence to suggest that many of the heads were boiled in order to be rid of any flesh. In these specimens there is no evidence of being buried in the ground or exhumed after a long burial. Some heads, however, were treated as real 'trophy heads', like a stuffed animal head, the skin and hair was left intact, the brain removed and glass eyes inserted. Both types of specimens are found in museums, universities and private collections throughout Europe and South Africa. There are also private collections in Europe that show, not only heads, but skin. Thus in amongst collections of animal skins such as leopard and lion, a human, often San, skin is also displayed (Pippa Skotness, !Kwa ttu, Trainees lecture, March 2011).

[2] The farm worker system works quite differently from it European model. Because of the size of the majority of farms, many families live on one farm. Thus it is not unusual to find around 15 families, apart from the owners, living in less than ideal circumstances on a farm, earning the minimum wage – around a £130 per month.

[3] The Karoo is divided into two sections and the [San] word means 'Place of Great Drought'. During the Cretaceous era, this was swamp, and thus palaeontology thrives here. This was also the area where one of the more interesting 'stand offs' took place between two San men and a commando of trekboers. The two San men managed to elude capture for a month against a commando of 10 – 15 men.

[4] Of the 11 official languages in the country, 9 are Black languages and include Zulu, Xhosa, Setwana, Sesotho, Southern Ndebele, Tsonga, Venda, Sepedi, SiSwati.

REFERENCES

Adhikari, M. (2005). *Not Black Enough, Not White Enough: Racial Identity in the South African Coloured Community*. Cape Town: Double Storey Books.

Bank, A., ed. (1998). *The Proceedings of the Khoisan Identities and Cultural Heritage Conference*. Cape Town: Cape Town: The Institute of Historical Research, University of the Western Cape and Info Source.

d'Errico, F., Henshilewood, C. et. al. (2003). Archaeological Evidence for the Emergence of Language, Symbolism, and Music–An Alternative Multidisciplinary Perspective. In *Journal of World Pre-History*, April 2003 (Pre-publication copy, sent by email).

De Kock, V. (1950). *Those in Bondage - an Account of the Life of the Slave at the Cape in the Days of the Dutch East India Company*. Cape Town: Howard & Timmins.

Erasmus, Z. (2001). *Coloured by history, shaped by place: new perspectives on coloured identities in Cape Town.* Cape Town: Kwela Books.

Ferreira, J. & Hamlin, C. (2010). Press release: Mulheres, negros e outros monstros: um ensaio sobre corpos não civilizados. *Revista Estudos Feministas,* Sept/Dec 2010, 18 (3), Florianopolis.

Hayes, V. (2010). Complete Khoisan and Bantu genomes from southern Africa. *Nature,* 463, 943-947.

Hudson, N. (1996). From "Nation" to "Race": The Origin of Racial Classification in Eighteenth-Century Thought. *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 29(3).

Lee, R. B (2003). *Indigenous Rights and the Politics of Identity in Post-Apartheid Southern Africa* [online]. Available at https://tspace.library.utoronto.ca/bitstream/1807/17944/1/TSpace0099.pdf [Accessed June 2011]

Lewis, C. (1987). *Between the Wire and the Wall: A History of South African 'Coloured' Politics.* Cape Town: David Philips.

Louw, A. (2007). *Griqua Identity: An Introduction.* Cape Town: University of Cape Town.

Shell, R.C. (1984a). *Introduction to 'Slaves' by S.E. Hudson.* Kronos, 9.

Ross, R. (1979). Hunter-gatherers, San, Archeologists, Anthropologists and historians. *Anthropologie en Archeologie*, 31.

Ross, R. (1983). *Cape of Torments: Slavery and resistance in South Africa.* London: Routledge.

Ross, R. (1993). Emancipations and the Economy of the Cape Colony. In Michael Twaddle & Mary Turner, eds. *The Wages of Slavery: From Chattel Slavery to Wage Labour in Africa, the Caribbean and England.* London: Frank Cass Publishers, pp.132.

Ross, R. (1999a). Missions, respectability and civil rights: the Cape Colony, 1828-1854. *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 25 (3), 333 – 345.

Skotness, P. ed. (1996). *MISCAST: Negotiating the Presence of the Bushmen.* Cape Town: UCT Press.

Worden, N., van Heyningen, E. & Bickford-Smith, V. (2004). *Cape Town: The Making of a City. An Illustrated Social History*. Cape Town: David Philips.

Worden, N. (2009). The Changing Politics of Slave Heritage in the Western Cape, South Africa. *The Journal of African History*, 50(1).

Slide show available at:
 http://prezi.com/623ikhjczl5n/ancestral-memories-in-the-beauty-of-a-woman/

Intangible Heritage. An architectural island for cultural surplus Venetian

Juan Ros-Garcia
Universidad CEU San Pablo-Escuela Politécnica Superior. Department of Architecture and Design, Institute of Technology, Madrid, Spain

Anaís Porras Cabellos
Universidad CEU San Pablo-Escuela Politécnica Superior. Department of Architecture and Design, Institute of Technology, Madrid, Spain

ABSTRACT: Venice is a fragile city settled 1600 years ago in the Adriatic lagoon. Venice´s people have been known for its entrepreneurial spirit, the proof of these remains in the incipient contacts supported by Venetian citizens with Far Eastern civilizations. Also, Venice was always a city of merchants, an aristocrat people, which reflected its character in the city´s physiognomy. Inspiration throughout history, the city was conceived as an art work itself. Venice´s people will be taking part in its customs and values of a prominent artistic attachment that would last three centuries. The water was a vital fluid from its origins. The city´s blood throws which people and wealth circulated. Venetians could live in peace because of it. We can appreciate this importance in the city´s structure, equipped with canals that cross the "Venetian organism" as if they were veins. But, can we affirm that Venice enjoys of that splendor today? On the one hand, a walk through the streets shows a distorted heritage, a melancholic reality that makes the viewer return to a past full of glory that will never come back. The tourist exploitation has forced the displacement of Venetian residents transforming the social distribution and generating an excess of tangible wealth that the city that it´s slowly disappearing cannot absorb it. On the other hand, intangible heritage is distorted when the direct contact with the social group by which it was supported disappears turning to be a simple touristic element. The extensive substrate of Venice´s traditions has halted, has been take out of context and time talking from an evolutionary perspective. This has contributed to de loss of the essence that every culture needs to survive. For a tourist it is impossible to value the artistic relevance of the cultural elements because of the huge amount of them there are. So, after the disappearance of the city could the essence of Venice survive? Moreover, for the city´s heritage to be preserved is fundamental to create a consciousness or mechanisms which activates and joins realities. It is necessary to establish a recognizable organism capable of collecting and enclosing the essence of its heritage in an attempt of adapting to the actual time that will accumulate, show and revitalize the accumulated excess. It is interesting this intervention in the city because this heritage is not capable to be sustained by itself. In order to save the traditions and integrate them in the present we have to recuperate Venice´s initiative. Revitalization is also mandatory to promote a new image of Venice as a repository of cultural diversity. Finally, tangible heritage is not valid by itself. The Piazza San Marco, the Palazzo Cavalli Franchetti or Tiziano's portraits and landscapes have intrinsic the pass of time, history and an intangible substrate to revitalize. So, we propose an island architecture model, an innovative academic exercise, which works as shapeless volume, as spatial container of its history cultural surplus, that not only must be classified, stored and managed, at the same time also and to a large degree, like real intangible with an architectural design, considering the natural resources and cityscape.

Figure1. Photograph of a canal in Venice.

Figure 2.Venice carnivals.

Venice has always been a city of traders, an aristocratic village that reflected its nature in the physiognomy of the city (Fig. 1). Source of inspiration throughout history, the city was conceived as a work of art in itself, being the Venetian people an active agent in the development of customs and values characterized by a prominent closeness to art that would last three centuries. But, could it be stated that Venice is still enjoying that glory?

A walk around its streets reflects a heritage as abundant as distorted in its full appearance, a sad reality that forces the observer to take back to a glorious time that will never be again as it was known. Tourist exploitation has forced the displacement of traditional Venetian residents, transforming social distribution and generating a surplus of tangible patrimony unable to be assimilated by a city that gradually tends to disappear or blend into its origins and thus forget their cultural reason (Fig. 2).

Venice is the most recent victim of an invasion that has become too cumbersome. The tourists' density is similar to the density of constructions; Venice is overcrowded like a massive building made of several floors and inner courtyards in succession.

This process has been the trigger of the so called "Venetian exodus" to inner areas, giving place to a demographic reduction (see table 1) worsened over the years. The number of tourists that arrive to the city every year, confirm this thought (see table 2). Every day, more than 60,000 people visit the city in a number exceeding the actual amount of residents in the island.

Tourism is one of the industries growing faster in the modern world. In particular, the Venetian's case was characterized by the arousal of a huge demand that led to millions of potential visitants that were previously unthinkable.

Table 1.Demographic evolution of the municipality of Venice.

Venice	1986	1989	1992	1995	1998	2001	2004	2007
Population	331454	320990	309982	298967	291531	274168	271251	268993

*Data obtained from theServizioStatistica e Ricerca. Oficial organization of theComune di Venezia.

Table 2.Flow of tourist of the municipality of Venice. Data expressed in thousands.

Venice	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006
Number of toruist	5725	5909	6286	6033	6212	6930	7670	8245

* Data obtained from the ServizioStatistica e Ricerca. Oficial organization of the Comune di Venezia.

Studies have it that the population should be reduced to its half for the years 2020 or 2030. The flow of tourist should be regulated. However, the lower the tourism, the lower the income. It must be highlighted that Venice is one of the few cities whose Local Administration is considering the introduction of capacity limitations, aimed at controlling the flow of tourist and avoiding that Venice would be a "Theme Park" floating over the lagoon, waiting for a new wave of tourists.

Contemporaneity, distinguished by its constant progress and heterogeneity, seems to have led to a general confusion. Data exchange, mixtures of complex factors and changes in the uses given to the city have negatively affected the objectives of conservation of the intangible architectural heritage of its great historical culture. Architectural intervention must protect and enhance the essence of the area, expressing the need to adapt to a changing reality resulting from membership to a particular or singular form of existence.

Proposals on adaptability and interpretation of the intangible identity of the historical city have been enshrined in interesting examples of contemporary constructions, aimed at advancing, thinking about the conservation and exploitation of cultural values in the social group.

Thus, the department store Selfridges (Fig. 3), integrated in Future Systems' group (2003), located in Birmingham, are aimed at regenerating the urban fabric by introducing new historical variables to the existing consolidated architecture. Located in Saint Martin's square, a few meters from the neo-Gothic cathedral, it appears as artifact, as an infrastructure containing alternative uses, in direct contrast with the landscape that surrounds it.

Figure 3. Department store Seldfridges.   Figure 4. Revitalizing city artifact.

The project becomes relevant due to the achievement of a characterization of this area of Birmingham to a contemporary context open to new urban links and due to the ability to link the preexisting tangible with multiple realities of constant changes (Fig. 4).

Similarly, Peter Cook and Colin Fournier with its project of Kunsthaus (2000) in the historical city of Graz (Fig. 5), Austria, (world cultural heritage since 1999) located in the vicinity of the Clock Tower of the Schlossberg Castle and House, suggests a new urban order, which reinterprets the landscape and the essence of the neighborhood consolidated through time. At first sight it could be seen as a dissociated intrusion (Fig. 6), but actually the tensions derived from the mixture of tradition and innovation generate a synthesis, an interest focused on different historical pieces through a biomorphic, leading again to a revitalization of the area. The fact that it is a museum is not irrelevant, because in this way, a union of the city's urban reality to the intangible artistic production is achieved, dignifying the context's atmosphere.

Figure 5.View from the street. Kunthaus Austria.   Figure 6. Kunthaus model.Exhibition in Graz.

This kind of actions generates public controversy. It is shown that they serve as catalyst to the activities taking place in their inside and having an external manifestation that generates focal points for information. In essence it can stated that they can be understood as global artifacts, capable of increasing the value of the urban identity.

Again, considering the case of Venice, intangible inheritance, once the direct contact with its sustaining sociocultural origin has disappeared, remains decontextualized from its factors, becoming a parallel content to the quick look of the fleeting visitor, subjected to the heterogeneous cotemporaneous world.

From an evolutionary perspective, the extensive substrate of the Venetian traditions remains fixed in time, it has been taken out of its time and context, losing the essence that every culture needs to survive.

The amount of cultural elements inherited is so massive that for a tourist, fast passenger, it becomes almost impossible to comprehend the artistic relevance of all of them. So, could the essence of Venice survive after the disappearance of the reasons behind the growth of the city? Could Venice become something different protecting the cultural value of its past in an architectural place?

In order to preserve the city's heritage it is essential to create a new physical and container consciousness or architectural mechanism capable of activating a new reality. It is necessary to establish a recognizable built body, able to collect and enclose the essence of its assets in an attempt to adapt to the current time, and that could accumulate the cultural excess generated, unassimilated, making possible new relationships between the work of art, the culture that represents and the modern city that contemplates it.

The initiative of the Venetian people must be taken into account in order to save their traditions and integrate today's complex realities, in the dynamic status of processes. Revitalization is also mandatory in order to promote a new image of Venice as a warehouse of cultural diversity that could allow the creation encounters, hybridizations, mixtures or exchanges.

Characterized by the fragility reflected in its canals and by the intricacy of its design, Venice is a city limited in its shape and nevertheless immaterial in its variables. It becomes necessary to operate them, focusing mainly on the flow, on the energies, on the scales and processes, and less on artistic and literal figurations of the historical object.

Figure 7. Main elevation of the project in Venice skyline.

Based on this hypothesis, the proposed project is an island that gathers the city's cultural surplus and symbolizes an alternative space, allowing to dissipate the uncontrolled large number of tourists that look for acting as the new milestones of the city (Fig. 7).

Thus, the key generator concept of the project concept is the need to establish a new link between the preexisting tangible and the intangible of the city. An artifact, a cultural infrastructure that could provide a framework to the context of Venice with the intention to represent and be represented, to protect and be protected.

Therefore, it is located in the north area, between Venice, Murano and San Michele Island that would act as an architectural backdrop. Its situation is based on the attempt to establish visual relationships with the context that accompany the traditional way of visiting the island in such a way that the viewer would always have the sense of belonging to the city.
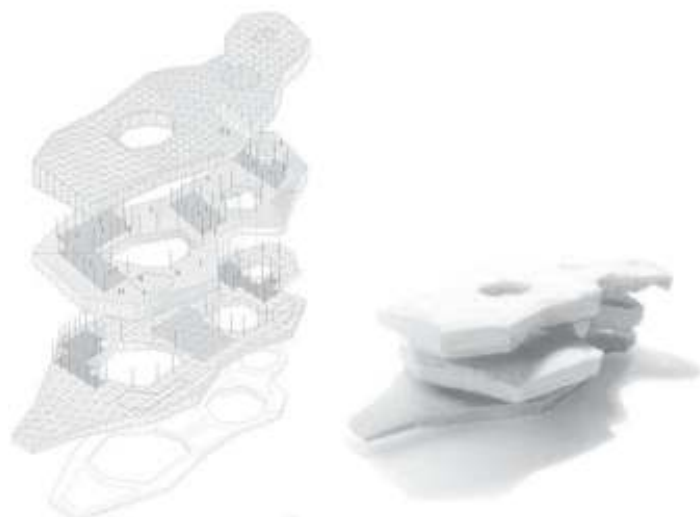

Figure 8. Project model.

However, an itinerant condition of the model would act as a permanent presence to the urban setting of the city.

Thus, the formal genesis began by throwing ourselves into the formation of the city, its evolution throughout history. Venice is the result of the aggregation of different islands that with the trace of time, came to form a single body (Fig. 8).

This is the first point in the formal conception of the artifact that through experimental search of such overlapping and aggregation model, concludes with the generation of layers that integrates the possibility of changes in its growth according to the nature of the activities (Fig 8). In order to establish a noticeable link with the city and the artifact, resources are used (artistic monuments, water-light-reflective, diversity of horizons, light, color, interstices-capillarity) typical and essential of Venice. Its existence, therefore, goes beyond physically perceptible model since it is able to display and store the core feature of the landscape properties.
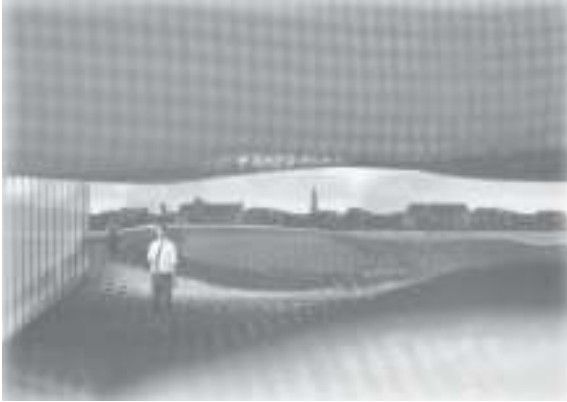
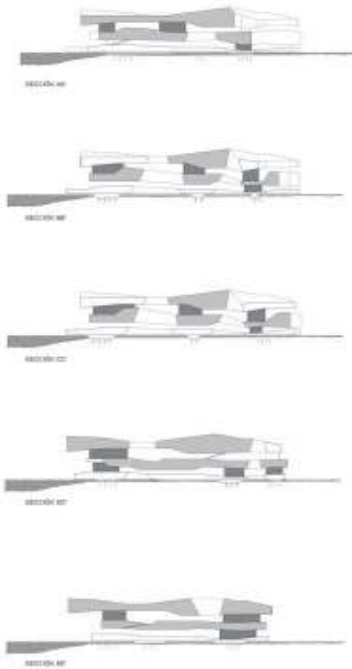Figure 9. Interior view framing the city of Venice.

Figure 10. Schematic sections.

Its coats or its various aggregations are changeable in their section, which generates intersti-
tial spaces with different expansion joints where the exhibition areas of the cultural substrate
stored on the island are located (Fig 10).

In addition, the project includes a series of courtyards that not only have an environmental
control function, but serve as a place for the sustaining location of bases among strata.

Section changes and its treatment as a new artificial topography allows also the generation of
visual relationships in areas of interstitial space (Fig. 12).The proposed program expects a union
of both tangible and intangible heritage of the city, recovering its essence and becoming a way
out in respect of massive tourism.

It is for that reason that the project was not exclusively conceived as a new infrastructure lo-
cated at the lagoon's landscape, but as a concept resulting from the study and assessment of a

decadent area which is being revitalized and recovered through architecture, likewise Birmingham and Graz cases.

Contrast existing between Venice's buildings and the new construction lies in the shape, the materials and the color. It can be understood as a reinterpretation of the current floating city, a new way out that enables the possible colonization of the lagoon, where the design used by its architecture is aimed at ensuring the disappearance of the great contrasts existing at the city that distort its essence and scale, such as big cruise ships (Fig. 11).
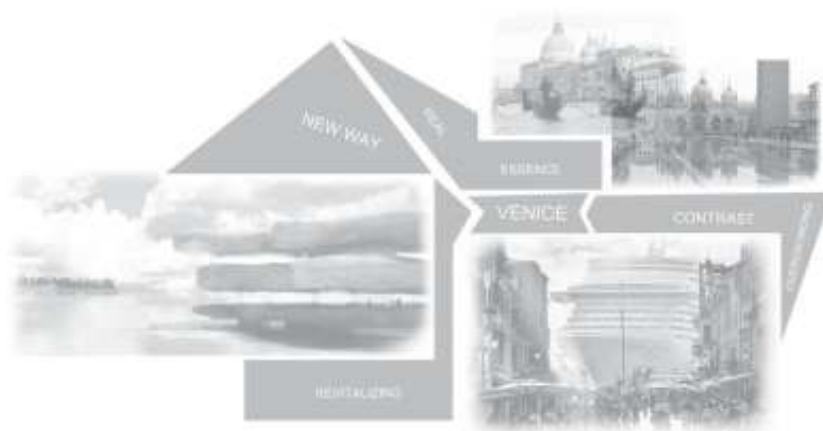

Figure 11. Revitalizing Venice artifact.

The election of the materials is based on the effort to reflect the link between tradition and modernity. Thus, the first layer of the project is a support whose foundations are on stilts, following Venetian's tradition. In the upper layers, new materials suited to the 21st century are used, such as steel and titanium (Fig. 12)

This is meant to generate an unexpected architecture, one last island in the city of Venice, which may be variable in the time of its culture, which means a meeting point of the historical past with the generation of a new intangible inheritance, whichever results from the relationship with the variables belonging to modernity and the provocation of chance.

Figure 12. Main section of the project.

CONCLUSION

The factors generating the intangible cultural heritage of a society can become set in grounds of material through architecture. Not only for their ability to empathize with them, but by becom-

ing artifacts enhancing diversity and creativity permanent containers. The architecture and built environment and repository of a particular culture should be seen as driving force and creative expression of an unfinished process constantly growing.

Social awareness has a fundamental role when it comes to recover the characteristic identity of the city of Venice. Despite the fact that goods have always come and gone in Venice taking into account its mercantile nature, people have remained, living the day-to-day lives of its streets, of its canals. For sure, it cannot be allowed that the spirit of the independent (for several centuries) people of Venice could get lost. Tourism can be for Venice a double edged sword.

From a negative point of view, it can boost the banalization of the cultural and identity people of Venice, clear process taking place at the moment. However, we can imagine a touristic exploitation absolutely opposed to the above mentioned case. In this potential scene, there is no room for overcrowding, and therefore, every element of the metropolis must be in line with its scale and physiognomy. If that is not the case, as it happens in Venice, the relocation of the elements must be taken into account, which implies new constructions and, therefore, a new reflection about the role of the auxiliary architecture for the city.

It has shown an example made in the development of an academic exercise that goal, think about how you can be or operate an architecture available to be understood and assimilated by a highly charged historical context: Venice.

REFERENCES

Alivizatou, M. (2012). *Intangible Heritage and the Museum: New Perspectives on Cultural Preservation. 8th volume*. Left Coast Press.

Borg. J., Costa, P. & Manente, M. (1993). *Traditional tourism cities: problems and perspectives*. Venecia: CISET.

Borg. J. (1995). El *turismo y las ciudades artísticas: El caso de Venecia.*

Comune di Venezia [official webpage]. Available at http://www.comune.venezia.it/flex/cm/pages/ServeBLOB.php/L/IT/IDPagina/4703 [Accessed 12 June 2013].

ISTAT [official webpage]. Available at http://censimentopopolazione.istat.it/ [Accessed 12 June 2013].

Kaminski, M. (2013).*Venecia*. H.F. Ullman.

Sánchez Vidiella, Á. (2011). *Arquitectura del siglo XXI. Amplia selección de obras contemporáneas.* Madrid: Ilusbooks.

Turgeon, L. (2010). *The Spirit of Place between Tangible and Intangible Heritage: L'esprit du lieu entre le patrimoinematériel et immatériel (Patrimoine en mouvement).*

World Tourism Organization (2012). *Tourism and Intangible Cultural Heritage*. O.M.T.

An Islamic past in Spain and Portugal

Katherine Bueno (O'Dowd)
Independent Researcher

Carla Santos
Department of Recreation, Sport, and Tourism, University of Illinois

Sebnem Ozkan
The European Union Center, University of Illinois

Javier Irigoyen-García
Department of Spanish, Italian, and Portuguese, University of Illinois

ABSTRACT: We investigate the representation of an Islamic past in Spain and Portugal by examining tourism websites for two comparable national monuments, the Alhambra in Granada, Spain and Silves Castle in Silves, Portugal. The examined representations privilege a particular historical narrative and perspective of the Moorish expulsion, as well as a separation from an Islamic past during the creation of both nation states.

1 INTRODUCTION

A famous European Union (EU) slogan proclaims that the supra-nation is "united in diversity". In the EU, diversity is largely defined as having a common historical past in the region, as well as shared social, cultural and political values. Embracing such a contemporary approach to diversity calls for, amongst other things, the ongoing negotiation and representation of an inclusive European identity. Doing so is a formidable task considering the multitude of identities and historical pasts in the EU. Consequently, in forging its goal of being united in diversity, the supra-nation understandably relies on a variety of arenas and institutions to highlight and advance collective ideas and values among European citizens of a shared *Europeanness* (Shore, 2000). The inculcation of a sense of *Europeanness* largely relies on, amongst others, heritage narratives that "make people more aware of their European identity" (CEC, 1988: 37).

A significant force intersecting and maneuvering such heritage narratives are tourism representations. With this in mind, our study examines and discusses the entanglement of an inclusive European identity, common historical pasts, and contemporary tourism representations. Specifically, it examines the representation of Europe's Islamic past in tourism websites for two comparable national monuments: the Alhambra in Granada, Spain and Silves Castle in Silves, Portugal. Both located in what was once the territory of al-Andalus, they are the last known European Islamic capital cities in their respective nation states and are internationally recognized as very well preserved national monuments. Given that Islam ruled the Iberian Peninsula for nearly eight centuries, such an examination has implications for the contemporary advancement of an inclusive European identity.

2 HISTORICAL OVERVIEW

Islam ruled in the peninsula for nearly eight centuries. By 714, Muslims ruled the Iberian Peninsula after invading only a few years earlier in 711. Their rule lasted until 1492 when Isabel of Castile and Ferdinand of Aragon overtook the last standing Muslim Kingdom, Granada, during the "Reconquest" of Spain – although, it should be noted that the term "Reconquest" was not used until after the nineteenth century (Ríos Saloma, 2011: 25-39). Shortly after the Kingdom of Granada fell, the "Morisco" identity, the term given to Muslims after they converted to Catholicism, was formed (Harvey, 1992: 37-44). The years following would lead to the eventual expulsion of the Spanish Moriscos with the five most crucial years being 1501, 1526, 1566, 1570, and 1609.

3 DISCUSSION

The examined representations of the historical Islamic past of Spain and Portugal serve to identify tensions between an inclusive European identity and the articulation of common EU historical pasts. In the examined representations, Islam is not considered to be European. Indeed, the examined tourism representations renegotiate and sanitize the Islamic past of Spain and Portugal in such a way that it is considered the 'other' of Europe's citizens - not being part of Europe's past, but rather its own Islamic one. For example, Moors are described as the individuals who built these fantastic monuments, but what happened to them (e.g. forced conversions and ethnic cleansing) does not appear in the analyzed texts; which may suggest that this history is not understood as being Spanish or Portuguese, and by implication not European.

REFERENCES

Council of the European Communities (1988). *Council directive of 21 December 1988 on the approximation of laws, regulations and administrative provisions of the Member States relating to building products, 89/106/EEC.*
Panorama on Tourism. (2008). [online]. Available at http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/cache/ITY_OFFPUB/KS-30-08-550/EN/KS-30-08-550-EN.PDF.
Ríos Saloma, M. F. (2011). *La Reconquista: Una construcción historiográfica (siglos XVI-XIX)*. Madrid, Spain: Marcial Pons.
Shore, C. (2000). *Building Europe: The Cultural Politics of European Integration*. London: Routledge.

Handmaking earthenware cooking pots in Kompong Chhnang Cambodia

Kirsty Altenburg
Australian Department of the Environment, Canberra, ACT, Australia

Aedeen Cremin
University of Canberra, ACT, Australia

Wayne Johnson
Sydney Harbour Foreshore Authority, Sydney, NSW, Australia

ABSTRACT: Earthenware cooking pots have been made on the same design in Cambodia and in the former Khmer regions of neighbouring Thailand, Vietnam and Laos for at least two millennia. The paper briefly describes the design and the process of household-manufacture as it can be observed today. It explains the archaeological evidence for the use of these pots in the Angkorian period, from excavations conducted by Australia's Greater Angkor Project since 2001. It then goes further back in time, noting the use of similar pots in the Iron Age, prior to the 7th century. It concludes by suggesting that the Kompong Chhnang household-manufacture is worthy of Intangible Cultural Heritage listing.

1 KHMER CERAMICS

Glazed pottery was one of the glories of the Khmer empire and there are examples of Kulen celadon or Khmer brown-glaze vases in museums around the world (Rooney, 1984, 1990; Cort, 2000). A great deal of attention has lately been paid to glazed ware (summarized in Chhay et al. in press). However Khmer pottery traditions extends well beyond the Angkorian period (9th to 15th centuries), from the start of the Common Era right to the present day. Earthenwares are fired not in kilns but in large bonfires immediately outside the house of the maker. Pottery making is today concentrated in Kompong Chhnang at the southern extremity of the great central lake of Tonle Sap, between it and Phnom Penh. The potter is always a woman while the sellers are men, who travel around the country with specially designed carts, drawn by oxen or, more often today, by motorbikes.

Village men obtain the clay locally and preferably from fallow rice fields, which means the clay already incorporates a 'temper' of rice-straw. Here, as in the former Khmer areas of Thailand and Laos, the basic technique is paddle-beating: the lump of prepared clay is first hollowed into a cylinder then placed on a post with a flat top around which the maker walks, beating up the walls of the vessel. The process was observed and described in detail by French scholars in the 1960s, when there were about 2400 potters in Kompong Chhnang (Delvert 1961: Mourer 1986, vol. 2: 270–275, figures 46–53, 62). At that time yearly production was 22,000 water jars, 7000 water jugs, 16,000 cooking pots, both large and small, 12,000 violin-shaped 'Siamese' braziers and 1000 tronconical 'Chinese' braziers. Nowadays production is much reduced but the same types are still being made, using the same techniques, as we were able to observe in 2006.

The potter's rhythms are so well practiced that there is almost no variation between pots: they differ only in exterior colour, which is determined by the pot's location within the wood-and-straw bonfire. Furthermore the shapes are so standardized that in the 1950s some villages made only the pots, while other villages made the lids to exactly fit onto them (Delvert 1961: 271). A potter will aim to make 4 large or 10 small pots a day: they are set out to dry and a week's produce is usually fired all on one day, the firing process taking several hours between the lighting of the bonfire and its final cooling, when the baked pots can be withdrawn. The most frequently made pots are cooking pots, traditionally used on charcoal braziers: in the Angkorian period the braziers were of 'pig's tongue type', known to have been in use for well over a millennium (Cremin 2009: 80). Nowadays the sturdier Siamese or Chinese types are preferred.

Cooking vessels are today never decorated and their lids are quite simple with a small vertical knob; they are always round-bottomed, which enables them to sit on braziers and also to be stacked one above the other. But in the 1950s there was a greater variety of products, such as water jars or jugs with traditional decorative motifs, 'lotus blossom', 'sitting sparrow', 'mirror maze', 'coconut stalk', all of which had a prescribed use. An inappropriately placed decoration was said to make the pot 'dishevelled'. Both Mourer (1986, vol 2: 276) and Delvert (1961; 270) noticed there were similarities with traditional tattoos and it is possible that the decoration, like the tattoos, had magical protective powers.

2 ARCHAEOLOGY

Excavations conducted in Cambodia in the past decade have transformed our understanding of the chronology and formation of the Angkorian empire and of one of its predecessors, the polity of Funan, centred on the lower Mekong (Manguin 2010; Jacques & Lafond 2007: 43–63). A major discovery has been an unusually rich Iron Age cemetery at Prohear, Prey Veng, by a Cambodian-German team in 2008 (Reinecke et al. 2010). Unfortunately the site had been thoroughly looted but it is estimated that the cemetery originally included over 1000 burials, spread over two square kilometers. The archaeologists have uncovered 52 burials in a 115-square metre area, dating from 500 BCE to the 1st century CE. The later burials were accompanied by bronze drums, imported beads and gold jewellery, but the round-bottomed pots found with the burials of all periods are in no way different from those now being made at Kompong Chhnang. In all the pre-Angkorian sites, there were other earthenware ceramic forms, some with a little decoration, impressed with a cord, or a carved paddle. However, this was not common and pre-Angkorian or Iron Age pottery is generally speaking quite plain, both in Cambodia and in Thailand (Higham et al. 2012: 209, 215).

Work within the Angkor Archaeological Park itself shows that it was occupied as early as the Iron Age, i.e. from approximately the start of the Common Era and that a very large temple was built at Angkor in the 7th century CE, two centuries earlier than previously assumed (Walsh 2013). Till then the oldest temple was thought to be the 8th century Prasat Prei Khmeng. On that temple's mound, ongoing excavations by Cambodia's APSARA authority and the French EFEO have revealed a cemetery, in which there were cremations within pots and an earlier phase of inhumations with pots deposited as gravegoods. In each phase the pots included round-bottomed earthenwares, very similar to todays' cooking pots. In 2001 the University of Otago (2001) found a small clay-lined Iron Age furnace, associated with which was a complete round-bottomed pot, beneath the Angkorian levels of the 9th century Baksei Chamkrong temple.

All of this points to a continuous and virtually unvarying tradition of ceramic manufacture. It was greatly augmented in the Angkorian period by the development of wheel-turned and glazed wares, but such wares make up only a small proportion of the ceramic finds in any excavation. Traditional earthenwares are shown in several scenes of daily life carved onto the celebrated Bayon temple. Cremin (2009: 81–82) has identified one scene on the Bayon as a potters' workshop. However the potters are men, not women, and this must caution us not to assume that present-day practices and gender roles are also traditional.

The Greater Angkor Project (GAP), a collaboration between APSARA and the University of Sydney, co-directed by Drs Roland Fletcher and Christophe Pottier is actively engaged in ground-truthing information supplied by satellite and aerial imaging. As part of this work Dr Wayne Johnson has over the past decade conducted a series of excavations at crucial nodes of the road and waterway system The one that concerns us here is an area known locally as Prasat Prei Kreuk, meaning 'Temple of the foundations in the forest'(Johnson 2012).. As the name suggests, there had indeed been a temple. Its remains today are a central mound surrounded by a square moat, crossed by an eastern and a northern causeway. The mound has been extensively looted with regular trenching through brick rubble and discarded fragments of sculptured stone ornament.

The moat of Prasat Prei Kreuk was excavated to a depth of 120 cm and it was possible to obtain a stratigraphy—this is sometimes difficult in the Angkor Park, where continued re-use of sites tends to obliterate earlier phases. In this case the temple had been not only abandoned but destroyed (probably to re-use the brick), so that the archaeological resource was reasonably intact. The top 30 cm consisted of brick rubble with higher concentrations towards the temple mound. This is interpreted as demolition material falling into the moat at the time of its destruction and afterwards. A lack of brick below the 50-cm depth probably equates with the period of occupation. The only artefacts recovered were ceramic; most came from the 50–80 cm layer. Below the 80-cm depth the soil changed to the whitish soil typical of that observed in rice fields and at the 100-cm depth lateritic and manganese inclusions in the soil indicated that the bottom of the moat had been reached.

The ceramic material is thought to be refuse deposited in the moat during the site's occupation. Ceramics consisted of general domestic wares, some comparable to ceramics from 10th and 11th century-contexts from Tumnup Barang, another GAP excavation, but others normally identified as pre-Angkorian 'buff wares', with one sherd (PPK 0032a) being from a spouted vessel with painted stripe. This sort of decoration is usually attributed to the 7th century and is described by Piriya Krairiksh (2012: 41) as occurring at Sambor Prei Kuk, the pre-Angkorian capital. The standard cooking-pot ware was clearly present, but there was an unusual amount of paddle-decorated and cord-marked wares, all of which suggests that Prasat Prei Kreuk may well be quite early. Further analysis of the ceramics is in preparation.

An extraordinary new tool is about to revolutionise our understanding of Angkor. The Laser Imaging Detection and Ranging system (LIDAR) bounces a laser or light beam off the ground surface and is capable of penetrating the forest canopy's foliage. It has already revealed hundreds of hitherto unsuspected features within the World Heritage Site, demonstrating among other things that the city of Angkor had a carefully gridded layout. It was also far more densely occupied than had been assumed. It is clear that almost everything we think we know about Angkor will have to be reconsidered in the light of this new evidence.

3 MODERNISATION

Kompong Chhnang is modernising at a rapid rate, like all of Cambodia. The influx of tourists, now said to be over 2 million a year (Lloyd & Im 2013) is creating new opportunities and the potters are adapting, though perhaps not rapidly enough. Some have gone over to NGO-funded electric kilns, which enables them to create new styles with an 'Angkorian' flavor and some are using slow wheels which enables a greater variety of forms, especially flat-bottomed long-neck bottles or vases. A popular innovation is a perforated holder for mosquito-coils or tea-light candle. These are part of the local colour in most restaurants and hotels of Siem Reap. Another innovation has been to glaze the interior of cooking pans, using a classic Angkorian ceramic

pattern on the lid. Some of these patterns were devised at the Lor Pok studio after the civil wars of the 1970s, in order to revitalize the industry (Ly & Muan 2000).

Local people are happy with the present style, which has after all stood the test of time. They complain that the pots break easily, but they are sold so cheaply and are so widely available in village markets that complaints are half-hearted. Earthenware is certainly preferred to the more durable aluminium. There is also a certain element of national pride in using implements which figure so prominently on the Bayon. This is of course also attractive to tourists. On the whole, prospects for the industry are good as long as potters are prepared to do the very hard work and the sellers to traverse the country with a heavy and fragile load.

Kompong Chhnang is the major pottery area in Cambodia. While its practices are not unusual, being paralleled elsewhere in southeast Asia (Shippen, 2005) the demonstrable length of the pottery tradition that it represents and its location in the heart of the country make it a suitable candidate for inclusion in UNESCO's Intangible Cultural Heritage List. The history of the manufactury itself has yet to be studied, though Delvert thought it was 'very old' (1961: 268), because of the particularly good clay to be found at nearby Phnom Krong Dey Méas—'Golden Earth Mountain'. However, it is conceivable that it has flourished only since the establishment of Phnom Penh as Cambodia's capital in the 15th century. The absence of fixed kilns make this question more difficult to resolve archaeologically but robust new tools such as LIDAR could be useful for such a study.

4 CONCLUSION

Kompong Chhnang translates literally as Cooking-pots District. Its modern ceramic industry conforms in every respect to much earlier traditions: it uses rice straw or chaff as a temper, pots are beaten up with a paddle, with no use of a wheel, and baked in open-air bonfires. Decoration is minimal, although some is now being introduced, probably to meet tourist expectations. There is increasing and irrefutable archaeological evidence that this sort of pottery has been made for well over two millennia in Cambodia—and also in the former Khmer regions of neighbouring countries. The pottery of course is tangible, but it embodies ancient traditions which connect it with Imperial Angkor and even earlier to the beginnings of Khmer culture, over two millennia ago.

The Kompong Chhnang household-manufacture is thus worthy of being considered for Intangible Cultural Heritage (ICH) listing. The Intangible Cultural Heritage Convention relates to 'living heritage embodied in people'. Article 2 of the Convention defines ICH as: ' the practices, representations, expressions, knowledge, skills – as well as the instruments, objects, artefacts and cultural spaces associated therewith – that communities, groups and, in some cases, individuals recognize as part of their cultural heritage' (UNESCO, 2013a). Logan (2009: 14) has warned that 'great care needs to be taken and consideration given to the implications of focusing on 'living heritage embodied in people'. Amongst other requirements for listing, full community participation is required and the element will be on the State Party's Intangible Cultural Heritage inventory. Cambodia is a signatory to the Convention for the Safeguarding of lntangible Heritage: its Royal Ballet was proclaimed a Masterpiece of the Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity in 2003 and the Sbek Thom, Khmer Shadow Theatre in 2005 (UNESCO 2013c).

The Kompong Chhnang household pottery manufacture is likely to satisfy the provision for listing as traditional craftsmanship. The 'free, prior and informed consent' of the pottery manufacturing community will be essential in preparing a nomination for listing. As an example, the earthenware pottery-making skills in Botswana's Kgatleng District were inscribed on the List of Intangible Cultural Heritage in Need of Urgent Safeguarding in 2012. The Committee in its decision was satisfied that duing the preparation of the nomination, traditional auhtorites and the potters themselves were full consulted and gave their free, prior and informed consent (UNESCO 2013b).

As part of a global UNESCO program to build capacity for the implementation of the Convention, the Cambodian Government is reinforcing methods to document and inventory its intangible cultural heritage. A workshop held in Siem Reap in February 2013 undertook field work in the rural areas of Siem Reap and the town (UNESCO 2013c). Extending this capacity

building project to include the Kompong Chhnang household pottery manufacture for Intangible Cultural Heritage listing would be very timely.

REFERENCES

Cort, L.A. (2000). Khmer stoneware ceramics: The Hauge gifts. In L.A. Cort, M. Farhad & A.C. Gunter, eds. *Asian traditions in clay*. Washington DC: Smithsonian Institution, Freer Gallery of Art and Arthur M. Sackler Gallery. pp.91–149.

Cremin, A. (2009). Image and reality: Ceramics on Angkorian temple reliefs in Cambodia. *Australasian Historical Archaeology,* 27: 79–86.

Delvert, J. (1961). *Le paysan cambodgien*. Paris: Mouton.

Higham, C. & Thorasat, R. (2012). *Early Thailand from Prehistory to Sukhothai*. Bangkok: River Books.

Jacques, C & Lafond, P. (2007). *The Khmer Empire: Cities and sanctuaries, fifth to thirteenth centuries*. Bangkok: River.

Johnson, W. (2012). *Prasat Prei Kreuk and Bakheng/Indrataka Embankments: Preliminary Report. Greater Angkor Project 2011–2015: Preliminary Reports Series*.

Lloyd, G. & Im, S. (2013). In R. Staiff, R. Bushell & S. Watson, eds. *Heritage and tourism : place, encounter, engagement*. London: Routledge.

Logan W, (2009). Playing the Devil's Advocate: Protecting Intangible Cultural Heritage and the infringement of human rights. *Historic Environment,* 22(3): 14–16.

Ly, D & Muan, I. (2000). *Ceramics from 'Lor Pok'*. Phnom Penh: Reyum.

Manguin, P.-Y. (2010). The archaeology of Funan in the Mekong River delta: The Oc Eo culture of Viet Nam. In N. Tingley, ed. *Arts of ancient Viet nam: From river plain to open sea*. Connecticut: Yale University Press. pp.103–118.

Mourer, R. (1986). *La poterie au Cambodge. Histoire et dévelopement: essai d'ethnoarchéologie*. Unpublished thesis (PhD), École des Hautes Études Sociales.

Piriya K. (2012). *The Roots of Thai Art*. Bangkok: River.

Chhay, R., Tho, T. & Em, S. In *Guide to understanding Khmer stoneware characteristics, Angkor, Cambodia - Proceedings of the EURASEAA Conference Dublin 2012*.

Reinecke, A., Laychour, V., Sophady, H. & Sonetra, S. (2010). *The first golden civilisation of Cambodia: Unexpected archaeological discoveries*. Phnom Penh: National Museum of Cambodia.

Rooney, D. (1984). *Khmer ceramics*. Singapore: Oxford University Press.

Rooney, D. (1990). An introduction. In H. Fujiwara, ed. *Khmer ceramics from the Kamratan Collection in the Southeast Asian Ceramics Museum, Kyoto*. Oxford: University Press. pp.1–16.

Shippen, M. (2005). *The traditional ceramics of Southeast Asia*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.

UNESCO (2013a). [Webpage] http://www.unesco.org/culture/ich/index.php?lg=en&pg=00006 [Accessed 15 April 2013].

UNESCO (2013b). [Webpage] http://www.unesco.org/culture/ich/index.php?lg=en&pg=00011&USL=00753 [Accessed 15 April 2013].

UNESCO (2013c). [Webpage] http://www.unesco.org/culture/ich/index.php?lg=en&pg=00311&topic=news&cp=KH [Accessed 15 April 2013].

University of Otago & APSARA Authority (2001). A test excavation at Baksei Chamkrong, Angkor. *Udaya* 2: 109–115.

Walsh, A. (2013). Seventh century temple unearthed at West Baray. *Phnom Penh Post* 1 March 2013 [online]. Available at www. Phnompenhpost [Accessed 14 April 2013].

Madeira folk dance Bailinho(s): stories in movement

Margarida Moura
Faculty of Human Kinetics, Technical University of Lisbon, Lisbon, Portugal
INET-MD Institute of Ethnomusicology - Music and Dance, Lisbon, Portugal

ABSTRACT: *Bailinho*, *bailinhos*, *balho or baile* refers to the Madeira Island traditional dances and include the entire existing choreographic and musical repertoire, performed by diverse folklore groups in different locations. It is believed that the *bailinho* has its origins in the mainland Portugal, the influence from the regions of Minho, Douro and Algarve being especially striking. Its genesis is also attributed to the black population of African slaves. Musically the *bailinhos* were sung in duple time and danced in the processions with the melodic accompaniment provided by the *machete*, *rajão*, *ferrinhos* (triangle), and *brinquinho*, which were instruments introduced by Madeira early settlers. Choreographically the Madeira *bailinhos* take on numerous spatial variations, every so often by the presence of the caller, *mandador* or *marcador* (male individual who keeps time by delivering the choreographic marks, e.g. waltz, inside, turns, that define the *bailinho's* conduct). No longer connected to the peasants' daily life, *bailinhos* are currently an ethno-performative practice associated with tourism promotion and social entertainment, folk groups being its main supporters and perpetuators.

1 INTRODUCTION

Traditional Madeira dance *Bailinhos*, as a choreographic and musical genre, became a folk reality of Portuguese and, particularly, Madeira traditional culture (César & Moura, 2010). Its main features comprehend: a) adherence to traditional methods (dances are built upon the sociocultural and historical past characterizing them); b) dynamicity (even though these dances are based on tradition, they may change overtime); c) functionality (with their own purposes and motifs, these dances advance within a dynamic environment); d) collective acceptance (by experimenting and sharing *Bailinho*, inhabitants appropriate such a widely practiced tradition). *Bailinho* – displaying little complexity and diversity – is integrated in, and characterize, the poor, monotonous, Portuguese folklore (Santos, 1942). Herein *Bailinho* will be characterized as a traditional[1] genre of Madeira.

 The goal of this paper is to identify the main ethnochoreographic traits of the presently performed Madeira *bailinhos*, as well as to understand how the Madeira Island historical-cultural past influenced the characterization of *bailinhos*. This paper will examine specifically how *bailinhos* are musically and choreographically characterized; which cultures are related to the emer-

gence and evolution of *bailinhos*; which of the existing *bailinhos* are most representative of the Madeira tradition; and the relationship between current and older *bailinhos*.

The approach of this paper moves from the geographical and historical background of the island to the ethnochoreographic characterization of the traditional dance repertoire (musical and choreographic characteristics of the Madeira *bailinhos*and socio-cultural influences they carry through time).

As methodology, analysis and documentary reflection were used (Combe, 1821; Santos, 1942; Porto da Cruz, 1954 & 1955; Silva & Menezes, 1978; Lacerda, 1994; Carita, 1999; Vieira, 1999; Bolt, 2003; Sardinha & Camacho, 2003; Cruz & Moura, 2010; César & Moura, 2010; Torres & Camacho, 2010). The fieldwork that has been carried out (checklist, documentation and systematization of the collected work, which were based, to this effect, upon Moura Fernandes's model [2000]) was also brought into play.

To reflect upon Madeira ethnochoreographic repertoire corresponds to pondering about traditions and cultures in motion, because the stories, tales and imaginary about these dances intersect Madeira Island's history, its people, their *modus vivendi* and *modus operandi*. This paper will thus try to analyse those.

2   MADEIRA ISLAND: GEOGRAPHIC AND HISTORICAL CONTEXT

The Madeira Island is a Portuguese archipelago (one of the two autonomous regions of Portugal). It is located in the North Atlantic ocean, some 560 miles (900 kilometres) from mainland Portugal and about 370 miles (600 kilometres) from the coast of Morocco; an outpost of Europe in the Atlantic Ocean (Travelling Wizards, 2010). The archipelago was mentioned on Italian and Spanish maps since 1351. The Madeira Island, originally known to the Romans as the Purple Islands – "(…) Madeira is justifiably known as the floating garden or pearl of the Atlantic ocean" (Ibid: 3) – was discovered by Portuguese sailors, Prince Henry the Navigator, João Gonçalves Zarco, and Tristão Vaz Teixeira in the early 15th century, between 1418 and 1420.The Archipelago encompasses the islands of Madeira (discovered in1419), Porto Santo (discovered in 1418), Desertas, and the Savage Islands, which prior to the settlement of the Portuguese were known by the names of "Puerto Santo", "Diserta" and "Leiname"[2] correspondingly.

The Madeira Island is the largest of them. Among those islands and islets, only Madeira and Porto Santo have permanent inhabitants.

In the course of centuries, the population – which was originally purely Portuguese and is still exclusively Portuguese speaking – came to possess Moorish, Jewish, Italian and African admixture, particularly on the south coast.

The first settlers were families of farmers, most of them coming from Algarve (southern region of mainland Portugal). The colonization of the island fell under the auspices of Henry the Navigator. Then, by order of John I, King of Portugal, the settlement of the archipelago took place between 1420 and 1425. Later, families of settlers from the North of mainland Portugal, from the Minho and Douro regions, would arrive in much greater numbers to the island (64% against 25% from the North)[3].

Since the 15th century, Madeira has played a decisive role in the history of great discoveries and achievements of Portugal, and became a major port on the Atlantic trade routes.

Until the 17th century, the sugarcane culture and sugar production greatly boosted the insular economy, responding to the requests of Jewish, Italian, Flemish, French, Breton, and Portuguese merchants who visited the island. Because of this demand, slaves from the Canary Islands, Morocco, Mauritania, and later on from Guinea, were brought to the island. By the end of the 15th century, there were about 2,000 black, mulatto, and Moorish slaves (Silva, 2007). Since the second half of the 17th century, English people made their presence felt dominating the island businesses specially the export of Madeira wines to British colonies (Silva, 1978b).

Foreign individuals who visited and settled on the archipelago of Madeira did not cause a Portuguese decolonization. On the contrary, foreigners residing on the archipelago have assimilated into Portuguese culture (Porto da Cruz, 1954). Presently, the Madeira archipelago is composed of people from the "four quarters" of the world.

3 MADEIRA ISLAND: GEOGRAPHIC AND HISTORICAL CONTEXT

Bailinho, bailinhos, bailhos or *baile* designate the choreographic genre covering all the traditional dances of Madeira, as well as the entire choreographic repertoire (moves, gestures, postures, rhythm, music, songs, space, and relationships) currently existing on the island. This genre includes a plethora of nuances and variants performed by different groups in various locations (Porto da Cruz, 1954; César & Moura, 2010). The traditional (musical and choreographic) culture adjustments to the Madeira geographic, social and cultural circumstances – and the appearance of folk groups – resulted in the *bailinhos madeirenses*. This type of *bailinho* "emerged when the first traditional song and dance groups began to appear about 50 years ago" (Fernandes, 2003: 14).

There are little documentary or written records of the *bailinhos* historic trajectory (origin, evolution, checklist, documentation, and publication). According to Vieira (1999), references and accounts to *bailinhos*, mostly in letters and diaries written by individuals, are vague and scarce. Furthermore, they do not shed any light on the creation and origin of this choreographic genre. Taking this line of reasoning a step further, Santos (1942) asserts that locals created neither their songs nor *bailinhos*. They adapted melodies brought in from overseas or that were very popular at the time.

During the Estado Novo ("New State"), from the 1930s to 1960s, folk groups rose. Thus, much of the Madeira traditional (musical and choreographic) repertoire was restored and reintroduced to the daily life of the island. It took on a performative character for the purpose of propagation and integration within the community life, as well as of touristic promotion. "A revival of interest in the 1930s and 1940s rescued many regional dances from disappearing altogether" (Bolt, 2003: 14). Laudation of traditional and popular culture was under way, which materialised in several ways: its study and publishing, along with the recreation of experiences, and its institutionalisation through the so-called folklore groups. Festivities and tourism represent the zenith of such exhilaration.

The current Madeira choreographic repertoire is, therefore, the outcome of various cultural inputs, and exhibitions of dances and chants that have punctuated farming tasks and enlivened popular and patron saint festivities throughout time. Hence, traditional heritage is a consequence of adjustment rather than of regional creation. Despite being inspired by and descending from remote repertoires, Madeira dances are unique in their genre due to the way Madeira people perform them (Fernandes, 2001).

3.1 *Influence of slave culture in the choreographic and musical tradition of Madeira*

The idea that dances and chants such as *Charamba* or *Xaramba*, *BailePesado*, *Mourisca,* and *Baile da meia volta* originated from the black slaves of Guinea coast or from the Moorish is still disseminated. Nevertheless, the Madeira Island ancestral connection to the mainland, to Europe, and to the Canary Islands, and to their corresponding cultural traditions, cannot be forgotten (Porto da Cruz, 1954 & Vieira, 1999). Furthermore, Vieira (1999) mentions that slaves on the island lived with their masters (owners) participating in their daily life. There were only a few moments of separation, all escape attempts leading to a punishment as masters feared the gathering of slaves. In addition, comradeship among slaves was diluted by both the compulsory low number of slaves per proprietor and the restrictions on slaves' social interactions.

All there was left were the moments of revelry for the enjoyment of the slave owner, such as the games of canes, bullfighting, and combats. Some creative imagination would be required in order to reach the "so-called scientific conclusions connecting slaves to popular traditions, which are nothing but mere empirical observations that were not based on analysis"[4] (Ibid. 39-40).

The slave (Moorish and black) component of the Madeira culture and tradition has been overvalued for it lacks scientific foundation. Slaves formed a group that was confined to a specific period of time (the fist hundred years of occupation of the island), without ever having acquired that insistently proclaimed social dimension (Ibid.). Moreover, the groups of black and Moorish people intersected and clustered around locals descending from mainland Portugal settlers, thus diluting the characteristic features of black and Moorish, which became undistinguished from those of the Madeira people (Santos, 1942).

There are nevertheless references highlighting the Moorish and black influence over Madeira *bailinhos*. "There are many similarities between our people's dances and those of Africans (…) The jumps and turns charactering the island dances that are often accompanied by shrieks recall the African drumbeats, which are perhaps the blacks' main distraction during festive days (…) The old Madeira songs echo the Arab chants' monotony often listened with delight by the people during the period of colonization"[5] (Silva, 1978c: 387). The European dances also influenced the Madeira traditional repertoire: "at the outset, square dances (of English origin), then, waltz (…) and, at last, quadrilles and polkas"[6] (Fernandes, 2001: 16).

3.2   *Bailinho(s): Madeira choreographic genre*

There are some other dances holding different designations that fall under the *bailinhos / bailhos* category, aside from the diverse traditional dances that are actually named *bailinhos / bailhos* (*Bailinho da Madeira, Bailinho da Ponta do Sol, Baile do Bate o Pé, Bailinho das Camacheiras, Baile da Mourisca, Baile Pesado* or *Baile da Repisa, Baile dos Canhas, Baile de oito* etc.) (César & Moura, 2010). These dances presently performed and promoted by the Madeira locals are executed by adults and children since the 19th century[7], as reported by the daily newspapers of the region from 1850 (Fernandes, 1999).

Every Madeira *bailinho* uses the mainland *bailinho*'s music. However, the choreographies are a Madeira creation. They are performed in a disorderly, anarchic, way, with steps that more or less follow the sound of music and with gesticulation and expressiveness copied from other dances (Santos, 1942). Presently, behaviours follow an orderly and set technique, given that folk groups experience and promote them as ethno-performative practices.

3.2.1   *Musical characterizationof bailinho*
Bailinhos were sung and danced in pilgrimages accompanied with musical instruments introduced by the first settlers: *machete* or *braguinha*[8] (four-stringed guitar, very popular in traditional Portuguese music as a support instrument or as a soloist's instrument), *rajão*[9] (five metal strings guitar of Madeira),*viola de arame*[10] (bass guitar) and *ferrinhos*(a scrapped idiophone) (Porto da Cruz, 1954). Later, *brinquinho*[11] (a percussion staff dressed with dolls and castanets) would join this set of instruments. Whenever there was no music, locals would sing so that the dance could go on. "Totally without rules, the *brinco* is sung and danced by everybody, and no special costume is needed. Whoever wants it, can join in the ring" (Fernandes, 2003:14). If *brinco* was complete, it included other instruments, such as the *pandeiro*[12], the bagpipe[13] that is dressed with flowers and gay ribbons, and in recent times the accordion. "Despite the fact that the *brinquinho* is a Madeira instrument, it is only used in choreographed *bailinho*. (…) It is these groups who nowadays perform the songs and dances of Madeira, and keep alive the traditional ballads sung by the chorus to the accompaniment of the *viola de arame*, *rajão*, *braguinha*, fiddle, harmonica, tambourine, timbrel, bass drum, other percussion instruments and, more recently, the accordion" (Ibid.:14). The *rajão* and *brinquinho* are considered to be the sole musical instruments typical of the Madeira Island.

In the *bailinhos* of the Porto Santo island, especially in the *Bailinho da meia volta,* the *rabeca* (fiddle)[14] is one of the three instruments that cannot be missed out (the other two are the *viola de arame* [stringed musical instrument from the Portuguese island of Madeira. It has 9 strings in 5 courses. The strings are made of steel] and the *rajão*). *Bailinho* is a song played in duple time, the lyrics in strophic form with fixed or improvised quatrains. It is sung impromptu in competition by two or more male folk singers, accompanied to the melodic pattern associated with this choreographic genre (César & Moura, 2010).

The Madeira *bailinhos* are played at a moderate tempo and moderately fast tempo (multiple tempos in a single *bailinho*), and less frequently at slow tempo (Fernandes, 2000; César & Moura, 2010).

A distinguishing trait of *bailinhos* is the fact that all of them are sung and, thereby, dancers[15], players and assistants alternate randomly (Santos, 1942).

3.2.2   *Choreographic characterization of bailinho*
Bailinhos were danced in private homes by Christmas and through the pilgrimages routes, in a pilgrimage step. This is "no other than a simple march with a light leap (…) often (…) a lively

leap, as an authentic polka step[16] (Porto da Cruz, 1954: 12). The arms stand above the head and there is finger snapping or hand clapping. The *bailinhos* dance steps (in earlier times with leaps one hand away from the floor and nowadays with a few light leaps only) and choreographic marking were similar throughout the island, displaying little or no order at all (except for *baile das Camacheiras* and *bailinho de oito*). The steps more or less follow the sound of music. However, the way people performed these steps made those dances unique and distinguishable from others (Santos, 1942; César & Moura, 2010).

The rhythmic-motor diversity and complexity of *bailinhos* are only moderately perceivable. In any case, the swings, twisting, and torso inclinations characterizing *bailinhos* set this choreographic genre apart. The most frequent steps are: a) pilgrimage step or hop step (dancer trips while his knees are deeply bent) and b) *bailinho* step[17]. The dynamics of *bailinhos* is characterized by continual movements, leaps with bending of knees towards the ground, musically performed at moderate tempo and moderately fast tempo, and choreographically at moderate tempo.

Bailinhos of Porto Santo (*baile da meia volta, baile do ladrão, baile dos moinhos do vento, baile sério,* etc.) are more moderate and sometimes performed at slow tempo. Porto da Cruz (1954) asserts that these dances distinguish themselves more clearly than the *bailinhos* of Madeira Island, for the reason that Porto Santo locals descend from Portuguese families since the remote settlement period, possessing no influence from other cultures.

Although their steps are simple – currently there are few leaps, even dragging – *bailinhos* occasionally assume copious spatial and technical variations. Such diversity is due to the frequent presence of the caller, named *mandador, vilãomarcador* or simply *marcador* (the male individual who hammers out the rhythm characterising the *bailinho*). It grants Madeira *bailinhos* an array of choreographic marks[18], as well as asymmetric choreographic phrases that might not correspond to the musical phrases (César & Moura, 2010). The repetition of choreographic phrases occurs in a totally irregular way. This form of choreographic composition is quite common in *bailinhos* and unique regarding the duration of each mark, sometimes at three or five tempos. *Bailinhos* choreographic variations are as numerous as the *mandador*'s imagination and fantasy, without ever changing the rhythm of the dance.

The duration of *bailinhos* relies totally on the *mandador/marcador* who might decide that the dance will last for one hour, several hours in a row, or the whole night. "Some *marcadores* are capable of prolonging (*bailinhos*) for two hours with continuous different marks"[19] (Santos, 1942: 18). Current *bailinhos*' performative character – exhibited by folk groups in a touristic and recreational context, with a predefined length – undermines the natural, spontaneous, duration of *bailinhos* when in a less formal or impromptu context.

Bailinhos do favourinterpersonalrelations. They are performed mostly in simple circle (dancers set a single circle) and double circle (dancers define two circles), and in pairs. The *bailinhos* performed by male dancers alone (not frequent) or female dancers (even less frequent) are less expressive. The same holds true for the *bailinhos* performed in lines *vis a vis* (deriving from the old square dances), where pairs are positioned face to face (*bailinho das camacheiras, bailinho de oito* and *bailesério*).

At last, concerning the choreographic characterization of *bailinhos*, the singularity of the dancers' posture, while performing *bailinhos*, stands out. It is unique within the Portuguese folklore. It is preferentially characterised by: torso leaning forward, head inclined to the right or to the left and towards the floor, harms raising over the heads and curbed along the torso, the hands nearly touching and snapping fingers. It is also common to see a harm raised along the torso, bent forward, while the other harm is bent down to the lower back. At the same time the hands are snapping fingers.In the *bailinhos* danced in circle, women bow their heads to the left, putting their left hand on their waist (into the circle) while the right harm hangs along the body.

The main features of the *bailinhos* that are considered to be the most emblematic of the Madeira traditional culture (Santos, 1942) are detailed as follows. Note that it is not possible to confirm the origins or detail the date when *bailinhos* emerged on the Madeira Island.

Table 1. Main bailinhos of Madeira

Name of *bailinho*	Possible origin and evolution	Main characteristics
Baile de Ala Moda, Alamoda or *Baile Campestre* (*Ala Moda* Ball)	It dates back to the English square dance (contredanse) introduced in France in the end of the 17th century (Santos, 1942). Marks are in French – promenade, à vos places – pronounced according to what the Madeira local has heard.	It is the oldest dance that has been recovered and it is danced in its most original form. Performed in circle at "accented rhythm but without much leaps in the melodic line, it recalls the songs of Algarve" (Porto da Cruz, 1933 in Fernandes, 1999: 25). It is followed or preceded by extempore duel ballads.
Baile de espadas (Swords Ball)	It goes back to the 16th century. It is part of the Corpus Christi[20] procession in the locality Ponta do Sol (Fernandes, 2001). It was the first dance to be exhibited on stage in 1850 (Ibid.).	It is the oldest of all the Madeira traditional dances. At present, it is the least promoted dance because there is no documentation to effectively reconstitute it (Fernandes, 1999). It is exhibited at the Saint Peter festivity in Ribeira Brava to praise its patron saint. It assumes considerable variations in the music and choreography, and in the attire as well, but it keeps its core essence: seven dancers, four players, and warrior posture (Fernandes, 2001), with "swords, uniforms, and the exclusive participation of men" (Camacho & Torres, 1995: 32).
Baile da Mourisca (Moorish Ball)	It is a dance of Muslim origin. It was very popular in the 17th century. It is a warrior or military dance: "warrior ball (…) making a customary reference to the wars with the conquered Moors" (Chaves, 1944: 5-6).	In the old days, the *Mourisca* was known as a song and also as a dance, however, originally it was a song and not a dance. This ball has been restored and is now considered a "simple feet movement to the rhythm of music, diverse in each locality, and it is never spontaneous"[21] (Santos, 1942: 4).
Baile Pesado ou Baile da Repisa (Heavy Ball or *Repisa* Ball)	Its origins can be found in the black slave balls. From the past, only the rhythmic steps and bodily stance have endured.	The label "*Repisa*" ("Retread") derives from the similarity with the treading of grapes in the wine press. It is no longer exhibited in a spontaneous way. Formerly, this ball could go on for several hours depending on the enthusiasm and mood of the people. There were several predefined marks (forward, step back, change place, give hands, etc.) or just unprompted marks. This dance is presently performed by folklore groups alone. It is danced in circle with rhythmic, accentuated, steps, while the body leans forward towards the floor.

Table 1. Main bailinhos of Madeira (continued)

Charamba or *Xaramba*	Popular canto associated with the Arab culture. Porto da Cruz (1933) In Fernandes (1999) affirms Charamba to have been the starting point for many work songs (such as the harvesting of wheat). By the end of the 20th century it was facing extinction within informal contexts because for there were no more dancers, charambistas (Torres e Camacho, 2010).	It is a popular extempore duel and impromptu in competition canto (both the canto and the accompaniment) between two male or (rarely) female *charambistas* who improvise strophes about the local daily life. These verses take on a rather critical, ironic, tone that may get to be offensive (Torres & Camacho, 2010): "Songs may be wistful, though they usually bounce along at a jigging rate, (…) they (…) improvised verses and snatches of gossip about the musicians and their friends that can get rather spiteful" (Bolt, 2003:24). The instrumental impromptu is accompanied to the *viola de arame*, the *braguinha*, and the *rajão*, and it will be all the more creative as the qualities and skills of the performer. "If the ballads are too harsh, the canto may end up in disarray, the instruments broken over the male folk singers heads"[22] (Silva e Azevedo, 1978, 518-519). It is performed at slow time. When danced, it is performed at fast musical time.
Bailinho das Camacheiras (*Camacheiras*Ball)	It dates back to the English square dance (contredanse) introduced in France in the end of the 17th century (Santos, 1942). Its name derives from the locality where it has assumed its own, unique, style: Camacha. In view of the fact that the ball's liveliness is similar to that of the mainland, Santos (1942) believes it was brought in to Madeira by mainland Portuguese.	It is a ball at a lively time, performed by couples positioned in line, face to face, "vis a vis." It assumes various marks proceeding randomly (waltz, each one take one's pair, in, out, hands up in the air, men with men and women with women), some delivered in French (en avant). It is danced for several hours in a row or even the whole night. At the long-lasting balls, it was possible that the most fatigued couples would seat on the floor (Santos, 1942). The ball's duration and behaviour relies on the caller (Ibid.). This is one of the most well known and promoted balls both domestically and out of Madeira Island.
Bailinho de Oito (EightBall)	It dates back to the English square dance (contredanse) introduced in France in the end of the 17th century (Santos, 1942).	It is danced in line, the couples positioned face to face, "vis a vis". It is accompanied to the snapping fingers. There is a range of choreographic marks using Gallicisms (moulinet, chaineanglaise). Occasionally, the Eight Ball's moves resemble those of the Heavy Ball, although there are fewer leaps. This ball seems to carry some reminiscences of the polka, mazurka, waltz and pas-de-quatre steps. It can be a long duration dance depending on the caller's criteria.
Bailinho Corrido ou Baile de Romaria (Run Ball or Pilgrimage Ball)	It dates back to the English square dance (contredanse) introduced in France in the end of the 17th century (Santos, 1942).	It is a disordered ball, danced on the way to the pilgrimages, the moves and duration being chosen by the dancers. It is performed in circle, at fast time, with turnarounds, whirls and leaps. Couples dance face to face and they also dance with other pairs. It is possible to dance individually provided the performers are positioned in circle, behind each other.
Chamarrita (*Chamarrita* Ball)	It descends from the Moorish balls (Santos, 1942).	It is a ball performed in circle, the dancers positioned behind each other. *Chamarrita* is sung in chorus and a solo, which makes it unique. The musical and choreographic time is slow, monotonous in both dance and canto.

Table 1. Main bailinhos of Madeira (continued)

Baile da meiavolta (Half Turn Ball)	The origin of this dance is unknown; however, it is believed that it has been influenced by the mainland Portugal traditional dances.	It is typical on Porto Santo Island. It is performed at moderate time. The caller, *mandador*, who is always a man, is intended to direct the ball and be sufficiently insightful to end it at its pinnacle (Sardinha, 2003). Marks are as numerous as the *mandador*'s imagination and fantasy.

4 CONCLUSION

In spite of displaying similar marks, each of the currently danced Madeira *bailinhos* has its own character and style (that have mingled throughout the centuries). Influences from the Moorish, black people, as well as from other visitors (English, French and Portuguese) remain on the island, the Portuguese standing out: "Most of the dances have their origins in mainland Portugal, but have become mingled with rhythms and styles brought to the Island by African slaves" (Bolt, 2003: 34).

The *bailinhos* music takes on mainland and plainsong traits, but its style is from Madeira, the Arab influence prevailing: "its melodic meagreness approaches the Arab music as much as it departs from the (…) Portuguese melodies"[23] (Santos, 1942: 45). The entire island uses the same music, *Charamba, Mourisca* and *Bailinho* in a widespread Madeira style.

The *bailinhos* associated with the black and Moorish slaves' influence – *baile pesado*, heavy ball – carry on, along with those influenced by the square dance and quadrille –*baile das camacheiras,* camacheiras ball and *bailinho de oito*, eight ball, and the most typical *bailinho* of the island, *baile corrido*, run ball. "The steps reflect the movements of farm work. There is a foot-stomping grape-crushing dance, a load-carrying, and the baile, where dancers shuffle in a circle, heads bowed, in a dance that comes down from Moorish slaves who were shackled at the ankles and forbidden to look their master in the eye" (Bolt, 2003:34).

Even if *bailinhos* are currently disconnected from the daily experiences of the Madeira farmers, it is not uncommon to detect small groups, informally formed in local festivities and pilgrimages, accompanied to the available musical instruments, often the *rajão, viola de arame* and the *bombo* (César & Moura, 2010) or the *pandeiro*, to reconstitute and exhibit the *bailinhos*. "Country people play at traditional festivals, in which they sing and dance highly inventive sequences of steps" (Fernandes, 2003: 14). *Bailinhos* are also the main choreographic genre performed by folk groups at festivals and touristic sets (César & Moura, 2010). *Bailinhos* are therefore displayed as a performative practice, the behaviours observing standardisation and fixation, with the purpose of promoting tourism. They are also moved by recreational, convivial, community and social sharing motives. "Madeira folklore is characterised by its lively music and colourful dances. A certain Moorish influence survives in a few of the slower songs, but generally it is an expression of celebration and enjoyment at traditional fairs and festivals" (Bolt, 2003: 34).

It is rather complex to understand how and when, how much they have changed, and with whom the Madeira *bailinhos* appeared. This is so because there are no objective and accurate records about the traditional choreographic repertoire of the Madeira Island. One can only know that the Madeira people appropriated, assimilated and logically altered and adapted to its *modus vivendi* the ethnochoreographic traits and influences it has received throughout History. As a component of the Madeira folklore, the *bailinhos* are actively contributing to revive and update the choreographic, cultural and folklore heritage of the Madeira Island. "The folklore constituted conclusive evidence of continuity in culture through time and (...) could provide insights into the national character and cultural heritage of peoples" (Georges & Jones, 1995: 40).

ENDNOTES

[1] We agree with the perspective of El-Shawan (1988) to associate to the concept of Traditional with this criteria: authenticity, provenance rural, oral transmission, anonymous creation, continuous integration in the life of the group and conservativeness.

[2] Libro del Conoscimiento, geographic manuscript, written in the Castile kingdom in the end of the 14th century. http://pt.wikipedia.org/wiki/Regi%C3%A3o_Aut%C3%B3noma_da_Madeira.

[3] http://www.madeira-web.com/PagesP/history-p.html.

[4] "as conclusões ditas científicas da ligação do escravo às tradições populares não passam de meras observações empíricas sem qualquer suporte de análise".

[5] "entre as danças do nosso povo e as dos negros de África há muitas semelhanças, (…) Os saltos e as voltas, que caracterizam as danças da ilha, e que muitas vezes são acompanhados de guinchos, recordam os batuques africanos, talvez a principal distração dos negros nos dias festivos, (…) As velhas cantigas madeirenses refletem a monotonia dos cantos árabes tantas vezes ouvidos com agrado pelo povo nos tempos da colonização".

[6] "primeiro as contradanças (de origem inglesa), posteriormente as valsas (…) e, por último as quadrilhas e polkas".

[7] During the three first decades of the 20th century it was very common to see groups of children dancing the bailinho.

[8] Chordophone of the guitar family. It derives from the cavaquinho. It is a four-string guitar. http://pt.wikipedia.org/wiki/Braguinha.

[9] Chordophone typical of the Madeira Island alike a small guitar. It is a five-string guitar with a total length of 66 cm. http://www.meloteca.com/dicionario-instrumentario-portugues.htmIt is probably the instrument displaying the most archaic characteristics which may be historically related to the region since the 17th century. http://pt.wikipedia.org/wiki/Raj%C3%A3o.

[10] Nine-string chordophone of the Portuguese guitars' family.http://www.gfcasailhadamadeira.com.br/instrumentos.html.

[11] Instrumentcomposed of sevendolls made of stick dressed in the typical Madeira costumes. It is accompanied by castanets hanging on the back of each doll and arranged at the end of the cane, which are animated by the performer's hand vertical movements. http://www.folclore-online.com/dancas_populares/bailinho-madeira.html

The "Brinquinho" is the musical instrument used to compass the rhythm of Madeira folklore. It is also the most important and well-know instrument in the Bailinho traditional genre on the Madeira Island. It has been created rather recently, having appeared when the first folk groups started to emerge during the first half of the 20th century.http://folkosfera.blogspot.pt/2009/09/instrumentos-musicais-do-mundo-o.html.

[12] Type of hand frame drum, similar to the tambourine. It is a round wooden frame, with six pairs of metal discs fit along the sides. http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pandeiro.

[13] Documented on the Iberian Peninsula as early as the 13th century. http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_Portuguese_traditional_instruments.

[14] It is similar to the violin although with a sadder timbre. It is a three, four or five (less frequent) stringed instrument originating from the Arab culture. http://pt.wikipedia.org/wiki/Rabeca.

[15] Also named bailadores (dancers).

[16] " (...) que não é mais que uma marcha simples e lèvemente pulada (...) muitas vezes (...) autêntico passo de polca bem pulado".

[17] Three jumps from one support to the other, performed while the supporting leg is deeply bent, and at the third jump, the free leg does a lateral split. At the same time, the torso leans forward and oscillates laterally. (Fernandes, 2000; César & Moura, 2010).

[18] Spatial progressions delivered by the caller, mandador, for example, waltz, in, hands up in the air, advance, step back, whirls, etc.

[19] "Há marcadores capazes de prolongar por duas horas sempre com marcas diferentes".

[20] As medieval dance, it took part in the first part of the Corpus Christi pilgrimage due to the profane character it used to display, while the liturgical component would be exhibited during the second part.

[21] "simples mexer dos pés ao ritmo da música, diferente de localidade para localidade e nunca espontâneo".

[22] "Se as trovas são demasiado irritantes, pode acontecer que o canto termine em desordem, quebrando-se os próprios instrumentos na cabeça dos cantadores".

[23] "a sua pobreza melódica aproxima-se da música árabe tanto quanto se afasta das (...) melodias portuguesas".

REFERENCES

Brito, V. (2009). *Instrumentos Musicais do Mundo - O Brinquinho.* Folkosfera [online]. Available at http://folkosfera.blogspot.pt/2009/09/instrumentos-musicais-do-mundo-o.html [Accessed 12 November 2012].

Bolt, R. (2003). *Madeira & Porto Santo.* London: Cadogan Guides.

Bascom, W. R. (1953). Folklore and anthropology, by William R. Bascom. *The American folklore society*, 66(262): 283-290.

Camacho, R. & Torres, J. (1995). A dança das espadas na Ribeira Brava – apontamentos para o seu estudo. *Revista Xarabanda,* (8): 32–35.

Carita, R., (1999). *História da Madeira*. Funchal: Secretaria Regional da Educação.

César, A.J. & Moura, M. (2010). Bailinho. In Salwa Castelo-Branco, ed. *Enciclopédia da Música em Portugal no Século XX, 1:100*. Lisbon: Círculo de Leitores - Temas e Debates.

Chaves, L. (1944). *Danças & Bailados*. Lisbon.

Cruz, C.B. da & Moura, M., (2010). Chamarrita. In Salwa Castelo-Branco, ed. *Enciclopédia da Música em Portugal no Século XX, 1:280-281*. Lisbon: Círculo de Leitores - Temas e Debates.

Combe, W. (1821). *A history of Madeira: with a series of twenty-seven coloured engravings, illustrative of the costumes, manners, and occupations of the inhabitants of that island* [online]. Available at http://scholar.google.com/scholar?hl=en&btnG=Search&q=intitle:history+of+madeira#7 [Accessed 11 November 2012].

El-Shawan, C.-B. S., & Toscano, M. M. (1988). In search of a lost world: An overview of documentation and research on the traditional music of Portugal. In *Yearbook for traditional music 20*.

Fernandes, C. (2003). *Madeira and Porto Santo*. Florence, Italy: Bonechi.

Fernandes, D.J. (1999). *O Folclore em eventos sociais entre 1850 e 1948: Factos e Evidências*. G. de F. e E. da B. Nova, ed.

Fernandes, D.J. (2001). *Danças e bailados no folclore madeirense: Origens e mitos. Funchal: Grupo Folclórico e Etnográfico da Boa Nova*.

Georges, R. A., & Jones, M. O. (1995). *Folkloristics: An introduction*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Lacerda, F. (1994). *Folclore da Madeira e Porto Santo F. M. de Ferro, ed*. Lisbon: Colibri.

Machetista, (2012). *Cordofones Tradicionais Madeirenses* [online]. Available at http://machetista.blogspot.pt/ [Accessed 15 January 2013].

Moura Fernandes, M. (2000). *Sistematização da dança tradicional portuguesa. Classificação das variáveis coreográficas: espaço, ritmo e gestos técnicos*. Unpublished (PhD) thesis, Faculdade de Motricidade Humana, Universidade Técnica de Lisboa.

Porto da Cruz, V. (1954). *Danças e música do Arquipélago da Madeira (ed. de autor)*.

Porto da Cruz, V. (1955). *O folclore madeirense*. Funchal: Câmara Municipal do Funchal.

Santos, C.M. (1942). *Trovas e bailados da ilha: Estudo do folclore musical da Madeira*. Funchal: Delegação do Turismo da Madeira.

Sardinha, V. Camacho, R. & Moniz, R. (2003). Hoje há viola. *Revista Xarabanda*, (14): 23–37.

Silva, F.A. & Meneses, C.A. (1978ª). *Elucidário madeirense – Charamba. Vol I, A-E: 518-519, 4a ed*. Funchal: Secretaria Regional da Educação e Cultura. Available at http://www.bprmadeira.org/index_digital.php?IdSeccao=228 [Accessed 12 March 2013].

Silva, F.A. & Meneses, C.A. (1978b). *Elucidário madeirense – Ingleses. Vol II, F-N: 316-322, 4a ed*. Funchal: Secretaria Regional da Educação e Cultura. Available at http://www.bprmadeira.org/index_digital.php?IdSeccao=229 [Accessed 12 March 2013].

Silva, F.A. & Meneses, C.A. (1978c). *Elucidário madeirense – Romaria. Vol III, O-Z: 387-390,4a ed*. Funchal: Secretaria Regional da Educação. Available at http://www.bprmadeira.org/index_digital.php?IdSeccao=318 [Accessed 12 March 2013].

Silva, J.L. (2007). *Gentes do Arquipélago da Madeira: origem geográfica. Madeira Gentes e Lugares*. Available at http://madeira-gentes-lugares.blogspot.pt/2007/10/gentes-do-arquiplago-origens.html [Accessed 12 March 2013].

Silva, J.M. (1977). *Danças populares portuguesas: uma síntese para o seu conhecimento*. Cor. INATEL.

Various Artists (1996). *Braguinha: Music and musical instruments of Madeira*. PAN records.

Torres, J. & Camacho, R. (2010). Charamba. In *Salwa Castelo-Branco (ed.), Enciclopédia da Música em Portugal no Século XX*. Lisbon: Círculo de Leitores - Temas e Debates. pp.1:283.

Travelling Wizards (2010). *Madeira: The Atlanticorchid*. S.l.: Travelling Wizards.

Vieira, A. (1999). *História, cultura e tradição no arquipélago da Madeira* [online]. Available at http://files.embedit.in/embeditin/files/P85iP9CzfU/1/file.pdf [Accessed 12 March 2013].

Fundamentals of traditional dance: similarities and differences from international folk dances

Maria Alves
Faculty of Human Kinetics, Technical University of Lisbon, Lisbon, Portugal

ABSTRACT: The artistic and cultural education is central to the educational mission and is part of basic democratic school, providing access to the culture, and heritage, and given everyone the opportunity to observe, experience and understand the world. The teaching and learning of international folk dances are an opportunity to appreciate and value cultural diversity providing, at the same time, an opportunities to include multicultural content in the curriculum (Rovegno & Bandhauer, 2013). Furthermore, all dance forms use a body language before words, where the communication is composed of many languages: gestural, verbal, graphic, tactile, etc., in which the language of words builds up on the experiences of the "act" (Fontana & Sebire, 2010).Because during the acquisition of movement skills' period, learning becomes more effective when various sensory channels are used - visual and verbal (Dania, Tyrovola & Koutsouba, 2010), our interest focuses in studying body language acquisition that represents a common vocabulary, comparing fundamentals of traditional dance. So, our goal is to determinate patterns, differences and similarities between content knowledge/terminology of steps and figures, spatial formations, and principles of choreography, foundin traditional dances of different countries.

1 INTRODUCTION

The artistic and cultural education is central in pedagogy and integrates one of the fundamental tasks of the democratic school. Fontana & Sebire (2010) support this statement assuming that it provides access to culture, heritage, and content knowledge, where the difference approach is a source of enrichment, and gives everyone the opportunity to observe, experience and understand the world. These authors defend that the school should promote experiences and practices to enable students to identify, to impute sense, to verbalize and to conceptualize from the experience.

Rovegno & Bandhauer (2013), support the teaching of folk dance as the opportunity to include multicultural content in the curriculum and to induce children to appreciate and to value cultural diversity. In addition to the benefits of providing moderate to vigorous physical activity, this dance form is important for the child to participate in the composition process: '(…) current folk dances take elements of traditional folk dance and design their own dances. Teaching chil-

dren to design their own dances reflects this tradition and allows children to design dances that they like, that they are confident performing, and that contribute to their artistic and aesthetic education. More, such lessons allow children to participate in dance forms currently performed by children in different cultures' (Rovegno & Bandhauer, 2013: 789).

Fontana & Sebire (2010), say that dance in all its forms is a place of language before words, and the language in its wider sense doesn't relies only on words but in all its components: gestural, verbal, graphic, and touch. It is just from the experiences of "acting" that the child builds the language of words followed by the representation procedure and then by the process of writing. So, it is critical for children to develop dance experience and to learn fundamental dance skills on the beat of the music.

2 FUNDAMENTALS OF TRADITIONAL DANCE

The enormous potential of working with dance is given by its intrinsic complexity. Traditional dances have characteristics that potentiate interrelationships at varied levels, like connections with other subject areas, other learning contexts(recreation, education, performance) and with the acquisition of psychomotor and social skills (spatial, rhythmic and dynamic motor skills, musical, and socio-relational, interpretative and performative skills) (Alves, 2011). Beyond the socio-relational opportunity to touch and hold hands in a group, traditional dance provides, according to Connor (2000) the tactile stimulation that many aged people may have been lacking. While much folk dance is traditional, it is also a living cultural behaviour, with a character that reflects people and their world.

For Connor (2000), folk dance incorporates symbolic qualities and carries in itself ideas about cultures, communication and community. It is distinguished from other styles of movement in its activity purpose. Meiners (2001), states that to distinguish dance content from other physical activities we have to assume the *structural* aspect as a compositional element of *dance as art*, in addition to the 5 movement elements—action, dynamics, time, space and relationships. Like others physical activities, traditional dance carries out a relatively fixed pattern of dance (Connor, 2000), develops motor skill coordination, lateralization, motor memory, time and space orientation, but specifically traditional dances contributes to a body language acquisition that represents a common vocabulary. 'Folk dances most often consist of simple locomotor steps such as walking and hopping, done in different formation such as circles and lines while traveling on floor pathways. The locomotor steps are typically performed in a repeatable pattern to lively cultural music and are easily learned.' (Rovegno & Bandhauer, 2013: 789).

Since learning, during the period of movement skills' acquisition, becomes more effective when both visual and verbal sensory channels are used (Dania, Tyrovola & Koutsouba, 2010), we intent to study body language acquisition that represents a common vocabulary, comparing the fundamentals of traditional dance. By the traditional Portuguese dances' fundamental elements, Fernandes (2000) denotes the choreographic variables – Space, Rhythm and Technical Gestures/Movement, including the relations as key elements to achieve the movement performance and his relationship in space.

On the word of Fontana & Sebire (2010) there are 3 types of traditional dance's fundamentals: dance steps and figures, spatial formations and principles of choreographic composition. So, to determinate patterns, differences and similarities between content knowledge/ terminology of steps and figures, spatial formations, and principles of choreography, we will analyze some written documents like handbooks and glossaries about traditional international dances.

2.1 *Dance steps*

According to Wickstrom (1977), the movement pattern corresponds to a combination of movements organized in a concretes patio temporal disposition. It refers to a series of actions or movements arranged in a sequence, 'whose combination allows the motor function exercise which requires stability and consistency in the human being's motor repertoire. It works out as a movement repertoire, which doesn't need a precise execution (as a motor skill demand) but it owns an external purpose.

Alves (2007) reflected that the performance of dance skills is considered when the dancer reproduced at least the underlying movement pattern, and that the dance ability was performed with quality when the dancer, complementary to the reproduction of the movement pattern, also performs the inherent critical components. For Blischke et al. (1999), the acquisition of dance skills includes the execution of a movement pattern that represent one specific function: the acquisition of the movement topology. So, related with the pattern of movement and with the terminology of dance steps and figures, we found plenty similarities (Table 1), specially at the motor level. The diversity and variation are given by the style of the execution and the movement pattern is often the same.

"The movements of folk dance may be the same as any movements in space (i.e. leaping, running, galloping, sliding or walking), and they can be done at different tempos, in different rhythms, and with varying degrees of effort." (Connor, 2000: 74).

Table 1. The fundamentals steps of traditional dance.

		Pattern	French Term	English Term	Portuguese Term
Simple dance Steps		SSS…	Marche/ Promenade	Walk[1]**	Passo de passeio***
		RRR…	Courrir	Run[2]**	Passo corrido***
		H	Sobresaut	Hop[3]**	Saltado de um para o mesmo apoio***
		J	Sauté	Jump[4]**	Saltado a 2 apoios***
		L	Sauté/Jeté	Leap[5]**	Saltado de um para outro apoio***
			Tour/pivot	Pivot[6]**	
Combined dance steps	**Transfers of weight**	sh		Shuffle[7]**	Sapateado
		SS		Rock[8]**	
		SC	Pas de branle*	Step Close[9]/Side step**	Passo afasta-junta***
		SC	Pas chassé*	Chassé[10]/Sashay[11]/Slide[12]**	Passo afasta-junta deslizado
		SCS		Two-Step[13]**	Passo-junta-passo***
		SSSS		Grapevine[14]**	Passo afasta-cruza***
	Steps with jumps	SSSH		Schottische[15]**	Passo de malhão***
		SH		Step-Hop[16]**	
		SHSH…	Pas sautillé*[17]	Skip[18]**	Passo saltitado***
		SCS	Pas de valse*[19]	Waltz[20, 21]**	Passo de vira valseado/Passo valseado***
		SLSL…	Pas chassés latéraux*[22]	Gallop[23]**	Passo de galope lateral***
		SSH SSS		Mazurka[24]**	
		HSLS …	Pas de polka*[25]	Polka[26]**	Passo de galope com meia volta
	Steps with turns	SSSS…	Tour patinette*[27]	Swing[28]**/Buzz step[29]	Passo de escovinha***
		4x(SH)		Schottische Turn**	
		2x(SCS)		Two-Step Turn**	
		SSS		Three-Step Turn**	
		SSSS		Four-Step Turn**	
				Pivot turn[30]**	
		2x(HSLS)		Polka Turn**	Passo de galope com meia volta***
		2x(SCS)		Waltz Turn**	Passo de vira rodopiado***

Table 1. The fundamentals steps of traditional dance. (continued)

Specific Dance Steps	SCSC	Pas de branle double*[31]		
	htSSSH		Heel and Toe Scottische[32]**	Passo tacão e bico***
	hHtHSLS	Pas de polka piquée*[33]	Heel and Toe Polka[34]**	Passo de Tacão e bico com galope***
	LSS	Pas de basque	Pas de Basque[35]**	
	SSS	Pas de bourrée	Pas de Bourrée[36]**	
		Pirouette	Pirouette[37]**	Passo rodopiado
	SSSH		Grapevine Schottische[38]**	
	SH		Reel Step[39]	
	SC		Side Step[40]**	
			Swivel turn[41]**	
	SSS		Yemenite Step[42]**	
	S		Dip (Corté)[43] **	
	LLL			Passo repenicado***
	SHsSH			Passo de rosinha
	RRRRRR RRHSSS HSSS			Passo de corridinho***
	HshHsh			Passo de fandango***
	LLL			Passo gingão***
	SSRRR			Passo de bailinho***
	HLHL			Passo de chula saltitado***

J – Jump; S – Step; sh – shuffle; L – Leap; R – Run; H – Hop; ht – heel&toe; C – Close; (*) Fontana & Sebire (2010); (**) Harris et al. (1994); (***) Fernandes (2000).

The founded documents about traditional dance are quite diverse. While documents mainly contain only descriptions of traditional dances, some include a glossary that preferably mentions the common steps and the most frequent formations. Are few the documents that refer to theoretical classification of traditional dance focusing on the motor variable, while we usually find systematizations that include traditional dances grouped by dance types such as round (circular chain), square, and contra dances, or grouped by regions of geographic origin (Scandinavian, British Isles, Alpine, Balkan, Portuguese …), or by type of event (holidays, religious occasions, festivals, communities celebrations, …) (Harris et al., 1994).

Dance requires the coordination of many parts of the body simultaneously. A paper from Mutavdzic (2007), outline a new theoretical model of the folk dances of Serbia that emphasizes the dance technique as the basis of classification. The dance patterns were classified by a statistical multivariance method of taxonomic analysis, and the results point out a typology that distinguishes five types (groups) of folk dances of Serbia, according to the use of specific dance patterns in performance technique: Folk dances with slide-in steps; Folk dances with steps across and hop steps; Folk dances with triple steps; Folk dances with slide-in steps, leaps, steps across and spins; and, Folk dances with hitch steps. Likewise, after the analyses of the founded terms in several documents we organized them in 5 groups: simple dance steps, combined dance steps with transfers of weight, combined dance steps with jumps, combined dance steps with turns and specific dance steps (Table 1). It seems natural for us to systematize dance contents by the level of complexity and by the type of movement action implicated, since it is about the combined reproduction of basic dance steps.

Firstly, some movement patterns have one tender boundary, like some hops that are executed like bounces, doesn't presenting the aerial phase characteristic of the jump, or like some two-steps that are demonstrated with leaps establishing the pattern of the gallops, etc.. Secondly, Rovegno & Gregg (2007) found that in terms of dance, most children could successfully perform between 7 and 9 different footwork patterns and put together a sequence of several pat-

terns. These authors point out that a few amount of children, on a beginning dance level, had considerable difficulty in any footwork that involved hopping, presenting a too large execution of dance steps and moving beyond their body. So, it's important for us to contribute to clarify the term associated with attribution of meaning between the motor action and the word that designates the set of dance movements.

2.2 *Dance figures*

In relation to the most common figures set up (Table 2), we detect less variety, apparently, but the truth is that the described patterns in the handbook of International Folk Dance (Harris et al., 1994) are also commonly observed, for example, in Portuguese traditional dances. The reason for this apparent mismatching is in the lack of definition of terms, since we didn't find terms of reference thereto.

Table 2. The fundamental figures of traditional dance.

	French Term	English Term	Portuguese Term
Figures	Moulin à deux[44]*/Moulin à quatre[45]*/ Moulinet[46]	Star[47]/Mill[48]	Moínho
	Chaîne anglaise ou grande chaîne[49]*	Chain / Grand Chain/ Grand right and left[50]**	Cadeia/Enleio
	Dos à Dos	Do-Si-Do/Docey Doe/ Do-Sa-Do[51]**	Avançar e recuar à volta do par
		Arm Turn[52]/Elbow Swing[53]**	
		Two-Hand Turn[54]	
		Left-Face Turn / Right-Face Turn[55]**	
	Salut de deux files[56]*	Forward and back[57]/**	Avançar e recuar
		Arch[58]**	Arcos
	Promenade	Promenade[59]**	Passeio
		Reel	
		Bridge[60]	Ponte

(*) Fontana & Sebire (2010); (**) Harris et al. (1994).

These figures constitute built blocks of habitual moves that dance performers mentally 'bolted together' into something familiar. When to this figures are attributed terms, usually the term is directly related with a spatial/geometric shape, such as star, arch and bridge.

2.3 *Spatial formations*

Representing the consistency of the interrelations between the dance performers in the space, the common dance formations present similarity in terms. We denote that qualified formations derived from geometric spatial forms, like circle, line, and square (Table 3).

Table 3. The fundamental space formations of traditional dance.

	French Term(*)	English Term (**)	Portuguese Term (***)
Space formations	En couple	Couple	Par
	Par trois	Three	Trio
	Ronde/Cercle	Round/ circle	Roda simples (single circle)[61]
	Farandole ou Chaîne	Chain	Roda simples facial – lateral (Single circle facial-lateral)
		Circle of couples[62]	Roda dupla lateral-lateral (Double circle, lateral-lateral)[63]
		Double circle[64]	Roda dupla facial – concêntrica e excêntrica (Double circle, facial- concentric and eccentric)[65]
	Quadrille	Quadrille[66]	Quadrilha
	Carré simple[67]	Square[68]	Quadrilha simples
	Carré double[69]		Quadrilha de pares
	File	File	Coluna (single column)[70]
	Cortège	Double file	Coluna de pares (Couple column)[71]
	Ligne	Line	Fila (Single row)[72]
			Fila de pares (couple row)[73]
		Longway Set[74]	2 Linhas faciais
		Sicilian Circle	Roda dupla de quadrilhas

(*) Fontana & Sebire (2010); (**) Harris et al. (1994); (***) Moura (2011).

Moura (2011) presents a very complete systematization of terms related with spatial formations. Comparing the founded terms is relevant a direct correspondence established between the English, French and Portuguese terms denoting a great similarity in spatial formations.

2.4 *Principles of choreographic composition*

Compositional elements in dance, as factors to be considered in order to reach aesthetically satisfying dance composition, are diverse. Factors as intention, form/design, theme, and repetition are the core of compositional decisions. Moura (2007) report choreographic composition principles in traditional dance such as theme variation, sequencing, repetition and contrast, and it's interesting that some of this aspects related themself with dance structure.

Table 4. The fundamentals principles of choreography of traditional dance.

	French Term	**English Term**	**Portuguese Term**
Principles of choreography	Danser ensemble en groupe*		
	Structure	Form/design	Sequenciação***
	Alternance de deux parties*		Variação das partes***
	Thème	Theme	Variação do tema***
	Accumulation des mouvements*	Repetition	Repetição***
			Contraste***
	Changement de partenaire dans les mixers*		

(*)Fontana & Sebire (2010); (**) Harris et al. (1994); (***) Moura (2007)

Dance literature from compositional processes refers to choreographic form structures such as AB, ABA, rondo, canon, theme and variation, call and response, and narrative (National Dance Association & Meyer, 2010). From folk dance, Fontana & Sebire (2010) talk about the alternation of parts while Moura (2007) refers to variation of parts, but in their essence they are talking about the organization/structuration of units of meaning, like dance figures and structures named A, B, etc., in a *meso* level of analysis (considering the *micro* analysis at the level of pattern of movement/dance steps).

3 CONCLUSION

Traditional dances from over the world embody an overwhelming large-scale source of material on dance that it has not been systematically organized. Bakka (2001) supports that only an advanced technical analysis would allow us to find the patterns and regularities needed for hypotheses on historical developments and for (a) closer understanding of different periods of dance history. Similarly, we defend that only a systematic study of this material in a large scale will permit us to find dance movement patterns and others grounded elements of traditional/folk dance.

From a *micro* level of analysis, we find similarities in dance patterns but differences in execution style. The intrinsic complexity of dance comes from the speed, accuracy, and the difficult combinations in which these steps are arranged.

The similarity from spatial formations, that represent the *meso* level of analysis, is relevant but in its existence, possibly isn't in terms of frequency. The circle formation possibly is the prevalent in dances from over the world, but the frequency in which its variations domostly occurred in the different regions is a question to be answered by the forthcoming studies in dance research.

Macro level analysis – compositional structure - presents similarity in terms of simplicity of compositional structure and on the regular use of repetition. Apparently the variations of theme and of parts seem to be more even and predictable than those observed in other dance forms such as creative/ modern/ contemporary dance.

This exploratory analysis demonstrates that it's possible to find major similarities in dance steps, figures, formations and choreographic principles that support the practice of folk dance from the motor point of view. Complementary, it's necessary to identify the specificity in these fundamentals to characterize each region or country oreven comprehend the evolution of some types of dance.

ENDNOTES

[1] Walk - (…) Steps are from one foot to the other, the weight being transferred from heel to toe. (Harris et al., 1994: 523).

[2] Run – (…) similar to walk, except that the weight is carried forward over the ball of the foot with a spring action. (Harris et al., 1994: 519).

[3] Hop – (…) transfer of weight by a spring action from one foot to the same foot. (Harris et al., 1994: 515).

[4] Jump – (…) one or both feet leave the floor, knees bending; (Harris et al., 1994: 515).

[5] Leap – (…) transfer of weight from one foot to the other foot. Push off with a spring and land on the ball of the other foot, letting the heel come down; (Harris et al., 1994: 515).

[6] Pivot - Turn clockwise or counterclockwise on balls of one or both feet. (Harris et al., 1994: 517).

[7] Shuffle – An easy, light one-step, keeping feet lightly in contact with the floor as they move. (Harris et al., 1994: 520).

[8] Rock – (…) steps forward (or backward) a short step and then backward (or forward) a short step. (Harris et al., 1994: 519).

[9] Step Close – Step sideward left (count 1), and close right to left, take weight on right (count 2). (Harris et al., 1994: 521).

[10] Chassé – A series of sliding steps; one foot displaces the leading one, moving forward, backward, or sideward. (Harris et al., 1994: 510) (…) sideways dance maneuver with quick gliding steps. (Laufman & Laufman, 2009: 18).

[11] Sashay – side step or gallop holding both hands with partner. (Laufman & Laufman, 2009: 188).

[12] Slide – (…) a step close step close pattern (slow quick slow quick). (Harris et al., 1994: 520); Slipping or Sliding - a step to the right or left with the leading foot followed by the other foot closing to it and taking the weight. (Shacklette et al., 2012: 16).; Slide - Movement sideward; A step on one foot, and draw of other foot up to the first with a shift of weight done quickly on uneven beat. (Klaas, n.d.).

[13] Two-Step - A step with one foot, followed by a closing of the other foot, and again a step with the originating foot. Left, right, left, or right, left, right. It is danced in uneven rhythm and may be danced forward, backward, sideward, or turning. The rhythm is quick – quick – slow, quick – quick – slow. (Shacklette et al., 2012: 15); Two-Step – Step left (count 1), close right to left (count 2), step left (count 3), and hold (count 4). (Harris et al., 1994: 523).

[14] Grapevine – Step left to side (count 1), step right behind left (count 2), step left to side (count 3), and step right in front of left (count 4). Bend knees, let hips turn naturally, and keep weight on balls of feet. (Harris et al., 1994: 514).

[15] Schottische Step - The left foot is made on it. The same is moved forward, the right toe is brought up behind the left heel. The left foot is again moved forward and a hop is with the right foot. (Burchenal, 1915: iiiv); Schottische – (…) basic step pattern consists of close-step-hop twice, leading with alternating feet, followed by four step-hops in a circle. (Nielsen, 2010: 140).

[16] Step-Hop – satep on the left foot (count 1) and hop on the same foot (count and). (Harris et al., 1994: 521).

[17] Pas sautillé: Poser et sauter en soulevant légèrement l'un des deux genoux à chaque fois. (Fontana & Sebire, 2010: 25).

[18] Skip – (…) a step and a hop on the same foot in slow quick slow quick rhythm. (Harris et al., 1994: 520).

[19] Pas de valse: Il se fait sur trois appuis, lent/vite/vite (ou long/court/court). Il peut être exécuté sur place et en tournant; seuls et à deux. (Fontana & Sebire, 2010: 25).

[20] Three-step Waltz - The left foot takes one step diagonally forward and at the same time both knees are bent slightly; the right foot is brought up to the left foot, the left foot again takes one step forward, and at the same time the knees are straightened. The same step is danced beginning with the right foot. (Burchenal, 1915: iiiv).

[21] Waltz – Step forward left (count 1), step sideward right (count 2), close left to right, and take weight left (count 3). (Harris et al., 1994: 523).

[22] Pas chassés latéraux : Un pied chasse l'autre, ouvrir et fermer, long/court (ex. pour 3 pas chassés et ferme : 1 et 2 et 3 ferme). (Fontana & Sebire, 2010: 25).

[23] Galop Step. One foot is side and the other is danced beginning moved straight to the brought up beside it; this is done with a springy movement and so quickly that two such steps are taken during a 4 measure. The step can also be taken forward, in which case the same foot leads all the time. Side Step. This differs from the galop step only in that it is done much more slowly. (Burchenal, 1915: iiiv).

[24] Mazurka – step left (slight stamp), bring right up to left with a cut step displacing left, and hop right while bending knee so that left foot approaches right ankle. (Harris et al., 1994: 516).

[25] Pas de polka: Il se fait sur 3 appuis, DGD et après GDG, vite vite lent (ou court court long). Il peut être exécuté sur place et en avançant légèrement. (Fontana & Sebire, 2010: 25).

[26] Polka Step. The left foot takes a step forward, the right foot is placed behind the left, the left foot again takes a step forward and then the right foot is brought forward. The same is with the right foot. (Burchenal,1915: iiiv); Polka – (…) basic pattern of hop-step-close-step twice, alternating feet, in 2/4 time. (Nielsen, 2010: 139); Hop right, step left forward, close right to left, and step forward left. (Harris et al., 1994: 517).

[27] Tour patinette ou tour swing: Se tenir en position de couple danse de salon (main G du garçon qui tient la main D de la fille, main D du garçon posée sur le dos de la fille et main G de la fille posée sur l'épaule D du garçon). Tourner avec pied D garçon contre pied D fille et en pivotant dessus grâce à des petites balances de l'avant à l'arrière. (Fontana & Sebire, 2010: 25).

[28] Swing – step left (count 1) and swing right across in front of left (count 2). (Harris et al., 1994: 521).

[29] Buzz step (for couples): The couple takes hold for swinging. Step right foot near but outside your partners right foot, bending knees. Step to the left (clockwise) on the ball of the left foot with the left leg stretched straight while pivoting on the ball of the right foot. The step repeats with the same footwork. As the couple turn, the positions of their right feet change, so that the couple turn on the spot. The couple should give weight (lean out and counter-balance each other) and dance as a couple. The closer couple hold and the closer and smaller their steps then the faster they will turn. The step is very rarely done anticlockwise with opposite footwork. (Battison, 1999a); Buzz Step – (…) step left sideways (long); push with right foot as it moves to the left, displacing left foot (short). (Harris et al., 1994: 509).

[30] Pivot turn – (…) step left, pivoting clockwise (count 1), continuing in same direction step right (count 2); step left (count 3), and step right (count 4). (Harris et al., 1994: 517).

[31] Pas de branle double: C'est un pas latéral, pied G qui ouvre et pied D qui ferme, le branle double étant composé de 2 pas latéraux et donc de 4 appuis. (Fontana & Sebire, 2010: 25).

[32] Heel and toe schottische – moving to the left, place left heel close to right instep (counts 1-2), place left toe close to right instep (counts 3-4), and take one schottische step to the left (counts 1-4). Repeat, beginning right. (Harris et al., 1994: 514).

[33] Pas de polka piquée: Talon/pointe sur le côté, 1 ou 2 fois de suite, suivi d'un pas de polka ou de pas chassés. (Fontana & Sebire, 2010: 25).

[34] Heel and toe polka – moving to the left, place left heel close to right instep (count 1), hop right (count and), place left toe close to right instep (count 2), and take one polka step to the left (counts and 1 and 2). Repeat beginning hop on left, moving to the right. (Harris et al., 1994: 514).

[35] Pas de basque – (…) leap to side on left foot (count 1), step right in front of left (count 2), and step left in place (count 3). (Harris et al., 1994: 517).

[36] Pas de bourrée – step forward on left (count 1), step on right beside left or slightly forward of left (count 2), step on the left slightly forward (count 3). (Harris et al., 1994: 517).

[37] Pirouette – (…) step right foot across left and turn, pivoting on the balls of both feet halfway around until feet are uncrossed. (Harris et al., 1994: 517).

[38] Grapevine Schottische – beginning right, step right to side, step left behind right, step right to side, and hop right. (Harris et al., 1994: 514).

[39] Reel - (R) Step R dir in back of L heel (dnbt), hop R while swinging L bwd in an arc (upbt). Knees should be well turned out. Step alternates. (Oakes, 2011).

[40] Side Step – Step to the left with the left foot (count 1). Close right to left, take weight on right (count 2). (Harris et al., 1994: 520).

[41] SwivelTurn – in one spot, a complete turn on the ball of one foot, either direction. Free foot may be lifted, bending knee, or close to other heel. (Harris et al., 1994: 522).

[42] YemeniteStep – (…) begin left, with flexed knees, and step to left (count 1); step right behind left (count 2); step left in front of right (count 3); and hold (count 4). (Harris et al., 1994: 523).

[43] Dip (Corté) – step back on foot indicated, taking full weight and bending the knee. The other leg remains extended at the knee and ankle, forming a straight line from the hip. The toe remains in contact with the floor. (Harris et al. 1994: 511-512).

[44] Moulin à deux: Se tenir par la main D et tourner ensemble en marchant sur 8 temps; enchaîner éventuellement avec un moulin de la main G toujours sur 8 temps. A la fin revenir à sa place. (Fontana & Sebire, 2010: 25).

[45] Moulin à quatre: Par quatre, se tenir par la main D et tourner ensemble en marchant sur 8 temps; enchaîner éventuellement avec un moulin de la main G toujours sur 8 temps. A la fin revenir à sa place. (Fontana & Sebire, 2010: 25).

[46] Moulinet (quadrille): A star for two couples. (Battison, 1999b).

[47] Star – Maneuver in which two couples reach right hands across, waist-high, to form a star or cross; usually followed by a left-hand star or cross. (Laufman & Laufman, 2009: 188).

[48] Mill, ladies/ mens right/ left hand mill (quadrille): ladies right hand mill: All ladies form a right hand star, men fall in beside partner with right arm around her waist, lady's left hand on her partners right shoulder. All move forward to turn the mill clockwise. In the men's mill, the men make the inner star. (Battison, 1999b).

[49] Chaîne anglaise ou grande chaîne: donner la main D à son partenaire et continuer à se déplacer vers l'avant en donnant alternativement main G et main D aux danseurs que l'on croise. (Fontana & Sebire, 2010: 25).

[50] Grand right and left – (…) partners take right hands, move past partner, take next with the left hand, move past, take next with the right hand, move past, and so on until partners meet. (Harris et al, 1994: 514).

[51] Do-si-do – Maneuver in which dancers pass each other with right shoulder to right shoulder, circle each other back to back, and then move back up to their place, always facing in the same direction. (Laufman & Laufman, 2009: 18).

[52] Arm turn, left/ right arm turn: A couple, with left/ right elbows bent and forearm horizontal move toward each other and link left/ right arms. Each of the dancers right hands grips their partners elbow. The couple turn around with each other moving forward. (Left arm turns are anticlockwise, right arm turns are clockwise.) (Battison, 1999a).

[53] Elbow Swing – Hook right elbows (or left) with person indicated and turn once around. (Harris et al., 1994: 513).

[54] Two-Hand Turn - two dancers face, and, joining both hands, turn once around clockwise, release hands and fall back to place. It is necessary to cross the feet somewhat as the dancers face during the entire turn. (Shacklette et al., 2012: 17).

[55] Left-face turn – Dancers turns individually one full turn to the left, or counterclockwise. (harris et al, 1994: 515).

[56] Salut de deux files: les danseurs de chaque file se tiennent pas la main, avancent vers l'autre file et reculent. (Fontana & Sebire, 2010: 25).

[57] Forward and Back - Designated dancers dance four short steps forward and four steps back to place. In English dances this is a "double". (Shacklette et al., 2012: 16).

[58] Arch - Two dancers facing each other with joined hands raised to form an arch under which other dancers may pass; two dancers side by side, with joined inside hands raised to form an arch etc. The two dancers are usually a couple but need not be. (Battison, 1999a); Make an Arch – (…) any two dancers facing the same direction make an arch by raising their joined inside hands. (Harris et al., 1994: 516).

[59] Promenade – couples move counterclockwise around the set or large circle in promenade position. (Harris et al., 1994: 517);Maneuver in which partners take inside hands and march or walk counterclockwise, moving side by side, two behind two. (Laufman & Laufman, 2009: 188).

[60] Bridge – Maneuver in which two people make an arch with both hands raised while other couples pass beneath; a single-handed bridge or arch is needed in some dances. (Laufman & Laufman, 2009: 187).

[61] "Regarding the circle's shape we have also encountered several options, dispersed in either single circles (dancers define only one circle) (…) such as: Single circle, lateral-eccentric (SCL-E), the couple is side by side and backward to the center of the circle; Single circle, lateral- concentric (SCL-C), the couple is side by side and facing the center of the circle; Single circle, in line - lateral (SCinL-L), the couple is in line behind each other, and lateral to the center of the circle;" (Moura, 2011: 157).

[62] Circle of couples: Couples in a circle side by side and facing line of dance. (Battison, 1999a).

[63] Double circle, lateral- lateral (DCL-L), the couple is side by side and sideways to the center of the circle; (Moura, 2011:157).

[64] Double circle:An outer circle of men facing their partners in an inner circle of ladies, with their backs to the centre. Can also have ladies on the outside and men inside. (Battison, 1999a).

[65] Double circle, facial- concentric and eccentric (DCF-C/E) - the couple is face-to face, and some dancers are facing the center of the circle while others are facing backward. (Moura, 2011:157).

[66] Quadrille – Square dance for four couples, usually consisting of five or six figures. (Laufman & Laufman, 2009: 188); Quadrille [set]: Four couples standing on the sides of a square and facing the centre of the set, ladies on the right of their partners. (Battison, 1999b).

[67] Carré simple - (…) quatre couples, placé chacun à un côté d'un carré imaginaire. (Voyer, 1986: 417).

[68] Square – (…) composed of four couples, each standing on the imaginary sides of a square, facing the center. Each couple stands with their backs to one side of the room. (Harris et al., 1994: 520).

[69] Carré double – (…) deux fois le nombre de couples compris dans le carré simple, c'est-à-dire huit couples. Deux couples sont alors places côte à côte de chaque côté d'un carré imaginaire. (Voyer, 1986: 417).

[70] Single columns - only male dancers or female dancers in the same column
(dancers in line, behind each other); (Moura, 2011: 158).

[71] Couple column (CC) - couples in the same column; (Moura, 2011: 158)

[72] Single rows (SR) - only male dancers or female dancers in the same row (dancers in line, side by side); (Moura, 2011: 158).

[73] Couple rows - couples in the same row; (Moura, 2011: 158).

[74] Longways – dance formation with partners aligned across from each other in lines. (Laufman & Laufman, 2009: 188).

REFERENCES

Alves, M. J. (2007). *Ensino e aprendizagem de dança moderna: Estratégias de estruturação da prática e desempenho motor em habilidades sequenciadas de dança*. Unpublished (PhD) thesis, Universidade Técnica de Lisboa, Faculdade de Motricidade Humana.

Alves, M. J. (2011). International dances – an outlook on global, creative, and cultural work. In S. Lira, R. Amoêda, C. Pinheiro, eds. *Scharing Cultures 2011 - Proceedings of the 2nd International Conference on Intangible Heritage*. Barcelos: Green Lines Institute. pp.165-170.

Bakka, E. (2001). The Polka before and after the Polka. *Yearbook for traditional music,* 33: 37–47.

Battison, J., (1999a). *A Glossary of Dance Terms: A to G* [online]. Available at http://www.oocities.org/vienna/4160/ [Accessed 11 May 2013].

Battison, J., (1999b). *A Glossary of Dance Terms: H to R* [online]. Available at http://www.oocities.org/vienna/4160/gloss2.html/ [Accessed 11 May 2013].

Battison, J., 1999c. *A Glossary of Dance Terms: R to Z* [online]. Available at http://www.oocities.org/vienna/4160/gloss3.html [Accessed 11 May 2013].

Blischke, K., Marschall, F., Müller, H., & Daugs, R. (1999). Augmented information in motor skill acquisition. In Y. V. Auweele, F. Bakker, S. Biddle, M. Durand & R. Seiler, eds. *Psychology for physical educators.*. Champaign: Human Kinetics. pp.257-287.

Burchenal, E. (1915). *Folk dances of Finland*. New York: Schirmer.

Connor, M. (2000). Recreational folk dance: A multicultural exercise component in healthy ageing. *Australian Occupational Therapy Journal*, 47(2): 69–76.

Fernandes, M. (2000). *Sistematização da dança tradicional portuguesa – Classificação das variáveis coreográficas, espaço, ritmo e gestos técnicos*. Unpublished (PhD) thesis, Faculdade de Motricidade Humana, Universidade Técnica de Lisboa.

Fontana, I. & Sebire, A. (2010). *Danse Traditionnelle à L'école. In Académie De Paris - USEP Paris: 17* [online]. Available at http://eps-premier-degre.scola.ac-paris.fr/danse trad/document Danse Traditioelle complet en PDF.pdf [Accessed 11 May 2013].

Harris, J.A., Pittman, A.M. & Waller, M.S. (1994). *Dance a while: Handbook of folk, square, contra, & social dance (7th ed.).* New York: Macmillan College Publishing Company.

Klaas, L. (n.d.), *Plainfield High School Department Chair* [online]. Available at http://www.learningcommunity202.org/PHS/indexpe/indexpe/MovementSkills.pdf [Accessed 12 May 2012].

Laufman, D. & Laufman, J., (2009). *Traditional Barn Dances with Calls & Fiddling, Champaign, IL: Human Kinetics* [online]. Available at http://books.google.com/books?hl=en&lr=&id=tlzbrwt0Qa0C&oi=fnd&pg=PR10&dq=Traditional+Barn+Dances+with+Calls+%26+Fiddling&ots=UkuiNskwYb&sig=kU0nPt0l8LQzuZFBOaQ0jl12KAQ [Accessed 10 May 2013].

Meiners, J., (2001). A dance syllabus writer's perspective: The New South Wales K-6 dance syllabus. *Research in Dance Education*, 2(1): 79–88.

Moura, M. (2007). Coreografia tradicional: Princípios de composição. In E. Monteiro & M. Moura, eds. *Dança em Contextos Educativos*. Cruz Quebrada: Edições FMH.

Moura, M. (2011). Space(s) in Portuguese folk dances. In S. Ravn, ed. *Proceedings 10th International NOFOD Conference. Spacing Dance (s)–Dancing Space (s)*. Odense: University of Southern Denmark. pp.155-162.

Mutavdzic, V., (2007). Factor structure of dance patterns in folk dances of Serbia. *Serbian Journal of Sports Sciences*, 1(4): 129–137.

National Dance Association & Meyer, F. (2010). *Implementing the national dance education standards*. Champaign, IL: Human Kinetics.

Nielsen, E. (2010). *Folk dancing, Santa Barbara*. Calif: Greenwood Press.

Oakes, D. (2011). *Dance Movement for Folk Dance Descriptions. Folk Dance Descriptions* [online]. Available at: http://ifdo.pugmarks.com/dancpage.html [Accessed 11 May 2013].

Rovegno, I. & Bandhauer, D. (2013). *Elementary physical education: curriculum and instruction*. Burlington, MA: Jones & Barlett Learning.

Rovegno, I. & Gregg, M. (2007). Using folk dance and geography to teach interdisciplinary, multicultural subject matter: A school-based study. *Physical Education and Sport Pedagogy*, 12(3): 205–223.

Shacklette, S. et al. (2012). *Kentucky Dance Institute, Kentucky* [online]. Available at http://www.knobtiger.com/LinkClick.aspx?fileticket=KuZ1++CG2Cs=&tabid=1641&mid=3843 [Accessed 11 May 2013].

Voyer, S. (1986). *La danse traditionnelle dans l'est du Canada: quadrilles et cotillons, Québec: Les Presses de L'Université Laval* [online]. Available at http://books.google.com/books?hl=en&lr=&id=2y3Sl6wjZKUC&oi=fnd&pg=PP15&dq=La+Danse+traditionnelle+dans+l%27est+du+Canada:+Quadrilles+et+cotillons&ots=lDG3xEokiy&sig=tLkf6pRCafdwskgQZVsp6E6hrcY [Accessed 10 May 2013].

Wickstrom, R. L. (1977). *Fundamental motor patterns*. Philadelphia: Lea & Febiger.

Dry-stone architectures in the Hyblaean rural landscape

Maria Vitale

University of Catania, Italy

Z. Barone

University of Catania, Italy

ABSTRACT: The European Landscape Convention defines the landscape «as an essential component of people's surroundings, an expression of the identity of their shared cultural and natural heritage, and a foundation of their identity». Over the centuries, the thick network of dry-stone enclosures has become the image of the Hyblaean territory, indissolubly linked with the morphology of the landscape, the building tradition, the heritage of know-how and skills passed on from generation to generation. That same technique has often been employed in small buildings used for rural activities or as shelters. The present study aims at weighing the state of these architectures and their major problems of decay through graphic and iconographic media, with the intent to put forward a consistent proposal for their safeguard and a sustainable intervention in the direction of the recovery of the values of the artisan tradition and the preservation of the rural Hyblaean landscape.

1 THE HYBLAEAN LANDSCAPE AND THE HISTORY OF ITS "CREATION"

Dry-stone constructions are widespread both in the Mediterranean and in Continental Europe. Referring to the simplicity of their shapes and to the consistency of their constructional rules, all of their variants confirm the essentiality of a spontaneous form of an "architecture without architects". While forms and constructional methods are generally similar, the motivations of their raise are often quite different (Guzzardi 2006).

Being such a visible manifestation of the local historical and social events, as well as of the specific orographic conditions, this type of construction has taken on the value of a landmark and of a distinctive feature of the Hyblaean rural landscape. *Regnum in regno* under the Enriquez-Cabrera family, the Hyblaean territory still presents very different features from other parts of Sicily. Such features are explicitly manifested in its landscape.

The history of dry-stone building in the Hyblaean area begins at the end of the Middle Ages, when the land property of the Enriquez-Cabrera family in the county of Modica was granted in emphyteusis. The previous feudal regimes had already experimented the emphyteusis processes episodically; but the campaign for the perpetual lease of land, which started during the second half of the sixteenth century, caused the definitive disarticulation of the latifundium system and facilitated the formation of a new class of small and medium land-owners altogether with the birth of a more dynamic economy. From a legal point of view, this was made possible by the fact that – in addition to the annual rent ("terraggio") – the em-

phyteusis offered by the Cabrera family imposed the payment of the "jus calligarum", a fee equivalent to the value of the land which allowed to by-pass the prohibition of selling feudal properties (Sipione, 1977; Raniolo, 1993).

Still, as confirmed by the latest researches (Barone, 1992 e 1997; Pellegrino, 2008), the most substantial transformation of the social and geographical landscape must be referred to the nineteenth century, when the latifundium was gradually and systematically subverted. The image of the County of Modica – as recorded by the abbot and economist Paolo Balsamo during his 1809 journey – was that of a fruitful and tidy countryside. This was apparently the effect of the system of fences delimiting the fields for grazing or cereal crops (Balsamo, 1909). As a staunch supporter of the need to free up land ownership from the feudal ties, in his "Giornale di Viaggio" Balsamo portrayed the benefits deriving to agriculture from the existence of a class of active owners instead of exploited peasants. During the following two decades, the process of liquidation of feudal estates was finally brought to completion throughout Sicily and the former County of Modica (which already had a dynamic social structure with the presence of a class of small farmers and landowners) could enjoy a period of great modernization in the agricultural production.

In the last decades of the 19th century, the revival of rural building – consisting in the establishment of several new farms and rustic houses – marked the transition to a model which can be described as "capitalistic", at least as far as the organization of space and agricultural activities are concerned (Barone, 1992 and 1997). The planting of new crops, the rotation system from pasture to cereals and vice-versa, altogether with the successful combination of agriculture and animal breeding are the basis of that system depicted as the "Hyblaean model" of a dynamic economy, somehow still atypical in the Sicilian context.

Figures 1, 2. The Hyblaean dry-stone landscape.

Therefore, discussing the dry-stone building system in the context of the Hyblaean landscape cannot consist just in the examination of a particular type of rural architecture. It also implies the investigation of the true reasons for the evolution of an entire geographic area both in terms of its economic and cultural structure. As far as this territory is concerned, Giorgianni perceived a sort of "geographical inertia" (Giorgianni, 1978) and a resistance to changes in the environmental pattern even against the urge of an industrialization long seen as the occasion of redemption for Southern Italy. It is not unlikely that such a "permanence" of the Hyblaean landscape must be attributed to the fact that this landscape is deeply marked by the constant and, shall we say, stubborn transforming action of man. This is the thesis of this study. Paraphrasing the words of Cattaneo, the Hyblaean rural landscape is not a work of nature, but of man: it is an immense warehouse of toils, an artificial motherland (Cattaneo, 1844).

2 AN OVERVIEW ON THE PREVIOUS RESEARCHES

The previous studies have explored the dry-stone constructional system in the Hyblaean territory only occasionally. Therefore, the referential literature can be traced in very heterogeneous fields of research. Important contributions to the understanding of the phenomenon can be found in those studies that have investigated the social and economic history of this territory in depth. Their critical review allowed overcoming the stereotype of backwardness and helped for a better understanding of the development of the agricultural and productive model of our area, thus offering a more coherent vision of the transformation of the agricultural landscape and of the relationship between urban and rural areas in a territory organized in a polycentric system of small towns servicing a prosperous countryside (Barone, 1992; Flaccavento 1992).

Since the dry-stone constructional system is strictly related to the ancillary services of the small rural architecture and of the larger farm system, interesting ideas are found also in the studies which focused on this kind of buildings (Uccello, 1971; Pecora, 1959, 1973; Gaudioso, 1940; Pellegrino, 2008). As a matter of fact, the spread of the farms sure can be immediately related to a widespread building of fences around the single plots of land and the simultaneous implementation of small rural architectures consisting in sheepfolds and barns, protections for carob and olive trees, and even simple piles of stones deriving from the land clearing, which took the form of picturesque "muragghi". In particular, the studies on the rural Hyblaean architecture revealed the existence of several areas characterized by specific crops and a peculiar orography. Indeed, there is an evident specialism in the ancillary facilities related to different productive vocations (snow deposits in the cacuminal area, sheepfolds and barns in the highlands between Ragusa and Modica, terracing and protective structures for trees in mixed cultivation areas), in spite of the lack of substantial differences in the dwellings' building tradition.

Altogether, the studies on rural architecture reveal a constructional culture which appears to lack a strong and specific "rural identity" (Pecora, 1959, 1973). The houses in the Hyblaean countryside are – for the most – only temporarily inhabited. On the contrary, the smaller towns are characterized by a widespread presence of peasant houses having minimal structures. Their constructional methods follow those of the surrounding countryside with minor improvements concerning the formal and constructional features, or the internal distribution. Such houses, which host the family, the animals and the tools during the night and the periods of inactivity in the fields, do not obey to specific requirements for a fund to operate. It is maybe for this reason that these houses do not vary from a minimum – so-called "fossil" – space organization which just follows the basic needs of a shelter. Thus, in the absence of a real peasantry building culture, rural buildings are prevalently characterized by their accessory services system (barns, corrals, stables, animals and tools shelters). Such elements, unlike the house made of dry-stones, clearly and accurately mark the rural settlement and, at the same time, represent the true distinctive aspect of the Hyblaean rural landscape. Interestingly – an aspect which is still to be explored – in spite of a substantial uniformity of the basic peasantry building typology, one can recognize relevant variations in the dry-stone constructional technique in the different areas of the Hyblaean territory. Consequently, the production of different and more specific stone-processing instruments developed there.

This also led to the formation of a class of specialized operators, which in 1912 even got a statute encouraging education in Canicattini (Lombardo, 2006). Therefore, although minimal, such a constructional technique caused the rise of a qualified and recognized system of skills and know-how both in the building activities (workers of "murassiccari") and in the handicraft (mostly blacksmiths).

An important area of knowledge is represented by a series of photo books, which are often the work of local scholars who carried out the important task of documenting and listing an endangered heritage (Uccello, 1969; Giorgianni, 1978; Leone, 1985 and 1998; Sciascia & Leone, 2009; Tiralongo, 2006). The enclosed introductory essays remain the only source of knowledge for the building practices traditionally handed down just from master to apprentice. Even if such a literature is not arranged within a comprehensive framework of research, it often provides synthetic qualified contributions. In any case, these studies are very helpful in order to bring light to the fundamental "aesthetic" values of the Hyblaean landscape: quite an innovative interpretive effort at the time when the first texts were published. These works revealed the quality of the relationship between the artefacts and the orography, altogether with the singular form of the sites. This basically remains "geographic" and not "natural", meaning that it is the result of a historically created nature.

On the other hand, we still lack specific contributions on the dry-stone constructions in the Hyblaean area. Studies focused on the constructional techniques and related rules have been carried out only in the recent

years. Such researches have analysed some of these artefacts more in-depth and from a technical point of view, encompassing surveys at an architectural scale and observations on the placement techniques. A synthetic picture of the dry-stone construction in Sicily has been attempted during the 2008-10 Grundtvig project "La préservation du patrimoine architectural bâti en pierre sèche" (Prescia, 2011; Prescia et al., 2011). However, as far as the Hyblaean area is concerned, these analyses simply report the results of our previous study (Vitale & Barone, 2009). On the other hand, in relation to the more complex false dome structures, the studies on the "muragghio" of Villa Trippatore (Restuccia et al., 2012) and those on a shed in the heart of the Hyblaean plateau (Di Stefano et al., 1981) are more interesting for the knowledge of the arrangement of the stone elements.

3   THE DRY-STONE ARCHITECTURE

The enclosure and terracing walls are the basic element of the dry-stone constructional system. Indeed, the simple fencing structure itself presents interesting variations that constitute the basis of an architectural language and a grammar which can be found in the servicing elements for the work in the fields. For example, such elements are represented by the simple openings allowing the passage of livestock, the ladders for the passage from one part to the other of the enclosure, or the positioning of aligned mangers within the walls thickness. All of these elements, in fact, result in an increased functionality of the system, respecting the few essential rules provided for bonding the stones.

This inclusion of such "special" items leads to the progressive exportation of the dry-stone system to the accessory buildings - related to the plot management - or to the "muragghi", which are real landscape architectures, sometimes lacking an interior space and any function of residence or shelter, and still qualified by an evident constructive and formal research.

3.1   *The "muragghi": heaps of stones and watching points on the landscape*

It is a constructive culture that becomes art the one that has shaped piles of stones, disposing them neatly as to form the "ruccari" (small truncated-cone-shaped constructions) or the monumental "muragghi", which are provided with steps and stairs. Both of them are artefacts created with the purpose to set into ordered structures all the stones resulting from the fund clearing. They somehow became watching points with a view on the landscape of the plateau. Such a function is confirmed by their presence in the gardens of some villas of our area (Tiralongo, 2006). In this regard, a representative example is the "muragghio" in the Trippatore Villa, which is characterized by a very regular masonry of carefully finished stones and even presents inside a false dome environment. It is, obviously, a product of a specific architectural aim. The solutions used in the construction of the dome refer to a more complex constructive culture (Restuccia et al., 2012).

Figures 3, 4. San Giacomo, Musso farm. The monumental "muragghio" with five steps.

The "muragghio" in the Musso farm, near the village of S. Giacomo, presents a rather less complex structure but is as monumental in its relationship with the surrounding landscape. Also this "muragghio" has steps, but in this case the staircase is in a central position. From its top it is possible to understand its constructional details, which encompass the overlap of truncated-conical large steps, whose external surfaces follow the canonical inclination of the dry-stone masonry (Lombardo 2006; Vitale & Barone 2009).

Figure 5. Plan, elevation and section of the "muragghio" in S. Giacomo.

The arrangement of the stones with an inwards inclination confers stability to the whole construction. The upper rows of each step are very regular in the horizontal plane and end up with of a larger size elements, which are often specifically cut and shaped. The horizontal disposition is not so much sought in the intermediate rows, which are arranged with a freer trend. The appropriate size of the outer stones and their connection with the inner core prevent any deformation of the curtain walls.

Figures 6, 7, 8. Ragusa, "Tre Bastoni" district. The "muragghi" with spiral staircases tower in the plot.

Figure 9. Plans, elevations and e section of a "muragghio" in the "Tre Bastoni" district.

It is worth noting that this "freer" alignment of the masonry courses, resulting from the use of erratic stones, represents a quality element of the dry-walls that tends to disappear in the more recent constructions. Also as a consequence of smaller skills in the wedging of the stones, the latter ones are, indeed, characterized by a more regular basis. In contrast, the expertise of the old masters let drawing on the dry-wall surface unusual geometries and textures which represent a peculiar feature of this building system and produced in the course of time the formation of a specialized know-how.

3.2   The "mannire" and the "lugghiuni": barns and sheepfolds

Sheepfolds and barns for the animals shelter consist generally in outdoor corrals placed at the side of the house. They generally lie on a slope, facing south in order to be protected from northern winds. The shelters are absolutely minimal, since they are made by fencing walls that follow the orography of the terrain. The height difference can be considerable from one side to another of the corrals. For this reason, their upper and lower walls also function as a terracing or retaining structures. The two side sections, on the other hand, are just simple fencing walls. Depending on the slope grade, the terracing walls can be even higher than two meters. In such cases, they present setbacks or well shaped horizontal courses which ensure greater stability to the dry-stone masonry.

Mighty quoins bond the corners of the fence. The "mannire" are often equipped with "paralupi" (characteristics projecting stones) which protect from attacks by wild animals. Pointed monoliths often mark the walls and are placed also at the corners or over the entrances. The fences are often divided into different environments and are provided with mangers, themselves carved into the local limestone.

Figures 10, 11. Ragusa, "S. Margherita" district, Rural complex and "mannira" with double corral.

In the first of the two considered examples, the "mannira" is placed on the left of the rural complex, according to the principle of juxtaposition of the different buildings (two homes and an accessory service). The corral consists of two large spaces divided by a wall, which – at its half height – presents a course made of more regular stones. The arrangement of the different parts of the fence witness the different function of each element.

Figures 12, 13, 14. Details of the separating wall, the entrance door and the manger.

As far as the shaping and the dispositions of the stones are concerned, while the separating wall has a more chaotic and irregular masonry, the one of the enclosure is much more accurate. The bond stones binding the two faces of the wall confirm the quality of the construction of the external walls of the corral, which perform more demanding structural functions and reach greater heights. The carved ashlars constituting the doorjambs confirm the constructional care and the architectural quality of the details of this building.

Also the second example presents similar characteristics. While its masonry has less regular courses and more roughly cut stones, its section looks well organized. Also in this case the structure of the quoins bonds the corners of the construction and, in relation to the accuracy and the dimension of the connecting blocks, confirms its overall quality.

The "paralupi" arrangement follows the height of the fence in his adaptation to the orography of the terrain and draws an elegant edging solution. Their partial presence along the fence can be attributed to different functions of the single parts of the corral. Indeed, the inside of its initial part was probably not used as a shelter for the animals, since it presents a series of cantilevered steps, aimed at allowing to look out from the top of the wall.

Figures 15, 16. Ragusa, "Cozzo Freddo" district. A "mannira" with projecting stones ("paralupi").
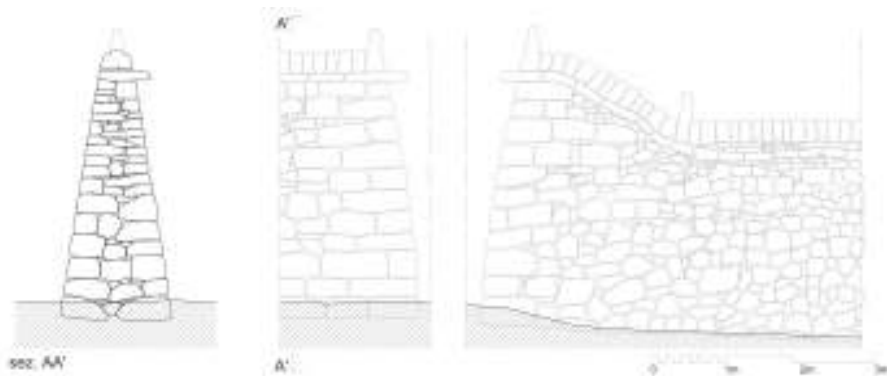

Figure 17. Section and elevations of the "mannira" with "paralupi".

3.3   *The rural housing and the accessory services*

The Hyblaean landscape is such thoroughly characterized by the small rural buildings, that it gives the impression of a scattered settlement. Instead, as already mentioned before, these buildings only constituted a seasonal housing for local peasants, who ordinarily lived in the neighbouring towns. This rural housing follows simple rules of aggregation. The buildings approach each other according to a principle of juxtaposition or, sometimes, are arranged at right angles. They are usually destined to different families. In other cases a main dwelling is flanked by accessory services. Their combination follows the needs of the plot management and shows the signs of later enlargements.

The ancillary elements are very often provided with a single pitched roof located at a lower level than that of the two slopes usually characterizing the residence. A simpler canopy ("pinnata") is sometimes installed against the house so as to form a partially open stable. A perimeter low wall surrounds the courtyard, thus creating an accessory area for the rural complex. The sometimes present farmyards are however generally external to this space which, therefore, is not strictly configurable as a productive space and rather appears as a "domestic" space.

In the considered example, the dry-stone technique closely follows the rules of the mortar masonry. The courses appear quite regular and well arranged, with the presence of reused large blocks. The frames of doors and windows are almost a third of the walls thickness; they are made of harder and thick limestone, firmly linked to the adjacent masonry. A similar care is revealed by the quoins, which have a size of two or even three rows and are deeply engaged with the adjacent walls.

The orthogonal buildings flank a small central courtyard. On the other hand, the masonry rehash of the sidewalls of the building and on the enclosure itself reveal the progressive extensions and repairs made in order to realize the barns. The first dwelling was successively flanked – on its right side – by a second one

and by an accessory dry-stone building – on the left – all of them on the same line. Another dry-stone building, which must have been a covered barn – as evidenced by the manger – was then orthogonally added so as to form the central courtyard, fenced at the other two sides. The canopy ("pinnata") was finally created as a prolongation of this building.

Figures 18, 19. Ragusa, Santa Margherita district. Rural aggregate with dry-stone accessory building.

Figure 20. Elevations of the rural aggregate.

A single pitch gives unity to the small rural aggregate. A small shrine, which unfortunately has been lost, was originally located on the left side of the accessory building. As well as other shrines existing in the same area and placed at the entrance of private estates or at roads crossings, it represents a sign of a place-protection seeking, which spread mostly after the big 1693 earthquake (Salerno, 2004).

3.4 *The "neviere" for the storage of snow and the shelters*

The Mount Lauro area, which is the highest part of the Hyblaean district, is particularly characterized by the presence of "neviere" – a peculiar space for the storage of snow – and huts of various shapes used as temporary shelters by shepherds or tenants. Both of these environments are characterized by a more complex structure, usually encompassing a false dome. As far as these buildings are concerned, we can refer to the studies that have already examined their different typologies and described their specific features (Sacchi, 1948; Lombardo, 2006; Tiralongo 2006). The "neviere" have been classified in relation both to the type of roof, which can be with a dome-vault or a barrel-vault, or to the fact that they can be simply dug as grottos. All such buildings are carved on a slope facing north and are provided with an accessory area enclosed by a dry-stone wall. They are usually equipped with two different openings, one for the loading the snow (facing south) and the other for the unloading (facing north).

The shelters include the so-called "pagghiari" and the slightly more complex huts. The first ones, made-up of a wooden structure covered by layers of vegetable fibres, have a more solid dry-wall basis. The more common sheds are entirely made of dry masonry. They present different variations in their plan articulation (which can be circular or, more rarely, square) and in the elevation (which can present a groin, steps or a cylinder-conical shape). The false dome system prevails in these buildings, that usually have a central oculus for the exit of the smoke.

4 CONCLUSIONS

In January 2006, the Hyblaean dry-stone landscape was included in the Register of the intangible heritage of Sicily. In particular, the "Libro dei Saperi" lists the production techniques, the raw materials used and the manufacturing processes which identify the products specifically linked to the history and traditions of a given community. This was an important achievement in view of a proper action to safeguard and valorise a heritage which seemed destined to an inexorable decline. An adequate understanding of these artefacts - through its census, survey and systematic study - is the basis for any protection policy. The studies conducted so far bear ample witness of the risky condition for an asset which was very often destined for destruction due to its inadequate understanding.

Promotional strategies are equally important, starting with the establishment of tourist and naturalistic itineraries. Good examples of this promotional strategy, on the model of the "Via del freddo" (coldness path) of Buccheri, should combine the protection of the architecture with the enhancement of the environment. This project includes the restoration of a particularly interesting "neviera" for a museum exhibition concerning the cycle of conservation and reuse of snow in Hyblaean tradition. At the same time, it involves the construction of a "pagghiaro" made of wood, stone and straw to be used as an information point. This last aspect is particularly significant for the purposes of our study, since it is clear that any protection policy not involving a reactivation of the knowledge chain is likely to remain ineffective. The Hyblaean dry-stone architecture is not just a heritage of objects, but a unique system of technical skills and know-how linked to a specific culture and economic production. In the context of that sustainability currently pursued within this district, which aims at the valorisation of local products, the preservation of this dry-stone legacy finds new opportunities to be validly sought. In such a perspective, then, the study of the traditional building techniques represents a first step for a more ambitious project aiming at the maintenance of the landscape and of the cultural system, the former of which is an expression and a product of the latter.

REFERENCES

Balsamo, P. (1809). *Giornale del viaggio fatto in Sicilia e particolarmente nella contea di Modica. Ristampa a cura del Rotary Club di Ragusa.* Palermo: Reale Stamperia.

Barone, G. (1992). Città e campagne nell'area iblea. I caratteri originali (sec. XV-XX). In *I segni dell'uomo nel territorio ragusano; Convegno sulla storia delle tecniche di produzione nell'area iblea: 7-28.* Ragusa: Distretto scolastico n. 52 Italia Nostra.

Barone, G. (1997). Elites urbane e gerarchie spaziali nella contea di Modica. Un caso di ricostruzione policentrica. In A. Casamento & E. Guidoni, eds. *Le città ricostruite dopo il terremoto siciliano del 1693: tecniche e significati delle progettazioni urbane.* Roma: Kappa. pp.110-117.

Bonari, E. et al. (2006). Gestione del territorio rurale e paesaggio. In R. Lorenzi & M.P. Semprini, eds. *La tutela del paesaggio tra economia e storia.* Firenze: Alinea. pp.47-56.

Cattaneo, C. (1844). *Notizie naturali e civili su la Lombardia.* Milano: Bernardoni.

Clementi, A., ed. (2002). *Interpretazioni di paesaggio, Convenzione Europea e innovazioni di metodo.* Roma: Meltemi.

Di Fazio, S. et al. (2005). La gestione territoriale dei paesaggi agrari terrazzati tra conservazione e sviluppo. In *L'ingegneria agraria per lo sviluppo sostenibile; Proceedings 8th AIIA conference.* Catania: GeoGrafica.

Di Stefano, G. & Leone, G. & Tumino, R. (1981). Un riparo elementare litico sull'altopiano ibleo (Ragusa). *Archeologia Medievale,* VIII: 635-640.

Flaccavento, G. (1982). *Uomini campagne e chiese nelle due Raguse. Ragusa: Comitato per le chiese di Ibla.*

Flaccavento, G. (1992). Urbanistica rurale. Le campagne ragusane alla fine dell'800. In *I segni dell'uomo nel territorio ragusano, Convegno sulla storia delle tecniche di produzione nell'area iblea.* Ragusa: Distretto scolastico n. 52 Italia Nostra. pp.46-50.

Gaudioso, F. (1940). Appunti sulle corti rurali della Sicilia sud-orientale. *Bollettino della Società Geografica Italiana*, V: 337-362.

Giorgianni, M. (1978). *La pietra vissuta. Il paesaggio degli Iblei*. Palermo: Sellerio.

Guzzardi, L. (2006). Cenni storici. In P. Tiralongo, *Pietra su pietra, architettura in pietra a secco negli Iblei*. Ragusa: Argo. pp.27-33.

Labrot, G. (1995). *Quand l'histoire murmure. Villages et campagnes du royaume de Naples (XVIe-XVIIIe siècle)*. Roma: Ecole française de Rome.

Leone, G. (1998). *Iblei*. Palermo: Leopardi.

Leone, G. (1985). *Mastri e maestri nell'architettura iblea*. Ragusa: Camera di commercio.

Lombardo, L. (2006). Murassiccari e architettura rurale iblea. In P. Tiralongo, *Pietra su pietra, architettura in pietra a secco negli Iblei*. Ragusa: Argo. pp.34-47.

Papa, C. et al. eds. (2000). *Umbria, Provincia di Terni. Ecomuseo del Paesaggio. Progetto per il "censimento" e la trasmissione dei saperi. Proposta metodologica*.

Pecora, A. (1959). Insediamenti e dimora rurale nella regione degli Iblei. *Quaderni di geografia umana per la Sicilia e la Calabria*, IV: 1-102.

Pecora, A. (1973). Gli iblei. In M.T. Alleruzzo di Maggio et al. eds. *La casa rurale nella Sicilia orientale*. Firenze: Olschki. pp.277-360.

Prescia, R., ed. (2011). *Il patrimonio delle pietre a secco in Sicilia. L'esperienza Grundtvig 2008-2010*. Palermo: Gulotta.

Prescia, R. et al. (2011). The preservation of dry stone architectural heritage in Sicily. In C. Gambardella ed. *Le vie dei mercanti : S.A.V.E. Heritage*. Napoli: La scuola di Pitagora. pp.222-234.

Raniolo, G. (1985-87). *Introduzione alle consuetudini ed agli istituti della contea di Modica. Modica: Dialogo*.

Raniolo, G. (1993). *La contea di Modica nel regno di Sicilia. Lineamenti storici*. Modica: Dialogo.

Restuccia, F. & Fianchino, C. & Galizia, M. & Santagati, C. (2012). The stone landscape of the Hyblaean Mountains: the geometry, structure, shape and nature of the muragghio. In G. Tampone et al. eds. *Domes in the World*. Firenze: Nardini Editore.

Sacchi, C.F. (1948). Notizie sui pagliari siciliani. *Rivista Geografica Italiana*, (LV)1: 124-130.

Salerno, R. (2004). L'altiplano de Raguse, un paysage de pierre. In O. Marcel, ed. *Le défi du paysage, un projet pour l'agriculture*. Seyssel: Champ Vallon. pp.62-71.

Sassatelli, M. (2007). La convenzione europea del paesaggio: paesaggi quotidiani e identità europea. *Istituzioni del federalismo Suppl*, 2: 53-72.

Scazzosi, L., ed. (1999). *Politiche e culture del paesaggio: esperienze internazionali a confronto*. Roma: Gangemi.

Sciascia, L. & Leone, G. (2009). *La contea di Modica*. Palermo: Edizioni di Paesaggio.

Sipione, E. (1977). Concessioni di terre ed enfiteusi nella Contea di Modica. *Archivio storico siciliano*, (IV) III: 5-21.

Tiralongo, P. (2006). *Pietra su pietra, architettura in pietra a secco negli Iblei*. Ragusa: Argo (1st ed. Siracusa: Lombardi, 1998).

Uccello, A. (1969). Muratura a secco: surreale geometria. *Sicilia,* 60: 87-98.

Uccello, A. (1971). Architettura rustica in Sicilia. *Documenti di Architettura*, (III) 7-9: 37-39.

Vitale, M.R. & Barone, Z. (2009). Dry-stone walls in the hyblean landscape: intangibile and tangible heritage at risk. In S. Lira et al. eds. *Proceedings of Sharing cultures 2009 – 1st International Conference on Intangible Heritage*. Barcelos: Green Lines Institute. pp.613-622.

Food and identity: eating at home in Taiwan

May Chang
Foundation of Chinese Dietary Culture, Taipei, Taiwan

ABSTRACT: Taiwan has been subject to different external powers since 1624, including the Dutch colonizers, Han settlers, the Japanese and the Nationalist government. The various externally imposed political regimes introduced the Taiwanese to exotic ingredients, methods of food preparation, flavours, and eating habits. Taiwanese incorporated some of these elements to become a part of their regular meals. What Taiwanese now eat at home and how they understand their food is a key element to explaining the distinctiveness of contemporary Taiwanese food culture. In this research I will firstly apply literature review to comprehend the history of Taiwanese home-style cooking. Secondly, I will conduct household interviews to examine how Taiwanese incorporated exotic foodstuffs into their regular foods to form current-day home cooking. From these findings I will lastly explore what kind of identity Taiwanese display through eating at home.

1 INTRODUCTION

Home is a specific cultural location involved in forming the sense of family identity (Valentine, 1999). The way family members share meals can give an insight into their family identity, including their ethnic and cultural identity. Taiwan has been subjected to various externally imposed political regimes which introduced the locals to exotic ingredients, methods of food preparation, flavours, and eating habits. Taiwanese incorporated some of these elements as their part of regular meals. What Taiwanese now eat at home and how they understand their food is a key element to explain the distinction of contemporary Taiwanese food culture.

In this research, I conducts literature review and household interviews to explain the development of Taiwanese home-style cooking, both daily fare and food eaten in traditional festivals, documenting how Taiwanese incorporated exotic foodstuffs into their regular and traditional foods to explore what kind of identity Taiwanese display through eating at home.

2 THE HISTORY OF TAIWANESE FOOD

Beginning in colonial times, a number of diverse crops, foodstuffs, and preparation methods were introduced to Taiwan at different times as Taiwan was subject to different external powers. These included the Dutch colonisers, Han settlers, the Japanese, and the Nationalist government. These new foodstuffs are discussed below.

2.1 *Pre-Japanese period (1624-1895)*

During the Dutch period (1624-1662), Han Taiwanese started to cultivate rice, and various other crops and plants brought in from overseas. The Dutch transported one or two hundred water buffalos from Eastern India to Taiwan for use as draft animals (Lin, 1988: 362, Huang, 1981:152). They also imported plants, including mangoes, jackfruit, custard apple, chilli and snow peas from different countries (Kao, 1696; Lian 1920).

Taiwanese food habits were basically formed during the Ming (1368-1644) and Qing (1644-1911) dynasties when a large number of Han people migrated to Taiwan. By 1905, nearly 300 years after Han migration was begun by the Dutch, the number of Han people in Taiwan had grown substantially, reaching 2,492,784 (Rubinstein, 1999). According to the *Taiwan Fuzhi*, rice and sweet potato were Han people's staple food in this period (Lian, 1920).

The most crucial influence on Taiwanese food during this period was the introduction of *Minnan* food.[1] Han migrants from Xiamen, the major city of southern area of Fujian province, introduced their regional culture to Taiwan, including their cooking style, food habits, and food customs (Lin,1988). With the passage of time, *Minnan* food became the most dominant in Taiwan; the food which Han people cooked was regarded as *Minnancai* (Lin, 1984). For example, a number of Xiamen snack foodssuch as stewed bean curd, oyster congee, oyster noodles,and seasoned millet porridge, are similar to those in Taiwan (Shi,1998).

2.2 *Japanese occupation (1895-1945)*

Minnan culture played a major role in shaping Taiwanese food habits,but it was not the only influence. After 1895, Japanese rule and the subsequent takeover of the Nationalist government were the major influences which reshaped Taiwanese food and food ways.

The Qing government ceded Taiwan to Japan 'in perpetuity' on May 8, 1895 in the Treaty of Shimonoseki following its defeat in the Sino-Japanese War (1894-1895) (Ts'ai, 2006). For the next fifty years, the Japanese had an impact on the Taiwanese diet through the introduction of Japanese food items including a particular preferred rice variety (*Japonicas*), Japanese condiments such as monosodium glutamate (MSG) and Japanese soy sauce, and fermented soy paste (miso). According to the *Taiwan sheng tongshi,* '…Western cuisine and Japanese food came into Taiwan as a result of the Japanese occupation.'(Lee, 1971: 7)This is the first time that Taiwanese experienced Japanese or Western foods.

The Japanese also introduced beer, soda water, caramels, ice cream, condensed milk, shaved ice, and mayonnaise, and they transplanted the *wasabi* variety of mustard to Taiwan (Cheng 2008, *Nichinichishinpo* 1915, Huang 2002; Delaney 2004, Lin, 1988). Over time, some Taiwanese gradually incorporated these new food items into their culinary practices. The *Taiwan shengtongzhi* (1971) states' Japanese like to eat sashimi (raw fish), and miso soup and since then the Taiwanese have become fond of such food.'(Lee, 1971: 8)

2.3 *Chiang family period (1945-1988)*

The Nationalist government took over Taiwan after Japan was defeated in World War II. Chiang Kai-Shekand 1.2 million mainland soldiers introduced authentic 'Chinese' culture to Taiwan, including Chinese food habits. When Japan withdrew from Taiwan in 1945, the food rationing the Japanese government had implemented was also repealed. Thus, on the one hand, Taiwanese then had no limit imposed on the ingredients they could purchase and on the other hand, mainland food and cooking styles became available to ordinary Taiwanese families both through the market and through intermarriage, usually a mainland man with a Taiwanese bride,

who then had to learn to cook what her husband liked to eat. As a result, mainland-style cooking and preferred ingredients were gradually incorporated into Taiwanese-style cooking.

Many retired Mainlander soldiers were the people who sold mainland snack foods and who also promoted these mainland foods to Taiwanese. In the 1950s some of the soldiers who had retired from the military then sold some foods from their mainland hometowns to maintain their economic resources, such as steamed buns from Shangdong; fried pancake from Sichuan; or soup dumplings from Shanghai. A favourite north China breakfast, soy milk and sesame cake, became a favourite Taiwanese breakfast food. One Taiwanese informant mentioned in his diary (1952-1961) that he tried a number of mainland foods which he bought from food vendors or restaurants such assoy milk, sticky tofu, beef noodles, wonton noodle soup,fried dumplings, and stewed beef and lamb. He also mentioned that his Mainlander colleagues always had soy milk for breakfast.

During the Chiang family period, the provision of the material and goods from the U.S. Aid (1951-1965) also influenced Taiwanese food habits and eating patterns. The U.S. aided Taiwan with money, capital construction and foodstuffs. Powdered milk, soy beans and flour were rationed to the general public to satisfy basic needs. One effect of the influences was the consumption of milk at breakfast. Owing to the cheap price of milk and its nutrition value, milk became a choice for breakfast at that time. The provision of flour also contributed to the popularity of mainland-style snack foods in Taiwan. A Taiwanese woman whose husband is a Mainlander said the ingredients for making mainland-style snack foods came from U.S. Aid:

> In the 1960's, the U.S-Aid flour was quite cheap, I always went to the Mainland community to learn about mainland snack foods, such asfried spring-onion pancakes, fried leek dumplings,steamed buns with stuffing (baoz), and steamed buns. People liked to exchange food with each other. (TI-2)

To this day, the crops and plants transplanted to Taiwan in the Dutch and Japanese periods, and the exotic foods introduced to Taiwan in the Japanese and Chiang family periods, are still significant and have become localised elements of Taiwanese foods.

3 THE DEVELOPMENT OF FAMILY COOKING IN TAIWAN

3.1 *Breakfast*

According to the *Monzoku Taiwan,*[2] in the 1940s Taiwanese had three meals a day plus a snack in the afternoon. Breakfast consisted of congee served with pickled vegetables. Pickles were typically made by housewives with various vegetables such as daikon, gherkin, or white gourd, pickled with salt and fermented soy paste. Another popular pickle was fermented soy bean curd madeof tofu, fermented bean paste and salt. Alocal woman described how she pickled vegetables and fermented bean paste using her maternal grandmother's recipes:

> 002A: I can use the fermented beans to make fermented bean paste by myself. I don't buy it from outside. My grandmother used to do that, and I just followed her example. I also pickle turnip, cucumber, and daikon. In the past we always had this kind of pickled food for breakfast, and we also ate tofu. We only ate pickled vegetables in the morning, never for lunch or dinner. I was born in 1930 and I have always had this food habit because my grandmother always cooked this kind of food for us, so I just ate the same thing. (B-TT10)

Taiwanese also ate congee with some accompanying dishes for breakfast in the Japanese period. These dishes were identified by Japanese scholars(Ikeda, 1944; Kawahara, 1943).
1   Vegetables: pickles, tofu, dried bean curd, fried tofu, roasted peanuts, deep-fried flour stick (油炸粿),[3] and gynura.[4]
2   Animal protein: soft pork floss, pork floss[5], fish floss, dried meat, pork liver, preserved, stewed or salty eggs, stewed pork, and viscera stewed.

A woman described breakfast during her childhood in the late Japanese period. She had a simple breakfast, which consisted mainly of congee and tofu or *youtiao* with a soy sauce dip.

> *008A: My parents passed away very early, so my oldest sister was in charge of cooking for us. For breakfast we only had congee with simple dishes, such as tofu with soy sauce or youtiao with soy sauce. But I thought it was still nice during my childhood. Sometimes when our financial condition improved, we could have eggs. It was very simple. (B-TT9)*

Basically, Taiwanese have maintained their food practicesdespite crossinga distinct cultural line between the Japanese occupation and the Chiang family era. They had congee with tofu, pickled cucumber, pickled daikon or peanutsfor their breakfast.[6] Dr. David Wu (2006) describes his breakfast, of Taiwanese food, in 1945:

> *Grandma's hand-made pickled papaya and bamboo shoot were her favourites. The pickled papaya was extremely sour; we children dared not to eat it. We at least had youtiao, peanut, and pork floss to eat with congee, they were very nice.*

After the Mainlanders came in 1945 and the American military after 1949 Taiwanese gradually acquired more options for breakfast, including Chinese and Western style breakfasts. At present, when Taiwanese eat breakfast at home, they eat some self-prepared foods such as congee or oats. Items purchased outside include buns, milk, soy-milk or hamburgers and sandwiches with milk tea or coffee.

Some interviewees preferred traditional-style breakfast—congee and pickled food, fish, pork floss, or eggs despite the many options available. As one informant described her current breakfast:

> *002A: I make the steamed rice leftover from the night before into congee, and prepare some side dishessuch as vegetable, pickled vegetables, orstewed meat with white gourd. I also make fermented bean curd myself, without preservative. Occasionally I go out and buy toast with egg from the burger shop. My children prepare breakfast for themselves. (B-TT9)*

Taiwanese are concerned with their nutritional intake from the first meal of a day. Some informants chose aWestern style breakfast believing that and oats or wheat with milk will improve their health because they are lower in cholesterol than other alternatives. Older people generally pay more attention to health considerations than younger ones.

> *006A: My breakfast is oats or powdered job's tear with milk. I have diabetes, so I also add 'abbott' (亞培)[7] to make my breakfast. I've been a nurse, so I know what kind of food I need. (D-MT3)*

> *002A: We now have a more western style breakfast—oats. If we want to have traditional one, we eat congee with pickled vegetables.*
> *003Q: Why you choose oats for breakfast?*
> *004A:Oats seems healthier; we add powdered milk… We also eat congee with fermented bean curd. (D-HH2)*

3.2 *Lunch anddinner*

In the early Japanese period, Taiwanese maintained the *fan-cai* (steamed rice with side dishes) pattern of a staple food with dishes for their daily meals. Taiwanese usually have a mixed of sweet potato with rice as their staple food–sweet potato rice. As rice was dearer, the poorer one was, the more sweet potatoes and less rice one ate. Poorer people also added more water, thus making the mixture into a congee, which was their staple food. A woman described her diet during the Japanese occupation.

> *004A:...during the Japanese period, we ateslice sweet potato (蕃薯簽), which is grated sweet potato, then we cooked this with rice congee.So we atesweet potato congee a lot at that time. (B-TT2)*

The high-level consumption of pickles at regular meals in ordinary Taiwanese family during the colonial period at this time reflects the poverty of the colonised Taiwanese. Pickled vegetables were eaten not only at breakfast, but also at lunch and dinner.[8] But Taiwanese in the urban are a sate rice rather than congee for lunch or dinner because of good financial condition. The ingredients were vegetables, meat, and seafood (Kawabara, 1943). A female informant said that her family all ate rice or congee rather than sweet potato riceduring the Japanese occupation due to their pretty good financial status.

> *020A: Someone said they always hadsweet potato rice. But we did not have this kind of food during the Japanese period. We had steamed rice or congee, the dishes sometimes were dried small fish, marlin, pomfret, or pork. We had pretty good food at that time. (D-TT6)*

Japanese food habits were introduced to ordinary Taiwanese familyin the Japanese period, and Taiwanese started to learn how to cook or eat Japanese food around the 1930s. Taiwanese not only used miso and Japanese-style soy sauce for pickled foods (Kokubu, 1945, Ujihira, 1943), but also began to drink miso soup and made sushi at home. Moreover, Taiwanese changed to learn to eat raw food, such as raw fishand trepang (Kenfuzi, 1896,Ushi, 1934). OneTaiwanese woman recalled regular foods she ate during her childhood in the Japanese period:

> *004A: I was born in 1923. I got married when I was 21 years old in 1944. My mother-in-law was very nice. At the beginning she always cooked for us; I just gave her a hand in the kitchen. Afterwards, I started to cook. My mother-in-law always cooked traditional dishes, such as stewed pork or fish and vegetable soup. She also cooked some Japanese-style foods, such as pickled cucumber with salt, sugar, vinegar, and pickled tofu. (B-TT2)*

During World War II, the Japanese government promulgated the *Outline of Management of Sweet Potato* regulations and organised a group to control the food provisions in Taiwan, the *Taiwan Food provision Group*. Staple foods such as rice and sweet potato were totally controlled by the Japanese government. There was more food rationing during the war than in the previous Japanese period. The Taiwanese led a hard life during the war, unable to have rice as a regular food. An informant recalled his regular meals:

> *016A：During the war time, we had nothing to eat but vegetables. We only could eat 'slice sweet potato'. We couldn't get any rice during this period. (B-TT10)*

The Nationalist government takeover of Taiwan from Japan in 1945 did not immediately change the foods consumed by the Taiwanese; they still ate mainly congee, thin noodle soup or rice with stir-fried cabbage or sweet potato leaves, vegetable soup or miso soup.[9] Middle-class families could have stewed pork or fried sailfish as part of their lunch or dinner.[10] Mainland foods were also incorporated into Taiwanese style cooking through mixed-ethnic marriages. Although most Taiwanese families had their regular meals at home in Taiwanese style, some Taiwanese women who married Mainlanders had more opportunities to learn how to cook mainland-style foods. Their Taiwanese food habits were gradually influenced by mixed-ethnic marriages.

> *012A: We had Taiwan cai in my parent's house, but he cooked mainland food, so that was a big difference between us. He liked chilli very much and bought a lot from the market. I told him it's not a good idea because I had different food preferences from his, so at the beginning he tried out having his meals separately. After I*

gave birth, he didn't eat spicy food any more. I liked kangkong soup, Chinese cab-bage soup, but he didn't like plain-flavour food, so he always cooked what he liked. The flavoursof his cooking wereheavy, so at that time we did our best to negotiate with each other. Finally, he became assimilated. (D-MT6)

The Taiwanese incorporated Japanese, Western, and mainland food elements into Taiwanese food in the Japanese and Chiang family periods. According to my interviewees, most Taiwanese still maintain the '*fan-cai*' patternas their basic food pattern. But some of the home-cooked dishes express the fusion culture: miso soup and mayonnaise are from Japan, Chinese fried pan-cake, *Jiaozi* from mainland China, and corn thick soup and salad are from the West.[11]

Choice of food at present is affected by the trend toward healthy eating and concerns to have nutritional balance and functional diets. Whitehead (1982) classes vegetables as a healthy food but pork as causing ill health, particularly hypertension. The Taiwanese now incorporate more healthy elements into their normal meals, as is demonstrated in changes in Taiwanese food. The age of family members is directly associated with decisions about what goes into regular meals. A grandmother, for example, explained that when her grandchildren's came to visit, her cooking was influenced by their nutrition needs and favourite dishes:

004A: I at least cook a dish of vegetables and a dish of boiled chicken for each dinner. If my grandchildren join our meal, then I prepare fish or stir-fried shred-ded meat with potato, corn, or water bamboo for them because they're growing now.(D-MT1)

The elderly have different food requirements. Old people normally prefer light food because of their health concerns.[12] Another food change related to health considerations is the increased consumption of organic food and brown rice. White rice was the normal rice as staple food for people in Taiwan,but due to health concerns, some people tried changing from white to brown rice.[13]

In summary, along with their accumulated life experiences, Taiwanese localised many exotic foodstuffs to become a part of Taiwanese home-style food, even *bahkutteh*(肉骨茶)[14] from South-east Asia became an option for some home cooking in current Taiwanese society.[15] The other significant determinant which has influenced the development of Taiwanese food is health: 'eating healthy and natural' means a diet with less fat, sugar, MSG, cholesterol, and salt. Healthy foods such as whole grains, brown rice, organic food, and vegetarian food are now popular. 'Eating healthy' was gradually incorporated into Taiwanese food and has becomesig-nificant practice.

4 TRADITIONAL FEASTSIN TAIWAN

There are special traditional foods which symbolise significant meanings on particular occa-sions in Taiwan, such as daikon cakes and chicken for Chinese New Year, rice dumplings (粽子) for the Dragon-Boat Festival, and mooncakes for the Mid-Autumn Festival.

The display of particular foods during Taiwanese traditional festivals reveals essential aspects of Taiwanese food culture and also the preservation of Taiwanese culture over the years. Tai-wanese culture is mostly derived from China, brought by Han migrants from Fujian and Guang-dong provinces. Traditional feasts are therefore similar to those of southern China, especially Xiamen (Copper, 1996). Subsequently Taiwanese developedtheir own unique ways of preparing traditional foods at festivals. In the next section I will describe the foods associated with each significant traditional festival in Taiwan and examine their changes over the course of Taiwan-ese history.

4.1 *Lunar New Year*

The traditional foods for Lunar New Year in Taiwan have the special significance handed-down through Chinese custom: the traditional Chinese use of homonyms is expressed locally with lo-cal ingredients related to the Taiwanese language (*Minnan* language). The Lunar New Year is

the most important festival, celebrating the coming of the New Year: it is the most important time to have family reunions. Taiwanese always prepare a large variety of dishes. Households of different ethnic backgrounds prepare various symbolic foods based on their traditions: it is easy to identify people's ethnic background through what they eat at this festival. For Taiwanese, there are some typical dishes, such as 'daikon soup', which are believed to bring good luck (*hò-chhái-thâu* in Taiwanese, 好彩頭) for the following year. A whole chicken symbolizes the complete family (*khí-ke* in Taiwanese, 起家); leaf mustard (芥菜) called *siông-liânchhài* (長年菜) in Taiwanese symbolizes long life. Food is prepared not only for consumption, but also for religious purposes as offerings to the gods and ancestors. A local woman described some special dishes she prepares for Lunar New Year:

> *023Q: What special food do you prepare at home for Lunar New Year?*
> *024A: The food forLunar New Year is one of the old customs. Things like long-life vegetables, leaf mustard, which is always a good dish with rice, means long-life.Daikonesmean good luck. When we prepare foods to offer to the gods (bàibài 拜拜)[16]-chicken and duck are necessary.... (D-TT9)*

Some dishes are less popular nowadays, for example thickened sweet potato flour (*qianfanshufen*芡蕃薯粉). Kawabara (1943) noted it as a special dish for Lunar New Year during the Japanese period.[17] It was made of 80% sweet potato flour and 20% small dried shrimp, vegetables, and pork fat. It is flexible and dough-like. It symbolizes the whole family being able to work hard together to celebrate Lunar New Year.

Some of my Taiwanese interviewees hadeaten it in the past. The cook must have strong arms to stir the very sticky foodstuff in the wok.It was extremely demanding work. These days only the older people know how to cook it, but as they are getting older, their physical strength is also declining, so now prefer easily prepared foods for Lunar New Year. One 80 year-old informant recalled:

> *060A: In the past, my grandmother always prepared 'thickened sweet potato flour' and asked everyone to have one bite; this meant the whole family would stay together. I've cooked this dish before, but now I don't want to cook it because only I and my son live together. It seems only Hoklo people eat this food. (B-TT10)*

Another hada different meaning for this dish:

> *038A: I ate thickened sweet potato flour before marriage. My older sister told me that it meant that people and money can be brought together. (B-TT9)*

In mixed-ethnic households, the foods for Lunar New Year represent a good opportunity to remember their old home and eat hometown food, and in particular to remind their children not to forget their origins. In Mainlander husband-Taiwanese wife households, most husbands want their wives to prepare foods from their home areas to celebrate Lunar New Year and would teach them how if they did not know. These dishes symbolise different meanings; for example, dumpling—*jiaozi*—sounds very similar to a term for the time to start the new year, though the characters are different; in addition, the shape of dumplings is like ancient money, so money will come to those who eat dumplings on Lunar New Year eve (Yang, 1995a: 48). However, interviewee wives still prepared some Taiwanese-style new-year foods.[18] Mainlander husbands generally know the meaning of these Taiwanese dishes, and over time some no longer insist on having their mainland foods[19] if young family members dislike them.

Nowadays, as wives are more likely to be in the work force and life moves at a busier pace, many home cooks have less time to prepare Lunar New Year foods. This has created niche for the restaurant industry to fill, and it has created convenient take-away or home-delivered dishes. Such dishes have become popular in Taiwan since the turn of the century (Hsieh, 2002). The most popular such dish is 'Buddha's Casserole'. It was not originally a typical dish for Lunar New Year, but it is easy to cooking which makes it the most popular sale item at the Lunar New Year period, and its expensive ingredients have made it essential. Buddha's Casserole has thus gradually become a traditional food for this event. Some interviewees were dissatisfied with

these take-away dishes, but rather than going back to preparing the meal themselves, they say they will buy from a different restaurant next year. In the words of one housewife,

> *036A, My husband is responsible for buying the chicken and fish for Chinese New Year. ... but now, we just buy take-away. The year before last, all our New Year dishes were take-away. I ordered them from a restaurant in Neihu. They have Buddha's Casserole, but I don't like their idea because I need to wash the pot if we can't finish this dish. One time the soup they prepared waschicken soup with gin-seng, but it was too oily. Now I think the best way is to buy some take-away foods, but I need to prepare some dishes too. I don't want to make myself too tired. (D-TT7)*

Take-away and eating-out for Lunar New Year have become popular in Taiwan over the last decade. Although some household heads are still "stuck in their houses" having the traditional family reunion, other people have gradually grown to select from a more the limited choice of items from restaurant menus to celebrate Lunar New Year. 'Buddha's Casserole' has impercep-tibly become a typical dish for this traditional day.

4.2 *Dragon-Boat Festival*

Another vital traditional food is rice dumplings for the Dragon-boat festival. This is held on the fifth day of the fifth lunar month and features boat races to honour those who wanted to save a beloved scholar-statesman-poet, Qu Yuan (屈原) (Yang, 1995b:18). During this festival Tai-wanese make rice dumplings as offerings forgods and ancestors.

Although the tradition of making and eating rice dumplings was introduced from China, Tai-wanese gradually created their own versions. There are a number of different types found: Southern-regionrice dumplings; Northern-regionrice dumplings; soda rice dumplings (*jianzong* 鹼粽); and Hakka and Mainlander style ones. The most popular types are the southern and northern region ones. Although rice dumplings have a shared traditional meaning during the Dragon-boat Festival, the rivalry expressed regarding these two variations on rice dumplings shows Taiwanese are strongly concerned with their hometown identity. Although I did all my household interviews in Taipei, some informants were migrants from southern Taiwan. When they talked about rice dumplings during interviews, their ideas were in conflict. One female Taipei informant said her families only eat northern-region rice dumplings.

> *034A: We made northern-region rice dumplings, which are sticky rice dump-lings, I heard someone say that southern rice ones are made by boiling them in wa-ter as opposed to steaming them. Southern-region rice dumplings aren't suitable for us. What you eat depends on what you're used to. (D-TT1)*

In contrast, two other, from Changhua and Kaohsiung, both made southern-region rice dump-lings:

> *044A: We made Taiwanese rice dumplings, which are southern-region rice dumplings. We don't eat sticky rice dumplings, and nobody likes the Taipei style. (D-MT1)*

> *036A: I used to make rice dumplings, but now I just buy the cooked ones. The rice dumplings we made were southern-region rice dumplings.The rice is boiled in water. If we want to buy the cooked ones, the only type we choose is the southern-region rice dumplings. The southern-region rice dumplings are less oily than the northern-region ones. (D-MT4)*

Soda rice dumplings are a variety for all Taiwanese which were mainly made and eaten in the past. Soda rice dumplings are the best offerings for the Buddha because they are vegetarian. Most Taiwanese now buy soda rice dumplings for worship instead of making them themselves. According to Taiwanese customs, if a family member has passed away, the family cannot pre-

pare any kind of rice dumplings on this day for one year, but a daughter who is already married or other relatives need to send them some for ancestor worship. Most Taiwanese still follow this tradition:

> *032A: I make rice dumplings myself...Following the old customs, if there were nosoda rice dumplings in someone's house, it meant that something had happened in the family. If someone has passed away, they cannot buy or make rice dumplings for the following Dragon-Boat Festival: their married daughter needs to send some to them. Worship is allowed, but an outsider needs someone to prepare rice dumplings. (D-TT8)*

   Taiwanese generally follow their tradition of preparing traditional foods to express their respect to ancestors and gods, but they now usually buy them instead of making them themselves.[20] This reflects social change.

> *030A: I make rice dumplings myself, but my husband asked me not to if there's nobody at home. I used to stir the rice for the stuffing. My children prefer the ones I make. (B-TT5)*

4.3   *Mid-Autumn Festival*

In Taiwan, mooncakes[21] and barbeques (BBQ) are the main foods for Mid-Autumn Festival,but whilemooncakes are the traditional food, BBQ is a new edition. According to my interviewees, Taiwanese had mooncakes during the Mid-Autumn Festival during the Japanese period. They now normally prepare rich foods, including mooncakes, as offerings for the ancestors and gods. Most still insist on having mooncakes to celebrate Mid-Autumn Festival, but they now care more about the taste and brand so they buy from particular shops known for their quality.[22]

   Having a barbecue (BBQ) at this time is a new Mid-Autumn Festival tradition which began with in the 1980s and has become widespread. It is also another occasion for family reunion, especially for the younger generation.[23]

4.4   *Other traditional festivals*

Most traditions in Taiwan were introduced from the *Minnan* area in southern Fujian province. Some were regarded as undesirable customs and forbidden in China after the Cultural Revolution (1966-1976), for example *pudu*(普渡)[24] (Shih, 1998). As a result the practice of some traditional festivals by default became unique to culture in Taiwan, and the foods especially associated with these events have also remained and become part of traditional Taiwanese food culture.

   People believe that by 'eating *baìbaì*' (吃拜拜) means they can have the gods' blessings if they eat the offerings after the religious observances.*Baìbaì* is a very common form of offerings on special traditional days in Taiwan. During the Han settlement, the Han Taiwanese held a number of specific feasts on occasions such as Lunar New Year, or *Zhongyuan*Festival.For example, most Taiwanese always prepare abundant foods to offer to the ghosts, called *pudu*, which is the major event of the *Zhongyuan* festival (Tseng, 2006: 190). These abundant foods, as well as *pantoh* foods,are mainly eaten by their relatives, friends, and clients after the ceremonial observances.

   Baìbaì is not only a way to show respect to the gods and ancestors, but also a good opportunity to hold a family reunion. The *baìbaì* offerings basically consist of the flesh of three domestic animals (三牲): pork, a whole chicken, and a whole fish. In the 1950s, Taiwanese only had budget style food for their regular meals; *baìbaì* occasions were a good time for them to enjoy some luxury foods, such as chicken and pork.One informant mentioned *baìbaì* 52 times in his diary between 1952 and 1961, which indicates its significance. He emphasised that all these traditional festivals are based on Taiwanese customs:

Today's baìbaì is forweiya[25] which is a Taiwanese custom. People who did some business here needed to prepare chicken and pork as offerings for worship. (Dairy entry 20/1/1954)

Today is also the day for Taiwanese (benshengren's)baìbaì in the 3rd lunar month. This is to worship ancestors by sweeping their graves. All the households prepared chicken or duck…. (Dairy entry 15/4/1954)

In his diary entries, this informant mentioned a number of traditional festivals in the 1950s where they had *baìbaì*for offerings but also ate *baìbaì*with their family or friends.These traditional festivals included the birthday of *Wu Mingwang* (五冥王 Five Lords of the Netherworld) (23[rd]day of the 4th lunar month), the birthday of *Chenghuang*[26] (城隍爺) (15[th]day of the 5th lunar month), *Zhongyuan*month (15[th]day of the 7th lunar month), the last day of the ghost month (29[th]day of the 7th lunar month), and the *Chungyeung*(重陽) Festival (9[th]day of the 9th lunar month).[27] The details of some specificfoods with special symbolic meanings associated with different traditional festivals which Taiwanese had known to prepare in the 1950s are shown in Table 1.

Table 1 Traditional food for various traditional festivals in the 1950s

Traditional festival	Date of Lunar calendar	Traditional associated food
Qingming(清明節)	3rd day of the 3rd lunar month	mixed vegetable rolls (潤餅)
Bannian (半年Mid-year)	15th day of the 6th lunar month	sweet stuffed dumpling (湯圓) (to appreciate the gods)
Chhit-niû-má se(七娘馬生, birthday of Seven Goddesses)	7th day of the 7th lunar month	glutinous rice(油飯), jijiu (雞酒chicken in wine)
Lidong (立冬Beginning of winter)	no fixed date, around the 9th lunar month	nourishment, such as chicken wine (for warming their body to welcome the coming of winter)
Dongzhi (冬至winter solstice)	no fixed date, around the 11th lunar month	sweet stuffed dumpling(to have a family reunion)
Weiya	16th day of the 12th lunar month	mixed vegetable rolls

Most my interviewees reported they still have *baìbaì* for each traditional festival except Christian ones. The abundant traditional food offerings are usually prepared for the ghosts and gods on *Zhongyuan* Festival: mixed vegetable rolls, and *koah-bau* (割包) to celebrate *weiya*; glutinous rice and chicken in wine for birthday of Seven Goddess. One Taiwanese woman described the meanings of the traditional foods for *weiya*:

026A: … We eat mixed vegetable rolls at weiya, they symbolize rolled money. The other food is koah-bau, which means wrapped money. The stuffing contains salted vegetables. (B-TT2)

The traditional food customs outlined above are still preserved and practised by Taiwanese people at present, which highlights the significance of Taiwanese customs in Taiwanese society.Traditional Taiwanese customs have been handed down from generation to generation, and these traditional foods still maintain their particular roles in shaping Taiwanese food culture and they add special meanings to Taiwanese food practices. These specific food items have become part of Taiwanese food culture.

5 CONCLUSION

Ethnicity is a crucial factor in the formation of people's daily food habits (Wu 1995, Twiss 2007, Moreno-Black 2007, Kim 1998). The changes in the sphere of home-style food described in this research demonstrate that the development of Taiwanese food practices is closely related

to people's family backgrounds. Taiwanese family identity is expressed in the regular sharing of meals, meals which in turn are related to people's ethnicity and family history.

Nowadays, Taiwanese food contains both very specific historically determined elements: *Minnan*, Mainlander, and Japanese elements, and also elements which reflect global concepts: health, exotic or other ethnic elements. This is examined from the perspective of changes in home cooking. However, Taiwanese customs traditionally associated with particular foods and food practices are influenced by strong traditional beliefs in *yin-yang* theory and culture. These customs and beliefs are behind many Taiwanese shared food practices. Although Taiwanese have gradually learnt more about more foods through popular education and wider availability of information, they still maintain their traditions and continue to eat their traditional foods on special occasions. This clearly shows that home-cooking is still strongly connected to family identity, including people's personal and ethnic identities.

ENDNOTES

[1] Min is the abbreviation of Fujian province. Minnanrefers to the southern area of Fujian province.

[2] Monzoku Taiwan (民俗台湾) is an ethnology journal published during World War II which always received a positive response in both Taiwan and Japan.

[3] 油炸粿is the Taiwanese pronunciation of youtiao (油條).

[4] According to Taiwanese custom, gynura (紅鳳菜) is not allowed for dinner because gynura can make people to reproduce blood in their body during day time, but in contrast, people would lose blood if people eat gynura at night. So this dish is often eaten for breakfast or lunch (Iketa, 1944:195).

[5] 肉鬆 also called meat wool, meat floss, pork floss, pork sung, is a dried meat product that has a light and fluffy texture similar to coarse cotton. Rousong is used as a topping for many foods such as congee, tofu, and savory soy milk. It is also used as filling for various buns and pastries and as a snack food on its own. See http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Rousong, viewed 26 April, 2011.

[6] From interviews with B-TT9, B-TT1, B-MT6, B-MT7, B-TT6, D-TT1, D-TT4.

[7] Abbott is a global, broad-based health care company devoted to discovering new medicines, new technologies and new ways to manage health. http://www.abbott.com/global/url/content/en_US/10:10/general_content/General_Content_00004.htm, viewed 23 April, 2011.

[8] From interviews with B-TT6, D-TT4.

[9] From interviews with B-TT9 and D-TT1.

[10] From interviews with B-TT6,D-TT3, and D-TT6.

[11] From interviews with D-TT3 and B-HH2.

[12] From interviews with D-MT1, D-MT2, D-MT4, D-MT5, D-TT3, D-TT4, D-TT5, D-TT6, D-TT7, D-HH3, D-HH4, B-MM1, B-MH3, B-MT7, B-TT2, B-TT4, B-TT5, B-TT7, B-TT8, and B-HH1.

[13] From interviews withB-TT5 and B-TT7.

[14] It is a traditional food in South-eastern Asia, especially popular in Singapore and Malaysia.

[15] From interviews with D-HH1 an, B-HH1.

[16] 拜拜Bàibài, also writtenpaipai,is form of worship and offerings for gods and ancestors. Chinese/Taiwanese offer foods to gods and ancestors at home or temple, they eat them afterward.

[17] Kawabara used the doufanshufen (豆蕃薯粉) meaning qianfanshufen (茨蕃薯粉thickened sweet potato flour'). Qianfanshufen (茨蕃薯粉) was the name used by Taiwanese.

[18] Nianyefan (年夜飯) is the meal prepared for the family reunion on Chinese New Year's eve.

[19] From interview with B-MT1.

[20] From interviews with D-MT2, 4, 5, D-TT4, 5 ,7, 8, 9, 10, D-HH3, 4, B-MM1, B-MT1, 5, 7, B-TT1, 3, 5, 8, and B-HH1.

[21] Mooncake (yuebing月餅) is a Chinese bakery product traditionally eaten during the Mid-Autumn Festival.

[22] From interviews with D-TT9, D-HH3, and D-HH4.

[23] From interviews with D-TT6.

[24] The seventh lunar month is the ghost month. On the 1stday of this month the door of the ghost realm [hell], called 'ghost door', will open, and then close again on the last day of this month. The Taiwanese always prepare a lot of food as offerings for ghosts on these two days, and also on zhongyuanjie (中元節) the 15th day of this month. Zhongyuanjie is sometimes called the 'Hungry Ghost Festival' in English. Taiwanese always hold the largest baibai and pudu for Zhongyuan Festival to have the gods' blessings and avoid disturbances from ghosts.

[25] A year-end banquet for employees.

[26] A deity inChinesemythology, sometimes known in English as the "God of the City Walls" or the "City God".

[27] The date mentioned for all Taiwanese traditional festivals is based on the lunar calendar.

REFERENCES

Chang, K.C. (1977). *Food in Chinese Culture*. New Haven (Connecticut): Yale University.

Chang, M.Y.H. (2008). Congpingmianmeitiyushoufangzherijiluekui Taiwanguangfuhousanshinian (1945-1975) zhicanyinyexiangxiang 從平面媒體與受訪者日記略窺臺灣光復後三十年(1945-1975)之餐飲業想像. *Quarterly of Foundation of Chinese Dietary Culture,* 14(1): 28-33.

Chang, M.Y.H. (2007). Cong 'Taiwanririxinbao'yurijushidaichubanpinluekui Taiwanrijushidaizhicanyinxiankuang 從《臺灣日日新報》與日據時代出版品略窺臺灣日據時代之餐飲現況 *Quarterly of Foundation of Chinese Dietary Culture*, 13(4):37-43.

Cheng, H.M. 江辛美(2008). *A Research of the soy sauce in Taiwan during the Japanese Colonial Period.* Changhua: National Changhua University of Education (Graduate Institute of History).

Copper, J. F. (1996). *Taiwan: Nation State or Province?*. Boulder: Westview Press.

Cressey, G.B. (1963). *Asia's Landsand Peoples*. Columbus (Ohio): McGraw-Hill.

Delaney, C. (2004). *Investigating Culture: An Experiential Introduction to Anthropology.* Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.

Huang, C.C. (2002). *The Influence of Japanese Colonial Policy to Taiwanese*. Taipei: The Commercial Press.

Ikeda, S. 池田敏雄(1944). 臺灣人的家庭生活[Taiwanese's family life].

Kenfuzi, S. 權藤震二(1896). 臺灣實況[Taiwanese Situation]. Taipei: Chen Wen Press.

Kao, K.C. 高拱乾(Compile in1696), Chou, Y.W. 周元文(2004). *Taiwan Fuzhi* 臺灣府志 Taipei: Council for Cultural Affairs (Executive Yuan).

Lian, H. 連橫(1920). *TaiwanTongshi* 臺灣通史 Taipei: Zhonghua Congshu Weiyuanhui.

Lee, J.H. 李妍和, ed. (1971). *Taiwan Sheng Tongzhi* 臺灣省通志Taipei: Taiwan Historica.

Lin, H.T.林衡道& Chung, C.M. 鄭金木(1988).*TaiwanShijiYuanliu* 臺灣史蹟源流 Taipei: Youth Daily.

Ujihira, K. 氏平要 ed. (1934). 臺中市史[History of Taichung City].Taipei: Chen Wen Press.

Valentine, G. (1999). Eating. In *Home, Consumption and Identity. Sociological Review*, 47: 491-524.

Whitehead, T. L. (1984). Sociocultural Dynamics and food Habits in a Southern Community. In M. Douglas, ed. *Food in The Social Order,* 97-142.

Wu, Y.H.D. (2006). *Hometown, Field, and the Train: An Anthropologist's Trilogy*. Taipei: China Times.

Yang, Y.C. 楊玉君(1995a). *Guo Nian* 過年 Taipei: Council for Cultural Affairs, Executive Yuan.

Yang, Y.C. 楊玉君(1995b). *Duanwu* 端午 Taipei: Council for Cultural Affairs, Executive Yuan.

The hidden treasures of museum collections: hand crafted objects and their contemporary contribution

Michael Moore
University of Ulster, United Kingdom

ABSTRACT: Secreted throughout the collections of the National Museums of Ireland are 20th and 21st Century craft objects, in ceramics glass and metals to encounter. Some are functional, to eat off, drink from, cut, dig, carve, adorn or hammer, some are celebratory, commemorative, humorous, or poignant. This paper proposes to explore these objects and ask what is their significance today? Are they merely historical reminders or do they still contribute to our culture, our knowledge and our identities. The paper will reflect the events these objects have lived through, how they have passed through many hands over many generations and how these generations have actually transformed these objects over time. Finally the paper will explore what these objects represent in a contemporary context, as metaphors of societal value in visual and material culture. This paper will look at a collection of objects that connect Craft to a number of broader issues. Industrialization for one, national identity and political struggle another and also cultural revival. This paper will attempt to make clear the wider values these object have while still celebrating the aesthetic and functional qualities I propose they continue to maintain.

1   THE POT FOR INDUSTRIAL CHANGE

We begin with the John ffrench plate and bowl set from 1969, which was made in The Arklow Pottery in Co. Wexford, Ireland[1]. Although made in the industrial context of a function pottery manufacturer that ran from 1934-99, within Arklow Pottery was Arklow 'Studio' Pottery. This in essence was the practice of locating artists within industrial manufacturers as practiced by Scandinavian Ceramic and Porcelain Producers such as Arabia in Helsinki, Finland.

   To this day Arabia locates a number of artist's studios within it Factory.

   The 'Design Report' of 1962, commissioned by the Irish Ministry for Trade and Enterprise would have supported and promoted this model of collaboration between art and industry[2]. The report will be considered later.

Figure 1. John ffrench plate and single stem bowl, 1969.

Let us examine the object: a hand painted dish, with a centrally located single stem bowl whichis standing in the centre of the circular dish. Loops of cobalt blue colour decorate the under glazed surface with spots of copper green within the loops.

Ffrench (1928-2010)[3] was known for highly colourful studio ceramics throughout his career and there is a degree of vibrancy in his piece but not to the degree of his studio work of later years. His flamboyant signature and dating on the underside of the plate is perhaps its most spontaneous display.

Figure 2. John ffrench signature 1969.

Figure 3. Detail, John ffrench plate, 1969.

Some context of ffrench's contribution to Irish Ceramics in terms of education, aesthetic and positioning in relation to material culture should be considered. ffrench was one of the three pioneers of Studio Ceramics in Ireland in the twentieth century. ffrench is responsible for establishing the first studio pottery in Ireland when invited to join Ring Ceramic Studios in Kilkenny by another potter, Peter Brennan. Until his demise in 2010 ffrench generated a consistent body or studio practice of critically high regard.

Figure 4. John ffrench ceramics.

But let us consider this piece of ceramics from 1969 through a different lens. What else is this piece saying? What else does it demonstrate? In the historical and political context it demonstrates a determined drive by the Irish Government at the time, and the Ministry of Trade and Enterprise, (Coras Tractala) in particular, to improve the industrial design standards of a nation emerging from a colonial past, and seeking to face the future by recognizing design excellence within a European (and in this case Scandinavian) context.

The ffrench piece demonstrates the Ministry's recognition of a successful industrial model of collaboration between art and industry and its intention to test that model in Ireland. This will be expanded upon later in this paper.

Figure 5. John ffrench.

2   THE SUBVERSIVE OR POLITICAL POT

Testament to political initiative is not the only hidden attribute the craft object can imbue. Consider the 'Home Rule' teapot.

Figure 6. Home Rule Teapot 1888.

Probably made in Scotland in the 1880's (the museum descriptor says no more) it is unclear on which side of the Irish Sea it lived its domestic life. Regardless of its location it is a provocative piece considering it is dated only 26 years before the Easter Rising in Dublin in 1916 and 32 years before Irish Independence. In the global context I propose that this is evidence of the subversive nature of craft, where particular agenda's, often political, are secreted into various societies, often undetected by governments and judiciaries.

Consider the 'Erin go Brach' table service. From a colonial and emancipative perspective, it is unusual that these plates defining a drive for a new Ireland were made in England; Stoke on Trent in fact, the home of Industrial Pottery and Porcelain manufacture in the United Kingdom since the industrial revolution. This table setting hardly proposes unity.

One example from the range is the Charles Stewart Parnell teacup. Parnell (1846-81) was an Irish Nationalist,a political leader and a land reform activist. The teacup and saucer are standard slip cast saucer and handled cup of generic aesthetic for the period, its proportions and finishing are refined. Broadly over both cup and saucer are wreaths of Shamrock, a symbol of Ireland, used by St. Patrick to define the Catholic Holy Trinity of Father, Son and Holy Ghost.

Figure 7. Stoke on Trent Teacup and Saucer.

Figure 8. Stoke on Trent Teacup and Saucer detail.

However within one shamrock cluster on the saucer a round tower is evident, harking back to pre reformation Christianity when villagers would run to the round towers built by Christian monks to seek refuge from Viking invaders. So perhaps now we are not seeing just a papist perspective on religion but a broader Christian one. This I would argue is significant as in reality not all division in 19th and 20th century Ireland was based on a catholic/protestant divide.

Opposite the round tower is the Irish Harp, the symbol of Hibernia, Britannia's helpless younger sister. Perhaps not the ideal symbol for an emerging nation driving a nationalist republican agenda but it has a direct link to Parnell as he used the image in his newspaper 'The United Irishman'[4]. There is also strength in the symbol of Hibernia as Irish tribes did raid Roman forces in Britain as evidenced by Roman texts from that era[5].

Also in the range of tableware are other characters of historical and political significance. Michael Davitt (1846-1906) also appears in the same format as Parnell. Davitt, a republican and nationalist activist is reflected in the portrait form, with a gaze to his left. The clasped hands of a handshake agreement also appear below his portrait.

Figure 9. Stoke on Trent Teacup and Saucer.

Opposite Michael Davitt on the a dinner plate from the range of tableware is Dr. Thomas Croke, (1824-1902) Bishop of Auckland, New Zealand and Archbishop of Cashel and Emily, Ireland. Dr. Croke also an Irish nationalist has his name attached to the home of the Gaelic Athletic Association, Croke Park, Dublin, an 82300-seat sports stadium.

Noting the dates of the demise of each of these individuals in relation to the museum date for the dinner service range- 1888, two of the three individuals were still alive when the dinner service was created so the true nature of the imagery adorning the table service is arguably not commemorative in nature, but arguably a political celebration or promotion.

Figure 10. Stoke on Trent Plate.

Within these domestic objects, emblazoned with Irish symbols, the Shamrock, the Harp, the text stating 'Erin go Brach' which can be translated as 'Ireland until the end of time'. Do these objects described here have a very clear agenda beyond domestic function and the purpose of serving food and drink? I would argue, in a very discreet manner, yes they do.

The broader critical landscape of art and craft in Ireland should be considered to locate the discreet and subversive potential the crafts in Ireland had in the 19th and 20th centuries. I am arguing that this is why objects of a high political nature such as the 'Home Rule Teapot' and the "Erin go Brach' table ware could exist within material culture. Consider the overview by Irish Government Minister Justin Keating:

'The whole thrust of our cultural preoccupation was verbal. Remarkable playwrights, novelists, poets, a great focus on the Irish language and on traditional music and song, but concern for material culture was light. The brightest children of the new proprietors of small farms were busy making money in the retail trade, primarily drink, and their grandchildren were rushing to become doctors, lawyers and priests. …. There was no 'William Morris' strand in the National Revolution. The Thirties, Forties and Fifties were a time of terrible pious petty bourgeois respectability, for the craftsman and artist, a period of disaster'. [6]

The preoccupation and focus of Irish culture was verbal, text based and communicated through voice and song, Keating argues that the preoccupation was not directed towards material culture. That divergent focus created a gap where these subversive objects could slip under the radar and exist as provocative objects, questioning political norms.

These 'Hidden Treasures' are symbols of political change in Ireland and this change has fed directly back into the material arts and crafts through government policy development in the twentieth century.

In 1949 Dr. Thomas Bodkin, then Director of the National Gallery of Ireland in Merrion Square in Dublin was commissioned to write a "Report on the Arts in Ireland' 1949. A direct result of the Report was the establishment of the Arts Council of Ireland in 1951 to promote the arts.

The recommendations of Thomas Bodkin's celebrated 1949 report were to lead chiefly to the establishment of the Arts Council, but also to give a new impetus to the development of the crafts, which began to be revived at the NCA (National College of Art), during the 1950's.

This can be described in the following timeline:

- Report on the Arts in Ireland   1949
- Formation of the Arts Council of Ireland: 1951
- Design Report Published: 1962
- Formation of Ceramics as a taught Course in the National College of Art and Design Dublin: 1964
- Formation of the Crafts Council of Ireland: 1971

Note that Peter Brennan, who established Ring Ceramics Studio and invited John ffrench to be a partner of the studio, was tasked to establish ceramics as a taught course at the National College of Art and design, listed above. Brennen will be considered later.

3   THE DESIGN REPORT

It is now at this point we must consider the Irish 'Design Report' of 1962. As studio ceramics began to evolve from the 1960's in Ireland, the state became involved. In 1962 the Taoiseach Sean Lemass transferred responsibility for Design to Coras Tractala (CTT), The Irish Export Board. This led to the 'Design in Ireland' Report.

The authors of the report were:

- Prof. Gunnar Biilman Peterson, Royal Academy, Copenhagen
- Ake Huldt, Swedish Design Centre
- Prof. Erik Herlow, Royal Academy, Copenhagen
- Kaj Franck, Arabia, Helsinki
- Erik Sorenson, architect, Royal Academy of Copenhagen

And they quickly became known as the 'Scandinavian Designers'. Upon arrival in Ireland they quickly noted:

'A Remarkable feature of Irish Life which we noted, even after a few days, is the manner in which today's Irish culture has developed a distinct leaning towards literature, theatre, the spoken word and abstract thinking, rather than creation by hand or machine and the visual arts – the other side of human activity in civilization'.[7]

Their findings were published in February 1962;during their time in Ireland in relation to ceramics the Scandinavian Designers visited 6 potteries:

- Shanagarry Pottery
- Ring Ceramic Studio (Peter Brennan)
- Carrigaline Pottery
- Terrybaun, (Gratten Freyer)
- Youghal Pottery
- Arklow Pottery (John ffrench).

Their comments were critical regarding innovation, originality and indigenousness:

> 'The main criticism of…..Ceramics... was that what was produced was based on bad English production both as regards design and form, decorated with transfers which had been imported from England and elsewhere. The solution was in the training of decorators, casters and printers. They stressed the importance of smaller potteries in design innovation as well as providing opportunities for individual potters to develop their work'.[8]

The brief for the Report as requested by the Irish Government was:
- An overall survey of design in Ireland
- Design promotion
- Design education
- The establishment of an Institute for Visual Arts in Ireland.

The focus of the report was to be:

Textile design and printing: Linen, wool, woven textiles, poplin, Donegal

Tweed, hand knitwear, carpets.
Glass
Ceramics
Souvenirs
Graphics
Packaging
Stamp Design
Coinage

The Design Report was highly critical of ceramics in Ireland. The Report had high praise for Irish Stamps, coins and textiles. The basis for this praise was in recognition of the use of indigenous themes, symbols and typography, mainly Celtic, which inspired the text, pattern and colour of these stamps coins and textiles.

The report was critical of the making standards of Irish Ceramics. This included the quality of the work made at Arklow Pottery. A direct response I believe to this criticism by Arklow Pottery was to appoint John ffrench to lead Arklow Studio Pottery, establishing his role within Arklow Pottery. This was a very successful model evidenced in the Arabia Factory in Helsinki, Finland, where Kaj Frank, one of the authors of the Design Report, was Head of Design Dept. Arabia Ceramics Factory and Notsjo glass works Finland. Frank was also Art Director of the Finnish School of Industrial Art.

Figure 11. Arklow Studio Pottery Stamp.

The Report also made other recommendations parallel to the model of placing artist and designers in industrial settings mentioned above:

'the managements of the China and Pottery factories should consider setting aside money for development work, eg. The training of casters. The casting at present is poor and unsatisfactory and it would be very easy to raise this standard by sending men to study in Denmark where casting techniques are more highly developed that in England'.[9]

The Report did prompt the Irish Government to invite a number of European artist and crafts people to come to Ireland to establish their studios with the direct intention of training local Irish people with the craft techniques and technologies the visitors had already mastered.

Although generally severely critical the comments of the Designers did lead to reaction from the Irish State:

1 year after the design report was published Peter Brennan was asked to establish the first pottery course at the National College of Art and Design, Dublin. The Kilkenny Design Workshops were established by CTT leading to foreign design experts such as Sonja Landweer (NL) and Rudolf Heitzel (D) coming to Ireland to work with exporters and to train in specialized areas of crafts, which already had a foothold in Ireland.

The Design Report of 1962 laid the foundation for the implementation of Ceramics as a taught course at University level in Ireland. It also prompted Government reaction leading to the development of institutions such as the Crafts Council of Ireland and Kilkenny Design Workshops.It recognized the importance of the balance between the studio potter and the potter working with industry.

I would argue the actions of the Irish government to the Design Report created a different cultural landscape to the one described by Justin Keating earlier. That being a material cultural landscape that generated a creative industry within which Ceramics thrived for many years. This industry is best exampled by the Kilkenny Design Workshops where all the crafts were represented with Government support to establish studios and small businesses. The Workshops also opened two retail outlets, in Kilkenny and Dublin, to create and supply a market for contemporary Irish Craft.

The Scandinavian Designers noted:

'At the same time it might be worth while to try to interest Irish Sculptors and Craft Potters who from their professional background have many of the qualities needed to spur on an improvement in shape and design.One Irish Pottery is producing work of a very high quality through having the foresight to introduce a technical advisor from abroad. Their problem is one of marketing and design policy rather than any need of outside help. Original thinking artists with a complete knowledge of production must be put to work- ceramicists who will select the clay, the glaze, and the form of decoration. It is clear that without some radical change in design policy it will be impossible to produce anything but the commonplace'.[10]

We can now consider the plate and stemmed bowl made by John ffrench in a very different light. By 1969 ffrench is based in Arklow Pottery, running Arklow Studio Pottery.This links directly to the focus of the authors of the Design Report:

They stressed the importance of smaller potteries in design innovation as well as providing opportunities for individual potters to develop their work'.[11]

This simple piece of ceramics made by ffrench now symbolizes a new focus and direction for craft in Ireland and ceramics in particular. The piece now becomes a symbol of a new Ireland with a rejuvenated focus on design quality, education and management.

We now consider the broader context or reaction to the 1962 Report. We can recognize that the National College of Art and Design had established a taught ceramics degree, John ffrench was in place in Arklow Studio Pottery, European artists such as Sonja Landweer (ceramics) and Rudolf Heitzel (silversmithing and jewellery) were in place in Ireland with established studios and the Castle Yards of Kilkenny castle (now home to the Crafts Council of Ireland and the National Craft Gallery). The yards were teeming with small craft studios and workshops. This all came to pass as a result of the Design Report of 1962.

The Scandinavian Designers still had a concern about ceramics:

'We were very interested in the small potteries in Ireland and visited two of them. Once again it was difficult to generalize, for one was an instance of love and care lavished on a craft and was an example to all connected with the industry.

The other had the spirit and courage but we felt lacked professional inspiration and education in artistic fundamentals'.[12]

The Report does not state which potteries they criticize in particularr but again the placing of ffrench in Arklow Pottery only a few years after the Report was published is significant as a response to the recommendations of the Report.

I propose that John ffrench is one of the Pioneers of Irish Craft and ceramics in particular. ffrench studied ceramics and print in Dublin and Florence before joining Peter Brennan and Victor Waddington as directors of Ring Ceramic Studios in 1956. A year later ffrench was in India setting up potteries for the Government Design Centre of West Bengal. He was back in Ireland by 1960 and set up Arklow Studio Pottery within Arklow Pottery in Co. Wexford. Here he represents the Scandinavian model of bring the artist/ designer closer to their colleagues in industry, very much as previously mentioned, on the model of the artist in residence (still to this day) in the Arabia factory in Helsinki

There are others who should be recognised. Peter Brennan established Ceramics as a taught course in the National College of Art and Design, Dublin and set up the first ceramics studio in Ireland, known as Ring Ceramics Studio, located in the Bull Ring of the Smethwick's Brewery in Kilkenny city.

Figure 12. Peter Brennen Ceramics.

Gratten Freyer set up Terrybawn pottery in the West of Ireland in Co. Mayo and fired its first kiln in 1950. He and his wife Madeline Girardeau sought advice from Bernard Leach about setting up a pottery and began a 2-year apprenticeship with Leach in 1946 in St. Ives, Cornwall, England. Peter Brennan visited Leach for 10 days but makes no reference to meeting Freyer in his archives, however Brennan's wife Helena to this day has a photograph taken by her husband, of Freyer in Leach's Studio, indicating that the 2 were there at the same time.

Figure 13. Gratten Freyer Ceramics.

That which begins to emerge here is the beginnings of an indigenous aesthetic that has links to the continuous spiral of the Celtic pattern. The key factor in Celtic symbols and decoration is that the line never breaks. Although not the case with Freyers plate above depicting the horse, certainly the chevron patterns on the horse's torso do make a reference to Celtic symbols. It is certainly evident in the range of wares displayed by Peter Brennen (black and white photograph) where the continuous link of the Celtic line is evident throughout the patterning.

I would argue that this now begins to define an Irish aesthetic or certainly responds to the criticism of the Design Report that an indigenous aesthetic was lacking in Irish material culture by the time of the Report's publication in 1962.

Returning to the Fryer's blue plate depicting the horse, we can certainly track forward to contemporary Irish Ceramicist, Cormac Boydell, who cites Freyer's ceramics as a major influence on his work.

Figure 14. Cormac Boydell Plate 2013.

Figure 15. Greyhounds, Belleek Pottery, 1870.

Moving away from the political and emancipatory nature of afore mentioned objects,reports and events, let us consider a discreet porcelain object, namely a collection of dogs, greyhounds, calmly idling in anticipation of future activity.

What can we learn here? Dated 1870 and made in the Belleek Porcelain factory Co. Fermanagh, Northern Ireland, they tell a different story from the politically driven objects previously discussed. These creatures reflect a different culture. A culture certainly rural, probably gentrified, harking back to the relaxed world of the upper classes. These dogs await their next pursuit, the next race or the next hunt. I would propose that their owners are not facing the challenges and difficulties of the tenant farmers that Davitt, Croke and Parnell represented in the political realm.

Several of the objects discussed in this paper, including the greyhounds have lived through a whole series or indices of events. These pieces have lived and survived through the industrial revolution, the creation of a new independent country, the over throw in part of a colonizing nation, two world wars and all other major events of the twentieth and twenty first centuries. They are humble objects describing a different time and a different set of values. So what do they remind of us today? What story are they telling?

I propose that these objects remind us of the value of the hand made. They also remind us of the relationships between craft and industry and somehow still measure the touch of the human hand in a world where that seems no longer valued. We are now seeing in contemporary productive design (TonFisk from Finland for example) where the relationship between the made object and its user is becoming more fullyintegrated. The objects are multi functional and engage the user in the act of pouring, storing and consuming.

Figure 16. Tonfisk range of Ceramics 2012.

If we take for example the simple clay pipe molds from Co. Derry/Londonderry and Co. Tyrone, Northern Ireland, we see that relationship between the hand made process and the industrial process that still I propose, makes the connection between the hand made object and industrial activity. And that connection is something one will always be drawn to. It is human nature to make, create and leave a mark, an impression in clay or a foot print in sand.

Figure 17. Pipe Molds, National Museum of Country Life, Co. Mayo, Ireland.

Figure 18. Pipe Molds, National Museum of Country Life, Co. Mayo, Ireland.

We have become so far removed from this, these simple objects and the tools used to make them still hold value, as they still need the maker, the crafts person or laborer to realize these objects. We see this in ffrench's plate, the Stoke on Trent table service, Brennan's pots and Tonfisk design. That is what unites these objects and creates the importance I argue for here in this paper. They still need the human hand and the touch of the maker.

The pipe molds, like any of the objects discussed in this paper are redundant without the intervention of the crafts person, artist or laborer. However the pipe molds are unique in one sense compared to other objects discussed here. They are a means to an end. They are the crucial link between the maker and the made. They are not the end product but the end product would

never exist without the mold. Therefore they are the crucial component in the making process. In the contemporary context they remind us of the value of the process and the value of the tool, without which the end product would never exist to tell its story.

As stated earlier in this paper, Irish popular culture has had a focus on music, poetry, literature and language. Evaluation and reform in the Crafts, only began in the late 1940's and teaching in the Crafts at University level in the 1960's.

Contemporary artists are beginning to emerge on the international stage following the work of the early pioneers, and the establishment of artists like Deidre McLoughlin and Claire Curneen as real leaders in their practice disciplines.

The Design Report of 1962 laid the foundation for the implementation of Ceramics as a taught course at University level in Ireland. It also prompted Government reaction leading to the development of institutions such as the Crafts Council of Ireland and Kilkenny Design Workshops.

It recognized the importance of the balance between the studio potter and the potter working with industry as exampled by John ffrech who is discussed here in relation to his role in Arklow Pottery

I would argue it created a different cultural landscape to the one described earlier (by Keating). A material cultural landscape that generated a creative industry within which Ceramics thrived for many years.

The Hidden Treasure of Museum Collections not only offer a snap shot of Irish material culture, they demonstrate the drive to create a new political agenda of independence, they are metaphors for the intention of a emerging nation to develop and improve its design standards in management education and collaboration with industry and act as a living record for that same legacy.

These Museum Treasures not only connect us with the past, they offer a link to the future where the relationship between the bespoke, hand made object and the industrial context can still thrive and exist to offer us a reminder of the value of the hand and the hand made.

ENDNOTES

[1] http://www.studiopottery.com/cgi-bin/mp.cgi?item=223.
[2] http://books.google.ie/books?id=SmX7ClYVUlwC&pg=PT263&lpg=PT263&dq=the+scandinavian+design+report+1962&source=bl&ots=LflQnmwTCx&sig=XblHDs3Gbh2oD6IJBiB8wA6V_8Y&hl=en&sa=X&ei=Z0OPUZPAOs7n7AaqsIBY&redir_esc=y.
[3] http://www.legacy.com/obituaries/berkshire/obituary.aspx?n=john-ffrench&pid=138954803#fbLoggedOut.
[4] http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hibernia_(personification).
[5] http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hibernia and http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hiberno-Roman_relations.
[6] Keating, Justin, in Ireland and the Arts, ed. Tim Pat Coogan, Ireland and the Arts, Namara Press (no date).
[7] The Design Report 1962, commissioned by the Irish Enterprise Board, Coras Tractala.
[8] The Design Report 1962, commissioned by the Irish Enterprise Board, Coras Tractala.
[9] The Design Report 1962, commissioned by the Irish Enterprise Board, Coras Tractala.
[10] The Design Report 1962, commissioned by the Irish Enterprise Board, Coras Tractala.
[11] The Design Report 1962, commissioned by the Irish Enterprise Board, Coras Tractala.
[12] The Design Report 1962, commissioned by the Irish Enterprise Board, Coras Tractala.

Eroded by policy: the demise of manufacturing, the rise of creativity, and the intangible culture of working people in St. Catharines, ON

Michael Ripmeester
Department of Geography, Brock University, St. Catharines, ON

ABSTRACT: Oil exploration in Brazil at the same time which sets the country in focus of global economy scene, has implications on social capital, reflecting the degree of reliance on social actors, their degree of association and on the disruption of cultural and environmental norms. Social capital may be seen as the basis for society face adversity in the various regions and different cultures. In this concept, social capital stands out as driving force of economy and development, since it is considered as a common good of humankind that must be preserved. The city of Macaé-RJ, had its economy based on agriculture and fisheries up to the 70's and nowadays is responsible for more than 80% of oil production in Brazil. The shift in the primary vocation of this municipality has brought changes to structure, environment and social capital to the region. This study aims to demonstrate the relevance of maintenance of social capital in the region of Macaé towards sustainable development, directed to preservation of natural resources and the traditional culture of the area. The methodology was based on semi structured interviews with fishermen and local residents and analyzed qualitatively, whose results were analyzed in a qualitative way. It was noted, among other aspects that, the environmental quality of the region was reduced, the maintenance of traditional groups in the region was heavily affected due to the unplanned growth of the city and the housing market, ignoring the historical and cultural significance of the local residents and fishermen. For this purpose, it is necessary to recover the role of institutions and public authorities in order to not cause social degeneration.

1 INTRODUCTION

In another paper, I claimed that working class culture functions as a form of intangible culture (Ripmeester, 2011). More particularly, I made preliminary observations that, in the city of St. Catharines, Ontario, the decline of fordist manufacturing and urban managers' attempts to reorient the local economy had undermined the ability of people to sustain this form of intangible culture. In this paper, I continue this discussion. I hope to demonstrate that economic trends and government policy constrain the choices of urban managers. Two important themes emerge. First, broad economic trends and government policy make it difficult for urban managers to prioritize large-scale manufacturing firms. Instead, the city is actively pursuing a

knowledge economy base. This path also directs other urban redevelopment strategies. In order to create an atmosphere amenable to "creative" workers, urban managers are attempting to foster the development of a creative city. Based on an initial analysis of comments written in to the local newspaper, I suggest both of these trend undercut working peoples' ability to sustain an intangible culture based on manufacturing work. In this paper I will sketch out a preliminary accounting of these changes.

2   ECONOMIC CHANGE AND POLICY

The economic path that St. Catharines' urban managers have chosen is familiar to students of urban redevelopment. Several authors, in fact, make it plain that movement towards particular economic cures can seem inevitable in the face of advancing neoliberal thought and two related economic strategies, the cognitive economy and the creative economy (Harvey, 1989; Hackworth 2007; Peck, 2010). Hackworth, for example, in writing of neoliberalism, refers to this as TINA (there is no alternative) thinking. Thus, while critics agree that that economic development is path dependent and becomes manifest in "actual existing" articulations, the coercive power of late capitalist discourse leads to "serial reproduction" of redevelopment schemes (Harvey, 1989; Peck, 2010). These strategies include things like focus on creating a good climate for business, public-private investment strategies, incubator/cluster development of industries such as interactive media and biohealth, redevelopment of downtowns around arts and culture and their supporting institutions, and recreation. In sum, as cities compete for the same things – firms and people – the range of possibilities becomes ever more limited. Thus, the literature offers examples and analysis of such development in individual cities as well as in "loser cities" (Rousseau, 2009), small cities (Lewis and Donald, 2010) and the countryside (Donald, 2009).

While global economic patterns draw one set of restraints around local economic development, cities, in the Canadian case anyway, are also responsible for meeting the directives of upper-tier governments. For the most part, provinces have been supportive of municipal endeavours (Siegel, 2006). Two policy directives, however, are particularly germane here. A provincial government initiative entitled "Places to Grow" was published in 2006. It identifies St. Catharines, and other central Ontario cities, as sites for "increasing *intensificatio*n of the existing *built up area*, with a focus on *urban growth centres, intensification corridors, major transit station areas, brownfield sites* and *greyfields*" (Ontario, 2012, 12 emphasis in the original). The very next year, the same government proclaimed its *Greenbelt Protection Act* (Ontario, 2013). Macdonald and Keil (2012) contend that policies represent the first instance of the provincial governments upscaling urban-regional planning regulation. In other words, the provincial government provides the context within which Ontario municipalities carry out their own planning functions (Courtney, 2009). More, municipalities remain responsible for actually enacting these policies(Macdonald and Keil, 2012).

This brings the discussion to St. Catharines. The *Places to Grow Act* directs municipal governments to find ways to increase residential and employment densities to 150 residents and jobs combined per hectare (Ontario, 2012, 2.2.4.5.c; City of St. Catharines, 2008, iii). This means that in St. Catharines local managers must foster an increase of 1,000 residential units and 400 jobs in the downtown core by 2026 (City of St. Catharines, 2008, iii). Even had provincial mandate not stipulated that the downtown core be the site of growth, the Green belt plan effectively shuts down suburban growth. A local pundit wrote,

> "Oshawa, Pickering, Whitby, Aurora, Newmarket, Toronto, Oakville and Hamilton all have generous amounts of grey for future growth.
> But follow the map into Niagara, and the grey areas disappear. The green of the greenbelt abuts the orange areas of Grimsby, Lincoln, Niagara-on-the-Lake and St. Catharines.

> So the Province identified St. Catharines as a Growth Strategy in one strategy, and then sets in law severe limits of the space the city has to grow (*Standard*, October 16, 2007).

In light of these policy directives, urban managers seem to have few choices but to remake the local economic order in a form that features downtown growth.

3   ECONOMIC CHANGE

Most commentators agree that the production regime in the city is changing dramatically, albeit slowly and painfully. They would agree that the demise of fordist manufacturing has been particularly devastating. Nevertheless some of the urban managers I interviewed bristled at the suggestion that manufacturing in the city is dead; they would argue it is just different. In other words, manufacturing remains important to the region. It is, however, growing in areas of advanced manufacturing that features small to medium firms that are economically lean with flexible approaches to demand. Thus, while statistics suggest that the number of firms has remained relatively constant over the past decade, they also demonstrate that there are far fewer manufacturing jobs in the city. Managers arealso open to other kinds of development. For example, and given the downtown focus of growth mandates, the city is attempting to lure both biomedical and interactive digital media firms to St. Catharines.

With the support of a mix of private and public funds, the Niagara Interactive Media Generator (it has since been renamed Innovate Niagara, Innovate Niagara, 2013) opened in downtown in 2008. Its early successes translated into its rapid growth. Later that same year, nGen was deemed a Regional Innovation Centre by the provincial government and became part of the Ontario Network of Excellence. In this role, nGen was placed to offer their services across the all industries and across the entire province (Innovate Niagara, 2013). Innovate Niagara supports approximately seven small firms at any given time. Thus far, one media company has matured enough to leave the incubator and move into its own facilities. It is worth noting that the new company located on nearby downtown St. Catharines street*(Standard*, October 12, 2012).The other pillar of cluster development is centred on biosciences. In this context, the cities relationship with Brock University is central. In 2012, Brock opened its Cairns Family Health and Bioscience Research Complex. It's website states:

> It will house world-class work by researchers in areas like cancer, infectious diseases, biotechnology and green chemistry. It will also house an incubator for start-up businesses to capitalize on the innovative research and knowledge transfer that happens in the complex (Brock University, 2010).

Both incubators are poised to to provide office space, shared equipment, administrative help, various support services until small firms overcome both the liability of newness and the liability of smallness (Moraru and Rusei, 20102; Bollingtoft, 2012).

4   RESHAPING THE CITY

Urban managers find themselves in double bind. Not only must the region develop a working economic alternative, but they must also develop or attract a suitable workforce. In 2008, the City unveiled its new *Creative Clusters Master Plan* (CCMP). Its introduction contains a number of key features that figure both backward and forward in this work. First, it unabashedly points to Richard Florida and the Creative Class as a key influence. It takes for granted that a new knowledge economy has emerged and that the combination of cultural institutions, academic institutions and civic institutions paired with "urban entrepreneurs," "an attractive built and natural environment," and a diverse population is the vehicle by which regeneration

will occur.   Second, it points to a number of material elements: an increased presence for academic institutions, an increase in the number of "artist residents" and cultural institutions, and the emergence of St. Catharines as an important node in the the region's wine industry. The combination of these elements should attract investment and tourists, help rebrand downtown as a destination and residence for locals, and create a safe, walkable environment during both day and night.

The key features of the plan include the anticipated movement of Brock's Fine and Performing Arts Departments into the downtown, the designation of St. Paul Street (the main downtown thoroughfare) as part of the region's wine route and the establishment of a wine embassy. In addition, the plan offers the possibility of expanding or creating a spectator facility, the primary tenants of which would be the local Ontario Hockey League's Niagara Ice Dogs (CCMP, 4).   Such public investment might be included in what Sharon Zukin (1995) calls "trophy investments." The trend towards this "urban cultural building boom" is predicated on the convergence of three trends: cities attempting to draw investment things that boost their quality of life quotient; the needs of cultural institutions to broaden their economic bases; and, the blurring of bounds between high and popular culture (Strom, 2002: 6). Their purpose is quite simple, cultural institutions are meant to function as catalysts in local economic development (Sternberg, 2002; Grodach, 2008).

Buildings and aesthetics are, however, not enough. The word vibrancy and its synonyms liberally sprinkle the literature on creative cities. Indeed, a city's vitality, its energy, its coolness is a key to attracting the creatives (Florida, 2005). Yet vibrancy as a phenomenon is difficult to tack down; its potency is akin to other vague descriptors as "buzz" or "something in the air" (Heebels and Van Aalst, 2010). Vibrancy seems to rest on two pillars: an attractive environment and a particular type of consumption. Which of the two comes first, however, is part of a larger argument. Florida (2005) denotes vibrancy as prescription, establish it and the creatives will come. On the other hand, Storper and Scott (2009) contend that a diverse and vibrant city is the effect of economic growth rather than its cause. This question of what comes first is also a key part of the problem that St. Catharines faces. It needs to create a vibrant downtown that contains the amenities that will attract the creative, but it also needs to draw the people to create the buzz.

While creating vibrancy seems an admirable goal, it also suggests particular type of redevelopment based on sets of priorities that may or not reflect local heritage or wider identity narratives.A growing literature suggests that arts and cultural development schemes are anything but inclusive (v. Atkinson and Easthope, 2009; Miles, 2005). At its root, culturally-led development must turn cultural into products constrained by the coercive controls of the market (Harvey, 1989; Silk, 2007, Miles, 2007). This often means a focus on market growth and elite consumption rather than specific local meaning. This is particularly true in drawing both tourists and creative workers, whose desires are becoming ever closer together (Lloyd and Clark, 2001). Thus, a common thread of creative economy critique is that, as Peck (2010, 221) puts it: "the pursuit of economic growth becomes neatly synonymous with the publicly-funded seduction of the creative class."These trends mean that only a portion of the public may have unfettered access to these spaces (Peterson, 2006). Indeed, some authors suggest that culturally led development leads to an active cleansing of downtown spaces as urban managers attempt to control superficial markers of disorder such as street art and disorderly bar and club attendees (Atkinson, 2003; Jayne et al., 2004; Doran and Lees, 2005). Thus, even though couched in terms of "authenticity" these types developments become generative rather than reflective of local identity (*v.* Mayes, 2008). Thus,

Perhaps unwittingly, the urban managers of St. Catharines have started down this path. In its efforts to make the downtown safe for a select clientele, policy makers have attempted to establish an entertainment zone in which business owners would face heavier taxes in order to pay for extra policing, an anti-graffiti committee,

City of St. Catharines, 2010); and CCTV Cameras (Standard,February 8, 2012). In addition the Downtown Association has entered into a cost sharing relationship with local police in order to increase the law enforcement presence downtown (*Standard*, February 23, 2010). The desired effect of these moves seems clear; the downtown core needs a particular type of citizen. Thus,

for example, in a newspaper article a journalist suggests: "Everyone knows the key to a thriving downtown is a good-sized residential population. And it can't just be students or low-income residents. There has to be a significant middle-class component, too" (*Standard*, December 21, 2012). IN another article, a business owner is cited as saying: "The businesses in the downtown are (often) individually owned and a little higher-end. The arts will bring in -- and always have brought to the downtown -- a little higher level of taste…." "It's just what downtown needs." (*Standard*, November 7, 2008)

Yet it is also clear that not all residents are keen on the direction of urban regeneration. In another paper, a colleague and I noted that residents were not receptive to the upscale movement of the long-standing annual Grape and Wine Festival (Ripmeester and Johnston, 2010, v. Mackintosh forthcoming). More, in an analysis of comments on newspaper articles covering the planning and construction of the catalyst buildings in downtown, a majority of commentators complain about the tax burden these investments place on underemployed residents. For example, commentators commonly use words that connote class, individuals refer to the Performing Arts Centre as a "TajMahal," a culture castle," a "field of dreams," and a "palace in wonderland." More, commentators see the Performing Arts Centre as a place for a very small percentage of the population; "one percenters" is a common sobriquet. As one person puts it:

> So the new Performing Arts Centre is JUST a PLAY space for the St. Catharines-Niagara Nouveau Riche….
> Paid for by the over taxed taxpayers of St. Catharines.
> All others please stay away. (*Standard*, August 29, 2012)

The other key is that the improvements are localized in the downtown core. The reason for this is obvious. The downtown core is most likely to be the place in which "buzz" can be created. This leaves some residents cold. As one person wrote:

> It's all about the one percenters now. The bankrupt city is spending money it doesn't have on an Arts Centre and the One Percenter Arena. 99 per cent of the people in St. Catharines will never see the inside of either building but they'll be paying more property taxes to cover the costs.
> It doesn't matter that our streets are more patch than road
> It doesn't matter half of the streets in the city never see a snow plough.
> It doesn't matter that our parks are filled with garbage.
> It doesn't' matter that seniors living on fixed incomes can't afford the property tax increases.
> All that matters is building mega projects for the one percenters.
> That's why this city is such a mess (*The Standard*, Aug. 28, 2012).

It seems clear, then, that some locals at least see redevelopment strategies as implying a particular type of citizenship.

5   CONCLUSION

In sum, urban managers do not have many options when it comes to urban redevelopment. Global economics, neoliberal ideology, and the rise of the cognitive economy set the parameters for their choices. In St. Catharines these movements are exacerbated by provincial government mandate to intensify both employment and residents in the downtown core. In the context of these factors, urban managers have attempted to focus on drawing both individuals and firms with the creation of digital media and biosciences clusters and the promotion of advanced manufacturing. The hope is to create a synergy between these sectors. In addition, in an attempt to draw "creatives" the City is attempting to reimage itself as on the basis of arts and culture. While this seems legitimate, it does hold ramifications for long time residents. As demonstrated

here, an initial analysis of newspaper commentary suggests that residents view these developments as too focused on the downtown and too focused on the one percent of the population they perceive will be served by this redevelopment. The next stage of this research is to interview former manufacturing employees concerning both the nature of their changing experiences of work and citizenship.

REFERENCES

Atkinson, R. & Easthope H. (2009). The Consequences of the creative class: the pursuit of creativity strategy in Australia's Cities. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research,* 33(1): 64-79.

Atkinson, R. (2003). Domestication by cappuccino or a revenge on urban space?Control and empowerment in the management of public space. *Urban Studies,* 40(9): 1829-1843.

Bollingtoft, A. (2012). The bottom-up incubator: leverage to networking and cooperative practices in a self-generated, entrepreneurial-enabled environment. *Technovation,* 32(5): 304-315.

Brock Univesity (2010). *Cairns Family Health and Bioscience Research* Complex [online]. Available at http://www.brocku.ca/cairns-health-bioscience [Accessed 2 May 2013].

City of St. Catharines (2010). Graffiti Committee [online]. Available at http://www.stcatharines.ca/en/governin/GraffitiCommittee.asp [Accessed 2 May 2013].

City of St. Catharines (2008). *St. Catharines Downtown Creative Master Plan.* Prepared by Joseph Bogdan Associates Inc.

Donald, B. (2009). *From Kraft to Craft: Innovation and Creativity in Ontario's Food Economy.* St. Lazare: Martin Prosperity Institute.

Doran, B. & Lees B. (2005). Investigating the spatiotemporal links between crime, disorder, crime and the fear of crime, *The Professional Geographer,* 57(1): 1-12.

Courtney, K. (2009). Sustainable urban transportation and Ontario's new planning regime: the Provincial policy statement and the Growth Plan for the Greater Golden Horseshoe, *Journal of Environmental Law and Practice,* 19: 71-104.

Lewis, N. & Donald B. (2010). A new rubric for the 'Creative City' potential in Canada's smaller cities. *Urban Studies,* 47(1): 29-54.

Florida, R. (2005). *Cities and the Creative Class.* New York and London: Routledge.

Grodach, C. (2008). Museums as urban catalysts: the role of urban design in flagship cultural development. *Journal of Urban Design,* 13(2): 195-212.

Hackworth, J. (2007). *The Neoliberal City: Governance, Ideology, and Development in American Urbanism.* Ithica: Cornell University Press.

Harvey, D. (1989). From managerialism to entrepreneurialism: the transformation of urban governance in late capitalism. *GeografiskaAnnaler Series B, Human Geography*, 71(1) 3-17.

Heebels, B & Van Aalst I. (2010). Creative clusters in Berlin: entrepreneurship and the quality of place in Prenszlauer Berg and Kreuzberg. *GeografiskaAnnaler: Series B, Human Geography,* 92(4): 347-363.

Innovate Niagara (2013). History [online]. Available at https://innovateniagara.com/Home/About/History/ [Accessed 2 May 2013].

Jayne, M., Holloway, S. & Valentine, G. (2006). Drunk and disorderly: alcohol, urban life and public space. *Progress in Human Geography,* 30(4): 451-468.

Lloyd, R. & Clark, T. N. (2001). The city as entertainment machine. *Critical Perspectives on Urban Redevelopment,* 6: 359-380.

Mayes, R. (2008). A place in the sun: the politics of place, identity and branding. *Place Branding and Public Diplomacy,* 4(2) 124-135.

Mackintosh, P. (forthcoming). The Niagara Wine Festival's Grande Parade: the Public geography of a 'Grape and Wine' controversy. In M. Ripmeester, P. Mackintosh & C. Fullerton, eds. *The World of Niagara Wine.* Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press.

McCann, E.J. (2004). 'Best places': interurban competition, quality of life and popular media discourse. *Urban Studies,* 41(10): 1909-1929.

McDonald, S. & R. Keil (2012). The Ontario greenbelt: shifting the scales of the sustainability fix. *The Professional Geographer,* 64(1): 125-145.

Miles, M. (2007). The culture industries: symbolic economies and critical practices. *Social Analysis,* 51(1): 13-27.

Miles, M. (2005). Interruptions: testing the rhetoric of culturally led urban development. *Urban Studies,* 42(5/6): 889-911.

Moraru, C. & Rusei A. (2012). Business Incubators – favorable environment for small and medium enterprises development, *Theoretical and Applied Economics,* 19(5): 169-176.

Ontario (2012). *Places to Grow: Office Consolidation* [online]. Available at https://www.placestogrow.ca/content/ggh/plan-cons-english-all-web.pdf [Accessed 2 May 2013].

Ontario (2013). *Greenbelt* [online]. Available at http://www.mah.gov.on.ca/Page187.aspx [Accessed 2 May 2013].

Peck, J. (2010). *Constructions of Neoliberal Reason.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Peterson, M. (2006). Patrolling the plaza, privatized public space and the neoliberal state in downtown Los Angeles. *Urban Anthropology,* 35(4); 355-377.

Ripmeester, M. (2011). Obliterating intangibles: the creative economy and the erasure of blue collar identity in St. Catharines. In S. Lira & R. Amoêda, eds. *Sharing Cultures 2011 – Proceedings of 2ⁿᵈ International Conference on Intangible Heritage.* Barcelos: Green Lines Institute.

Ripmeester, M. & Johnston R. (2010). Sustaining Identity: Heritage Development and Identity Construction in the Niagara Region, Canada. In S. Lira, R. Amoêda, C. Pinheiro & F. Olivera., eds. *HERITAGE 2010 – Proceedings of* 2ⁿᵈ International Conference on Heritage and Sustainable Development. Green Lines Institute. Barcelos: Portugal.

Rousseau, M. (2009). Re-imaging the city centre for the middle classes: regeneration, gentrification and symbolic practices in 'loser cities'. *International Journal of urban and Regional Research,* 33(3): 770-788.

Siegel, D. (2006). Recent Changes in Provincial-Municipal Relations in Ontario: A New Era or a Missed Opportunity?. In R. Young & C. Leuprecht, eds. *Municipal-Federal-Provincial Relations in Canada.* Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2006. pp.181-97.

Silk, M. (2007). Come downtown and play. *Leisure Studies,* 26(3) 253-277.

Standard (St. Catharines), December 21, 2012.

Standard(St. Catharines), October 12, 2012.

Standard (St. Catharines), August 29, 2012.

Standard (St. Catharines), August 28, 2012.

Standard (St. Catharines), February 23, 2010.

Standard (St. Catharines)*,* November 7, 2008.

Standard(St. Catharines), October 17, 2007.

Standard (St. Catharines), October 16, 2007

Sternberg, E. (2002). What makes buildings catalytic? How cultural facilities can be designed to spur surrounding development. *Journal or Architectural and Planning Research,* 19(1): 30-43.

Strom, E. (2001). Converting pork into porcelain: cultural institutions and downtown development. *Urban Affairs Review,* 38:3-28.

Zukin,S. (1995). *The Culture of Cities.* Oxford: Blackwell.

Performance of intangible cultural heritage in Birifor funeral music

Michael Vercelli
West Virginia University, Morgantown, WV, U.S.A.

ABSTRACT: For the Birifor living in the remote western corner of Ghana's Northern Region, the link between modern and traditional life is performed regularly at funerals. While primarily agrarians, the Birifor reserve a special status for the master hunter within their society. Increased development of the Northern Region has resulted in the loss of large game, leaving an occupational void for the master hunter. Despite the reduced number of master hunters within Birifor society, the idea of the hunt remains a central focus of the funeral ritual. Birifor funeral music uses ritual communication to preserve the intangible cultural mythology, support gender and social roles, and console the grieving family simultaneously. The continuously changing interaction between the musicians, dancers, and mourners creates a dynamic performance space where the idealized Birifor lifestyle is expressed through hunting reenactment. The cyclical nature of the funeral ritual reinforces cultural norms and musically educates future performers.

1 BACKGROUND

The Birifor that inhabit the western edge of Ghana's Northern Region, are primarily agrarians, but retain a strong identity regarding hunters. (Goody, 1962; Godsey, 1980; Vercelli, 2006) The Birifor hunter represents the ideal male characteristics, brave, self-reliant, supportive of the community, and to some degree magical. The great hunter or *Na Kpan* is believed to be responsible for bringing many cultural ideas to the Birifor people including the *gyil* (indigenous xylophone) and much of its repertoire. The Na Kpan is believed to communicate to the animals of the bush through secret and powerful songs. These songs allow skilled hunters to track large game, and find the more elusive animals remaining in the bush. With the deforestation and agricultural exploitation of Ghana's Northern and Upper West region, much of the large game has disappeared, some to the nearby game reserve of Mole National Park, the rest to the brink of extinction from the area. (Lentz and Sturm, 2001) Given the urgency of these environmental changes and with the assistance of master Birifor musician Tijan Dorwana, this study investigates the evolution of the Na Kpan in Birifor society, and the sustainability of these powerful songs for future generations.

   The instrumental ensemble is crucial to a successful Birifor funeral. The Birifor's primary funeral musical instrument is the pentatonic xylophone known as the gyil. Constructed from antelope skin, dried gourds, and the essential *nirra* wood (*Dalbergia Melanoxylon*), all found locally, the gyil is entirely rooted in the Birifor natural environment. (Vercelli, 2007) The unique

characteristic buzzing sound of the gyil is created by small holes drilled into the dried gourd resonators and covered with a thin vibrating membrane, often a spider-egg cocoon or thin cigarette paper. The resulting buzz of the membrane creates a variety of overtones around the fundamental pitch of the corresponding key and enhances the sustain of the tone. As the tuning for the gyil varies between builders, written transcriptions of the gyil music can be complex. (Strumph, 1970, Godsey, 1980, Vercelli, 2006) For ease of transcription, the musical selections in this paper are symbolic based on Mitchel Strumph's pentatonic model seen in Figure 1 (Strumph, 1970).

Figure 1. Representation of Gyil Range and Pitches.

This study will refer to the gyil players as masculine. While the musicians interviewed stated that are no gender regulations surrounding gyil performance, no women were encountered performing in a public space.

The remaining instruments of the ensemble include the long cylindrical drum known as a *ganga* and it is accompanied by a bell called *kuur*. The ganga is played with hands, sticks, and advanced techniques involving the feet and its performance practice is considered nearly as complex as the gyil. (Godsey, 1980). In contrast, the kuur is considered simple to play, yet still integral to the musical texture. The last member of the musical ensemble is a pair of small drums called *lar* which have grown increasingly rare and will be excluded from the analysis of this study.

This research began with a "preservationist's" approach, assuming that these traditions would be in danger of disappearing within a foreseeable generation and needed protection or intervention. Instead this study illustrates how the Birifor sustain their musical traditions through their adaptability to the natural world. Using Rodney Harrison's model of heritage as a "dialogical relationship between human beings and a range of other human and non-human actors and their environments, this study supports that the gyil traditions of the Birifor Intangible Cultural Heritage (ICH) belongs in balance between music, environment, and the supernatural with the musician as the chief negotiator for the Birifor community. (Harrison, 2013: 9) The ICH is sustained through regular and frequent performance at Birifor funerals and there exists an egalitarian ideal that the average male becomes memorialized along with the Na Kpan in Birifor history and the family's collective memory.

2   BIRIFOR MODLE OF INTANGIBLE CULTURAL HERITAGE

The scene of a typical Birifor funeral is as follows: It is a hot, dusty day in the Birifor village neighboring Kaliba in Ghana's Northern Region. The funeral is well underway in its second of three days. The field is scattered with bicycles and motorbikes parked haphazardly in the sun, while their riders congregate under the shade of the largest tree in the area to pay their respects to the deceased. Closer to the ceremony, vendors fry bean cakes in palm oil and sell *akpateshi* or locally distilled gin out of a recycled jerrycan. The sounds of the gyil and drums are constant, as the community members dance, kick up dust, shout and clap their hands. Women ritually wail near the body of the deceased while men just arriving announce their presence punctuating the air with rifle shots. Children play throughout the funeral grounds with future musicians playing close attention to the drums and gyil, sometimes mimicking their musical mentors nearby.

The gyil player is at the heart of the Birifor ICH. He engages in a critical dialogue between the Birifor society, the supernatural, and the surrounding environment illustrated by the following model. (Fig. 2)

Figure 2. Birifor Model of ICH.

While the Birifor believe the gyil player can communicate with both the supernatural and the environment, it is also assumed that the supernatural and environment can influence each in ways beyond human comprehension, thus the implied arrow of the triangle. As Birifor musicians are most often instrument builders, they have a direct connection to the environment. As Godsey explains "The instrument maker is the epitome of musical specialists among (of) the Birifor in particular: not only does he perform music for ceremonial occasions such as the funeral, but he also produces instruments that are the material exponents of his society's musical values." (Godsey, 1980: 122) The dialogue between the musician and the environment primarily takes place during the construction of an instrument and beyond the scope of this paper. (Strumph, 1970; Godsey, 1980; Vercelli, 2006; Hogan, 2011) A brief investigation into the musical structure of the funeral ceremony will elaborate on how the musicians create dialogue primarily between society and the supernatural.

The structure of the funeral ceremony is cyclical with each gyil player performing principally the same musical repertoire. Throughout the day and night gyil players will perform one at a time showcasing the extent of their knowledge of the Birifor funeral music repertoire, participating in their heritage as a "creative process." (Harrison 2013: .38) The most basic male's funeral will have four musical sections in common: *Piri, Daarkpen, Chi Kobna*, and *Guun*. Certain other musical repertoires are included if the deceased is a member of various cults, initiated through the Birifor puberty ritual, or if he is regarded as a hunter. (Godsey, 1980; Vercelli, 2006) The four principal sections function in specific roles for the funeral: the *Piri* to announce the death of the deceased, allow the musician to reflect, personally mourn, and display his solo ability (Godsey, 1980); *Daarkpen* to sympathize with the mourners, begin the musical ensemble playing, and start the dancing; *Chi Kobna* to recognize the farmers; *Guun* to chase off any evil spirits that might interfere with the funeral ceremony, finish the dancing, and complete the cycle.

To begin a performance the gyil player first interacts with sympathetic songs to the deceased as well as a variety of musical motives symbolizing the Birifor's collective history. Before any gyil player begins, he must first announce the death through a melodic idea called *piila* (Fig. 2) indicating "something serious" has happened (Vercelli, 2006). The *piila* may be repeated at the gyil player's discretion to set the mood and tonal center of the first piece. Within this short melodic idea the gyil player has a variety of ways to add his own personal expression into the funeral announcement, including repetition and rhythmic development. As each player "announces" himself to the funeral, each begins with this same, short, melodic motive. Many experienced gyil players can aurally recognize the gyil player simply by his variation on the instrument. (Mensah, 1982) The variety of *piila* performances gives younger players a seemingly endless vocabulary of musical ideas to refine and develop individually. While there is not Birifor text directly associated with the *pilla*, members of the community immediately respond to its symbolism and understand that a male member of the household has died.

Figure 3. Piila Indicating "Something Serious".

The *Pire* begins with *Daarfo*, "the struggle," as a reminder of the Birifor's hunting history. The *Daarfo* uses symbolic imagery to tell the story of a great hunter, known as Orifa, deep in the bush searching for game. The gyil player crafts together a story made of significant melodic and rhythmic motives to express the historical aspects of the hunt as well as create the funeral drama. Performing the *Daarfo* for the funeral connects the deceased directly to the image of the great hunter and memorializes him as someone who has faced life's challenges. To perform the *Daarfo*, the gyil player must draw upon a vast vocabulary of symbolic musical motives. The gyil player's skill is judged by how he crafts these melodic symbols into an artistic story that the funeral community will understand. Within the *Daarfo*, the primary musical motive represents the hunt (Fig. 4) and interjected with a variety of symbolic gestures such as a hunting whistle or birdsongs, to create and engaging aesthetic experience with the funeral attendees. (Fig. 5) (Vercelli, 2006) In regard to the resulting performance, the late gyil virtuoso Kakraba Lobi explained "women will listen to this [Daarfo] and they will cry". (Godsey, 1980)

Figure 4. Hunting Motive.

Keeping with the performance order of the funeral ceremony, the gyil player would conclude the solo *Piri* and invite the drums and kuur to participate. The full ensemble, gyil and drums, serves as the necessary combination for funeral participants to dance. Musically, the *Daarkpen* repertoire is performed first. *Daarkpen* is gender specific and only played at a male's funeral. While the *Piri* of the previous section relied on symbolism to engage the funeral participants, *Daarkpen* uses recognizable Birifor texts as a melodic foundation to console the bereaved while simultaneously demonstrating the gyil player's virtuosity. Musical speech surrogates are found throughout the Birifor gyil music and are interpreted by the community in varying degrees, (Hogan, 2011) but within the funeral repertoire, certain texts can be considered canonical. The commonly recognized texts such as *Ganda Yina*, (Fig. 6) is considered part of the *Gon Prri* or "old" or "original" *Daarkpen* repertoire and a critical part of every gyil player's musical vocabulary. The text of *Ganda Yina* address the family of the deceased "The breadwinner is gone, what will you do tomorrow? How will you survive?" The gyil player can demonstrate his own musicality by performing the basic song melody in the left hand, while adding variation and melodic ornamentation in the right hand. Within each of the songs in the Birifor funeral repertoire, the song itself is not enough to create an emotional response within the community. The gyil player's virtuosity and ability to improvise around each recognizable melody creates the necessary aesthetic experience for the community to mourn the loss of the deceased. As Godsey expressed "the textual foundation is present but in musical terms it is a point of departure rather than an end in itself." (Godsey, 1980: 107)

Figure 6. Ganda Yina "The Breadwinner is Gone".

Texts associated with the *Chi Kobine* and *Guun,* are musically developed in a similar fashion while the subjects of the songs address concerns of farming and social issues within the community respectively. (Godsey, 1980) As these texts engage in dialogue with the funeral participants such as "*ah inya mwa irr kuora* – he doesn't allow day to break before farming" encouraging good farming practice. On a more corporal level the ganga drum coordinates and dictates the intensity of the funeral dancing throughout the *Daarkpen, Chi Kobine*, and *Guun*. In response to the gyil player's dynamic improvisations, the ganga player performs a *viir,* or cue to excite the funeral attendants into dancing. The drumming must be forceful and louder than the surrounding musical texture. Each ganga player has the artistic freedom to develop their own viir, again relying on short, common rhythmic cells. Figure 7 outlines a brief viir commonly heard during *Chi Kobine*, which by itself, can be repeated to build intensity. Figure 8 illustrates a possible improvisation on the same viir demonstrated by Tijan Dorwana.

Figure 7. Commonly Performed Viir.

Figure 8. Viir with Improvisation.

The ganga drummer is free to improvise around the viir as he chooses, as long as the signal to dance is clear to the funeral participants. The dialogue between the gyil player and ganga drummer can be competitive and if one cannot seem to match the musical intensity of the other, the perceived weaker musician will be replaced with someone who can raise the excitement of the funeral. The funeral participants respond to strong gyil and drummer combinations with energetic dancing and often small, monetary rewards. Beyond the viir cues, the ganga drum can also engage in surrogate language, but the level of recognition with funeral participants is unknown at this time and requires further investigation.

As the above examples primarily engage in dialogue with the funeral participants, the musicians are also thought to engage with the supernatural with both symbolism and speech surrogates. Special selections by the gyil player include songs to keep the mythical *kontomble* away. For the Birifor and many LoDagaa ethnic groups in Ghana's Northern and Upper West regions, the kontomble are magical dwarfs dwelling deep in the forest. The kontomble are believed to be ancients and live in direct harmony with the forest, perhaps even influencing plant and animal life. Only those with magical powers, such as hunters, can see the kontomble and it is believed that some with magical powers can communicate directly with the kontomble. For the average human, having kontomble appear at an event, especially a funeral, would be deeply troubling. (Somé, 1994) To ensure the kontomble are not attracted to the sound of the gyil, the performer will play a song directly for the kontomble. The text "*kontomble a way, lam puo lo, kontomble a way, gyil-saa ye*" directly insults the kontomble's appearance claiming that their testicles are the size of the largest gourd resonator on the gyil. (Vercelli, 2006) Other supernatu-

ral illusions include melodic interludes performed during the *Guun*, which represent the sound of ancestral spirits or ghosts, coming to lead the deceased to the afterlife.

The previous four genres of funeral music are performed at every male's funeral with the *Chi Kobine* and *Guun* also performed at every woman's funeral allowing for ample opportunities for younger generations to hear, respond, and learn the Birifor ceremonial funeral music. As the hunter's role in Birifor society is highly regarded, there exists an additional genre of music specifically for the hunter. As mentioned, the deforestation of the northern regions of Ghana has resulted in a lack of game and in turn fewer hunters, but despite the increasingly infrequent performance of the hunter's repertoire, the music for the hunters is still regarded as some of the most powerful in the Birifor funeral repertoire.

The funeral for the Na Kpan, takes on an additional dramatic event as well as an additional body of gyil repertoire known as *Na Kpan Bine* or literally "Hunters' Dance." The *Na Kpan Bine* will only be performed once during the funeral ceremony and performed by a preselected gyil player. During the *Na Kpan Bine*, hunters attending the funeral will obtain the deceased's hunting trophies. These trophies could include antlers, skulls, and bones from hunts during the deceased's life. In a clearing near the funeral site, the trophies are stacked together as almost a monument to the hunter's success. On top of the trophies the hunters will secure a foul as the target of the ritual hunt. The hunters, armed with bow and arrow or rifle, begin the ritualized hunt by cautiously approaching the intended target. Many will discharge their munitions in the process, but not striking the foul. Only the hunter chosen within the hunting society will actually make the final kill and end the reenactment.

As this drama unfolds, the gyil player continues to perform. Once the final kill is made, the gyil player moves on to perform other funeral repertoire. With such infrequent performances and learning opportunities for younger musicians, the primary research question became: How does the *Na Kpan Bine* music it perpetuate itself, and what happen when there is no more game?

3 SUSTAINABLE PRACTICE

Traditionally, the title of Na Kpan was given only to those who have killed a large animal, but despite the lack of large game in the Birifor environment, the title Na Kpan still exists. Sontii, an elder Na Kpan and coincidently a renown gyil virtuoso, was proud of his collection of skulls, ritually cleaned, strung together and hung in a special room of his house. These environmental artifacts would be displayed publicly at his funeral confirming his title as Na Kpan. While he has not killed a large animal the number of skulls in his collection established proof that he is a skilled hunter and can provide for his family. At the time of the interview in 2010, Sontii's family consisted of eight wives all with multiple children. Sontii's case demonstrates that the adaptable *idea* of the Na Kpan allows the title to endure and not actually the act of killing large game. He concluded that modern weaponry has wiped out the large game and with only fowls remaining, there are no more *great* hunters, but the music will continue as long as there are hunters. As long as the role of the master hunter can continue to be redefined, the musical traditions accompanying the Na Kpan will also be sustained.

Sontii also disclosed the special bond between the hunter and the gyil player. The hunter's special powers enable him to sing to the animals in the bush and communicate their whereabouts and protect the hunter from animal attacks. These songs are unique to the individual and the game they are pursuing, so that the repertoire continues to evolve along with the environment. Upon advanced age the hunter demonstrates these songs to a selected gyil player who will in turn perform them at the hunter's funeral. As in Sontii's case, he has chosen one of his sons to perform his "secret" hunter's songs. For the gyil player, performing the hunter's music is considered as dangerous work, for the songs are considered to have magical powers in the forest. To contain this magic, the selected gyil player must have his own protection, usually in the form of an animist totem, to allow him to perform these songs without repercussion and further connecting him to the forest environment. The hunter-musician interaction links the two individuals by a "chain of connectivity, and work(s) together to keep the past alive in the present for the future." (Harrison, 2013: 229) The performance of these secret songs at the funeral connects hunter, one last time, to the environment and his profession. The intangible relationship

between the hunter, his environment, and the gyil player allow for these songs to evolve and have continued significance within Birifor society.

Even though there are fewer Na Kpan the rarity of this funeral occurrence sustains the music's perceived power. At the funeral of the Na Kpan, the hunter's music can only be performed once and by the select gyil player. The rest of the funeral music still reoccurs in its cyclical fashion. Perhaps it is the rarity of the repertoire that sustains its power. While older songs might have been more powerful in attracting large game, the infrequency of the *Na Kpan Bine* repertoire retains its reserved power within the community, even if it only attracts smaller animals. Within its funeral presentation, the single performance of the Na Kpan will mark the severity of the event and not necessarily give away its "secrets". Young gyil players can listen to the rest of the funeral repertoire cycled over the three days, imitate the elders, and gain the extensive vocabulary of the music. The irregularity of the Na Kpan Bine only allows the chosen gyil player to elaborate on the deceased hunter's songs. The single performance inhibits the younger gyil players from quickly learning these songs and solidifies the dialogue between the deceased hunter and his gyil player confidant.

4 CONCLUSION

The funeral frequency is the key to the sustainability of the typical Birifor funeral repertoire. Over the three-day period, young and old gyil players offer their respects to the deceased and the family members by performing the extent of their knowledge. While there is no formal instruction for a young gyil player, the funeral setting allows him to listen to multiple interpretations of the same repertoire, and focus on variation within a selected context. Repeated engagement with this music will help the young gyil player learn the proper context for embellishment and personal style but also how to use the gyil vocabulary to mediate the funeral ceremony. By viewing ICH as a creative engagement with the past, (Harrison, 2013) the living gyil player builds upon the musical oral tradition of his predecessors. Through musical dialogue, the gyil player can properly negotiate between the funeral community, the supernatural, and the environment. As evident in the *Na Kpan Bine* the special interpersonal dialogue between the hunter and the gyil player and their ability to adapt to their changing environment allow for even the most rare of their funeral music to retain its spiritual power.

REFERENCES

Agawu, K. (2003). *Representing African Music*. New York: Routledge.
Agordoh, A.A. (1994). *Studies in African Music*. Ho, Ghana: New Age Publications.
Anderson, L. A. (1967). The African Xylophone. *African Arts* 1(1): 46-49, 66-69.
Chernoff, J. M. (1979). *African Rhythm and African Sensibility*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
Godsey, L. D. (1980). *The use of the Xylophone in the Funeral ceremony of the Birifor of Northwest Ghana*. Unpublished thesis (MSc), University of California.
---------------------------- (1984). The Use of Variation in Birifor Funeral Music. *Selected Reports in Ethnomusicology,* 5: 67-80.
Goody, J. (1962) *Death, Property and the Ancestors*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
---------------- (1972). *The Myth of the Bagre*. London: Oxford University Press.
Harrison, R. (2013). *Heritage: Critical Approaches*. New York: Routledge.
Hogan, B. (2011). *Enemy Music: Blind Birifor Xylophonists of Northwest Ghana*. Unpublished thesis (PhD), University of California.
Howard, K., ed. (2012). *Music as Intangible Cultural Heritage*. Burlington VT: Ashgate Publishing Company.
Lentz, C. & Hans-Jurgen St. (2001). Of Trees and Earth Shrines: An Interdisciplinary Approach to Settlement Histories in the West African Savanna. *History in Africa, African Studies Association,* 28: 139-168.
Mensah, A.A. (1965). Musicality and Musicianship in Northwest Ghana. *Research Review, University of Ghana, Institute of African Studies*, 2: 42-45.
---------------- (1967). Further Notes on Ghana's Xylophone Traditions. *Research Review, University of Ghana, Institute of African Studie*s, 3: 62-65.

----------------- (1967). The Polyphony of Gyil-gu, Kudzo and Awutu Sakumo. *Journal of the International Folk Music Council*, 19: 75-79.

Mensah, A.A. (1963). Gyil: The Dagara-Lobi Xylophone. *Journal of African Studies*, 9(3) (1982): 139-154.

Nketia, J.H. K. (n.d.). *Drumming in Akan Communities of Ghana*. Accra, Ghana: Thomas Nelson and Sons LTD.

-------------------------- (1974). *The Music of Africa*. New York: W.W. Norton & Company, Inc.

Seavoy, Mary H. (1982). *The Sisaala Xylophone Tradition*. Unpublished thesis (PhD), University of California.

Somé, M. P. (1994). *Of Water and the Spirit*. New York: Penguin Books Inc.

Solis, T., ed. (2004). *Performing Ethnomusicology*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Strumph, M. (1970). *Ghanaian Xylophone Studies*. University of Ghana, Institute of African Studies.

Vercelli, M. B. (2006). *Performance Practice of the Dagara-Birifor Gyil Tradition Through the Analysis of the Bewaa and Daarkpen Repertoire. D.M.A. doc*. Tucson, AZ: University of Arizona.

----------------------- (2007). *Ritual Communication Through Percussion: Identity and Grief Governed by Birifor Gyil Music. Online from Roots and Rhyzomes: 75 Years of Percussion*. San Diego, CA: University of California-San Diego

Wiggins, T. (1998). Techniques of Variation and Concepts of Musical Understanding in Northern Ghana. *British Journal of Ethnomusicology*, 7: 117-142.

-------------------- (1999). The Xylophone Tradition of North-West Ghana. In M. Floyd ed. *Composing the Music of Africa*. Brookfield VT: Ashgate Publishing Co.

Wiggins, T. & Kobom, J. (1992). *Xylophone Music From Ghana*. Reno NV: White Cliffs Media Company.

Creating museum spaces of imagination: conjuring a cultural bridge across the Atlantic

Michelle Moore
University of Queensland, Brisbane, Queensland, Australia

ABSTRACT: This paper examines creative collaborations between various design professionals towards communicating Intangible Cultural Heritage in the museum. Two recently completed projects provide springboards for a discussion of emerging design responses to the new challenges encountered. Each museum unearths hidden stories from different shores of the Atlantic Ocean: the recently transformed **Navigation Pavilion** in Seville, Spain, highlights Seville's history as a major port during the "discovery" and colonisation of the Americas, aiming to materialise an intangible vision - "to make a cultural bridge between Europe and America"; whereas the purpose designed **National Museum of the American Indian** on Washington's National Mall, USA, conceives a *living* memorial to Native American people, expressing the diverse perspectives of contemporary indigenous communities across the Americas. From their vastly different contexts and collections, common design strategies are gleaned, illuminating ways to open audiences' imaginations to Intangible Cultural Heritage through creating museum spaces of imagination.

1 INTRODUCTION

This paper examines emerging design strategies for communicating Intangible Cultural Heritage (ICH) in the museum, broadening and possibly straying from the UNESCO convention's 'Safeguarding' agenda (UNESCO, 2003). While the relationship between intangible and material culture appears open for challenge (Lira and Amoeda, 2009), the former's concepts are generally more ephemeral than the types of heritage museums have presented in the past. Communicating the "practices, representations, expressions, knowledge and skills" recognised as ICH is further complicated since they are largely*living* treasures, transmitted from generation to generation (UNESCO, 2003), and therefore continuously evolving. Whatever discourse defines and surrounds ICH, in the museum there eventually comes a phase where concepts must be transferred through material substances in its three dimensional space. Engaging with ICH's dynamic concepts stretches visitors' imaginations more than ever and, correspondingly, the imaginations of those whose job it is to capture and materialise the intangible for increasingly diverse audiences.

Attempts to communicate unfamiliar concepts sometimes miscalculate audiences, drawing hostile reactions. Take the case of the National Museum of the American Indian (NMAI) in Washington DC, its main 'Survivance'[1] narrative declared by one eminent critic as "vaporous, baggy, and devoid of all but therapeutic meaning" (Conn, 2006). Referring to press and scholarly criticism of the end-products of a lengthy conscientious participatory process, one staff member ponders:

> …we have been criticised that our exhibits are too conceptual. But the problemis not that they are anti-object so much, but that the concepts are notparticularly well grounded. This is my critique of that and I think thatthe conceptual framework is always necessary, but sometimes it does nothave enough depth. It also does not really appreciate how this message istransferred to the general public that has never before contemplated theseconcepts . . .
>
>   Jose Barreiro, NMAI assistant director for research (Alivizatou, 2012b)

Barreiro's dilemma suggests that while discussions conceptualising ICH give useful background, they don't necessarily provide clues to the problems of communicating it or tools for evaluating the likely success of options put forward. Developing strategies may require skills and processes different to those museums usually employ. Museum organisations' self-awareness of their shortfalls sees exhibition making practice becoming increasingly multi-disciplinary (Macleod, Hourston Hanks et al., 2012) with museum curators and other staff often joined by architects, artists, writers, film makers and cross-disciplinary design teams. This paper argues for involvement of these professionals in creative roles beyond technical facilitators as well as greater collaboration between them so that their inter-related knowledge, skills and creativity may be applied effectively to the new challenges.

2 TWO MUSEUMS MAKING A CULTURAL BRIDGE

Pursuing these problems and propositions, I use two case studies as a springboard for discussion on emerging exhibition design practices for communicating ICH.

   The first is the **Navigation Pavilion**, Seville, Spain. Opened in 2012 this project recycled the building and concept of the heritage Navigation Pavilion constructed for the 1992 Seville Universal Exhibition themed "The Age of Discovery". The museum highlights Seville's heritage as a major port during the "discovery" of the Americas. Unearthing lost stories buried in the General Archives of the Indies, it aims to materialise an intangible vision "…to make a cultural bridge between Europe and America, recovering on its journey through the Atlantic navigation the voices of men and women who, over the centuries have crossed the ocean in one direction or another" (Navigation Pavilion, 2012).

   The second is the example mentioned above, the **National Museum of the American Indian (NMAI)**, whose laudable attempt to define a new 'Indian museology' (Alivizatou, 2012b) suffered severe public scrutiny. Opened in 2004, this purpose designed museum fronting Washington's National Mall sees the 'cultural bridge'from the opposite shore by expressing the multi-vocal perspectives of colonized indigenous peoples across the Americas. Museum makers called for Native participation in all stages, from building conception to exhibition curation,to capture the "Spirit of a Native Place" (Smithsonian Institution, 2013b) and realise the mission "…to support the continuance of culture, traditional values and transitions in contemporary Native life" (Smithsonian Institution, 2013c).

   A background and brief walk-through of each museum follows. Then, a comparative study unfolds in three parts, each addressing a particular design response to museums as spaces for imagining ICH. First, I look at how architects and designers shaped the museums as performative spaces. Then, I discuss the museums designed as storytellers. Finally, I turn to the contextualising of stories in a localised place.

2.1 *Navigation Pavilion*

This museum's inception arose from the Andalusian Government's desire to revitalise the heritage Navigation Pavilion languishing underutilised on the banks of the Guadalquivir River, not the need to house a collection. The original architect[2] oriented the building to the river and conceived its form and materials to evoke imagery of docks, warehouses and lighthouses (Biollain Tienda, 2008) -befitting the Pavilion's navigation brief, the wider Expo theme "The Age of Discoveries" and Seville's identity as a major imperial port during the "discovery" and colonisation of the Americas (Simo Rodriguez and Lazaro de la Escosura, 2009). Therefore, when exhibition designers[3] commenced the museum's permanent exhibition, they had a

building, a maritime concept but no collection, apart from a set of model ships gathering dust in storage[4]. Effectively they had to create the museum content from scratch.

Today, four exhibition areas are housed in a single space of the Pavilion whose vaulted and ribbed timber ceiling recalls the capsized hull of a massive ship. This high spatial integration renders each area perceptible from others, lending its images, colour, light and sound to the general atmosphere.

Ascending to the first floor exhibition without ceremony, when visitors' eyes adjust to the semi-darkness they realise that they have been transported to the sea - a vast LED light sea rippling beneath tempestuous skies thundering down from large cinematic screens suspended high up in the hull-like interior. Transformed into make-believe voyagers, they step aboard a timber deck to embark upon an "Atlantic crossing". Tacking from port to starboard through the strange LED waters, visitors encounter a ghostly crew of seafaring souls. Activated by visitor-voyagers' interactions (e.g. the toss of a coin into a chest) short films play out on giant multi-media screens reviving life-sized animated historical voyagers, who speak of life at sea and the personal events, hopes and fears which motivated their migrations. High quality reproductions of their possessions are touch able, and the sound of the sea or a passing storm and even the smell of tobacco complete the sensorial journey.

The LED sea propels visitors towards a large wall mural[5] painted in infinite shades of blue and encrusted with objects. The mural is notable for containing one of the exhibition's few references to people of the Atlantic's American shore, depicting a friendly encounter between a Spanish conquistador and an indigenous leader. It forms a vivid backdrop for the restored set of model ships displayed in evolutionary sequence. The models trace shipping design development, while the mural conveys corresponding human aspirations and events, from the sixteenth century to the present.

At this sequence's conclusion begins "Life on Board", where a series of games offer the chance to try one's hand at sailing. The set-up resembles a giant home video game where projected images fill the wall and the hand held controller is replaced with a set of robust full-scale models of shipping apparatus with moving parts. As well as manning the wheel and rigging, more laborious tasks can be tried, such as operating the bailer or cargo hoist.

Concluding the exhibition, visitors promenade a raised internal deck running the length of the Pavilion's glazed riverside edge where panoramic views of Seville across the river give a sense of where voyagers' stories began. In contrast to previous simulated exhibits, here the tangible heritage city is displayed. By way of interpretation GPD added large tactile screens illustrating the same view at different dates through centuries past. Upon departing, visitors ascend a "lighthouse" viewing tower located in the river before taking a boat cruise or kayaking trip from the dock below to tour Seville by water.

2.2 *National Museum of the American Indian (NMAI)*

NMAI was a collection before it became a museum. George Gustav Heye (1874-1957) acquired a Navajo deerskin shirt while on engineering assignment in Arizona in 1897, and with it the hope of salvaging disappearing races through accumulating Indian artefacts (Smithsonian NMAI Office of Public Affairs, 2004; Alivizatou, 2012b). Almost a century later in 1989 an Act of Congress transferred the Heye Foundation, by then some 800,000 artefacts, to the Smithsonian Institution, heralding a new museum to be a *living* memorial to the Native American source communities (Alivizatou, 2012b). Today the NMAI occupies three sites: one in New York's lower Manhattan, another in Suitland, Maryland, and the Washington Mall museum, this paper's focus. Extensive collaboration with Native people informed the conceptual framework for the latter's architectural design[6] and inaugural exhibitions[7] (Smithsonian Institution, 2013a).

Rather than limiting discussion to the three core exhibitions I also include preparatory spaces, in themselves exhibition experiences. Compared to the previous example, areas are more segregated, requiring visitors to leave one in order to enter another.

Hugging the building's undulating limestone cliff-like walls, garden trails leading to a sheltered entrance clearing anticipate the museum's themes through outdoor exhibits in the midst of which an amphitheatre and a paved dancing circle accommodate live performances. Four once locally abundant Native landscapes -wetlands, hardwood forest, crop area and cascading waters- are "restored" as living exhibits, while symbolic paving patterns, carefully

positioned boulders and sculptures by contemporary Native artists express aspects of Native peoples' philosophical and cultural relationships with the environment (Smithsonian Institution, 2013a).

The circular reception space entered, the Potomac Atrium, is impressive in scale, its domed ceiling rising above three levels of encircling balconies. Conceived as an abstraction of an "Indian village" at the museum's heart, it functions as a multi-purpose hub for visitors arriving, leaving, shopping and dining (Ostrowitz, 2005). A stage floor featuring granite and maple solstice markers and encircled by a freestanding woven copper screen (VerveLabs, 2013)[8] defines its core as a performance space for living expressions, such as music, dancing and demonstrations(Smithsonian Institution, 2013b), meanwhile the dome's oculus and light refracting acrylic prisms effect a dynamic coloured light show (Smithsonian Institution, 2013d). On the Atrium's periphery glass counters exhibiting Native food ingredients signal the way to the secluded Mitsitam Native Foods Café. Here visitors can survey the cascading waters outside and read Native approaches to food inscribed in the table tops while sampling Native dishes from five geographic regions of the Americas.

A thirteen-minute film entitled "Who We Are" screens every fifteen minutes in the 120 seat Lelawi Theatre on the third floor. Shot on location by Native and non-Native film-makers, the film covers diverse regions and concepts, from traditional knowledge to contemporary indigenous accomplishments (Singer, 2005). Aiming to introduce, orient and sensitize audiences to exhibition themes (Singer, 2005), the result is a popular exhibit in itself (Evelyn and Hirsch, 2006), integrating projected images on various textured surfaces with artefacts chosen by the filmed communities in an intimate domed centrally planned theatre setting.

Three permanent exhibitions are presented on the second and third levels: "Our Peoples"retells the last five centuries from Native American perspectives, highlighting struggles for physical and cultural survival;"Our Universes" is concerned with Indigenous knowledge, philosophy and spirituality,past and present; and lastly, "Our Lives" turns to contemporary Native American life and identities. Each permanent exhibition contains eight smaller exhibitions co-curated by Native communities, representing a total of twenty-four community perspectives. It is in "Our Peoples" that most references to European newcomers are found. One such story, on a cabinet whose swirling object arrangement conveys a sense of the widespread pillaging of indigenous art and artefacts, presents a striking contrast to the friendly encounter depicted in the Navigation Pavilion's mural:

> In 1532, the Spanish Conquistador Francisco Pizarro seized the Inca ruler Atahualpa and held him hostage. From across Peru gold and silver arrived on the backs of people and lamas. They trudged along the empires four highways, carrying the largest ransom in world history. It took eight months. A room twenty-two feet long, seventeen feet wide and eight feet high was filled with gold. Two more rooms were filled with silver. When the rooms could hold no more, Pizarro became one of the world's richest men. He then ordered Atahualpa strangled.

3 CREATING SPACES OF IMAGINATION

How do the two museums' creative strategies compare? To make museums better players in communication, the attributes that distinguish them from other vehicles of cultural information and imagination need to be keenly understood for them to be deployed effectively. This gives rise to questions such as: How does the museum's audience experience differ from that of traditional theatre? How is its communicative offer distinct from literature's linear story sequence of words on a page? What advantages does its three-dimensional place have over a documentary's two dimensional visual images on a screen? To explore these distinctions the analysis probes the latent communicative power of the museum's 'multi-dimensionality', understood to represent "a fully embodied experience of objects and media in three dimensional space, unfolding in a potentially free-flowing temporal sequence" (Macleod, Hourston Hanks et al., 2012). To briefly anticipate conclusions, each team in their own way attempts to dismantle the deeply entrenched boundaries of space and its production typically found in museums (Macleod, Hourston Hanks et al., 2012) in designing the museum as performance space, storyteller and a localised place.

3.1 *The museum designed as performative space*

ICH's live enactment of practices leads to thinking about the museum as performative space (Alivizatou, 2012b). The Navigation Pavilion's architecture and its exhibition design conceive the visitor as both spectator and performer. Architects of Universal Exhibition structures have long understood their popularity lies as much in the satisfaction gained from looking at other people in the building than at what is ostensibly on display (Conn, 2010). No exception, the Pavilion's visitor flow sequence provides many and varied opportunities to survey and be surveyed, guiding visitors around an open atrium space, then to promenade the river-view, afterwards to ascend the lookout tower before heading to the cruise dock below. The museum's high spatial and visual integration therefore facilitates the public gaze not only around the exhibition but upon itself.

The exhibition design capitalises on spectator-performer notions by immersing visitors in a three dimensional stage set complete with sea, sky, ship's parts, object props and the Atlantic Crossing "script". By dispensing with preparatory sequences, entering the exhibition has the element of surprise. Venturing onto the sea-stage, perceptible to the senses is the way of walking the path dictates - the linear one-way course and side to side "tacking" motion suggestive of a boat's movement through water towards a destination. On this journey visitors not only meet voyagers but are make-believe voyagers, and they not only learn about sailing but pretend to sail. This immersive theatrical strategy aims to open the visitor's imagination, pre-disposing them to open up to the stories and concepts presented.

The museum as performative space manifests at NMAI by inviting Native musicians, dance and theatre groups, storytellers, writers and artisans to present their work (Alivizatou, 2012b). Museum planning anticipated live performance giving it pride of place at the museum's centre - the Potomac Atrium- where designers attended to form, detailing and lighting. Another 300 seat theatre is located on the ground floor and smaller performances take place in classrooms, the outdoor 100 seat amphitheatre and dance circle. Performance enlivens the museum and effectively conveys ICH, however, its appearance is fleeting and might be missed by visitors. One adverse effect of its central placement is that the flurry of activity anticipated has not eventuated (Ostrowitz, 2005) therefore between performances the museum's Potomac Atrium heart effectively becomes an empty theatre, appearing disproportionately spacious compared to exhibition areas (Conn, 2006). Furthermore, the decision to insulate exhibition areas from performance spaces limits dialogue between objects and performances, belieing the founding director's philosophy on intangible and tangible culture:

> As Native peoples we really don't distinguish between tangible and intangible heritage. In our cultures, it is all in one place, all in a whole… Objects, for example, are nothing much without the intangible heritage that surrounds them: songs, stories, performances, traditions, and all kinds of non-material heritage.
>
> Richard West, NMAI founding director (Alivizatou, 2012b)

Live performance's effectiveness as an ICH vehicle can't be denied, however, it side-steps the challenge to optimise the museum's 'multi-dimensional' communicative offer as distinct from theatre. Theatre, while apparently dynamic, actually freezes its audience who passively spectate culture from a static position with a single viewpoint. An exhibition, while ostensibly static, in fact obliges audiences to move, where their own motion offers dynamic multiple perspectives of culture. At the Navigation Pavilionthe visitor's own intangible performance has been incorporated in the exhibition spatial strategy towards awakening the imagination in a way theatre doesn't - through a fully embodied experience in motion. Furthermore, were these two expressions - theatre and exhibition- to be spatially integrated, the resulting effect may exceed the sum of its parts. The Navigation Pavilion's exhibition design team's director speaks of employing actors in exhibitions, but acknowledges museums rarely have budgets to do so[9]. It is perhaps in NMAI's outdoor amphitheatre and dance circle, in their landscape-exhibit settings, that tentative steps towards such integration are best seen.

3.2   *The museum designed as storyteller*

Museum 'narrative environments', integrating objects and spaces with stories of people and places (Psarra, 2009; Macleod, Hourston Hanks et al., 2012), is not a concern exclusive to ICH. Why storytelling persists is a philosophical inquiry in itself, but, put simply, it captures something fundamental about being human (Macleod, Hourston Hanks et al., 2012). For both projects story-gathering was a crucial pre-design process and the resulting narratives were considered as valuable as any material culture.

Lack of a collection saw exhibition designers turn to Seville's General Archive of the Indies[10] to flesh out the Pavilion's navigation concept. Under historian Pablo E. Perez Mallaina's guidance, real life stories gleaned from letters formed the basis of characters presented, including captains, merchants, fugitives and destitute orphans. This broad social spectrum avoided homage to past glories instead painting a bleaker picture of life aboard for "ordinary people" (Perez-Mallaina, 1998). It exemplifies wider progress over recent decades in uncovering repressed pasts in struggles for multi-layered identity (Huyssen 1995, 22) beyond the wealthy and powerful whose material culture often dominated past collecting practices (Conn, 2010). For the exhibition design team's director, this approach's appeal lay not in "political correctness" but in combatting boredom, a hidden barrier for many visitors[11].

To create the museum-storyteller designers developed the narrative potential of space. The theatrical setting described previously established the "Atlantic Crossing" meta-narrative, positioning visitors in the story. Within this, short stories are exhibited ina string of smaller spaces spaced out along the linear route, one per voyager. This diagram, sometimes called 'string of pearls', organises multiple narratives, eliminates way-finding issues and befits the linear journey story thread.

Storytelling is performed by the animated film characters who self-narrate their life-stories in different languages. These multi-media creations are framed by three dimensional interactive settings developed by architects, lighting designers, graphic designers, artists and one theatre professional[12]. In coordinating work, designers were mindful of eliminating intellectual barriers which inhibit the enjoyment of museums form any visitors. Described as 'Intellectual Ergonomics', the key principles underpinning the team's cross-disciplinary design theory are 'Harmony, Veracity & Ergonometry' (Micka, 2010), expanded below.

'Harmony' aims for an accord between architecture and exhibitions, in this case the Navigation theme. 'Harmony of scale' follows a simple rule: "The ideal scale is the natural scale of things". Manifested in full scale reproduction objects, this principle asserts visitors shouldn't have to draw associations between objects, drawings or models of different scales. 'Harmony of message' minimises problems encountered by the less tech-savvy by establishing one simple operational pattern for interactive exhibits and repeating it.

'Veracity' usually means 'veracity of information' and for story based exhibits it means true stories towards which the team's historians worked with Perez Mallaina. Designers extend this notion to embrace 'veracity of feeling' which I interpret to mean 'material honesty'. Compensating for simulated effects, human interface materials are what they seem. Solidly crafted ship-like materials -particularly timber and steel- ensure consistency between stories heard and all the visitor sees and touches.

The final principal, 'Ergonometry', extends universal design guidelines concerning human health, comfort and efficient interaction with equipment, particularly important in designing hands-on elements.

While labelled 'Intellectual Ergonomics', the principles actually focus on the visitor's experience, revealing a conviction that eliminating experiential barriers is important for lifting intellectual barriers.

NMAI's stories grew out of an ambitious 'bottom-up' process (Alivizatou, 2012b) which sought to inform the making of a museum through the self-definition of a living client "comprised of the indigenous population of the entire Western Hemisphere" (Ostrowitz, 2005). Meetings were held over three to four years with representatives of far flung communities and the voices heard were recorded and summarised into a conceptual guide directing the building and exhibition design, content and operation (Venturi Scott Brown and Associates Inc., 1991; Ostrowitz, 2005; Alivizatou, 2012b). This participatory process ultimately led to a story-driven museology (Alivizatou, 2012b) rather than the object-driven approach characterising Native

Americans' past tortured relationships with museums (Cobb, 2005) which treated them as relics of natural history (Graham-Lujan, 2005).

To structure the resulting anthology in exhibition spaces, a multi-layered narrative system was conceived. The overriding meta-narrative reiterated through many exhibits is the Native self-affirmation of continuance: 'We are still here'. To give shape to mid-layer narratives -"Our Peoples", "Our Universes" and "Our Lives"- the three core exhibitions adopt the common spatial strategy of a central spine installation curated by museum staff which presents a unifying analysis of that exhibition's theme. Around this spine, eight semi-circular alcoves define the third layer of exhibition narratives co-curated by Native communities, where in turn many individuals' stories are told. The spatial segregation of the three exhibitions and their further sub-division permits each area to be charged with distinct narratives and objects that may trigger different audience responses. Unlike the Navigation Pavilion's linear story trail, at NMAI visitors weave freely around curvilinear display partitions and cabinets, their circulating paths sometimes resulting in disorientation, but mirroring community consensus regarding the "importance of circularity" (Ostrowitz, 2005).

Storytelling techniques employed are as mixed as reviewers' reactions. Exhibitions incorporate fewer Heye collection objects than anticipated by some and decline to spotlight pieces (Ostrowitz, 2005; Berry, 2006; Conn, 2006). Instead, first-person narratives expressed through written and audio-visual media are interspersed with artefacts, contemporary art, photographs, graphics and mock-ups in close-knit distributions of unpredictable combinations (Archuleta, 2005; Ostrowitz, 2005). What the multi-vocal exhibits say, who's saying it, and the highly interpretive framework for conveying conceptual messages, are sources of contention between museum supporters and critics: the former glimpsing an elaborate Native self-portrait in a "collage" of diverse objects and media whose deliberate "absences" of detail invite audience participation in storytelling (Archuleta, 2005; Cobb, 2005); and the latter complaining of an overload of "ADD generation" interactives emitting "superficial", "politically motivated" messages at the expense of western scholarship and NMAI's rich collections, disappointingly reduced to "story props"(Fisher, 2004; Richard, 2004; Rothstein, 2004; Berry, 2006; Conn, 2006). Some comments reveal difficulty reconciling exhibits whose visual mergence belies conceptual contradictions between message layers, i.e. that meta-narratives expressing commonalities between Native cultures subvert the individualities of communities' smaller stories (Rothstein, 2004; Ostrowitz, 2005; Berry, 2006; Conn, 2006).

In making the museum-storyteller each team favoured one of two long standing demands of the democratised museum, these being fair representation for all groups and cultures and equal rights of access for all(Bennett, 1995). Ironically, as museum narratives embrace more stories aiming for wider representation, they are becoming less coherent (Macleod, Hourston Hanks et al., 2012). Representation in the Navigation Pavilion stories is moderate, compliant with established regional colonial identity and interpreting historical, not living perspectives. Free of representative accountability, apart from selecting diverse characters for history's enrichment, designers focused their creativity towards providing wider intellectual access to fewer stories. NMAI's multiplication of representative stories, which even so failed to include and please everyone consulted (Graham-Lujan, 2005; Ostrowitz, 2005), effectively complicated designers' intellectual accessibility tasks. Some reviewers' expressed bewilderment would suggest that if intellectual accessibility design strategies were implemented, audience capacities may have been miscalculated.

3.3 *The museum designed as a localised place*

In both museums stories are contextualised in a localised place in a way that is consistent with the cultural rootedness of ICH (Alivizatou, 2012a). The Navigation Pavilion' visit concludes with views of the local city and river where stories took place whereas NMAI establishes a "Spirit of a Native Place" from the outset as visitors explore the recreated Native landscape trails.

At the Navigation Pavilion the local 'place sense' offered by the Pavilion inspired the choosing of local narratives. Exhibition designers therefore did not have to invent 'place sense' to contextualise stories but merely exploited opportunities offered by the three-way relationship between the existing Pavilion, city and river. This involved organising the visitor flow route to take in the panoramic views of the river city and adding tactile screens to assist visitors to

imagine the view at different moments in history. This exhibit emphasises the temporal, changing cityscape from which the long and continuous relationship between its people and its great river can be gleaned. Visitors who step aboard a boat themselves may recall these images, together with the historical characters' stories, and imagine Seville from the water through the different eyes of past ages.

If the Navigation Pavilion's 'place sense' inspired stories, then at NMAI the reverse occurred - gathered concepts regarding Native peoples' relationships with the land informed the design of 'place sense' on the ground. Creating a localised place presented various challenges. Most obviously, any traces of the former Native environment had long been erased from the site. Secondly, the museum's siting fronting Capitol Hill on the National Mall suggests a 'nation to nations dialogue' (Ostrowitz, 2005) at odds with ICH's 'bottom up' processes (Alivizatou, 2012a). Finally, concepts were not exclusively collected locally but drawn from various contexts across the Americas (Ostrowitz, 2005). The landscape-exhibition addresses these contradictions by creating a series of living local Native landscape "reproductions" which effectively cacoon the museum in a place of its own making, starkly contrasting with, and partially veiling, the formal Mall environs. At the same time, hard landscaping elements such as the symbolic paving patterns and sculptures embody recurring ideas expressed by all those consulted, not only local communities.

Surprisingly, given the lengths taken to instil "Spirit of a Native Place" in the landscape, the museum's overriding place theme (Blue Spruce and Thrasher, 2008), the interior visitor sequence doesn't exploit potential views of this landscape apart from in the café.

At Navigation Pavilion the exhibition space opens up to an existing localised place, whereas at NMAI a localised place is fabricated to surround the museum, yet remains visually disconnected from interior exhibitions. However, both designs share a common strategy which invites visitors to imagine the local built or natural environment as it was in the past, juxtaposing these imaginings against contemporary surroundings. This highlights past and present *human use* visibly impacting upon places as much as places themselves, emphasising the continuous processes of human adaptation to and of local environments that is an essential aspect of ICH (Ruggles and Silverman, 2009; Alivizatou, 2012a).

4 CONCLUSIONS

The Navigation Pavilion's conceptual "cultural bridge" spanning the Atlantic Ocean, adopted to frame a comparison of the two museums, is in contiguous at the paper's conclusion. Each museum selects stories to match the self-identity it wishes to promote: one as the historical migrating "discoverer" and the other as the living "survivor" of the trauma of subjugation. As well, each views intangibility from a different temporal perspective: the Navigation Pavilion takes a retrospective attitude, using it to bring history alive for contemporary audiences; whereas NMAI's vision emerges more ambitiously aligned with ICH's vital continuous character (Alivizatou, 2012b). Nevertheless, they share a common goal to reveal diverse previously repressed narratives through multi-vocal exhibitions. These pluralistic agendas illustrate a filtering down into practice of museum theories which emphasise democratic representation as negotiated heterogeneity not fictional homogeneity (Huyssen, 1995).

The process of materialising intangible heritage saw the two museums, with markedly different contexts and collections, each in their own way develop the museum as performative space, as storyteller and as a localised place, suggesting the significance of these strategies for communicating ICH. Within these approaches, a certain disregard for traditional notions of authenticity can be seen -in the valuing of stories over collections and the design of simulated objects, environments and experiences- much as ICH re-conceptualised authenticity in challenging UNESCO's monumentalising cultural narrative (Ruggles and Silverman, 2009). These adventurous explorations, regardless of progress achieved, are indicative of how the imaginative capacities of designers are being tested and invigorated by the new challenge to open up audiences' imaginations to intangibility. They show that developing museums as spaces of imagination, conducive to conjuring up the intangible, requires a substantial shift in thinking, where "poetics" (by this I mean imaginative communicative work) could be more useful than the "academic frameworks" which mainstream museology is quick to identify as the root of the ICH presentation problem (Alivizatou, 2012b).

In each strategy analysed, harnessing the museum's 'multi-dimensionality' pointed to a need to re-assess the compartmentalisation which traditionally characterises museum space and its production (Macleod, Hourston Hanks et al., 2012). Decompartmentalising production means breaking down disciplinary boundaries between curators, architects, artists, film-makers, script writers, graphic designers, etc. This calls for a synchronising of imaginations as well as agreeing cross-disciplinary design principles for balancing inclusive representation with intellectual accessibility. Decompartmentalising the museum space involves rethinking museum environments which segregate spaces for live performance, cinema screenings, exhibitions, landscapes, etc., to consider how they might interrelate and enhance each other's contributions.

At the Navigation Pavilion a high integration of space and production can be observed. Not only are all areas spatially interrelated but cross-disciplinary design principles work to harmonize experiential aspects of architecture, cinema, theatre techniques, art, objects, interactive media and context. At NMAI, the Potamac Atrium doesn't achieve spatial integration as well as was intended, and the exhibitions, theatres, cinema, etc., are insulated from each other. Furthermore, although the production of a new purpose designed museum might have permitted collaboration between two key design teams -architects and exhibitions designers- modes of display were developed subsequent to museum planning (Ostrowitz, 2005). Successful synchronisations between various creative disciplines are more apparent in the preparatory sequence, such as the landscape, café and Lelawi Theatre.

NMAI's exhibitions, while having mixed success, deserves applaud for opening up the design process as a public 'discursive space'. As preceding negotiations between the museum and communities informed the making of inaugural exhibitions so ongoing dialogue between the museum, the communities, critics and supporters will influence their phased closing, reinterpretation and redesign due to commence in 2014[13], from which further debate is likely to ensue. This highlights the museum exhibition's iterative and evolutionary process, itself a complex weave of intangible human knowledge, expressions, skills and practices. Like many examples of Intangible Cultural Heritage, exhibition-making is an old practice whose continuing success depends on adaptations to new players and challenges.

ENDNOTES

[1] The neologism 'Survivance' is defined at NMAI in wall mounted text as "more than survival. Survivance means redefining ourselves. It means raising our social and political consciousness. It means holding onto ancient principles while eagerly embracing change. It means doing what is necessary to keep our cultures alive."

[2] Seville based architect Guillermo Vázquez Consuegra was the original architect for the Navigation Pavilion Universal Exhibition building and also the architect for its subsequent renovation as a museum.

[3] Seville based firm General Production and Design (GPD) was the exhibition designer for the Navigation Pavilion's permanent exhibition as part of its conversion into a museum.

[4] Based on an interview with Boris Micka, Director of exhibition design firm General Production and Design (GPD), held in Seville, Spain, on 9 December, 2011.

[5] Mural by Mexican artist Gabriel Pacheco.

[6] The architects for NMAI varied throughout design, documentation and construction phases. The initial conceptual design is credited to GBQC and Douglas Cardinal, Ltd., which included consultants Douglas Cardinal (Blackfoot), Johnpaul Jones (Cherokee/Choctaw), Donna House (Diné/Oneida), and Ramona Sakiestewa (Hopi).Smithsonian Institution. (2013a). "Architecture and Landscape: The Architectural Design Process." Retrieved 20 May, 2013, from http://nmai.si.edu/visit/washington/architecture-landscape/.

[7] "Our Lives" and "Our Universes" exhibitions were collaborations between NMAI museum curators and two different external exhibition design teams, respectively: Design + Communication and Howard + Revis. "Our Peoples" gallery was designed through collaboration between NMAI's curators and in-house exhibition designers with documentation and construction phases performed by contractors. Information based on email correspondence with NMAI staff member, 31 May 2013.

[8] Built-in stage floor and woven copper screen artworks by Native artist Ramona Sakiestewa. VerveLabs. (2013). "Ramona Sakiestewa artist: Gallery: Architectural & Site Work." Retrieved 22 May, 2013, from http://www.ramonasakiestewa.com/.

[9] See end note (iv).

[10] General Archive of the Indies is Spain's repository for all documents relating to the history of the Spanish Empire. The building and its contents were registered in 1987 by UNESCO as a World Heritage Site.

[11] See end note (iv).

[12] See end note (iv).

[13] Information based on email correspondence with NMAI staff member, 26 March 2013.

REFERENCES

Alivizatou, M. (2012a). Debating heritage authenticity: kastom and development at the Vanuatu Cultural Centre. *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 18(2): 124-143.

Alivizatou, M. (2012b). *Intangible heritage and the museum new perspectives on cultural preservation*. Walnut Creek California: Left Coast Press.

Archuleta, E. (2005). Gym Shoes, Maps, and Passports, Oh My! Creating Community or Creating Chaos at the NMAI? *The American Indian Quarterly*, 29(3 & 4): 426-449.

Bennett, T. (1995). *The Birth of the Museum : history, theory, politics*. London and New York, Routledge.

Berry, S. (2006). Voices and Objects at the National Museum of the American Indian. *The Public Historian*, 28(2): 63-67.

Biollain Tienda, J. S. (2008). *Museo de la Navegacion de Sevilla: Guillermo Vazquez de Sevilla. La Musica Callada: Arquitectura Contemporanea Andaluza*. Espana: Canal Sur Television.

Blue Spruce, D. L. O. O. & Thrasher, T. C., eds. (2008). *The Land Has Memory: Indigenous Knowledge, Native Landscapes, and the National Museum of the American Indian*. Chapel Hill, NC, Copublished by NMAI and the University of North Carolina Press.

Cobb, A. J. (2005). The National Museum of the American Indian as Cultural Sovereignty. *American Quarterly*, 57(2): 485-589.

Conn, S. (2006). Heritage vs. History at the National Museum of the American Indian. *The Public Historian*, 28(2): 69-74.

Conn, S. (2010). *Do museums still need objects?*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Evelyn, D. E. & Hirsch, M. G. (2006). At the Threshold: A Response to Comments on the National Museum of the American Indian's Inaugural Exhibitions. *The Public Historian*, 28(2): 85-90.

Fisher, M. (2004). *Indian Museum's Appeal, Sadly, Only Skin-Deep*. Washington DC: The Washington Post. P.B01.

Graham-Lujan, J. (2005). A Museum of the Indian, Not for the Indian. *The American Indian Quarterly*, 29(3 & 4): 510-516.

Huyssen, A. (1995). *Twilight memories: marking time in a culture of amnesia*. New York: Routledge.

Lira, S. & Amoêda, R., eds. (2009). *Constructing Intangible Heritage*. Barcelos, Portugal: Green Lines Institute for Sustainable Development.

Macleod, S., Hourston Hanks, L., et al., eds. (2012). *Museum Making: Narratives, Architecture, Exhibitions*. Hoboken: Taylor and Francis.

Micka, B. (2010). *Intellectual Ergonomics. EXIBIT! Scenography in Exhibition Design: 3rd International Scenographers' Festival IN3. Basel, University of Applied Sciences Northwestern Switzerland*.

Navigation Pavilion. (2012). Who we are [online]. Available at http://www.pabellondelanavegacion.es/en/web/centro-expositivo/quienes-somos [Accessed 18 July 2012].

Ostrowitz, J. (2005). Concourse and periphery: Planning the National Museum of the American Indian. *The American Indian Quarterly,* 29(3 & 4): 384-425.

Perez-Mallaina, P. E. (1998). *Spain's Men of the Sea: Daily Life on the Indies Fleets in the Sixteenth Century. Baltimore*. Maryland, USA: The John Hopkins University Press.

Psarra, S. (2009). *Architecture and narrative: the formation of space and cultural meaning*. Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge.

Richard, P. (2004). *Shards Of Many Untold Stories: In Place of Unity, a Melange of Unconnected Objects*. Washington DC: The Washington Post. p.C01.

Rothstein, E. (2004). *Museum With an American Indian Voice*. New York: The New York Times.

Ruggles, D. F. & Silverman, H. (2009). *Intangible heritage embodied*. New York: Springer. p.x, 214.

Simo Rodriguez, M. I. & Lazaro de la Escosura, P. (2009). *Archivo General de Indias*. A. Gobierno de Espana: Ministerio de Cultura: Direccion General del Libro, y Bibliotecas: Subdireccion General de los Archivos Estatales. Espana: Estudio Puerta de Tannhauser.

Singer, B. R. (2005). The Making of Who We Are, Now Showing at the NMAI Lelawi Theater." The American Indian Quarterly29(3 & 4): 466-477.

Smithsonian Institution. (2013a). *Architecture and Landscape: The Architectural Design Process* [online]. Available at http://nmai.si.edu/visit/washington/architecture-landscape/ [Accessed 20 May 2013].

Smithsonian Institution (2013b). *Architecture Walking Tour. Spirit of a Native Place* [online]. http://nmai.si.edu/visit/washington/architecture-landscape/audio-tours/.

Smithsonian Institution. (2013c). National Museum of the American Indian Mission Statement [online]. Available at http://nmai.si.edu/about/mission/ [Accessed 11 March 2013].

Smithsonian Institution (2013d). *NMAI Architecture Fact Sheet.* Washington DC: 1.

Smithsonian NMAI Office of Public Affairs (2004). *Biography: George Gustav Heye Founder of the Museum of the American Indian (1916) in New York City.* Washington DC: Smithsonian Institution: 2.

UNESCO (2003). *Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage. The General Conference of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, 32nd session, Paris.*

Venturi S. B. & Associates Inc. (1991). *The Way of the People: National Museum of the American Indian: Master Facilities Programming, Phase 1 Revised Draft Report.* Smithsonian Institution Office of Design and Construction.

VerveLabs. (2013). *Ramona Sakiestewa artist: Gallery: Architectural & Site Work* [online]. Available at http://www.ramonasakiestewa.com/ [Accessed 22 May 2013].

'Trying to record life': Percy Grainger and intangible heritage

Monica Syrette
Grainger Museum University of Melbourne*, Melbourne Victoria, Australia*

ABSTRACT: The Grainger Museum, founded by composer and pianist Percy Grainger (1882-1961), is an autobiographical museum designed to shed light on the process of musical composition. Grainger believed that museum visitors would only be able to fully understand his creative process when given access to all aspects of his life. In the seventy-five years since the Grainger Museum opened in 1938 its curators have endeavoured to both adhere to Grainger's original aims and respond to developments in museum practice. Recent projects, such as an interactive multimedia display and a series of public programs featuring performances by musicians and artists, have provided new opportunities for museum visitors to engage with the intangible heritage in the collection. Will such innovations be enough to ensure that the museum continues to be relevant to visitors and attract new audiences or does the key lie in the creation of participatory events and crowdsourcing projects?

Australian composer and pianist Percy Grainger established an autobiographical Museum in his hometown of Melbourne, Victoria in 1938 and it has intrigued generations of visitors since. Born George Percy Grainger in 1882 to John Harry Grainger and Rose, née Aldridge he was destined for a career in the arts. Grainger's architect and engineer father encouraged his artistic talent but it was his mother who steered him towards music with fierce determination. Rose ensured that he devoted many hours to piano practice from a young age and, after separating from her husband, took the bold step of relocating to Frankfurt, Germany so that Percy could attend the Hoch Conservatory.

On completion of his studies Percy and his mother moved to London where he taught piano and became a sought after performer for London high society. Although recognising the value of these engagements in establishing his career, Grainger was uncomfortable with the rigid class structure of Edwardian England. He was 'horrified by…the cruelty & inhumanity of the smart life', coping by turning to his 'good angles' and 'shield bearers' such as William Gair Rathbone and John Singer Sargent (Bird, 1999: 82).

During this period Grainger began to collect folksong, initially by notation before seeking out a more sophisticated and nuanced method that would allow singers to express themselves natu-

rally, without too much intrusion from the collector. He became a pioneer of recording in the field, using an Edison phonograph and wax cylinders as early as 1906. Grainger viewed music as a 'universal language' and was not interested in arbitrary divisions between high and low culture (Grainger, 1933).

In his 1915 journal article *The Impress of Personality in Unwritten Music* Grainger addressed folk song collecting with a sense of urgency, believing that such 'primitive music' was threatened by 'ruthless and destructively intolerant Western civilization'. Grainger discerned that the songs he was collecting were not only part of a rich cultural heritage but a sign of 'extreme individualism', for 'however predominantly communal the broad evolution of folk-songs has been, and still is…the only tangible preservable manifestations of this evolution [is] the different versions of different singers'**.** He respected the folk singer who would 'unhesitatingly alter the traditional material he has inherited from thousands of unknown talents and geniuses before him to suit his own voice or instruments, or to make it conform to his purely personal taste for rhythm and general style…He is at once an executive and creative artist, for he not only remoulds old ditties, but also weaves together fresh combinations of more or less familiar phrases, which he calls "making new songs."'(Grainger, 1915)

When novelist H.G. Wells accompanied Grainger on one collecting trip he observed him noting down the 'many characteristic scraps of banter that passed between the old agriculturalists around [them].' Grainger's interest in capturing more than the music and lyrics led Wells to comment: 'You are trying to do a more difficult thing than record folk-songs; you are trying to record life'' (Grainger, 1915). Grainger incorporated these biographical details in the program notes of his published arrangements, showing a sincere commitment to giving credit to the singers he collected from. When he later scored Lincolnshire Posy as a suite of musical portraits he was motivated by bitterness over 'memories of the cruel treatment meted out to folksingers as human beings (most of them died in poor-houses or in other down-heartening surroundings) and at the thought of how their high gifts oftenest were allowed to perish unheard, unrecorded and unhonoured. (Grainger, 1940).

Grainger's folk song collecting was interrupted by the outbreak of World War One which had prompted he and Rose to relocate to the United States. Although his interest remained keen, he did not resume collecting with the same intensity again. Grainger concentrated his energies on his professional career, engaging manager Antonia Sawyer and conducting lengthy tours after serving in the U.S. Army. This was a time of great commercial success for Grainger - his arrangement of the Morris dance tune *Country Gardens* broke publisher Schirmer's sales records for the previous 75 years and sold at a rate of over 40,000 copies annually (Simon, 1983: 7).

Whilst achieving professional success Grainger held serious concerns for the physical and mental health of his mother Rose, who had contracted syphilis from her husband shortly after Percy was born. Whilst on tour in 1922 she sent him frantic letters, urging him to return. Grainger had just come off stage in California when he was informed of his mother's death. In a state of shock he caught the train home, discovering through a newspaper report that Rose had jumped from the window of his manager's New York City office. He immediately began planning ways to memorialise her, writing to friend and fellow composer Henry Balfour Gardiner that establishing a Museum in his birth town would both position himself as "Australia's 1st great composer' and 'make *my mother's name shine Bright"* (Nemec, 2006: 82). In the sixteen years between Rose's death and the opening of the Museum in 1938 those plans evolved, becoming an autobiographical museum designed to shed light on the process of musical composition.

Figure 1. Percy Grainger outside the Grainger Museum, 1938. Photographer unknown. Grainger Museum Collection.

It was important to Grainger that the museum visitors gain an understanding of his creative process rather than focus solely on his skill as a performer. This was partly due to his deep ambivalence about his performing career. He had experienced a form of stage fright since he was a child and for much of his life struggled with anxiety about forgetting passages of music. He also expressed frustration that he was unable to spend more time on composition due to touring commitments.

Grainger's future plans for the Museum included a composing stipendium for an 'Australian born composer of genius' who would also fill the role of curator. He compared this to the composing stipendiums paid by the governments of Scandinavian countries to composers such as Edvard Grieg, Herman Sandby and Jean Sibelius. Grainger hoped that this would lead to music-loving Australians becoming more 'composition-minded'. A program of chamber, choral and orchestral concerts would reflect what he termed the universalist taste of the composers of his era. To fund these programs Grainger intended to direct money from composition royalties and performing rights to a Grainger Museum Fund[1].

Grainger decided on the ambitious goal of arranging exhibits so that a 'musically-untrained layman, passing through the museum, may feel the natural connection between life and music in our era'[2]. The collection includes objects that you would expect to find in a music museum, such as musical instruments, scores, manuscripts, programs and recordings, as well as less conventional items. Grainger's theory was that to understand the creative process the visitor should be able to examine every aspect of the creator's life, including the most mundane (bus tickets, socks, household bills) and intimate (letters, photographs and ephemera related to his sado-masochist sexual practices). The inclusion of such material illustrates Grainger's desire that the Museum 'set a standard of truthfulness & naturalness in the field of Australian musical history, a collection that would be ever true & believe-worthy'[3].

Although Grainger recognised that aspects of the collection were potentially scandalous he did not anticipate the long lasting impact they would have on the public perception of the Museum. In the 1950s he placed material related to his sexual practices into a bank vault with the di-

rective that it be opened ten years after his death. Grainger hoped that by then it would be acceptable to broader society and could be put on display next to the rest of the collection. With due ceremony the vault was opened in 1971, revealing the 'Lust Branch' - a collection of whips, blood stained clothing, photographs and pornographic and erotic literature[4]. Staff decided that displaying this material would only serve to reinforce the Museum's reputation as a strange and eccentric site. Some believed that the Lust Branch threatened to overshadow Grainger's creative output or, at the very least, diminish it, so the public was given restricted access to the material. Staff battled for many years against the Museum's public profile as a folly - the whimsy of an eccentric and egotistical maverick.

Throughout the 1960s and 70s staff had more than this public relations minefield to contend with. Grainger had always expressed a fear of losing collection material to fire and for that reason had not installed electricity in the Museum (the narrow galleries were naturally lit by windows on each side). When electricity was eventually connected it was ill equipped to meet the demands of heating all the galleries. There was also no running water or bathroom facilities until the 1980s. Public programs, such as the centenary celebration of Grainger's birth in July 1982, were held in alternative sites on campus and in major city concert venues.

The Museum's reputation and its cold and damp interiors did not deter everyone however. In 1966 Australian composer Keith Humble established the Society for the Private Performance of New Music (SPPNM), which held monthly concerts in the Museum. These acted as interactive workshops for society members. Humble also hosted children's workshops during this period that provided raw sonic material for musique concrete. In a later interview Humble said that he had been 'adamant that the Percy Grainger Museum should be opened, even if this meant holding classes [there]. It was cold - freezing, but I wanted the place to be used! All of these things were, as much as anything, to draw attention to the fact that music in Australia did not begin in 1966, it had a tradition which also involved Percy Grainger - and Grainger was not just some kind of crazy crackpot or extrovert. I wanted to draw attention, via the Grainger Museum, that we have a musical tradition.[5]'

The championing of Grainger as an innovative composer continued into the 1990s with a number of public programs inspired by his experimental work. Grainger's Free Music (a term he gave to his quest to make music free of the constraints of traditional pitch and rhythm) has been highly influential amongst experimental musicians, composers and artists. In 1997 sound artist Ros Bandt installed *A Garden for Percy's Delight* in the Museum's central courtyard, derived entirely from recordings made from the instruments on display. Bandt stated that 'some of these sounds had not been heard since Percy gave them to the museum in 1938'[6]. The following year Bandt curated *Beaming the Theremin* in which Grainger's composition for Theremin was given its premiere in a sound and light installation that was played from the roof of the Museum into the courtyard. The event also premiered 20 commissioned works from electroacoustic artists inspired by Grainger.

In 2002 The Blisters Ensemble, made up of improvisers/instrument builders Jon Rose, Rainer Linz, Tom Fryer, Joanne Cannon, and Stuart Favilla undertook a residency at the Museum which resulted in the Classic FM radio broadcast *Skeleton in the Museum*. The group utilised piano rolls, Museum instruments and Grainger's home recordings to create the work[7].

The condition of the Museum building eventually led to its closure in 2003, necessary to ensure the conservation of the collection. For the next seven years it underwent major works, made all the more complex by it's listing on the Victorian Heritage Register. Damp coursing and an underfloor ventilation system were installed; museum standard off site storage was built to accommodate items not on display and curatorial staff worked with designers on refitting the gallery spaces.

Whilst the Museum was closed funding was made available for the production of *Introducing Percy Grainger: Musician, designer, innovator*, an interactive multimedia unit and DVD. During planning there was much discussion by curatorial staff as to how to present the intangible heritage contained in the collection, one example being Grainger's performing career. By all accounts he was both technically adept and very charismatic, eliciting high praise from the press and audiences alike. Unfortunately the collection contains only one piece of footage of Grainger playing the piano and it is silent. This footage was included and supplemented with content from his diaries, programs, reviews, publicity photos, correspondence, advertisements and audio recordings.

In November 2010 the Museum re-opened. The on-site interactive was installed whilst a DVD version was distributed to high schools in Victoria as a teaching aid. On-site public programs resumed but, although no longer restricted by a lack of electricity, the Museum continues to pose challenges for hosting events. The narrow galleries can only accommodate a relatively small audience and the internal courtyard is subject to the vagaries of the weather.

The Museum recently commissioned a review of all collection instruments to determine which can currently be played, which require restoration in order to be playable and which are no longer able to be played for conservation reasons. In 2012 singer and fiddler Jenny Thomas, accompanied by pianist Iain Grandage, gave a recital of folk tunes interwoven with personal stories and historical information about the collection item played – a Norwegian Hardanger fiddle. Grainger's original Free Music instruments are no longer playable due to the materials used in their construction. An instrument such as the Kangaroo Pouch Machine, partially reconstructed in the Museum in 1988 by his collaborator Burnett Cross, is now too fragile to be played. There is however a great deal of supplementary material available, such as detailed drawings, letters, photographs and recordings. Grainger's do-it-yourself approach to experimental instrument building continues to inspire and attracts an eclectic audience. In 2012 'Free Music Now' presented performances on instruments either created from scratch or substantially modified by Dylan Martorel, Rod Cooper, Dale Gorfinkel, Victor Meertens, John Nixon and The Donkey's Tail.

Figure 2. Jenny Thomas performing in the Grainger Museum, 2012. Photograph by Brian Allison.

Performances such as these are vital to ensure that the Museum stays true to Grainger's original aims as well as relevant to the community. As anyone working in a cultural institution is aware, there are many competing demands for resources and the sustainability of the public programs requires an ongoing financial commitment from the University and investigation of alternative funding sources.

The process of photographing and scanning collection items for use in the interactive made a significant contribution to the Museum's digital archive. Further to this, collection items have

been digitized at the request of researchers; as a conservation measure to minimize handling and for marketing purposes. The Museum website, created in 2007, would benefit from a redesign that has better capacity to incorporate this new content. In April the English Folk Dance and Song Society (EFDSS) announced that they had secured a grant from the Heritage Lottery Fund (HLF) to archive, conserve and digitise materials from six archives. Through music publisher Barry Ould the Museum has provided digitised copies of Grainger's folk song notebooks to supplement the EFDSS song collection. These are to be made available on a new website for free public access[8].

The recognition of the value of Grainger's folksong material in the U.K. is an example of his high profile beyond Australia's shores. In the United States he is arguably most well known for his wind band arrangements - high school students in marching bands have invariably played Grainger material. In Australian high schools his compositions feature in the music curriculum bi-annually. In 2011 the Museum liased with a wide variety of individuals and organisations presenting concerts, lectures and exhibitions around the world to commemorate the anniversary of Grainger's birth. The sharing of cultural resources via the internet would have delighted Grainger, who would have welcomed it as a democratic tool – a way to encourage what he referred to as the 'get-together-spirit'. In a 1927 magazine article Grainger wrote that he felt that musical sense was languishing because people would not get together and make music. He wanted to wake up the dormant spirit of music and encourage the exchange of ideas (Grainger, 1927). The skill of players was not of concern to Grainger, as long as they could sound the right intervals and keep the tonal balance and 'as long as they play badly enough to still enjoy playing'[9]. His international profile gives tremendous scope for utilising the internet for crowd sourcing projects such as hosting videos of Grainger compositions and arrangements performed by school bands and amateur choral societies.

Another avenue for crowd sourcing lies with Grainger's home recordings of his musical experiments. His collaborator Burnet Cross gave copyright control to the Museum when he donated the original reel to reel tapes. They feature Cross and Grainger introducing the experiments on their proto-electronic instruments. These could be made available as downloads for musicians to use for remixing and sampling with the possibility of hosting the results. Museum visitors would also be able to download the recordings so they can hear the unusual instruments on display, currently only available via the interactive.

Participatory programs currently under discussion include beadwork and sewing workshops to be held in the Museum. As an enthusiastic visitor to cultural institutions around the world Grainger was particularly drawn to ethnographic displays. His research into beadwork and historical costume design informed his creative pursuits in these areas. Grainger's designs for elaborate beaded neckpieces and clothing made from beach towels are some of the most popular displays in the Museum. Contemporary jewelers and artists influenced by Grainger have been approached to run the workshops.

The Grainger Museum fund does not generate adequate income for a composer's stipend, as Grainger had envisioned. After he died in 1961 his widow Ella founded the International Percy Grainger Society, based at their home in White Plains, New York. Money from Grainger's royalties and performing rights are partly directed to the Society, administered by a Board of Trustees. The house is on the National Register of Historic Places and contains collection material including manuscripts, photographs, artwork and household furniture.

The Grainger Museum and the University of Melbourne have had a tumultuous partnership, including a time in the 1970s when staff felt compelled to run a public campaign to save the building from demolition. Those days are well and truly in the past and the University now considers the Museum to be one of the jewels in its crown. With the renovation complete attention can be turned to fully exploring ways to build on the pioneering curatorial work of its founder using contemporary museological methods.

ENDNOTES

[1] Percy Grainger to Sir James Barrett, Chancellor, University of Melbourne. 24 August 1938. Grainger Museum collection.
[2] ibid

[3] Percy Grainger to Constance Marion Vulliamy. 8 November 1946. Grainger Museum collection.

[4] The 'Lust Branch' was the term Grainger used for collection material related to his sexual practices.

[5] Keith Humble interview by John Whiteoak.
http://www.rainerlinz.net/NMA/repr/Humble_interview.html#2r. Viewed 26 April 2013

[6] http://www.abc.net.au/arts/lroom/gardel.htm. Viewed 26 April 2013

[7] http://www.abc.net.au/arts/adlib/shows.htm. Viewed 26 April 2013

[8] The Full English: Heritage Lottery Fund Announcement. http://www.efdss.org/news/newsId/259. Viewed 26 April 2013

[9] This quote appears in a number of prefaces to Grainger's 'elastic scores' from 1930 on. See
Appendix   One: Additional   Comments   on   Instrumentation,   etc.   at
http://www.percygrainger.org/progno11.htm. Viewed 26 April 2013.

REFERENCES

Bird, J. (1999). *Percy Grainger*. Sydney: Currency Press.

Grainger, P. (1908). The impress of personality in traditional singing. *Journal of the Folk-Song Society*, 3(12): 163-166.

Grainger, P. (1915). The impress of personality in unwritten music. *The Musical Quarterly*, 75(4): 1-18.

Grainger, P. (1927). The Gregarious Art of Music: Australia Needs the Get-Together Spirit. *Australian Musical News*, 16(9) 13 -15.

Grainger, P. (1933). *Can Music Become a Universal Language* [Grainger Museum collection].

Grainger, P. (1940). *Lincolnshire Posy*. London: Schott & Co.

Nemec, B. (2006). *The Grainger Museum in its Museological And Historical Contexts*. Unpublished thesis (PhD). University of Melbourne.

Simon, R. (1983). *Percy Grainger: The Pictorial Biography*. New York: Whitston Pub. Co.

Intangible Cultural Heritage (ICH) and cultural diplomacy in postwar Japan

Nancy Stalker
University of Texas at Austin, USA

ABSTRACT: After over a decade of negotiations and refinements, in 2003, UNESCO adopted the Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage, intended to protect and promote "traditions or living expressions inherited from our ancestors and passed on to our descendants." While official materials on ICH do not mention UNESCO's director who spearheaded efforts, Koiichiro Matsuura (1999-2009), or Japan by name, there is no doubt that the concept draws heavily from Japan's Intangible Heritage Law, established in 1950, and that Matsuura considers his efforts to establish an international ICH Convention an important aspect of his legacy. Japan's Law for Protection of Cultural Properties (bunkazai hogo hô) awarded official status (mukei bunkazai) to cultural properties of high historical or artistic value in two categories: Performing Arts or Craft Techniques and further specified that a Cultural Property must be in danger of disappearance before it would be considered for designation. As a result of this restriction, some of Japan's most popular and beloved national cultural practices, including tea ceremony, flower arranging (ikebana), traditional dance (nihon buyo) and martial arts have not been and are unlikely to ever be recognized under this law. Furthermore, leading practitioners in these fields are unlikely to ever be designated "Living National Treasures" (ningen kokuho). The restriction to endangered arts suggests an altruistic desire on the part of the state to protect endangered Japanese Heritage, yet it is also important to consider the law's specific historical context in order to understand the motivations of actors. The implementation of this cultural policy in Japan was heavily influenced by its postwar geopolitical context. In 1950, Japan was still under U.S. military occupation. The war had devastated the Japanese economy, destroying a third of its manufacturing capability and a quarter of all housing stock. Faced with the US imperative to renounce its wartime reputation as an imperialist aggressor while simultaneously creating economic opportunity in the face of wartime devastation, Japanese leaders sought to re-invent Japan as a "country of culture" (bunka no kuni), implementing policies on many fronts to forge a new, non-militarist national identity rooted in traditional cultural practices. This paper will examine how Japan's postwar cultural policies were influenced by domestic politics and by Japan's traditional methods of arts management (iemoto seido), resulting in a situation in which its most iconic cultural practices are not recognizable as official "Heritage" yet are, nevertheless, some of the most important components of cultural diplomacy. It asks if it is necessary or possible for UNESCO ICH law to recognize or resolve this contradiction, which born in a specific national context?

After over a decade of negotiations and refinements, in 2003, UNESCO adopted the Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage, intended to protect and promote "traditions or living expressions inherited from our ancestors and passed on to our descendants." The UNESCO director who spearheaded these efforts, Koiichiro Matsuura (1999-2009) drew heavily from both UNESCO's 1972 Convention Concerning the Protection of World Cultural and Natural Heritage, which focused on monuments and landscape, and his native Japan's own Intangible Cultural Properties law, established in 1950. Matsuura considers his efforts to establish an international ICH Convention the most important aspects of his legacy at UNESCO.[1]

Japan's 1950 Intangible Cultural Properties law (ICP), (*bunkazai hogo hô*) awarded official status (*mukei bunkazai*) to cultural properties of high historical or artistic value in two categories: Performing Arts or Craft Techniques. The law favors regional, folk performing arts and crafts and nationally recognized, mainstream performing arts, such as Noh, Kabuki and Bunraku puppet theatre. In fact, these three dramatic arts were inscribed on UNESCO's initial Proclamation of Masterpieces of the Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity in 2001 the first year of its implementation.[2] The legally recognized holders of Japanese cultural properties can be either individuals, popularly known as Living National Treasures, or groups who have been designated as preservers of that art for the purpose of ensuring its continuation. Living National Treasures receive a special annual grant of 2 million yen (approx. $25,000 today) and the government contributes to the cost of training a successor. For craftsmen the Living National Treasure designation also sharply increases the prices of the pieces they produce.[3] In the case of group designations, the government helps defray the costs of public exhibitions, performances or other activities necessary to maintain the group and sponsors training workshops to educate future generation of performing artists. The law further specified that a Cultural Property must be in danger of disappearance before it would be considered for designation.[4] As a result of this restriction, some of Japan's most popular and beloved amateur cultural practices, including tea ceremony, flower arranging (ikebana), traditional dance (*nihon buyo*) and martial arts have not been and are unlikely to ever be recognized under this law. Furthermore, leading practitioners in these fields are unlikely to ever be designated "Living National Treasures" (*ningen kokuho*).

The restriction to endangered arts suggests an altruistic desire on the part of the state to protect endangered "Heritage" practices, yet it is also important to consider the law's specific historical context in order to understand the motivations of actors, especially since Japanese law, preceding UNESCO's by five decades, has been highly influential in shaping international policy. The disjuncture between Japan's officially recognized "Heritage" and renowned but officially unrecognized popular Japanese cultural practices, such as tea ceremony and ikebana, points to an idealization of "Heritage" that deliberately ignores the late modern, consumerist context in which we live. Regina Bendix has noted how the economic and political aspects of "Heritagisation" of cultural practices, including potential economic gain, investments required and geopolitical implications, are marginalized or effaced in the UNESCO nomination process, often represented as a moral responsibility that seeks to idealize cultural practices and thus separate them from larger social, political and economic contexts.[5] This was also true in the implementation of Japan's ICP law in the 1950s. Despite the façade of cultural altruism, domestic politics and geopolitics, especially in relation to the Cold War, deeply influenced Japan's postwar cultural policies, including ICP. Traditional arts and cultural practices became a primary forum for Japanese cultural diplomacy during the Cold War.

This paper examines the implementation of Japan's Intangible Cultural Properties law within the historical context of Japan's postwar culture. Anne Sherif has described how scholarly and media discourse on Japan's postwar culture is characterized by "amnesia regarding the impact of the Cold War on Japan's culture," casting Japan as an "observer, rather than dynamic participant in the Cold War" and characterizing Japanese culture as an "oasis" away from the bipolar contest for power. The Cold War was invoked as a framework for analyzing postwar political and diplomatic relations, but seldom in relation to culture. How did the Cold War affect Japanese cultural production? What Japanese institutional and economic structures extended the articulation of the Cold War into the cultural realm? Is the contextually specific gap between

Japan's officially designated culture and popularly conceived and consumed culture meaningful or a cause for concern in terms of its influence on UNESCO policy?

Examination of Japan's ICP law provides an excellent illustration of the mutability of "Heritage." Cultural practices considered quintessentially Japanese, such as Kabuki and ikebana, the cases examined in this paper, have been significantly shaped by Japan's interactions with the West. Ikebana repeatedly transformed in response to international norms and trends beginning in the early twentieth century. Kabuki, on the brink of extinction in wartime Japan when it was considered an elite luxury, was particularly affected during the US Occupation, when strict censorship of Japanese entertainment forbade martial themes and attempted to inject Westernized ideals into popular culture. It flourished during the Occupation, staging more productions during this era than either before or after, largely due to its popularity among US Occupation personnel. US censorship mandated prohibition of popular Kabuki plays which featured battles or other military or "feudal" content, such as honorable suicides (*seppuku*) and theaters were ordered to produce new plays promoting democratic concepts. Enthusiastic new American audiences, however prompted kabuki theaters to ignore many prohibitions without consequence and to create programs that would appeal to servicemen, such as inserting sequences of women performing traditional dances (*buyo*) associated with geisha , although Kabuki had been an all-male art, with specialized actors playing female roles (*onnagata*) since the eighteenth century.[6]

In 1950, when the ICP law was established, Japan was still under U.S. military occupation. The war had devastated the Japanese economy. U.S. firebombing of sixty-six of Japan's largest cities destroyed a third of its manufacturing capability and a quarter of all housing stock. As noted by Ahmend Skounti, it is at such moments, "when everything or almost everything collapses around them that people cast around… for reference points or markers that will enable them to steady destinies caught up in the storm. It is in such a climate that heritage, be it of sites, objects, practices or ideas is produced and assimilated into an invented tradition."[7] Faced with the US imperative to renounce its wartime reputation as an imperialist aggressor while simultaneously creating economic opportunity in the face of wartime devastation, Japanese leaders sought to re-invent Japan as a "country of culture" (*bunka no kuni),* implementing policies on many fronts to forge a new, non-militarist "national brand."

This re-branding was not a completely new, as the West had admired Japan's cultural reputation since its nineteenth century opening by the U.S. At that time, the new "zone of contact" between Japan and the West influenced the production of cultural goods for trade.[8] In addition to tea and textiles, Japan's most popular exports at that time were art and craft products including pottery, lacquerware and decorative bric-a-brac.[9] Western taste preferences for the colorful and ornate, such as Satsuma vases and Kutani platters, contrasted sharply with the restrained tones prized by native connoisseurs, but foreign demand sharply boosted production and export of gaudier goods. Western Japanophiles collected woodblock prints of actors and courtesans, considered déclassé among Japanese elite. Popularity among Westerners, however, began to affect domestic taste in the arts. Western demand drove up the financial and cultural value of these prints to such an extent that they are now considered a quintessential aspect of early modern Japanese art.

The gaze of and trade with the West in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries also transformed other Japanese traditional arts such as ikebana, creating new forms and reversing the gender ratio of practitioners. Trade brought new varieties of floral material to Japan unsuited to the vertical orientation and formality of classical ikebana styles. A new school emerged with a low, horizontal style that soon became a fundamental practice, de rigeur for all schools. In terms of gender, membership in ikebana schools, like most schools of traditional arts in the premodern Edo period, was limited to elite men. After beginning to modernize and industrialize, state leaders realized that ikebana, along with tea ceremony, would be considered feminine pursuits under the Western gaze. Both were made a part of girl's high school curriculum and were soon considered desirable characteristics for would-be brides.[10] In a few short decades, over 95% of ikebana practitioners were female. Men, nevertheless, retained the most powerful positions within most schools, as headmasters and senior teachers. These far-reaching changes in ikebana were a direct result of Western interaction and attest to the idea that "Heritage" is neither fixed

nor immutable but flexible and centered on conditions in the present.   Unlike many postwar developments in ikebana, these early changes were not for the purpose of cultural diplomacy per se, but nevertheless demonstrate Japanese authorities' desires to adapt traditional culture to conform with the norms of the more powerful Western nations.

In the postwar period, especially as the Cold War deepened in the 1950s and 60s, US leaders looked increasingly to Japan to act as its closest junior partner, a bulwark against Communist encroachment in East Asia. US postwar policies and attitudes toward Japan were influenced by powerful racial and cultural stereotypes and notions of cultural hierarchy derived from the earlier colonial world order that represented a feminized "Orient" as inferior to the West, irrationally enslaved by cultural and religious traditions in contrast with the masculine and rationalist Western powers.[11]   Christina Klein and Naoko Shibusawa have related how American writers, artists and intellectuals supported Cold War policy by representing U.S. power in Japan in popular stories and films, generating a "remarkably cohesive" message of "Cold War Orientalism" characterizing Japan as servile and hyper-feminine, talented in the arts, but incompetent in manly, worldly affairs.[12] Japan frequently appeared in the pages and on the cover of popular American magazines like the *Saturday Evening Post, Reader's Digest* and *Life* simultaneously engendering feelings of familiarity and exoticism towards Japan among ordinary, middle-class Americans. Hollywood produced a slew of popular films, painting Japan as exotic and desirable, including Marlon Brando's 1957 Oscar-award winning film, *Sayonara.* Stereotypical images of Japan appeared frequently in U.S. advertising. All of these efforts resulted in a tenfold increase in American tourism in Japan and the forging of a powerful and lasting images of Japan as a cultural and feminine Other than complemented, rather than challenged, the masculine, military US in their Cold War partnership.

In its endeavor to redefine postwar Japan as a country of culture, "the Japanese state fell in step, culturally and well as militarily with many of the conditions set by the alliance with America,"[13] including the desire to emphasize and promote an exoticized and rarified Japanese cultural identity which contrasted sharply with the contemporary reality of a rapidly expanding urban middle class living an increasingly Americanized lifestyles. Prioritization of the promotion of traditional culture by the postwar Japanese government can be seen in numerous initiatives. The Cultural Affairs Bureau of the Education Ministry (Monbusho) initially guided postwar cultural policy. One major step was the 1948 declaration of National Culture Day, (*Bunka no Hi*) every November 3. On this new national holiday, the Emperor awarded Order of Culture honors and prefectural governments throughout Japan held Culture Festivals (*Bunkasai*) that prominently featured traditional arts like ikebana and local Kabuki.   1950's ICP law represented another significant step towards regrounding Japanese identity as primarily cultural and benign rather than imperialist or militarist. In 1968, the Cultural Affairs Bureau was combined with the office that protected intangible cultural properties*,* to create the Agency for Cultural Affairs.   The budget for the Agency was 5 billion yen in 1968 and increased by 10 - 30% a year, reaching nearly 18 billion yen by 1974. The number of prefectures with offices exclusively dedicated to cultural affairs increased from 6 in 1968 to 46 by 1974.[14] In 1972 the Japanese Diet established the semi-governmental Japan Foundation (*kokusai kôryû kikin*) under the jurisdiction of the Foreign Ministry as a special legal entity with the mission of international dissemination of Japanese culture.

These government initiatives to prioritize culture supported US Cold War policy, using cultural diplomacy to elevate Japan's presence abroad and securely establish Japan as an American friend in Asia through projects that made Japanese cultural "exotica" accessible by Western audiences. Kabuki and ikebana especially became quintessential arenas of cultural diplomacy, potent symbols of exotic Japanese national culture that could be admired by Americans. As noted by Barbara Thornbury, Kabuki was represented as "the epitome of Japan's--and the world's ancient arts," an example of Japanese traditional culture that could help recast the former wartime enemy as a model of "peaceful modernization based upon the presumed continuities of traditional culture,"[15] and a "synecdoche of all that is good in Japan."[16] From 1952-1956, Kabuki was a dominant subject in numerous American publications and television specials on Japan. The first US Kabuki tour in 1954, financed by a combination of Japanese kabuki producers, individual

American Japanophiles (such as the novelist James Michener) and American foundations that supported US-Japan Cold war relations (such as the Rockefeller Foundation, featured the female-led Azuma Nihon Buyo Dance company performing "kabuki-style" dances performed by women, not accepted as professional kabuki performers. Press coverage of the tour, featuring kimonoed women in demure poses, put a feminine and exotic face on Japanese traditional culture, in keeping with Japan's subordinate and servile role to the US in the Cold War. This tour was followed in 1960 by the Japanese government's announcement that it would finance a more authentic, six-city Grand Kabuki tour in 1960, touted as the "full opera" of Kabuki featuring all-male professional companies enacting historical and domestic dramas, to commemorate the centennial of the first US - Japan trade agreement. Perhaps the government selected this year and commemoration in order to downplay the massive and violent anti-American protests in Japan in connection with the renewal of the US-Japan Security Treaty, the key political instrument of the US-Japan Cold War relationship .

In terms of ikebana, the Japanese state subsidized ikebana masters' travels abroad to consulates and international cultural events, such as Worlds' Fairs. Many of the largest schools of ikebana also developed strong ties with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. During the postwar Occupation, as the wives of first US Occupation officials followed by Korean War-related personnel flooded Japan, they sought avenues to engage with the exotic Japanese culture represented in American media. Among the women stationed in Japan, an estimated 90% took ikebana classes at some point, including Mrs. Douglas MacArthur. A wide range of potential cultural pursuits existed for foreign women in Japan, but ikebana was among the easiest and most accessible. Dance and music required actual talent; calligraphy or poetry demanded some knowledge of language; tea ceremony required a level of overall cultural literacy difficult to achieve for short-term residents. In contrast women of all countries could wield a pair of scissors and tended to enjoy flowers. After the Occupation ended, these major schools provided lessons and demonstrations at Japanese embassies throughout the world, as a form of cultural diplomacy, while also training foreign diplomat's wives in Japan, who in turn often promoted ikebana when they returned to their home countries. While both were central to Japanese cultural diplomacy Kabuki and ikebana nevertheless form an interesting contrast in terms of official heritage status, the former recognized as both a Japanese ICP and UNESCO Masterpiece early in the establishment of these programs while the latter received tacit state support but no official imprimatur as a cultural treasure.

Although Japan's ICP law was formulated in 1950, the first designations did not occur until 1955. I would argue that the first group of designated properties, including the crafts of Japanese swords, maki-e lacquerware and Yûzen silk dyeing used for kimono, reflected American hegemony, designating goods considered desirable mementos by American tourists, military servicemen and other American personnel stationed in Japan, rather than reflecting contemporary Americanized cultural tastes. This argument is buttressed by the fact that 1955 ICP designations in performing arts singled out Kabuki *buyo* dance, the Occupation-era innovation described earlier that added geisha-associated female dances to the traditional all-male kabuki program and was featured in the 1954 US tour, rather than designating the art of a Kabuki as a whole, which occurred a decade later in 1965. Other performing arts designated in 1955, including the professional *bunraku* puppet theatre and Noh theatre were characterized by exotic costumes, sets and practices that were considered uniquely Japanese and radically Other to Western dramatic traditions, a key reason for their inclusion among UNESCO's initial Proclamation of Masterpieces of the Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity in 2001.

Ikebana, on the other hand, was by far the most popular amateur traditional cultural practice in the 1950s and 60s, swamping contenders like tea ceremony and traditional Japanese music and dance. At the peak of its popularity in the mid-1960s an estimated 10 million Japanese participated in ikebana and there were (and are) over 3000 individual schools.

Postwar foreign interest in ikebana contributed to far-reaching transformations in the ikebana world, shuffling the hierarchy of schools, creating new associations and introducing new methods and materials. Ikebana headmasters courted American interest giving special treatment to foreign students, such as lenient certifications and exclusive exhibitions. Schools with English speaking teachers, or better yet headmasters, grew more rapidly than others. The American enthusiasm for

ikebana led to the creation of Ikebana International (I.I.) established in 1956 by Mrs. Ellen Gordon Allen, the wife and daughter of Army Brigadier Generals.[17]   Mrs. Allen disliked many aspects of Japan's traditional arts system, including the need to pay for certifications and exhibition entries and the requirement for exclusive membership in a single school. She proposed an Association, in which Headmasters would work personally with an international group of students from various schools, at various levels of skill on a non-profit basis. While such demands were unprecedented and highly insensitive to (or ignorant of) norms in schools of traditional Japanese arts, the headmasters of the largest schools recognized the opportunity and prestige of association with American elites and readily lent personal and financial support. I.I. received perquisites from influential corners--a major Tokyo department store provided a free information booth, a leading publisher offered free office space and Japan's Foreign Ministry produced pamphlets on I.I., distributing these to Japan embassies and consulates worldwide.[18] In a short time, I.I. branches popped up across the globe, following the military, diplomatic and business careers of the husbands of I.I. members. By 1969, there were 130 branches and nearly 10,000 members. Headmasters were invited by I.I. elite members to tour the US and to perform demonstrations at I.I. chapters, art museums and garden shows.[19]   Nevertheless, neither ikebana as a whole nor any single form of ikebana style, school or headmaster has ever been officially designated an Intangible Cultural Property (ICP) or Living National Treasure. Tea ceremony, *bonsai*, martial arts, and other practices that are organized under the traditional headmaster (iemoto) system and often epitomize both domestic and international imagination of traditional Japanese culture are in the same position.[20]   Popular and commercially viable, they are paradoxically ineligible to be considered official "Heritage."

Given the central role played by both Kabuki and ikebana in postwar cultural diplomacy, how do we explain why one would be designated an Intangible Cultural Property in Japan and nominated for UNESCO world Heritage status while the other was ignored by both domestic and international official Heritage systems? Economics was, of course, a central element of ICP designation. The wording of the Japanese law specifies that a Cultural Property is eligible only if in danger of disappearance, meaning that it is not economically viable or that there is no apparent heir. Traditional dramatic arts like Noh, Bunraku and Kabuki required state support and state-sponsored national venues to remain financially viable in the modern era, when interest in these performing arts declined sharply among Japanese youth.   Under the law, the Japanese government would provide financial support to certain traditional arts only where needed for survival. The largest and most representative schools of ikebana, along with popular schools of tea ceremony, calligraphy, etc., required no such support. In the 1960s, ikebana headmasters were among the wealthiest individuals in Japan. Top ikebana schools boomed, diversifying into related fields, building elaborate educational facilities and expanding abroad.[21]

In addition to saving money, the limiting economic clause allowed the state to sidestep the potential political pitfalls of designating a given ikebana headmaster or school, which would cause ill will among other schools and headmasters, who collectively held influence over tens of millions of voters.[22] A "natural" candidate for ikebana's designation as ICP might be the Ikenobo school, established in the fifteenth century as the official school for the "Way of Flowers." In the 1950s, however, the Ikenobo headmaster was young and relatively ungifted; recognition of Ikenobo as an ICP would bring a massive media and popular outcry.   Why then, was Ikebana as a generic whole not designated, as Kabuki was in 1965, despite the existence of several different professional Kabuki troupes? In contrast with ikebana's large amateur population, Kabuki was a professional dramatic form and the small number of troupes all benefited relatively equally from national support. While Kabuki troupes competed for reputation, they were not competing for ikebana's millions of students and billions of yen. Furthermore, what of the dozens of other successful amateur traditional arts, beginning with tea, calligraphy, incense appreciation, martial arts and traditional dance and music. Each had multiple schools and presented similar political pitfalls. While the ICP system remained limited to Japan, the government had little incentive to include these popular amateur arts, which were profitably self-sustaining and internationally recognized as Japanese cultural treasures even without official sanction. As the system became internationalized via UNESCO's Intangible Cultural Heritage program with the Japanese ICP

system strongly influencing the basic template, however, the gap between official and popularly imagined culture becomes increasingly apparent. Folk festivals from tiny Japanese hamlets celebrated one day a year receive official recognition while cultural practices enjoyed by millions across the country daily are ignored. Japan's designations in UNESCO's Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity thus appear imbalanced and unrepresentative of national cultural values.

In conclusion, while traditional arts like Kabuki and ikebana are universally considered unique and representative aspects of Japanese national cultural identity, they have, in fact, been profoundly shaped by Western, and especially US, hegemony in the twentieth century. Trade, geopolitics, Western gender ideology and Western Orientalism that desired a traditional and exotic Japan, rather than the actual modern and Americanized version, all deeply affected the representation and valuation of traditional Japanese arts in postwar Japan and their subsequent designations as valuable intangible heritage. Nevertheless, while professional performing arts like Kabuki, Noh and Bunraku, frequented by a dwindling number of Japanese have been inscribed into UNESCO's Intangible Heritage List, some of the most popular uniquely Japanese cultural practices, such as ikebana and tea ceremony, are unlikely to ever receive this status, despite popular international acceptance of their centrality to Japanese cultural identity. In short official "Heritage" status in Japan, which deeply informed later UNESCO policy, is far from representative of unique and popular Japanese cultural practices. I cannot claim detailed knowledge of whether this situation is true for other countries, but it is important to ask whether and how such important omissions affected and influenced UNESCO's overall mission of protecting and promoting intangible cultural heritage.

ENDNOTES

[1] See Kôichirô Matsuura, *Sekai isan--Unesuko jimukyokucho wa uttaeru.* Tokyo: Kodansha 2008..

[2] The first stage of UNESCO's protection of intangible heritage included the Proclamation of Masterpieces of the Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity, beginning in 2001 and occurring biennially until 2005, when a total of 90 Masterpieces from 70 countries had been proclaimed. The proclamations were superseded by the establishment of UNESCO's Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity in 2008, following the 2003 convention. All the 90 previously proclaimed Masterpieces, which would be called elements, were featured as the first entries on the new List

[3] For example, Bizen style pottery by a current LNT Isezaki Jun can be found for international auction at prices beginning around $3000 and works by now deceased NT Kaneshige Toyo begin at around $6000, while pieces by other well-known, but non-officially designated Bizen masters can be found for under $100.

[4] See Barbara E. Thornbury "The Cultural Properties Protection Law and Japan's Folk Performing Arts" *Asian Folklore Studies*, Vol. 53, No. 2 (1994), pp. 211-225

[5] Regina Bendix, "Heritage between Economy and Politics" in Laurajane Smith and Natsuko Akagawa, eds. *Intangible Heritage*. London Routledge 2009,

[6] On the U.S. relationship with Kabuki, see James R. Brandon, "Myth and Reality: A Story of 'Kabuki' during American Censorship, 1945-1949," *Asian Theatre Journal* vol 23 no 1 (Spring 2006), Barbara E. Thornbury, "America's "Kabuki" Japan, 1952-1960," *Asian Theatre Journal* vol. 25 no 2 (Fall 2008) and Kevin J. Wetmore "1954: Selling Kabuki to the West," *Asian Theatre Journal* vol 26 no 1 (Fall 2008)

[7] Ahmed Skounti, "The Authentic Illusion" in Smith and Akagawa.

[8] "Zone of Contact" is a concept first articulated by Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation.* New York: Routledge 2008

[9] See for example, Lionel Lambourne, *Japonisme : Cultural Crossings between Japan and the West* London ; New York : Phaidon, 2005 and Siegfried Wichmann, *Japonisme : the Japanese Influence on Western Art in the 19th and 20th centuries.* NY: Thames & Hudson, 1999.

[10] Kobayashi Yoshiho, *Hana no seiritsu to tenkai.* Osaka: Izumi Shoin, 2007.

[11] Concepts first articulated by Edward Said in his seminal 1978 work *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage Books).

[12] See Christina Klein, *Cold War Orientalism: Asia in the Middlebrow Imagination.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003 and Naoko Shibusawa - *America's Geisha Ally: Reimagining the Japanese Enemy.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2010.

[13] Sherif, 7

[14] *Invitation to Japanese Arts, Agency for Cultural Affairs.* Tokyo: Shogakukan 1974.

[15] Thornbury, 194, quoting Harry Harootunian and Masao Miyoshi's *Japan in the World*, Duke University Press, 1993.

[16] Wetmore, 79.

[17] Hollistar Ferretti, *Friendship through Flowers: The Ikebana International Story (1956-1981).* Tokyo: Ikebana International 1986.

[18] Mrs. Allen's pet project of organizing Japanese ikebana study tours for American women literally received red carpet treatment at the airport. American hegemony and the perceived need among Japanese to cater to the whims of their former Occupiers remained unspoken.

[19] I.I. was responsible for the creation of the Demonstration, now a major feature of international ikebana conventions and exhibitions. I.I. first invited headmasters to create works in front of an audience. The performance evolved to include elaborate stagings, sometimes accompanied by music and lightshows.

[20] Schools of ikebana, like schools of tea, calligraphy and other arts followed the iemoto system, a pyramid-shaped organizational structure under a single headmaster with sole authority to license teachers, define school standards and aesthetic norms. The authority was transferred to only one heir, usually a son, regardless of the heir's ability. Students were prohibited from making changes in the styles and techniques taught by the headmaster, to whom they were exclusively bound and obligated. They paid significant fees to advance within the hierarchy or to participate in school exhibitions. The iemoto system is an example of Japanese cultural intimacy, a peculiar aspect of everyday life widely accepted in Japan, but likely to be considered undemocratic, authoritarian and violative of notions about artistic autonomy and freedom in the West.

[21] The lack of an heir was never a problem for ikebana or other commercially successful schools of traditional arts, as the schools were "family" businesses, with headmaster status remaining in the family, regardless of whether any heirs possessed real talent.

[22] In the 1950s and 60s, a political party (Komeito) aligned with Soka Gakkai, the largest new religious group with an estimated 12 million members, proved successful because of the ability of Soka Gakkai leaders to direct members' votes.

Conservation of Intangible Cultural Heritage in formal curriculum of Hong Kong: from cultural space to learning space

Ng Fung Ping
Faculty of Education, The University of Hong Kong, Hong Kong, China

Chan Yuen Yan
Faculty of Education, The University of Hong Kong, Hong Kong, China

ABSTRACT: Hong Kong is a highly urbanized metropolitan, yet it still preserves many traditional Chinese cultural practices. Cantonese Opera is the first Hong Kong item to be inscribed in the UNESCO List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage (ICH) of Humanity. Four other traditional festive events and rituals were also inscribed in the National List of Intangible Cultural Heritage of China. Education is an important means to inherit and further develop intangible cultural heritages. The education reform of New Senior Secondary (NSS) curriculum offers new opportunities for integrating ICH into formal curriculum. It is a perfect timing for utilizing the cultural spaces of ICH into a learning space, and let students learn about the local arts and culture from different dimensions. Since 2006, HKU Cantonese Opera Education and Research Project worked together with partnership schools, to integrate Cantonese Opera into the secondary school curriculum and on related researches. Interdisciplinary and school based courses with ICH elements have been developed in different partnership schools. Under these curricular, students are guided to explore the cultural space of different ICH items, such as the significant Bamboo Sheds of Cantonese opera, to learn how to appreciate and treasure their own culture and traditional art form, to recognize these events and rituals as local intangible cultural heritages, and to fulfill their social responsibility as members of the global community to preserve their own cultural heritage by participating actively in promoting its sustainability. This paper will share the experience of the successful development in integrating ICH into formal curriculum, as well as discussing the possibility to promoting this mode of ICH curriculum development in more schools and in other countries.

1 INTRODUCTION

Cantonese opera is a local traditional art in Hong Kong. On 30th September, 2009, Cantonese Opera was inscribed in the UNESCO List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage (ICH) of Humanity, which was the first Hong Kong ICH item to be inscribed. This raised the interest of Hong Kong people on local ICH items and awareness on the importance of safeguarding them.

Addressing this specific issue, the Hong Kong government suggested putting more resources to support the development and inheritance of Cantonese opera and other ICH items as valuable local cultural treasures of Hong Kong.

The Hong Kong government was aware of the importance of preserving and promoting Cantonese opera as an indigenous art form before the inscription, thus the Cantonese Opera Advisory Committee (COAC) and the Cantonese Opera Development Fund (CODF) were set up by the Home Affair Bureau in 2004 and 2005 respectively. Up to 2013, the CODF has already granted over $50 million to support different programmes and events on the study,

promotion, cultural exchange, education, professional training and the continuous development of Cantonese opera.

According to the Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage (hereafter "the Convention"), adopted by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) in April 2006, China is one of the State Parties. In order to undertake necessary work in compliance with the Convention, an Intangible Heritage Unit was set up in 2006 under the establishment of the Hong Kong Heritage Museum. (Hong Kong Heritage Museum, 2012). Intangible Cultural Heritage Advisory Committee was set up by the Home Affair Bureau later in July 2008, to give advices and to monitor the conduct of a territory-wide survey on Hong Kong's ICH as well as the measures to safeguard ICH items of Hong Kong. With the effort of the committee and Intangible Heritage Unit, four local traditional festivals and practices, namely the Jiao-festival of Cheung Chau, Tai O Dragon Boat Water Parade, Tai Hang Fire Dragon Dance and Yu Lan Ghost Festival of the Hong Kong Chiu Chow Community, were successfully inscribed onto the Third National List of Intangible Cultural Heritage of China in 2011. The inscription definitely aroused more public awareness in identifying and safeguarding local ICH items in Hong Kong.

In the Article 14 of the Convention, it states "each State Party shall endeavour, by all appropriate means, to ensure recognition of, respect for, and enhancement of the intangible cultural heritage in society, in particular through educational, awareness-raising and information programmes, aimed at the general public, in particular young people." (Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage, Article 14, a,i)

However, only a small number of young people appreciate or are interested in their own intangible cultural heritage. Taking Cantonese opera as an example, according to a survey in 2009, among all audiences of Cantonese opera in Hong Kong, only 2.9% of the total audience falls into the age group of 10-29. (Ng, Lam & Choi, 2010) Therefore it is important to work on the promotion and safeguarding of Cantonese opera and other ICH items through education, as it is an important means to inherit and further develop the intangible cultural heritages.

In September 2009, the New Academic Structure was implemented in Hong Kong. The New Senior Secondary (NSS) curriculum, which aims at enhancing students' adaptability, creativity, independent thinking and life-long learning capabilities, provided a perfect breeding ground for embedding ICH elements into formal curriculum. It is a perfect timing for utilizing the cultural spaces of ICH into a learning space, and let students learn about the local arts and culture from different dimensions.

In the following parts of this paper, we will share the experience of the successful development in integrating ICH into formal curriculum in Hong Kong, as well as discussing the possibility to promoting this mode of ICH curriculum development in more schools and in other countries.

2 INTERDISCIPLINARY SCHOOL-BASED APPROACH MODEL

Since 2006, HKU Cantonese Opera Education and Research Project worked together with partnership schools, to integrate Cantonese Opera into the secondary school curriculum and to develop related researches. Interdisciplinary and research-based curriculum with Cantonese opera and ICH elements has been developed in different partnership schools. There are five steps leading to the development of a school-based model with integration of ICH elements.

2.1 *Analyzing and matching learning components with ICH and Cantonese opera components*

Before designing the ICH elements integrated curriculum, we need to identify the matching components of ICH/ Cantonese opera and learning components.

There are various ways to start matching the learning components with the ICH components. The HKU Cantonese Opera Education and Research Project have successfully used the theory of Multiple Intelligence to match the components in the past years.

Howard Gardner's theory of Multiple Intelligences classified "Intelligences" into 7 different categories, namely the 1. Verbal-Linguistic Intelligence, 2. Logical-Mathematical Intelligence, 3. Spatial Intelligence, 4. Musical Intelligence, 5. Bodily-Kinesthetic Intelligence, 6.

Interpersonal Intelligence and 7. Intrapersonal Intelligence. The eighth intelligence of Naturalist Intelligence was added later, making a total of 8 categories. These classifications allows teachers to take care of students' diversity and individual discrepancies, which makes teaching more effective to achieve final learning goals.

The learning activities of ICH education can be matched with various multiple intelligence development of students. Taking Cantonese opera as an example, the analysis of script can help students to develop Verbal-Linguistic Intelligence, Logical-Mathematical Intelligence, Interpersonal Intelligence, Intrapersonal Intelligence and Naturalist Intelligence. (Ng &Yeung, 2011) For other ICH items, students can develop their verbal-linguistic intelligence by doing research on the background and history of ICH items; musical intelligence can be developed through the learning of traditional music and art forms; bodily-kinesthetic intelligence in martial arts, and by doing group and individual learning projects and assignments, interpersonal and intrapersonal intelligence can be built etc. (Ng, 2013)

In order to match with the aims of the NSS curriculum, the Curriculum Development Council has set up seven learning goals for the students under the new curriculum framework to achieve in their studies, namely healthy lifestyle, breadth of knowledge, learning skills, language skills, habit of reading, national identity and responsibility. By achieving these goals, students will hopefully become all-rounded persons in the society.

The following table illustrates how the components can be matched with the seven learning goals.

Table 1. Cantonese opera and ICH components matched with NSS curriculum of Hong Kong

NSS Learning Goals	Cantonese opera components	ICH components
Healthy Lifestyle	Develop an interest in and appreciation of aesthetic values in Cantonese opera	Develop an interest in local cultures
Breadth of Knowledge	Possess a breadth and foundation of knowledge about safeguarding and background of Cantonese opera and other ICH items	
Learning Skills	Develop high order and independent learning skills such as critical thinking and information technology through project studies and cultural space exploration	
Language Skills	Learn classical Chinese through lyrics, poetries, allusions and antithesis etc. in scripts	Develop language skills through reading information about ICH, writing reports, interview with ICH inheritors etc.
Habit of Reading	Read Cantonese opera scripts and lyrics	Make a habit of independent reading through researching and reading information about ICH
National Identity	Strengthen the sense of Chinese nationality through learning the moral ethics and traditional Chinese values embedded	
Responsibility	Recognise their roles and responsibilities as members in the society by safeguarding Cantonese opera and other local ICH items	

2.2 *Curriculum design: a school-based approach*

The curriculum reform in Hong Kong in 2009 provided a great chance for ICH to be integrated in formal curriculum. Under the new system, schools can design their own school-based curriculum for core and elective subjects that suit the interests and strength of students and teachers. This gives plentiful room for integrating ICH elements into the curriculum. There are a lot of components of Cantonese opera and ICH which can match with different learning components of different subjects and learning areas. (Ng, 2012)

2.2.1 *In School/ Classroom*

With the flexibility given by the new curriculum, there are many opportunities to embed Cantonese opera and ICH components into whole-school and cross-disciplinary curriculum. For example, in the core subject of Chinese Language and Culture, schools can design special topics for students to study the festive traditions or scripts of Cantonese opera, for Liberal Studies, students can study the current situations and inheritance of ICH etc.

ICH elements can also be integrated with learning components of different subjects. Under the new curriculum, apart from taking the core subjects of Chinese Language, English Language, Mathematics and Liberal Studies, students need to choose 2 to 3 elective subjects. They can choose elective subjects from different Key Learning Areas, Applied Learning courses and/or other language courses. Applied learning subject can be developed by school according to the needs and strength of their students, which ICH topics and elements can be easily fit in.

A very successful example of such is the whole-school crossed disciplinary course on ICH in the Buddhist Wai Yan Memorial College on Cheung Chau island in Hong Kong. The school picked Jiao-festival (also known as the Bun Festival) as focus, since the festival is a unique event on Cheung Chau and was inscribed in the National List of Intangible Cultural Heritage of China in 2011. Examples of subjects and themes with ICH elements in this school are: Application of Probability: Fortune Telling and Fortune Stick Drawing in Mathematics, Making of Peace Bun (special festive food on Cheung Chau) in Home Economics and Tourist Route Design for the Bun Festival in Tourism and Hospitality subject etc.

2.2.2 *In Cultural Spaces*

According to the Convention by the UNESCO, state parties need to "promote education for the protection of natural spaces and places of memory whose existence is necessary for expressing the intangible cultural heritage" (Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage, Article 14 – Education, awareness-raising and capacity-building).

The exploration of bamboo-shed theatre is a very good example of formulating the framework and process of learning traditional culture in the modern world in the light of experiential learning theory and the phenomenographical approach to learning (Ng et. al., 2001; Kwan and Ng, 2002; Tsui et. al., 2004)

David Kolb (1984) argued that experiential learning encompass the totality of the human learning process, where experience forms the foundation for four-phase learning cycle. Based on this theory, there are also four phases in the cross cultural learning of bamboo theatre cultural exploration.

The following figure shows a complete cross-cultural learning cycle, using Cantonese opera learning as an example, in terms of experiential learning theory and Phenomenographical approach of learning.
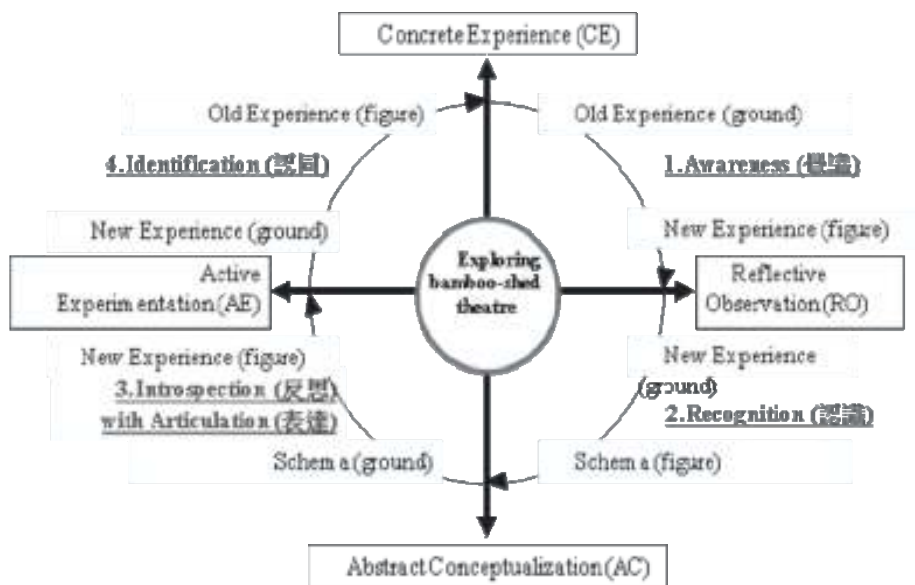
Figure 1. Cross-cultural learning cycle of Cantonese opera learning.

2.2.3 *In Cyberspace*

In the era of Web 2.0, web tools and other e-learning platforms are widely used to allow more effective learning of students. The multi-media interface and interactive cyberspace provide a common ground for learning which allows students to experience more learning possibilities which cannot be obtained through traditional learning methods.

Free web tools such as weblogs and other social media, can be used in designing the curriculum of ICH education. For example, multi-media video clips can be posted on weblogs to show students of specific festive activities of ICH items, or interactive discussions platforms of students can be developed on social media platforms such as Facebook groups.

2.3 *Teacher Training/ Seminar and Workshops*

Local secondary school teachers might not be very familiar with Cantonese opera and other ICH items, therefore they might not have the confidence and might face problems when it comes to teaching such topics to students. Regarding this issue, teacher training and supports should be given to them in order to raise their professional ability in the aspect so that they eventually would feel confident in teaching the topics.

There are three stages of teacher training in ICH education, including 1. ICH knowledge enrichment programmes, 2. Joint-school lesson preparation and 3. Feedback and school-based support.

"Cantonese opera/ ICH knowledge enrichment programme" is provided to the teachers who are about to teach the related topics, in which, professionals in the field, such as Cantonese opera artists and ICH inheritors are invited as guest lecturers to introduce their specific items to the teachers through talks, workshops and showcase performances etc. After learning more about the ICH itself, teachers can then start to work on the school-based lesson plans that suit their schools and students most.

After initially designing their own school-based model, teachers are invited to gather together for a Joint-school lesson preparation session, that they can exchange their ideas and experiences in planning. Professional comments and assistance from education scholars are also given in the sessions so teachers can refine and polish their teaching plans before executing.

When teachers start teaching their self-designed school-based teaching plans in school, education scholars would visit their lessons and give feedback to them. School-based support for each school would also be provided if needed.

Teachers will eventually master the skills and knowledge in teaching ICH related topics as well as the essence of local culture after these teacher training activities. They will also be inspired on how to explore and utilize teaching resources so as to improve their teaching quality. And by reflecting on their own teaching process, getting feedbacks from professionals and exchanging experiences with fellow teachers, the atmosphere of knowledge exchange can be built among teachers of different schools, which can benefit the professional development of individual teachers and teaching materials and successful models can also be accumulated for future reference.

2.4 *Implementation Strategies*

The HKU Cantonese Opera Education Research and Promotion project started the integration of Cantonese opera with formal curriculum in 2006. Starting from just integrating Cantonese opera elements into Chinese Language subject, the successful model got expended and the integration was extended to different subjects such as Liberal Studies and Other Learning Experiences. Besides Cantonese opera, other ICH items were also used in interdisciplinary areas. School-based subjects and models were also designed and successfully run in partnership schools under the assistance and guidance given by the project scholars. The four layers of implementation strategies and experiences are as follows:

2.4.1 *In Classroom*

Cantonese opera script bears very rich language, literature and cultural content, through the teaching of Cantonese opera scripts in the subject of Chinese Language, using different teaching approaches such as the pedagogy of story schema (Ng & Lam, 2009), students can develop different language skills required by the curriculum, including reading, writing, textual analytical skills etc. Other then the literature elements that can be directly related to the subject requirements, students can also learn other important elements such as traditional Chinese moralities through formal classes and the arts of traditional movements and dances in workshops conducted by Cantonese opera artists.

2.4.2 *In School*

The project brings kick-off performance of Cantonese opera to partnership schools, allowing students to have a first encounter with Cantonese opera, and giving them some brief ideas of how the art form is like. This kind of showcase can also be used by other ICH items, for example, ICH inheritors can be invited to schools to introduce their respective ICH items. Students therefore can get first-handed information and interactive experiences about the item instead of just reading information from books and other second-handed materials passively. It can also raise their respect and recognition of the items as local ICH and valuable cultural assets of Hong Kong.

2.4.3 *In Cultural Space*

Other Learning Experiences (OLE) is a new part in the NSS curriculum besides the original core and elective subjects. Through the participation in OLE, students can acquire learning experiences of moral and civic education, community services, physical and aesthetic education and career-related experiences etc. OLE aims at exposing students to a broader and balanced curriculum and nurturing whole-person development. (Introduction: Other Learning Experience)

Bamboo theatre is one of the most significant icons of Cantonese Opera in Hong Kong. Cantonese opera is a folk art that is always performed in bamboo theatres. These bamboo theatres are intricately related to the local rituals and festivals thus is a significant cultural space in Hong Kong. For example, teachers can lead students to have field trips to such cultural spaces like bamboo sheds and temples as OLE activities or special topic project of Chinese Language and Culture subject. In such case, ICH education can act as a conductor, to link up the ICH cultural spaces with learning spaces, or even transforming the cultural spaces into learning

spaces. And by doing so, students can be pulled out of their classrooms and schools, to learn and explore through various learning activities within these spaces. Schools can also choose cultural spaces for students to explore according to the religious, geographical or cultural background of the school or of the students. (Ng et al., 2012)

2.4.4 *In Cyberspace*

The project used web tools on different levels along the teaching and learning process of Cantonese opera and ICH. The first level are weblogs which are used as project e-learning platforms, which are set up by the project team, examples are blogs to guide students in appreciating Cantonese opera and also webquest for pre-visit preparation for cultural spaces.

The second level of web learning is student writing weblogs as their learning outcome. By building their own weblogs, students can learn more about the subject by actively involved in research and collecting information, they can also acquire corresponding literacy such as information literacy and tool literacy etc. throughout the process. (Ng et al., 2010)

The third level is using interactive functions of weblogs and social networking platforms for the exchange of knowledge. Students can give comments to different weblogs done by fellow classmates, so that they can exchange ideas and thus fostering collective learning among students. Social networking platforms such as facebook, can also be used as discussion platforms for students as they are mostly familiar with such web tools and can use them effectively, so the atmosphere of interactive and collaborative learning can be easily created.

2.5 *Evaluation of curriculum and learning outcomes*

Under an interdisciplinary curriculum, the effectiveness of teaching and learning is evaluated or assessed based on students' performances instead of only by outcome-based assessments such as examinations. These assessments can be done along the way during the teaching process on different levels.

2.5.1 *In Classroom/ School*

Students are required to write self-assessments or reflections after taking the courses so that teachers can evaluate their learning outcomes. Feedbacks from student after taking integrated Cantonese opera classes showed they have changes in attitude and impression towards Cantonese opera. Following are some of the feedbacks from students:

"I used to have an impression that Cantonese opera is boring, but I later found out every bit of Cantonese opera, like movements and lyrics, are all very meaningful and are carefully structured."

"I was not familiar with Cantonese opera, and found it not interesting at all, but now I'm getting more interested in it. I think it's meaningful to develop a new interest." (Ng, Chung & Lam, 2008)

Some students present their learning outcomes in another way. Students from True Light Middle School wrote creative poetries based on their knowledge learnt from studying the famous Cantonese opera script the *Reincarnation of Lady Plum Blossom*. (Ng & Yeung, 2010)

2.5.2 *In Cultural Space*

Under the different modes of assessments allowed in the new curriculum, students are no longer only assessed on written reports and examinations. For example, the Cheung Chau Buddhist Wai Yan Memorial College, encouraged students to take part in a student company programme named "Junior Achievement Hong Kong – Company Programme". The Form 4 students started a company called "Call Now Yeah" to promote Cantonese opera as local intangible cultural heritage. By selling self-designed goods and stationeries with Cantonese opera elements, students tried to introduce the art form to the public, and it was well received.

Students of the same school also showed their effective learning outcomes in actual cultural space of the Jiao Festival. The Form 5 students designed guiding brochure and touring routes for English speaking tourists in their English Language classes. After that, they participated in the Jiao-festival as tour ambassadors, using their self-designed materials, to introduce the tradition to the tourist on spot. (Ng, 2013)

2.5.3 *In Cyberspace*

Students are required to scaffold their own weblogs as learning outcomes. It is more interesting for student to write on blogs then to write on paper, and they can also learn and exchange knowledge though the interactive process of getting feedbacks from other students online. This can arouse their learning interests and also can help them to acquire corresponding literacy by building the weblogs with other elements such as photos and weblog design.

   The outcomes on cyberspaces were fruitful, that students did not only build the weblogs and pages as assignments, because a sustainable e-learning community is formed on the online platforms, which keeps accumulating learning outcomes and useful reference for future learners.

3 CONCLUSION

The successful experience of the project over the six years inspired other institutes/ schools to use similar models in the subjects of Applied Learning and Music, and also in the aspect of Other Learning Experiences. Education stakeholders in Hong Kong are now more confident in integrating Cantonese opera and ICH elements in formal and informal education. The Cantonese opera artists and ICH inheritors are also more willing to support similar education projects since they are now more popular and which makes them more familiar about the effect and importance of inheriting their cultural treasure to the next generation.

   The influence even spread out to the tertiary education level, which more universities are willing to open courses and experiential learning programmes related to ICH for their students. The Hong Kong Academy for Performing Arts will be launching the first Bachelor of Fine Arts (Honours) Degree in Chinese Opera (Cantonese Opera Performance)/ (Cantonese Opera Music) in Hong Kong. This significant step forward shows the rapid development on preserving and inheriting the ICH in professional aspect.

   The project outcomes also lead to a backwash effect to the society and government through advisory boards of related issues, making the government and the society more aware of the importance of and the effectiveness of preserving and promoting ICH though education. For example, the Leisure and Cultural Services Department (LCSD) launched"Let's Enjoy Cantonese Opera in Bamboo Theatre" to promote Cantonese opera, especially targeting children, through informal education in the cultural space of bamboo shed theatre.

   The West Kowloon Cultural District (WKCD), directly financed by the government, aims at boosting cultural and entertainment establishments at Hong Kong, is the largest cultural project in the territory. Cantonese opera is one of the major art forms that the WKCD will emphasise. The first cultural venue of the WKCD will be the Xiqu (Chinese Opera) Centre, which will be in used in 2016. It will be equipped with performing spaces and arts education facilities, aiming to become the home base and the hub for the development and preservation of Chinese operas in the region.

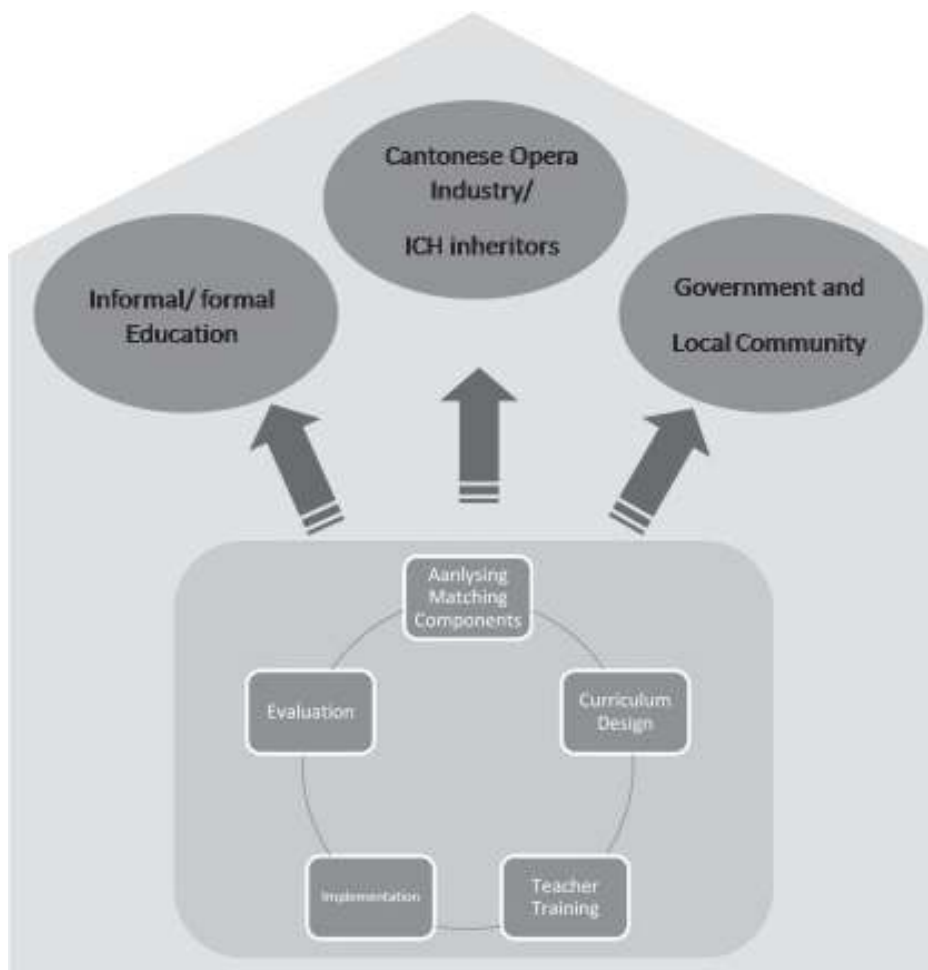   Let us conclude the paper using the following diagram:

Figure 2. Integrating ICH in Education in Hong Kong.

The successful integration of ICH elements into curriculum in Hong Kong, influences the both formal and informal education sectors, Cantonese opera industry and also the government and local community, which pushes forward the development of promoting and preserving ICH in the territory. It is hope that the promotion of local ICH items is not only to the general public of Hong Kong, but also to the whole world, so that these valuable cultural treasures can be introduced to other countries.

REFERENCES

Curriculum Development. (2009). *Senior secondary curriculum guide: the future is now: from vision to realization: (secondary 4-6)*. Hong Kong: Curriculum Development Council.
Curriculum Development Council. (2002). *Basic Education Curriculum Guide: Building on Strengths: (Primary 1 – Secondary 3)*. Hong Kong: Curriculum Development Council.
Curriculum Development Council. (2001). *The way forward in curriculum development: consultation document summary*. Hong Kong: Curriculum Development Council.
Curriculum Development Council (Hong Kong). [Webpage] *Introduction: Other Learning Experiences*. Available at http://cd1.edb.hkedcity.net/cd/lwl/ole/01_intro_01.asp.

Four traditional activities from Hong Kong successfully inscribed onto the national list of intangible cultural heritage (Press Release: June 3) [online]. (2011). Available at http://www.info.gov.hk/gia/general/201106/03/P201106030233.htm.

General Office of the State Council of the People's Republic of China. (2005). *Requirements of Inscription on the National List of Intangible Cultural Heritage* (國家級非物質文化遺產代表作申報評定暫行辦法) [online]. China: General Office of the State Council. Available at http://www.ihchina.cn/inc/detail.jsp?info_id=88.

Governments developing Cantonese opera (Press Release: October 30) [online]. (2009). Available at http://www.lcsd.gov.hk/en/ppr_release_det2.php?id=1862.

Hong Kong Heritage Museum (2012). [Webpage]. *Introduction: Intangible Cultural Heritage.* Available at http://www.heritagemuseum.gov.hk/eng/cultural/cultural.aspx [Accessed 6 September 2012].

Kwan, T. & Ng, F.P. (2002). Repetition and Variation. In F. Marton, & P. Morris, eds. *What Matters: Discovering Critical Condition of Classroom Learning*. Goteborg: Acta University, Gorthoburgensis.

Ng F. P. (2013). Safeguarding the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Cheung Chau: Research and Assessment of the School-based Approach. *The International Journal of Learner Diversity and Identities* (1).

Ng, F.P., Lam, J.W.I., Chan, E.S.Y., & Lo, A.M.F. (2012). *Bamboo-shed Cantonese Opera & School Education: from Culture Space to Learning Space (戲棚粵劇與學校教育－從文化空間到學習空間)*. Hong Kong: Centre for Advancement of Chinese Language Education and Research, The University of Hong Kong.

Ng, F. P. & Wai-Sze Y. (2011). The Practice and Assessment of Cantonese Opera in Interdisciplinary Chinese Language Courses in Hong Kong. *The International Journal of Learning*, 17: 277-295.

Ng. Dorothy F. P. & Lam J. W. I. (2009). Teaching Cantonese Opera Script: Story Schema Approach. In N. H. Salas & D. D. Peyton, ed.. *Reading: Assessment, Comprehension and Teaching*. New York: Nova Science Publishers.

Ng F.P., Chung A.L.S. & Lam J.W.I. (2009). A Curriculum Development and Strategies of Integrating Cantonese Opera in Chinese Language Education in Hong Kong. *The International Journal of Learning*, 15: 59-66.

Ng, F.P., Lam, J. W. I. & Chung A. L. S. (2009). *Legend of the Purple Hairpin Classroom (紫釵記教室)*. Hong Kong: Centre for Advancement of Chinese Language Education and Research, The University of Hong Kong.

Ng F.P., Chung A.L.S. & Lam J.W.I. (2008). *Princess Chang Ping Classroom (帝女花教室)*. Hong Kong: Centre for Advancement of Chinese Language Education and Research, The University of Hong Kong.

Ng, F.P., Tsui, A.B.M. & Marton, F. (2001). Two faces of the Reed Relay- Exploring the effects of the medium of instruction. In J. Biggs & D. Watkins, eds. *Teaching the Chinese Learner: Psychological and pedagogical perspectives*: 135-160. Hong Kong: Comparative Education Research Centre, The University of Hong Kong.

Tsui, A.B.M., Marton, F., Mok, I.A.C, & Ng, F.P. (2004). Question and the Space of Learning. In F. Marton, & A.B.M. Tsui, eds. *Classroom Discourse and the Space of Learning*: 113-138. New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Publishers.

United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, (2003). *Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage.* Paris: UNESCO.

United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, (2010). *Seoul Agenda: Goals for the Development of Arts Education.* Seoul: UNESCO.

West Kowloon Bamboo Theatre Kicks-off Today (Press Release: January 20) [online]. Available at http://www.wkcda.hk/en/newsroom/press_releases/index_id_101.html [Accessed 20 January 2012].

West Kowloon Bamboo Theatre: Viva la Cantonese opera [CNN Travel Webpage]. Available at http://travel.cnn.com/hong-kong/play/cantonese-opera-west-kowloon-211277 [Accessed 20 January 2012].

West Kowloon Cultural District (n.d.). *Xiqu Centre* (Leaflet). Hong Kong: West Kowloon Cultural District Authority.

Experiencing American Indian healing practices through public health service learning

Nicolette Teufel-Shone
University of Arizona, Tucson, AZ USA

Louis Teufel-Shone
Independent Native American Church, Williams, AZ USA

ABSTRACT: Public Health students who aspire to work with American Indian communities often have limited knowledge of indigenous healing practices and federally funded health care services. In partnership with tribal communities, the University of Arizona College of Public Health has developed a service learning course of structured activities that allow students to experience the healing songs and philosophy of a traditional medicine man, to witness the tying of the drum and hear the songs of the Native American Church (NAC), to experience the salutary effect of communal activities such as farming, cooking, shearing sheep, and hauling water, and to work with lay health educators who serve as cultural liaisons between Native patients and Indian Health Service. This course is an innovative approach to teaching intangible cultural heritage specific to native and non-native healing practices and to experience the unique socio-cultural determinants influencing indigenous health.

1 INTRODUCTION

Exposing students to the socio-cultural determinants of health is a foundation of public health education (Gebbie et al., 2002). These socio-cultural determinants shape the context and processes that influence the characteristics and availability of resources and subsequently health status (Marmot and Bell 2011). Resources such quality and quantity of food, housing, economic and social relationships, transportation, education, and healthcare can both support and challenge health behaviors and services. Understanding the role and manipulating socio-cultural determinants of health is considered an up-stream and effective approach to reducing health inequities in marginalized populations (Cohen and Chemini 2010). Non-indigenous public health students in the United States (US) who aspire to work with American Indian communities often have limited knowledge of not only the diverse cultural practices and beliefs and but also the unique socio-cultural determinants of health that shape the incidence and prevalence of health status of native people.

Arizona, located in the southwest region of the US, has the 3rd highest population of American Indians; 21 federally designated Indian reservations are located within the state boundaries. In partnership with the several Arizona tribes and the federally funded Indian Health Service, the University of Arizona, College of Public Health has developed and annually offers a one

week service learning course of structured activities that allows graduate students to learn about native and non-native health systems and briefly experience traditional life ways and beliefs. The course provides historical background and exposure to the forces of socio-cultural change that have irreversibility impacted the subsistence patterns, healing practices, health care systems and daily activities of native people. Students learn about cultural resilience and meet native families and health practitioners who share contemporary beliefs and strategies that sustain traditional practices of wellness.

2 SERVICE LEARNING

Service learning is an experiential pedagogy designed to enhance student awareness of and commitment to the elimination of health disparities rooted in socio-cultural determinants of health (Cashman & Seifer, 2008; Dunlap et al., 2007; Steinman, 2011). Service-learning is a structured learning experience that integrates community service and reflection (Seifer, 1998). Students engaged in service-learning provide community service and in turn experience the context in which the service is received. Service-learning is distinguished from other forms of experiential education by *its intention to benefit equally the provider and the recipient of the service as well as to ensure equal focus on both the service being provided and the learning that is occurring* (Furco, 1996).

Service learning affords opportunities for students to experience community strengths and challenges and to reflect on population specific and broader social, cultural, economic and political contexts of health (Cashman & Seifer, 2008). Through academic reading, service and guided reflection, students are encouraged to link their service experience to systems level thinking (Steinman, 2011), cultural humility (Buckner et al., 2010) and culturally relevant strategies to achieve optimal health outcomes (Teufel-Shone, 2006).

3 INDIGENOUS PEOPLE OF THE US

The indigenous people of the US, an estimated 2.3 million, are exceedingly diverse representing more than 300 languages and more than 500 federally recognized tribes (US Census, 2012; Deloria, 2003). Traditionally, American Indians share some higher-order commonalities such as widespread devotion to sacred nonhuman entities to obtain long and prosperous lives, profound orientation to space and place within regional ecologies, a robust sense of relationship with all elements of the universe and comprehensive regard for the personal autonomy of all living beings (Deloria, 2003). The cultural degradation of colonialism, assimilation polices such as relocation and reduction of traditional lands, forced boarding school attendance as well as contemporary enabling services such as federally administered, reservation based education, housing and health care have dramatically changed native life ways.

Despite the coercive and mitigating forces of their rapid changing environment, native people have been tenacious in maintaining their cultural practices. Historically, they covertly continued to conduct ceremonies and hand down songs, prayers and philosophies banned by the new Euro-American government. Today, they can openly hold and practice ancestral teachings yet many sacred ceremonies are still closed to non-indigenous spectators.

In the 21st century, indigenous concepts of health and healing practices co-exist with non-native etiological beliefs and health care systems to yield competing and complimentary resources that support and challenge optimal health outcomes. Through this service learning experience, non-native public health students can begin to appreciate co-existing beliefs and practices and embark on the professional journey of partnering with native communities to develop cultural relevant approaches to health promotion and disease prevention.

4 HEALTH THROUGH COMMUNAL ACTIVITES

Social cohesion promotes health. Gee (2002) argues that cohesion protects the mental health of minority group members by increasing mutual social support and reducing exposure to discrimination. Social and most specifically family cohesion as key to the path of wellness is a shared belief of native people. The sustained importance of family in American Indian life is perhaps best exemplified by traditions governing self-introduction. Within many cultures, children continue to be taught at an early age that appropriate self-introduction involves identifying clan or

extended family affiliations often extending back to paternal and maternal grandparents. This behavior is distinctive in an inter-cultural setting, in which non-natives tend to introduce themselves by mentioning their job or their town of residence.

In many American Indian traditions, poverty is defined as being without relatives (Walters et. al., 2002; LaDuke, 1997; Teufel-Shone et al., 2005). Given the primacy of the family among American Indians, Walters et al. (2002) suggests that the contribution of a positive family environment to health and wellness may be even more pronounced when compared to non-natives who may more frequently rely on written health information or medical services for advice and support than from family members.

The university and tribal co-designers of this service learning course agreed that exposing students to the salutary effect of communal activities communicates a foundation of traditional native health. Over the last eight years of offering the course, students have worked with families to make tortillas, clear and plant corn fields, haul barrels of water from a local well, shear sheep and build a ramada or shade shelter for outside cooking. Engaged in these activities, students learn that basic tasks within a subsistence based lifestyle require the expertise of elders, the strength of the young and the cooperation of all. After their work students share in a meal with their native hosts, they laugh at their inexperience and naiveté, and celebrate their co-accomplishments.

5 INDIAN HEALTH SERVICE

Indian Health Service (IHS) is the agency within the US Department of Health and Human Services, established to provide health services to American Indians and Alaska Natives who are members of the 566 federally recognized tribes across the US (IHS, 2013). Since 1787 through numerous treaties, laws, Supreme Court decisions, and Executive Orders, the US government has provided health services to members of federally-recognized tribes who relinquished land and agreed to reside peacefully within defined land boundaries held in trust by the federal government (Dixon and Roubideaux, 2001). Initially, the federal government assigned the task to US War Department and military medical services. In addition to fulfilling treaty obligations, this approach supported the health of the armed forces as well. By treating indigenous people, military health services reduced the threat of communicable illness for non-native soldiers assigned to forts on or near reservations and subsequently contact with native people. By 1955, The IHS was transferred from the Department of War to the US Public Health Service (Dixon and Roubideaux, 2001).

The IHS is underfunded to coordinate the monumental task of providing health care to rural and urban based AIANs. Many clients do not speak English, do not have access to reliable transportation and household amenities, such as indoor plumbing and electricity, and have a learned distrust of the federal health care system. Providers are often assigned to remote areas offering few educational and social resources for their own families. Despite these challenges, committed native and non-native health care providers and educators devote their lives and careers to raise native people's health status to the highest possible level (IHS, 2013).

This service learning course uses two mechanisms to expose students to IHS supported activities: 1) presentations by professional health care providers providing clinic based care: and 2) home visits and collaborative activities with IHS funded lay health educators, known locally as community health representatives (CHRs). CHRs serve as cultural liaisons between the IHS and community members. The stories shared by clinicians relay the challenges of cross cultural communication. Providers and patients may not share the same language, requiring the use of and potential for miscommunication with an interpreter. Providers and patients may have discordant health beliefs leaving both to feel unsatisfied with the exchange. Providers explain that despite differences, elder native patients may come to the IHS facilities at the urging of their more acculturated adult children. Patients may not understand treatment strategies and discontinue medication when they feel better, interrupting the prescribed medical regiment. Furthermore, patients may discount provider advice when the medical practitioner describes the potential health complications if recommended treatment is not followed. In many native healing ontologies, speaking of poor health outcomes or death summons those conditions and in fact, predestines the patient to the fate. Hearing these stories, students learn the importance of reaching a common ground of understanding and the power of the spoken word.

On home visits coordinated by the CHRs, the students witness the CHRs' skills in explaining health conditions and care in the native language, observe clients' living conditions and provide temporary help to the client in exchange for allowing the students to visit. Over the years, stu-

dents have washed dishes, hauled water, mopped floors and chopped wood for their hosts. Using facilities provided by the tribal college, students and CHRs collaborate on the development of a health education power point presentation that the CHR can print and use in home education settings. This activity relies on the students' skills in finding credible health information on-line and in creating clear visual aids, and highlights the CHRs' ability and expertise in relaying information primarily through pictures recognizing some patient have no or limited reading abilities.

6   TRADITIONAL HEALING PRACTICES

American Indians share a common philosophy that the overarching etiology of physical and social ill being is imbalance or discordance with elements of the social and/or physical environment. The range of healing practices provided by the holy people to regain equilibrium with the forces of life reflects the diversity of the indigenous people in the US. Remedies re-familiarize the patient with traditional teachings and solicit higher spiritual powers and individual internal strengths to regain harmony within one self and/or with families, communities and the greater external social and physical environment (Smith, 2009). Treatments include one to two hour, all night and multiple day ceremonies; traditional and spontaneous prayers, songs and chants; smudging or blessing ones' self and/or belongings with sacred smoke; offerings of food, tobacco, jewelry, cedar branches, corn pollen and water to higher powers; creation of sand paintings to solicit the presence of spiritual beings; and use of herbs and sweats for cleansing (Smith, 2009).

In this course, students spend time with a medicine man in his traditional place of practice. He tells traditional stories of the origin of the universe, man and woman, and humans' relationships to the plants, animals, water sources and formations of the earth. These inception stories set a foundation that supports the basic philosophy of traditional healing practices, that illness is a symptom of disharmony and imbalance. The students hear traditional chants and see the range of medicinal herbs used in a practice that take years of apprenticeship to learn.

7   NATIVE AMERICAN CHURCH

In 1880s, the Native American Church (NAC) began to spread among indigenous populations across the US (Stewart, 1987). Origins of the religion are linked to the indigenous cultures of Mexico. Rapid adoption of NAC in the early 1900s by American Indians is explained by Aberle (1966) as a theistic reaction to the confluence of the negative consequences of a rapidly changing socio-cultural environment. As indigenous populations adjusted to reservation life, they suffered epidemics caused by exposure and death due to foreign contagious disease such as tuberculosis and polio, and devastating economic conditions caused by forced live stock reduction and loss of land. Across many indigenous communities, a growing contingent people believed that traditional religious and healing practices were ineffective against the repercussions of relocation, forced assimilation and federal policies, and the resulting personal and social imbalance. The peyote medicine was heralded as a powerful medium through which to restore mental, social and physical well being.

Recognizing regional diversity in practice, basic doctrines of NAC involve the use of peyote, a cactus with sensory enhancing properties, as a holy sacrament and an all night ceremony or meeting of prayer and songs supported through the use of a water drum, gourd rattle, feather fans, eagle bone whistle, mountain tobacco, cedar tree branches, an earth altar and wood coals (Stewart, 1987). The drum beat, songs and peyote guide participants into a meditative and curative state.

A meeting is requested by an individual or a family who want to celebrate a life passage, e.g., birthday, graduation or marriage; to elicit prayers and support for social, legal, educational and financial success and/or physical or behavioral health. In recent times, meetings increasingly are requested after an individual has received a diagnosis of a chronic health condition such as diabetes, kidney failure or heart disease. Meetings are attended by family members, friends and any NAC member who want to meditate, sing and offer their support. In these meetings, traditional indigenous causes of health conditions may be discussed such as imbalance or disrespect of the physical environment or social relationships. The meetings provide a forum for individuals and families to reflect on their actions and piety and to appreciate and experience existing and perhaps unrealized social support.

Currently an estimated one million, slightly less than half of all self-identified American Indians are members of NAC and practice peyotism. Today, many American Indians co-practice NAC, traditional healing systems and in some cases Christianity (Garruty, 2000). In a session with an NAC leader or roadman, students are introduced to NAC through an explanation of the tumultuous history of the legalization of peyote use as religious practice, learn of the co-utilization of indigenous healing practices and the NAC ceremony, witness the tying of the water drum and hear a healing song.

In the 21st century, indigenous concepts of health and healing practices, and the federally provided non-native health care system collide to yield competing and complimentary resources that support and challenge health outcomes. As a minority population in the US, American Indians have some of the worse health statistics. They suffer the highest rates of type 2 diabetes in the world and disproportionately high rates of heart disease, substance abuse and unintentional injury. A more effective public health approach is needed. Most recently, Okamoto et al. (2012) and Liu et al. (2012) argue that culturally relevant public health programming should be a priority and is potentially cost effective particularly with populations exhibiting soaring rates of chronic health conditions influenced by the socio-cultural environment. The population focus of public health offers a promising strategy to improve health supportive behaviors and environments. Yet, public health professionals with limited field experience may have little opportunity to encounter and reflect on the relationship between the socio-cultural context and the health beliefs and healing practices that support and oppose health behaviors and resources. This service learning course conducted in collaboration with tribal communities, IHS and native practitioners provides experiences that build the cross cultural awareness of emerging public health practitioners.

8 CONCLUSION

The causes of health disparities worldwide are multi-factorial. The largest contributors are socio-cultural determinants, essentially an interplay of socio-economic factors, emic and etic health care practices and systems, and cultural beliefs, norms and behaviors. Each element offers both risk and protective factors. The responsibility of educators training public health professionals is to convey the adaptive nature of cultural behaviors when understood in the appropriate context, and the dynamic role of socio-cultural contexts on the onset of and solution to public health challenges. The intent of this course is to expose students to the complexity of indigenous and non-indigenous healing systems available to and practiced by American Indians. The hypothesis yet to be tested is that cross cultural experiential learning will contribute to the development of culturally relevant health promotion programs that improve the lives and health of indigenous people.

REFERENCES

Aberle, D.F. (1966). *The Peyote Religion among the Navajo*. Chicago: Aldine Publishers.
Buckner, A.V., Ndjakani, Y.D., Banks, B. & Blumenthal D.S. (2010). Using service-learning to teach community health: the Morehouse School of Medicine community health course. *Academic Medicine,* 85(10):1645-1651.
Cashman, S.B. & Seifer, S.D. (2008). Service-learning: an integral part of undergraduate public health. *American Journal of Preventive Medicine*, 35(3):273-278.
Cohen, L. & Chemini, S. (2010). The imperative for primary prevention. In L.Cohen, V. Chavez & S. Chehimi, eds. *Prevention is Primary: Strategies for Community Well-Being (2nd edition)*. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass. pp.3- 31.
Deloria, V. Jr. (2003). *God Is Red: A Native View of Religion*. Golden, CO: Fulcrum.
Dixon, M. (2001). Access to care for American Indians and Alaska Natives. In M. Dixon & Y. Roubideaux, eds. *Promises to keep: public health policy for American Indians and Alaska Na tives in the 21st century*. Washington, D.C.: American Public Health Association. pp.61-88.
Dunlap. M., Scoggin, J., Green, P. & Davi A. (2007). White students' experiences of privilege and socioeconomic disparities: Toward a theoretical model. *Michigan Journal of Community Service Learning*, 13(2):19-30.
Furco A. (1996). Service-learning: a balance approach to experiential education. In: Taylor, B. (ed.),Expanding boundaries: serving and learning: 2-6. Washington DC: Corporation for National Ser vice.
Garruty, J.F. 2000. Jesus, peyote, and the Holy People: Alcohol abuse and the ethos of power in Navajo healing. *Medical Anthropology Quarterly*, 14(4): 521-542.

Gebbie, K., Rosenstock, L. & Hernandez, L.M.. (2002). *Who Will Keep the Public Healthy? Educating Public Health Professionals for the 21ˢᵗ Century.* Washington, DC: Institute of Medicine.

Indian Health Service, US Department of Health and Human Services (2013). Available at http://ihs.gov [Accessed 5 October 2013].

LaDuke, W. (1997). *Last Standing Woman.* Stillwater, MN: Voyageur Press.

Liu, J.J., Davidson, E., Bhopal RS, et al. (2012). *Adapting health promotion interventions to meet the needs of ethnic minority groups: Mixed-methods evidence synthesis. Health Technology Assessment, No. 16.44.* Southampton: NIHR Evaluation, Trials and Studies Coordinating Centre.

Marmot, M.G. & Bell, R.G. (2011). Improving health: social determinants and personal choice. *American Journal of Preventive Medicine*, 40(1SI):S73-77.

Okamoto, S.K., Helm, S., Pel, S., McClain, L.L., Hill, A.P., & Hayashida, J.K. (2012). A developing epirically based, culturally grounded drug prevention interventions for indigenous youth popula tions. *Journal of Behavioral Health Services & Research*, November:1–11.

Seifer, S.D. (1998). Service-learning: community–campus partnerships for health professions educa tion. *Academic Medicine*, 73(3):273–277.

Smith, P.L. (2009). Traditional medicine: American Indian and Alaska Natives traditional healing prac tice in the Indian Health Service. *Indian Health Service Health Summit*, July 4.

Steinman, E. (2011). Making space: Lessons from collaborations with tribal nations. *Michigan Journal of Community Service Learning.* Fall:5-18.

Teufel-Shone, N.I., Staten, L.S., Irwin, S., Rawiel, U., Bravo, A.B. & Waykayuta, S. (2005). Family cohesion and conflict in an American Indian community. *American Journal of Health Behavior*, 29(5):413-422.

Teufel-Shone, N.I. (2006). Promising strategies for obesity prevention and treatment within American Indian communities. *Journal of Trans-cultural Nursing*, 17(3):1-6.

Walters, L. & Simoni, J.M. (2002). Reconceptualizing native women's health: An "Indigenist" stresscoping model. *American Journal of Public Health*, 92(4):520-524.

Walters, K.L, Simoni, J.M, & Evans-Campbell, T. (2002). Substance use among American Indians and Alaska Natives: Incorporating culture in an "Indigenist" stress-coping paradigm. *Public Health Report,* 117[Suppl]:S104-S117.

U.S (2012). [online] Available at http://www.census.gov/newsroom/releases/archives/2010_census/cb12 cn06.html [Accessed 1 May 2013].

U.S. District Court for the District of New Mexico, USA (1991). Boyll Decision [online]. Available at http:// *www.nativeamericanchurch.com/Decision.html* [Accessed 14 May 2013].

Making connections: festivals, ICH, people and places

Niki Black
Newcastle University, Newcastle upon Tyne, UK

ABSTRACT: This research aims to examine the role which festival ICH may play in influencing connections between place and people within small-scale, community cultural festivals, based upon case study events in the North East UK. The paper begins by problematizing the role and inclusion of ICH in festivals, exploring perceptions of indigenous heritage. The second part of the paper examines how consistency and innovation, captured in the ICH of festivals, might potentially impact on host communities, through a network of connections made both spatially (sense of place) and temporally (sense of continuity) between the event, its host community and its respective indigenous culture. The paper concludes with a discussion of initial data gathered from the case studies. Focus is drawn to the values placed upon consistency and innovation within festivals, the forging of links with contemporary and historical place through ICH and how these elements contribute to collective identity.

1 INTRODUCTION

Cultural festive events take many forms, range widely in content and scale and are held in a myriad of locations. In spite of their diversity of form, festivals share common elements of 'community celebration' (Rolfe, 1992: 7), 'social interaction' (Wilks, 2013:1) and common active performances and displays of culture. The content of such events may be as varied as the number of festivals in existence, ranging from new commissions and the avant-garde to 'living' embodiments or interpretations of traditional practices, customs or aspects of daily life. Festivals include performances of intangible culture such as dance, song, poetry and stories, and display the intangible practices associated with more tangible elements – for example food preparation, craft demonstration or textile making. Some content is quite blatantly recognisable as intangible cultural heritage as expressed in Article 2 Definition (2c) of the UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage: 'living expressions and traditions inherited by communities and transmitted to their descendants', within, amongst others, 'social practices, rituals and festive events' (UNESCO, 2003). However, a large proportion of festival content may appear not to qualify under this definition owing to a combination of reasons: too 'new', too 'commercial' or too 'detached' from the event location to have a heritage or 'inherited' quality.

   Although there is a growing interest in research into the social impact of cultural festivals, it has 'tended to be seen as of lesser importance than economic impact or environmental impact' (Wilks, 2013: 1). Research into the role of heritage when measuring social impact is particularly lacking. This research paper, is part of a wider project examining the contribution of Community Cultural (CC) festivals to the social sustainability of their host communities, which seeks to contribute towards filling this gap. The wider project investigates potential connections which a festival may enable between the event and, respectively, the place, people and cultural heritage. The aims of this paper are firstly to examine the definition of ICH within the case study festivals (as defined below) and secondly to explore the ways in which festivals make spatial and temporal connections through the ICH content. This notion of connectivity is explored through

themes of 'consistency' and 'innovation' which are emerging within the initial data from these events.

It is widely accepted that the festival 'industry' (and correspondingly the heritage content) burgeoned and changed in dynamic, particularly in the decades following 1980, although there is disagreement amongst authors as to the impact this is having on both festivals and host communities. Many festivals came under scrutiny as vehicles for disseminating cultural heritage, particularly in a 'destination' format, most commonly by regional councils and development organisations. This was exacerbated by rising demands from the tourism sector to view 'everyday life', or as Urry puts it 'the democratisation of the tourist gaze' (Urry, 1995). Some authors, such as MacLeod (2006) and Finkel (2009) argue that such pressures to attract funding and strategic support, through emphasis on inherent heritage aspects as a marketing tool, may have led in some instances to a greater homogeneity of form (and loss of connection to the host locality). In contrast, authors such as Gibson and Connell (2011) and Arcodia and Whitford (2006) point to evidence of greater awareness of local culture through increasing focus on the 'essence' of the locale within festivals.

2 METHOD

Four Community Cultural (CC) festivals were chosen as case studies using variables of content, location, scale, original motivation and longevity (see definitions below for greater clarity). Three focal themes were chosen: connections between the festival and host place (locale), connections between the festival and the community of that locale and connections between the festival and the ICH. Although there are many overlaps between all three themes, it was felt imperative to explore each area independently and then cross-reference data to examine values placed on individual themes before measuring potential impact. Qualitative interviews were carried out with festival organisers, visitors, key figures (elites) and focus groups within the festival locale, alongside field observations and an extensive literature review into current festival theory. At the time of writing, interviews have been conducted with all four case study organizing committees and with key figures (elites) and visitors at the first case study event. The data presented here thus focuses on preliminary findings and on themes which will be developed as the research progresses. All four case studies are based in the county of Northumberland in the North East of England, UK.

3 DEFINITIONS USED WITHIN THIS RESEARCH

Community Cultural Festival: As mentioned previously there is a vast range of events which may be described in some form as a 'festival'. This research project focuses on a particular form of event, the Community Cultural Festival which can be defined as a recurring, short-term period of celebration, established by the community in which the event is held and focusing on display of and participation in the arts and culture of that area. It could be summarized as: 'locally originated, locally organised and locally attended'. Scale of the event is important with all case study events being 'small' ie. having an income of less than £30K (BAFA: 2008:8) and visitor numbers of less than 10,000 (Finkel: 2009: 6). Community, for the purposes of this particular research, is taken to mean all people who have the potential to come into contact with the festival within its geographically political boundary, what is usually referred to as the parish or town boundary.

Social Impact Measures: Until recently, academic studies which measure social impact within festivals have been noticeable by their absence and described as 'extremely difficult' (Wilks, 2013:3). Growing interest in the events field has seen the development of social impact measurement models and scales including those of Wood (2009), Small, Edwards and Sheridan (2005), Gursoy et al (2004) and Fredline et al (2003). In compiling a method for this particular research, a number of social impact measures (including the above) were examined, alongside a review of theories of social impact, social sustainability and well-being. Social impact is here taken to imply the effect a festival may have upon the relations between people, or the connections that may be made between varying groups and individuals. In particular, it calls upon the

work of Robert Putnam (2003) who emphasized the importance of 'bridges and bonds', trust and reciprocity. The method was designed to assess the qualitative value of festivals and specifically the link between culture, social connections and well-being, deemed to be intrinsic to measuring the social impact. Put in simple terms, humans are social creatures, and to 'belong' is to 'survive' within a socially shared understanding which provides a framework to enable the functioning of groups in an environment' (Fiske and Fiske, 2007: 284).

4 IDENTIFYING ICH CONTENT IN FESTIVALS

Early forms of festivals reinforced aspects of the indigenous culture through repeated acts and performances from one year to the next and often through locally specific celebration or commemoration. The inclusion of 'heritage', or inheritance of traditional practices and objects linked to the festive community, continues to play an important role in many contemporary festivals and, as mentioned previously, may be easily identifiable as ICH. This may take for example the form of an opening pageant or procession, displays of local dancers or demonstration of a particular craft or skill indigenous to the area. Some ICH could be arguably described as 'unconsciously' included, meaning that its inclusion in the festival is either there because 'it always has been, it's tradition' or because it's part of the fabric of a place or people (Org. 3, 2012). Examples of the former, the 'traditional', include opening or closing ceremonies, 'crowning of the festival queen' and processions or pageants. The latter, the 'fabric' of a place, may be represented, for example, by performances from local school children or displays and activities which rely on specific areas within the festival locale (such as bowling competitions or raft races). These are included without necessarily being acknowledged as 'heritage'.

In contrast, however, some ICH content may be described as 'self-conscious' in its inclusion. The desire to include examples of 'heritage' practice in festivals by funders and organisers, has led in some instances to 'heritage' being imposed upon an event, on occasion bearing little connection to the place in which it is staged. Examples of this include tenuously linked displays of historic figures eg. Vikings or Romans who may have had no connection with that specific place but are there 'because they're old' (Visitor 2, 2011) or Morris dancers who are arguably 'misplaced' in Northumberland.

Beyond the more immediately identifiable ICH content, a quantity remains that has been described variously as modern/contemporary/avant-garde (ie. new), or commercially included. However, to dismiss this content as being non ICH is simplistic and, in the context of this research, may ignore significant potential connections between contemporary and historic place and culture. It may be argued that a large proportion of festival content fits somewhere on a 'heritage' scale in terms of the degree of connection it carries within it which has been inherited from the host people and place. Examples within the case studies are many. They include the festival disco, the fun-fair and the cappuccino maker. At first inspection they may be dismissed from the ICH category on grounds of too new, too commercial or too non-specific. However, closer examination reveals the disco to be a contemporary manifestation of the traditional end of festival 'dance', the fun-fair is the equivalent of the original fair and the mobile cappuccino maker represents popular 21st century taste in liquid refreshments. Each example illustrates the adaptation of culture within festivals, the potential to display the evolution and development of the tastes and requirements of the contemporary hosting community, albeit a proportion of this community. Content of the latter kind could be described as representing 'a snap-shot' of a community at that present time, in contrast to, for example, a re-enactment display of historic figures from that community. It is arguable that the concurring displays of contemporary and historic culture have the potential to illustrate continuity and provide temporal connections between the present and former people and place.

5 CONSISTENCY AND INNOVATION: EXPLORING THESE THEMES WITHIN FESTIVAL ICH

In examining the initial data to consider whether and, if so, how the festival ICH content enables social connections within the community, the themes of consistency and innovation were identified as recurring.

Consistency is here taken to mean a level of 'continuous coherence of form' (Collins: 1992) or specifically to this research, a continuity with previous manifestations of culture (both place and people) through 'replication' or repetition. In the context of informing levels and values of connections, continuity can be seen to infer validation and reaffirmation; as Lowenthal states, 'habituation enables understanding' (1985: 39). Picard and Robinson (2006:6) refer to the almost ritualised elements of festivals which consistently recur as 'forms of symbolic continuity'. Impacts occur at both subjective and collective level through consistent displays of ICH. It is pertinent at this point to recall how heritage is used in a mnemonic role to reinforce and perpetuate collective memories. Lowenthal points out that it is the use of 'reverie' (as opposed to instrumental recall) which highlights emotions and helps to reinforce memory about a place or event. Being events which tend to evoke emotional responses, festivals have the potential to strengthen and create identity through reverie. Connections with ICH can create and reinforce contemporary associations, whether with place, people or objects: 'memory functions to adapt the past to enrich and manipulate the present' (Lowenthal, 1985:210).

Innovation may appear to be the counter-definition to consistency; the introduction of new ways of doing things. As festivals are, by their nature, transient, 'movable feasts', they have historically been open to changes in content and form. Even before the rapidly changing dynamic of the previous decades, the element of change and inclusion of innovation was always present as no two events can be exactly the same from year to year. External influences (weather, population and environmental change for example) will all impact upon an event's format. From within the organisation, although not all festivals actively seek to include new commissions or innovative performances, the majority of festivals at least seek to retain their audiences, if not attract new ones. With regard to potential social connectivity, there is evidence within the literature that for a community to be socially sustainable both bridges and bonds need to be created. Macnab et al (2010) stress the link between 'troubled communities' and overemphasis on exclusive bonds. It could be argued that innovation aids new and more diverse interaction and greater 'bridging' between sections of a community. Indeed, it has been argued that festivals contribute to more 'inclusive' societies through bringing together of 'disparate social groups' (Gibson and Stewart, 2009:27).

6 SPATIAL AND TEMPORAL CONNECTIONS THROUGH CONSISTENCY AND INNOVATION

Questions were raised through interviews and focus groups relating to connections made through the ICH of the festival with the hosting place and the community. In particular, each respective interview schedule (with organisers, key figures and visitors) explored the potential connections between former and contemporary place with emphasis on the unique aspects, relevance and importance of the locale as a host for the festival, elaborating on Relph's (1976) 'Spirit of Place'. Questions were also raised regarding the selection and inclusion of ICH in the festival, the potential aims (eg. educational, entertaining, environmental, economic) of the ICH content and ways in which the ICH engendered connections between individuals and groups. Attention was also placed upon determining how, if at all, the ICH content developed and continued within the festival.

Among the 'consistent' factors identified was the placing of stories/performances/displays within the festival (ie the opening pageant, the end of festival concert/ the dance display). References recur to the 'tradition' and importance of maintaining certain continuous elements of the event. Visitors predominantly stated they have come to expect and anticipate certain elements which could be said to constitute the core substance of the event (or form). However, in some instances visitors anticipated the actual contents of these elements to have changed, for example in the varying annual themes of the first case study. The ICH content is not 'static' but changea-

ble from year to year of the festival as the 'stories' (or cultural content) develop and adapt (and on occasion be innovative, see below). These changing forms may continue the festival traditions in a contemporary fashion and, as a 'live' element of the heritage, have the potential to make the connection between the former culture of a place and the current. Regarding the spatial connections, it is interesting to note that amongst those interviewed when attending the festival, the majority stated that the festival enabled connections to be made with the place through the ICH content of the festival. Frequent references were made to a 'sense of belonging', of 'roots' and 'tradition' which the festival enabled. Almost without exception, the festival is perceived as a social event with opportunities to interact with both old friends and make new. Interviewees often referred to the potential for the festival to help 'new comers' connect to the locale. Similarly, when asked if the festival was aimed at locals or tourists, the majority felt it was targeting both through creating interest in the 'local stories'. It is important to point out that acknowledgment was made in the methodology to the potential for 'political misrepresentation' by the 'story-tellers' or demonstrators of the cultural content to meet the needs of a particular group. However, there is insufficient space within the limitations of this paper to discuss the complex debate surrounding the representation and 'authenticity' of heritage.

Regarding innovation, within the case studies all festival organisers stated that they wished to attract new visitors and would do this through innovating new elements to the festival each year. In addition they referred to the importance of developing skills related to ICH amongst new audiences, particularly the young. However, amongst the visitors and key figures interviewed, the inclusion of innovation through new interpretations of ICH, was possibly more subtly acknowledged. Comments regarding the changing themes from year to year of the festival were frequent, with mention of the wider connections that these themes allowed for. Visitors perceived opportunities for 'bridging' with the wider community through these themes and in addition through the opportunities for participation that the ICH engendered beyond the temporal life of the festival. A specific question asked respondents to comment on their perception of ICH to either 'keep culture alive or to stifle innovation': the answers were heavily weighted towards 'keeping it alive'. Ways in which culture is kept alive through ICH were quoted as being predominantly 'through involvement, participation, knowledge and sense of belonging' with performances and workshops rated highly as ways to be involved. The temporal connections between the origins of the cultural content and the contemporary way in which it is practised were highlighted through these responses.

Bonding (local connections) is most in evidence through communal anticipation of consistencies of festival form and social opportunities at the event. Bridging connections (those beyond the immediate locale) are better expressed through innovations as this brings new and more diverse cultural interpretations into the community. Festivals predominantly tell a multi-story approach to cultural heritage, displaying many aspects of a single place or theme. It may be argued that by doing so, they help to bridge otherwise potentially disparate elements within a festival community.

Festivals are transient and the intangible nature of their content means that attempts to consistently display cultural heritage content will be subjective and have potential for change. Although continuity and consistency may be contained in the structure or form of a festival, the subjective nature of the content allows for 'fluid' appeal within the community as its ICH may change from year to year, reflecting changes within the dynamic and demographic of its locale. Festivals do not exist in a vacuum and even locally specific ICH content has the capacity to reflect the 'zeitgeist' of the wider environment, whether at regional or even global level, reflecting influences on culture beyond the immediate locale. Edwards describes this as the potential to 'reflect broader societal trends' through the festival's own unique presentation and character of its heritage (Edwards, 2011:151).

7 CONCLUSION

The initial findings reveal that both consistency and innovation are present within the ICH content of CC festivals and that a measure of each is important to enable spatial and temporal connections between people and place. Connections appear to be strengthened through a consistent inclusion of certain 'predictable' core elements of the event; simultaneously, these core ele-

ments should allow for innovation and change on a regular basis to avoid the event becoming stale and uninteresting. There appears a need for greater clarity in identifying the ICH within this form of festival; apparent discrepancies exist between institutional and local-level views of cultural heritage content. This would benefit from further research and debate.

In addition, based on information gathered to date, there appears to be greater emphasis placed on consistency within the festival above that of innovation. As the research develops and further data is collected from the remaining three case study festivals it will be interesting to determine alterations in the proportional degrees of consistency and innovation. Future research would be beneficial to compare the value placed on these themes according to variable scale of events, building on initial findings which suggest that the smaller, more community-focused events placed greater emphasis on consistency than their larger relations. It may be interesting to explore how an increase in scale and 'global' (less local) content, may lead to a higher level of importance being placed on innovation and correspondingly, less emphasis on consistency.

REFERENCES

Arcodia, C. & Whitford, M. (2006). Festival Attendance and the Development of Social Capital. *Journal of Convention and Event Tourism,* 8(2): 1-18.

BAFA (2008). *Festivals mean Business 3. A survey of the Arts Festivals in the UK* [online]. Available at http://www.artsfestivals.co.uk/sites/default/files/FMB3%20Report%20FINAL3%20MAY%202008.pdf.

Collins (1992). *English Dictionary and Thesaurus*. London: Harper Collins.

Edwards, R. (2011). Birthday parties and flower shows, musters and multiculturalism: festivals in post war Gympie. In C. Gibson & J. Connell, *Festival Places: Revitalising RuralAustralia*. Bristol: Channel View Publications.

Finkel, R. (2009). A Picture of the Contemporary combined arts festival. *Cultural Trends*, 18(1): 3-21.

Fiske, A. & Fiske, S. (2007). Social Relationships in our species and culture. In S. Kitayma & D. Cohen *Handbook of Cultural Psychology*. New York: Guilford Press.

Fredline, E. & Faulkner, B. (2000). Host Community Reactions: a cluster analysis.*Annals of Tourism Research*. 27(3):763-784.

Gibson, C. & Connell, J. (2011). *Festival Places: Revitalising Rural Australia*. Bristol: Channel View Publications.

Gibson, C. & Stewart, A. (2009). *Reinventing Rural Places: the extent and impact of festivals in rural and regional Australia*. Wollongong: University of Wollongong/Australian Research Council.

Gursoy, D., Kim, K., & Uysal, M. (2004). Perceived impacts of festivals and special events by organisers: an extension and validation. *Tourism Management*, 26(2): 171-181.

Lowenthal, D. (1985). *The Past is a Foreign Country*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

MacLeod, N. (2006). The Placeless Festival: Identity and place in the Post-modern Festival. In D. Picard & M. Robinson, eds. *Festivals, Tourism and Social Change*. Clevedon: Channel View Publications.

Macnab, N., Thomas, G. & Grosvenor, I. (2010). The Changing Nature of Connectivity within and between   Communities   [online].   Available   at http://www.ahrc.ac.uk/fundingopportunities/documents/cc%20scoping%20studies/thomas.pdf.

Organiser 3 (2012). *Interview Observation [interview by N Black] Wooler, 11 December 2012.*

Picard, D. & Robinson, M. (2006). Remaking Worlds: Festivals, Tourism and Change. In D. Picard & M. Robinson, eds. *Festivals, Tourism and Social Change*. Clevedon: Channel View Publications.

Putnam, R. & Fieldstein. L (2003). *Better Together: Restoring the American Community*. New York: Simon and Schuster.

Rolfe, H. (1992). *Arts Festivals in the UK*. London: Policy Studies Institute.

Small, K., Edwards, D. & Sheridan, L. (2005). A Flexible Framework for evaluating the Socio-cultural impacts of a (small) festival. *International Journal of Event Management Research,* 1(1): 66-77.

UNESCO (2003), Text of the Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage [online]. Available at http://www.unesco.org/culture/ich/index.php?pg=00006.

Urry, J. (1995). *Consuming Places*. New York: Routledge.

Visitor 2. (2011). *Observations at the Morpeth Gathering [interview by N Black] Morpeth, 30 April 2011.*

Wilks, L. (2013). Introduction. In G. Richards, M. de Brito & L. Wilks, ed. *Exploring the Social Impact of Events*. Oxford: Routledge.

Wood, E. & Thomas, R. (2009). Festivals and Tourism in Rural Economies. In J. Ali-Knight, M. Robertson, Fyall, A. & A. Ladkin, eds. *International Perspectives of Festivals and Events: paradigms of analysis*. London: Elsevier.

The roads we did not choose: educating the public through performance art on women in the Gulag

Olga Cooke
Texas A&M University, Texas, USA

ABSTRACT: One of the ways in which Russians preserve memory about the Gulag entails dramatic performances of Stalinist terror. *The Roads We Did Not Choose* is a performance piece presented by two Russian actresses, Olga Nepakhareva and Elena Tokmakova-Gorbushina who have made it their life's mission to preserve the memory of women in the Gulag, who experienced Stalinist terror and passed through concentration camps. The piece has evolved, and the final version has come to include memoirists and poets, featuring only real events and women-eyewitnesses. Traveling throughout Russia and performing in former camps and myriad other locations, both actresses transform themselves from one character to the next, combining the stories of ten women to present a glimpse of Soviet prisons and the Gulag as experienced by women.

> I write in the name of the living,
> That in their turn they not stand
> In a silent, gloomy crowd
> At the dark camp gates. (Vladimirova, 2005)
>
> Love in prison is gentler
> Love in prison is brighter
> Because it suffers more pain,
> Because it suffers more hardship. (Shilova, 2005)

According to Carolyn Forché in her book *Against Forgetting,* the twentieth century may well go down in history as the age of atrocity. Steven Cohen goes even further by claiming that Gulag literature, may share with its counterpart from the other defining holocaust the status of being "the most characteristic writing of the twentieth century" (Cohen, 1993).VasilyAksenov, too, contends that if there is any contribution which Russian literature has made in the twentieth century it is in the genre of prison camp writing (Glad, 1994).One of the ways in which Russians preserve memory about the Gulag entails dramatic performances of Stalinist terror. *The Roads We Did Not Choose* is a performance piece presented by two Russian actresses, Olga Nepakhareva and Elena Tokmakova-Gorbushina, who have made it their life's mission to pre-

serve the memory of women in the Gulag who experienced Stalinist terror and passed through concentration camps. The piece has evolved, and the final version has come to include memoirists, writers, and poets, featuring only real events and women-eyewitnesses. Traveling throughout Russia and performing in former camps and myriad other locations, both actresses transform themselves from one character to the next, combining the stories of ten women to present a glimpse of Soviet prisons and the Gulag as experienced by women. Strewn throughout their performance piece are snippets of letters, diaries, prose pieces, songs and reminiscences from ordinary Soviet women who were cast into another world, where they were forced to forget their former lives. Their world encompasses the following: "the prison, the interrogation, the sentence, the transferal to the camp, the arrival in the camp, the forced labour and so on: step by step, they enter into a new life, that has nothing in common with the one they had lived before. This process is marked by a series of traumas (humiliation, torture, starving, etc.), to which each of the memoirists common in all of them is that the release from the Gulag means the exit from that former life" (Gullotta, 2012). Drawing from various sources, especially Semyon Vilensky's *Till My Tale Was Told,* the actresses represent the full gamut of women's camp experiences, from parting with their children, falling in love with fellow *zeks,* to the feeling of disbelief as the arresting officer arrives on the scene to arrest them, to watching themselves age before their eyes, to acknowledging news that a child would no longer accept them—all of these scenes reveal that the articulation of trauma on the part of women is very different from men.

SemyonVilensky, the editor and compiler from which the majority of texts were chosen,explains how thousands of manuscripts were preserved over decades. The "babushki" – "it's all thanks to the babushki!" "The old women." For 25 years, from the time of Khrushchev to Gorbachev, Vilensky traveled the country, spending six months at a time on the road. "In those days where could you keep manuscripts written by *zeks*? Only in villages, far away from Moscow, in the hands of old ladies. So I'd take to the roads of the countryside and walk. I'd go from village to village. And the babushka took me in, and without fear or doubt, they took manuscripts and hid them" (Meier, 2005).In addition to vowing to not only safeguard them, but eventually to put them into print, Vilensky realized that the most interesting stories were written by women, and thus the book, *Till My Tale Was Told,* came into being.

The Roads We Did Not Choose opens with excerpts from Olga Adamova-Sliozberg's*My Journey*, in which the protagonist is told by the arresting officer that "she had better say goodbye to the children" (Adamova-Sliozberg, 2005). A running motif throughout women'smemoirs, and here as well, is not only the subject of children, but the dimension of denial: "No, this cannot be happening!" (Adamova-Sliozberg, 2005). Picking up the thread of this narrative, we hear Evgeniia Ginzburg's voice of disbelief: "What are you saying? I can't see my son for 15 years! There has to be a mistake!" (Ginzburg, 2005).

Few scholars have ventured into a comprehensive study of women's camp writings. The most forceful observer of the concentrationary universe, applying his examples from both the Holocaust and the Gulag, is Tsvetan Todorov, who more than anyone tackled the gender issues of prison camp writings in his book*, Facing the Extreme.* He begins his discussion of survival by women with an observation that many may consider a sweeping generalization; in any case, he asserts the following: "On the whole, women survived the camps better than men did, not just in terms of numbers but in terms of psychological well-being. There must be some explanation for this advantage, and it is tempting to look for that explanation in differences that have to do with gender" (Todorov, 1996).Rather than highlight the adversarial relations which dominated men's prisons a great deal more than women's, Todorov focuses on the differences in biological and cultural behavior between men and women, positing that the practical nature of women, the tendency to help one another, to be less indifferent to one another was a major contributor to greater rates of survival among women prisoners. Survivors have observed that whereas men were more likely to deaden themselves, obsessing with issues of moral laws and rights, women sought more friendly support from one another. Although the struggle for survival may take similar forms, Todorov attributes valuable distinctions between men's experiences in the Gulag and women's. Two strategies are singled out by him, namely "the life of the mind" and "the life of the heart." In addition to these two strategies, which are clearly articulated in the play, I will include a strategy, borrowed from Johann Huizinga's *Homo Ludus*, namely, the "life of play."

Todorov bases his book, *Facing the Extreme,* on a wager that it is possible to use the extreme experience of the camps as a basis from which to reflect on moral life, "not because moral life

was superior in the camps but because it was more visible and thus more telling there"(Todorov, 1996).Using simple moral virtues, such as dignity and caring, Todorov underlines the differences in behavior according to traditional divisions of sexual roles. No matter how biologically based a woman's child-bearing years are, that experience continues throughout her lifetime, and extends to women who do not become mothers. Such oppositional roles as being practical versus abstract, being body-oriented rather than mind-oriented, involvement in personal relationships versus solitary goal-oriented pursuits, illustrate the role of biologically and culturally determined sexual behavior. Whether or not she has children, a woman will most likely find herself responsible for child care and for the care of parents and husband as well. Thus, she was more prone to seek out an extended family in prison. As EvgeniaGinzburg maintains, "There were no more fervent friendships than those made in prison" (Todorov, 1996). In her book on the history of the Gulag, Anne Applebaum, too, has argued that camp women formed more powerful relationships with one another and helped each other in ways male prisoners did not such as by sharing food rations.(Applebaum, 2004).

One of the key survivors, whose texts are cited in greater number in *Roads We Did Not Choose,* was EvgeniiaGinzburg, famous for her 2-volume memoir, *Journey into the Whirlwind* and *Within the Whirlwind.* Ginzburg makes a similar observation to Todorov regarding practical coping responses between male and female prisoners: "Our poor companions! The weaker sex... For it was they who keeled over dead where we merely bent with the wind while we stayed the course. They were better than we using an ax, a pick, a wheelbarrow, but they were greatly inferior in their ability to withstand torture. [...] Although one might have thought the men were stronger than we were, they seemed somehow more defenseless and we felt a maternal pity for them. They stood up to pain so badly... and they would not know how to mend anything or to be able to wash their clothes on the sly as we could" (Ginzburg, 1996). Practical coping mechanisms such as taking the bones from the fish in their soup and using them as needles to mend their stockings were virtually absent in men's camps.

One of the key excerpts in the play which most illustrate the strategy which Todorov called "the life of the heart" entails a scene, in which a former Communist party member must accept the fact that her daughter, in order to be accepted as a member of the Khomsomol, must reject her. Olga Adamova-Sliozberg describes Liza, a woman she had nothing in common with, but a woman, who touched her heart when reading a poignant letter from her daughter. "Dear Mama," wrote Zoya, Lisa's daughter, "I'm fifteen years old now and I'm planning to join the Komsomol. I have to know whether you're guilty or not. I keep thinking, how could you have betrayed our Soviet system?[…] If you're guilty, I won't write to you anymore, because I love our Soviet government and I hate its enemies, including you if you are one" (Adamova-Sliozberg, O, 2005).The mother recommends that her daughter join the Komsomol, admitting, falsely of course, that she is guilty. She adds: "It's better! Let them hate me, it's better… How is she going to live without the Komsomol, as an alien? She'll grow to hate Soviet power. It is better to let her hate me" (Adamova-Sliozberg, 2005). In the great corpus of Gulag literature one encounters many similar scenes, in which victims willingly advise their family members to forget them, to go on with their lives, as though their parents did not exist. According to Irina Scherbakova,"women's memoirs are distinguished, as a rule, by more emotional content, more scrupulous description of camp life, greater importance given to family histories, and description of human relations. The women (especially in later memoirs) are franker in their description of the use of force (in particular during investigation), sexual problems, etc." (Shcherbakova, 2003). For example, Olga Adamova-Sliozberg describes the dehumanizing factor of male guards watching women undress. What made matters worse were the rare moments when women glanced at themselves in mirrors. Instead of recognizing their youthful selves, they saw aged, haggard women, lacking in gender: "And being women, after all, we all rushed to have a look in the mirror. I stood in the crowd and stared, unable to figure out which of the women was me. Suddenly I recognized my mother's tired, mournful eyes, her graying hair, the familiar melancholy set of her mouth… It was me" (Adamova-Sliozberg, 2005).

Love, naturally, constituted a common theme among women's memoirs. In *Roads We Did Not Choose* the actresses eschew the horrific depictions of rape and prostitution, although such incidences were very common. Instead, throughout the play, women find themselves desperate for true, genuine love. One such woman, knowing full well that she would never see her first family again, cries out: "I know that he's a yokel and that I'm a university student in Scandina-

vian languages. But who needs my Scandinavian languages now? I'm tired out. I want children of my own. New ones…Those back on the mainland we shall never see again" (Ginzburg, 2005). In two poems by Svetlana Shilova, the persona identifies herself as a number 234, in love with 632. Her verses, "Love in prison is gentler/ Love in prison is brighter/ Because it suffers more pain,/Because it suffers more hardship," (Shilova, 2005) describe her heart set aflame with love for a *zek,* who succumbs to illness and death in an unmarked grave.

Pregnancy, which was a common occurrence in the camps, was also an issue, addressed by the play. For example,Galina Voronskaia's excerpt entails the story of a prisoner, named Sonya-Ogonyok, who had four pregnancies in the camps, all of which led to the children being given away. Clearly, the following conversation illustrates a lackadaisical attitude to giving birth: "-- This is birth number what, Son'ka?–Four. –You're kidding! So where are your children? -- I gave them away. – What do you mean? --Well, people who haven't got kids, and really want to have a little one, they come to the children's complex and take them home to raise." (Voronskaia, 2005). While, on the one hand, children for many women symbolised a 'normal' life and "made prisoners feel as though they were on an equal footing with 'free' women, something which could have helped some women to regain a sense of femininity and purpose in a hostile environment,"nevertheless, there were also women, like Voronskaia's Sonya-Ogonyok, who exploited her pregnancies for special favors(Shapovalov, 2001). As soon as Sonya is hospitalized the narrator watches her faking a temperature, while accepting a cigarette from the janitors.

The strategy of survival that revealed an intensity as great, if not greater than the "life of the heart," entailed "the life of the mind" (Todorov, 1996). Whether the prisoner were permitted to recite poetry from memory, or read a book, or simply engage in a conversation about classical literature, resistance to misery and enslavement came in a variety of aesthetic packages. While it was her misfortune to end up in the deadliest of all the labor camps, Kolyma, Ginzburg refrains from dwelling on misfortune; instead, she sees small miracles throughout her 18 year ordeal mysteriously conspiring to keep her alive. The ability to rise above the madness of the Gulag and transcend her circumstances often depended on Ginzburg's reliance on memorized lines of poetry by Blok, Akhmatova and Pasternak, revealing their therapeutic role. Ginzburg achieves an imperviousness to evil through an inextricable communication with past literary giants. Her memory serves her well, for in the process of memorizing poetry she memorializes those poets whose lives gave her meaning through the prison camp experience. Moreover, she herself becomes a poet. "Poetry," she says, "they couldn't take that away from me" (Ginzburg, 1996).

Roads We Did Not Choose focuses on acting out several passages from Ginzburg's memoir. There is the time when knowing poetry by heart brought a small dividend. Like manna from heaven, Ginzburg's ability to recite long passages from, say, Griboedov's*Gore otuma*, resulted in an extra mouthful of water from someone else's mug. This, in Ginzburg's typically humorous mode, was depicted as a reward for "social work." Upon hearing her recitations a guard refused to believe she was reciting from memory. He challenged her by threatening: "If you can go on for half an hour without a break, O.K., otherwise it's irons for you, all the way to Vladivostok!" (Ginzburg, 1996).Half an hour later the triumphant Ginzburg wins the wager. At another point, when Ginzburg is attacked for keeping a book in the compartment, only to be completely vindicated when it is clear that her only offence is her phenomenal memory, she regales her interlocutors with long extended passages from Pushkin's verse novel,*EvgeniiOnegin*, pulsing her poetic rhythms in tune with the churning of the train tracks. At times Ginburg's irony takes on an unbearable tinge of dark humor. Thus, when LavrentyBeria, head of the KGB, is removed from power Ginzburg is overwhelmed with the urge to compose a ditty: "Tell us, O Beria,/ Will life be merrier/ Lighter and airier,/ Or even scarier?/ Answer us, Beria" (Ginzburg, 2005).While humor was another coping mechanism, which will be treated below, the subject of Beria also preoccupied a young woman, whose sole crime was writing a letter to Stalin, which led to a personal interview with Stalin's principal henchman, Beria. ValentinaKarlovna insisted on telling Stalin where he went wrong, but instead of meeting Stalin himself, she was ushered into Beria's office, where she proceeded to tell him that he couldn't possibly be a good Communist, because: "You have a very good wool suit. When we are all in rags? You have a box of chocolates on your desk, but none of the rest of us have any. How can I believe you? What kind of

Communist can you be?" (Efron, 2005). For that frank conversation, Valentina, along with her mother, were arrested.

As mentioned earlier, *Roads We Did Not Choose* incorporates another strategy which I call "the life of play," involving humor as a coping mechanism and a tendency for ludic performances. In the play the actresses chose a few excerpts from stories by AriadnaEfron. AriadnaEfron, the daughter of Marina Tsvetaeva and called, "the most famous daughter in Russian literature," had to bear the deaths of her mother, father, sister and brother, as well as the deaths of her common-law husband, SamuilGurevich, and her unborn baby. Clearly, the sheer magnitude of these losses would necessitate a deep melancholic state, but in Efron's hands we encounter a moment of levity. The story is called "The Nun," who was incarcerated for being a nun, however upon release her fellow female prisoners, asked that she write to them about her life outside the prison. Naturally, she could not write explicitly about the church, so her female prisoners told her to substitute the word "bathhouse" for "church." Survival is a game, and any exchange of correspondence between female prisoners and former prisoners undergoes censorship, thus, the use of Aesopian speech as a form of subterfuge. What ensued clearly bore traces of Huizinga's *Homo Ludens*, for in the hands of this loveable nun the actresses emphasize the need to laugh. Here is an excerpt from Efron's retelling of the story about the nun and the bathhouse (read "church") attendant: "And so he [the bathhouse attendant] met us on the threshold – naked, in nothing but an apron. He said, 'Congratulations on the coming festival, ladies! Today everything in the bathhouse is in great shape. I've cleaned everything, and saved some water from the men for you, so that each one of you can have not three but four bucketsful. Wash to your heart's content, ladies!" (Efron, 2005) The female prisoners embrace these rare moments of levity. One of the actresses says; "I'll never forget that picture –I fell about at that time, it was so funny!—Her naked, only a kerchief on her head, and him, in nothing but an apron, sitting and discussing 'the divine,' clean and innocent, like children or angels" (Efron, 2005)AriadnaEfron's story clearly manifests a playful attempt to subvert the powers-that-be. As has been emphasized in other contexts, playing requires freedom and playing roles breaks away "from pure reason into the more flexible world of imagination." (Popescu-Sandu, 2005).

In conclusion, transforming women's camp writings into a theatrical event naturally enables the audience to react empathetically. So much of the experience hinges on the audience's willingness to hear every detail, excruciating, bittersweet, or heart-wrenching as it may be. Among the most bitter verses in the play we find the poetry of Anna Barkova, a poet who spent more than twenty years in the Gulag. The prism through which she envisions her life in the camps is one of constant struggle, constant humiliation and deprivation. Like VarlamShalamov in his *Kolyma Tales*, imprisonment brings no transcendence, no chance of rebirth. Still, by reenacting these different vignettes from different points of view in a very live setting, whether laden with negative emotion, or even uplifting moments, we, as witnesses relive those moments and ask ourselves: What led to the women's arrests? What losses did they endure? After every performance the audience participates in a question and answer period. We learn that women in camp managed to create a climate of freedom, dignity and mutual support that they would not find again possibly when liberated. This paradoxical relationship was explored by Alexander Solzhenitsyn, juxtaposing the enslavement of the "free" in the great zone and the enfranchisement of the prisoners in the small zone. Since none of the oppressive ideology can affect you in prison, camp takes on the dimension of a refuge. In Ginzburg's case, precisely because she was incarcerated, a certain element of spiritual insight was afforded that would be foreign to her otherwise: "Sitting in a cell, you don't chase after the phantoms of worldly success... You can be wholly concerned with the highest problems of existence, and you approach them with a mind purified by suffering" (Ginzburg, 1995).Thus the experience of confinement forces one to choose between safeguarding one's spiritual freedom and giving into physical slavery; it becomes a moral barometer.

Every aspect of *The Roads We Did Not Choose*has multiple roles, functions, and meanings. Wooden crates serve as furniture, trains, and camp workplaces. With the addition of a hat or shawl, Gulag victims are depicted who came from all across the political spectrum; many of them maintained their commitment to politics while in the camps. While exchanging political views and arguing with passion and conviction, they retained their identities and remained engaged with the fate of their nation. By taking their play from city to city, former camp location to former camp location the actresses, Olga Nepakhareva and Elena Tokmakova-Gorbushina,

reenact the power of itinerant performance art in Russia, utilized not only as a tool of remembrance, but also for educational purposes, especially at a time when Putin's government stifles human rights. Since the first granite stone from Solovky devoted to the victims of the Gulag was erected in 1989, much has been done to memorialize the Gulag, and yet many Russians, not only members of Memorial and Vozvrashchenie, organizations which keep alive the memories of the victims of Stalinism, but also members of families of Gulag victims believe that Gulag memory has lost its prominence during the Putin years. However, as long as actresses such as Nepakhareva and Tokmakova-Gorbushina continue the practice of memorializing women in the Gulag, audiences throughout Russia and the world will be confronted with the imperative to ensure that their voices, long suppressed, are forever allowed to speak.

REFERENCES

Adamova-Sliozberg, O. (2005). *Roads We Did Not Choose. E. Ransome (trans)*. Unpub MS.

Aksenov, V. (1993). *In Conversations in Exile.J. Glad (ed)*. Durham: Duke University Press.

Applebaum, A. (2004). *Gulag: A History*. Norwell, Ma: Anchor Press.

Barkova, A. (2005). *Roads We Did Not Choose. E. Ransome(trans)*. Unpub MS.

Efron, A. (2005). *Roads We Did Not Choose. E. Ransome(trans)*. Unpub MS.

Forché, C., ed. (1993). *Against Forgetting: Twentieth Century Poetry of Witness*. New York: Norton.

Ginzburg, E. (2005). *Roads We Did Not Choose. E. Ransome(trans)*. Unpub MS.

Ginzburg, E. (1995). *Journey into the Worldwind. P. Stevenson and M. Hayward (trans.)*. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich.

Ginzburg, E. (1981). *Within the Whirlwind. I. Boland (trans.)* New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich.

Gullotta, A.   (2012). Trauma and the Self in the Soviet Context: Remarks on Gulag Writings. *Avtobiografia*, 1: 73-87.

Larina, A. (1993). *This I Cannot Forget: The Memoirs of Nikolai Bukharin's Widow, intro. S. Cohen*. New York: Norton.

Meier, A. (2005). *Black Earth: A Journey through Russia after the Fall*. New York: W.W. Norton.

Popescu-Sandu, O. (2005). Ethics, Play and Poetry in the Interval: EvgeniiaGinzburg's Struggle Into the Whirlwind. *Canadian-American Slavic Studies*. EvgeniiaGinzburg: A Centenial Celebration 1904-2004. O. Cooke, ed., 39(1):99-108.

Shapovalov, V. (2001). *Remembering the Darkness: Women in Soviet Prisons*. Oxford: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers.

Shcherbakova, I. (2003). Remembering the Gulag. Memoirs and Oral Testimonies by Former Inmates In E. Dundovich, F. Gori & E. Guercetti, ed. *Reflections on the Gulag*. Milano: Feltrinelli. pp.187-208.

Shilova, S. (2005). *Roads We Did Not Choose. E. Ransome(trans.)* Unpub MS.

Todorov, T. (1996). *Facing the Extreme. A. Denner and A. Pollak (trans)*. New York: Metropolitan Books.

Vilensky, S., ed. (1999). *Till My Tale Was Told. C. Porter (trans)*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Vladimirova, E. (2005).*Roads We Did Not Choose. E. Ransome (trans.)*. Unpub MS.

Voronskaia, G. (2005).*Roads We Did Not Choose. E. Ransome (trans.)*. Unpub MS.

A native fishing culture in Southern Italy: the astatori of Manfredonia

Patrizia Resta
University of Foggia, Department of Humanities, Foggia, Italy

ABSTRACT: This essay analyzes, from an anthropological perspective, the world of fishing in Manfredonia, a seaside city in Southern Italy. In particular, it focuses on the changes that have interested the forms and modalities of the fishing activity, with specific regards to its economic and productive aspects and the related technical knowledge. Based on ethnographic data collected during a research carried out from 2006 to 2009, this article reflects on the productive system (characterized by the phenomenon of hysteresis, that is the fission between traditional habitus and the contemporary practice field), on the commercialization process (based on the fish auction), and lastly on the various prejudices that surround the fishermen's community and the culture of fishing.

1 INTRODUCTION

Based on Ethnography collected during a fieldwork in southern Italy, developed from 2006 to 2009 (Resta, 2009), the paper aims to analyse, from an anthropological perspective, the world of fishing at Manfredonia, a 60,000 inhabitants town in Apulian Region, overlooking the homonymous Gulf in the Adriatic Sea, in front of Montenegro coast.

The horizon within which we move our considerations emphasis on modifications which have changed the traditional activities. They are crossed over the course of the twentieth century by changes that have modified the forms and modalities of fishing activity in its economic and productive aspects and related technical knowledge, changing practice systems and the social composition of the group formed by the fishermen. The latter is an encapsulated group (Hannerz, 1980), which has suffered the change that went through the entire sector.

These transformations took place in a backdrop where traditionally has placed side by side the fisheries and agricultural vocation and where, during the 1970s, saw bloom right inside a strategic pole of national chemical industry.

The circularity of the connection between land and sea is one of the principal aspects of the Mediterranean identity (Matvejevic, 1991),but the assumption from which we move is about the consideration that although our town is a seaside town, where fishing has been consistently practiced, the fishing activity does not appear to have significantly marked its tradition. The connection with the sea is rhapsodic despite continuity that can boast of.

The heritage of knowledge and know how that it expressed, the fishing culture that has shaped, is connected to *go by sea* rather than a generative matrix produced by living on the sea.

As a result, the essay also aims to study the dispositions acting in the fisheries field and orienting the fishermen's habitus by creating an opposition between them and the citizens who live on the mainland.

2 METAMORPHOSIS

In the mid-twentieth century, a tension between traditional fishing culture and the process of mechanization that rewrote its rules was articulated.

We based our considerations on the belief that fishing is a framework within which a set of related roles operate (Hannerz, 1980), founded on common sharing of an expert practice (Ingold, 2001).This is not a particularly innovative proposal but it opens to the consideration that the field on which it insists is the outcome of strategies and practices through which agents can arrange their experience cognitively (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992).

The intent is to show that the radical transformations that crossed the local fishing culture have redesigned the dispositions. So if in the past the group membership was determined by the identity, the being fishermen, today the same is coagulated around a know-how based on a technology that has significantly changed the times articulation that organize perceptions of those who live by the sea. Innovations that have made the absence present, the marginal near and the moving away marginal. The change, traumatic, started in the second half of the twentieth century when the sailing and rowing boats have disappeared and the whole sector has been redesigned pursuant to development intervention of State and the introduction of mechanization. This latter factor hasn't changed only the productive activities but has also changed the connected philosophy of life.

Currently Manfredonia has a large fleet, the second in importance in the Adriatic Sea. There is the large and the small-scale fishing as well the aquaculture and mussel culture but, in the past, was practiced almost exclusively the *sciabica*, a traditional trawl-net fishing (Ognissanti 1977, 1979, 1981), and small-scale fisheries. To these we must add other specific forms of *inshore fishing*, used in the town as the rest of the Mediterranean (Fonseca, 1984, La Sorsa, 1988, Mondardini, 1988, 1995 e 1997) using boats of various sizes, from small *schiff* to the *lanza*, from the *paranza* (a trawler)to the *trabaccolo* (a kind of lugger, used for the goods transportation).The small-scale fisheries was favoured by the microclimate, which characterises the homonymous Gulf, suitable for reproduction of juvenile fish and cuttlefish. A kind of fishing which the local fleet seemed consecrated. The *sciabica* (the trawl) however was the production mode that marked the link between the city and the sea. Widely distributed in the Mediterranean, in the Adriatic town, it was accomplished by a crew typically composed by 11 men including the head boat, divided into two teams, one of which had the task of laying the nets at sea and the other to pull dry dock on the beach to collect the catch. The prevalence of *sciabica* in the fishing history of the town testifies to the minor role that the entire fishing sector had on the urban economy.

Nevertheless, sea-related activities had a strong performative charge. The skills related to them not only work as indicators of individuals belonging to the fishermen Group but also designing the dispositions through which they aggregate themselves. The tools used in fishing as nets, shrouds, sails, fish trap, exposed to dry near the houses, served as signals that traced the places map inhabited by fishermen. A limited perimeter, still visible in the old town, nears the coast where boats were beached.

In the collective urban imagination, because of its historic marginalization, fisheries worldwide has remained linked to the iconography of the lonely fisherman who runs the *schiff*, as it's known in local jargon the boat once used in small-scale fisheries, or who, along with companions, painfully casts and withdraws the nets into the sea with his own hands, condemned to a danger and deprivation life.

Despite that rapid development experienced by the industry in the 1960s and 1970s, the 1980s decline and the strategic reprogramming initiated in the late 1990s have resulted in a

significant gap compared to the past. In the middle of the twentieth century, in fact, the knowledge of elders fades. The machines, the GPS, the echo sounder and more sophisticated equipment replace the memory heritage they had. Until a few decades before, the fishing sites were identified in relation to fixed points aligned on the coast. These are coordinates that few knew and father son handed down, such as information about the fish transition in the sea portion across the Gulf. The knowledge of the sea and its condition was the only resource available to previous generations. In a few years, the hierarchy based on the local knowledge possession has been destroyed. Missing the typical fishing corpus of knowledge handed down from generation to generation, the continuing practice was not enough to keep alive the memory of the previous dispositions. Within the fishermen group looks occurred what Bourdieu calls the paradigm of don Quixote (1997) or hysteresis effect which made ineffective the previous dispositions because of the technological changes that have affected the fishing industry; insomuch as the practical knowledge of yore it was slowly forgotten and abandoned. The caesura between generations was so sharp that lets assume that the fishing tradition at one point has been interrupted, is dead and then being reborn. The massive input of technology has altered the earlier balance. In the 1960s the Cassa del Mezzogiorno (Development Institution of national interest) granted the first incentives for sector mechanization. Thanks to new technology could become proficient in fisheries also who had never practiced the go by sea. Many took the challenge, developing new skills that today surround a different world, consisted of a group in which older fishermen do not recognize themselves, while they are still embedded. It's no accidentally that the second half of the 20th century marks the moment of greatest prosperity of sector. The engines mounted on new fishing boats built in the shipyards of the town, allow to significantly increase the catch quantity. The increase in production, in turn, is easily absorbed by the domestic market where local fishermen are present. The entire industry has a new prosperity that results from ostentatious opulence of those who traditionally belonged to the poorer classes of the city.

The opposition between those who live on the ground and those who go to sea is accentuated.

We chose to adopt a neutral definition to indicate the representative sample survey of artisans, merchants, professionals and entrepreneurs, sex and age differently, to which a questionnaire relating to their perception of the world of fishing has submitted. A world that continues to be interpreted according to the same stereotypes. The realization that the navigation system now placed on cars is the instrument that in the second half of the twentieth century has allowed to mariners following the route and to fishermen to identify the fishing spots, does not create a bridge between the people of both land and sea. Equally the technology that allows through the wireless networks development to be in touch with distant places, it has not changed the image of the lone fisherman, far from dearness's.

Theoretically such transformations could change the imagery projected by citizens on the fishing activities and promoting greater affection of the city to the significant world that always holds well on the inside, maintaining separate itself. But the two worlds continue to live separately. The fisheries culture seems to mark boundaries of a well-encapsulated world yet crossed by contrastive thrusts.

There are preconceived ideas and stereotypes about fishing world that have left an indelible trace in the thinking of people who work on the Mainland. Those ideas have conditioned the relationship they have with the fishermen and their families, and more generally with anyone who "inhabit" that world. A world considered dangerous and high-risk criminal, often looked with distrust and regarded superficially. Urban imagination roots on prejudices.

The first is about *separateness*. Fishermen are considered a relatively self-contained segment compared to the rest of the locality. The rhetoric of the Solitaire Seadog, forget dialogue, closed in his loneliness, harsh and rude, with bald ways, strengthens the idea of partial alterity. An otherness that sinks its roots in the city's origin and at the same time continues to stand out. Confined, as already explained, in the places of the ancient Manfredonia, streets that recount the past, impregnated by the smell of the sea, which hide blinds *sottani* (traditional small home placed at the street level) that open onto the sunny streets. Those traditional home are poor and become miserable compared to the noble palaces of which are the foundations. Take root in the ground, turn their backs to the sea, abandon the unstable element, potentially traitor, always

unpredictable, was the town's vocation, that raised a invisible but palpable wall among those who went to sea and who remained on the ground.

The second prejudice concerns the economic situation. The idea that poverty, as substantial attribute, accompanies the fisherman's life was born in the traditional context and it's tied to the precariousness of a life marked by uncertainty and hardships, fear of being overwhelmed by these a fury for which the only defence was divine intercession. Recently a new prejudice of opposite sign was added to the last. Linked to high profits that fisheries production has registered in the seventies and eighties of the twentieth century, there is the idea that the fishermen in Manfredonia have become too rich.

The third prejudice is about literacy. The community imaginary ascribes poverty and excessive wealth to the fisherman because of unshakable conviction that those are a category of ignorant people, forcing children to leave education and follow their father into fishing activity at the early signs of listlessness. A research conducted some years ago by a local team reveals this kind of opinion. Local team that participated in a European project about the status of women, wives, mothers and sisters of fishermen (Scircoli&Ruggiero,Altavilla, sd).The research showed that women, wives or daughters of fishermen, are more educated than their husbands and their brothers because their school commitment is not considered an obstacle to family business. On the contrary, unless their expressed desire, the school is not recommended for men on immediate employment in family activities behalf. Of course the imagination far outstrips reality. In the city, as in the rest of Italy, school attendance was made obligatory many years ago and the truancy is not a plague that ails in particular. Nevertheless, the city remains largely convinced that the fishermen be able just to end the cycle of primary school. The consideration that a modest activity, traditionally considered dangerous and dirty, managed by semi illiterate, could grow and become a source of wealth is a non-sense, to which the town seems not to want to surrender. A joke that comes to be perceived as an injustice that cannot be claimed, and perhaps it's the root cause of the rivalry and envy feeling towards the fishermen that the town palpably manifests.

The fourth prejudice is about the sense of honour and invests directly marriage rules. On the basis of preconceived beliefs that circulate in the town, we might attempt that it's difficult for a young fisherman win the account of a woman who hasn't grown up in a fishermen family. The same fishermen claim that is complicated follow the fisherman's life rhythm for women accustomed to a different life. The most important among the alleged restrictions is about the working hours, not so much and not only the fact that men remain more days at sea, danger that incur only great fishing workers, but for the fact that it's a job that can never truly leave: work time and rest time are not effectively separable. The boat in the harbour requires continuous treatment. It must be checked, the equipment damage must be repaired and the boat must be reset. Who has landed in the morning and waited his turn for the fish auction, in the afternoon is already back on the quayside. The small-scale fisherman spend at home only a few hours between a return and a subsequent exit. Hours corresponding, more often than not, with the rest ones. A difficult and exhausting lifestyle, but it does not preclude the fact that fishermen choose their future wife according to the individual intention. The stronger stereotype is linked to the women morality and consequently to the fisherman honour. Most of those who agreed to speak on this topic, mostly elderly fishermen, have pointed the finger on the need to choose a woman able to stay alone while her husband is at sea, a faithful woman and respectful of his authority. Somehow the fishermen acknowledge themselves the plight of family friction that might find them. Young wives, elderly fishermen's daughters-in-law seem them less willing to sacrifice, more autonomous, enterprising. A whole world of sense, revolving around not only loyalty but also male authority is questioning.

The fifth prejudice's source is much more complex than the previous ones, and concerns *symbolic violence* in its function as a regulatory mechanism of hierarchies. Fishermen are suspected of anomic behaviours on the outside and within the group. In the town is rooted the belief that establishes a strong relationship between the alleged absence of education affecting fishermen and violence. This relationship reveals itself in the collective imagination in many circumstances.

The most common belief is that crews take drugs. It was not possible to verify the data,

although no one denies, especially among fishermen, that the drug has changed the SeaWorld. The problem is that it's not clear, nor fishermen have allowed to understand it, in which relationship are the drugs with the fishing activity. Generally, the issue is limited to young people, i.e. the new fishermen who take some marijuana, or better said they smoke it, because they are unable to bear the difficulties of a sacrifice life, spend days and days at sea, sleeping on uncomfortable beds, eating in a repetitive ways and engaged in a strenuous job. Of course this assertion restricts the issue only to the great fishing scale and silent more than it says.

An other prejudice concerns the *young people position*. It's common belief that young people do not want to go to sea because fishing is considered a dangerous and few profitable job. Especially it's a job that imposes intolerable working time for the contemporary youth who have elected the night as time for their leisure. Excluded from the world of young people, the fishermen children see in the school the certainty of a social promotion that wealth didn't guarantee them. Especially in this way, parents hope they can provide the children a better life, which prompted them minor physical sacrifice, that doesn't marginalize them and not make them feel excluded.

The last prejudice concerns the greed of the fishermen held responsible for having destroyed the backdrop of fishing resulting in the decrease of the potential production of the sector. In fact, since the years of economic boom is soon followed a regression, clutching the Gulf in a stranglehold. The trawling carried out by boats on which are mounted more powerful engines and the type of nets used in town have looted the seabed, forcing fishermen to choose new and increasingly distant fishing places, to achieve them faster it was necessary to increase the power of the engines. Solution that triggers a downward spiral that forces fishermen to go even further. The damage severity is evident.It's common belief that fishermen have become in the grip of the usury. According to many, the money desire, that usury is the event, is caused again because of the greed that led them to innovate too quickly and to bad capitalize the wealth that they enjoyed in previous decades. Suspicions and contradictions are lurking in respect of a category that, gaining wealth, got an improvement of his lifestyle but not social promotion.

The ostentation does not create social bond, on the contrary inhibits it. In this context the exchange lost the value of reciprocity that in other areas is instead social cement. As a result, what was once a liable sector become conflicting. It begins opposition between large and the small-scale fishing . Then other factors intervened to exacerbate the situation.

First of all, the industrialization of the Manfredonia port zone, the increase in the diesel price and the discouraging policy practised by the European Community, which has allocated funds for the fishing boats destruction. Factors that led the entire industry in a critical situation and made even more confusing and conflicting the Manfredonia seamanship. According to many, the present degradation situation of the entire industry arise just since the 1960s choices, when many new and enterprising entrepreneurs purchased licenses, bought new boats and invented a unknown job to them. Previous rules as well the solidarity and alliance boundaries were so altered. Outsiders contaminated the pact within the fishermen Group and between these and the sea. This outline of change begun, after World War II, has not been confirmed in the fishing group composition, even now made up mostly of people related to each other. The sons are considered the most valuable skipper collaborators until they marry, moment in which they tend to evade their father's protection, or when the latter becomes too old to face the sea. It's the passage that proves, in its intensity, the relationship between humans and their boat.

The boat represents a world of feelings and memories, and it cannot be regarded as a mere job tool. Unlike the fishing licence, which can be sold, the boat is the symbol of unity and paternal authority, it's like a home. It's a decisive semantic form, indicates the continuity and it's transmitted from father to son. When a fisherman has more sons, he chooses to whom leave it; it's not forced bequeathing it to his eldest son; he probably prefers one who seems to have more needs. However, if the father has major economical chances, responds to the children demand for autonomy by purchasing a new boat for the sons who do not inherit his boat. Almost wanting to witness them that the boat is the communion of the family, the father registers the new vessel at least to two sons' name. Apparently this use corresponds to an economic strategy because the boat cost is certainly significant. However this explanation, only focusing on the material aspect, disregards emotional and identity dynamics that there are

involved in. It will take many years before the often-difficult cohesion between siblings breaks up. In many times it happens because one of the two *sets foot on the ground*, as they say in slang, i.e. find a different occupation. But in this case, generally, he sells boat's share of his property to his brother, who continues the family business. It's because of this ideology, basically simple and linear, that the fishing group is still composed mostly of relatives: the father with sons, brothers, uncles with nephews or cousins. On the other hand the fishing group is never numerically consistent, in particular in the small fishing scale. In most cases the group will consist of no more than four units of which one is reasonably the boat owner and the other one of his sons. Women can't inherit boat, fishing is a man affair and the boat is transferred in proportion to the owner's daughter only when none of the brothers is more willing to go to sea. Consequently, it's never entrusted to son-in-law. The latter, if he is in need, could be placed on a brother-in-law's boat and, in time, become his partner.The tendency to consider the boat a good-value can mistakenly assume that the fishing group composition is solely intra-parental. After the 1970s, the lower incidence of generational change and the flexibility recorded in the sector's activities, have introduced significant changes in the fishing group composition, which is increasingly mixed. The causes are to be found in the rise of the young people education level and in the instability of labour relations within the fishing industry. Young people, whether they are or not fishermen children, generally have a high school diploma. This means that the number of underage fishermen has dropped considerably. The flexibility in the work depends rather from the fact that some consider fishing a shelter activity and a generation of young fishermen educated is growing up. A young who initially refuses to go by sea, after several years of unemployment can accept to join a fishing group, especially if the boat owner is the father or a brother. Or a fisherman, after a few years at sea, may try to leave the fisheries world to seek different employment. This second activity could prove to be fewer stable than he had expected and, therefore, who was released, can be found in the need to re-enter the sector.

For this way, in recent years, the fishing group composition has found different solutions.

Who has abandoned his boat is forced to work for third parties, as well as who went by sea with his brother found his place occupied by the nephews. The partial opening of the fishing group however doesn't seem to be been able to violate entirely the closure code to which it adheres. Women and migrants, for example, are still excluded. The fishing group is basically a small community, where mutual trust is essential for the community survival. Nevertheless, the mistrust rules the relationships in a world in which each boat and each fishing group depend on the help that other boats and other fishing groups are able to provide in danger times. However, if every fisherman is always ready to help those in distress at sea, conversely, in the daily activity, no one will ever be willing to trust strangers to fishing group, though are parents and even siblings boarded elsewhere.

The second aspect of transformation is visible in the catch commercialisation. In recent years, the young building in which has placed the fish market and the inception of the cooperatives consortium that managing it for several years are proofs of the sector vitality about which the opinions differ. Again the mistrust is the category that seems to guide relations between fishermen and the new fish market, recently removed from the Consortium influence. All together, or nearly so, are partners of some cooperative flowed into consortium; these ones are presided over by elderly fisherman, heads of the numerous fishermen households; cooperatives deal primarily to ensure tax needs of small business. Although this organization, it's commonplace thinking that cooperatives deduct over due time the biological standstill contributions before distributing them among the partners. Among the many shortcomings that are attributed to the Consortium in the market management, the most heartfelt complaint concerns the issue of fish auctions.

There are two fish auctions in the fish market, one in the first afternoon and a second in the night, about 11 p.m., according to the boats arrival order. Because the fish auction is conducted in voice, the respect of this rule is a source of continuous discontent. In the collective imagination the boats that reach to the fish auction before other can snatch a better selling price. The price is depending on the skill and honesty of the *astatori*, who conduct the voice auctions. Being *astatore* is a function of vital importance because he has a fiduciary and brokerage role.

The ways to access to the *astatore* function are apparently governed by a neutral procedure.

The four *astatori* who at the time of research sold the fish catch in the market had passed a regular competitive examination at the Foggia Chamber of Commerce. However, since the astatori were elderly fishermen's sons, who had retired and scrapped their boats; since there were no other proclamations besides the first and since there isn't memory of this procedure, at the provincial Chamber of Commerce, we suggest that they are been co-opted. Or we could expect nothing different. The astatori ensure the equidistance between fishermen and sellers in a market in which operated only four wholesalers, which could form a cartel and determine the fortune or misfortune of a crew. This skill allows them to be considered men of honour even before fish connoisseurs and good auctioneer. The recognition of this rare quality is the basis of the respect shown by fishermen when they choose who can conduct the catch auction for them. It outlines a scenario strongly influenced by personal and trustee relations. Maybe this is the only field which still shows traces of ancient fishing communities that once ruled the Gulf of Manfredonia, a world based on honour and on parole, but also on punishment and reprisal. The increased security and simplification of fishing operations determined by the technological revolution in fact have also altered the internal balance. If, in the past, were universally accepted the decisions, taken by older fishermen, at the beginning of each year, about the time of the stop-fishing and fishing, about the allowed and banned equipment, now they conform themselves to the national rules, dispositions that rarely take account of local needs. Anymore, the elders' authority is undermined. In the past it was the custom that to every transgression corresponded retaliatory action conveyed by the elders. It was not uncommon that who decided fishing in a prohibited day, a few days later, would find torn nets or tampered engine parts. The community of practice was based on normative customs that have lost in depth and meaning.

Persistence and change blend arranging themselves as a set of possibilities from which agents, following self-interest, draw the criteria orienting themselves, to order the relationships in communities of practice. Control over the voice auction was strong. The fishing world is mostly a competitive one, less sympathetic than you might think. Solidarity is reserved for danger moments, for extraordinary time of defence against sea, only in this case any contention finishes and who lies in the possibility of doing so, help each other, even arch enemy. Soon after, however, left the emergency, in ordinary time, the competition becomes dynamic and dominating. Fishermen are individualists. The homogeneity of a group that recognized itself on the basis of fishing expert practice it's rather a theoretical scheme than an empirical practice.

3 ABOUT THE REPRESENTATION

The fishermen were and are wary of the outside world that feels hostile, not only because they are afraid of being robbed of fruits of their work poorly valued socially. Are wary because they're protective. This attitude is so prevalent that might be elevated to the rank of cognitive category, moved through the theory of everyday life representation (Goffman, 1959).

During the field research fishermen injured keepers of their expert practice, have set the attitude of custody/defence of their world in the folds of an apparent openness and availability. The survey, in this sense, has benefited from many elements facilitators. The news were generously offered, but filtered by a dramaturgical loyalty, as Goffman defines it (1959: 212), that without being necessarily false, and therefore representing real aspects from the perspective of actor, they rank with the provision to maintain a default aspect of the question, according to the interlocutor.

Anthropology is an expert discipline in this issue placing emphasis on the alteration effect that the presence of the researcher produces in the field (Kilani, 1994) that is connected to the problem of intersubjective knowledge (Geertz, 1975, 1983, Clifford & Marcus, 1986,Manoukian, 2003), and to the distortive effect through which the researcher reads the field.

The acquired data was that informers were lavish of official news, available even on Internet, but miserly of news able to describe specifically the Manfredonia fishing industry. Rarely they have commented, hardly they have confided. Especially the elders, cooperatives' presidents, have insisted on showing a idyllic picture of fishing ascribing the present difficulties to the

national and Community policies and when they mentioned the most obvious change, oddly enough do not have evoked the past in nostalgic terms but praised the changes. Nevertheless, now and then someone is passing a worried sentence, soon toned-down. These references were considered spies of a protective behaviour of the fishing world, traditionally embedded.

The representation of internal conflicts probably has inspired the best performances. The social self-construction imposed to give back a ritual image. So, while none had difficulty insisting on generational and family contrasts, few were willing to offer details about the conflict breaking the internal solidarity, opposing big and small-scale fisheries workers.Some have mentioned, almost casually, to a communion of interests between criminal activity and the fishing world, conveyed by the drugs trade by sea between the two sides of the Adriatic sea. As already mentioned, in many cases, the presence of drugs on board is justified by fragilityof young fishers, unable to cope with the harshness of a life to which are not used. In other cases, however, although the dramaturgical discipline (Goffman, 1959: 216) impose restraint to the actors,the drug, still connected to the great fishing scale, however, was not attributed neither to young people nor to the need for personal consumption. In the representation of the contrast between the big and the small-scale fishing, the first was considered responsible for the imbalances that are changing the fishing field either for technology introduced and because it's suspected of deviant behaviours.

Our partial conclusions aim to identify the factors that determine group membership. We have considered the factors equivalent to "lasting and transmittable dispositions" (Bourdieu, 1980) learned by social agents during their apprenticeship to fishing practice. In this way the dispositions as generative criteria guide the behaviours and social agents representations that model the fishing field.

Playing with the initials of the words, we can propose to indicate succinctly in a conventionally called *O* factor, the set of factors that enables individuals to respond suitably to the events, following the dispositions coming from its practice sense.

The *O* factor has been declined in the sense of *opposition*.

The opposition organizes the relationships among different fields: between the productive and the fish marketing sector as well the opposition that regulates relations among the fishing groups; anymore, within the fishing group, the oppositionthat regulates relationship between past and present, or, better, among young and old people; lastly, the silent opposition that separates the fishermen by countrymen, the culture of *going by sea* by culture of *staying in ground*.

The *O* factor has been declined also in the sense of *osmosis*. It's estimated that, despite being an inclusive group, the fishermen group is not exclusive, and indeed has been shown to be porous. Over time it opened and welcomed new apprentices without traditional training and determined to emphasize the radical sector transformation, no less than, at this stage, is willing to promote transit to other areas of those who aspire to greater security and stability.

Still the *O* factor has been declined in significance of *ostentation*. The ostentation, used extensively by fishermen, is mostly unconscious; it's not connected, or at least isn't mostly tied to exposure of status symbol, nor promoted as a social position improvement of the individual or of his family. Ostentation is rather the performance of economic resources achieved. It's a race to the past. The poverty ransom affects in creating myth of an achieved opulence.

The rise of these factors might perhaps help to trace the model to which the city and its inhabitants seem to be inspired by. Whenever you have to recourse to a synthesis enclosing in a determined form what in reality is mutable and performative, you run the risk to be assertive.

The identification of a unitary model used to represent the generative policy whose social agents feed them through dispositions, exhibit at the risk of proposing a schematic adaptation of a magmatic reality.

We considered opposition, osmosis, and ostentation as membership factors even if only partially they coincide with the definition that we had developed for fishermen in terms of a built-in group. This definition was originated from the relational perspective adopted by Hannerz in his city exploration, and it had appeared the most suitable to be applied to the hard reality that evolved during the field research. Hannerz wrote: "Encapsulation gives rise to well-bounded groups where people are members more or less as whole persons rather than by virtue

of incumbency of particular role" (Hannerz, 1980: 261);we think we have shown reasonably that fishermen do not define themselves as such by virtue of that role, but by virtue of the way of being that comes back from the relationship networks in which they are embedded, built around their practical experience. Hannerz had added "even then, the group is in certain senses embedded in the wider urban system, but attention to the other modes of existence as well gives us further opportunities of seeing how activities within the smaller unit are affected by the ways participating individuals handle their roles and networks" (ibid.).This means that the encapsulation is an ideal condition but not real. In this perspective, its reduction to model has appeared at least problematic.

A question remained pending. Not a secondary question, in our opinion.

How can a group be either included and porous? How can keep its shape if social agents composing it, continuously model it through their action? What kind of link exists between encapsulated structures and combinatorial practices? If the definition of social agent, term preferred by Bourdieu to social actor, urges to enhance the performative action produced by individuals in the environment consisting of relationships networks within which they move, how they can themselves give shape to the group?

An example from Ingold is suitable. Ingold establishes an opposition between the network model that the spider weaves and the fisherman weaves, wondering if there's a difference between them depending on the intent of form given to network by the fisherman rather than by the spider. The conclusion is that it doesn't descend from some model but by a series of movements complex executed with skill (Ingold, 2001: 152). Ingold thus asserts the primacy of practice on the structure. However, he tends to focus another aspect differently interesting about the relationship between skills and apprenticeship, concluding that it depends on the relational context in which the practice of apprenticeship takes place.

Translating the Ingold thought, we consider that, within the Manfredonia social context, in order to understand the group that is recognizable through the practice of fishing, we have to image it not tied through a structured knowledge corpus, but in the possibility that it shows to generate new knowledge, new practices, and new memberships.

4 CONCLUSIONS

Based on ethnographic data collected during a fieldwork in southern Italy, the essay has focused on the analysis of three topics: the changes in the systems of practice, in the dispositions and in the internal composition of the fishing community. The latter has been identified as a structured field around a set of interrelated roles, based on sharing a common expert practice, outcome of the strategies through which the agents cognitively organize their experience.

The analytical categories used to understand the complex of empirical data have been drawn mainly to two epistemological frameworks. On the one hand, the Bourdieu's theory of field and on the other, the theory of representation. In the first case, the concept of hysteresis has been helpful to explain the gap that has developed between the traditional culture and the new dispositions. In the second case, the Goffman's theory was used both for reading the way in which the fishermen enact themselves, masking the internal conflict, and the way in which the rest of the community represents them, listing the prejudices through which there is related.

The result is a patched picture, which was influenced by different factors, first of all, the change that has affected the systems of practice. Transformations that have interested both the level of production and the fish commercialization. In the first case, the ethnography has made clear that the knowledge of the elderly has gone down in the middle of the last century by virtue of the technological innovations introduced in the fishing industry, while welfare policies have facilitated a generational change which coincided with the opening of the sector to different subjects. It is constituted as a community of practice designed by virtue of *going by sea* rather than on a heritage of traditional knowledge, in which the fishing groups, which basically remain intra-parental, proved to be a flexible, osmotic and continuously redefined platform. In the case of activity involved in the fish commercialization, if, on the one hand, the data related to the organization of the sector have prevailed, on the other hand, the attention was focused on the

astatore role. Central person for the sector, the astatore is able to mediate between the different economic interests that revolve around the fish auction; he was considered a sort of symbol of the change that has occurred in terms of dispositions that act to orient the behavior in the fishing world.

The honor category, for example, invisible during much of the research, has re-emerged strongly to guide the fiduciary and personal relationships that, through the astatore figure, regulate or attempt to regulate relations in the wholesale market.

However, in terms of the new dispositions, other factors to which we have given the dignity of a category have affected. The first, that we have called "ostentation", is linked to the performance of the prosperity achieved in the seventies. Sign of the redemption from poverty that the sector was historically linked, the ostentatious practice had not effect on the social recognition. On the contrary, it has been one of the conditions that have made operational a second category, the "opposition", on which we have based the reading of ethnographic data.

The fieldwork, in fact, has had to deal with the category of the conflict, present at multiple levels. First, at the level of generational conflict, at the level between those involved in the large and the small fishing, between fishermen and wholesalers. Although the conflict gives way to solidarity when asked for help at sea, it has led us to describe the community of practice of the fishing world in terms of a competitive and contrastive world.

The osmosis, the ostentation and the opposition, finally, are the factors that we used also to describe the communicable dispositions and, therefore, the generative criteria that guide currently the world's fisheries. Factors that finally have made possible to re-examine the definition of embedded group, initially chosen to describe the fishing community, and opt for a definition linked rather to its ability to redefine itself on the basis of a new knowledge, in the production of practices related to them, always drawing new boundaries to a group able of accepting the challenges of transformation.

REFERENCES

Bourdieu, P. (1980). *Le sens pratique*. Paris: Editions de Minuit.
Bourdieu, P. & Wacquant, L. (1992). *Reponses : pour une anthropologie reflexive*. Paris: Seuil.
Bourdieu, P. (1997). *Méditations pascaliennes*. Paris: Seuil.
Clifford, J. & Marcus, G. (1986). *Writing culture: the poetics and politics of ethnography*. Berkeley: University of California press.
Fonseca, C.D., ed. (1984). *La Puglia e il maré*. Milano: Electa. pp. 89- 120.
Geertz, C. (1975). *The interpretation of cultures*. London: Hutchinson.
Geertz, C. (1983). *Local knowledge: further essays in interpretative anthropology*. New York: Basic books.
Goffman E. (1959). *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*. New York: Double Day Anchor Books.
Hannerz, U. (1980). *Exploring the City: Inquiries Toward an Urban Anthropology*. New York: Columbia University Press.
Ingold, T. & Grasseni, Ronzon, F. (2001). *Ecologia della Cultura*. Roma: Meltemi.
Kilani, M. (1994). *L'invention de l'autre: essais sur le discours anthropologique*. Lausanne: Editions Payot Lausanne.
La Sorsa, S.(1988). Folklore marinaro di Puglia. In A.M. Tripputi, ed. Folk-*lore pugliese, Antologia degli scritti di Saverio La Sorsa*. Bari: Paolo Malagrinò Editore. pp. 49-56, (ed or. "Lares", a.I, n.1, 1930, pp. 20-31).
Manoukian, S., ed. (2003). *Etno-grafie. Testi, oggetti, immagini*. Roma: Meltemi.
Matvejevic, P. (1991). *Mediterraneo, un nuovo breviário*. Milano: Garzanti.
Mondardini, G. (1988). *Spazio e tempo nella cultura dei pescatori Studi e Ricerche in area Mediterranea, Quaderni di ricerca*. Dipartimento di economia e Istituzioni Sociali, Università degli studi di Sassari, Pisa: Tipografia Editrice Pisana.
Mondardini, G. (1995). *I figli di Glaukos Temi e materiali di culture marinare in Sardegna e nel Mediterraneo*. Sassari, EDES.
Mondardini, G. (1997). *Gente di mare in Sardegna, Antropologia dei saperi dei luoghi e dei corpi*. Nuoro,Istituto Superiore Regionale Etnografico.
Ognissanti, P. (1977). La pesca con la sciabica. *Lingua e storia in Puglia*, 4(Siponto): 119-124.

Ognissanti, P. (1979). La pesca delle seppie a Manfredonia. *Lingua e Storia in Puglia*, 6(Siponto): 121-126.

Ognissanti, P. 1981, La pesca dei polipi nel golfo di Manfredonia. *Lingua e Storia in Puglia*, 14(Siponto): 123-126.

Resta, P., ed. (2009). *Di terra e di mare. Pratiche di Appartenenza a Manfredonia*, Roma: Armando Editore.

Scircoli, V., Ruggiero, P. & Altavilla, F. (n.d.). *Donne al timone. Indagine sulla condizione femminile nell'ambito della pesca sul territorio di Manfredonia*. Manfredonia, Tipolito Armillotta.

Sound Museum of Istanbul

Pınar Çevikayak
Koç University, Istanbul, Turkey

ABSTRACT: This paper introduces the conceptualization of a museum project which will exhibit the sonic environment of Istanbul. As sounds are distinctive elements of Intangible Cultural Heritage, my objective is to capture, collect and protect them from a possible extinction and to increase public awareness of their importance and uniqueness. Recording the most characteristic sounds, I will archive them in digital media and I will display them with mobile installations, which can also be readapted to other museums or to various sites throughout the city. Because the soundscape is constantly changing, this museum project will allow us to add new recordings and to update it regularly. Therefore, even though recordings are frozen ICH elements, the collective soundscape will not represent a frozen moment in time. Being the first and only of its kind, the Sound Museum, has great importance for maintaining the sonic reflections of culture and for keeping them alive.

1 INTRODUCTION

How many people can describe in detail the sonic world in which they are living? How many people realize the sonic values with which they are surrounded? Even when people notice them, do they consider them as a part of cultural heritage, or do they only perceive them as part of their everyday life?

This paper explores ways of raising the awareness of sonic environment within a museum concept. My project of musealization of intangible cultural heritage is to design a museum consisting of the sounds of Istanbul and exhibiting them through installations. The intention of establishing the Sound Museum of Istanbul is to make people aware of the daily acoustic environment that surrounds them. Everyday traditions are indeed fundamentals of cultural identity; however, these traditions and their sonic reflections are rarely ever consciously experienced in the moment, and unfortunately they get lost in the rhythms of daily life.

Moreover, intangible cultural heritage elements are also changing over time. If not protected, they will disappear, and so do their acoustic values. Once their sonic reflections are gone, it is not possible to create those sounds in their original form.

Hence I aim to collect and protect these sonic values and to create a public consciousness of the uniqueness and importance of the acoustic environment. In order for the sound heritage to have an adequate effect on visitors, experience design will be applied, rather than just playing the sounds.

In the next sections, I will give detailed information about properties of the main parts of the museum, such as collection, archive and exhibition. In the final section, I will mention potential future studies.

2 MUSEUM

The Sound Museum of Istanbul, which is planned to be established within the coming three years in Istanbul (Turkey), will display the contemporary sounds of Istanbul which are unique expressions of sonic culture. They give the sense of connectedness and identity. However, these characteristic sounds are not realized within everyday life. Carrying the sounds which can be heard around the city into the museum, the exhibition has a tongue-in-cheek approach. The exhibition presents them to audience once more in a clear way. Bringing them inside, I will design an isolated space where the audience will focus on the sounds and realize their uniqueness in terms of cultural heritage. The whole objective of the project is for the visitors to have more conscious ears and a more conscious sense of aural perception than before.

3 COLLECTION

3.1 *What?*

Sound is everywhere, as John Cage's famous phrase "*There is no such thing as silence*". No matter what type, level, quality or meaning it has, we hear it. First of all, there is a very crucial difference between sound and noise. To distinguish one from the other, we have to know the entire acoustic environment and its context. What is heard may be considered noise in one context and sound in another as they cannot be thought separate from their surroundings. To give a concrete example, traffic is definitely perceived as noise for those who are subject to hearing it at home, whereas for those who are in traffic, car horns are no longer considered noise, but sound-signals warning them (Redström, 1998). On the other hand, John Cage declares in his most famous book, *Silence*: *"Wherever we are, what we hear is mostly noise. When we ignore it, it disturbs us. When we listen to it, we find it fascinating"* (Cage, 1961).

We can classify sounds by using R. Murray Schafer's taxonomy. He puts forward several categories of classification based on physical characteristics, referential aspects, and aesthetic qualities. To briefly explain, physical characteristics mainly concern duration, frequency, fluctuations and dynamics of sound. They define sounds with their quantitative physical features. Referential aspects give us information about sources that produce sounds. Its sub-categories include natural sounds, human sounds, sounds and society, mechanical sounds, quiet and silence, and sounds as indicators. According to Schafer, sorting sounds based on their aesthetic qualities is hardest to accomplish, as effects of sounds differ from society to society, from person to person, and even from context to context for the same person. This type of classification depends entirely on aesthetic values and perceptive differences of people and societies (Schafer, 1977).

If we are to describe an acoustic community, all relevant elements specific to that area have to be determined. For example, comparing a rural environment to an urban one, we hear completely different acoustic harmonies. In fact, they vary even among themselves from country to country or from region to region, depending on factors such as climate, agricultural properties, population, language, and nature. Or we can choose to observe a specific event or development, such as gentrification process of a certain place through the modification of its acoustic environment. This study, of course, differs from the previous one both in content and required type of research. Here, the goal is to determine the initial concept of the museum.

The very first step is to define the soundscape concept and the boundaries of the content of the acoustic environment to be put on display. The urban soundscape consists of different types of sounds and noises, such as natural sounds (wind, sea waves, birds, dogs, etc.), mechanical sounds (car horns, alarms, signals, etc.), musical sounds (street musicians, festivals, etc.) and so on, each of which can be explored under its own title. For example, the songs and cries of different types of birds of Istanbul can be considered inthe context of the Natural Soundscape. Since in the Sound Museum of Istanbul, my focus is on the daily life and urban culture of Istanbul and their sonic values, I include only the sounds produced by humans; music plays only a secondary importance since it is already a much-studied aspect in any case. Therefore, with the aim of emphasizing the city's everyday habits and lifestyle through their acoustic reflections, which are basically Istanbul's cultural sound heritage, I propose to use the term *Cultural Soundscape* to describe the content of the museum collection.

Even if my concentration is on sounds, they are not the initial point of the research process. I depart from the lifestyle of the city and from urban culture itself. Once the most characteristic traditions are determined, their acoustic qualities are explored. Not all the symbolic cultural items have sonic values; for example, there are many churches in Istanbul and they represent the diversity of religion in the city, but it was forbidden to ring church bells under the Ottoman Empire, and churches still continue to be silent in contemporary Istanbul. Hence, even though a fundamental cultural value may play a great role in the history of city and its culture,it may not be part of the collection of the Sound Museum of Istanbul. On the other hand, those who have also sonic values, such asthe nostalgic tramway, the Ahırkapı festival, smoking nargile (water pipe), preparation of kokoreç (a kind of food), call to prayer, playing backgammon, stirring tea in a glass with a clinking spoon, marches on national festivals, car horns commemorating Atatürk (the founder of the Turkish Republic) every year on a specific day, and so on, are considered unique parts of the *Cultural Soundscape*.

3.2 *Why?*

Traditions and culture are not stable phenomena; they are evolving over time. Being part of intangible cultural heritage, they are endangered unless they are protected. Especially sonic culture is temporary in two aspects: First, traditions are changing, being quickly replaced due to transformed conditions of living, political situations, immigration, and so on. Secondly, the physical presence of sound depends on the factor of time. In order to listen to the same sound again, one has to rewind it or produce it once more in the same way. It might even be different from what has been heard before. In other words, unlike visual elements, sonic elements do not last for a long time. Hence they are twice endangered.

Today, the acoustic facets of Istanbul's past daily traditions, such as the cries of firemen (tulumbacılar) and street vendors are already lost due to a lack of protection. We see them in films or read about them in books, but we cannot hear them. We do not know their exact qualities. Only imagination can enliven them in our minds.

Thus, I aim to prevent at least the extinction of the present city's acoustic environment and to keep it for following generations.

3.3 *How?*

At present, the preliminary research toward the museum project consists of a review of primary sources, followed by soundwalking. The latter is a walk focused on listening and discovering the acoustic environment (to be discussed in greater detail below). Based on the soundwalk's findings, further, more focused research into textual sources continues, which in turn determines an adjustment of focus for additional soundwalks. As a result, a table of key traditions and daily habits including both the past and the contemporary city, day and night, will emerge for each region.

3.3.1 *The Process: First Steps*

As I mentioned above, my departure point is the daily city culture and then as a second step, exploring its sonic values. (Çevikayak, 2012) Starting from the historical aspect, the history of the city has led to determining and selecting the neighborhoods I currently investigate.

The chosen neighborhoods are Karaköy, Galata, Beyoğlu, Pera, Eminönü, Beyazıt, Ahırkapı, Kumkapı, Fatih, Eyüp, Balat, Beşiktaş, Ortaköy, Kadıköy and Büyükada. They all have a rich cultural history and have housed people from diverse ethnic backgrounds, different religions and with various languages since the first Megaran settlement was established starting in 8/7th century BC.

The pace of Istanbul can be clearly observed in these regions as they are located in the heart of the city. To have a better understanding and comprehensive knowledge, I have conducted library research for each region. This research is supported by systematic soundwalks before, during and after the studies, all of which have a different approach to sonic exploration. During the soundwalks, I have examined whether the daily traditions that I have determined from my research also have sonic values. I have created a sample table (Fig.1) consisting of past and contemporary traditions of the neighborhood of Pera, and I will prepare detailed tables for each region according to my findings which are the fundamentals of *Cultural Soundscape*.

Figure 1. Table showing past and contemporary traditions of Pera. (Note: since each neighborhood has a different demographic and cultural make-up, this is no to be considered a representative sample of the entire city. For example, drums used to wake up people at sunrise during Ramadan are not commonly encountered here).

3.3.2 *Soundwalking*

Soundwalking was born out of curiosity about how it can be adapted and engaged as a methodological tool, both for academic qualitative research and for artistic purposes. It has always been of particular importance for acoustic ecology as well as disciplines such as contemporary performing arts (Paquette & McCartney, 2012).

A soundwalk consists of a walking tour concentrated on listening to the surroundings. It is most effective when standing at certain points with eyes closed, focusing only on listening. A soundwalk may result in different findings according to the soundwalker's previous knowledge about the area explored. It can be applied at three levels, paralleling three phases of research: discovery, observatory and analytical soundwalking.

No Knowledge   → Discovery Soundwalking
Some Knowledge   → Observatory Soundwalking
Adequate Knowledge   → Analytical Soundwalking

Firstly, soundwalking without having any idea about the area is discovery soundwalking since whatever is heard is new and maybe not yet meaningful. Secondly, knowing some information about the region turns soundwalking into an observatory action. This knowledge makes the area theoretically familiar to soundwalkers and encourages them to seek clues about what they know. Lastly, when soundwalkers are knowledgeable enough about the zone, they reinforce what they already knew by catching additional small details.

In the step of collecting information about the areas of Istanbul, all levels of soundwalking have been applied. In other words, all regions that are covered in this project - Karaköy, Galata, Beyoğlu, Pera, Eminönü, Beyazıt, Ahırkapı, Kumkapı, Fatih, Eyüp, Balat, Beşiktaş, Ortaköy, Kadıköy and Büyükada - have been visited at least three times, according to the type of soundwalking outlined above.

3.3.3 *Significance Assessment*

Significance assessment is a common and important method applied in museums to evaluate an item's value and appropriateness for the collection during the process of accessioning. Once I have created tables of characteristic traditions and their sonic representations, further research is needed to assess their significance. The assessment process consists of analyzing the soundscape element, gathering information, researching its history, provenance and context, comparing it with similar items, understanding its values, consulting people, and finally writing a statement of significance (Russel &Winkworth, 2009); in other words, a concise summary of the values, meaning and importance of the object (Russel &Winkworth, 2009). The significance assessment has to be done for each and every sound, to understand its values and meanings. It also shows whether the determined sonic reflections are appropriate for the collection of the Sound Museum of Istanbul, as it is meant to be a systematic collection. A systematic collection requires the collector to be consistent and related to the theme when collecting (Pearce, 1991), and an assessment of significance will help deciding on what to include or exclude. This examplebelow demonstrates why that specific sound item is important and how it is connected with the theme:

The first tramway of Istanbul, which was a horse-drawn type, started to operate in 1871. Before horse-drawn tramways, fiacres and phaetons were hardly affordable for middle-income families. A great demand occurred for horses with the Balkan War in 1912. Since the horses were all used for war purposes, there was a lack of transportation as tramways were the only way of transportation at that time. In 1914, electrical tramways were introduced. Over time, Istanbul expanded very much, and this has led to a search for alternative ways of transportation. Due to tremendous traffic problem in Istanbul, there are only a few tramway lines left today and just two of them are nostalgic tramways. In today's Istanbul, although there is another nostalgic tramway on the other side of the city, you can hear this sound only on Istiklal Caddesi, Beyoğlu. The other tramway has no sonic value and almost disappears in the urban fabric. Despite the fact that the sound of the tramway bells is similar to that of other cities and other countries, each one has a different meaning and history behind. In Istanbul, the sound of the tramway bells symbolizes Istiklal Caddesi, Beyoğlu. It is a very characteristic sound which has a strong relationship with the place where it is located. It has a great contribution to the sonic environment of both the zone and the city. Moreover, the nostalgic tramway of Beyoğlu not only contributes to the acoustic environment of today's Istanbul but also represents the historic sonic values, such as sounds of horsewhips and bugles and cries of *vardacılar* who were shouting *"the tramway is coming, get out of its way"* to warn people in the streets. Having these strong meanings, this sound fits perfectly to the theme of the exhibition which is *"Cultural Soundscape of Istanbul."* Since the aspect is related to culture and its reflections on the acoustic environment, *"The Sound of the Tramway in Beyoğlu"* is a unique piece of the collection.

4   ARCHIVE

Deciding on the most important characteristic cultural soundscape elements, I will record and archive these in an appropriate manner.

I will record the sounds with the method of binaural recording. Binaural recording is done with two microphones in order to give a sense of depth. Then I will transfer the recordings to the digital library. This arrangement of sound recordings will be done according to the ontological representation of the *Cultural Soundscape*, which I will explain below.

R. Murray Schafer, who was the first to propose the term soundscape, has directed the *World Soundscape Project,* including many studies and research project from the 1970s to the 2000s across the world. The recordings collected during these studies are kept in a digital library called the *World Soundscape Tape Library*. For this archive, a formal semantic representation of a library has been developed based on the soundscape taxonomy outlined by Schafer (Thorogood, Pasquier & Truax, n.d.). Departing from this point, the Sound Museum of Istanbul needs a model appropriate for its own specific context.

The ontological representation of *Cultural Soundscape* is mainly a categorization method for cultural sounds in order to archive them systematically. To classify these intangible cultural heritage elements, I need to pick up specific terms to define the concept clearly and I need to arrange tags to find the sounds easily in the digital archive. This ontological model will facilitate placing the cultural sounds of Istanbul according to their various qualities, such as source, type, zone, and frequency of repetition, and tags will be determined accordingly, such as food, entertainment, religion, daily, weekly, annual, at night, during the day, etc. For example, some traditions are daily actions, such as call to prayer which is heard five times a day. Therefore, for this sound item, the tags would be religion, daily, during the day and at night, as well as the name of the zone in which it is located. This is in contrast to annual events, such as national and religious festivals, which happen only once a year. With this example, a different aspect of the model arises: I need to clarify the frequency of repetition that contributes to their meaning in cultural identity as well. Hence, this model does not offer a simple classification method by demonstrating only the physical qualities –location, source, and type– of cultural sounds, but it provides a deepperception of evaluating the essence of the cultural sonic values in the context of city life.

5   EXHIBITION

Having been determined, recorded and archived, the most characteristic cultural sounds of Istanbul can now be displayed within a well-designed exhibition in order to communicate the museum's message. According to Beverly Serrell, an authority on museums, deciding on the *Big Idea*of the exhibition is the very first step of the entire process (Serrell, 1996). The *Big Idea* tells the general concept of an exhibition with one sentence or statement. Considering the main message, the big idea of this exhibition is the following: *What you hear in this exhibition can easily be found and listened to in the outside world, but to be able to do so, you have to, first, hear them consciously.* I would like to emphasize the importance of approaching the sonic environment consciously. The Sound Museum of Istanbul also has the purpose of protecting sounds that are about to disappear from urban culture and providing an accumulation of sound heritage for future generations.

Most residents are not aware of the sounds collected, despite being immersed in them every day; on the other hand, for foreign visitors, visuality is more dominant when discovering the city. This museum aims to increase awareness of sonic culture and, at the same time, to create a unique experience for all visitors through the exhibition. Since my target group includes domestic visitors and tourists, the behaviors and characteristics of both need to be considered. The message I wish to convey requires the museum to be visitor-based in terms of participation and experience. Nina Simon explains the concept of participatory museum and what is intended by participation in this way:

> The goal of participatory techniques is both to meet visitors' expectations for active engagement and to do so in a way that furthers the mission and core values of the institution. Rather than delivering the same content to everyone, a participatory

institution collects and shares diverse, personalized and changing content co-produced with visitors. It invites visitors to respond and add to cultural artifacts, scientific evidence, and historical records on display. It showcases the diverse creations and opinions of non-experts. People use the institution as meeting grounds for dialogue around the content presented. Instead of being "about" something or "for" someone, participatory institutions are created and managed "with" visitors. (Simon, 2010)

Therefore, beyond my studies and recordings, visitors will be able to contribute to this accumulation as well. There will be a specialized area for exchanging ideas and sharing sonic memories. This sound heritage and culture belong to Istanbul, to its residents and to the entire humankind, and everyone has the right to contribute and to protect it.

A statement from the *Excellence and Equity* report of the American Association of Museums explains exactly my point of highlighting the importance of soundscape*: "Objects are no longer viewed solely as things in themselves, but as things with complex contexts and associated value-laden significance"* (AAM, 1992). For this reason the museum, in general, will be designed as a sonic space in which the audience gains aural experiences, rather than an object-centered museum where visitors are only viewers. This design decision can be supported with another statement from the same report*: "Changing interpretive approaches will have a strong impact on museum collections and the public's understanding of them"* (AAM, 1992).

Now I will turn to various aspects of the design process, such as the technology, colors, lighting and graphics. The sounds will be communicated to the audience through directional sound technology, which operates like an audio spotlight. In other words, speakers send sound waves to a particular direction, and visitors cannot hear the sound outside this specific direction. Using this technology for each sound, dispersal of sound waves will be prevented, and there will be no interference with other sounds. Thus, a sound can only be heard if the visitor is in the particular area dedicated to that sound. Outside of those areas, the exhibition space will be quiet. Despite creating experiences, installations are neither the final objective nor the visual focus; they are just the medium used to convey the message.

Taken as a whole, the exhibition makes use of *"white cube design"* approach –keeping the architecture and interior design as simple as possible – to emphasize the sounds themselves. The Museum of Modern Art, New York; can be given as a very successful example in which the focus always remains on what is exhibited. Hence, the space will be designed with a minimum number of visual elements, not more than necessary. For instance, since the exhibition space is silent for those who stand outside the sound spots, gently flashing lights together with an appropriate choice of graphics and colors will be used as indicators of the area of each sound. Moreover, possible unwanted sounds will be prevented to keep the attention on displayed sounds. For example, the floor will be designed with soft materials in order to prevent the noise of footsteps.

A representative map of Istanbul will cover the ground and determine the organization and placement within the exhibition. As the sonic environment needs to be perceived as a whole, the exhibition space will be designed as a unique section without walls or any kind of separation. It will be designed on an open plan, since I want visitors to see the entire exhibition (McLean, 1993). In order to avoid confusing visual elements, there will be no permanent labels. For the duration of the visitor standing in a sound spot, the related label will be projected on the wall. Thus, visitors will see only what they absolutely need to see. The image below (Fig. 2) is a preliminary sketch to visualize the initial idea.

Figure 2. Preliminary Sketch.

Labels will present information updated daily - an example for this kind of a label: *"What you are listening to now is the sound of 'Ahırkapı festival' (Hıdrellez) which was celebrated three days ago in Ahırkapı. Every year in the evening of 5 May, people dance and make wishes by tying ribbons on rose trees to welcome spring."* Sounds will also be updated regularly via live streaming technology which will be placed in the original locations of the sounds. Communicating in a dynamic manner, the exhibition will be alive, just like its content.

In this exhibition, accessibility especially for the hearing impaired is a major issue. Not to deprive them from this experience, vibrations will be designed in accordance with the rhythm of the sound which they can feel in the sound spots. For the visually impaired, information will be provided as tactile experience.

6 CONCLUSION

In the process of working towards the Sound Museum of Istanbul, such steps as assessing the significance of soundscape elements, soundwalking, archiving, and exhibition design will lead to further studies. As this is a multi-disciplinary project, it will bring forth new terms and applications derived from the interaction of various subjects, as well as several additional projects.

First, discovering the *Cultural Soundscape* of the city and determining the significant sounds of daily culture, I will explore whether there is a distinctive soundmark, in parallel to generally visually perceived landmarks, for each zone. A soundmark is the most characteristic and unique element of the acoustic environment. Therefore, it needs to be protected, as R. Murray Schafer states: "*Once a soundmark is identified, it deserves to be protected, for soundmarks make the acoustic life of the community unique*" (Schafer, 1977). Significance assessments, as mentioned above, will play an important role to determine the soundmarks of each region and of the city as a whole. For example, the sound of the tramway bells symbolizes only one specific place in Istanbul. It is a unique sound, thus the soundmark of that neighborhood.

Second, after collecting the essential sounds from the entire city, I will analyze the distribution and prevalence of these sounds. The results of these analyses will help to draw the general outline of the contemporary *Cultural Soundscape* of Istanbul. This outline will then be compared with that of the past *Cultural Soundscape*, as far as it can be reconstructed, to see how changing life conditions affect the sonic environment. The results will lead to a longitudinal study to which future *Cultural Soundscapes* will be added.

Third, as mentioned above, in the archiving process a method will be developed to organize sounds. This method will be turned into a model that may be applied to all cities to classify the concept of *Cultural Soundscapes* across the world.

Finally, the exhibition design – which, I hope, will offer several innovations in display technology – will be planned to allow for easy transportation and travel. Installations will consist of interchangeable and moveable parts to facilitate adaptability to other museums and even to open air spaces.

Overall, I hope that the Sound Museum of Istanbul will help visitors to become aware of their sonic surroundings, to own these intangible cultural heritage elements as an important part of their daily lives, and to protect their cultural identity, as it is partly shaped by sound-related practices.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

REFERENCES

American Association of Museums (1992) *Excellence and Equity: Education and the Public Dimension of Museums*. Washington, D.C.:American Association of Museums.

Cage, J. (1961). *Silence*. Middletown: Westleyan University Press.

Çevikayak, P. (2012). *Attraversoisuoni.Guida non convenzionale per la citta' di Istanbul: Soundtourist*. Unpublished (PhD) thesis, Politecnico di Milano.

McLean, K. (1993), *Planning for People in Museum Exhibitions*. Association of Science Technology Centers.

Paquette, D. & McCartney, A. (2012). Soundwalking and the Bodily Exploration of Places. *Canadian Journal of Communication.* 37(1): 135-145.

Pearce, S. M. (1991). Collecting Reconsidered, In G. Kavanagh, ed. *Museum Languages: Objects and Texts*. Leicester: Leicester University Press. pp.137-153.

Redström, J. (1998). *Is Acoustic Ecology about Ecology?,Reflections on the International Conference on Acoustic Ecology "Stockholm, Hey Listen!"*.

Russel, R. & Winkworth, K. (2009). *Significance2.0: A Guide to Assessing the Significance Collections*. Collections Council of Australia.

Schafer, R. M. (1977). *Our Sonic Environment and the Tuning of the World - The Soundscape*. Vermont: Destiny Books Rochester.

Serrell, B. (1996). *Exhibit Labels: An Interpretive Approach*. AltaMira Press.

Simon, N. (2010). *The Participatory Museum* [online]. Available at http://www.participatorymuseum.org/preface/.

Thorogood, M. Pasquier P. & Barry, T. (n.d.). *Toward an Ontological Representation of the World Soundscape Project Tape Library*. unpublished.

Sharing Zulu cultural heritage on the internet: eNanda Online

Sabine Marschall
Cultural and Heritage Tourism Programme, University of KwaZulu-Natal, Durban, South Africa

ABSTRACT: 'eNanda Online' is a newly established interactive, completely bilingual (English and isiZulu) website project that aims to digitally record and share the oral history and living cultural heritage of a predominantly Zulu community outside Durban on the South Africa east coast. The site contains personalized accounts of rituals and customary practices, memories of 'unsung heroes' and videos with custodians of 'living heritage', along with tourist information. In the long run, the site's interactive character is meant to facilitate community self-documentation. The paper illustrates how this project represents a new approach in the collection, promotion and safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage, allied with the objectives and recommendations of important national and international policies and legislation. It then critically discusses some of the shortcomings and challenges associated with collecting and preserving living cultural heritage on the internet. The paper concludes with some wider considerations about the project's contribution and its potential future.

1 INTRODUCTION

This paper is the result of the multifaceted conceptual, technical and ethical considerations that underpinned the establishment of eNanda Online (http://enanda.co.za), an interactive community website project, which aims to digitally record, share and promote the intangible cultural heritage of eNanda, a historically important township community north of Durban on the South African east coast. Being completely bilingual – English and isiZulu – the site creates online content in South Africa's most widely spoken African language and contributes to the promotion of isiZulu as an important vehicle and aspect of intangible heritage. The site contains oral history interviews, videos with custodians of living cultural heritage, personalized accounts of rituals and customary practices and their perceived significance, as well as personal memories and perceptions of the historical sites along the Inanda Heritage Route. The website's interactive character enables community self-documentation, currently with the assistance of trained students. Apart from preserving cultural heritage in an innovative way and fostering the emergence of grass-roots narratives complementing official tourism and heritage discourses, its ultimate aim is to increase community benefits from the area's heritage tourism by facilitating a more direct link between hosts and guests.

From a technological perspective, the project ties in with current international trends towards the digitization of heritage, on-line access to heritage resources, and user-generated content on

the internet. In terms of tourism, it relates to the needs and expectations of 'new tourists' for immersive, interactive experiences, the ability to map their own journeys and have more direct contact with host cultures. It is also aligned with diverse international and South African policies ranging from digitization; the conservation, management and promotion of intangible heritage; to cultural and heritage tourism; education and community development. Yet, despite its myriad potential benefits, the conceptualization of the website and the process of data collection and presentation also resulted in a number of unforeseen challenges and critical issues, often of an ethical nature. This paper explores the contribution of eNanda Online not only as a place of storage and distribution of digitized heritage material (videos, texts, images, sound files, etc.), but as an instrument for the identification and collection of such material, which – in conjunction with tourism – ultimately facilitates the 'heritagization' of lived local culture.

2 INTANGIBLE CULTURAL HERITAGE – POLICY AND LAW

In South Africa, the oral heritage and living culture of the African majority, including the Zulu speaking community, were historically not only subjected to marginalization and sometimes misrepresentation, but also largely left without any official status of protection, as the prevailing heritage legislation focused almost exclusively on built structures and historical objects. After the first democratic elections in 1994, new legislation and policies were drafted to redress this historical imbalance by including the multifaceted tangible and intangible heritage resources of all South Africans (Manetsi, 2011; Hall, 2006; Deacon *et al,* 2004; Dondolo, 2005). The 1996 White Paper on Arts, Culture and Heritage states that attention must be paid to 'living heritage' and that "means must be found to enable song, dance, story-telling and oral history to be permanently recorded and conserved in the formal heritage structures" (1996: 5.2).

In 1999, the National Heritage Council (constituted by the National Heritage Council Act of 1999) was set up with the specific objective to - among other – "coordinate heritage management" and "promote and protect indigenous knowledge systems" (NHCA, 1999: 4). The National Heritage Resources Act (NHRA, 1999) promotes a more inclusive, holistic, and democratic approach to heritage conservation that takes into account the multifaceted cultural knowledge, beliefs and ritual practices of black communities and stipulates their active involvement in the conservation and management of heritage resources. Importantly, the post-apartheid heritage conservation legislation devolved responsibility for the identification of locally important heritage to the local level, including communities – both with respect to tangible sites and the intangible heritage associated with them.

However, the NHRA (1999) safeguards living cultural heritage only as far as it is attached to tangible heritage and the South African Heritage Resources Agency (SAHRA) remains ultimately focused on the conservation of sites and objects. In reality, heritage authorities are rarely trained and sufficiently equipped to meaningfully involve communities in heritage management, or to collect, inventorize and safeguard oral histories, memories and living heritage practices associated with the built historical environment (Manetsi, 2011; Hall, 2006; Deacon *et al,* 2004; Bakker, 2011). The legislation does not even specifically consider intangible heritage as an inherent component of *every* heritage site and as a result, notes Bakker (2007: 18), heritage presentations and site interpretations tend to be formulaic and sadly miss out on opportunities for a rich layering of meaning created by diverse cultural associations.

UNESCO's (2003) adoption of the *Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage* marks the culmination of international heritage conservation efforts to protect and promote the oral heritage, ephemeral practices and living traditional culture *per se,* not only as associated with tangible heritage. Although no doubt a milestone in the international field of cultural heritage conservation, the convention has also sparked much debate, including on the African continent, about matters of interpretation, implementation, and ownership; the intangible or 'living' cultural heritage has remained a slippery concept (e.g. Bouchenaki, 2007; Kurin, 2007; Keitumetse, 2006; Aikawa-Faure, 2008).

In an attempt to consult with stakeholders about the implementation of the 2003 UNESCO convention in South Africa and define a nationally coordinated management framework for the heritage sector, the Department of Arts and Culture (DAC) developed the Draft National Policy on South African Living Heritage (Living Heritage policy, 2009). The Living Heritage policy is

based on the UNESCO convention's definition of intangible heritage, but prefers the term 'living heritage' to emphasize the 'continuity of heritage' (Living Heritage policy, 2009: 20), i.e. the underlying cultural logic of African knowledge systems and world views. The latter were actively discouraged and disrupted during the colonial and apartheid eras, where African tradition was often associated with primitivism, backwardness and superstition. The Living Heritage policy explicitly includes popular memory as an aspect of living heritage, as this became an important counterpart to the official emphasis on preserving colonial buildings and artefacts during the apartheid era (2009: 9; see also Deacon *et al*, 2004).

3 AGENCY IN THE SAFEGUARDING OF INTANGIBLE HERITAGE

In many parts of the world, museums are considered the most appropriate institutions for collecting and preserving aspects of intangible heritage and a few have excelled in this regard (e.g. Kurin, 2007; Māhina-Tuai, 2006; Van Huy, 2006). In South Africa, too, many museums have established oral history projects and community outreach programmes focused on living heritage, especially since 1994. The intent is to research and document local cultural heritage, while simultaneously attracting 'new audiences', affirming the relevance of the museum or heritage site for surrounding communities, and – in some cases (notably the District Six museum in Cape Town) link oral history collection with social activism and advocacy for social justice (Coombes, 2003; Rassool, 2006). But museums ultimately remain focused on collecting artefacts and cannot do justice to the complex, multifarious tasks of documenting living traditions, much less ensuring that living culture is safeguarded *in situ* (Kurin, 2007: 14).

Where museums indeed conduct research, collect and diligently record intangible heritage material, using the latest digital technology, the question remains how to store, present and interpret these facets of intangible heritage for a wider audience and how to use these resources effectively for the management and safeguarding of such cultural knowledge. South Africa has a long history of missionaries, anthropologists and other researchers conducting ethnographic research and documenting 'tribal customs' and folklore without necessarily consulting their subjects on how these cultural expressions should be collected, represented, for what purpose and according to which criteria of authenticity.

In the post-apartheid South African context, consultation and active community participation are considered indispensable, but when state-funded museums and even purpose-established conservation bodies, as proposed by the Living Heritage Policy, are in charge of collecting living heritage, the danger prevails that officials and bureaucrats set the agenda and provide the directive about what cultural expressions should be included or excluded, approved or discouraged. When the Living Heritage Policy talks about 'cultivating good living heritage' (2009: 57) and stipulating that living heritage must comply with the Bill of Rights, the principles of sustainable development and the African philosophy of *ubuntu*, one might worry about censorship and the dominance of top-down 'politically correct' interpretations over the diverse meanings that individuals and communities may attach to their rituals and cultural expressions.

While the UNESCO Convention provides no guidance with respect to the agency or organization that should preferably be in charge of safeguarding the intangible heritage, it is important to note that it emphasizes the active participation of the practicing cultural communities (or individuals) themselves (UNESCO, 2003: Article15). In the first instance, a tradition must be safeguarded by keeping it alive and actively practiced in the community, not by storing a documentary record of it in a museum or archive. Internationally, policy makers, conservation agencies and academics agree that communities as the custodians of cultural knowledge and as producers and 'consumers' of traditional cultural practises must play a central role in the identification of intangible heritage worth safeguarding, the determination of criteria of authenticity and the mechanisms of safeguarding and management (Kurin, 2007).

Kurin (2007: 160) recommends that

> members of the relevant communities can and should be encouraged to do participatory self-research and documentation, work with civil scholars in devising and carrying out inventory activity, work with museums, performing arts centres, pub-

lishing houses, universities and the like on the presentation of their [intangible cul-
tural heritage] …

The South African Living Heritage policy (2009: 14) also asserts the centrality of community participation and assigns the state with a duty to help people record their heritage. This paper suggests that websites such as eNanda Online can be an important mechanism for the documentation and safeguarding of living heritage in conjunction with, or as independent alternatives to, statutory bodies and memory institutions. An interactive website is not only an accessible, dynamic multimedia database for the inventorization and storage of living heritage, but it can also become a vehicle for community-based self-documentation and a grassroots forum for negotiation and debate about criteria of identification, authenticity, and the changing meaning of cultural heritage practices.

4 HERITAGE, DIGITIZATION AND THE INTERNET

4.1 *The role of ICT internationally*

The role of digitization and information technology in relation to cultural heritage is often thought of in terms of the digital conversion, storage and presentation of heritage-related material, such as documents, paintings, photographs of artefacts, videos or sound recordings. Internationally, initiatives such as Europeana (http://www.europeana.eu/), a web portal linking Europe's leading museums, galleries, archives and libraries, or the Google Art Project (http://www.googleartproject.com/), which takes the cameras used in Google Earth Street View into the world's most famous museums and facilitates a virtual visit with highly detailed zoom view of the artefacts, potentially reaches people who would otherwise never have entered such institutions.

Web-based spaces have also gained some international popularity as purpose-designed archives and forums for the presentation and sharing of local cultural knowledge and intangible cultural heritage (e.g. Cabral, 2011; Affleck & Kvan, 2008; Solanilla, 2008). In some cases such sites are linked with memorialization, as in the September 11 Digital Archive (http://911digitalarchive.org/) where memories of the tragic event and those who died are collected and shared (Walker, 2007; Foot, Warnick & Schneider, 2005). In other cases, documentation of oral histories and cultural practices is linked to preserving heritage and bolstering local identity and tourism, as in the Mediterranean Voices project in Southern Europe (http://www.medvoices.org/; see also Robertson, 2006). With the advent of Web 2.0 technology from the late 1990s, such sites have become interactive, promoting user-generated content, soliciting comments, facilitating collaboration between different users, and linking with a host of social networking sites, video sharing sites, blogs and other web applications.

4.2 *ICT and ICH in South Africa*

It is of course no coincidence that such projects are mostly found in the developed world. On the technologically underdeveloped African continent, computer literacy, access to PCs and especially to the internet, are still very low in comparison. In 2012, only 7% of the world's internet users were located in Africa (Internet World Stats, 2012). It has been calculated that the aggregate bandwidth of an average African university equals that of a single European or North American household, and that the former pays 50 times more for far lower capacity than the latter (Song quoted in Alegi, 2012: 210). In South Africa, 17.4 percent of the population had internet access in 2012 according to Internet World Stats (2012), while other sources say close to 20% (Speckman, 2012). However, mobile phone penetration is very high and increasingly South Africans are accessing the internet through their phone, as smartphones and ordinary phones with internet connectivity have rapidly spread within the past few years. "Mobile phones are fast becoming the African PC" (Greyling & McNulty, 2011a: 266; see also 2011b). Even without internet access, mobiles phones are powerful devices for the digital recording, storage, and dissemination of indigenous knowledge and intangible heritage, as almost all mobile phones today are equipped with camera, video, and voice recording functions, as well as blue tooth.

At the beginning of the post-apartheid era, the White Paper on Arts, Culture and Heritage (1996: 5.2) recommended that living heritage should be permanently recorded and conserved within the formal heritage structure. Although the White Paper predates the widespread usage of the Internet, the recent National Policy on the Digitisation of Heritage Resources (2010: 19) concludes that "it is fair to include the Internet into today's information environment as an (sic) practical alternative for the distribution of the products of heritage". The latter policy includes in its scope digital born resources, as "today's records are tomorrow's heritage" (Digitisation Policy, 2010: 12), but its main concern is the recording with digital technological devices of 'born non-digital' resources, including those relating to living heritage. The policy even recommends the establishment of a National Digital Repository for the Living Heritage; it views the emergence of digital heritage as an opportunity for a single and unified heritage management policy in a historical context of separation and division (Digitisation, Policy 2010: 12/13).

Most museums, heritage sites and memory institutions in South Africa have websites, some of them interactive, but the utilization of such sites as strategic tools for the community-based collection of intangible heritage material is rare. Among the exceptions is Sowetouprisings.com, an interactive website project associated with the Hector Pieterson Museum in Soweto. Developed in 2007 by the University of Witwatersrand fine art students, Ismail Farouk and Babak Fakhamzadeh, as part of an academic research project, this educational and commemorative online space is structured around routes – routes taken by the different groups of students on that fateful day of June 16 1976, routes taken by the police, the funeral route taken in remembrance of the dead (Avalon Memorial Route), etc.. Viewers are invited to submit comments and identify further points of interest. A blog, administered mostly by Farouk, contains a variety of images (hosted on Flickr), research articles, short videos by the artists and audio files containing interview material with survivors. Anyone can upload material although few have done so; unfortunately, the site has not developed much in the past three years (see also Marschall, 2013).

The Ulwazi programme, initiated by Elizabeth Greyling and developed in conjunction with Niall McNulty, is funded by the eThekwini Municipality and administered through the municipal library system. Utilizing open source and social media applications, this pioneering interactive web portal aims to develop user-generated content for compilation in an 'Indigenous digital library' (Greyling & McNulty, 2011b and 2011a; see also McNulty, 2013). Volunteer fieldworkers, mostly young people with some ICT skills, are deployed throughout the municipal area to conduct oral history interviews with older members of the community about history, cultural practices and other community issues. Supported by audio and sometimes video recordings, stories are written up and posted on the internet in either English or isiZulu with short summaries in the respective other language. Members of the public can also submit information for posting on the site. The project involves working with learners at township schools, generating awareness about heritage and culture, while developing ICT skills and media literacy.

5 ENANDA WEBSITE PROJECT

5.1 *Brief description and structure of eNanda Online*

The eNanda Online project shares many similarities with the Ulwazi programme; its technological infrastructure is likewise designed by McNulty; and its geographical focus overlaps, as eNanda is part of the eThekwini Municipality. However, being funded through research grants, eNanda Online is independent of the vagaries of local governmental politics and policy directives attached to municipal funding (McNulty, 2013: 51-52, 63). In the long run, it is envisaged to accept a small advert from a suitable private sector enterprise to make the project financially self-sustainable indefinitely. Other differences include its focus on cultural heritage, tourism, and a commitment to complete bilingualism. Through its link with the Cultural and Heritage Tourism Programme, university student volunteers, some of them emanating from eNanda, will always be playing an important role in the collection of material, as well as training people in the community.

eNanda Online is meant to grow into a vast reservoir of cultural knowledge and heritage resources in the future. Material is collected and presented in four categories: History & Memories contains historical documents and images of eNanda; oral histories about unsung heroes; memories of the area in 'the olden days'; as well as personal memories associated with the celebrated leader figures and heritage sites that form the backbone of the Inanda Heritage Route. The category 'Culture & Heritage' features local cultural knowledge, beliefs, customs, rituals and traditions, as well as contemporary artistic performances. The 'Tourism' category, currently still in its infancy, is designed to feature tourist guides and community-based service providers for direct access by potential tourists. It also functions as a feedback forum from those who have visited - an opportunity to upload, not just download – hence facilitating a demand-orientated dialogue that can help locals improve and expand their services. The category 'Community', also still underdeveloped, features churches, NGOs and other community-based organizations and spaces that would like to draw the attention of tourists, but are currently not part of the established heritage route.

With the written consent of the participants, mobile phones are used to produce voice recordings of interviews, still pictures and sometimes video footage. In some cases, videos are recorded twice, in English and isiZulu; in other cases, verbatim translations are produced to attain full bilingualism. The long-term aim is a gradual move towards community self-documentation through student-facilitated awareness and training workshops in schools, churches and NGOs. Many people are already in the habit of taking pictures or videos of a wedding or ritual ceremony within their community, sometimes sharing them with family and friends. eNanda Online essentially invites local people to store and share some of this visual material with a broader public, soliciting feedback through the comment feature and integration with social media, notably Facebook and Twitter, and hence contributing to the promotion and transmission of age-old living heritage through cutting-edge technology.

5.2 *Negotiating cultural identity*

The foundational premise of the UNESCO convention was that intangible cultural heritage all around the world is truly endangered. In contemporary South Africa, too, the intergenerational transfer of indigenous cultural knowledge is increasingly disrupted due to factors such as urban migration, fragmented family structures, HIV/Aids, the influence of the media and the general drift towards western values and life styles. Of course, the Living Heritage policy (2009) is correct in stating that despite "the colonial onslaught on living heritage, local communities have been managing their changing living heritage effectively for generations", but scenarios such as "the grandmother telling stories to young people around the fire, the potter making pots according to ancient patterns …" (2009: 14) are in reality increasingly rare in townships like Inanda. Discussions with learners at two local high schools revealed that many youngsters have little knowledge about traditional cultural beliefs and customs and are not much inclined to listen to the stories of elders. Surveys conducted through the eThekwini Municipal Library system confirm this observation (McNulty, 2013).

Only during important community events and ceremonies organized under the guidance of older members of the community and in consultation with traditionalists (e.g. funerals, weddings, coming of age ceremonies, etc.) are young people inducted into the 'proper ways' of their community's culture. "How do you kill a goat?" is a question that might arise for many young men, when suddenly expected to perform the ritual slaughtering of a sacrificial animal at a funeral, explains says Thami Mdlalose, a young tour operator from Inanda (personal communication, 2012). Similar predicaments are faced by young women who have never learnt how to brew traditional Zulu beer, an essential component in the communication with the ancestors and prerequisite item for many cultural ceremonies.

Of course, this is not to suggest that youngsters might google how to perform a cultural ritual, but the increasing habit of browsing the internet on mobile phones; watching videos that feature their friends; stumbling upon discussions about cultural traditions and possibly contributing to some of them, might become a new source of knowledge that complements more conventional channels of communication about cultural heritage. Statistical information derived from google analytics with respect to both eNanda Online and the Ulwazi programme shows that many users are searching for information on Zulu cultural traditions in isiZulu. The interactive dimension of

eNanda Online is very much in its infancy and still heavily dominated by university students, many of them project participants, but even reading through the few existing comments are highly illuminating about the questions young people ask about their culture and differences in meaning they attach to rituals and events. While the Living Heritage policy (2009: 48) emphasizes the importance of formal education in promoting living heritage, a site such as eNanda Online could be considered an informal type of education, which could, however, creatively be drawn into established formal educational channels to forge innovative and engaging modes of trans-generational transmission of living heritage.

The past decades have seen much debate in academia about distortions and misrepresentations of African culture and more fundamentally about issues of power in the research and representation of ethnic cultures (e.g. Clifford & Marcus, 1986). Museums and other memory institutions inevitably become interpreters of the symbolic and metaphorical meanings of artefacts and cultural heritage practices through decisions about the politics and poetics of exhibiting (Lavine, 1991; Hall, 1997). In the eNanda website project, the influence of the author, a cultural outsider, manifests itself in the conceptualization of the thematic categories; the collection of material and the steering of student participants in certain directions; as well as decisions about the presentation of the material, the choice of headlines, captions, coding, etc. But it is important to note that eNanda Online avoids universalized narratives about customs and traditions written by masked authorities. All posts are implicitly presented as the personal perspectives of named individuals at specified points in time.

In this way, a diversity of views on intangible heritage practices and the meanings that individuals attach to them in relation to their own lives, will come to the fore over time, especially through the interactive dimensions of the site. Different interpretations, contradictions and contestations, not only among ordinary people, but even traditional healers and cultural experts, reflect local culture as dynamic and negotiated. For cultural outsiders, including tourists, this might convey a sense of authenticity that contrasts with the static representations of Zulu culture and the essentialized exotic 'other' commonly found at cultural villages, in the tourist promotional media and even some museum exhibitions.

This aspect of the website addresses one of the key concerns of researchers, policy makers and heritage conservation authorities, namely that the documentation and inventorization of intangible cultural heritage – as much as it is essential - can negatively lead to the 'fixing' of stories, the 'freezing' of traditions and the implicit legitimation or authentication of certain interpretations of cultural knowledge over others (e.g. Living Heritage policy, 2009:12; Solanilla, 2008; Kurin, 2007). While all stakeholders agree on the dynamic, ever changing character of intangible heritage, there is much debate on the acceptable degree of change, even within leading international authorities on intangible cultural heritage, such as ICOMOS (Truscott, 2013). eNanda Online places much emphasis on clearly dated recordings to facilitate the long-term monitoring and critical evaluation of evolutionary changes or disturbances of cultural elements, which the Living Heritage policy (2009: 32) highlights as an important objective in the safeguarding of living heritage.

6 CRITIQUE AND CHALLENGES

Digital technology and the storage and sharing of data through the internet are often associated with inclusiveness and the democratization of knowledge (e.g. Alegi, 2012; van Veh, 2012), but these technologies are associated with exclusion and limitations of access in their own right, especially in developing world contexts such as Inanda. Even most schools in the township have no internet access; where individuals are browsing the internet through mobile phones, the costs of bandwidth and poor connectivity remain constraining factors. Many older people are not only computer illiterate, but they are illiterate *per se*. All participants sign consent forms before their story, photo, or video is placed on eNanda Online, as is common practice with most websites of this nature and in line with the Living Heritage policy's (2009: 16) insistence on 'active consent' from the bearer group. However, interviewees and cultural practitioners in Inanda are often insufficiently aware of the potential abuse that can occur (e.g. re-publication of altered material; intellectual property theft, etc.) when making material available on the internet. Despite explanations by project participants, one must critically ask whether these participants have giv-

en their 'informed consent', especially in cases where people do not even know what the internet is.

On the other hand, many young people in particular are in the habit of sharing all kinds of images, videos and personal details about themselves and others with their 'friends' on Facebook, not necessarily always with the consent of the affected third parties. The Durban eNanda Facebook fan page will inevitably be populated with much uploaded material for which no consent has ever been obtained. In short, ethical standards imposed by project administrators will almost certainly be ignored by those contributing through the interactive features of the site, which raises the issue of censorship and control versus authentic community voices and an independent process of community self-documentation.

Digital technologies and the internet have added another dimension and much greater urgency to long-established debates about the multifarious legal, ethical and cultural ramification of the inventorization, display or publication of intangible cultural heritage material. In fact, much of the scholarly literature on intangible cultural heritage deals with critical issues around ownership and intellectual copyright; implications in terms of human rights; and the importance of secrecy in traditional culture, i.e. the consequences of making publicly visible what has traditionally been restricted to a select few (e.g. Brown, 2005; Silverman & Ruggles, 2007; Kurin, 2004; Deacon *et al*, 2004).

With reference to her Batlokwa case study, Keitumetse (2006: 166,167,169) argues that creating and publishing inventories of intangible cultural heritage can potentially degrade the cultural capital of communities, and destabilize the socio-cultural foundations upon which that heritage exists, because these processes make some elements of intangible heritage ubiquitous and hence decrease their existence and use value within the local community context ('familiarity breeds contempt'). In some cases, the less knowledge there is about a cultural practice, the more valuable it becomes at both community and national levels. With reference to Walter Benjamin's (1936) famous essay on the impact of reproduction on the aura of the art work (or unique cultural heritage resource), I have argued elsewhere that universal access both degrades and enhances the aura or perceived value – it depends on the audience and on what we mean by 'aura' (Marschall, 2013).

The expanded audience that results from sharing living cultural heritage material on the internet can result in myriad advantages for the practitioners and the community, as points of contact, spaces of empathy and opportunities for support and networking arise (Solanilla, 2008: 112). The website can create awareness and garner support for local causes, potentially attracting development aid, or forging new supply chains for craft products, or identifying opportunities for the increasingly popular phenomenon of community-based volunteer tourism. One of the explicit objectives of the project relates to increasing the local community's chances to benefit from the tourism generated by the Inanda Heritage Route. As the website provides direct access into local culture, it can help stimulate demand for cultural encounters not advertised by official tourism promotion channels, such as self-organized visits to traditional healers, or taking part in cultural rituals and community events. Surveys regularly show that tourists seek more contact with local people and more authentic experiences of the host's culture (Situation Analysis Report, 2009; NTSS, 2011).

While this can result in much needed economic benefits and other forms of support for members of the local community, there is equally much potential for disaster. Given the area's high crime rate and poor infrastructure, as well as the lack of training and inadequate understanding of the tourism phenomenon within the community, local tourism authorities have devised various quality assurance methods and strategies to prevent tourists from becoming victims of either crime, unscrupulous service providers or other types of negative encounters that could adversely affect the destination image. The website that enables direct contact between tourists and local 'service providers', including those who perform cultural rituals, can potentially destroy what tourism authorities have spent much effort to build. Conversely, not all tourists are responsible, considerate visitors who have made the shift from 'people who stare' to 'people who care' (Millar, 2011: 735), and the website with its sometimes detailed information can lead to disruptive and disrespectful intrusions into community events and practices of living culture.

7 CONCLUSION

Although currently still a very marginal phenomenon, online forms of engagement are likely to increase dramatically in significance in South Africa, especially as they attract the younger generation and as the most sophisticated mobile phones and digital devices of today are going to be the basic standard of tomorrow. Projects such as the eNanda website open up new possibilities and opportunities for the recording and sharing of oral history and living cultural heritage, storing and disseminating locally relevant archival resources, and facilitating dialogue between tourists and members of the community, especially through the interactive dimensions of the site. But only time will tell whether people will actually want to share their knowledge, submit material or leave comments on the site. A cursory glance at many other interactive web projects in the heritage field illustrates that even in the developed world, few seem to bother. In South Africa, internet access will certainly expand continuously over time, but so will the potential options for on-line engagement, as ever more applications and new interactive web-based projects compete for the attention of users.

Of course, eNanda Online will continue to grow through its integration with university programmes, and even in case the shift towards community self-documentation and interactive engagement remains fledgling, the site will increasingly acquire value as an universally accessible reservoir of information on Inanda's history and cultural heritage. As an instrument for collecting the oral history and living cultural heritage associated with the area's historical sites, it responds to the NHRA's (1999) call for safeguarding the intangible dimension of tangible sites. Preserving and representing (e.g. through interpretation) the diverse meanings and customary beliefs and practices that communities attach to monuments and cultural heritage sites has become a key principle in current international heritage discourse (e.g. ICOMOS Ename charter, 2008).

This approach is pursued both to attain a more holistic understanding and appreciation of historical sites and as a way of safeguarding previously neglected and often vanishing aspects of local cultural heritage. Paradoxically, as Bortolotto (2010: 97/98) highlights, UNESCO considers globalization a major threat to cultural diversity and the safeguarding of the intangible heritage, yet UNESCO itself represents a major globalizing force through its international policies and bureaucratic apparatus, as well as through the introduction or imposition of external values and new ways of relating to the past and the intergenerational transmission of culture. The author shows with respect to the case study of Japan, how the terms and paradigms of international (western) heritage discourse are mapped onto the closest available local equivalent, yet often in an ill-fitting manner that leaves gaps and dissonances, as they are improperly rooted in local experiences and world views.

The eNanda website is clearly part and parcel of this international heritage discourse and an instrument of its implementation; it represents another example of a globalizing force, especially in conjunction with tourism, which invariably fosters an externalized, reified, and to some extent materialistic relationship towards culture. Turning living culture, a way of life, into intangible heritage, a resource to be safeguarded and exploited for socio-political or economic gain, is an instrument of modernization and mark of modernity (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 2004: 59). Graburn (2013) perceptively observed that heritage is the inverse of Bourdieu's (1990) concept of habitus. The latter embraces those aspects of culture that are unconsciously learnt, implicitly shared and individually embodied, while heritage is always consciously chosen, explicitly valued and shared – usually with an external audience in mind. One might argue, when people start seeing their own lived culture as 'heritage', something is already lost.

On a more positive note, the interest demonstrated by real and virtual visitors can lead to renewed pride and valuing of traditional culture, especially among the youth. In any society, young people are brokers of a new future, go-betweens of different cultural worldviews and invariably developers of hybrid value systems and practices. Their familiarity with ICT opens up new possibilities for modern 'uses' of old customs or contemporary adaptations of traditional cultural practices. It is hoped that the eNanda project will in time lead to creative ideas and initiatives that safeguard intangible cultural heritage and integrate it with contemporary contexts and modern technologies, while equipping young people with marketable skills and better employment options.

REFERENCES

Affleck, J. & Thomas K. (2008). A Virtual Community as the Context for Discursive Interpretation: A Role in Cultural Heritage Engagement. *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 14 (3): 268-280.

Aikawa-Faure, N. (2008). Safeguarding of the African Intangible Cultural Heritage. In K.Yoshida & J.Mack, eds. *Presenting the Cultural Heritage of Africa*. Rochester: James Curry and Pretoria: Unisa Press. pp. 96-103.

Alegi, P. (2012). Podcasting the Past: Africa Past and Present and (South) African History in the Digital Age. *South African Historical Journal*, 64(2): 206-220.

Bakker, K. A. (2007). South African heritage places - Expanding current interpretation and presentation. *South African Journal for Art History,* 22(2):14–23.

Bakker, K. A. (2011). Heritage as Transmission. *Toward Achieving a More Dominant Narrative of Inclusion. Heritage & Society*, 4 (2): 239–252.

Benjamin, W. (1936). *The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction*. Available at http://www.mariabuszek.com/kcai/PoMoSeminar/Readings/BenjRepro.pdf [Accessed 7 May 2013].

Bortolotto, C. (2010). Globalising intangible cultural heritage? Between international arenas and local appropriations. In S. Labadi & C. Long, eds. *Heritage and Globalisation.* London & New York: Routledge. pp. 97-114,

Bouchenaki, M. (2007). A Major Advance towards a Holistic Approach to Heritage Conservation: the 2003 Intangible Heritage Convention. *International Journal of Intangible Heritage*, 2: 105-109.

Bourdieu, P. (1990). *The Logic of Practice. Original French edition 1980*. Cambridge and Oxford: Polity Press and Blackwell.

Brown, M. F. (2005). Heritage trouble: recent work on the protection of intangible cultural property. *International Journal of Cultural Property*, 12 (1): 40-61.

Cabral, C. B. (2011). Collaborative Internet-mediated ICH Inventories. *International Journal of Intangible Heritage*, 6: 35-43.

Clifford, J., & George E. M. (1986). *Writing culture: The poetics and politics of ethnography*. California: University of California Press.

Coombes, A. E. (2003). *History after Apartheid. Visual Culture and Public Memory in a Democratic South Africa*. Durham and London: Duke University Press.

Deacon, H. et al. (2004). *The Subtle Power of Intangible Heritage. Legal and Financial Instruments for Safeguarding Intangible Heritage*. Cape Town: HSRC.

Dondolo, L. (2005). Intangible Heritage: The Production of Indigenous Knowledge in Various Aspects of Social Life. *Indilinga – African Journal of Indigenous Knowledge Systems*, 4 (1):110-126.

Foot, K., Warnick, B., & Schneider, S. M. (2005). Web-based memorializing after September 11: Toward a conceptual framework [online]. *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication*, 11(1), article 4. Available at http://jcmc.indiana.edu/vol11/issue1/foot.html, last accessed 9/5/13.

Graburn, N. (2013). *Cultural Tourism and Heritage as Learning: Personal Explorations of Alterity and Identity. Keynote address presented at the Conference Tourism and the Shifting Values of Cultural Heritage: Visiting Pasts, Developing Futures in Taipei, 5-9 April, Taiwan*.

Greyling, E. & Niall M. (2011a). The number in my pocket: the power of mobile technology for the exchange of indigenous knowledge. *Knowledge Management for Development Journal*, 7 (3): 256-273.

Greyling, E. & Niall M. (2011b). *How to build an Indigenous Digital Library through Community Participation: the case of the Ulwazi Programme*. Unpublished paper adapted from a paper delivered at the Indigenous Knowledge Technology Conference (IKTC) held in Windhoek, 2-4 November 2011, Namibia.

Hall, A. (2006). Rethinking Heritage Conservation in South Africa in the Post-Apartheid Era: Innovation in Policies and Legislation Since 1994. In *La Dimensión Social del Patrimonio*. Buenos Aires: Centro Internacional para la Conservatión del Patrimonio Argentina. pp. 1:31-35.

Hall, S. ed. (1997). *Representation. Cultural Representation and Signifying Practices*. London, Thousand Oaks, New Delhi: Sage.

ICOMOS (2008). *Ename Charter for the Interpretation and Presentation of Cultural Sites*. Available at www.enamecharter.org/ [Accessed 6 May 2013].

IHR Consortium (2009). *Development framework and marketing strategy for the Inanda Heritage Route*. Situation Analysis Report. Durban: Harber & Associates.

Internet World Stats (2012). Available at http://www.internetworldstats.com/stats.htm [Accessed 2 May 2013].

Keitumetse, S. (2006). UNESCO 2003 Convention on Intangible Heritage: Practical Implications for Heritage Management Approaches in Africa. *South African Archaeological Bulletin,* 61(184): 166-171.

Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, B. (2004). Intangible Heritage as Metacultural Production. *Museum International*, 56 (1-2): 52-65.

Kurin, R. (2004). Safeguarding intangible cultural heritage in the 2003 UNESCO Convention: a critical appraisal. *Museum international*, 56 (1-2): 66-77.

Kurin, R. (2007). Safeguarding Intangible Cultural Heritage: Key Factors in the Implementing the 2003 Convention. *International Journal of Intangible Heritage*, 2: 9-20.

Lavine, S. (1991). *Exhibiting cultures* (I. Karp, ed.). Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press.

Māhina-Tuai, K. U. (2006). Intangible Heritage: A Pacific Case Study at the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa. *International Journal of Intangible Heritage*, 1:13-24.

Manetsi, T. (2011). Safeguarding Intangible Heritage in South Africa: a Critique of the Draft National Policy on Living Heritage. *International Journal of Intangible Heritage*, 6:58-69.

Marschall, S. (2013). The Virtual Memory Landscape: The Impact of Information and Communication Technology on Collective Memory and Commemoration in Southern Africa. *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 39 (1):193-205.

McNulty, G. (2013). Archival Aspirations and Anxieties: Contemporary Preservation and Production of the Past in Umbumbulu, KwaZulu-Natal. *South African Historical Journal*, 65(1):44-69.

Mdlalose, T. (2012). Madlula Travel and Tours. Personal communication, Durban. August 8.

Millar, S. (2011). Theme 3 - Tourism and Development, Conclusion, in Heritage, a Driver of Development. In *Proceedings of the 17th ICOMOS General Assembly*, Paris, pp.735-737.

National Heritage Resources Act (NHRA) (1999). Office of the President of South Africa. *Government Gazette*, 19974(406).

National Heritage Councils Act (NHCA. (1999). Office of the President of South Africa. *Government Gazette*, 19961(406).

National Policy on South African Living Heritage (2009). *First Draft, March. Department of Arts and Culture, Republic of South Africa* [online]. Available at http://www.dac.gov.za/policies/Draft%20National%20Policy%20on%20South%20African%20Living%20Heritage%20_ICH_.pdf [Accessed 7 May 2013].

National Policy on the Digitisation of Heritage Resources (2010). Final Draft for Public Review. August, V8. National Department of Arts and Culture, Republic of South Africa, Pretoria. Available at http://www.dac.gov.za/policies/NATIONAL   %20POLICY%20ON%20DIGITISATION%20V8.pdf [Accessed 7 May 2013].

National Tourism Sector Strategy (NTSS) (2011). *Department: Tourism*. Republic of South Africa. Pretoria.

Rassool, C. (2006). Making the District Six Museum in Cape Town. *Museum International*, 58(1-2): 9-18.

Robertson, M. H. (2006). The Difficulties in Interpreting Mediterranean Voices: Exhibiting Intangibles Using New Technologies*. International Journal of Intangible Heritage*, 1:26-34.

Silverman, H, & Fairchild R. D. (2007). *Cultural heritage and human rights*. New York: Springer.

Solanilla, L. (2008). The Internet as a Tool for Communicating Life Stories: a New Challenge for "Memory Institutions". *International Journal of Intangible Heritage*, 3:103-116.

Speckman, A. (2012). *Cellphones boost SA's internet penetration*. Business Report, 11 May [online]. Available at http://www.iol.co.za/business/business-news/sa-internet-usage-up-25-1.1294028 [Accessed 1 May 2013].

Truscott, M. (2013). *Intangible Heritage and Tourism: Outsiders and Community Cultural Continuity. Keynote address presented at the Conference Tourism and the Shifting Values of Cultural Heritage: Visiting Pasts, Developing Futures in Taipei, 5-9 April, Taiwan.*

UNESCO (2003). *Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage*. Adopted by the UNESCO General Conference on 17 October 2003 in Paris.

Van Huy, N. (2006). The Role of Museums in the Preservation of Living Heritage: Experiences of the Vietnam Museum of Ethnology. *International Journal of Intangible Heritage*, 1:36-41.

Van Veh, K. (2012). Collecting and Curating. How to make a national resource into a global treasure: Paul Weinberg and the UCT Visual Archives. *De Arte* 85:73-79.

Walker, J. (2007). Narratives in the database: Memorializing September 11th [online]. *Computers and Composition*, 24:121–153. Available at www.sciencedirect.com [Accessed 12 August 2011].

Department of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology (1996). White Paper on Arts, Culture and Heritage. All our legacies, our common future [online]. Republic of South Africa: Pretoria. Available at www.dac.gov.za/white_paper.htm [Accessed 24 April 2013].

Terroir-ism: putting heritage in its place

Sita Reddy

Smithsonian Institution, USA

ABSTRACT: While much has been written within sociology and anthropology (and gastro-nomy) on *terroir* as the intangible 'heritage of place', there has been little work on the *place* of terroir in the larger theoretical discourse of intangible cultural heritage and museums. Cultural heritage, after all, has been defined more by the continuity of culture over time, rather than spa-ce; the historical memory of materiality rather than its spatial diffusion. And yet, terroir - the mysterious 'taste of place' that links cultural identity (and wine) not only with geography but with the ineffable, set-apart quality of the Durkheimian sacred – provides the perfect heuristic to describe recent, contradictory trends in heritage practice and place-making, especially within repatriation law and museum repatriation. The paper will focus on a contradiction at the heart of 'musealization' – the unintended consequences of heritage repatriation efforts especially as they deal with pinning or 'fixing' intangible heritage in place. Even as the scope of global heritage interventions has expanded from tangible to intangible culture in the twenty-first century, actual disputes over ownership are marked by an increasing re-localization of heritage from universal museums to source nations and communities of origin. Even as heritage protection efforts worldwide now call for the rationalization of culture through national lists, inventories and registries, museum repatriation manages to *re-sacralize* heritage, pointing to specific ways in which to accommodate intangibles such as sacred or ceremonial content as grounds for repatria-tion. Using terroir as conceptual guide, and recent repatriation case law as archive, this paper suggests new ways in which heritage practice reconciles geographical origin with religion; place with ritual, turning culture into sacred property in order to be returned to its rightful owners, users or worshippers.

1 INTRODUCTION

Sometimes heritage protection and 'musealization' can go around in circles, feeding off each other much like a Jungian ourobouros chasing its own tail. I should begin with the caveat that like all history, this paper is fiction. It is not a lie, it is an honest, even accurate, account of things the author has studied and written about. But in the process of telling and re-telling and *recovery* of heritage, in particular intangible heritage, there are gaps that become visible, con-tradictions that reveal themselves as fault-lines, unintended consequences of making heritage *legible*. (Reddy, 2006). Heritage, after all, is just one form of social remembrance and archival reflection upon the past, not always the most efficient or effective – indeed, as Derrida reminds us in *Archive Fever* (1998) archival remembering is often as much about *forgetting* as it is about remembering. In the act of seeing, each seer creates an image; in the act of remembering, each

account selects memories; in the act of telling, each teller creates a story. As stories go, this is a bad one, being somewhat static and repetitive, and having no human characters in it. This is not my fault, it is the fault of the things I study (objects in museums), the cultural biographies I trace ("returns" across nations and epochs), and the international regime of heritage policy that makes it difficult, sometimes even impossible, for these things to move easily, cross borders, and transcend boundaries – whether these are social, museological, national or legal.

My bad heritage story may lack living characters (even if there are plenty of dead and inanimate ones!), but it has an abundance of drama, multiple plot-lines, and in each instance, a distinct sense of location or place. Because if there is one factor that drives the narrative of international heritage claims in repatriation cases, it is an overwhelming emphasis on place, or rather *imagined* place, that exerts a pull on the objects in question or the source communities from whence they came. The focus in this paper will be on three museum objects or (tangible) repositories of intangible cultural heritage – a 12th century bronze idol from South India; a 17th century Dutch botanical text made in Kerala (printed in Leiden); and an Australian aboriginal traditional ritual song recording collected in the 1960s -- that were all reclaimed by their source communities, whether these were worshippers, owners, or makers, from their respective "universal museums" (Duncan and Wallach, 1980), heritage repositories, or archives. Each of these varied transnational journeys of return -- by the original object or its copy -- defies monolithic trajectories of heritage repatriation, being less about linear movements from point A to B, than about circulations of knowledge that were set in motion by heritage claims. Taken together, they map a larger story about the *heritage of place* in a repatriation discourse that has been dominated by time, the default tendency in heritage studies being to look at the historical memory of materiality (or immateriality) over generations rather than its spatial diffusion across continents. If there is a moral to these stories, it is about the enormous power that place wields over things and people and over heritage itself in attempts to return them to points of origin; and the enormous anxieties it induces of ownership, of belonging, perhaps even the impossibility of "sharing cultures" if the prevailing discourse is about where things came from. Putting heritage back in place has never been more urgent nor more difficult, and – I suggest -- it is in the telling of these (bad) stories that we can highlight the difficulty of the process, both of pinning it down *to* a specific place as well as "freezing" culture *in* place.

A word first about words, and the prevailing etymologies and metaphors that lie behind remembrance of place in the intangible heritage discourse. Heritage itself is interesting from the point of view of etymology and in light of David Lowenthal's distinction between history and heritage, which he sees as inevitably 'fabricated' (Lowenthal, 1998). The Oxford English Dictionary defines heritage (Old French *iritage*, Late Latin *hereditaire*) as reproducibility across generations. It should be noted that the affect or the emotional valence typically invoked in the acts of social remembrance of lost (or forgotten or endangered) heritage – longing, nostalgia, even the Portugese *saudade* or the Welsh *hiraeth* – are often tinged with melancholy about the past, and are about the person (most frequently, diasporic actors) experiencing the loss, displacement, or distance from the thing, homeland, or event. Indeed, nostalgia (from the Greek *nostos*, homecoming and *algos*, pain) refers literally to the physical pain of homesickness as embodied in the person, and specifically to a sickness or *medical condition* induced by loss of place and experienced by homesick Swiss mercenaries in the Alps in the wake of World War I.

Terroir offers an interesting alternative. By contrast with the emphasis on the *person* suffused with longing and nostalgia for a specific place, thing or event, terroir allows us to forefront the object, its unique relationship to the place, and to the many factors (in the case of wine - the soil, the taste, the salinity, the acidity, the *je ne sais quoi* 'chemistry' of the land) that make that relationship both physically and culturally unique. While much has been written within sociology and anthropology on *terroir* as the intangible 'heritage of place', there has been little work on the *place* of terroir in the larger theoretical discourse of intangible cultural heritage and museums, important exceptions being work by Alexander Bauer (2009) and Megan Tracy (2013). Cultural heritage, after all, has been defined more by the continuity of culture over

time, rather than space; the historical memory of materiality rather than its spatial diffusion. And yet, terroir -- the mysterious 'taste of place' (*gout de terroir*) that links cultural identity (and wine) not only with geography but with the ineffable, set-apart quality of the Durkheimian sacred – provides the perfect heuristic to describe recent, contradictory trends in heritage practice and place-making, especially within repatriation law and museum returns. Even as the scope of global heritage interventions has expanded from tangible to intangible culture in the twenty-first century, actual disputes over ownership are marked by an increasing re-localization of heritage from universal museums to source nations and communities of origin. Even as heritage protection efforts worldwide now call for the rationalization of culture through national lists, inventories and registries, museum repatriation manages to *re-sacralize* heritage, pointing to specific ways in which to accommodate intangibles such as sacred or ceremonial content as grounds for repatriation. The paper will focus on this contradiction at the heart of 'musealization' – the unintended consequences of repatriation efforts, especially when it deals with pinning or fixing intangible heritage in place, which in turn opens it up to the larger problems of knowledge appropriation, access, or even theft.

Using terroir as conceptual guide, and recent repatriation cases as archive, this paper suggests new ways in which heritage practice reconciles geographical origin with religion; place with ritual, turning culture into sacred property in order to be returned to its rightful owners, users or worshippers. In the expanding realm of cultural rights and adjudication, terroir-ism - the practice of putting heritage back in place – thus offers a powerful alternative narrative of 'giving back' to the rhetoric of cultural 'takings' by Western museums and cultural institutions. It also shows how in thinking about returns, terroir opens up new spaces in which to discuss the realm of the sacred - sacred knowledge, spiritual heritage, ritual place/worship – as the very basis for heritage claims and repatriation.

My interest here is on cultural *biographies* of museum objects, on where and when place – and the past lives of divine idols (art object), colonial botanicals (sacred gardens), or secret rituals (sound recordings) -- make their own narrative claims on history, mythology and even memory. In the cases that follow, these biographical claims spill out beyond the material into the spiritual, and even the legal to make these objects into cultural *subjects*, even citizens, in their own right. They also offer a way to think about "cultural offense" – and the subcategory of spiritual offense (as in the notion of 'sacrilege') – as the basis for returns, and as the rhetorical and conceptual argument in claims to return objects and their intangible heritage from Western, secular museums.

To make these points, the paper will describe place-based heritage claims around three very different objects: a repatriated 12th century bronze idol (by a South Indian temple that once housed it); a translated 17th century Dutch colonial botanical from Kerala (by descendants of low-caste plant collectors who claim to own the natural knowledge encoded in the book); and a 20th century sound recording of ritual songs in a national museum (by Australian aboriginal elders who reclaimed it – from the public domain - as a form of secret knowledge). Drawn from the worlds of art, science and music, these cases suggest that there seem to be as many routes to international heritage returns as there are objects and places in our now increasingly glocalized world.

2   CASE ONE. ART: DIVINE IDOLS AND PLACE-MEMORIES OF THE OBJECT

My first case deals with an extraordinary court case of art repatriation – the 1986 *India v. Bumper* – in which a 12th century sacred idol was returned from the British Museum to its place of origin in Tamil Nadu, India. My comments will center on how this British case deals with the subjecthood of objects, and the remembrance of place, and takes them both to an extreme. The case itself involved the identity and recovery of a valuable 12th century Nataraja, the South Indian bronze image of the Hindu god Siva in his most familiar aspect as the Lord of Dance. This is certainly not the first successful museum repatriation case of a sacred object from wes-

tern museums – there have even been other instances of repatriated Natarajas on grounds of cultural patrimony, such as the Sivapuram Nataraja from the Norton Simon Foundation; or the Tiruvilakutti Nataraja from the Kimbell Art Museum. And of course in the post-NAGPRA museum world of intangible heritage policy in North America, there have been several successful claims of ownership by native communities over religious objects important to their identity on grounds of sacrilege, privacy or secrecy.

But to my knowledge, the Bumper Nataraja case is the only one in which the *living or animate* character of the religious object was used as the central argument for its return. What makes this case particularly interesting for a discussion of museum objects and intangible heritage returns is that the god Siva himself was introduced into the legal briefs in the London court as plaintiff, as a "juristic person" acting to sue for the return of his icon to India. Here we have the recovery of an idol cast as a recovery of memory, as a reanimation by the deity of the bronze image in which he once resided and was worshipped – an argument that opens all sorts of questions about continued life and identity among expropriated icons. Equally interesting was the fact that place – that is, Pathur, the village where the idol was first worshipped and the temple it was housed in – was imbued with narrative power, and was the defining legal strategy through which this museum object was reclaimed.

The story begins in 1976 when a landless laborer in Pathur, a small village in Tamil Nadu, digging near a temple in ruins, stumbled on ten Hindu temple statues later dated to the 12th century Chola period. One of these was the bronze Nataraja, which entered the international art market when he sold it to a friend, who sold it to an art dealer, after which it changed hands repeatedly until it was smuggled abroad in 1977, and eventually sold in London to a Canadian collector, Robert Borden, for 300,000 Br. pounds. Borden planned to lend the Nataraja to the National Gallery in Ottawa -- transforming it from a commodity back into the public sphere -- but before leaving for Canada, sent it to be cleaned by a conservator at the British Museum, who was acting in a private capacity. In 1982, the Indian High Commission, acting on a tip about a stolen bronze at the museum, requested help from the London Metropolitan Police, who then confiscated the Nataraja as contested property. The investigation that followed led to the trial in November 1986 with the Indian government seeking the return of the Nataraja as *religious object*, and the Bumper Corporation seeking its renewed possession for public display. Concerned at the large numbers of antiquities that were being smuggled out of India, the Indian government made this a test case, engaging in a lengthy and expensive legal battle, which eventually resulted in the statue being repatriated to India in 1991.

There are many things to say about the legal case itself (some of which has been beautifully written about by Richard Davis in *Lives of Indian Images*), but I will mention just two points here, both of which seem integral to the memory of objects and the heritage of place. First, what the judge called "the issue of continued identity". Because the Indian government did not possess a legal claim on the image superior to that of the defendant's, the Indian side enlisted four additional plaintiffs: the state of Tamil Nadu, the Visvanathaswami temple where the statue had once resided, the executive officer of the temple, and finally the fourth plaintiff: the god Siva himself, who laid claim to the idol that had originally resided in his temple. The British judge not only accepted the argument that as a 'juristic personality" the god Siva was party to the case and could claim proprietary rights, but relied for his own judgement on the same Anglo-Indian tradition of case law and formulations used by the Indian plaintiffs. In turn, the defense argued that as the U.K. was a "Christian kingdom", this should have precluded foreign gods from bringing suit! Siva and the other plaintiffs won the case, which gained publicity, clever headlines, and caused some consternation in international art markets, with one dealer warning that potential buyers would have to consider the risk of a 'writ from Siva'. The Nataraja returned to India with great fanfare, accompanied by the Indian High Commissioner to the U.K, where he was reunited with his consort Parvati (one of the other disinterred bronzes) in a ceremony of reintegration, but had to wait to be restored to his temple and resume his life as an image of worship.

The second intriguing feature in the legal case is what the plaintiffs called remembrance of place or "original residence". Relying on the argument "once a religious object, always a reli-

gious object", the Indian plaintiffs presented pioneering evidence to help determine the idol's ownership *by* the temple that once housed it. The archeologist expert offered definitive inscriptional evidence that matched idol to stone temple, and then medieval textual evidence (*the Agamas*), describing how, when a temple was threatened, its deities were to be ritually buried face down on a bed of river shore sand in a 7 foot pit -- descriptions that precisely resembled the context in which the bronzes were found. When asked how a temple in ruins with no continuing worship could lay claim to its buried deities, the medieval citations led the judge to conclude that the temple had a prior claim if even one original stone existed on its site. From this and the weight of the other evidence, the judge ruled that the Nataraja had to be returned to its "residence" even if the temple itself lay in ruins.

Sadly, there is an unfortunate postscript to the story: Siva's crumbling temple was not fit to receive him, and plans to rebuild it never materialized. The Tamil Nadu Archeological Department had marked all the stones of the old temple for restoration, and had also excavated the remains of the temple wall that clearly showed the bronzes had indeed been buried in the temple precincts. Soon after the Nataraja was repatriated, however, the entire site of the temple was bulldozed and a brick and mortar edifice raised to house the deities! With no stone of the old temple in the new, this invalidates the judge's ruling on title. In the end, the Nataraja did not return to his temple in triumph but ended up in the government-maintained Icon Center at Tiruvarur – a concrete vault guarded by armed police and off-limits to all Hindu devotees as well as the public – safe from the rash of art thieves, but unworshipped, and to quote reporters "in danger of metal fatigue, suffocation and heatstroke".

   Tracing the Pathur Nataraja's biography – from the British Museum back to Indian vault - directly juxtaposes several values toward the art object: the Hindu religious sensibility that holds the idol always as an icon of the god Siva; the archeological aesthetic value that sees it as a historically produced work of *sculptural* art; the commoditizing view of the smugglers by which the object becomes a 'cultural good'; and the politicizing view of Indian government officials where it is an icon of sovereignty. These competing narratives reveal multiple layers of moral and ethical ambiguity, each of which carries its own power and anxiety. Thus if at first glance, the case offers a reading in heroic terms – as the triumph of Siva who championed indigenous religious sensibilities against the expropriations of the art market and Western secular institutions such as museums -- a closer reading reveals ironies that render it less heroic, more complex and ambiguous. In the end, the case suggests that there may be limits to the recovery of ritual identity or memory – that gaps in the legal framework, especially when they try to contain *sacred heritage*, reveal rifts and fissures in the discourse that open out into new meanings of cultural property, and new precedents for cultural plaintiffs. In 1989, Stephen Weil wrote an essay on the Sivapuram Nataraja case titled "Who Owns the Nataraja?" arguing with other cultural internationalists that art treasures belong to the world. In light of the Pathur Nataraja case and our discussion of memory and place, a more appropriate question might be 'what did the Nataraja own' or 'where did the Nataraja belong"? If anything, the memory of divine objects in future repatriation cases might signal a coming together of the increasing propertization of heritage (the "thingification of culture"), *and* the personification of things. In the end, through the long reach of place-memory or even past lives - and where they reside - perhaps cultural objects *can* make themselves heritage subjects in the law.

3   CASE TWO. SCIENCE: COLONIAL TEXTS AND PLACE-BASED NATURAL HERITAGE

My second, very different, case deals with place-based repatriation claims of the famous botanical, the 17th century *Hortus Indicus Malabaricus*, a tale that reads like a parable about biopiracy, colonial texts, and *local* knowledge. This story begins in the late seventeenth century, when Hendrik Adriaan van Rheede, the Dutch commander of Malabar (today's state of Kerala, India) in the service of the Dutch East India Company at the time, compiled and published this monumental illustrated botanical text. Begun in 1673 and taking more than a decade to complete,

the12-volume masterpiece marked a climax in late seventeenth-century botanical literature as the first definitive history and survey of tropical botany in South Asia. The exquisitely illustrated volumes included wide-ranging information on the medicinal uses of 740 plants, valuable not only because of its detailed descriptions of the flora of Malabar that drove commercial trade routes and colonial exploration, but also because of its seminal influence on the scientific development of botany, tropical medicine, and medicinal gardens in cosmopolitan centers of learning like Leiden and Padua (when it was taken to Europe). Van Rheede's conceptualization of Malabar as "the garden of the world" persuaded him to make a more fundamental set of associations between landscape and people, and between forests, medicine, and health, all of which were to have a decisive impact on Dutch colonial responses to deforestation. We also know that *Hortus Malabaricus* was the main source for Carl Linnaeus's knowledge of Asian tropical flora, which in turn critically influenced the development of species taxonomy in his *Species Plantarum.*

But even more interestingly – especially for a discussion on place-based heritage claims -- the *Hortus Malabaricus* held tremendous epistemological significance in its reliance on *local* medical knowledge. Unlike other illustrated herbals compiled at the time, Van Rheede relied almost entirely on indigenous collaborators from Kerala: three Konkani Brahmin scholars, who provided textual reference, but more importantly, Ayurvedic physicians from the Ezhava or low-caste toddy tappers, who provided the empirical plant knowledge and functional taxonomies of classification. As historian Richard Grove describes, the main Ezhava informant was the well-known healer, Itty Achudan, who not only shared his community's secret texts but also selected, procured, and classified the plants for inclusion in *Hortus Malabaricus*. In privileging the Ezhava, or non-Brahmin view of the world, Van Rheede transformed not only Ayurveda itself (often understood as an orthodox elite Brahminical tradition) but also colonial botany and thus Western science. Ezhava botanical classifications and medicinal garden schemes were recreated intact in Leiden. Indeed, Linnaeus is said to have directly incorporated both the order and the functional taxonomy originally provided by the Ezhavas. But the real irony here is that although Ezhava ethnobotanical information may live on in global science (Itty Achudan was considered so influential that the entire plant genus Achudemia was named after him), the actual role of Ezhava informants has long been forgotten. Local Ayurvedic knowledge may have transformed the origins of medical botany and Western science but has been written out of global history.

Almost 350 years later, Kerala University (the state-funded university) set out to reverse this extraordinary history with its new English translation of Hortus Malabaricus in 2003. The famous text had defied translation for centuries, and attempts to bring out Dutch and English translations had all failed. Van Rheede's feat was prodigious in that he brought out the 12 finely illustrated volumes in Latin, the accepted language for scientific work in Europe at that time, but he had also employed three other scripts, the local Malayalam, Arabic and Sanskrit, while plant names also appeared in the Portuguese and Flemish languages. Thus, the multilingual volumes, with their copious introductions, forewords, dedications, references, and certificates given by Van Rheede to the native physicians, all of which contained extensive social and historical information about India, had largely remained off-limits to serious scholars and analysts.

All of this changed in October 2003, when Kerala University unveiled the newly translated *Hortus Malabaricus* volumes, presenting the first set to the president of India as a landmark event. Professor of Botany, K. S. Manilal, who spearheaded the university's 30-year translation project, argued that the original *Hortus Malabaricus* represented the earliest example of printing in the Malayalam language. It was the "native heritage" of the people of Kerala, their lost knowledge, a hidden history that the world needed to recognize. In Manilal's view, the ethnomedical information in its volumes was Kerala's cultural heritage but it belonged to all humanity, a formulation similar to one used by cultural internationalists since the Hague Convention. The translation of the volumes thus needed to be widely publicized to highlight the former glory of Kerala and traditional Ayurveda, but it also had to build on the legacy of the Latin *Hortus Malabaricus*. This, in other words, is not strictly a claim of ownership but a routine revivalist

strategy with a golden age view of history—of recovering precolonial Edenic pasts—except that in this case the tradition to be restored was not classical Brahminism but itself constructed through colonial intervention. Indeed recent accounts go so far as to laud Manilal, himself an Ezhava, as a second Van Rheede.

The English translation also set in motion two categories of place-based heritage claims over Kerala's biodiversity, natural history and local knowledge. Beyond epistemology, the Hortus Malabaricus holds a new relevance in today's world where natural drugs are gaining fresh recognition but are plagued by biological patent laws and IPRs. Some patent experts think that translating texts like Hortus Malabaricus into English works as a double- edged sword: It may actually help rather than hinder biopirates and "would hand heritage to them on a platter" especially in the absence of universal acceptance of the Convention Biological Diversity. Their fear is that the translated *Hortus Malabaricus*, now available at US $900 for a set, would enable biopirates to apply for patents without even having to travel to India, as did earlier ethnobotanists.

Almost on cue, the digital bioprospecting project at the Mayo Clinic College of Medicine in Rochester, Minnesota, responded to the news of *Hortus Malabaricus*' English translation with an announcement. Digital bioprospecting is a hybrid approach to identifying the therapeutic potential of medicinal plants, which lies in between ethnobotany, with its reliance on traditional healers, and modern random high-throughput screening that needs no access to traditional knowl- edge. It involves the rigorous comparison of ancient herbal texts with modern medical databases to identify promising candidates for further examination and screening. The program's research wing has already analyzed the other major seventeenth-century text on the tropical botany of Asia: the Ambonese Herbal compiled by George Rumphius. Stating that the *Hortus Malabaricus* was next in line for analysis the researchers stated that working on the translated text would cut down the prospecting time significantly; in this case, they would be able to mine its resources in less than one quarter the time it took for an ethnobotanical expedition.

And this is where we must locate the second response – place-based heritage claims over the botanical text itself: namely, the indigenous Ezhava response that arose in May 2004. Spokespersons for the oldest Ezhava association in southern Kerala, the Ezhava Social Reform Movement, a largely sub-national caste-based coalition in local Indian politics, used the occasion of their centenary to flood Kerala University with letters arguing that future publication orders for the translated *Hortus Malabaricus*, which is now available only by special order, be restricted to those placed within state and national borders. Although a weak political group, the movement has managed nonetheless to articulate an argument in terms borrowed right out of the 1993 UN Declaration on Rights of Indigenous Peoples to land, territories, and resources:

> It is our right to organize over our own biodiversity, our medical knowledge.With the biopiracy that has occurred over the centuries, we don't need to repeat the mistakes of history. What he (Itty Achudan) offered the Dutch colonials was knowledge that had been in our community for centuries."

Unlike Manilal and Kerala University, who argue that the *Hortus Malabaricus* relied on unacknowledged native heritage which now deserves public recognition, the Ezhavas suggest that they own the text on the grounds that their ancestors were its original authors. This is what Watkins calls a classic "cultural intra- nationalist" claim over heritage: a strategic assertion of rights over knowledge that the Ezhavas make as "cultural citizens" (based on caste) that does not disturb the territorial integrity of the nation state.

In the Ezhava view, the appropriate response, now that Hortus Malabaricus has been translated and is in the public domain, is what scholars have called the *secrecy approach in heritage protection*: an inward protective turn intended to restrict the global circulation of

information. One of the radical Ezhava nongovernmental organizations (NGO) took this particular cultural claim even further. They have called for the repatriation of colonial botanical texts like the original Latin *Hortus Malabaricus* from libraries in the Netherlands, Portugal, and the United Kingdom. This is a bizarre variation on selective Native American Graves Repatriation Act (NAGPRA) policy targeted at libraries, where the preferred strategy chosen by vulnerable groups is the policy of restricting information from archives depending on their perceived utility or sacred and ceremonial content.

Whether or not the Ezhava response grows into a social movement or even a strong political resistance remains to be seen. Meanwhile, the very fact that these heritage claims are made at all is worth noting. If anything, the larger question offered up by this case is the indeterminacy of knowing how to *locate* or separate local indigenous knowledge in global histories. As the ongoing *Hortus Malabaricus* dispute so clearly demonstrates, even if we accept that a colonial text or botanical/herbal fixes or "freezes" local knowledge at a particular point in space and time, it is not clear at which point they can (or should) be returned, or indeed how they should be untangled to locate them in heritage policy.

4 CASE THREE. MUSIC: TRADITIONAL RITUAL SONG AND SACRED KNOWLEDGE

My third case focuses on the *digital* return of a form of intangible heritage – traditional music – from the Smithsonian Folkways Recordings (SFR), a cultural institution that its founding director Anthony Seeger referred to as a "museum of sound". Even among the world's museums and heritage repositories of music, SFR is somewhat unique. It is at once an archival collection of traditional music and recorded sound from all over the world as well as a nonprofit record label housed in the U.S. national museum. With a duty to keep its catalogue available in perpetuity and a mission that balances revenue needs with cultural documentation, collaborative curation, and broad appeal to global audiences, Smithsonian Folkways embodies two central constructs that are at the heart of this paper: (digital) repatriation of heritage to place of origin (in this case, music); and circulation of indigenous knowledge (through publication, payment of royalties and license fees). My case study suggests that Smithsonian Folkways' evolving repatriation *practice* may offer useful ways of thinking about museum obligations with intangible heritage returns, and several ways of redistributing individual artists' rights and their communities' rights to control *use* of their music, even when legal rights of ownership remain with the museum.

I should add here that most critiques of digital place-based repatriation suggest that the process is fundamentally flawed as a concept – in that the return of a *copy* to native communities, but not the original object, is an empty gesture, neither a real catalyst for social change nor a transfer of real power and authority. By contrast, a small minority of heritage scholars who write on law and cultural property, such as Rosemary Coombe, have argued that digital returns of indigenous knowledge and intangible heritage, seen from the point of view of cultural rights (as a category of human rights), could in fact be *transformative* for communities. Coombe also recommends a global framework for digital returns – moving beyond U.S.-centric perspectives and looking to UNESCO Conventions as framework – that would allow a look at other intangible cultural heritage genres beyond just the visual, music being key among them. In her view, music is an ideal heritage genre "to think with" in digital repatriation cases for two reasons: 1) recorded music embodies the heart of the worldwide "cultural wars", where the fiercest battles are being fought across continents and international business interests; and 2) music as a category in Western law has the capacity to divorce ethnological content (as in potlatch songs) from the *social* capacities of song, especially through digital technology. Digital returns can thus have far-reaching effects on cultural renewal, social justice, agency and indigenous self-determination, which go well beyond property claims or individual artistic expressions.

At Smithsonian Folkways, while ownership of sound recordings remains with the museum, control over *use* has – in several cases -- been returned to the communities and artists that made the

music. Although this is still some distance from a best practice for all concerned, SFR may in some ways be a pioneer in thinking through the practice of traditional and indigenous knowledge returns. In Folkways Records & Service Corporation's private sector period (1948-1986), its founder Moses Asch paid modest royalties and license fees to compilers or artists, depending on the contract, or bought the recording and all its rights outright. If there were obligations to artists, it was up to the compiler to inform Asch of them for inclusion in the contract. A few years after the 1987 acquisition of Folkways Records by the U.S. national museum, the Smithsonian, in what may have been an unprecedented move in the history of the recording industry, SFR director Anthony Seeger instituted comprehensive royalty reform (ca. 1991) and unilaterally raised the royalty payout rate for every archival Folkways royaltor. Of course no one refused the higher rates. The reform is part of the hidden history of SFR, a commitment to the fundamental value of audible performance and to obligations to artists engendered when they are recorded by a third party.

Shortly after the U.S. presidential election of 2000, in a meeting with State Department cultural attachés in DC about repatriation, SFR thought through and offered a schema of return for the catalogue's North African recordings. The suggestion was to use the help of the State Department to return music to its place of origin. The concept was simply to license back recording rights to communities of origin gratis, or for one dollar, in exchange for a royalty to Smithsonian for each copy made by the licensee. There was no discussion of the question of ownership because under U.S. and international law, the Smithsonian owns rights to the recordings and any financial benefit accruing to publication by virtue of its acquisition of the Moses and Frances Asch Collection.

It should be noted here that the Smithsonian only owns the recordings insofar as Asch owned the rights. In the world of field recordings, s/he who owned the recording device often owned the recordings and thus could enjoy any financial benefit that might accrue from its publication. What was relevant here was the concept of traditional community artists' rights, which first emerged in the 1940s but became somewhat more formalized in the 1970s as "moral rights". But in addition to the legal rights established in contracts and legislation, there are also the complicated questions and issues of museum obligations and responsibilities to the communities and artists whose music comprises these collections.

With this background, I want to focus a single case of digital returns here – a recording of secret rituals among the Western Australian aborigines – from among the wide-ranging and varied forms that museum restitution can take, to show the ways in which SFR responded in practice to ethical issues of rights and redistributive justice for ever-changing communities.

Songs of the Western Australian Desert Aborigines. Recorded by R.A. Gould. Asch Mankind Series, 1972. AHM 4210

In 2006, Richard Kurin, then the director of the Center for Folklife and Cultural Heritage (the institutional home for Folkways at the Smithsonian), got a call from an anthropologist with extensive field experience among the Western Australian desert aborigines regarding questions about the propriety of the recording *Songs of the Western Australian Desert Aborigines* and whether it should be available to the public. On hearing of these questions, Smithsonian Folkways immediately removed the material from public availability while investigating. The Ngatatjara people of the Western Australian desert form a dialect group of a single language (Pitjantjajara), whose sacred traditions are primarily told through song and ceremony. Traditions for initiation rites such as circumcision and bloodletting include varying degrees of restriction of access to one or the other gender, sometimes with harsh penalties if persons of the opposite sex should witness them. At least half of this particular recording included male initiation rite songs – such as the Dingo and Kangaroo cycles sung by adult men for novices (*malulu*) prior to their circumcisions at Cundelee during May-June 1966.

From the point of view of the museum, initial discussion went the other way – shouldn't the recordings remain available to, for example, a female adolescent in the USA – say, a 12 year-

old girl in Midwestern America? The issue of her rights of access to the recording by virtue of the U.S. concepts of free speech, the recording contract with Folkways Records, and copyright law, needed consideration. Yet she certainly would be forbidden by virtue of gender alone from access to these songs in Australia. To consult on how to best navigate this issue, Associate Director of SFR, D.A.Sonneborn, contacted Jane Anderson, then at AIATSIS (Australian Institute for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies) to request consultation with the communities and the recording collections in question. What SFR learned from Anderson at AIATSIS was more interesting than anticipated – the recordings in question were restricted not only from female adolescents, or females, but from everyone! In Australia, they had never been made publicly available to anyone outside the rite: the initiates and their dreamtime collaborators. R.A. Gould, the original recordist in 1966, was contacted and he wholeheartedly agreed that given contemporary concepts of best practices in anthropology and other disciplines that use fieldwork-based material, the album should definitely be taken out of print.

But the issue of access is complicated by the fact that a thousand or more copies had been sold over the years – to students, research libraries and anyone else who may have been interested, including libraries and institutions in Australia. While returning control over use of a recording such as this is an important goal in theory, it raises several questions in practice. How should privacy, and restricted access to traditional knowledge be balanced against greater public access to such material? What are museum obligations to balance respect for the privacy or secrecy of those groups who were recorded, with requests to hear and study them? Should museums consult elders on how recordings must be used after they are collected? There are no simple answers in a museum setting, especially in cases that pit what is known as "indigenism" (which is sometimes linked with corollaries of secrecy and privacy to restricted members of the community) against the open-access model facing the public domain (with its romantic idea of the commons), both of which have their extreme proponents and critics when taken to extremes. As in the past, Smithsonian Folkways, as a national museum of sound, has decided these on a case-by-case basis, when and as questions are raised with particular recordings regarding privacy or being in the public domain. It seems appropriate as our understanding increases that a more proactive policy be developed that will guide ethical returns in terms of control over use – both retroactively with prior recordings that were published in the past, as well as proactively for new recordings that will need all our cultural sensitivities and enduring respect. The album remains unavailable to the public except by in-person consultation visit to the Rinzler Archives.

5 CODA: PAST FORWARD TO FUTURE RETURNS?

In the end, what bigger picture emerges when we examine these very different cases of place-based intangible heritage returns? Can we describe a collective body of best practices without losing the detail and nuance of the particular case? As with art or science or music, so with heritage returns policy in general – seen from the larger perspective of the museum object (or archive), we learn as much from the chorus and harmony as we do from the silences, gaps, fault-lines and any discordant notes. In the vexed field of international museum repatriation and heritage restitution where practice is the only short-term reality and precedent, we would do well to listen to these gaps and fault-lines as ethnographers would – one eye (or ear, if our metaphor is music) pressed close to the ground in the ethnographic present, the other focused way off into the distance (hands cupped to enhance acuity) to discern a more distant past or an imagined future.

Each of our cases raises as many questions as it resolves about both the musealization and the repatriation process for place-based heritage claims. Which, while it may frustrate in the short term, promises a more robust policy in the long term. Taken together, they suggest that even the questions raised by each of these museum returns differ – questions about how to define intangible heritage and knowledge itself; or how to define community, identity, authenticity, tradition, sovereignty, the sacred and indeed, even the past.

The Nataraja case asks if the physical place of origin (including the temple which originally housed the idol!) has any authority over an art or heritage object if in fact it no longer exists and has to be entirely reconstructed from the few bricks that remain. In so doing, it challenges our definitions of heritage or even a source community – in this case, the supposed worshippers of the idol from 12th century onwards, and asks if they are (or should be) the only religious group to whom such an object must always have access.

The *Hortus Malabaricus* case raises the question of how to define a heritage of place in different terms – it asks what, if anything, is *local* about indigenous knowledge as they are encoded in colonial texts, and how returns could right various historical wrongs so that the community retains control over the material benefits that may accrue from valuable knowledge about biodiversity and the natural environment. In our continuously changing world, where knowledge flows are, if nothing else, increasingly 'glocal', how do museums and archives ensure that we save, protect and restitute intangible heritage and knowledge in ethical, responsible and equitable ways that benefit source communities of origin.

The Western Desert aboriginal music case asks us to think about the limits of restricting heritage access and traditional knowledge on the grounds of secrecy or privacy, and about who controls the rights over such sacred knowledge in the public domain – is it the community, the elders or the initiates. Do any of these groups, based on their place of origin, have a moral right to restrict access to heritage when the museum's mission is often to increase and diffuse knowledge.

The larger problem about a heritage of place is that if from even a single country or archive, heritage claims do not always share similar definitions or ask the same questions, how can we begin to theorize returns or ethical obligations across such pluralities of heritage genres across international museums? In *A Broken Record* (2009), Coleman et al. describe three broad philosophical arguments for the restitution of rights in indigenous or traditional music: a) as a subject of customary rights within the originating society; b) as rights arising from agreement between performer and publisher; and c) as a consequentialist argument of the power of music where repatriation of recordings may be important for cultural renewal and self-determination.

In each of the cases examined, it would not be an exaggeration to say that heritage repatriation does all three of the above. Archives of heritage are not only knowledge resources, they are also contested sites of power, sites of reinvention and self-determination. If we treat these diverse heritage sites as mere records or documentation of information about traditions (whether art or science or music), we may end up reifying stereotypes about indigenous groups, denying them some capacity to recover their own traditional resources for creating their own futures. But if we see the full social capacity of documented or recorded heritage (in terms of the *cultural* work that they accomplish), and if we try consistently to redistribute this power and knowledge – to ethically transfer control over use – we will be in a better position to articulate the mission of museum collections in universal survey museums such as Smithsonian Folkways: an archive of "music of the people, by the people, for the people". Seen collectively, the slowly accumulating body of heritage returns described above begin to tell a powerful story – that activities of intangible cultural restitution can, with all their flaws in practice, serve *both* contemporary archival as well as indigenous social needs, at once documents as well as advocates for sound museum practice.

REFERENCES

Bauer, A. (2009). The terroir of culture: long-term history, heritage preservation and the specificities of place. *Heritage Management*, 2(1): 81-104.
Berne Convention for the Preservation of Literary and Artistic Works of September 9, 1886, as amended on September 28, 1979 [online]. Available at www.wipo.int/treaties/en/ip/berne/trtdocs_wo001.html [Accessed June 28, 2013].
Brown, M. F. (2003). *Who Owns Native Culture*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Chander, A. & Sunder. M. (2004). *The Romance of the Public Domain. California Law Review, No. 92, 1331*

Coleman, E., Coombe, R. & MacAlairt F. (2009). A Broken Record: Subjecting Music to Cultural Rights. In J.C. Young & C. Brunck, eds. *Ethics of Cultural Appropriation*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing. pp.179-210.

Davis, R. (1999). *Lives of Indian Images*. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press.

Derrida, J. (1995). *Archive Fever: A Freudian Impression*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Duncan, C. & Wallach A. (1980). The Universal Survey Museum. *Art History*, 3: 448-469.

Christen, K., Bell J. &. Turin, M. (2013). After the Return: Circulations of Indigenous Knowledge. Special Issue of *Museum Anthropology Review*, August 2013 (forthcoming).

Kurin, R. (1977). *Reflections of a Cultural Broker: A View from the Smithsonian*. Washington DC: Smithsonian Institution Press.

Lowenthal, D. (1998). Fabricating Heritage. *History & Memory*. 10(1): 5-24.

Pareles, J. (2005). This is the Sound of Globalization. *New York Times, April 15: Arts Critics Notebook* [online]. Available at http://www.nytimes.com/2005/04/15/arts/music/15glob.html/ [Accessed June 28 2013].

Reddy, S. (2006). Making Heritage Legible: Who Owns Traditional Medical Knowledge? *International Journal of Cultural Property*, 13: 161-188. Available at http://www.folklife.si.edu/resources/center/cultural_policy/pdf/SitaReddyfellow.pdf [Accessed 29 June 2013].

Tracy, M. (2013). Pasteurizing Chinas Grasslands and Sealing in Terroir. *American Anthropologist*, September.

Intangible cultural heritage and museum education: sharing cultures through outreach programmes

Sofia-Olga Papaioannou
Technological Educational Institute of Athens, Department of Antiquities & Works of Art., Aigaleo, Greece

Effrosyni Karantoni
Technological Educational Institute of Athens, Department of Antiquities & Works of Art., Aigaleo, Greece

Georgios Panagiaris
Technological Educational Institute of Athens, Department of Antiquities & Works of Art., Aigaleo, Greece

E. Gioftsali
Democritus University of Thrace, Alexandroupolis, Greece

ABSTRACT: In our constantly changeable world, it is essential to ensure harmonious interactions among people with different cultural identities, as well as to promote their willingness to live together through policies of sharing and participation. Ethnographic museums could play an important role in this direction by the use of ICH which could both offer new approaches to the comprehension and interpretation of museum collections and become "a communication bridge" between different people. The "Folk-Tradition Collections Network" in the prefecture of Florina (Greece) through its fourteen ethnographic collections, except from the preservation and promotion of tangible culture, lay emphasis on the recording and preservation of ICH in order to highlight and promote the local characteristics of each collection. Furthermore, through educational activities, such as outreach programmes, tries to approach the public and bring different people together. The proposed museum kit presented in this article which was designed for the museum of Lehovo consitutes such an example.

1 INTRODUCTION

Our world has dramatically changed during the last two centuries and the international community has entered a period of tremendous global transition due to several and constantly raising changes that have occurred in the social, economical, technological and cultural fields. The new circumstances have raised numerous subjects to be discussed such as globalization, pluralism, multiculturalism, diversity etc. Among these, diversity and specifically cultural diversity is one of the main topics of several articles, conferences and scientific researches. The importance of the existence of cultural diversity, in a world where everything seems to become neutral and homogenous, as well as the need to share cultures in order to understand diversity, seems to attract more and more social and scientific groups.

Culture is one of the main paths that can lead to the comprehension and acceptance of diversity. Cultural diversity, moreover, is described as the "common bridge of humanity" and as such is thought to be essential for the long-term survival of life on earth, such as biodiversity. This was asserted in the General Conference of UNESCO in 2001, mentioning in Article 1 of the Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity that: " As a source of exchange, innovation and

creativity cultural diversity is as necessary for humankind as biodiversity is for nature" (UNESCO, 2001).

People are different in a multicultural society and that difference is considered as a part of shared and intermixed communities (Keniston, 1998). Although, as people and cultures interact, cultural identities change. This process can be either enriching, or disorienting. People either adjust, or feel tension and conflict during the confusing process of adjusting to pluralism. The insecurity that this situation causes has raised a strong urge to return to traditional cultures, old values and the sense of one's identity that insures security.

Cultural heritage is one of the primary sources of identity which could define and shape cultural identities because it helps people understand their origins and their past. Cultural background is one of the main sources of a great deal of self-definition, expression and sense of group belonging. Additionally, cultural heritage, may become "a communication bridge: between different people and social groups because it implements equality and respect and helps us to understand and accept diversity (Chatzinikolaou, 2003).

Cultural Heritage, however, constitutes a complex concept which not only includes tangible, but also intangible cultural heritage (ICH). Those two concepts are directly dependant and complementary; if knowledge is lost, few things can be learned from an object that remains. Cultural Heritage in its entity is particularly important for the survival and the development of society because it combines a variety of information, knowledge and experience of the past which are useful both in shaping people's current life as well as their future decisions. On the other hand, we can detect a contrast between the two concepts. Products of tangible cultural heritage are being characterized by a relative stability over time, unlike products of ICH which are being characterized by strong "liquidity" (Loutzaki, 2003). Therefore, this instability combined with new social conditions such as globalization and commercialization make the need for immediate safeguarding urgent. The process of safeguarding ICH will strengthen cultural dialogue, help people to understand multiculturalism and finally develop respect for cultural diversity.

However, how can we preserve the elements of ICH and therefore cultural diversity in an era of uncertainty and global monoculture where all important factors of life, such as media (television, internet etc) are de facto dominated by a minority of cultures?

Museums could play a key role in this process. Museums could become forums for the preservation of ICH and the promotion of difference as well as places for the development of peaceful relations among the members of community, through policies that adopt and implement cultural diversity and multiculturalism. That is moreover the policy statement of the International Council of Museums (ICOM) on museums and cultural diversity which was made in 1997 by the Working Group on Cross Cultural Issues, and is found in the ICOM "Museums and Cultural Diversity Policy Statement" (Crooke, 2007). The general idea is for museums to become places to promote cultural understanding and puts forward some of the key areas that link to how museums should deal with diversity. The ICOM principles also advocate an 'inclusive museology' that would include increasing awareness of the cultural needs of minorities and the adoption of museum management practices driven by community relations and so better address cultural pluralism. Cultures are equal and museums should be used as a means to celebrate difference and explore it in a constructive manner (Gazi, 2004).

The post museum turns into a more extrovert organization that seeks more links with the community which it serves (Lord, 2008; Marstine, 2006). The modern museum despite being a rather diverse and heterogeneous set, it also enables cooperation between people and different social groups (Lord, 2008).The museum of today seeks to attract more and more groups of individuals and develop dialogue between them. To accomplish this it deals with issues that previously were not considered noteworthy such as racism, human rights, the expressions of intangible cultural heritage etc.

The use of ICH could offer new approaches to the comprehension and interpretation of museum collections. Furthermore, through museums, ICH could play a vital role in sharing cultures and become "a communication bridge" between different people and human groups. Nowadays, modern museums, have given more and more emphasis on the context of objects and the stories that are hidden behind them. Furthermore, through new perspectives, such as the combination of intangible elements, educational activities and outreach programmes, museums try to approach the public and bring different people together.

2 LOCAL ETHNOLOGICAL MUSEUMS: PLACES OF DIALOGUE BETWWEN DIFFERTN PEOPLE AND SOCIAL GROUPS BY THE USE OF ICH

Local ethnological museums collect, study and exhibit the evidence of popular culture of a geographically defined area, thereby promote the "specificity" of the place and its people and contribute to the maintenance of socio-cultural identity (Antzoulatou-Retsila, 2005; Polimerou-Kamilaki, 2008). Moreover, the local ethnological museums reinforce the "collective memory" and the self-knowing of the people of the community, because they are places that connect people with their history and their tradition (Marstine, 2006; Skouteri-Didaskalou, 1994). As Kaplanoglou refers (2002): "The modern ethnographic museum is not limited to viewing and managing the past, but presents a vibrant culture -its continuities and its sections concerning the past- incorporating it into general frameworks and comparing it to other cultures". Therefore, local ethnological museums not only help understand ourselves and enhance the sense of identity, but also confirm the diversity of people and cultures (Dalkos, 2000) and help them develop respect and ultimately accept diversity and one another. Furthermore, local ethnological and folk museums could become places of dialogue and communication among different and various social and cultural groups (Nakou, 2001).

What should especially be noted is that an ethnological museum not only refers to and manages aspects and material from the past, but most of the time presents a living culture (Kaplanoglou, 2002), the diversity of which we should know and treat with respect. For the above reason, the expressions of folk culture cannot be studied without reference to the space, the time, the people and the circumstances in which they refer to and affect (Liavas, 2008; Nikonanou and Kasvikis, 2008), and which in their view is the essence of their own special "being" (Antzoulatou-Retsila, 2005). Especially when we are talking about aspects of intangible culture in folk tradition we perhaps deal with the most living part of the history of a social and cultural group.

Nowadays, the safeguarding of folk tradition, both its tangible and intangible elements, has become a conscious effort. Thus, along with the establishment of many ethnological/ethnographic museums, a soaring of educational programs and activities related to folklore (tradition, customs, legends, fairy tales etc) have been observed in recent years. The use of folk tradition as an educational theme may prove to be valuable as it helps us both understand ourselves, develop respect for diversity and ultimately accept one another.

The paradigm of the local ethnological museum of Lehovo -part of the Network of Folklore and Tradition Collections of Florina- in the prefecture of Florina in Greece, and the proposed educational activity (museum kit) that refers to the intangible elements of the cycle of life in folk tradition, presented below, outline the interest of museums in intangible cultural heritage and the need for sharing cultures, acceptance and promotion of cultural diversity.

3 NETWORK OF FOLKLORE AND TRADITION COLLECTIONS OF FLORINA

In the prefecture of Florina, in the northwestern part of Greece, at the junction with Albania and FYROM, there is a significant number of local ethnographic collections. The prefecture of Florina, being a crossroad of cultures, has a diverse cultural heritage and a complex cultural identity. It is a land of extraordinary contrasts and harmonious coexistence of people, an area with constantly changing images and landscapes. The current population of the prefecture of Florina is a mixture of the native residents and the refugee masses (Asia Minor, Thrace, Epirus) who settled in Florina during the 19th and 20th century (Fotiadis, 2002). Therefore, the collection, preservation and promotion of the variety of features, both tangible and intangible, that make up the cultural face of the region and link residents with their rich past, is a necessity for both people and the local history.

In May 1998, the Prefecture of Florina aiming at organising the scattered but significant ethnographic collections of the region, fourteen in total, under the protection of a common administrative and operational structure, founded the "Folk-Tradition Collections Network" with the distinctive title *Network of Florina*. The *Network of Florina* is a non-profit corporation which aims, beyond the legal protection of the collections, at the recording/documentation, preservation, collection and enhancement of folklore tradition of the region of Florina. The

ethnographic collections of the *Network* consist of objects of historical and folkloric value, illustrating the traditional way of life of the region, as well as of remarkable samples of religious art from churches from the surrounding area. Thus, the *Network of Florina* focuses on the recording of oral history and intangible cultural heritage, in order to highlight the characteristics of each collection and promote the local culture.

The *Network of Florina*, aiming at creating a modern network of ethnographic collections, a touristic attraction and a precise picture of the traditional culture of Florina, in 2008 implemented the European Territorial Cooperation Program of the Community Initiative INTERREG III/A, *Action 2.2: Development of alternative tourism - promotion of cultural and touristic resources, Program: Routes of the Cultural heritage of Florina, Project: Bringing to prominence Ethnographic Material*. In the framework of the program a number of actions were carried out, such as the recording and evaluation of the state of preservation of the artifacts of all collections of the *Network*, the establishment of a comprehensive program for the conservation of the artifacts, the implementation of first aid interventions on selected objects - these actions were carried out by the Technological Educational Institute of Athens (TEI-A) with Prof. Georgios Panagiaris being the scientific coordinator of the program - and the renovation of seven buildings were seven of the fourteenth collections would be housed. In parallel, museological studies were made for the exhibition of the folkloric material of two collections (the ethnographic collection of Lehovo and the ethnographic collection of Filota) and proposals for museum educational applications such as the one that presented in this article.

In conclusion, it could be said that the creation of "Network of Folklore and Tradition Collections of Florina" is an innovation. The ethnographic collections of Florina are the "mirror of life" of the region, focusing on people and their activities in a constantly changing social background. The collections are places of education, entertainment and promotion of cultural diversity and difference. To become, therefore, both the *Network*, as well as its collections, poles of social life and meeting places of people with diverse cultural identities, interests, desires and needs, it is necessary for a variety of cultural activities to be designed and implemented such as the one presented below (Karantoni & Papaioannou, 2009). Therefore, the seemingly drawback of remote and scattered collections can become an advantage for the sustainable development as well as the promotion of cultural diversity of the area.

3.1   *The Ethnographic Museum of Lehovo*

The ethnographic Museum of Lehovo is a small museum unit which was founded in 1976 and is housed in a traditional stone building which was constructed in 1900. The collection of the museum numbers approximately 1000 artifacts of historical and folklore value, which date from the 1600s until the mid 20th century and were obtained exclusively and entirely from the community of Lehovo. The collection consists of objects that illustrate the traditional lifestyle of the people of the area, as well as of remarkable works of art from religious monuments of the village.

The main aim of the museum is the collection, preservation, recording, conservation and study of folk culture and tradition of the region, the promotion of the collections as well as the projection of the specific features of the place. Moreover, objective of the museum is to enhance the self-awareness of the local community, by studying the society that produced the works of local culture (tangible and intangible) and highlighting the cultural identity of the area.

The proposed museological program of Lehovo's folklore collection aims to create a vibrant place of acquaintance with the culture of Lehovo, by projecting aspects of residents' history and everyday life, ranging from the late 18th century to the mid 20th century and up to present respectively.

The museological program is developed in three main thematic axes: family- settlement - society. The thematic units give an insight into the area, the spatial organization, the architecture and design of the houses, the occupations of the residents, the clothing, the diet, the religious beliefs, as well as information on traditional and social life.

The exhibition includes not only objects, but also the 'conventional' visual/informative aids (texts, photographs etc) as well as audio-visual aids and multimedia applications (video, interactive digital applications, audio material), which promote the intangible cultural heritage.

A significant unit of the museum is the one referring to and focusing on family and domestic life. The home as a place of human coexistence constitutes the basic social unit, the cradle, the core of social life. The aim of this unit is to present the space in which the family members lived together, their main occupations, along with the intangible cultural tradition which shaped their everyday life. In this unit, the subunit of "Family events of the cycle of life" is included. It refers to customary acts and superstitions associated with the turning points in a human being's life, such as birth- marriage –death and deals with a wide range of activities, which apart from the material things are directly connected with aspects of local intangible culture (customs, dance, songs, diet and clothing habits, etc.).

Concludingly, we could say that the museological program of Lehovo's Folklore Museum except from the collection, preservation, conservation and study of tangible culture emphasises on the area's intangible aspects. The objects of the museum's collection serve as important evidence of the material culture of the region. However, the presence of these objects requires the existence of expressions and aspects of intangible cultural heritage, an important parameter for understanding the history of a place and a social group, too. By preserving the material culture and its content the museum contributes firstly to the preservation of ICH of local community, and secondly enables the performance of multiple educational activities that promote the intangible elements outside the museum and the region.

4 THE PROPOSED MUSEUM KIT: THE ELEMENTS OF ICH ABOUT CYCLE OF LIFE IN FOLK TRADITION OF LEHOVO

4.1 *The Cycle of Life in Folk Tradition motive for the design of a museum kit*

The cycle of human life begins with birth and ends with death. During this cycle, the individuals go through constant transitional stages and defining moments in their lives, either important or not, which mark and shape their personal routes into life. The mystery of life and death which make up the two most significant events of the human biological route, have troubled human beings since the beginning of their existence (Zogza, 2006). However, man did not always have the ability to find answers to his questions and therefore retreated – and so does nowadays – into actions and practices which involved the metaphysical element (Zifa et al., 2008). As a result the biological stages of a human's life – birth, maturity, death- were associated with defining moments of social life and were expressed through practices and habits concerning either religion, or aspects of folklore tradition, or both of them at the same time.

The cycle of life in folk tradition is interwoven with various elements of the intangible culture which are reflected into the most significant events of life, birth, christening, marriage and death. The customary behaviour connected with these events, in traditional culture, is characterized as "rites of passage" (passage – pass). Rites of passage are a category of rituals that mark the passage of a person through the life cycle, from one stage to another (Danforth, 1982). Those rites and rituals include a wide range of activities and various practices, perceptions, habits, customs, dance, songs, diet habits and clothing habits, etc. which apart from the material elements used for their practice, they are linked with aspects of the intangible culture of a particular area. Many of these practices are still preserved, but most of them, due to the fragility of the intangible cultural heritage tend to vanish.

In Lehovo those elements of the intangible cultural heritage associated with the transition points and the cycle of life are intensely preserved until today and are defined as social events. Nonetheless, the necessity to preserve this priceless customary behaviour is vitally important. Consequently, a museum kit based on the folk tradition of the region of Lehovo, emphasizing on the intangible aspects of the cycle of life was designed. Studies on folk tradition have shown that human behaviour, as well as human practices, irrespective of origin, at the most important moments of life (birth, marriage, death), are very similar (Van Gennep, 1977; Zeitlin, n.d). Moreover, the participation in rites of passage reinforce cultural identity, self belonging and finally the development of respect for difference because life cycle customs and rites are interwoven and celebrated in ethnic, family, religious and community contexts so they define a person's relationship to a particular family or group (Zeitlin, n.d). So, the use of intangible culture, as an educational subject, may become the common component and the link between

children of different nationalities and additionally prevent social and cultural exclusion (Alkistis, 1996; Polimerou-Kamilaki, 2006).

4.2 *Aim and Objectives of the museum kit*

Museum kits constitute part of a general transition of modern museum which makes an effort to adapt a more social and educational role in the community which it serves (Mouliou and Mbounia, 1999). The modern museum tries to meet this challenge by implementing activities and services outside the museum walls, (museum busses, exhibitions, educational programmes, etc). A museum kit could be described as a transferable cultural and educational unit carrying a fragmented picture of the museum outside its natural range and is part of the context of activities which are known with the term "outreach programs" (Economou, 2003). The majority of museum kits are addressed to children and more specifically school groups. The proposed museum kit presented in this article belongs to this category, because it is addressed to the student and teaching community.

The aim of the proposed museum kit is to provide the educational community (both teachers and students) with an interactive and participatory educational material, which will promote the acquaintance with the elements of the intangible cultural heritage associated with the cycle of life in folk tradition of the region of Lehovo.

The objective of the museum kit is to travel from school to school, conveying the cultural richness of the region of Lehovo to the educational community. Thus, the innovation of the kit is the continuous enrichment with new data from the various schools where it will travel throughout Greece. The museum kit, having the opportunity to travel to the most remote school throughout the country, will enable the different educational groups to enrich the museum kit with information and data that are representative of their own culture.

Additionally, the museum kit wishes to promote the understanding and the awareness of the need of safeguarding the intangible cultural heritage as an integral part of the cultural wealth of each region.

Finally, through actions which support, both the acquisition of knowledge and entertainment participants will be helped to share cultures, redefine their cultural identity and eventually develop respect primarily for their own selves and secondly for others as well as for cultural difference.

4.3 *Designing the museum kit*

Before designing the museum kit two significant factors and requirements had to be taken under consideration: the first one was usability and factionality and the second appealing appearance. The original design of the museum kit was based on the artifacts of the collection of the museum of Lehovo related to the most important events of a person's cycle of life. These objects accompanied with resident's testimonies and stories revealed the "alive" aspects of intangible cultural heritage of the region, parameter equally important to understanding the place, social and domestic life, as well as the beliefs of its people.

Part of this tactic, and for aesthetic reasons, was the choice of the "shell" of the museum kit. A replica of an artifact of the museum which was directly associated with the cycle of life and intensely carries the features of the intangible culture of the area, the "kanabeta" was proposed to be used. "Kanabeta" is a wooden, often painted chest, used during the process of inviting local people to a wedding ceremony. In that way, the "shell" of the museum kit becomes the source of special study and research and at the same time can be used as a vehicle inviting and introducing students and teachers into the subject of the cycle of life.

For the sake of usefulness of the museum kit two characters (two small kids, a boy and a girl) were designed as to give life to the visual aids which dominate the majority of the material, either as cartoons or with their narrations. These two characters help the users of the museum kit to explore it more closely and in detail by recounting everything their grandparents have been narrated to them through time from oral history up to fairy tales, myths etc.

This way, information related to various stages in the cycle of life will be presented, exactly the way they were acted in the past, while the opportunity to comment and compare with current practices will be given. Through this process, children are expected to feel more attached;

identify with the characters; their experience and interaction with the museum kit become more pleasant and at the same time increase their interest as well as their willingness for research and creativity. Finally, with those heroes' aid an easier approach to issues more complicated and sensitive for children's psychosynthesis, like death, can be accomplished.

4.4 *Research methodology*

For the enrichment and the choice of the final structure and content of the museum kit a qualitative research with the use of questionnaires and interviews addressed to students and teachers of public elementary schools and a high school, as well as professionals involved in museum education was conducted. The reinforcement of the proposals related to the creation of the museum kit, as well as, the detection of the desires and expectations related to the participation of those involved in museum educational activities, where the main aim of the research from the begging. Besides, the success of such an educational application, except from the carefully and detailed definition of the theoretical axis, lies on the cooperation between the designers (in this case the museum) and the target group to which the activity refers to (Black, 2006).

For the conduction of the research and to ensure valid results, a combination of multiple data sources and more than one data collection methods were used. The use of multiple methods, based on triangulation, is essential in qualitative research in order to export valid results. The methods used in the research were questionnaires for pupils and teachers, and interviews conducted with professionals working in educational departments of museums or who have worked either in design teams of educational material, or as facilitators.

The sample of the research included students of the two last years of elementary schools of Lehovo and Rafina (Attica) and the first year of the high school of Lehovo. In addition, the teachers of the schools, as well as museum professionals (employees in educational departments, museum educators, museologists/animators) were included.

The specific choice of the sample was made to indicate any convergence between the expectations and proposals of these three stakeholders which directly related to museum education. Moreover, the choice of the sample reinforced by the fact that the theme of intangible cultural heritage is included in school curriculum.

The age selection of the students was based on the premise that older children are expected to better comprehend concepts such as that of intangible culture or perhaps death, something that at younger ages could perhaps have been problematic.

The demographic selection was made regarding two factors. Firstly, students and teachers from Lehovo's village were chosen, since the proposed museum kit has been designed for the local museum, and for that reason should primarily respond to the needs and desires of the local community. Secondly, the museum kit was designed aiming to travel to the entire country and cover the needs of many and different school groups. For this reason multiple opinions were needed and so students from the capital (Athens) as well as their teachers were used as a sample. In this way, a rich source of data on the expectations on museum education was collected and also, the perception of children with different cultural background on ICH was detected through their proposals on activities related to it.

4.5 *Results of the conducted research*

The results of the research assisted in generating a concrete body of data, which included interesting proposals and ideas that helped in the configuration and presentation of the proposed museum kit. From the results of this research information concerning both the educational principles and the methodology needed to adopt for the planning of the content and proposals related to the content itself were derived. The results of the study indicated the rejection from the part of those participated in the research towards accumulating information and stressed on their wish for:

- experiential learning
- inspirational teaching
- the equal and active participation
- the possibility of self-motivation

- the ability to personal initiative
- learning through exploration
- the use of new technologies
- interdisciplinary
- interaction and creativity
- teamwork/collaboration
- entertainment
- the use of a variety of activities, issues and means (supervisory, audio etc)
- the use of objects as carriers of messages, concepts, information and interpretations.

The above were the demands of the research plan from the beginning and also gave answers to the initial questions of the research.

Furthermore, the strong need for sharing both the common, as well as the different aspects of traditional intangible cultural heritage came out from the outcomes of the research came. As far as the content is concerned, some indicative proposed activities stemming from the converging attitudes of all three groups participating in the research are the following:

- Research and recording of songs and dances and formation of music and dancing groups. Monitoring of the created songs. Filming of the dancing festivals.
- Recording of local customs concerning the four stages of the cycle of life and their dramatization.
- Selection and recording of food products and local traditional cooking and pastry recipes related to the stages of the cycle of life as well as their execution respectively.
- Research and localization of oral evidence concerning legends, myths, fairy tales, superstitions, religious rituals and comparing them with religious rituals and customs of different areas and populations. Designing items associated with superstitions such as e.g charms for spells.

4.6 *Content of the museum kit*

The results of the research indicated a variety of means and actions that could be designed and integrated into it. The museum kit contains not only educational informative material but also board games, visual and audio materials (narratives, photographs, music/songs etc), proposals for drama, theater, painting activities, recording of customs and oral history etc. Indicatively some of them are listed below:

- CD-ROM and DVD with audio visual aids (customs, music etc)
- DVD with virtual tour of the museum
- photos and copies of items of the collection of the museum associated with the cycle of life
- leaflet with the stories of the two heroes of the cycle of life, which will also be digitally
- puzzle with pictures of items, customs, dancing rituals etc.
- patters of aprons or other parts of the traditional costume related with symbolisms of productivity, wedding etc.

The main thing that becomes especially perceptible in the museum kit is that the intangible elements, in general, as well as those referring to the folk elements of the Cycle of Life specifically, are those which compose the proposed museum kit in its entirety. From the "nutshell" of the museum kit up to museum kit's contents: educational material (audiovisual material with customs and songs, puzzles, board games etc.) and proposed activities (dramatizations, research and recording of customs etc.), all indicate the above concept which was the basic challenge from the beginning of the research.

5 CONCLUSION

In our increasingly changeable world, it is essential to ensure harmonious interactions among people and groups with plural, varied and dynamic cultural identities, as well as their willingness to live together, through policies of sharing, inclusion, participation, and self belonging (Ayton-Shenker, 1995).

Cultural heritage is one of the most appropriate fields for the accomplishment of "cultural meeting" and the promotion of the common cultural elements between people, while at the same time projects the peculiarities among people which after all define their cultural diversity. However, cultural heritage constitutes a complex concept which includes except from tangible culture, intangible cultural heritage (ICH), too. The use of ICH could offer new approaches to the comprehension and interpretation of museum collections. Furthermore, through museums, ICH could play a vital role on sharing cultures and become "a communication bridge" between different people and human groups. Nowadays, modern museums, have given more and more emphasis on the context of objects and the stories that are hidden behind them. Furthermore, through new perspectives, such as the combination of intangible elements and outreach programmes, museums try to approach the public and bring different people together.

The ethnographic museums play an important role towards this direction since preserve and transfer the elements of ICH from one generation to the next, they "shape" cultural life, and at the same time they teach, educate and entertain the audience (Michailidou, 2002). Significant effort has been made in the prefecture of Florina, via the "Network of Folklore and Tradition Collections", for the safeguarding of the elements of ICH through educational activities and outreach programmes such as the proposed museum kit presented in this article. The proposal for the museum kit refers to an interactive and participatory educational material on intangible elements related to the cycle of life in folk culture of Lehovo. The innovation of this proposal lies in the fact that the museum kit will be reinforced, improved and regularly updated, through constant interaction with the different school groups throughout the country.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

REFERENCES

Alkistis (1996). *Museum and Schools: Dinosaurs and Vessels.* Athens: Ellinika Grammata (in Greek).

Antzoulatou-Retsila, E. (2005). *Cultural and museological papers*. Athens: Papazisis Publicatons (in Greek).

Ayton-Shenker, D. (1995). *The Challenge of Human Rights and Cultural Diversity* [online]. Available at http://www.un.org/rights/dpi1627e.htm [Accessed 20 May 2013].

Black, G. (2006). *The engaging Museum, Developing Museums for visitor involvement.* London: Routledge.

Chatzinikolaou, T. (2003). Introduction. *Ethographic: Museums and Folkloric Culture*. Vol. 12-13, Nafplio: PFF (in Greek). pp.11-26

Crooke, E. (2007). *Museums and Community. Ideas, Issues and Challenges*. London and New York: Routledge.

Dalkos, G. (2000). *School and Museums*. Athens: Kastaniotis Publications (in Greek).

Danforth, M.L. (1982). *The death rituals of rural Greece.* New Jersey: Princeton University Press.

Economou, M. (2003). *Museum: Storage or live organism? Museological concerns and issues*. Athens: Kritiki publications (in Greek).

Fotiadis, K. (2002). Refugee sites from Asia Minor, Pontus and Thrace. In E. Kiriakoudis, ed. *Florina and its area*. FLorina: Prefecture of Florina, (in Greek). pp.126-131.

Gazi, A. (2004). Museum for the 21st century. *Museology Notebooks,* 1:3-12 (in Greek).

Kaplanoglou, M. (2002). Popular culture and museum education with an emphasis on viewing the promotion of local communities in the area of the Dodecanese, In G. Kokkinos & E. Alexaki, eds. *Interdisciplinary approaches to museum education*. Athens: Metaichmio Publications (in Greek). pp. 141-147.

Karantoni, E. & Papaioannou S.O. (2009). *The Network of Folklore and Tradition Collections of the prefecture of Florina.* Athens: University of Athens (in Greek).

Keniston K. (1998). *Cultural Diversity or Global Monoculture. The Impacts of the Information Age* [online]. Available at   http://www.mit.edu/people/kken/PDF/Cultural%20Diversity.pdf [Accessed 20 May 2013].

Liavas, L. (2008). Tradition, folklore and ethnic. The Greek traditional music from urbanization to globalization. *Museology Notebooks*, 3-4: 158-164 (in Greek).

Lord, D. G. (2008). Civil society models and their consequences to museum management and leadership, *Museology Notebooks,* 5: 4-9 (in Greek).

Loutzaki, P. (2003). From the local society to the museum: intangible and intellectual property, *Ethnographic: Museums and popular culture,* 12-13: 93-118. Nauplio. PFF (in Greek).

Marstine, J. (2006). Introduction. In J. Marstine, ed. *New Museum Theory and Practice*. USA, UK, Australia: Blackwell Publishing. pp.1-36.

Michailidou, M. (2002). Museum: progress and prospects for the 21st century. In G. Kokkinos & E. Alexaki, eds. *Interdisciplinary approaches to museum education*. Athens: Metaichmio Publications (in Greek). pp.93-100.

Mouliou, M. & Mbounia, A. (1999). Museum and communication. *Archaeology and Arts*, 72: 42 (in Greek).

Nakou, E. (2001). *Museums: We, things and culture*. Athens: Nissos Publications (in Greek).

Nikonanou, N. & Kasvikis, K. (2008). Educational trips in time: past-present-future. In N. Nikonanou & K. Kasvikis, eds. *Educational trips in time. Experience and interpretations of the past.* Athens: Pataki publications (in Greek). pp 10-29.

Polimerou-Kamilaki, E. (2006). The traditional culture in school. In *Traditional culture and education: First international conference, Conference Center of Thessaly, 30 September - 1 October 2006.* Available at http://www.eipe.gr/praktika/index.htm [Accessed 20 May 2013] (in Greek).

Polimerou-Kamilaki, E. (2008). Traditional culture and modern civilization. *Culture Notebooks*, 3-4: 269-284 (in Greek).

Skouteri-Didaskalou, E. (1994). Folklore Museums, cultural identity and historic memory: terms and remarks. In Greek Corporation of Folkloric Museology, *The role of Folklore Museums in the framework of the European Union - Proceedings of the 1st Meeting of the Folklore Museums of the European Union countries*. Athens: Greek Corporation of Folkloric Museology (in Greek). pp. 49-70.

Unesco   (2001).   *Universal   Declaration   on   Cultural   Diversity* [online].   Available   at http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0012/001271/127160m.pdf [Accessed 20 May 2013].

Van Gennep, A. (1977). *The rites of passage.* London and Henley: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Zeitlin,   S.   (n.d.).   *The   Life   Cycle: Folk   Customs   of   Passage* [online].   Available at:http://www2.hsp.org/exhibits/Balch%20exhibits/rites/lifecycle.html [Accessed (5 June 2013].

Zifa, A., Mamouris, Z. & Moutou, K. (2008). *Biology.* Volos: University press of Thessalia (in Greek).

Zogza, V. (2006). *The biological knowledge in childhood. Children's ideas and teaching approaches.* Athens: Metaixmio (in Greek).

A pathway towards institutionalizing Living Cultural Museums in Kenya

Steven Ojoo
Bad Mergentheim Volkhochschule, Bad Mergentheim, Germany

ABSTRACT: Most cultural groups in Kenya remain sidelined from effective management and promotion of their ICH owing to poor visibility and awareness of the 2003 Convention; they do not identify with the centralized museum systems that implement the convention, and are also obstructed by other reasons ranging from governmental policies, to community preferences with regard to the management of ICH. With the above backdrop, in an attempt to manage ICH at local levels in Kenya, the paper aims at developing a pathway towards sub-regional Living Cultural Museums, as a way of engaging and enabling communities to rediscover and safeguard their respective ICH. Based upon data acquired from four neighboring communities in western Kenya, the paper discusses devolved or sub-regional living cultural museums as legitimate institutional forms that would enhance environments supportive of managing and ensuring transmission of ICH by the bearers of the respective cultural groups.

1 INTRODUCTION

Transfer and dissemination of the Intangible Cultural Heritage (ICH) is lately affected by demands of modernity and effects of globalization. Nevertheless, most cultural groups in sub-Saharan Africa, and more specifically in Kenya, still have unique interpretations and representations of oral and practical ICH that mainly rest with the few traditional bearers. Historically, oral traditions and practices formed the social, economic and political anchors for most of these groups; and had spiritual/transcendental meanings that governed moral values and interrelations among members of each of the diverse cultural groups. But in the recent times new demands in livelihoods have occasioned neglect or loss of important components of ICH leading to changes in the social order, thus abating community bonds and distancing the roles played by key heritage bearers in disseminating community values. Recognizing the vitality of ICH to humanity at an organizational level, 36 sub-Saharan States had ratified the UNESCO 2003 Convention for

the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage by 30 October 2012. Consequently, respective States Parties, cultural experts and museum institutions are obliged to identify, create inventories, manage and safeguard respective cultural heritage.

As a way of acknowledging the UNESCO 2003 Convention at community level, the paper proposes a practical approach that would encourage visibility and awareness of vitality of safeguarding ICH. Moreover, it proposes culturally relevant living-museums, as legitimate agencies, which can manage and safeguard the diverse ICH in Kenya.

In meeting its objectives, the paper defines the term museum and traces its origin in the Kenyan context. Secondly, the discussion focuses on the development of cultural heritage at organizational level. Here, it becomes vital to explain the paradigm shift from tangibility to intangibility with regard to UNESCO Conventions. Thirdly, the paper defines ICH in the context of 2003 Convention illustrating the challenges of implementing the Convention in the Kenyan context. Finally, the paper introduces a pathway towards institutionalizing sub-regional *Living Cultural Museums* in Kenya, to ensure safeguarding of ICH by directly involving the community heritage bearers.

2 DEFINITION OF MUSEUM

For generations museums have sealed their place by preserving material objects and trying to connect these historical objects to the public. By keeping these objects, museums harbor knowledge of both cultural history and transformation presented by the objects. The objects are therefore symbols of the past for present and future consumption. However in order to understand the functions of museums in the context of cultural heritage, it is important to illustrate some definitions of 'museum'.

The English Oxford Dictionary (Web) defines 'museum' as "a building in which objects of historical, scientific, artistic, or cultural interest are stored and exhibited." The definition highlights *building, objects and exhibition* as key components of the term 'museum'. This is further illustrated by UNESCO which considers museum to be "…any permanent establishment administered in the general interest for the purpose of preserving, studying, enhancing by various means and, in particular, exhibiting to the public for its delectation and instruction, groups of objects and specimens of cultural value: artistic, historical, scientific and technological collections, botanical and zoological gardens and aquariums," (UNESCO, 1960).

However, definitions of museum have continuously evolved. Accordingly, considering the views by the global museum community, ICOM states that museum is "non-profit, permanent institution in the service of society and its development, open to the public, which acquires, conserves, researches, communicates and exhibits the tangible and intangible heritage of humanity and its environment for the purposes of education, study and enjoyment," (ICOM, 2007). Considering ICOM's current definition, museums exhibit both tangible and intangible heritage. The tradition role of exhibiting these cultural artifacts is on the assumption that the public is able to recognize parts that symbolize their living cultural heritage. The ICOM premise shows a shift from traditional role of museums as *buildings for exhibiting objects* to a fusion that includes its new *role of exhibiting living heritage.*

However, the concept of museum is relatively new in most sub-Saharan African States in relation to their Western counterparts. African museum development was greatly necessitated by Western influence during the periods of exploration, slavery and colonization (from 16th century). The case of museum development in Kenya is briefly illustrated below.

3 ORIGINS OF MUSEUM IN KENYA

Historical records exemplify that the institution of museum in Kenya was founded by the early colonialists in 1910. According to the National Museums of Kenya (NMK), a group of settlers and naturalists, 'the East Africa and Uganda Natural History Society' established the first museum to "keep and preserve their collections of various specimens," (National Museums of Kenya, 2013). Later in 1929 a new reconstruction work led to the creation of Coryndon Museum,[1] which was renamed The National Museum of Kenya in 1963.

Throughout its formation, the NMK has undergone evolution in its composition, constitution, and role. Currently it is a state corporation established by the Museums and Heritage Act of 2006. The dynamics of the NMK have evolved from a single disciplinary institution to "a multi-disciplinary institution whose role is to collect, preserve, study, document and present Kenya's past and present cultural and natural heritage," (ibid).

In its websites, the NMK has a broad mission which is "to promote the conservation and sustainable utilization of national heritage through generation, documentation and dissemination of research and collection management knowledge, information and innovations," (ibid). Apart from management and preservation of national collections of cultural and natural heritage, the specific roles of NMK include conservation of biological diversity, management of regional museums, sites and monuments. The current regional museums include; Hyrax Hill Meru Museum, Gede Ruins, Kariandusi Kabarnet Museum, Kitale Museum, Lamu Museum, Loiyangalani Desert Museum, Karen Blixen Museum, Kisumu Museum, Kapenguria Museum, Malindi Museum, Nairobi Gallery, Nairobi National Museum, Nairobi Snake Park, Narok Museum, Rabai Museum and Tambach Museum Wajir.

With regard to heritage the NMK collects, documents and promote both Natural History and Cultural History/Musicological. It also has "the mandate to preserve/ conserve all its collections which range from tangible to intangible, moveable and immovable, in-situ and ex-situ," (ibid). For the purposes of visibility and awareness of its functions, the institution has a set of information dissemination strategies including education programmes, exhibitions and other media channels.

The National Museums of Kenya is legally at a central position in the management of both tangible and intangible heritage of Kenya. It is one of the major institutes with the mandate to implement UNESCO Conventions. However, it has not been able to develop effective environments supportive of ensuring the safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage among the diverse 42 cultural groups in the country.

4 EFFECTING THE ROLE OF MUSEUMS IN SAFEGUARDING ICH: INSTITUTIONALIZING SUB-REGIONAL LIVING CULTURAL MUSEUMS IN KENYA

4.1 *Challenges faced by NMK in meeting its objectives in safeguarding ICH*

The government of Kenya has monopoly of power and resources with regard to ensuring safeguarding processes of ICH and the implementation of the 2003 Convention. Having ratified the ICH Convention on 24/10/2007, the country embarked on visibility and awareness programmes at the same time executing the objectives of the Convention.To date, the Department of Culture and the National Museums of Kenya (NMK) act on behalf of the Kenyan government to guarantee the implementation of the Convention. Therefore, NMK and its subsidiary museums operate as legal government agencies that manage ICH and provide public knowledge about heritage. The influence by the agencies in the processes of implementation of the Convention, inventorying and nominations of ICH, trainings, capacity building etc., create a concern over the balance of power between the government-mandated agencies and heritage practitioners, in control and decision-making processes of respective ICH.Consequently, governments through its agencies have not been able to represent the living heritage of all or most communities, resulting into exclusion and marginalization of the later.

The role of NMK as the implementer of ICH Convention falls short in practice. First, the communities in Kenya are too diverse to be represented by ill equipped centralized-museum systems. Kenya's cultural landscape reveals a diverse population of about 44,037,656 (CIA, 2013). They can further be divided into 42 cultural or language groups that were formally independent nations before colonization. With over 76% of the population still living in their ancestral landscapes (ibid), the NMK does not have capacity (capital and human) to contact, engage and represent these groups, some of whom have nomadic and migratory lifestyles.

Secondly, the principles of museums as places of archival work, preservation and display of material dead objects, contradicts the idea of safeguarding intangible cultural heritage. Kenyan museums are arguablywell equipped with knowledge of keeping artifacts and performing the classical roles of museumrather than safeguarding dynamiccultural practices. This is manifested

by the less-than-adequate progress in identifying, inventorying and nominating ICH ofmost of the diverse groups. Among the few tangible successes of the Kenyan heritage agencies was the inscription of *Traditions and practices associated with the Kayas in the sacred forests of the Mijikenda*into the List of Intangible Cultural Heritage in Need of Urgent Safeguarding, at the fourth session of the Committee of ICH in Abu Dhabi, United Arab Emirates from 28 September to 2 October 2009 (UNESCO ICH List, 2013). The Mijikenda is one among 42 cultural groups within Kenya. They reside in the coastal region of Kenya and have a historic physical, spiritual and emotional association with the Kaya Forests. The rest of the cultural groups/ethnic groups are yet to be engaged in heritage issues, made aware of the Convention, and included in safeguarding processes.

Museum functions have been influenced by issues ranging from historical factors to current social and political orders. Kenya like most sub-Saharan states experienced a series of transformation in just over a century. On the political context, the country underwent colonization, colonial rule, independence to introduction of new forms of governance. Economically and socially, the nation has had to battle through effects of modernity and globalization. These enormous challenges are greatly reflected on the drastic loss of traditional heritage- both tangible and intangible- as communities and individuals endeavor to adjust to the modern demands of life. Heritage bearers lack motivation to enthusiastically practice and express their ICH due to the pressing economic and social problems. Rural- urban migration is common especially by the majority of the younger generation who flock in cities to look for better services. As a result, heritage transfer is threatened at indigenous community level. The role of bearers and transmitters (mainly the old generation) is fast diminishing.

The country is also marked by prevailing poor economic situations; poor transport and communication infrastructure; insecurity caused by conflicts, lawlessness, banditry etc. Consequently,government agencies, experts, and NMK face uphill tasks in executing their mandates e.g. effecting inventory missions, raising awareness and visibility of the Convention and generally highlighting the urgency of safeguarding ICH among local communities.

Therefore, the major challenge that arises is how an all-inclusive safeguarding framework can be structured and implemented. Article 13 (b) of the 2003 Convention clearly encourages State Parties to mandate competent agencies in realizing the objectives of the Convention (UNESCO, 2009). Relevant to Kenya is the NMK. But conflict is created between the agencies- communities (heritage bearers) and the heritage institutions- expected to ensure safeguarding processes. If the decision-making and safeguarding process is handled by the community, do they all have capacity and awareness to implement the Convention? When and how should institutions come in and facilitate the process of safeguarding ICH? In the Kenyan context NMK is best suited to do such work, however it requires effective strategies towards representing the entire cultural network within the country, not just among few groups.

It is therefore necessary to reexamine the diversity in Kenya, do more socio-cultural and anthropological research and identify vital ICH that have sustained these groups to the present. Furthermore, there have been suggestions that by involving decision makers, heritage experts and collaborating with local NGOs, it is possible to devise outreach programs aimed at increasing awareness and visibility of ICH and building capacities on productive and sustainable safeguarding measures (Museum International, 2008; Stefano, Web). This is a guiding principle to my deduction, that new structures and roles of museums could change the landscape of ICH management in Kenya in particular and sub-Saharan states in general.

4.2 *Sub-Regional Living Cultural Museums*

Though Museums are considered modern concepts in the African context, it is possible to adapt the concept at local cultural levels, by establishing relevant community centers (museums) that would facilitate practice, recognition and revitalization of ICH of individual groups, thereby recreating community identities. This pilot idea involves establishment of *Devolved or subregional living cultural museums* to support continuity in heritage transfer in Kenya, improve on community identity and knowledge of cultural diversities in Kenya. The idea is a step towards advancing the role and development of museums in the Kenyan context furthering awareness and the significance of cultural heritage by including community driven agenda.The advance-

ment recognizes that the current-centralized museum network in Kenyalack the capacity to run ethnically diverse ICH programs in the long run.

Despite the positive initiatives by NMK and its subsidiary museums, a majority of the public are not able to access these facilities due to reasons e.g. lack of awareness; inadequate finances to visit the centers; other livelihood issues and notably lack of identity to the museum objects, structures and environment. *Devolved or sub-regional living cultural museums* will enable communities in Kenya to participate and rediscover their identity. It would enhance an environment supportive of respective community traditions, lineage, artifacts, creative skills, and heritage transfer by the bearers. Living cultural museums would re-establish local networks and partnerships; improve both formal and informal education contents of the diversity; reaffirm roles of heritage practitioners and bearers and generally improve on understanding community morals, values and identity.

The living cultural museums will effectively facilitate the role of State Parties mentioned in Article 11 (b) (above) which is to "identify and define the various elements of the intangible cultural heritage present in its territory, with the participation of communities, groups and relevant non-governmental organizations" (UNESCO, 2003). The idea is also in line with Article 15 that encourages State Parties "to ensure the widest possible participation of communities, groups and, where appropriate, individuals that create, maintain and transmit such heritage, and to involve them actively in its management," (ibid).

4.3 *Illustration of Living Cultural Museums: Western Kenyan Context*

The design/architecture of living cultural museums would correspond to respective traditional homestead designs that the communities would identify with (see Fig. 1 below). In developing the concept of living cultural museums, I considered cross-cutting themes of traditional homestead designs among three cultural groups (Luo, Luhya and Samia) in western Kenya.The design below is a layout of a homestead that reflects the general social order of an entire clan/community. The designs and locations of the houses have physical and symbolic values that are still upheld by the rural families and community. Figure 1 below illustrates a typical traditional homestead of a Luo, Samia, and Luhya family. The size of the homestead depends on the number of animals, wives and children a man has. Sons build their own houses (Simba). The homestead is the smallest physical representation of the community. It forms the basis of individual and group socialization into the community- which functions as a larger family unit.

The illustration (Fig.1) manifests the status of the 'traditional' man as the leader of the home. His wives have hierarchical status with the first wife assuming the female leadership. That applies to the sons too. The home is well protected by a fortified fence. The family assets are protected at the centre of the homestead. The design is a smaller manifestation of the community, which had hierarchical structures from male and female elders, to leadership-groups among young men and women, to the vulnerable group of children. Each group had clearly defined roles that were complimentary to one another. Consistency of the social order ensured effective transfer of community knowledge, practices, values, norms, expressions etc., to the next generations.

For the sake of community identity, the proposed living cultural museums would have similar themes and designs to the respective community architecture. Figures 2 and 3 below are examples of existing Luo and Samia homesteads. The two cultural groups have different languages but share cross-cutting tangible and living cultural heritage. Highlighted in the figures below are similar architectural practices and symbolism.
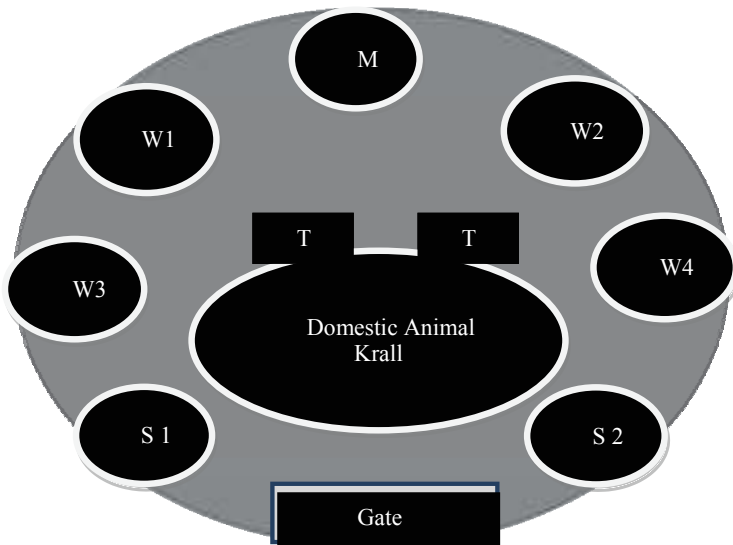
Figure 1. Ideal traditional homestead in western Kenya. M=Man's house, W=Wife's house,S=Son's house, T=Trees (Ojoo, 2013)[2].

Figure 2. A front view of a traditional Luo homestead displaying the entrance (gate), surrounding fence (thorns and euphorbia) and three traditional grass-thatched houses. There are trees in the homestead to provide shade and protection from strong winds (Bomas of Kenya, Web).

Figure 3. An inside view of a Samia homestead illustrating the main houses at the background, a sheep/goat pen (front-right), and a small granary (left).The home is also surrounded by trees (Bomas of Kenya, Web).

Figure 4. Illustrates a finished traditional house (Ojoo, 2009).The roof is made of thick layers of fine grass. The mud-walls are continuously smeared with red mud and cow dung for aesthetic purposes and protection from pest. In the past doors were woven with reeds and tough animal hides. But currently Iron sheets are preferred, mainly, to ensure security.[3]

5 SIGNIFICANCE OF SUB-REGIONAL LIVING CULTURAL MUSEUMS

The proposed living cultural museums would directly benefit respective communities[4] as museums and venues for exhibiting community heritage, practising and transmitting heritage (revitalizing or updating the roles of elders, women and the youth), centres for formal and informal education, community gathering and ceremonies etc. The museums would also be solid building blocks of national networks and link museums across the country. Secondary beneficiaries would be the country; cultural diversity would also be represented at all levels.

Living cultural museums would act as centers for: displaying and exhibiting community artifacts and recording genealogy; transmitting heritage and creative arts to new generation; performing arts; centers for educational exchange both locally and externally and community cultural gatherings and performances.

According to my opinion, in developing/building the museums, experts in collaboration with local community and local architects (grass-thatch craftsmen, mud-house designers, elders etc.) plan the logistics of setting up the museums. The government, through its agencies (museums, universities and heritage Ministry), are thereby charged with the responsibility of training local curators and managers, consulting with local legitimate administrations to ensure visibility and awareness of the programmes and providing technical guidance in nationwide coordination. Local authorities ensure the traditional legitimacy of the living cultural museums and highlight its relevance to the respective members. The communities, who are the key beneficiaries, are responsible for practicing, transferring, safeguarding and marketing their heritage.

5.1 *Log-frame Representation of Objectives and Expected Results of Living Cultural Museum*

Table 1. This table illustrates a summary of objectives and effectiveness of setting up Living Cultural Museums (in Kenya) as a way of safeguarding ICH and ensuring visibility and awareness of 2003 Convention (Ojoo, 2013).

	INTERVENTION LOGIC	OBJECTIVELY VERIFIABLE INDICATORS
MAIN OBJECTIVE	Improve role of Kenyan museums as centers for transmitting oral and practical traditional heritage in respective cultural communities	Networks established between NMK and Living Cultural Museums with reliable information from cultural communities
IMMEDIATE OBJECTIVES	To exhibit community tangible and intangible heritage Open museums for community activities Collect and make inventories of traditional artifacts To have records and descriptions of community genealogy Establishing direct networks and partnerships between museums, members of the community and artisans To build capacities for beneficiaries	Updated community inventories of cultural objects, practices, expressions, knowledge and genealogy Creativity and participation at local levels improved
EXPECTED RESULTS	Traditional objects, and ICH inventories secured Community genealogy recorded Capacities of beneficiaries improved More information of cultural communities attained Role of museum as agents of economic development promoted Community identity with museums enhanced Awareness of museums raised at local levels	Exhibitions of community objects Functional community museums Participation of local heritage practitioners Community awareness of museum functions

The assumption is that living cultural museums would have trained curators and personnel to ensure project development, from awareness programmes to mobilization of respective groups through community workshops and *Baraza* (legitimate traditional village parliaments common among Kenyan ethnic groups). The communities in turn would decide on appropriate venues that they deem consistent with their practices and roles of members.

6 CONCLUSIONS

The discussion notes that the 2003 Convention is intended to cushion the central role of the heritage bearers in identifying and safeguarding their own living heritage. The dynamics of the Convention acknowledges not only community participation of heritage practitioners, but also communities' decision-making process in what they consider as ICH. Thus, communities have their own internal social order that ensure acquisition, practice and transmission of heritage. Successively, external agencies have no mandate to decide on what heritage is significant; communities become their own focal points in making such decisions. However, despite elaborate requirements that empower communities in ICH issues, agencies such as governments, museums, heritage experts and universities still have a fundamental role to play in technical aspects as facilitating or ensuring visibility and awareness and implementation of the Convention. These agencies must ensure that respective ICH is identified, documented, researched, preserved, protected, enhanced and transmitted through formal and informal education.

The discussion has centred on coming up with a framework that can effectively involve most if not all diverse communities in Kenya, in the process of safeguarding their respective ICH. The paper concludes that the current discourse on the roles of museums to promote and safeguard intangible cultural heritage can be contextualized by includingcommunities as illustrated by the framework of culturally relevant *Living Cultural Museums*. The paper has also attempted to prove thatheritage bearers in conjunction with locally relevantmuseums can be effective in the promotion and safeguarding of intangible cultural heritage. Feasibility of the thesis is enhanced if the respective communities identify with and get involved in managing their *culturally relevant museums* and thus, their ICH. The approach is rooted to the underlying principles of the UNESCO 2003 Convention article 11 (a), which requires States Parties to take the necessary measures to ensure "the safeguarding of their intangible heritage; within the framework of their safeguarding activities they shall endeavor to ensure the widest possible participation of communities, groups and, where appropriate, individuals, that create, maintain and transmit such heritage, and to involve them actively in its management," (UNESCO, 2009).

ENDNOTES

[1] The museum was "named in honour of Sir Robert Coryndon, one time Governor of Kenya and a staunch supporter of Uganda Natural History Society," (National Museum of Kenya, 2013).
[2] The homestead design is inspired by traditional homes of the Luo, Luhya and Samia Communities in Kenya.
[3] Figure 4 was taken by the author in the field. I was lucky to witness the planning and construction of the house. Figure 1 and Table 1 are illustrations designed by the author. In western and most of rural Kenya, traditional homesteads are still common and reveal a lot about the society and their beliefs.
[4] The idea of community involvement or participation in decision making process of ICH is underpinned by the 2003 Convention. However implementing agencies (Museums, Universities, Government Ministries etc.) in sub-Saharan Africa, still have influence in the entire processes of safeguarding ICH, leaving out the question, how and "what kind of agency or organization might best do such work," (Kurin, 2004).

REFERENCES

Barber. B. R (1996). *How Globalization and Tribalism are Reshaping the World*. New York, Ballantine books.

Bortolotto, C. (2007). *From Objects to Processes: UNESCO's Intangible Cultural Heritage, Journal of Museum Ethnography, No. 19, 'Feeling the Vibes: Dealing with Intangible Heritage': Papers from the Annual Conference of the Museum Ethnographers Group Held at Birmingham Museum & Art Gallery, 18–19 May 2006 (March 2007)*. pp.21-33.

CIA (2013). *World Fact Book: Kenya* [online]. Available at https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/ke.html [Accessed 12 March 2013].

ICOM (2007). *The World Museum Community* [online]. Available at http://icom.museum/the-vision/museum-definition/ [Accessed 12 February 2013].

Knudson T. (2009). *Biodiversity Report on The Cost of the Biofuel Boom: Destroying Indonesia's Forests* [online]. Available at http://e360.yale.edu/content/feature.msp?id=2112 [Accessed 26 January 2010].

Kurin, R. (2004). Safeguarding Intangible Cultural Heritage in the 2003 UNESCO Convention: a critical appraisal. *Museum International*, 56(1-2): 66–77.

Matsuura, K. (2004). Responding to the Challenges of the 21st Century [online]. Available at unes-doc.unesco.org/images/0013/001378/137872e.pdf [Accessed 12 February 2013].

Museum International (2008). *Ancient China new museums*. UNESCO Publishing, MI 60th anniversary.

National Museums of Kenya (2013). [Webpage] http://www.museums.or.ke/content/view/8/51/ [Accessed 09 January 2013].

Oxford Dictionaries (n.d.). [Webpage] http://oxforddictionaries.com/definition/english/museum [Accessed 02 October 2012].

Stefano, M. L. (n.d.). Museums of the Future: using the Eco museum ideal to promote and safeguard intangible cultural heritage. *International Centre for Cultural and Heritage Studies*, Newcastle: Newcastle University.

UN Millennium Development Goals (2000). [Webpage] http://www.un.org/millenniumgoals [Accessed 26 January 2010].

UNESCO (1960). *Legal Instruments: Recommendation concerning the Most Effective Means of Rendering Museums Accessible to Everyone* [online]. Available at http://portal.unesco.org/en/ev.php-URL_ID=13063&URL_DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201.html [Accessed 10 February 2013].

UNESCO (1982). *World Conference on Cultural Policies. Mexico City* [online]. Available at http://www.portal.unesco.org [Accessed 14 January 2010].

UNESCO (2003). *The States Parties to the Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage* [online]. Available at http://www.unesco.org/culture/ich/index.php?pg=00024 [Accessed 26 January 2010].

UNESCO (2009). *Basic Text ICH: Convention for Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage, Paris*.

UNESCO (2010). *Text of the Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage* [online]. Available at http://www.unesco.org/culture/ich/index.php?lg=en&pg=00022#art2 [Accessed 12 February 2013].

UNESCO (2013). *World Heritage List* [online]. Available at http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/ [Accessed 12 February 2013].

University of London – School of Advanced Study [Webpage]. http://www.sas.ac.uk/fileadmin/documents/postgraduate/Papers_London_Debates/Stefano__Museums _of_the_Future_01.pdf [Accessed 14 October 10].

Xavier, F. F. (2009). *Capturing the Intangible Perspectives on the Living Heritage*. Paris: UNESCO publishing.

UNESCO ICH List (2013). [Webpage] http://www.unesco.org/culture/ich/index.php?lg=en&pg=00011&USL=00313 [Accessed 20 May 2013].

Bioart: borders and definitions. Development of a widely accepted deontological framework of its production and management

Thrassivoulos Avaritsiotis
Technological Educational Institute of Athens, Department of Antiquities & Works of Art., Aigaleo, Greece

Leonidas Karampinis
Technological Educational Institute of Athens, Department of Antiquities & Works of Art., Aigaleo, Greece

Sofia-Olga Papaioannou
Technological Educational Institute of Athens, Department of Antiquities & Works of Art., Aigaleo, Greece

Effrosyni Karantoni
Technological Educational Institute of Athens, Department of Antiquities & Works of Art., Aigaleo, Greece

Ekaterini Malea
Technological Educational Institute of Athens, Department of Antiquities & Works of Art., Aigaleo, Greece

Georgios Panagiaris
Technological Educational Institute of Athens, Department of Antiquities & Works of Art., Aigaleo, Greece

Neni Panourgia
Columbia University, Department of Anthropology, New York, USA

Dimitrios Christopoulos
Panteion University of Athens, Department of Political Science and History, Athens, Greece

ABSTRACT: Biological structures have inspired artists and have been "objects" of artistic expression for centuries. Nevertheless, in the last decades artists have started to collaborate with biologists to create works of art that use biological materials and human remains as artistic media. This new form of art, BioArt, stands at the intersection of various fields of science, art and society and brings with it a range of social, religious, cultural and ethical issues because biomaterials although tangible, are also "carriers" of strong intangible values and meaningful ideas. The research project "BioArt: Borders and definitions. Research project for the development of a widely accepted deontological framework of its production and management" aims at the creation of a commonly accepted Code of Ethics for the management of biomaterials used for artistic purposes. The Code of Ethics will ensure both freedom of expression for the artist, respect for life, and recognition of socio-cultural values.

1 INTRODUCTION

Biological materials (mainly but not exclusively human remains) have constituted 'objects' of value for collection and research in medicine, archaeology and anthropology for a very long time. At the same time biomaterials have been used as media of artistic expression from ancient

times (Gessert, 2010). Nowadays, biological materials constitute a significant part of museum collections, as scientific specimens, as ethnographic material, or more recently as treasured relics holding the status of sacred objects in ecclesiastic (religious) display and collections. Biological remains (both human and non-) are found usually in archaeological, historic, medical, ethnographic and natural history collections. In recent years, given the increased interest among artists in the use of biological materials (including human remains) as artistic media the display of biomaterials has expanded to include a vast category of museums, such as museums of contemporary art and/or galleries (Kallergi, 2008).

It is commonly accepted that in this age of constant change and uncertainty, where new theories and discoveries constantly supersede old ones, art and artists are influenced by the rapid changes occurring in science and technology and turn to other forms of expression, trying to meet the new challenges as much as possible (Nelkin & Anker, 2002; Wilson, 2002). Therefore, the development of art forms that offer new opportunities for very different modes of expression is something very common nowadays. The limits of art have been transcended. The limits of materials have been transcended, too.

One of these new ways of expression, a new art form influenced by these rapid changes, is BioArt. The speed of development of the life sciences such as biotechnology, genetics, genetic engineering, etc., led artists, cultural theorists, historians of science and activists to respond accordingly (Wilson, 2002). The need felt for cultural and artistic response to the development of these emerging areas, suggests that these cognitive areas have had an impact on the development of social, moral, philosophical and cultural positions. Therefore, the study of these developments ought to be part of the study of culture (Pandilovski, 2008).

However, art that is produced using biomaterials is not new to human civilization (De Menezes, 2007). From the early years of artistic production human beings have used biomaterials such as wood, horn, and bones to build tools, amulets, rituals or other objects. BioArt is a contemporary art practice that uses biomaterials as media (Brodyk, 2012) of expression or means of social commentary and has recently attracted increased interest, given the considerable attention and new research carried in the field of bio-technology (Gessert, 2010; Stibral, 2011). Living tissue culture, morphological modifications and mutations, bioengineering in human bodies, especially the bodies of the artists themselves, are some of the many techniques used by bio-artists in collaboration with biologists (Kac, 2007). As Stracey states (2009): "BioArt is a form of art that traverses into the field of biological sciences, with the purpose of investigating and appreciating, critically, the aesthetic qualities and functions of living systems and organisms".

As a term "BioArt" was first used by Eduardo Kac in 1997 along in connection to his art piece "Time Capsule." Although used in the late 20th century by pioneers such as Kac and Gessert, BioArt began to be implemented more systematically in the early 21st century. For this reason the term, the concept, and the practice can be described as the first art movement of the 21st century (Χατζηγιαννάκη, 2008).

BioArt, is linked literally and figuratively with life itself because of the intersection of various fields of science, art, and society. Of central importance to BioArt are concepts such as different living entities within the same host, the redesign of the body, scientific and religious explanations for the beginning of life, hybrids, the exploitation of scientific research for speculation, and the residual phobia of biotechnology, a field of knowledge familiar only to specialists with its own access to the public and the media (Χατζηγιαννάκη, 2008).

BioArt connects art to life in a literal way: it borrows knowledge and methods of biological science, biotechnology, genetics, genetic engineering, etc. so as to interrogate the methods of its application, to propose alternative ways to commercialized use, or to praise the poetic dimension of human intervention in nature (Andrews, 2007). It also contributes to the alteration of human behavior and the development of respect for life and nature.

Biomaterials, although tangible, are also agents of strong intangible meanings and values, meaning that for a large portion of the public biomaterials constitute primarily social, cultural, and religious symbols. It is therefore obvious that the management of biomaterial is extremely complex and can give rise to a conflict of interests and rights among different social groups (Da Costa & Philip, 2008).

Such a contemporary interest in the collection and display of biomaterials as scientific-ethnographic, sacred or aesthetic objects testifies to the increasing cultural significance attrib-

uted to biomaterials especially when the latter are part of such collections. Furthermore, the competing claims to value and meaning that these diverse contexts place on biomaterials as objects of display makes imperative the need for a shared set of ethical and methodological principles that will guide the institutions and parties involved in their process of keeping, managing, and display of biomaterials. The establishment of these guidelines will limit controversy and will ensure good conduct in the cultural sector as far the management of biological and human remains collections is concerned.

Over the past seventy years numerous publications have appeared that focus on the "proper" behavior of scientific communities or groups of professionals and address questions that pertain to management policies, such as the ones instituted by museums, with particular emphasis on collections that pertain to human remains (Anyon & Thornton, 2004; Joyce 2002; Hubert & Fforde, 2005; Lohman & Goodnow, 2006).

There still exists a gap, however, when it comes to the use of biomaterials (and much more so regarding biomaterials of human origin) as a means of artistic expression, precisely because the boundaries that circumscribe artistic creation, censorship, science ethics, and human rights are unclear and vague. This vagueness is further exacerbated by the absence of an international regulatory/legislative framework regarding the management of biomaterials and human remains, within the dual context of freedom of artistic expression, and prevalent social values. All the above suggests that a discussion that will address both the scientific and the artistic dimensions that set the terms of this debate is urgently needed.

The research project "BioArt: Borders and definitions. Research project for the development of a widely accepted deontological framework of its production and management" which is implemented by TEI of Athens - coordinated by the Dept. Conservation of Antiquities and Works of Art - in collaboration with researchers from Columbia University USA and the Panteion University of Athens aims to fulfill the gap in the field of the use of biomaterials as means of artistic expression.

2 AIMS AND OBJECTIVES OF THE PROJECT

Our project aims at the creation of a legal and ethical framework of a commonly accepted Code of Ethics for the management of biomaterials used in artistic purposes which will ensure both the freedom of expression of the artist and the respect for life and socio-cultural values.

The objectives of the projects include:
— the enhancement of the moral, ethical and legal questions that are raised by the use of biomaterials in the artistic creation and by the exhibition of works of BioArt,
— the recording of all the views of different social groups and institutions involved in the management of biomaterials,
— the networking of all the institutions involved in the study, exhibition/display and artistic use of biomaterials.

3 METHODOLOGY

The project will be developed in five stages (Actions) and will be implemented over 30 months. Within the framework of the project we will conduct research on biomaterials used from various cultures, on data on current developments in BioArt, and on the legal framework applied in Greece and internationally for this art form. Furthermore, fieldwork utilizing questionnaires will be carried out among organizations (museums, galleries etc) that currently hold, or intend to acquire in the future BioArt projects among their collections. Finally an international scientific meeting will be organised in order to create a platform of a commonly accepted Code of Ethics and its dissemination.

The actions of the project are presented in more detail below.

3.1 Action 1. Historical Preview & Modern Art

The first action aims to study and record events that mark the progress of the use of biomaterials over time until the appearance of the first samples of Bio- artifacts as a part of contemporary art. As part of Action 1 we will study the development of the use of biomaterials as artifacts in the course of the history of art and museology in an effort to study the social and cultural environment of the objects. We will also study the historical development of the use of biomaterials from prehistoric times up to date. In order to accomplish this part of the project we will gather and record information referring to ownership, creators, construction techniques, emotional values, social environment, religious beliefs etc. The aim is to place the artifacts made by biomaterials in their historical and social context and explore the historical and social factors affecting their use by different regions in different periods. This research will contribute to better understanding of the aspirations of artists, collectors etc.

Furthermore we will highlight particular examples of use of biomaterials as part of collections worldwide. And we will explore the first appearance of use of such materials as collection objects and possible motives/ reasons have been expressed for the act of collecting and displaying such objects. The package seeks to present and analyze as many examples of use of biomaterials as possible whether they come from social groups, private collectors, or institutional organizations.

3.2 Action 2. BioArt: Borders and definitions

The second action aims to study and record the developments in Bioart, to record its definitions and boundaries detailing the biological materials used to define it, and to indicate their relationship to legal, ethical and philosophical questions.

We will examine the various aspects and issues relating to BioArt as they have been presented from different vantage points in literature, art criticism, scientific and artistic publications and through the exploration, study and description of specific examples of both established and new artistic trends in BioArt.

From the perspective of museology, organizations that hold works of BioArt will be recorded as well as examples of collections and exhibitions. We will look at the terms provided by new museology and the principles of collections management in order to determine whether the bodies and organizations that hold collections of BioArt meet certain requirements and/or adopt and follow the already established specific rules of the international ethical framework for the operation of museums regarding the management of these objects (acquisition, lending, dispossession, reburial, repatriation conservation, storage, exhibition, education, research). Finally, BioArt will be studied from both psychological and social perspective. Such a perspective is important because the development of a technique, along with the choice and use of a particular material are directly related to the temperament of the artist and often index social positionalities as means of expression in a certain period of time. It is therefore an important psycho-social matter that requires further study.

3.3 Action 3. Ethical, Deontological & Legal Issues– An investigation in the legislative framework

In the context of this action extended research will be carried out in the existing legislative/ethical framework (laws, conventions, codes etc.) that regulate current action regarding the management of biomaterials on an international level focusing in particular on current gaps in legislation. This action will also map any controversy regarding ethical concerns on the use of biomaterials across diverse fields (arts, science, medicine, religion) as a related yet distinct field to the legislative framework.

3.4 Action 4. Fieldwork for the ethics and practice ruling the operation of bodies hosting BioArt collections

In the course of the fourth action, field research will be carried out so as to locate the most important bodies (museums, galleries, private collections, etc.) that hold, or intend to possess bio-

materials among their collections. Questionnaires will be designed and sent to entities holding objects and works of art consisting of biomaterials. The purpose of this research is to identify whether the bodies operating under these specific regulations have adopted the same rules in reference to their overall management. Particular emphasis will be given in the exploration of ethical standards and practices in the case that living organisms and/or human remains are hosted in Museums and Galleries. A separate questionnaire will be formulated addressing specifically some of the prominent Bio-Artists around the world. The aim of this questionnaire is to explore the use of Bio-materials by the artists, their motives, possible conflicts arisen by social groups or cultural professionals, legal or ethical restrictions in their respective countries, etc. Visitors' research will be also conducted with the use of questionnaires. The aim of the research is to outline the impact of the exhibition of BioArt works to the public.

A separate questionnaire will be created for other venues that are involved with the issue such as church organizations, humanitarian organizations, organizations for the protection of animal rights, etc. Based on these results, a list of experts (artists, art historians, archaeologists, social anthropologists, scientists, museologists, curators, conservators, legal experts, church representatives etc) and bodies (museums, galleries, churches etc.) will be formed. These experts and bodies could play a key role in forming a Code of Ethics for BioArt.

Finally, in the context of this action, a digital forum will be developed in order to create a meeting place where individuals and bodies can exchange ideas and collaborate.

3.5 Action 5. Code of ethics and good practice guide creation

Based on the results of the fourth action a meeting of everyone involved with the project will be convened in order to evaluate and process the results of the research and the articulation of rules concerning the management of biomaterials. The meeting will comprise representatives of all different segments (artists, art historians, social anthropologists, sociologists, art theorists, lawyers, biologists, archaeologists, museologists, representatives of social and religious institutions, etc). During the meeting, the participants will be organized into working groups and will focus on several areas related to management of BioArt.

The fifth action aims through the presence of international experts to arrive at the convergence of views that will describe a framework of principles and ethics commonly accepted, the final aim of which will be the establishment of a common declaration of principles and rules of management of works of BioArt.

4 EXPECTED RESULTS

Biomaterials and specifically human remains, whether objects of research, objects of artistic production, or objects of religious expression constitute tangible evidence of our cultural heritage. Conversely, biomaterials, because of their conceptual content, also constitute intangible expressions of our cultural heritage, which has been emphasized by the UNESCO treaty on the preservation of intangible heritage. The project will develop a code of ethical practice concerned with the methodological principles that should guide the conservation, display and collection management of such objects, in order to highlight its tangible and intangible content. This will bridge a great gap existing both in the practice and theory of the museological domain involved with the conservation, management and display of art consisted of biomaterials. The project also aspires to foster dialogue among sectors that often remain unconnected, such as the domains of art and science as well as to establish communicative spaces that would generate discussion bringing together the specific points of view held and expressed by society, religion, and the scientific and arts communities.

5 CONCLUSIONS

The great development of communication management that characterizes our times has further facilitated the globalization of the arts. Equally importantly, the rapid development of biological applications and technology has also greatly influenced modern art, both on the level of

inspiration and on the level of application. Both of these phenomena operate in an environment of legal and deontological vacuum, thus posing aesthetic, ideological, philosophical, and political questions that have global dimensions. This is a serious problem since it has an impact on artistic production but also on the entire value system of social and /or ethnic groups. The project is one of the few innovative approaches to the problem worldwide, and to that effect it makes a significant contribution to meeting the above requirements.

The innovation of this project lies in the fact that BioArt itself, as an art form, constitutes an innovation not only in the world of arts, but also in the disciplines associated with it such as biology, conservation, art history, etc., so that any results and accomplishments to still be in their infancy. The project will make decisive contributions to the emergence and dissemination of important information and knowledge concerning it, and will promote interdisciplinary research aimed at creating "common places" to be associated with and support its development.

Another highly innovative element of the project is the collaboration of experts from very different fields representing the arts, the sciences, and society at large, in order to establish a deontological manual that will allow both the freedom of the artist and the promotion of social values. This part of the project demonstrates both its interdisciplinary nature and its connection to the wider society.

The results of the project will be disseminated immediately all around the world because of the great social, scientific and artistic interest that the specific issue rises.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

REFERENCES

Andrews, L. B. (2007). Art as a Public Policy Medium. In E. Kac, ed. *Signs Of Life: Bio Art and Beyond*. Cambridge: The MIT Press. pp.125-149.

Anyon, R. & Thornton, R. (2004). Implementing repatriation in the United States: issues raised and lessons learned. In C. Fforde, J. Hubert & P. Turnbull, eds. *The Dead and Their Possessions. Repatriation in Principle, policy and practice*. London: Routledge. pp.190-198.

Brodyk, A. (2012). Transposon Painting. In S. Baker, P. Thomas & A. Varano, eds. *Interference as a Strategy for Art, the Second International Conference on Transdisciplinary Imaging at the Intersections Between Art, Science and Culture, Conference Proceedings*. Sydney, Australia: Transdisciplinary Imaging Conference. pp.58-67.

Da Costa, B. & Philip, K., eds. (2008). *Tactical Biopolitics: Art, Activism, and Technoscience*. Cambridge, Massachusetts, London, England: The MIT Press.

De Menezes, M. (2007). Art: in vivo and in vitro. In E. Kac, ed. *Signs Of Life: Bio Art and Beyond*. Cambridge: The MIT Press. pp.215-229.

Gessert, G. (2004). A History of Art Involving DNA. In D. Bulatov, ed. *Biomediale. Contemporary Society and Genomic Culture*. Kaliningrad: The National Center for Contemporary Arts. [online version] Available at http://biomediale.ncca-kaliningrad.ru/?blang=eng&author=gessert.

Gessert, G. (2010). *Green Light. Toward an Art of Evolution*. Cambridge, MA – Londýn: MIT Press.

Hubert, J., & Fforde. C.R. (2005). The reburial issue in the twenty-first century. In G. Corsane, ed. *Heritage, Museums and Galleries: An Introductory Reader*. London and New York:.Routledge. pp.107-121.

Joyce, R.A. (2002). Academic freedom, stewardship and cultural heritage: weighing the interests of stakeholders in crafting repatriation approaches. In C. Fforde, J. Hubert & P. Turnbull, eds *The Dead and Their Possessions. Repatriation in Principle, policy and practice*. London: Routledge. pp.99-107.

Kac, E. (2007). Introduction. Art that Looks You in the Eye: Hybrids, Clones, Mutants, Synthetics, and Transgenics. In E. Kac, ed. *Signs Of Life: Bio Art and Beyond*. Cambridge: The MIT Press. pp.1-27.

Kallergi, A. (2008). *Bioart on Display – challenges and opportunities of exhibiting bioart*. The Netherlands: Leiden   University.   [online   version]   Available   at http://www.kallergia.com/bioart/docs/kallergi_bioartOnDisplay.pdf.

Lohman, J. & Goodnow, K., eds. (2006). *Human Remains and Museum Practice*. London: UNESCO.

Nelkin, D. & Anker, S. (2002). The influence of genetics on contemporary art. *Science & Society,* 3: 967-971. [online version]Available at http://www.suzanneanker.com/wp-content/uploads/2002-Anker-Suzanne-Nelkin-Dorothy-The-influence-of-Genetics-in-Contemporary-Art.pdf.

Pandilovski, M. (2008). *Art in the biotech era*. Adelaide: Experimental Art Foundation.

Stibral, K. (2011). Bio art. Živé organismy a biologie v umění (Bio Art: Living Organisms and Biology in Art). *Sešit pro umění, teorii a příbuzné zóny*, 5(1): 20-41. Praha: Akademie výtvarných umění.

Stracey, F. (2009). Bio-art: the ethics behind the aesthetics. *Science & Society,* 10: 496-500.

Wilson, St. (2002). *Information Arts. Intersections of Art, Science, and Technology.* Cambridge, Massachusetts, London, England: The MIT Press.

Χατζηγιαννάκη, Α. (2008)**.** *In Vivo in Vitro: Η τέχνη στην εποχή της βιοτεχνολογικής επανάστασης* (In Vivo in Vitro: Art in the Age of biotechnological revolution). Αθήνα: Futura.

Color traces: from the ancient temples to the Old Town of Casamassima (Bari, Italia)

Tiziana Cardinale
Basilicata University, DiCEM, Matera, Italy

ABSTRACT: The white, pure and classic aspect usually attributed to the sculpture and architecture of the Greek and Roman temples made of marble has been for centuries a certainty. However, thanks to many sources, including passages from the works of Euripides and Plato, we know that in ancient Greek-Roman covering by the color was an integral part of the sculpture. Throughout history the signs of colors on monuments and buildings have been lost and have become intangible. The medieval center of Casamassima (Bari, Italy) once all painted blue, whose secular traces are conserved in more points with a significant stratification. The research show how the traditional and the innovative survey of the original painting and the targeted recovery and refurbishment interventions are crucial to make possible that Casamassima return to shine and to identify, in its most ancient and rich history area, as "The Blue Town".

1 THE COMPLEXITY OF ARCHITECTURES AND COLORS IN THE MEDITERREAN ENVIRONMENTS

In the context of the Mediterranean basin is possible to find some constant architectural aspects and typological basic references that put together the popular constructions from Egypt to Greek islands, from South of Italy to Spain, as well as for all those countries that were made by the hands of the same civilization.

The morphological, geometric and dimensional characteristics developed spontaneously by the men during ancient times, led to solutions in harmony with nature and climate. The combination among architecture, energy and environment has been declined on the basis of the experience and available resources on site and it is now an excellent example for a correct contemporary sustainable design able to ensure comfort levels inside the buildings.

Traditional cultures in the field of architecture are always linked to local building practices, to repetition of formal models, but also to recurrent use of specific colors that, never regarded as mere decorative factors, are the expression of the balance between light and shadow, between solid and empty, between uniformity and diversity.

Color is a building component, a tool and a means of communication of architectural thinking that has to be chosen and understood through a morphological analysis of the natural and the built environment. It is important to know in a deeper way grammar and syntax, geometry and

shape of the architecture and, in particular in the chromatic choice, to ensure visual, perceptual and physical-environmental comfort in built spaces.

Together with volumes, the color determines a perceptive reading of the architectural object and it is configured as a language with a meaning that builds a sign (Radi, 2011).

The Mediterranean culture is pervaded by a range of colors difficult to define and to reveal: undertaking this one, in which perhaps only the great travelers, writers and painters managed.

Generally, in the classic Mediterranean architecture, there was the use of light colors, with particular preference of white, although it is now shown that the surface color was an integral part of the pure and elegant aspect normally attributed to the Greek and the Roman temples made by marble. They were in fact used bright colors derived from the basic minerals and the earth: blue, green, yellow, red with the secondary shades of the brown, while some details could be covered with gold foil.

In the traditional built heritage we can mention numerous cases in which architecture takes on the color of the ground that constitutes their roots, but also others ones in which the facades are often related closely to the color of the air. By analyzing the anthropic phenomena in the natural places, it is clearly revealed the existence of different types of determinants physical elements primarily linked to the earth and to the sky (Norberg-Schulz, 1979).

In the Mediterranean landscape one can distinguish natural colors associated with spontaneous elements such as earth, sand, mud, stone, wood, vegetation, from those artificially introduced by the man, each of which has its own chromatic peculiarity and a wide range of shades, whose features change according to the seasonal cycles, the atmospheric conditions and the light. This one brings together the different elements, connoting itself as a identity and coherent language of a cultural, climate and architectural phenomenon and determining the effects of heaviness or lightness of the material.

Color unity represents integration of the built environment in the surrounding area, continuity between the landscape and its settlement in the case of buildings constructed with blocks of stone extracted from local rock, made by unfired clay or mud, or others whose facades are covered with plaster made with natural pigments.

Artificial materials such as white lime define the texture of a more human-made scenario and come from a real technological, environmental and constructive need. The lime easily available in the different sites leads to an extensive use of this finish as a protective and uniforming layer, which allows to cover any construction irregularities of a structure made by earth or stone. To this one it is associated the peculiarity of white color to reflect the sunlight and thus to reduce the heat gains in the buildings.

It's simple use, functionality and efficacy have extended over time its utilization: it is still now and all over the centuries the color feature of these regions. There, houses are tinted with lime: powder of calcium oxide derived from the cooking of limestone rocks, which dissolved in the water, is used to whitewash walls and buildings. Even the lime is therefore a natural dye from the ground, but it does not allow shades.

In many places of Mediterranean basin arise some settlements whose uniform brilliancy stands out under the sun, which smoothes forms and softens rough edges. They are on the banks of the sea and in the islands (Fig. 1) and they are often formed by regular parallelepipeds with a cubic shape, whereas in the hinterland are configured as villages perched on gentle hills.

The reading of these urban landscapes shows how the use of one color alone does not necessarily generate monotony, thanks to the complexity of the urban texture, drops, morphological variations. Colors of greens, light pink, yellows and blues follow to this light tone.

Figure 1. Typical house in Ibiza.

Among these colors it stands out one in particular, that is recurrent in the Mediterranean architecture, which combines together natural and anthropogenic components of the landscape: it is the blue of the sky, which also reflected itself in the sea generates an intense osmosis of the built with the land and a strong identification of the inhabitants-users with the place.

Like white color, blue color is roughly uniform on the built volumes and does not have many shades and different tones: you can find it on the window frames, on the entrance doors, on the railings of balconies, in the ceramic surfaces (Fig. 2), on the facades of houses, in some whole settlements (Fig. 3).

The examples show how the reference to the dominant color of the natural environment represented by the sky, may be the common interpretation of the same *genius loci* and may become a common *fil rouge* that links architectural expressions and cultures of different countries located around the same water basin, that is, in turn, the unifying element of the built landscape (Duvernoy, 2000).

Figure 2. The market of Valencia (author's photo).

Figure 3. Chefchaouen (Morocco).

2 THE AUTENTIC HISTORIC CENTRE OF CASAMASSIMA: THE "BLUE TOWN"

The color represent the most visible element of the facades, although it is the most short-lived. With the building development of the post-war and the consequent use of modern materials in the construction of new façades and the lack of maintenance of the historical ones, the traditional colors of the façades gradually disappeared, consumed by the time, erased or deleted from the demolition of the same facades. In the restoration of the historic facades, in most of the cases, the only historical document on the original colors is represented by the weak and contradictory traces and, in fact almost intangible, the shades survived, often subject to neglect and abandonment.

The medieval old town of Casamassima is unique and picturesque, with its suggestive narrow streets made of "chianche" (stone flagstones), the "chiassi" (narrow alleys with a dead end), the "corti"(outdoors courtyards between buildings), and the small houses, once all painted in blue, whose secular traces are conserved in several places with a significant stratification. Between history and legend, there are several theories about the color of the buildings: one in particular it dates back to 1658, when a Duke Odoardo Vaaz's order (a man of Portuguese origin), in fulfillment of a vow made to Our Lady of Constantinople to ward off the plague epidemic and purify the block of Casamassima, imposed to the population to paint the houses with lime adding the color blue as the Lady's mantle.

Since then, for centuries the population continued to do so and until the end of the 70s the historic center appeared still almost entirely of this particular color so that the Milanese painter Vittorio Viviani, who spent some time in Casamassima, was impressed by this singular village and immortalized it in his paintings, baptizing it the "Blue Town" (Fig.4).

The village developed in the eighth century around an imposing manor house called "Castle", still existing, but which has recently been condemned unfit for the use because it is unsafe. The Old Town was closed by a wall with 33 towers, all now incorporated in the last circle of houses, crossed by two principal road axis: one north-south and the other one east-west that have several entrances (on the east-west axis "Porta Nuova", "Porta Santa Chiara"; on the other one "Porta Conversano" and "Porta dell'Orologio", previously "Porta dei Molini").

In the historical center we have to mention: the main entrance constituted by "Porta dell'Orologio", the Church of the Holy Cross built in 1321, the St. Clare's Monastery founded in 1573, the Doge's Palace, called "Castle" of the twelfth century, the "Shadows Arch", the Ex Monacelle's Convent of the seventeenth century with the baroque annexed Addolorata's Church (1800) and with the bell tower characterized by an onion cusp.

Figure 4. "Blue Town", V.Viviani (oily painting, undate, Collection Municipality of Alberobello).

The housing types in the old town of Casamassima, according to the different social categories (farmers, artisans, merchants, rich landowners, clergy, large monasteries) who lived there over the centuries, as it is shown by numerous stone inscriptions still today, are quite complex because includes units ranging from small and simple to patrician buildings. For this reason the destinations of use should be diversified according to the structure, then dividing them into several housing types, all covered with blue (Figs. 5a, 5b):

- farmer housing types: the smallest and simplest houses in the village, but the most characteristic and ancient; indeed many constitute the first circle of houses around the "Castello" dating back to the twelfth century. They consist of a lower floor (sottano) with natural lighting from the access door, an upper floor (soprano) with a window equipped with side consoles of Dalmatian influence and with the cornice in calcareous sandstone which is accessed by an external stone staircase (vignale) and a small compartment on the roof terrace (commersa) which is accessed by an internal staircase made by stone or wood;

- craftsman housing types: it is a larger house consists of one room on the ground floor, where the activity took place, and an upper floor with an external staircase consisting mostly of a small kitchen/living room, a bed room and a roof terrace;

- commercial housing types: the welfare situation of category achieved in XVII-XVIII century determines the construction of buildings with commercial premises on the ground floor and a large and comfortable apartment, with more rooms upstairs with balconies, which is accessed by a little door with internal staircase;

- patrician housing types: Casamassima was visited by the presence of numerous high social class families. Until the nineteenth century they lived in the old town where they built their residence consisting of a very large building with several floors, with a large entrance door and often with a court or an interior garden, and whose facades present decorative architectural elements such as columns, pilasters, entablatures, etc. Many now are privately owned and are inhabited, other ones uninhabited or other sale.

Each property must be involved in a targeted process of urban regeneration and must return, perhaps through the aggregation of multiple units, previously refurbished or just maintained, to host residences and all the kind of possible activities such artisanal, commercial, cultural and catering ones.

Figure 5. The Blue Town (M.Pagliara's photo).

3 THE STRATEGIES TO THE URBAN REGENERATION

The Ancient Villages are places of excellence to be preserved and protected, special ecosystems in which we must restore the urban quality (aesthetic, functional, housing).

Therefore it becomes central to intervene creating or re-creating places able to relate with the urban in a balanced way, in respect of the historical and cultural inheritance, local knowledge, eco-sustainability and living comfort. It is also really important to start, in concert between government and citizens, a participatory strategic planning able to promote a technical and methodological process that makes the Old Town and its surrounding areas "more attractive" and "more competitive". All of these operating strategies are within the Project "The Blue Town", prepared by two architects, Antonio Pastore and Marilina Pagliara (Tourist Association Pro Loco). It has the goal of being a support for integrated actions for the recovery and urban regeneration in order to improve the living conditions of the residents and encourage the valorization of the territory and economic and touristic development (public and private funding, involvement of new companies, ...).

So we work on two fronts. One technical and design, including works of urbanization, requalification interventions of public, religious and private buildings, insertion of commercial, craft and accommodation activities (within a global framework integrated with the guidelines, the activities and the provisions of General Regulatory Plan, the Plan of Recovery of the Historical Center, of the PIRP (Integrated Programs Requalification of the Suburbs), of the GAL Seb (Local Action Group of the Southeast of Bari), of the PIST "Lame of Peucetia" (Integrated Plan for Territorial Development), of the Project SAC - Ecomuseum of Peucetia (Environmental and Cultural Systems)). The other one social and cultural, including the development of the working activities and the enhancement of the town thanks to the scheduling and the execution of events, meetings and cultural events ("Flowered Balcony", "Little architects for the Blue Town", "Historical Parade Corrado IV of Svevia") to stimulate and motivate the population and the regular customers.

The common elements to the various interventions of building and urban recovery have to be the careful application of the latest technologies able to ensure energy efficiency and environmental sustainability and restore the typical surface that gave to the town the name of "Blue

Town". Over the last few years, it was defaced and raped in its uniqueness and integrity because of the arbitrary and poorly coordinated initiatives, not assigned to specific skills and not controlled by the competent bodies.

3.1   *The "Color Plan": the critical reading of the image of the place*

What are, therefore, tools, techniques, operative strategies through which tidy up the chaos of an degraded urban landscape like this one? Undoubtedly the understanding of artifacts color is a complex process with an increasing interest. The color is the result of sedimentations and metamorphosis and is linked to shape and space, so it is not a physical quantity but derives from a visual sensation and a mental subjective interpretation. It is difficult to measure and to communicate. In addition to the objective difficulty of its identification, there are other two problematic aspects: its ephemerality because, not being considered as a constructive element, it is relatively easy to change; its low stability over time because of the ease of degradation of the pigments in the exposure to the light and to atmospheric factors (Figs. 6, 7, 8). Over time there was the tendency to consider it an incidental and marginal surface finish, documented in an insufficient way during design and construction, and investigated through superficial approaches.

The issue of coloration and the physical consistency of finishes and wall facings are, as mentioned, crucial elements in the restoration project of the built structure. It forms an integral part of this process, since the knowledge and analysis phases are preliminary to any intervention. The rules are unsatisfactory in this field and you could not disregard the survey of materials, colors and textures. Into the qualification and requalification planning we should increasingly develop initiatives that tackle the theme of color in the architectures and in the details and that take the name of "Color Plan". The main goal is to create a unified and general framework for the definition of the identity features of the urban built environment, aimed at the correct control of chromatic recovery of the façades, in accordance with history, environment, style and use of materials and techniques of the past times, based on criteria of bio-compatibility, health and safety.

The local governments more careful to the problem of the public spaces quality and the enhancement of the perceptive aspect in the historic centers begin to guess its strategic importance. For this reason, in small towns such as the Authentic Town of Casamassima the mature management of the available resources, through promotion and adoption of a correct "Color Plan", should be a smart and relatively inexpensive way to create job opportunities and qualification of the territory. All of this has significant social and economic consequences, which require, on one hand, a recovery of the artisanal know-how and, on the other one, a continual updating and a new technological and cultural awareness, result of a closer collaboration between professionals, researchers, companies and craftsmen.

Figure 6. Blue traces on the walls (M.Pagliara's photo).

Figure 7. Blue traces on the walls (M.Pagliara's photo).

Figure 8. Blue traces on the walls (M.Pagliara's photo).

3.2   *From the survey to the knowledge: traditional and innovative methodologies*

The relief of the finishing can be performed both by direct chromatic survey and by computerized one. In this context, it becomes more and more important the need to make, in addition to historical-critical investigations, also accurate and detailed activities of direct and instrumental analysis, through conventional and unconventional methods.

The color evaluation is traditionally accomplished with direct visual type systems based on the comparison with appropriate and calibrated color cards, or with indirect methods that utilize most sophisticated instrumentation able to physically measure the spectral composition. The direct survey of color takes advantage of the comparison between a series of standard samples and the tones under examination (according to the traces of the shades survived on the plaster and on the stone materials of the façades).

Nowadays, however, the most advanced technological research has made available to the "surveyors/restorers" new and important means to support the study of historical buildings colors and materials. The use of active optical sensors in some kinds of automatic survey equipment has indeed strongly changed two important features: the traditional approach linked to the acquisition of the value "color" in architecture and the specific skills of the operators, who are now also photographers and experts in digital imaging, coloring and texture mapping. It is clear that the use of the modern and automatic technologies to the 3D survey can be a valuable additional tool to support the knowledge of historical buildings, by classifying also its chromatic aspects and identifying its alterations.

But this could be possible only if you take into account the importance of a good planning of the survey project, with strong and multidisciplinary devices and with the purpose of conservation and restoration, not only in terms of a metric, architectural and constructive approach (Versaci & Cardaci, 2011).

3.3 *The lime paints*

Technical and aesthetic properties of the lime paints, such as chemical and physical efficiency, breathability, compatibility with the substrate, softness of the tones, richness and brilliance of chromatic components etc., compared with those of other types of wall painting, are still now subject of great attention.

It is necessary to specify that, according to the rule UNI 8715 and to the recommendation NorMal 04/85, we distinguish the "tints" (not film-forming, such as the lime or the silicate paints) and the "paints" (film-forming, such as water polymer or resin dispersion paints). The first ones bind and adhere to the substrate by means of a chemical reaction, the second ones adhere to the substrate mechanically, by means of physical forces, acting as the glues. Among the shades of the first type, the lime ones are undoubtedly much more ancient and they marked the face of our historic centers.

The main features that make the lime paint one of the best options for building restoration operations are the excellent protection and breathability of the walls, continues hygiene and healthy living conditions, physical and chemical compatibility with the majority of materials used in the traditional building, simple and inexpensive maintenance of the surfaces. The lime paints represent one of the best finishing systems also from the aesthetic point of view. The optical properties of the lime, such as its birefringence, determined chromatic effects, transparency and brightness of the surfaces not achievable with other types of materials.The lime finally meets all the general criteria of the biocompatibility: biodegradability, components of natural origin, durability, reduced maintenance and respect for ecosystems.

But there are also factors that limit the use of lime paints and that have determined its substantial abandonment: the need for some particularly porous substrates, that have to be compatible with the alkalinity of the lime and the indispensable control of the environmental conditions (eg. lime paints can be applied only with a temperature between 5 and 30 °C). Finally, there is a general difficulty in lime paint preparation and application determined by the disappearance of skilled labour. On the exterior surfaces directly exposed to the atmospheric agents and in polluted environments, the lime paints have a durability rather limited, however age "nobly" and they consume itself without forming films. So the progressive deterioration is often a distinctive feature rather than a defect.

The components of the lime paint are hydrated lime (quality and aged from 12-24 months slaked lime), water (pure, fresh, free from microorganisms and pollutants), water lime $(Ca(OH)_2)$ and pigments. A lime paint is naturally white and its hue is affected by the quality of the lime used: for the presence of impurities it can assume grey and yellowish tones. To obtain other colors, you have to add pigments, preferably of mineral nature because they are stable and opaque, anyway chosen from those that are compatible with the causticity of the lime. The only limitation is that you do not exceed a certain ratio between the content of lime and the one of the pigment, otherwise you have the weakening of the lime paint, and so it will no longer be suitable to fix the color. For a normal lime paint it is better to never exceed the 10% (in volume) of pigment compared to the content in slaked lime (still in volume). The quantity of pigment must still be verified each time, since it varies in relation to its chemical nature and its grinding. The

lime paints can be used on a wide varied range of substrates and if you apply and maintain them properly they have an excellent performance in the restoration of the original finishes.

4   CONCLUSIONS

The technical and chromatic interpretation of the walls is fundamental in any recovery and urban regeneration interventions, as it determines a linguistic and semantic reading of the architectural organism (examples of restoration such as Sankt Nikolai in Berlin might be taken into account). The same color can have different interpretations, because it transmits moral, ideological, textural, technical and functional values in relation to the signifier to symbolize and to the function to perform.

The protection and the valorization of the wall hangings and of the plastic aspects of the geometric shapes ensure the attractiveness of an old town. In this way it could be able to survive, thanks to the collective interest of the people who live there and of those who visit it for hospitality and tourism, looking for places in which the historic memory, the tradition and the visual suggestions that make possible to imagine our past and the lives of our ancestors are focused, without sacrificing the comfort.

The Old Town of Casamassima, with its history that led it to be called the Blue Town, is under all aspects an Authentic Town, without cloning and with its own strong identity that has to be vigorously preserved with the involvement of everybody.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

REFERENCES

Braudel, F. (2002). *Il Mediterraneo. Lo spazio e la storia, gli uomini e la tradizione.* Roma: Newton Compton.
Don Sante Montanaro (1997). *Casamassima nella Storia dei Tempi.* Bari: Levante Editori.
Duvernoy, S. (2000). L'azzurro dell'aria. In Emma Mandelli, ed. *Il comune senso del colore; Materia e geometría,* (8): 54-58. Firenze: Alinea Editrice.
Forum Italiano Calce (n.d.). *La Calce in architettura e in bio-edilizia.*
Monaco, A. (1997). *La casa mediterranea. Modelli e deformazioni.* Napoli: Edizioni Magma.
Muzzio, F. (1990). *Regionalismo dell'architettura.* Padova
Norberg-Schulz, C. (1979). *Genius loci: paesaggio, ambiente, architettura.* Milano: Electa.
Pagliara, M., Pastore I. & Pastore A. (1979). *Tesi di Laurea: Interventi urbanistici nei centri storici: Casamassima.* Napoli: Facoltà di Architettura.
Pagliara, M. & Pastore, A. (2010). *Progetto il Paese Azzurro. La storia-il borgo di mezzo-il futuro.* Pro Loco Casamassima.
Radi, V. (2011). *Edifici a risparmio energetico nelle regioni del Mediterraneo.* Rimini: Maggioli Editore.
Serra Florensa, R. & Coch Roura, H. (1997). *L'energia nel progetto di Architettura.* Milano: CittàStudiEdizioni.
Versaci, A. & Cardaci, A. (2011). Il rilievo "automatico" del colore: nuove tecnologie a supporto della lettura cromatica per il restauro dell'edilizia storica. In P. Falzone, ed. *Il colore nel costruito storico. Innovazione, sperimentazione, applicazione.; Proc.intern. symp. Lerici 13 October 2011, XXXIII Convegno Internazionale dei Docenti delle Discipline della Rappresentazione.* Roma: Aracne Editrice.

Bringing museums home. Anthropology as apprenticeship

Valentina Gamberi
University of Chester, Chester, United Kingdom

ABSTRACT: This paper compares field data collected between 2008 and 2011 in two Alpine regions: the Fassa Valley, in the Italian Dolomites, and Flums, a small village in north-eastern Switzerland. The Museum Ladin de Fascia and the Maskenmuseum emphasise indigenous social and cultural patterns through a specific logic. The strategies and choices of each museum, however, inevitably entail the risk of conflicts with those artisans whose understanding of tradition and material culture is different. New exhibition spaces have become forms of reaction against the 'official' narrative. The assumptions of museum policies and those of museum anthropology change radically when discussed in domestic environments. This depends on narrative emerging from the artefacts, as well as the performance taking place in a living arena. This paper reflects on the advantages presented by an active dialogue with museums and artisans' houses conceptualised as communicative channels of material culture and folk art.

1   MIRRORING TWO ALPINE MUSEUMS: MUSEUM LADIN DE FASCIA AND MASKENMUSEUM

1.1.   *Methodological premises of the work*

In this paper I will compare and contrast comparatively two different fieldwork experiences conducted between 2008 and 2011. Myinterest was initially confined to the material culture of the woodcarvers of Carnival masks in the Dolomitic Fassa Valley, in the north-east of Italy. There is abundant scholarly literature on the subject of the traditional Carnival performed in the valley, but there was no research based on the technical skills transmitted from generation to generation in order to make Carnival masks. On that occasion, I conducted interviews with eight to ten woodcarvers living in the valley over a period of two weeks, one in July 2008 and the other in August 2008. As the woodcarvers usually start to sculpt masks in autumn, the interviews were principally discursive and had the aim of underlying the contemporary context

of their production in a valley characterised by an intense, economic involvement in the tourist sector. Many of the woodcarvers did not learn their art from their parents, as in the past, but rather by attending the local artschool, where there was no interest in masks which could be worn beyond their being visually attractive. In particular, the carver's style and skills, I noticed, were strongly influenced by an exhibition held at the local *Museum Ladin*, in 1988.[1] In fact, the catalogue of the exhibition was used by local carvers as an instruction manualand a source of knowledge. I felt the necessity to inquire into the roots of such an influence, by observing diachronically the relationships between the *Museum Ladin*and the carvers. I then conducted interviews with the curators of the *Museum Ladin*, in order to reconstruct the manner of contact and influence between the staff of the museum and the local artisans in 2011. With the same goal in mind, I again interviewed one of the eight woodcarvers with whom I had previously come into contact. I chose Virgilio, because not only was he one of the very rare carvers who had learned sculpting from his father, but also because the majority of the masks exhibited in the *Museum Ladin* were created by him. By these means, I wanted to see different versions and perceptions of the communicative and exhibitive operations of the museum.

From this perspective, the concept of local museum and community, whose culture is represented and exhibited by the former, became central to my reflection within a broader ecological approach to museums. According to Worts (2006), museums are like mirrors of a community, which is embraced in all its interrelations, i.e. material and immaterial culture. Just like there are stories of masks, some certified by their passage from different scenarios (e.g. from Carnival tool to artistic object for sale and exhibition),while other are related to the biographical experiences of the actors who came into contact with them, there is also the story of the museum, with its inner narratives (Steiner, 2001: 228-229). The convergence of emic and etic approaches in a museum context led me to work comparatively in the broader field of alpine anthropology and to appreciate the differences between the *Museum Ladin*, run by scholars, and the *Maskenmuseum*of Flums, a small village in the German Swiss Canton of Sankt Gallen, which is, instead, administered by a group of local woodcarvers. Therefore, my secondary aim in this research was to try and understand how a museum run by the actual manufacturers of the object therein exhibited could express local culture, and if the difference with the scholarly interpretation was a substantial one. My fieldwork experience in Flums lasted one month (February 2011) and was characterised both by the participant observation of the activities of the group and by interviews, not only with the members of the association but also with all the social players, i.e. old carvers, members of Carnival groups, local politicians, inhabitants, etc., who have come into contact with the *Maskenmuseum*. I was helped by Italian-Swiss inhabitants as translators, since, despite my German, the carvers spoke in a local dialect which is difficult to understand even for Zürich people.

Precisely because eco-museology 'takes as its starting points the individual and collective needs in which a museum is situated' (ibid, 128), I decided to extend my research to the audience of the two museums. While in the *Maskenmuseum* I interviewed the public in visit during a participant observation of the museum narratives displayed by two guides, in the case of the *Museum Ladin*,I compiled questionnaires directed both at school groups and at an adult public.

1.2. *Freudian repression in the Museum Ladin de Fascia*

The curators of the *Museum Ladin de Fascia* view artefacts as diachronic entities. Objects should reveal the social structure of a culture from its formation to the present, but, at the same time, they should be a creative input for the future(Poppi&Chiocchetti, 1978: 56). This idea of objects agrees with Marxist conceptualisation of history as rationalising and rationalised by people's minds, the curators. Furthermore, the curators' ideology reflects a typical, local opinion in matters of tradition: the past is the instrument we use to think about the present and a way of being engaged with a transformative, and therefore political, attitude to contemporaneity. Things from the past (*robes da chiscegn*) coexist with things of the present (*robes d'inchencondì*) (Poppi, 1992: 119). As in Freudian repression, the museum stage makes local visitors conscious of their past and their cultural identity. However, this identification is not acquired by means of a passive and merely aesthetic contemplation. It rather provokes a comprehension of the curators' hermeneutical operation, a 'didactic of taste'

(Poppi&Chiocchetti, 1978: 29). The engaged approach to knowledge of the *Museum Ladin de Fascia* is in line with the struggle for identity of the Ladin people, an ethnic minority, organised in political movements since the late 1970s, and therefore it has brought curators intodirect contact with the local population. Not only did they need the latter in order to acquire the objects, but also they wanted the Ladins involved in the creation of the museum.

In the museum, the separation of life histories incorporated by objects from their structural, symbolic meaning is clear. While the life histories and biographical accounts narrated around objects are collected in the multi-media devices of the exhibition (they can be accessed only on demand) the main space in the cabinets is reserved for the more general artefacts (i.e. cultural patterns). Conceptualised as a community space, exhibited objects can be reclaimed by the original owners, for a while or forever. Touching an object is the practical translation of the curators' ethical endeavour.

The curators'attitude towards objects, as proofs and bearers of social structures, has led to occasional conflict with those Ladins who experience artefacts as possessions imbued with feelings. It is the case of the flag of the Fassa community. The flag is explained by two tags. One explains the flag was used in 1809 during the battle against Napoleon. The other –though not easy to read –reports the words of the daughter of Otto Weiss, the owner of the flag. Baker of the village of Vigo, Otto Weiss, was furious with the museum operation, which he compared to a clinical dissection without any affection or respect for Ladin culture. Disagreement thus surrounds possession: one of the curators commented on my curiosity regarding the label saying that Weiss was not the owner, rather the keeper of the flag, thereby suggesting that cultural objects are the property of a community, not of a single individual.

1.3.   *Conflicts and propaganda in the Maskenmuseum*

While the curators of the *Museum Ladin* have always tried to construct a democratic debate with the local population, the small *Maskenmuseum* is a space of and for conflicts.The museum is situated in a social context characterised by clubs or apolitical associations engaged in a never-ending competition with one another. The *Maskenmuseum* was founded in 2006 by the *Sarganserländische Teilgemeinschaft*, a philanthropic association whose aim is the cultural and economic valorisation of the *Sarganserland* district. The criteria of the exhibitions are straightforward: in the first room each village is represented by its typical mask whereas in the second room old and contemporary masks are shown as evidence of the*Sarganserland*tradition. The intention is that of synchronously linking the region as a whole and its local specificity.

As the *Teilgemeinschaft*had insufficient funds to run the museum, the association asked the Carnival mask carvers' club of Flums to direct the*Maskenmuseum*for free. The members of the club accepted. However, the club is characterised by an obsessive struggle for artistic fame. Its members compare themselves to Michelangelo and try to attract the attention of large audiences. Not only do they participate in all possible public events, e.g. weekly markets, national and international exhibitions but they also appeared on the local television, *TV Rheintal*during my fieldwork. Runningthe *Maskenmuseum*is thus a powerful tool for propagating the club's activities and artistic skills. It follows that the museum narratives and exhibiting criteria are entirely influenced by the club's own aesthetics, and all the masks that do not abide by such a canon are banned from the museum space and stored in its cellars and wardrobes. This censuring operation is similar to a sacralisation process, i.e. creating boundaries between pure and impure: ''Museification'-the entry of an object into a museum –has a striking parallel with 'sacralisation' –the making of an object sacred.' (Paine: 2013, 2).

The arbitrary choice between a pure and an impure mask entails an effective and aggressive competition against other carvers or Carnival groups. One of the worsttensions is with a carver from the Black Angels, a local Carnival group.[2] The aesthetic criteria of the museum is distinguished by its symmetry, whereas its total absence characterises the masks of the Black Angels carver, who is thus exposed to negative comments. As a reaction, the carver decided not to expose or to give any of his masks to the *Maskenmuseum*. Furthermore, his pub, which is the associative space of his group and was already used as a deposit for his masks and an exhibition arena, has become a counter-museum, a sort of response to the institutionalised one. Moving from this counter-voice I was able to understand the dynamics of craftsmanship better and their relation to the domestic environment became clearer to me.

2   HOW HOMES CAN TEACH SOMETHING TO MUSEUMS

> E' tanta la mia ripulsa per i cartellini vicini ad ogni oggetto per spiegarlo, che a vederli etichettati ho l'impressione di mettergli la vecchia divisa da carcerato, con il numero relativo. (Guatelli, 1996: 244)
> [My repugnance for labels is so strong, that, when I see labelled objects, I have the impression of putting an old imprisoned uniform, with the corresponding number, on them (author's translation)]

2.1.   *Virgilio's domestic life stories*

During my first research sojourn in the Fassa Valley, I met a family of carvers, father and son, whose narrative, physically embodied in masks, is crucial for auto-representing them as members of a historical lineage of artists. The father, Virgilio, was very keen to record all sorts of family anecdotes. This was achieved by charcoaling a giant family tree, which he showed me during his interview.

As part of my analysis of the relations between carvers and the local museums, I asked, through a member of the staff of the *Museum Ladin*, to visit the museum together. In fact, there are several masks on display, which were produced by himself and his father. My task was to compare his narration and that of the museum curators. He objected that he was not comfortable with that. Driven by curiosity, rather than asking another carver, I decided to interview him at his home-atelier, showing him photos of the masks I had previously taken at the museum.

This second encounter was really different from the first. The empathy gained during the previous meeting was just waiting for a second opportunity. On that afternoon, I felt I was not merely a young researcher, but a human being. The dialogue with the carver was as spontaneous as one between two relatives or friends. For instance, he asked my opinion on his style and his usage of charcoal for some pictures, as my feedback could be useful for his artistic awareness. For a while, I believe, I forgot my role as anthropologist and was completely engrossed in Virgilio's narration. Empathy and acceptance should serve the academic study of material culture.

My informant participated actively in the making of the 1988catalogue. In fact, he compares in every photograph, each of them showing a stage of mask carving. He was acknowledged as one of the last few carvers to acquire and master this ancient technique in the old way, i.e. from father to son, rather than from attending the local art school. Admittedly, he is well-aware of his talent and the interest he generates among scholars and/or tourists. From his point of view, scholars and customers are the same in their museum-bound search for feelings, namely a tangible representation of what they look in a mask. In the public space delimited by the museum, masks were hanging on walls whereas the carver –when I met him for the first time – used to keep them in a wooden wardrobe. The fact that he decided to give more visibility to his creation follows, in all probability, the publication of a volume which includes vast photographic documentation on his work (Poppi&Malfer, 2011).

There are two main reasons for the difference between the museum exhibition and his domestic atelier. First, Virgilio thinks of his own space in workshop terms, i.e. as a chance to earn something. Second, but nonetheless equally important, his two sisters sold his father's masks without his permission. This separation was experienced as a traumatic loss in that his father's legacy was expected to be shared in an inter-subjective relationship, not in an anonymous context. This trauma motivated his refusal to visit the museum, as well as his laconic words about the masks I showed him through the camera. In contrast, his narrative on the masksand the other works created in his atelier was remarkably expressive, particularly when he opened his diary, a centripetal net for his domestic life stories.

2.2.   *The struggle against deterioration: the labelling of the Black Angels' carver*

In contrast with Virgilio, the Black Angels' carver has developed a personal and original idea of museums. Not only does his pub constitute a counter-voice and a critical response to the *Maskenmuseum*, but he has also created unique criteria for the organisation and classification of his material. During my visit, he decided which object was worth explaining. This was followed

by a narration vis-à-vis of the object and its manipulation or activation (in the case of mechanical tools).The objects were labelled in an active dialogue with the visitor, who was asked to interact by activating gears, to reflect upon the possible function of his eccentric creation, and to comment on the physical materiality of such objects. This detailed and well-orchestrated narration follows a strict ethics in collecting objects.

Everything that is destined to deterioration, e.g. rusty, old beds or the teeth of a fox carcass, is stored in the artist's unused granary or in his workshop, waiting for a new life as an artistic tool. Interestingly, the majority of the objects are packed into boxes with a label identifying their similarities and connections. For instance, animal fangs are inside the box 'teeth'. Staring at of that long line of labelled boxes reminded me ofone of the key scenes of the movie *Everything is illuminated* (Schreiber, 2005). The only survivor of the massacre of the small Jewish-Ukranian village of Trachimbrod during WW2 collected the belongings of her co-villagers, e.g. wedding rings, in order to celebrate their memory. However, the old carver's work is not merely restricted to the preservation of the memories of past, metonymically contained in decayed objects. Rather, he creates new lives from deterioration. In this fashion he overcomes mourning and nostalgia felt forobjects that have outlived their usefulness.

This practice is reminiscent of the Italian *MuseoGuatelli*in Ozzano Taro, a small village near Parma. Its founder, the primary school teacher EttoreGuatelli, decided to turn the house where he was born into a museum where objects from a near yet disappearing past,deemed by most as waste, were put together as parts of a giant artistic framework. Old rakes, nails and agricultural tools hung on the walls of his home forming circular shapes and a harmonious picture. Nineteenth-century toys or utensils for cooking cornmeal mush were and are activated by the museum chaperon, a volunteer, since Guatelli passed away,so as to remind visitors of their past usages. The visitor is not a passive contemplator. In fact, she is continuously dirtied by the dust of museum objects and encouraged to touch them.

These counter-examples from different museums are characterised by a fuzzy logic (Hájek&Cintula, 2006, 863; Gerla, 2006: 137). Knowledge is not possessed by the arbitrary narrative of the curators, but rather by the interactive dialogue established between visitorsand the householder. In the Swiss carver workshop, even Russian chisels find their place and are considered worthy ofbeing narrated and shown, in sharp contrast with the *Maskenmuseum*.

3 CONCLUSIONS

> If the lost feel of hot plaster on skin in the masks had made me uneasy, the palpable effluvium of mildew mixed with rotting leather in the shoes had nauseated me.
> [...] While the size of the pile made a powerful statement, the experience of the people being forced to remove their shoes had been disregarded, and as such the crucial link between German colonialism and the relics of the Holocaust was missing. (Feldman, 2006: 249-250)

Starting the conclusions of this paper with Feldman's reaction towards the shameful smell of genocide may seem to jar with the previous reflections. On the contrary, what Feldman underlies, namely the disregard of the Holocaust victims' life stories from the physical quantity of the shoes is precisely the point I reached through my fieldwork experience, even though from totally different perspectives.Culture is often perceived by both its bearers and by scholars, as a fixed work,[3] with a clear boundary between the inside and the outside, instead of a dynamic set of relationships entangled within a specific environment (Ingold, 2000: 4-5) or, as Smith (2006) would rephrase it, 'a multilayered activity' (Smith, 2006: 1). In the field of eco-museology, the concept of community has often become an epistemological means of separation of the local communities from the so-called specialists (Waterson & Smith, 2010: 5).

This conceptualisation of material culture as something which is tangible, physically mapped, aesthetically pleasant and monumental darkens its specificity and those of heritage and museums as results of the cultural processes which are linked to and generate them (Smith, 2006: 3-4). For instance, this questionable perception of materiality as an immutable and innate entity has been translated intoscholarly ineptitude in handling embodied knowledge, which is, on the contrary, subject to time, subjectivity and entails a complicated relation with the mere

physicality of the objects. As seen throughout this paper, objects are not opaque. They do not reveal themselves as mere aesthetic products, but rather as recipients of memories and skills which influence them according to a pattern reflecting the socio-cultural dynamics where they are situated. As a student of anthropological methodology, I myself was prevented from immediately realising the potential importance of workshops and artisan's homes in suggesting new challenges to material culture studies. The recycling logic displayed in these contexts allows visitors to contact and experience their own universes of making and perceive them as alive and not past or dead objects (Clemente, 1996: 168). Within the limits of technical performance, namely showing how an object works, the re-enactor and collector re-actualises objects, by which one is literally possessed (Ibidem, 26).

The function of museums as 'theatre of memory' (Smith, 2006: 235), which should follow the narratives recounted and displayed by the artisans in their homes, is often underestimated, basically because of the political power embodied in them which establishes ''who' should do the remembering and forgetting'(ibid, 197). In this respect, we are witnessing a process of legitimisation of museums as logical places of memory, which negates a broader spectrum of storytelling as a way of contrasting and challenging different vertions of life stories. A constructive dialogue between museum curators, scholars of material culture and the domestic environment of these eccentric re-enactors could be the solution in order to enliven museum representation, thereby bringing to light the multivocality and, therefore, the dissonance between the different voices belonging to the same material culture or heritage (ibid, 81).

> Heritage *is* dissonant –it is a constitutive social process that on the one hand is about regulating and legitimizing, and on the other hand is about working out, contesting and challenging a range of cultural and social identities, sense of place, collective memories, values and meanings that prevail in the present and can be passed to the future. (ibid, 82)

ENDNOTES

[1] I mean the exhibition Faceres, whose catalogue isFaceres. Maschere lignee della Val di Fassa (Chiocchetti, 1988).
[2] I nominate the English translation of the association of the Black Angels in order to distinguish it from the local carver's club.
[3] It is really useful reading Goher's reflection in musicology field. Music, as culture, is seen by musicologists like a pure work of undeniable truth, whereas music performance constantly changes depending on different interpreters, different historical ages, etc. SeeGoher, 1994.

REFERENCES

Chiocchetti, F. ed. (1988). *Faceres. Maschere lignee della Val di Fassa*. Vich/Vigo di Fassa: Istitut Cultural Ladin.

Clemente, P. (1996).*Graffiti di museografia antropologica italiana*. Siena: Protagon Editori Toscani.

Feldman, J. D. (2006). Contact Points: Museums and the Lost Body Problem. In E. Edwards, C. Gosden, & R. B. Philips. *Sensible Objects. Colonialism, Museums and Material Culture*. Oxford, New York. pp.245-267.

Gerla, G. (2006). Effectiveness and Multivalued Logic. *The Journal of Symbolic Logic*, 71(1): 137-162.

Goher, L. (1994). *The imaginary Museum of Musical Works. An Essay in the Philosophy of Music*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Guatelli, E. (1996). Spunto da una nota del 16/7/8. In P. Clemente & E. Guatelli eds. *Il bosco delle cose. Il Museo Guatelli di Ozzano Taro*. Parma: Ugo Guanda.. p.244.

Hájek & Cintula (2006). On Theories and Models in Fuzzy Predicate Logic. *The Journal of Symbolic Logic*, 71(3): 863-880.

Ingold, T. (2000). *On Perception of the Environment: Essays on Livelihood*. Dwelling & Skill. London: Routledge.

Paine, C. (2013). *Religious Objects in Museums.Private Lives and Public Duties.London*, New York: Bloomsbury.

Poppi, C. & Chiocchetti, F. (1978). La *struttura e le cose: riflessioni e proposte per un museo ladino di Fassa.Mondo Ladino2-3-4*.

Poppi, C. (1992). Building Difference. The Political Economy of Tradition in the Ladin Carnival of the Val di Fassa. In J. Boissevain, ed. *Revitalizing European Rituals*. London: Routledge. pp.113-136.

Poppi, C. & Malfer G. (2001). *CarnascèrFascian. Un rito tradizionale nella modernità*. Brescia: Grafo Edizioni.

Schreiber, L. (Director), Turtletaub, M., Saraf, P. & Stillman, M. (Producers). (2005) *September 16.Everything is illuminated*. [Movie]. USA: Warner Independent Picture.

Smith, L. (2006). *Uses of Heritage*. London and New York: Routledge.

Steiner, C. B. (2001). Rights of Passage: On the Liminal Identity of Art in The Border Zone. In F. Myers, ed. The *Empire of Things. Regimes of Value and Material Culture*. Santa Fe, New Mexico: School of American Research, Sheridan Books. pp.207-233.

Waterson, E. & Smith, L. (2010). The recognition and misrecognition of community heritage. *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 16(1-2): 4-15.

Worts, D. (2006). Transformational Encounters: Reflections on Cultural Participation and Ecomuseology. *Canadian Journal of Communication*, 31(1): 127-146.

The uses of intangible heritage and the promotion of tourism in the Catalan Pyrenees

Xavier Roigé
Universitat de Barcelona, Catalonia, Spain

Camila del Mármol
Universitat de Barcelona, Catalonia, Spain

ABSTRACT: In this article we consider the interrelationship between heritage and tourism as exemplified in the Catalan Pyrenees. In recent years tourism has been evolving and finding new forms and elements in order to diversify what if offers and attract new audiences. Amongst these, intangible heritage has become one of the most important and valuable elements. Intangible heritage has been used to bring added value to tourism, creating and sometimes reinventing a cultural landscape which focuses on the values of nature and rural life. We analyse various examples of the uses of intangible heritage and then discuss the opportunities and dangers in the use of this type of heritage which entails redefining social and cultural images and even inventing new types of heritage.

1   INTRODUCTION. TOURISM AND INTANGIBLE HERITAGE

In recent years tourism has been evolving and finding new forms and elements in order to diversify what if offers and attract new audiences. Amongst these, intangible heritage has become one of the most important and valuable elements. An increasing number of tourists are being attracted not only by recreational and cultural experiences but also by the opportunity to find added value through experiencing intangible heritage, which has become one of the most popular objectives of cultural tourism. An analysis of this interrelationship will enable us to gain a much better understanding of the interest in intangible heritage.

This article considers the interrelationship between intangible heritage and tourism as exemplified in the Catalan Pyrenees[1]. In recent decades this territory has experienced a rapid process of tertiarization, basedprincipally on tourism related to scenery and mountain sports. But at the same time the need to diversify provision and to create a specificidentity has entailed giving greater value to cultural heritage, creating and at times reinventing a cultural landscape based on the values of nature and rural life. We will analyse various examples of the uses of intangible heritage and then discuss the opportunities and dangers of the use of this type of heritage which entails redefining social and cultural images and even inventing new types of heritage.

Heritage, as is well-known, is a socio-cultural construction defined above all by its symbolic character and its capacity to represent a certain identity via a system of symbols (Prats, 1997).

In the case of cultural tourism, identity implies the creation of a cultural landscape with a distinct appeal and image. Heritage is called upon as an inherited and strategic resource and its value depends on the investments, values and demands of the market (Greffe, 2003: 29). In this sense intangible heritage is often used as a tool to attract cultural tourism and generate a form of renewable tourism which can be used by other sectors within a general context of sustainable development. Aspects such as tradition, legends, historic episodes, local products, scenic images and gastronomy become elements for cultural consumption and add a label of cultural prestige to sales. Thus, in non-urban areas the image of rural life becomes an element to promote tourism, creating a series of products which transmit an image of local colour, tradition, landscape and nature which is contrasted with images of city life.

Thus, intangible heritage and tourism are mutually supportive. Tourism uses intangible cultural images, but equally, the search for new elements to attract tourism entails the creation of new identities. Heritage is used as a means of cultural and social revitalization and for the construction of identities. Heritage is therefore "a subtle way societies and groups have to endow themselves with legitimacy" (Davallon, Micoud, Tardy, 1997: 202). The process of heritage construction in a territory imposes a change in the way the people see the environment and obliges them to think about their own history and the status they should accord the past.

Despite UNESCO's view that "intangible heritage" would "guarantee sustainable development" (UNESCO, 2003: 1) its uses are often rather different. As Morisset and Noppen (2003) point out, intangible heritage has a capacity to attract both specialists and promoters of tourism, but heritage which is often presented as genuine and authentic is often an artificial creation, taken out of context. Thus, we can see how the dynamics in the conceptualization of the various values, imaginaries and cultural practices of intangible heritageare exploited and redefined: as in all heritage, specific elements of culture and society are selected, isolated, and reinterpreted in the light of a series of new discourses specific to contemporary political and economic conditions.

It could be said that from a tourism perspective, intangible cultural heritage is used as a tourist attraction, as part of a marketing strategy to promote tourism in a territory, using new products to satisfy new demands and, above all, focusing on specific local trusted brands, giving rise to local trademarks. Today, tourism marketing is strongly linked to the image and identity of the territory, so that the image of the destination is increasingly based on the key element of its communication strategy, its cultural intangible heritage.

2   TOURISM IN THE CATALAN PYRENEES

Tourism is one of the most important motors of the economy in Catalonia (Saló, 2007), which is the autonomous community in Spain with the highest number of tourists and one of the most important European destinations (Jímenez and Prats, 2006). This tourism is of two types: on the one hand the beach tourism of the Catalan coast, and on the other the cultural tourism of the city of Barcelona which has become one of the most important urban destinations in the world.

Mountain tourism in the Pyrenees, although very important, is not of the same stature as the two other types. The territory analysed in this article takes in two "tourism brands" defined by the Catalan Tourist Agency as "Pirineus" and "Val d'Aran". This territory, with 214,547 inhabitants (2,8% of the Catalan population) consists of a vast surface area (9,652 km², 30 % of Catalan territory), and provides 7.5% of hotel rooms in Catalonia.[2] It offers principally winter sports (skiing) andfamily holiday and nature tourism in summer, geared more towards tourists coming from the rest of Catalonia and Spain than from other countries. Nevertheless, tourism has grown considerably in recent decades, to the detriment of other sectors such as agriculture and livestock which were affected by the Common Agricultural Policy (CAP) when Spain entered the EEC in 19986. So in recent years we can say that these are the regions in Catalonia which depend most on tourism (Duro, 2011).

This rapid transformation has had a great impact on the territory. Until the 1960s the economy was based on agriculture and livestock as well as on some small industries (hydro-electric energy, mining, forestry). All these sectors underwent a serious crisis in the 1960s and Pyrenean society suffered from substantial waves of rural emigration throughout the 20th century. Today, however, though agriculture and livestock-raising is still carried on in different forms through-

out the territory, the number of those working in the service sector has grown and tourism has developed as one of the main areas of economic development.

Tourism, however, is not a completely new activity. As early as the end of the 19th century Catalan hikers "discovered" the Pyrenees and started to "explore" them; this was a movement associated with the development of Catalan society and political and cultural movements of a regionalist and nationalist nature. For Jimenez and Prats (2006:154) Catalan 'excursionismo' was responsible for incorporating the Catalan Pyrenees in the national collective imagination, so that mountain tourism became associated with Catalan identity itself. In addition to this activity by the Catalan middle classes we can add late 19th century "hygienist" conceptions of medicine which found in the climate of the Pyrenees a source of healing to counteract the pollution of the overcrowded industrial cities. These trends, also much present in other European countries, transformed the image of the Pyrenees, now viewed as a territory for heroes, the cradle of certain medieval heroic deeds which lay at the root of the creation of the Catalan Nation. In this way the Pyrenees were transformed by Catalan writers and enthusiasts of folklore into a focus of inspiration, as expressed in a multitude of books about folklore, legends and traditions in these mountains, in some way initiating an idealized vision of intangible heritage. Nevertheless, these collective images were accompanied by other more critical visions which viewed the economic and cultural conditions of the Pyrenees as behind the rest of the country and those who lived there as marginalized (see Gascón, 2010).

During the 1960s the considerably expansion of 'sun and sand' tourism located on the Spanish coast was not replicated in the Pyrenees, although this area did become popular for indigenous tourism and the construction of second homes (Jimenez and Prats, 2006), as well as for winter sports in the ski resorts. The slowdown in the farming industry meant that tourism became a necessary and profitable solution in many areas of the Catalan Pyrenees, a new reality as a tourist destination which was also the product of a series of public policies developed from the 1980s onwards. Various Spanish and European laws were implemented which enable us to understand the territory from a new perspective giving a privileged place to natural and cultural resources in the area and their exploitation as part of tourist development. There were various private and public initiatives in the following decades which made it possible to strengthen tourism in the Pyrenees without going as far as to consolidate a model of production able to counteract the effects of depopulation and low incomes in many areas of the territory.

In the 1980s and 1990s tourism in the Pyrenees underwent a process of diversification. Despite the predominance of winter and family holiday tourism new strategies were initiated. Whilst conditions for tourism vary according to the region we can identify three models of tourism which were widely implemented as tools to attract visitors and which have much in common despite the differences. These are adventure tourism, which includes various mountain sporting activities (trekking, rafting and others), cultural tourism, which involves visiting museums and centres of architectural heritage, and rural or nature tourism. In this article we are interested in the latter two as a new way of understanding the territory in terms of cultural or natural heritage. What has been up until recently productive land and resources to be used in a range of different productive models is now conceptualized as being part of local heritage, as new values in a context of a tertiary economy. A long series of public and private actions has given rise to the creation of numerous natural parks and protected spaces. Nature is seen as heritage by some of the public authorities and a vision of the environment as a place to contemplate nature has prevailed. In addition, facilities have also been built, such as museums and interpretation centres, paths, mountain itineraries and refuges. A good number of churches and mines have also been opened to the public, along with places of commemoration and many other elements.

The Leader programme of the European Union implemented since 1991 is geared towards developing rural areas which have suffered the consequences of rural migration and the crises in farming and livestock breeding. These programmes,which were updated throughout the 1990s and continue to the present day, demonstrate the will of the European Union to stimulate activity in rural areas, seeking to maintain the population and to diversify economic activity. Castelló (2005) also points out that key objectives of the European Union subsidies were to promote and find new uses for the environment and its natural and cultural resources. Many of these funds were earmarked for restoring elements of architectural heritage, for museums and cultural spaces, and also to set up a network of farm accommodation which was presented as an alternative or extra to income from farming and livestock breeding.

As a consequence of this process, the Catalan Pyrenees has modified its landscape and its image. In large part, its tourism provision has been geared towards offering an image of "rural" society in its architecture (construction of rural, or rather neo neo-rural style houses), in the accommodation it offers ("casas rurales"), in what it produces ("products of the land", "craftwork") in its gastronomy ("mountain cooking") and in elements of heritage. And more recently, since the beginning of the 21st century, all these tourismelements have been grouped together under the label of intangibility. Both public policies and private tourist promotion have emphasized these elements as fundamental ingredients of tourism provision. The concept of intangible heritage, practically unknown in tourism up until the beginning of the new millennium, is making major inroads into current tourist planning.

3   INTANGIBLE HERITAGE: TOURIST USE, HERITAGE CONSTRUCTION AND CULTURAL IMAGES

Thus, the process of heritage construction has developed parallel to tourism provision and has focused on two main elements: natural heritage and ethnological heritage, which in this case means rural heritage. The interrelationship of these types of heritage is interesting as it suggests a certain similarity in the search for "natural" and "rural" ways of life. The interesting thing in this process is the contradictory fact that a large number of the elements considered as intangible heritage are, to an extent, things clearly created in recent years for use in tourism. One should note the contradiction between, on the one hand, the objectives of "conserving" or "preserving" heritage and on the other hand, the fact that a good number of the elements which are now considered intangible heritage have been created anew or reinvented for cultural consumption. As with other heritage elements, the heritagization of some cultural elements has been carried out on the basis of strategic decisions to do with tourism or in the interests of local development. It is paradoxical, therefore, that cultural images and even processes of heritage construction should be determined by tourism.

Let us consider some examples.

3.1   *Museums and monuments: from tangible to intangible*

The proliferation of museums is one of the most conspicuous aspects of cultural tourism in the Catalan Pyrenees. Although these are generally small and are today seriously affected by the economic crisis it is interesting that the majority of these museums focus on subjects such as rural society, nature, past industrial production and intangible heritage. Abella, Alcalde and Rojas (2012: 620) note that whereas originally ethnological museums in the Catalan Pyrenees focused on local identity as their principle raison d'être they now increasingly geared to tourism. It was in the 1990s that many museums started to be built which focused on exhibiting ethnological heritage from the area with the clear aim of becoming tourist attractions. These writers point out the limitations of this model and the naïve local policies of those who considered that simply by opening a museum one could expect to attract visitors, without taking into account that this alone is not enough to guarantee the continuity of a model of tourism in the territory.

In recent years museums have become increasingly interested in intangible heritage. This is a result of some tentative policies to promote intangible heritage, but above all it is a response to the need to introduce new heritage elements. Interested initially in objects, in tangible heritage, the museums have started to introduce various intangible elements. The case of the Valls d'Àneu Ecomuseum is a clear example. Conceived originally as a museum house the management's desire to be more of a presence in the territory has led to it having a great impact. The team has been involved in the organization of festivals, in staging legends, in organizing concerts and popular music and in research on historic memory; this has changed the aims of the museum so that it now focuses increasingly on intangible heritage. The museum itself now works to foment craftwork and to promote the making of handmade cheese. This interest in intangible heritage has permitted it to become more involved and have a greater presence in the community as well as to diversify what it is able to offer.

In the following example we will consider the case of museums which are involved in "making intangible heritage tangible". In the Pyrenean region of Alt Urgell a network of museums was developed in the 1990s. With the stated aim of ensuring the conservation of local heritage for tourism, the specialist in culture on the Alt Urgell County council expressed an interest in creating a network of museums in various towns in the county which would make it possible to recover heritage values and also to ensure resources being decentralized and used outside the county capital, la Seu d'Urgell. Thus was created what is now known as the 'The museum route of the trades of yesteryear', a network of small facilities which focus on the exploitation of resources in the territory. Amongst these museums there is a flourmill, a museum of wine and vines, the museum of the farmer and the museum of the accordion. It is possible to see how the need to boost tourism is at the root of many initiatives to develop cultural facilities; the chance to turn realities into elements to be shown in museums which until recently had been part of the inhabitants' real life reveals a discourse which has an impact on the creation of images of local identity.

3.2   *Revival of festivals*

Festivals are another kind of intangible heritage which has been considered key for attracting tourists. In recent decades we have seen a revival of traditional festivals as well as the creation of new ones which in many cases commemorate the past. Boissevan (1992) makes reference to this revival of festivals throughout Europe which started in the 1970s as a reaction against two decades of sustained decline. This is understandable if one takes into account the processes of mass migration and increasing secularization in Europe. However, in order to understand the revival of festivals in the Pyrenees we have to think of the influence of tourismas a motor of development, and the increasing use of festivals as an attraction. For this reason we have to date the increase in the various types of celebration to several years later, above all from the 1990s onwards.

Although we can speak of a revival of festivals and other events in recent years, it is true that many of them never ceased to be celebrated. Whilst there was a gradual downturn in religious rituals, including festivities and processions on Saint's Days from the 1970s onwards, other events such as the *festa major* (town or village festival) did maintain some continuity. An increasing number of people took part in these festivals, new organizing committees were created and new activities devised for different types of audience. As time went by, *festas majors* adapted to the current interests of the people and were sustained by the local inhabitants, the emigrants coming home to spend the holidays and also by those with second homes who were attracted to the community celebrations.

In order to consider the new realities of festivals in the Pyrenees we have to make reference to various categories. On the one hand there are the festivals we can call traditional, in the sense that they go back to a more or less distant past. These are the above-mentioned *festas majors* and other celebrations which have undergone a change in their symbolic meaning in various ways. By this we refer to the new uses and meanings which these activities have taken on in contemporary society as well as the way they are reinterpreted within a context of tourism. Many of these festivities have gone through a process of reclassification and are now described as heritage elements. In some cases this has been particularly notable, such as in the case of the "Patum" in Berga which was declared Masterpiece of the Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity by UNESCO. In any event, these festivals have a long history and their description as intangible heritage has made them more prominent, although paradoxically of greater tourist use.

In other cases, festivals which had ceased to be held have been revived. During 2008 and 2009 the Valls d'Àneu Ecomuseum carried out an inventory of elements of intangible heritage which included a search for possible rituals which, although they had ceased to be held, were still in the collective memory. This was the case of the festival called the *Pas de l'ós* an element related to the Carnival period. The objective consisted of trying to reactivate and restore this cultural element, linking it with local population dynamics and agreeing for it to be brought back to life by the people of the village of Espot. After a research and documentation process, the museum helped to reintroduce this activity, not with the objective of imposing an institutional act, but with the intention that it should be embraced by the some of the most dynamic

and active sectors of the population and appreciated as a cultural element. Thus during the 1st Water Fair in Espot in 2012 the *Pas de l'ós* was revived and included as one of the elements to enliven and invigorate the fair. It became one of the central elements and was a great success.

Another category involves festivals and events created with the intention of attracting visitors. There has been an increase in the number of these events in various areas of the Pyrenees and what they have in common is the backing of the local authorities. In many cases these new festivals have been devised as part of local campaigns to develop tourism and they are associated with various types of event. Picard and Robinson (2006) make reference to a proliferation of festivals in the context of international tourism which has played an important role in redefining various local identities. While the context of the tourist economy may serve as a catalyst for these new events one should also be aware of the importance of these festivals as a social sphere where various narratives and discourses are set against each other and where new realities are defined within a context of local power rivalries. Thus the economic use of festivals should not be the only way to interpret realities which need to be understood from a more complex analytical perspective.

In Alt Urgell there are two examples which illustrate this type of new festival creation. At the end of the 1990s and on the opening of a new museum in the village of Tuixent a series of people, - principally "neo-rural" - became involved in creating a new festival. This is the *Festa de les Trementinaires,* in memory of some characters from the history of the Vansa i Tuixent valley which also has a museum (see Frigolé, 2005). *Trementinaire* is the name given to the women from the valley who for several months a year travelled around various parts of Catalonia selling herbs, turpentine, ointments, mushrooms and other products brought from the mountains. Known locally as "*dones que anaven pel món*" ("women who go out into the world") this was not exactly a trade but rather an activity which complemented the slender earnings from agriculture and livestock-breeding in the poorer households and which made it possible to earn cash.

Other examples are the various events connected to the Cathar past of the territory which are held in two villages of the Alt Urgell, Josa de Cadí and Castellbó. This is a case of the specific recovery of a period of history which was not well known by the local population until it was exploited for tourism purposes. This process was strongly influenced by the growth in the term "*Cathar*" in France and in particular in the southern *départements*. A complex Catharism imaginary (see Biget, 1979; Soulà, 2005) was exploited from the 1980s on as an important element to attract tourists, and new brands were created, such as "*Pays Cathar*", which must be understood not only in the context of tourist exploitation but also taking into account the importance of public policies and the creation of territorial identities. (Garcia y Genieys, 2005). This dimension of tourism crossed the Pyrenean border and in Catalonia a series of activities were undertaken which made it possible to speak of recovering the history of the Cathar past. These include the *Festa dels Càtars* (Cathar festival*), el Mercat Càtar* (Cathar market*)* and the creation of the *Ruta dels Càtars* (Cathar route) which runs through varies areas of the Pyrenees. The dissemination of the Cathar phenomenon in the Pyrenean counties was a factor in the economic development in the 1990s but the nationalist viewpoint of the first intellectuals to deal with the theme (Ventura Subirats, 1960; Racionero, 1982) was not emphasized.

The creation of these festivals has given rise to many conflicts (Del Mármol, 2012). The festivals are places for sociability but also spheres in which tensions and conflicts of different types are expressed. The populations of the villages and towns of the Pyrenees have undergone many changes in recent decades as a result of the large-scale emigrations and the arrival of new inhabitants who in many cases don't share the same ways of understanding the territory. The creation of festivals related to the past gives rise to opposing views which are expressed in different uses and interpretations of the past. The roles played by the authorities and different population groups, such as neo-rurals, become grounds for grievances about the legitimacy of various groups to institute specific uses of the past and interpretations of local history.

3.3   *Knowledge of traditional crafts/local produce*

Another sphere of intangible heritage which has gained a higher profile and tourist visibility in recent years is that of the production of home-made foods based on "traditional knowledge". This is generally local produce made in small workshops and by a small number of people.

Food produced in this way, made with supposedly age-old techniques seems to go well with the elements of rural life and society which have been given new value. These new values are presented so as to be consumed by tourists, enabling them to experience an aspect of the territory whilst also ensuring an income for local inhabitants.

Bérard and Marchenay (2004: 5) emphasize the fact that this local produce is increasing in importance and many experts consider it as an option for local development and in the struggle against rural emigration. Whilst in France the concept "*produits du terroir*" is widespread and has a long history there is no single term in Spanish or Catalan to define the variety of products which are perhaps best identified as "*artesanales*". What defines them is the contrast with industrial-scale production and their hand-made character based on local knowledge. Whilst local gastronomy of the various Catalan regions has also undergone a renaissance, hand-made products offer a different style of production based on small local enterprises. But this isn't just the cases for hand-made food; the notion of local production is been used to give added value to all the various products of the territory.

An important landmark in the reappraisal of local production was the appearance of a law to protect Designations of Origin and geographic indications within the context of the European Union in 1992. The improved status of local production is based on the connection of production with the territory and its history, and highlights elements of culture and society. Designations of Origin work as trademarks which look to the past, emphasizing characteristics such as the authenticity of the products and local tradition. The main objective seems to be to relate a product to a territory, that is to say a Certificate of Origin. According to Medina (2010) this is the reaction to the widespread social perception of risk which comes from an increasing ignorance of ever more complex production processes. The mystery surrounding industrial food production and the anxiety provoked by it prompts a desire for the origin of food to be connected to a specific location and to be officially recognized; this desire has been capitalised on by the laws of the European Union which are offered as an aid to economic development and to help diversify agricultural production in rural areas.

There are examples of this phenomenon in various places in the Catalan Pyrenees, from official Designations of Origin, such as Urgèlia cheese and the butter from the Cadí cooperative through to artisan-style cheeses, yoghurts, jams, sausages and other products produced by small businesses. Cheese production is perhaps the most representative case of a trend which is widespread in the Pyrenees. Whilst in the past cheese production was a secondary activity carried out in farms or by the shepherds themselves, now the profession of cheese-maker is widespread and cheeses have become a real attraction. In 1995 the town of la Seu d'Urgell turned a livestock fair dating back to the middle ages into an artisan cheese fair:la *Fira de Formatges Artesans del Pirineu.*In an interview with us in 2010 the mayor of the town at that time explained the context of the transformation. It was related to a desire to create a new more focused image for the town and new brands to attract tourists. They were looking to create a symbolic benchmark in the market, a hallmark which would enable the town to find a niche in a more diversified and competitive market. The aim of the authorities was to emphasize the specific location of the town and to establish it as the Pyrenean town "par excellence". The promotion of artisan cheese was the first step in a strategic element of town development planning, the conversion of la Seu d'Urgell into a benchmark for quality food production, an aim of the current government.

3.4   *Images of rural life*

The creation of a tourism economy in the terrritory meant a new way of seeing the landscape and the locality and spurred new "rusticity production strategies" (Frigolé, 2010). These are a series of idealized images of rural life which project onto the territory and its people various stereotypes and ways of characterizing culture and nature. In addition to therepresentation of a wild, but protected nature within the confines of the natural parks there is a bucolic image of rural culture, a population which lives in harmony with the landscape. According to Frigolé (2010: 163) strategies to produce 'the rural' are based on a global ideology which aspires to recover the past, a return to ways of life which are claimed to be original and authentic. In this way we can identify in the Catalan Pyrenees a whole series of actions geared to recover a supposedly original image of the territory, in some cases directed by the authorities and in many other cases led directly by the population itself.

Possibly one of the most notable aspects of the production of images of rural life is the creation of a style of construction unique to the Pyrenees, a process which has been continuing over recent decades and which has led to widespread redevelopment of houses, monuments and whole villages. Thus, in addition to the transformation of the natural landscape to follow the requirements of conservation and protection policies we can also see the changes in the village landscape. There has been a series of heritage construction processes which have affected both the planning regulations and the architecture and specifications for house decoration. The neglect of many areas of the Pyrenees and the shortcomings in transport communications have resulted in the original shape and size of the villages being maintained in many areas of the territory. Even if there are notable exceptions where free rein has been given to speculative building, as in the case of Andorra, the Cerdanya valley, or around the best-known ski resorts, in many cases the sustained population decrease has meant that villages have stayed the same size and old buildings have been conserved. The new economic direction of the territory gave rise to the creation of new regulations by the Catalan Generalitat (government) which regulate construction in the area. The demand for holiday homes and as the appearance of houses for rural tourism has prompted the refurbishment of old buildings as well as the construction of new ones. In parallel to what happened in the 1990s in the rest of the country houses increase in value and this counteracts the gradual fall in value during the decades of rural exodus.

The new planning regulations cover various aspects of construction, from the use of certain materials, styles and finishes through to zoning regulations. A particular style of traditional construction is stipulated along with acceptable types of materials, including colours. The regulations propose respecting the layout of original buildings and not changing their most authentic characteristics whenrebuilding and restoring rural architectural heritage3. One of the most notable aspects of these processes is perhaps the reinvention of stone as a characteristic element of local construction. Stone-cladding rather than building in stone has become a specification used to guarantee the authenticity and beauty of the buildings. Façades in stone are considered more "typical" and more "rustic" than plastered or painted façades, unlike in the past where painted and plastered buildings stood out and demonstrated their difference from poorer houses or stables (Roigé, 2006: 55).

Images of rural life construct a stereotypical landscape which represents a series of intangible values associated with the territory. The idealization of rural society with a symbiotic relationship with the environment allows the dissemination of stereotypical images. Not only have the houses and decorations adapted to the new image of rural life, but other elements such as churches and monuments, streets and squares have undergone similar processes. Old sickles and hoes decorate houses and town halls; tourist establishments exploit representations of rural life, pressing into decorative service any type of tool or machinery from the past. Local cooking is also geared towards recovering tastes and classic ways of preparing food. The search for "the rural" is not limited to specific elements; it spills over into a whole range of spheres of social life in the Catalan Pyrenees.

3.5   *Discovering the intangible aspects of nature*

Apart from images of rural life another of the most important elements in Pyrenean tourism is nature. Paradoxically, hoteliers, the ski industry and ecological groups are all agreed in linking the future of the area to tourist activity (tourism with a different ecological impact, but in the last analysis designed to satisfy the needs of the urban population). Tourism has acquired an important role in the activities of the protected natural spaces, in all the natural and national parks in the areas (*Parc Nacional d'Aigües Tortes, Parc Natural de l'Alt Pirineu, Parc Natural del Cadí*). The park authorities have designed structures to manage visitor flows with the common aim of satisfying their demands for services and reducing their impact.

The need to boost tourism has brought about the introduction of new elements such as tourist itineraries, interpretation centres, exhibition and work with the museums in the areas. In recent years the concept of intangible heritage has gained importance in these parks and various experiments have been carried out to promote both the so-called spiritual value of the parks as well as their intangible heritage. In the Alt Pirineu Natural Park, for example, there have beencampaigns to explain certain aspects such as "traditional ecological knowledge" (livestock raising, forestry, hunting, medicinal plants, crafts, etc.), place names and popular processions.

And there has also been an emphasis on places of particular spiritual or religious value, which are important to local communities as well as places of symbolic or emblematic value.The most notable example is the Pica d'Estats (3,143m), the "roof of Catalonia", which a large number of people feel moved to climb on the Catalan National Holiday, the 11th September. The park has also promoted the festivals related to the forest and fire, such as the procession of torches which takes place in Isil and Alins at the summer solstice, the night of Sant John. And finally there have been publications and inventories of songs, stories and legends, many of them which had been falling out of use.

This attention given to the mountains and nature as a place for intangible heritage is interesting for two reasons. On the one hand, it suggests a change in approach from conservationists who now consider that it is possible to take advantage of programmes to protect natural and cultural heritage. Protection programmes for both biodiversity and cultural heritage in national and natural parks helps parks to be better integrated in the local community, who saw some of their cultural memory and heritage threatened by early conservationist policies. But on the other hand intangible heritage allows greater tourist appeal greater diversification in what can be provided.

These policies, however, raise a question: how far do these tentative attempts to "rescue" intangible heritage actually enable it to be preserved? Is tourism an appropriate instrument for policies to protect this heritage or do they, on the contrary, generate a stereotypical image of this area?

4   CONCLUSIONS

The interrelationship between intangible heritage and tourist development is, as in all types of heritage, an ambivalent relationship. The development of tourism in the Pyrenees shows us, however, that it has actually been an unbreakable relationship, backing up claims by Noppen and Morisset (2003). Heritage elements carry great symbolic weight, but the majoriy have been created and redefined in relation to tourism. The elements of intangible heritage in the Pyrenees have gained their heritage status in a complex process in which the past has been converted into images of the present. These are images and social representations which are both elements of identity and tourist images. This is, precisely, the paradox of intangible heritage.

ENDNOTES

REFERENCES

Abella, J., Alcalde, G. & Rojas, A. (2012). De la guadaña al forfait. Análisis del uso turístico de los museos etnológicos del Alto Pirineo catalán. *Pasos. Revista de Turismo y patrimonio cultural*, 10(5): 619-628.
Bérard, L. & Marchenay, P. (2004). *Les produits de terroir. Entre cultures et règlementes*. Paris: CNRS Editions.
Biget, J.L. (1979). Mythographie du Catharisme (1870-1960). *Historiographie du Catharisme, Cahiers de Fanjeaux*, 14: 271-342.
Boissevain, J., ed. (1992). *Revitalizing European rituals*. Londres, Routledge.
Davallon J., Micoud, A. & Tardy, C. (1997). Vers une évolution de la notion depatrimoine? Réflexions à propos du patrimoine rural. In D. Grange & D. Poulot (1997). *L'esprit des lieux. Le patrimoine et la cité*. Grenoble: eds. PUG.
Duro, J.A., dir. (2011). *Estimació del PIB turístic per Catalunya, marques i comarques (2005-2010)*. Grup de Recerca d'Indústria i Territori Departament d'Economia Universitat Rovira i Virgili [onli-

ne]..   Available   at   http://www20.gencat.cat/docs/empresaiocupacio/20%20-
%20Turisme/Observatori%20turisme/Recerca%20i%20estudis/Documents/Arxius/PIBTURComarque
s200510.pdf. [Accessed 12 April 2013].

Frigolé, J. (2005). *Dones que anaven pel món. Estudi etnogràfic de les trementinaires de la Vall de la Vansa i Tuixent (Alt Urgell)*. Barcelona: Generalitat de Catalunya.

Frigolé, J. (2010). Rusticity, wild flora and fauna patterns, and identity in a valley of Cadí. In I. Vaccaro & O. Beltran, eds. *Social and Ecological History of the Pyrenees: State, Market, and Landscape*. Walknut Creek: CA, Left Coast Press.

García, M.C. & Genieys, W. (2005). *L'invention du Pays Cathare: Essai sur la constitution d'un territoire imaginé*. París: L'Harmattan.

Gascón, C. (2010). *Comarques oblidades. Josep Zulueta i el Pirineu l'any 1890*. La Seu d'Urgell: Edicions Salòria.

Greffe, X. (2003).*La valorisation économique du patrimoine*. París: LaDocumentation française.

Jiménez, S. & Prats, L. (2006). El turismo en Catalunya: evolución histórica y retos de futuro. *A pasos. Revista de Turismo y Patrimonio Cultural*, 4(2): 153-174.

Mármol, C. del (2012). *Pasados locales, políticas globales. Los procesos de patrimonialización en un valle del Pirineo catalán*. Valencia: Editorial Germanías AVA.

Medina, F. (2010). *Reflexions sobre les alimentacions contemporànies. De les biotecnologies als productes ecològics*. Barcelona: Editorial UOC.

Morisset, L. & Noppen, L. (2005). Le patrimoine immatériel : une arme à tranchants multiples. *Téoros*, 24(1): 75-76.

Noppen, L. & Morisset, L. (2003). Le patrimoine est-il soluble dans le tourisme ?. *Téoros*, 22(3): 57-59.

Picard, D. & Robinson, M. (2006). *Festivals, tourism and social change. Remaking worlds*. Clevedon: Channel View Publications.

Prats, L. (1997). *Antropología y patrimonio*. Barcelona: Editorial Ariel.

Racionero, L. (1982). *Cercamón*. Barcelona: Caixa d'Estalvis de Catalunya.

Roigé, X. (2006) Identidad, frontera y turismo en el Valle de Arán. In J. Frigolé & X. Roigé, coord. *Globalización y localidad. Perspectiva etnográfica*. Barcelona: Publicacions i Edicions de la Universitat de Barcelona.

Saló, A. (2007). El sector turístic a l'economia catalana: repercussions macroeconòmiques i indicadors d'oferta i demanda. *Papers de Treball*, 7:1-27.

Shubert, A. (1990). *A Social History of Modern Spain*. London: Unwin Hyman.

Soula, R. (2005). *Les Cathares: Entre légende et histoire. La mémoire de l'albigéisme du XIX siècle à nos jours*. Toulouse: Institut d'Études Occitanes.

UNESCO (2003). *Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage*. Paris: UNESCO Publishing.

Ventura i Subirats, J. (1960). *El catarismo en Cataluña*. Barcelona: Boletín de la Real Academia de Buenas Letras de Barcelona. pp.xxviii.

Informal sacred spaces of worship in the interstices: lived religion

Zamila Karimi
School of Architecture, McGill University, Montréal, Canada

ABSTRACT: The conventional boundaries of sacred space are challenged as globalization and multi-cultural displacement prompt many American and Canadian faith communities to be flexible and perform religious rituals in leftover urban spaces within storefronts and converted hotel convention rooms. For many the notion of sacredness is an elusive concept that deals with the understanding of man's relation to the divine to create an experience that is spiritual within the context of any physical space. By incorporating certain rituals and customs, mundane space is temporarily transformed into sacred environment. This paper focuses on the diversity of the Muslim Diaspora and worshippers pluralistic customs as they appropriate ordinary space into a place of reverence through embodied performative acts. The transfers of knowledge, oral traditions and ritualistic practices, including social and communal activities, evoke historical memory. The ethics of volunteerism and service to humanity guides such endeavors as they manifest humanistic value crucial in today's environment.

1   INTRODUCTION

Today we live in an era where societies are no longer controlled by the ethos of geography, culture, tradition and religion. The notion of community is redefined, an idea that cultural theorist Homi Bhabha refers to as *in-between space* (Bhabha, 2007), where diverse groups of people come together to generate new narratives that often serve to inspire and provoke memory through the senses. In the contemporary spaces of our times, the concept of sacred places has shifted from holy and sanctified to flexible and hybrid environments that attempt to evoke spiritual experience through embodied ritualistic practices that constitute intangible cultural heritage. The conventional boundaries of purely spiritual sacred spaces are challenged. Globalization and multi-cultural displacement prompt flexibility in performing religious ceremonies in leftover secular urban spaces within storefronts, conference rooms and hallways during prayer breaks.

For many the idea of *sacredness* is an elusive concept that deals with the understanding of man's relation to the divine to create an experience that is spiritual or otherworldly within the context of everyday physical space. By re-inscribing a space with ritualistic practices, devotees temporarily re-constitute it into a sacred environment. Worshippers within many Muslim immigrant communities settled in North America regularly engage in such practices to maintain and transfer their cultural heritage as a lived phenomenon that engage all the senses. Spaces are transformed by the aroma of incense, the recitation of Quranic verses, the calligraphic and arabesque motifs of prayer rugs, and the rhythmic synchronic movement of the rosary of the devout humming verses from the Holy Scripture. Architecture critic Paul Goldberger argues that although formal sacred architecture creates a sense of awe and the aura of the sacred, the power of the space ultimately comes from its users, as they animate the space with their embodied ritualistic practices (Goldberger, 2010). Art historian Vincent Scully's pioneering work on Native American Pueblos reiterates this notion; what are now considered to be powerfully charged, sacred North American and ancient Greek spaces were initially intended as manifestations of these cultures' deep affinity to their land inspired by ritual and metaphor, for "human action entwined with the natural world and framed architectural forms" (Scully, 1989).

The concept of place is important because it embodies the "relationship between people and the world through the realm of *experience*" (Cresswell, 2009). Space, on the other hand, is a conceptual notion experienced intangibly as we move through it. Our perceptions of place and space are intertwined and are in a constant state of flux as we enact certain experiences within a place. The associations and feelings evoked in a space that has been transformed through reiterative practice on a regular basis as a *lived experience* offer an opportunity to frame the concept of temporary informal sacred spaces. I argue, that any space can be sanctified into a place of worship through a sustained embodied ritualistic practice by its users, often intangible in nature, which I call *performative*. There are many examples of Diaspora immigrant communities who come together to appropriate such urban spaces to the practice their faith. I will consider Muslim temporary places of worship as my case studies.

2   MUSLIM PLACES OF WORSHIP

Scholarship on Muslim Places of Worship includes *mosque typology* as a predominant building for Muslim piety, although "there are a range of [other] spaces used by Muslim communities – Shi'a and Sunni [sect] – for their worship and gathering" (The Institute of Ismaili Studies, 2012). Amidst controversies surrounding mosques and minarets guiding public perception around the world, especially after the Swiss ban of minaret (Cumming-Bruce & Erlanger, 2009) and the opposition toward the Ground Zero mosque (Freedman, 2010), the criticality of the diversity of the Muslim world and its pluralistic practices are disregarded by popular media. These controversies raise important questions as to the role of architecture vis-à-vis socio-political, capitalistic motivations versus social justice for all citizens.

Interspersed within our urban environments, informal Muslim places of worship are creating alternate narratives that often remain unnoticed due to their unstructured character, even if these places exist in the same geographical location as in the case of Ground Zero mosque. Specifically, I will focus on informal prayer spaces, which are transformed everyday through the agency of their users. I will analyze the spatial implications of such transformations on sacred architecture and their built environment. This paper will demonstrate that it is the creativity of the users that ultimately dictates the new forms of religious places that we see taking shape in the interstices of our cities.

Within the modern environment of information overload combined with grave ignorance, it is essential to analyze these alternative places of worship because they manifest the complexities of the Muslim Diaspora. Considering their research on New York cab drivers' practice of religion, Professors Elta Smith and Courtney Bender warn us that, just as immigrant religious groups historically adopted existing forms of organizational structure from their host country and, in the process, altered the American landscape in subtle ways, they will continue to do so with their new and adapted forms of temporal religious practices and expressions (Smith & Bender, 2004). Thus, it is imperative to understand how these alternate spatial forms of worship function. What spatial tactics are used to reconstitute an informal space into a sacred place of

worship? What does it tell us about the ethos and values, such as volunteerism and service, of these communities?

3   CASE STUDIES

Within the plurality of congregational spaces for immigrant Muslim communities, mosques and jamatkhanas present two such typologies amongst many that exist as both purpose-built structures and urban retrofits (The Institute of Ismaili Studies, 2012). These places act as community centers catering to the religious, social and cultural needs of the community. In major cosmopolitan cities like New York, Chicago, Toronto and Montréal, accessing official places of worship during work hours is a challenge. To allow a worshipper to perform his or her religious obligations within the flexibility of his or her daily routine, alternate temporary prayer spaces are appropriated within workplaces and such.

The projects I explore as case studies are: ethnic restaurant spaces in New York as makeshift mosque and hotel conference rooms in Montréal as makeshift jamatkhana. New York taxi drivers and Montréal university students use these spaces, respectively, as they choose to interweave faith and everyday life. In the process Muslim volunteers, both young and old, negotiate and redefine for themselves a contemporary identity as North American Muslims. These men and women incorporate temporary ephemeral ritualistic practices, including oral traditions to evoke an aura of sacredness, to re-appropriate the physical space into an enabling worship environment, thereby sustaining and transferring the age-old tradition of intangible cultural heritage.

4   EMBODIED SPACES

> "The (whole) earth is a *masjid (place of prostration) for* you, so wherever
> you are at the time of prayer, make your prostration there" (Kahera, 2008).

The above verse offers immense flexibility to the worshipper, to adapt any space during times of prayers into a *masjid* – a place of prostration. With the rise of Muslim populations in North America since 1970, worship spaces have multiplied in numbers and types, which include alternative freestanding prayer spaces at airports, university student centers and ethnic restaurants.
Although high profile projects have become contentious in public debates, there are numerous other spaces in the peripheries that go unnoticed, as previously stated. In Chicago's Devon Avenue, Associate Professor of Architecture Arjit Sen reveals that there are " a dozen basement gathering places that attract as many as several hundred male worshippers per location on Fridays, while simultaneously functioning as schools and community centers throughout the rest of the week" (Sen, 2013). These alternate prayer spaces complicate the category of Muslim places of worship and community centers within the cultural geography of our urban fabric as they offer yet another typology to consider (Fig.1).

Figure 1. Chicago, Devon Street – Tahoora – left street level interior layout, right basement level interior layout. (Sen 2013).

5   CASE STUDY 1 - RESTAURANT PRAYER SPACE, MANHATTAN, NY

With limited meeting space availability and high rents in Manhattan, ethnic restaurants provide alternative venues for the practice of faith for New York's roughly 20,000 cab drivers (Brenhouse, 2010). Muslim taxi drivers and small business owners have advantages over other workers (professional or otherwise) due to the flexibility in their work schedules to perform prayers five times a day if they so desire. Often the inadequacies of formal mosque facilities are a challenge to access at designated prayer times. Smith and Bender suggest that "it is within this milieu that drivers […] create other semi-permanent prayer spaces throughout the city. Drivers

maintain prayer spaces at JFK and La Guardia airports, keeping prayer cloths and a Quran on hand to perform *salat* [prayers]" (Smith & Bender, 2004) (Fig.2).

Figure 2. JFK Airport, NY – Makeshift prayer area bowing and kneeling next to a pair of public restrooms. (Horan 2012)

The 24-hour ethnic restaurant prayer spaces are convenient and easily accessible, such that these facilities are used primarily by cab drivers. They are known to them through word of mouth, often catering to specific nationalities as opposed to the formal mosques, which are open to all. These prayer spaces hold an important place in their lives as they:

> Provide nationally defined counterpoints to congregationally organized (and sometimes "multinational") mosques. In this light, prayer spaces emerge as an important aspect of driver's full religious observance, experience, and identity.
> Smith & Bender, 2004

Historically, these spaces have been in existence for over 20 years as ad-hoc prayer spaces in basement hallways, storage rooms, and meeting rooms with prayer rug rolled and unrolled during prayer times. According to *The New York Times* critic Samuel Freedman, there was Muslim prayer space on the 17th floor of the South Tower of World Trade Center, which included facilities for *ablution*, or ritual cleansing and space for all to pray together (Freedman, 2010). In the wake of the challenges for worship post 9/11, many of these informal prayer spaces near Ground Zero have been voluntarily refurbished by Muslim owners into air-conditioned, dedicated places with new carpeting, prayer mats, and posters of translated Quranic passages as part of the décor. Some also provide bathroom facilities for *ablution*. Having these alternative spaces do not in any way compromise the presence of official mosques as on Fridays and two Eid festivals, many worshippers prefer to attend larger congregational prayers.

The *Haandi Restaurant*, on Lexington Avenue in the heart of Manhattan, caters to South Asian clientele, as per my observations in 2012, in response to an open call by Architectural historian Matilde Cassani (Cassani, 2011). Being a woman I personally could not participate in the act of prayers. Talking to the restaurant owners and cabbies themselves, it was obvious that

most Pakistanis and Bangladeshis find it convenient to avail of such restaurants in the area, as they always serve fresh food and have ample space for dining. They also have a small informal prayer space in the basement. The red canopy greets the customer at the street level amidst the noisy street of New York. The yellow cabs line the street parking anxiously hoping to avoid the parking attendant but every once in a while some one gets ticketed. The main level of the restaurant, which is up a few steps, is always packed with customers. The lower level acts as an overflow area with lunch buffet and prayer space. The aroma of fresh food with stacks of newspapers in native languages and ethnic music creates a welcoming atmosphere. Being in the heart of the Fashion and Design district, the daytime clientele include students, artists, office workers, locals and tourists. Simple in décor, the tables are cramped and often shared creating a sense of community as diverse groups of people come together in this cozy place to eat and pray. Such restaurants are an integral part of many cab drivers' lives especially late at night with less activity on the streets. They collectively hang out and unwind before changing shifts as they sip hot tea and read native newspapers (Vadukul, 2013).

In Tribecca, Manhattan, *New Shezan Restaurant* (Brenhouse, 2010) is another popular venue that serves cafeteria-style South-Asian food. Amidst the aroma of the spices many devout rush through the narrow stairs into the basement to offer prayers around sunset. As the worshipper traverses the public space towards the quieter part of the restaurant to access the prayer hall, he crosses the physical boundary of the restaurant to reach the symbolic one of the prayer space. The aura of the space subtly changes as he makes his way to remove shoes and perform *ablution* before entering the prayer hall filled with incense. The worshipper appropriates the spatial organization of the simple rectangular space in the basement as he faces the directional axis *East*, the *qibla* towards Mecca, which is signified by a *mihrab* painted niche on the wall. The immaculately clean-carpeted prayer room facilitates the act of individual and/or communal prayer with ease and comfort, which also has a modest library. The visual and tactical intertwines in the physical space as the gendered male body moves in a sequence of postures – sitting, bowing, standing and prostrating – with his fellow men in unison to the recitation of *namaz* (prayers) in Arabic, thus creating an embodied spatial experience that transforms the space temporarily into a place of worship. "These sequential experiences enacted over a period of time reiterate a feeling of sacredness and enhance a perceptual distance from the [restaurant] above, preparing the devout for prayers. It also reproduces a sense of congregational and community identity" (Sen, 2013) (Fig. 3).

Haandi (Vadukul 2011)   Basement Prayer Room (Brenhouse 2010)
Figure 3. Restaurant prayer areas in New York

In other such restaurants across North America, these multi-functional spaces offer more than just prayer facilities; they are also used as special prayer areas during the holy month of fasting *Ramadan* (Fig. 4). The space is also used for inter-generational group activities such as readings, studying and discussing the Quran, and/or special ritualistic practices, including transfer of skills. Restaurant owners who voluntarily give space for prayers have a healthy relationship with the users. In a gesture of unwritten agreement, volunteer cab drivers manage the day-to-day maintenance of such spaces. They also promote the restaurants to generate extra business from their family, friends and clientele. These restaurant spaces have become places of collec-

tive will and performativity, even though they temporarily "[reinforce] the connections between community, national culture, and Islam for the drivers," thus evoking memories of home (Smith & Bender, 2004).

Figure 4. Halal Restaurant, Toronto. A large   prayer area is in the Basement (Syed 2011). (Ramadan Prayers before break of fasting).

6   CASE STUDY 2 - U-JK, MONTRÉAL, QC

In a contrasting narrative, to the North of the border, in cities across Canada the Muslim Ismaili Student Association (MISA) is doing the same but within the context of university environments. Since 1970, MISA has played a significant role in promoting Ismaili Muslim identity within the socio-cultural landscape of Canada through university jamatkhanas (U-JK's), or places of worship for the Shi'a Nizari Ismaili Muslim community. Their basic mandate is to promote spiritual, physical, academic, social and cultural well being within the ethics of Islam. Run by elected officials, MISA supports the day-to-day activities of the student-run U-JK's. For Ismaili Muslims these temporary spaces perform the function of a place for prayer, reflection, and social interaction.

The data collected is based on my personal observation and participation since September, 2012. Throughout this process, I have interviewed several members and am grateful for their cooperation and assistance. On average about 80 to 100 students from McGill University, Concordia University, Université Laval, Université de Montréal and other institutions attend prayer meetings. U-JK's operate Monday through Friday with about 25 to 35 students attending on average days, with 70 to 80 on Fridays, which includes other members of the community who live or work in the downtown corridor. These meeting places are organized and facilitated entirely by students, although the community provides both material and theological resources for its smooth functioning. Each day the space is rented for a few hours in the evening between 7:00 and 9:00 for formal prayer services, that run between 15 to 20 minutes.

In sunshine, rain or snow a U-JK still convenes at the Holiday Inn on Rue Sherbrooke in one of the conference rooms. The walk from McGill University's main gates is less than 5 minutes, as I encounter the diverse sights and sounds of the city. Entering the hotel is an experience in itself: some days I see air-crews checking in, Thursday nights there are a lot of young people and on other nights there are travel agency meetings and poker nights – in short it is a perfect place to get a synopsis of Montréal's nightly social scene. Amidst such excitement, I first found it odd to meet in this space. Two semesters into it, despite all the challenges of being in such a fast-paced activity driven area, MISA continues to make it work.

Upon entering the hotel through the main doorway, my eyes immediately try to focus on the TV monitor that announces the location of the Ismaili Meeting Group. Each day students traverse physical and symbolic boundaries of the public space to carve out a sacred space for themselves in one of the conference rooms available. First and foremost, the empty space (room) is given directionality by placing the white sheets on the carpet preparing it for prayers. The floor surface is divided into two sections: male on one side and female on the other, everyone facing towards Mecca. Secondly, a low table is placed on the East end for officiating students to take

their place before the ceremonies begin. Thirdly, a small container with rosaries is placed at the entrance for students to use. A mobile curtain separates the room into 2 zones: prayer space and a coats/shoes area by the door. Within the Ismaili Muslim Shia sect, there is no separation of gender, thus everyone participates in leading the prayers and in other ritual acts. The physical act of saying *namaz (*i.e. prayers) in Arabic*,* led by one of the members in unison with fellow students in a sequence of postures, sitting, standing and prostrating to the ground plane, evokes the centrality of the religion personally and communally. The ceremonies are simple with a short reading of a passage from the Holy Scripture.

The students' cultural heritages are diverse as they range from Canada, East Africa, Central and South Asia. On Fridays the ceremonies are formal with activities after the services that include devotional evenings, cultural nights, trivia and other programs. Tea and cookies (customary) are served on such days. One of the highlights of this academic year was an evening of devotional poetry composed in a multiplicity of languages, vocal expressions, and colorful dresses. Within a short span of a few hours, the ordinary space went through transformations at least three times – once as a sacred space for prayers, secondly as a social space for networking and finally as a performance space for the devotional expression. The spatial and material limits of this physical space far transcended its programmatic experience, which was evoked by various ritualistic and social practices within the space evoking sacredness, even if only temporarily through the transfer of intangible cultural heritage as a lived experience by these college students (Fig. 5).

(Courtesy of Holiday Inn Montreal)
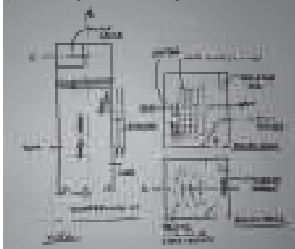
Plan of the prayer space   Ceremonies in session

Social/Networking after ceremonies   Devotional Evening
Figure 5. U-JK Holiday Inn, Montréal.

U-JK's provide unique opportunities for Ismaili students all across Canada to come together to organize service activities for the local communities in the area such as fundraising campaigns for various local and international charity organizations. They provide a space where ethics and values are shared, friendships are fostered and relationships are strengthened in a collective spirit. The day-to-day practice of faith within ritualistic practices engenders a sense of identity and leadership; new forms of religious and cultural expressions are created through negotiation and the everlasting process of reforming and reshaping these practices.

7 CONCLUSION

Intuitively, Muslim worshippers, whether in ethnic restaurants in New York or hotel conference rooms in Montréal, are creating an affective potent atmosphere that evokes feelings of sacredness by their simple actions, defying all formal and material aspects of the physical spaces. In the process they "integrate their religious and spiritual needs within the public and semi-public regions of urban life" (Sen, 2013). Bender and Smith argue that these spaces represent "an organizational innovation within the existing field of American mosques and complicate the analysis of immigrant religious life that focuses solely on congregational participation" (Smith & Bender, 2004).

Within the contemporary milieu many young Muslim artists, designers and architects are also exploring dynamic ways of practicing faith beyond the ubiquitous formal places of worship that is often restrictive to female participation. The Nomadic Mosque project and the Generative mosque design by Azra Aksamija, Professor at MIT, explore the notion of the mosque space and its formal limits by proposing wearable mosques, clothes that can be transformed into prayer rugs. Whereas it respects religious restrictions, the Nomadic Mosque aims to redefine traditional forms and functions of mosques in the contemporary context (Aksamija, 2013).

The informal places of worship in the interstices of our cities offer new narratives of alternate Muslim spaces of worship beyond formal congregational mosques. Worshippers often employ intangible cultural heritage practices by voluntary efforts. Sen observes that "these multivalent experiences and interpretations of such places are phenomenological and spatial orders reproduce sensory cues that allow individuals from different backgrounds to recognize and interpret this material world in inflected ways" (Sen, 2013).

These places are not of much interest to popular socio-political debate of mainstream media and discourse. Nonetheless, they are important elements of our cultural landscapes both tangible and intangible as they provide new ways of understanding the diversity of the Muslim Diaspora and worshippers' pluralistic practices and expressions within space and place. These expressions often traverse public and private boundaries, intertwining secular and spiritual domains in a performative act that occurs *in-between spaces* to facilitate everyday practice of faith, thus preserving the identity and ethical values of Muslims in host countries.

REFERENCES

Aksamija, A. (2005). *Nomadic Mosque* [online]. Available at http://www.azraaksamija.net/nomadic-mosque/.
Bhabha, H. (2007). *Intervention Architecture:Building for Change*. London: I.B. Tauris & Co. Ltd.
Brenhouse, H. (2010). *The Holy underground: Muslim cabbies and makeshift prayer spaces* [online]. Available at http://inthefray.org/joomla/content/view/3739/227/.
Matilde C. (2011). *Sacred Spaces in Profane Buildings*. New York: Storefront for Art and Architecture.
Cresswell, T. (2009). Place. *International Encyclopedia of Human Geography,* 8: 169-177.
Cumming-Bruce, N. & Steven E. (2009). [Press release] *Swiss Ban Building of Minarets on Mosques*. New York: The New York Times. A6.
Freedman, S. G. (2010). [Press release] *Muslims and Islam were part of Twin Towers' Life*. New York: The New York Times. A12
Goldberger, P. (2010). *Architecture Sacred Space and the Challenges of the Modern*. Chautauqua Institution.
Horan, K. (2012). *12 Hours Behind the Wheel in NYC, With No Food Or Drink: The Transportation Nation*.

Kahera, A. I. (2002). *Deconstructing the American Mosque: Space, Gender, and Aesthetics*. Austin: University of Texas Press.

The Institute of Ismaili Studies (2012). *Muslim Spaces of Worship* [online]. Available at http://www.iis.ac.uk/view_article.asp?ContentID=109852.

Scully, V. (1989). *Pueblo:Mountain, Village, Dance*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Sen, A. (2013). Transcultural Placemaking: Intertwined Spaces of Sacred and Secular. *Transcultural Cities: Boarder-Crossing and Placemaking*. Jeffrey, Hou: Routledge.

Smith, E. & Courtney B. (2004). The Creation of Urban Niche Religion: South Asian Taxi Drivers in New York City. In T. Carnes & F. Yang, eds. *Asian American Religions: The Making and Remaking of Borders and Boundaries*. New York & London: New York University Press.

Syed, H. (2011). *786 Halal Restaurant. 30 Masjids* [online]. Available at http://30masjids.ca/day-7-–-786-halal-restaurant/.

The Ismail (n.d.) *The Ismaili Community* [online]. Available at http://www.theismaili.org/cms/16/The-Ismaili-Community.

Vadukul, A. (2011). *Where Cabbies Go for Biriyani*. New York: *The New York Times*. MB12.

Index of Authors

Sharing Cultures 2013

Proceedings of the
3rd International Conference
on Intangible Heritage

Sharing Cultures 2013 - 3rd International Conference on Intangible Heritage follows the path established by the previous Conferences on Intangible Heritage (Sharing Cultures 2009 and 2011) and aims at pushing further the discussion on Intangible Cultural Heritage (ICH) under the main topics proposed by the UNESCO Convention adding some new field of discussion namely on what concerns management and promotion of ICH, educational matters and musealisation.

The concept of ICH gained its rightful place among the scientific community during the last decade and a significant amount of work has been done by a large number of researchers, academics and practitioners leading to the recognition of ICH as fundamental piece for the comprehension of human societies, organisations and ways of living. Accordingly, scientific events that gather scholars, researchers and academics with on-going work on ICH are privileged moments to share experiences, problems, questions and conclusions. Sharing Cultures 2013 aims at being one of those events.

The Editors